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# JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

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Miss Alice E. Gillington

Prof. R. A. S. Macalister

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Reviews

Notes and Queries

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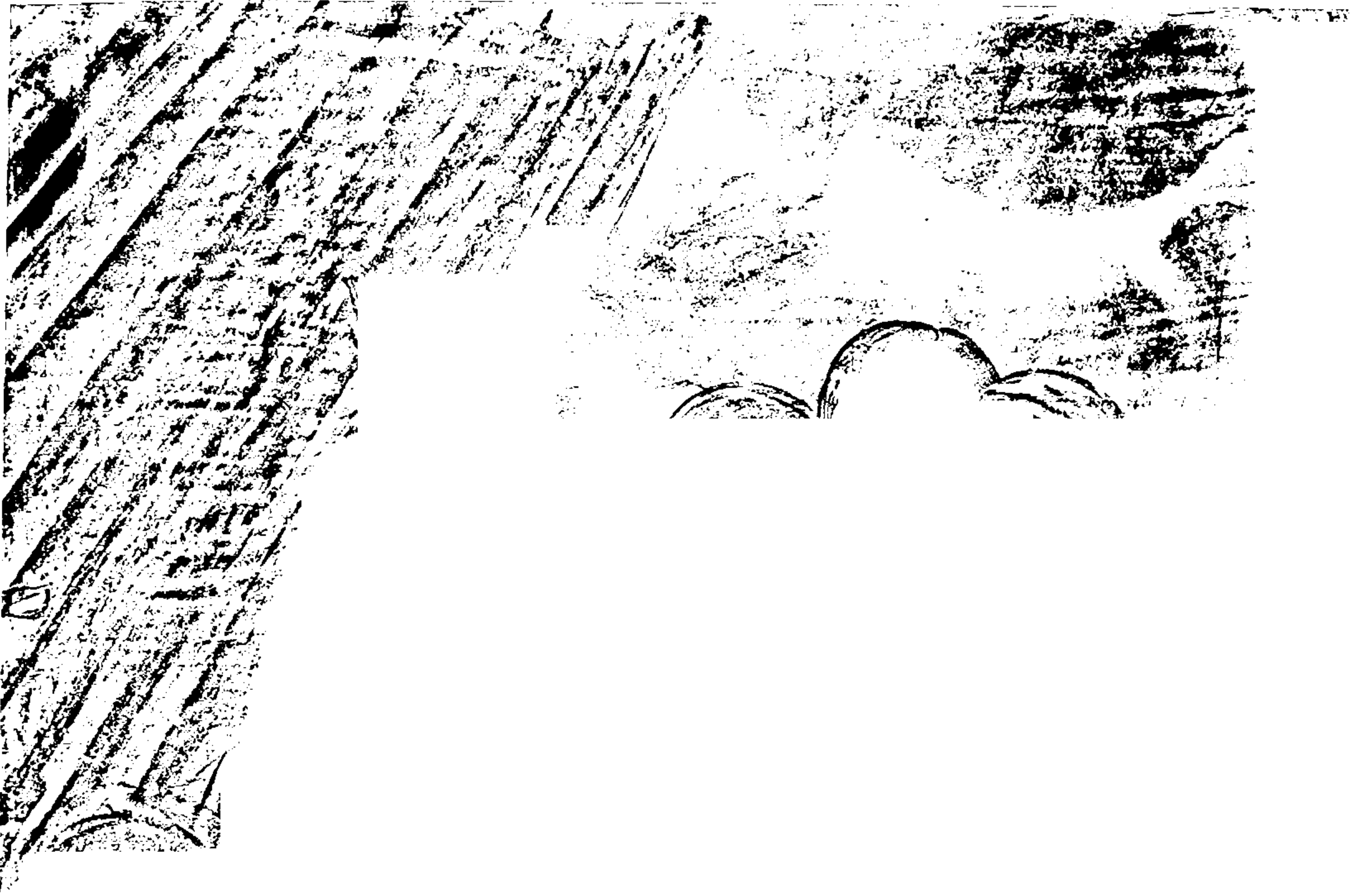
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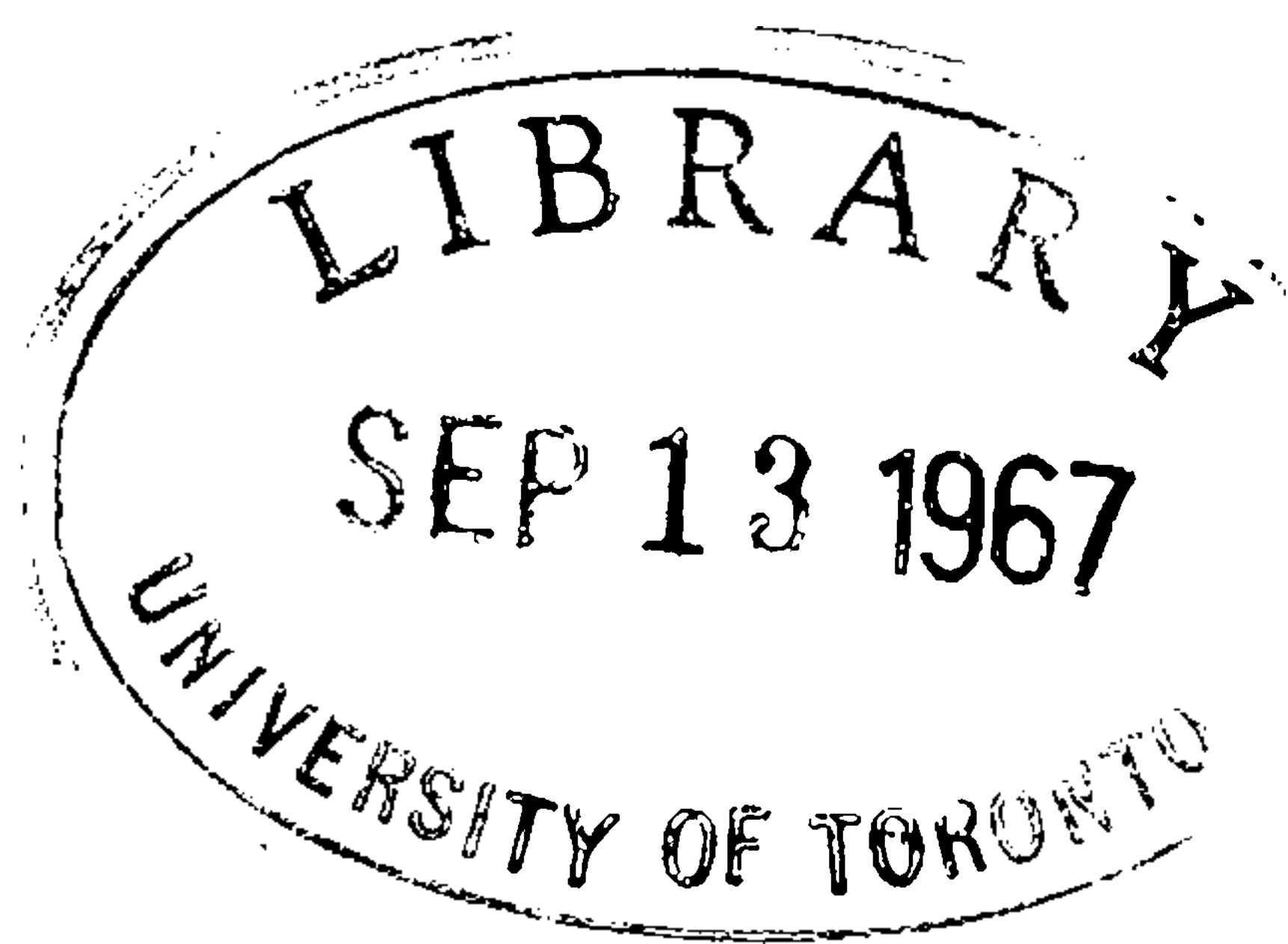
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VOLUME V  
(*JULY 1911—APRIL 1912*)

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- [109] Yoxall, Sir James Henry, M.P., Springfield, 20 Kew Gardens Road, Kew.

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*Honorary Secretary:* R. A. SCOTT MACFIE,  
21A Alfred Street, Liverpool.

# ACCOUNTS

FOR YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1912

## INCOME

11 subscriptions for the year 1909-10, . . . . .	£11	0	0	
19     "     "     "     1910-11, . . . . .	19	0	0	
167   "     "     "     1911-12, . . . . .	167	0	0	
20     "     "     "     1912-13, . . . . .	20	0	0	
Instalments completing 2 subscriptions for 1911-12, . . . . .	1	9	0	
				£218 9 0
Copies and parts of Volume I. sold to Members, . . . . .	£1	0	0	
"     "     Volume II.     "     " . . . . .	2	5	0	
"     "     Volume III.   "     " . . . . .	1	2	6	
"     "     Volume IV.   "     " . . . . .	3	5	0	
				7 12 6
Donation from Dr. Archibald Constable, . . . . .				1 1 0
Profit from optional frontispiece, presented by Mr. Fred. Shaw, . . . . .				6 13 8
Proceeds of sale of parts of <i>J. G. L. S.</i> , Old Series, presented by Mr. Alexander Russell,* . . . . .				3 6 6
				£237 2 8

\* A sum of £1, 15s. is still outstanding on this account.

## EXPENDITURE

Discounts for the year 1911-12, . . . . .	£1	18	9	
"     "     "     1912-13, . . . . .	0	12	0	
				£2 10 9
Management and Correspondence—				
Cheque Book, . . . . .	£0	2	6	
Stationery, . . . . .	4	19	6	
Printed Notices, . . . . .	1	16	6	
Postages, . . . . .	5	3	0	
Auditor's Fee, . . . . .	0	10	6	
				12 12 0
Carry forward, . . . . .				£15 2 9

	Brought forward, . . .	£15 2 9
Journal and Publications—		
No. 1. Letterpress, . . . . .	£33 14 6	
No. 2. Letterpress, . . . . .	28 7 6	
No. 3. Letterpress, . . . . .	£33 14 6	
Illustrations, . . . . .	0 14 0	
	<hr/>	34 8 6
No. 4. Letterpress, . . . . .	£29 19 0	
Illustrations, . . . . .	0 3 6	
	<hr/>	30 2 6
No. 5. Letterpress (estimate), £19 7 0		
Illustration, . . . . . presented	19 7 0	
	<hr/>	146 0 0
Advertising and Reviews—		
Prospectuses and printed forms, . . . . .	£0 8 6	
Envelopes, labels, and wrapping, . . . . .	0 12 4	
Additional Journals printed for review, . . . . .	5 2 6	
Postages, . . . . .	2 1 3	
	<hr/>	8 4 7
Despatch of Journal to Members, . . . . .		10 14 9
Separate offprints for the authors of papers, . . . . .		12 6 6
Excess actual cost of Vol. IV., No. 5, over estimate in last year's accounts, . . . . .		0 2 0
Cutting and casting special type, . . . . .		1 8 0
Illustrations (blocks), prepared for Vol. VI., No. 1, . . . . .		1 1 0
Balance, income over expenditure, . . . . .		42 3 1
		<hr/>
		<u>£237 2 8</u>

## BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
To Creditors—	By Cash in Bank, . . . £18 5 1
T. and A. Constable, £67 4 3	Do. in Hand,* . . . 7 13 8
Gilderoy Gray, . . . 50 0 0	Excess expenditure
J. Summerskill, . . . 0 10 6	over income,
Excess income over ex-	1907-8, . . . 129 5 4
penditure, 1910-11, 96 15 0	Do., 1908-9, . . . 77 17 7
Do., 1911-12, 42 3 1	Do., 1909-10, . . . 23 11 2
	<hr/>
<u>£256 12 10</u>	<u>£256 12 10</u>

\* Cheque received after bank-hours on June 29, 1912.

I have examined the Books, Accounts and Vouchers of the Gypsy Lore Society for the period ending June 30, 1912, and hereby certify the above statement to be a true and correct one as shown thereby.

[Signed] J. SUMMERSKILL,  
Certified Accountant.





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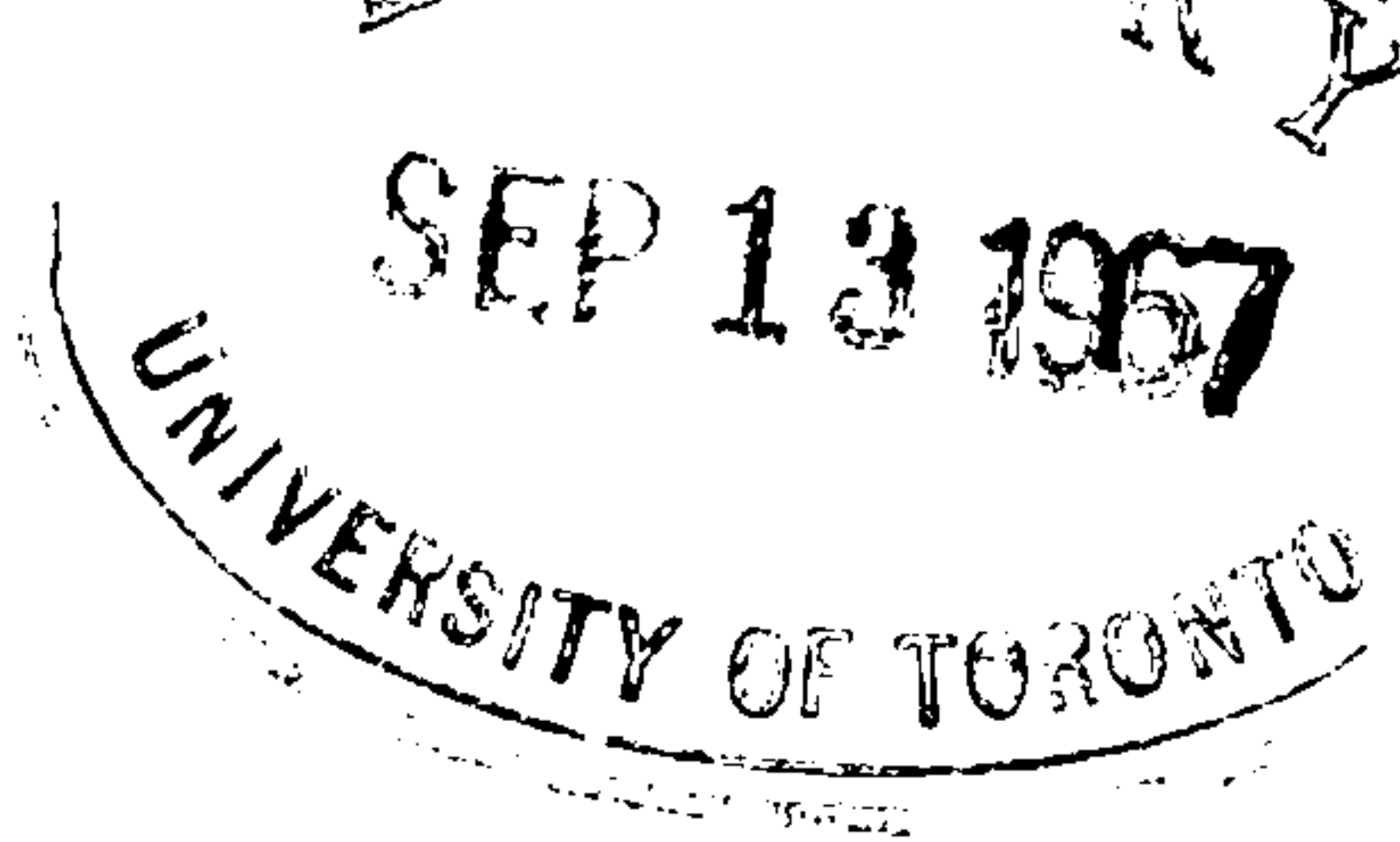
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## ERRATA

- Page 18, line 4 from bottom, for *q* read *b*.  
,, 29, ,, 9 ,, top, for *ber-*, read [*ber-*, to fall].  
,, 45, ,, 24 ,, bottom, for *körperlichen* read *körperlichen*.  
,, 126, ,, 3 ,, top, for *onto* read *on to*.  
,, 159, footnote 2, for *In Gypsy Tents* read *In Gipsy Tents*.  
,, 223, line 4 from bottom, for *on* read *an*.  
,, 272, ,, 6 ,, top, for *Abraham* read *Jacob*.  
,, 274, footnote 1, *delete* also.  
,, 278, line 22 from top, for *me* read *us*.



# JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

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VOL. V

YEAR 1911-12

No. 1

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## I.—A FOURTH BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

### *Preface*

The picturesque informs every line of this fairy-tale. Should any one still doubt that the Gypsies possess a living literature, an intelligent perusal of the Romani text of the *Merchant's Daughter* will convince them of the error of their views. It is no longer the custom to write elaborate panegyrics of every happy phrase occurring in a text under consideration, as did the ancient commentators of Roman literature, yet I would fain draw the attention of the reader to the passage in paragraph 6, wherein are described the meeting and conversation, and subsequent agreement or contract, *o básí, o kondráti*, between the two merchants. The attention to detail, the relish with which each little fact is recorded, when accompanied by the extraordinary sincerity, the earnestness and the desire which the Gypsy story-teller displays, to hold spell-bound, to enthral the listener, make the delivery of such a tale as the following, before a large audience of interested *raklé* and *rakljá*, and old men and women, an event not to be forgotten. Read also carefully the following paragraph, where the father, full of remorse for his folly, has to confront his clever daughter, or again the passages describing the care bestowed upon the horse before and after the adventure in the mysterious forest, the forest scene itself, where every sigh of the wind in the branches causes the girl to fear for her life; notice well the door leading to the thieves' den, which when you open, true, it opens, but when you shut it, it creaks and awakes the forty snoring sleepers. These and other passages bear in mind well, and then recall the article in the *Spectator* of 4th March of this year, whose author would 'deal with the Gypsy problem,' and finish persecuting out of their very existence the members of the race to whom we probably owe some of the most fancy-inspiring ideas to be found in European fairy tales. The Gypsy



possesses the fine art of telling a simple anecdote simply, and yet enthralling the listener in the telling.

Having read the *Spectator*, and made resolutions to fight gorgiodom tooth and nail, turn to the second part of this *paramísi*, the beauties of which are so manifest that they require no further eulogy from my pen.

### TĀRGOVTSÓSKERI PARAMÍSI

1. *Siné jek tĀrgóvtsos, isí-da les jek dukjáni. Amá sar léskere dukjánés ni jek na kerél butí sar láte. Nái-glavno dukjáni si ói. Isí-da les biš χízmetkjárja, thai si les jek raklí.*

2. *Aló plánne. Phanlé i dukjáni sárore χízmetkjárja, gelé te χan mařó. I raklí pheŋghjás pe dadéske: "Bábabe! jek dukjáni nanái kaphutrés. Džan aŋglál i dukjáni, the thérghjos. Te lez-da jek gonó páres: savó rakló kaavél, sařoréŋge jek po jek te des léŋgeri smétka dži jekhéste te džán-peske." O dad phenél: "Áče Síŋko, e te platínav léŋge! Amí, pósle, ko kavĵrtínel i dukjáni?" I raklí pheŋghjás: "Me kavĵrtínav la kórkoři." O dad pheŋghjás: "Áče Síŋko, biš χízmetkjárja naští navasínen e mišterjéŋge. Amí tu kórkoři so kakerés?" "Tu ma χa χolí, bába, ma kízdínes! Me hem i kása kavĵrtínav, hem e mišterjén kispratínav."*

3. *Akaná i raklí gelí, phuterghjás i dukjáni. Redinjás sa, i stóka, thai beští si ki kása. Savó mištéris kadél ándi dukjáni, ói hénos durál aχáljovel so maŋgél odovká manúš. Ov dži kai te maŋgél odovká šéχi, ói del les ándo vastá. Thai pále džal ki kása, bešél. Avél avér mištéris. Óv-da dži kai te maŋgjél čípota, i raklí del les ándo vastá. Ispratínel les, thai bešél-peske pále ki kása.*

### THE MERCHANT'S DAUGHTER; OR, THE DEAD MAN'S RING

1. There was a merchant, and he had a shop. Now no shop carried on business so successfully as his shop. His was a most important shop, and he had twenty servants, and one daughter.

2. Midday came, all the servants shut up the shop, and went to eat bread. The daughter said to her father: 'O Father, it is not necessary for you to keep a shop. Go in front of the shop, and stand there, and take a bag of money: whatever youth shall come, to all of them one by one give them their account, even unto the last of them, that they may depart.' The father says: 'Wait, Sinko, supposing I do pay them, who will afterwards look after the shop?' The daughter said: 'I will look after it alone.' The father said: 'Stay, Sinko, twenty servants are unable to serve the customers. What will you do alone?' 'Be not worried, father, fret not! I will both attend to the cash-box and serve the customers.'

3. Now the girl went, and she opened the shop. She put all the wares in order, and she is seated at the cash-box. Whatever customer will enter the shop, she understands even from afar what that man requires. Before he asks for a certain thing, she puts it into his hands. And she goes back to the cash-box, and sits down. Another customer comes. And before he too asks for anything she puts it into his hands. She serves him, and again she seats herself at the cash-box.



4. *Jek dijés, dúi dijés, trin dijés, sa ačoká ispratínel e mišter-jén. Biž džené χízmetkjárja edvá vžrtínenas i dukjáni, a i raklí kórkori vžrtínel hem i dukjáni hem si ki kása beští, thai o dad sa phirél-peske rasotkáte.*

5. *I raklí phenél: "Bábabe, tu lé-tut sar phuró manúš, dža ko kavés, thai beš, tha χoratínen-tuke t' amaléntsa. Tu ma χa χolí e dukjanéske, me aští vžrtínav pánda dúi dukjánja tha pále kabešáv-manje ki kása."*

6. *Geló o dad ki kavés. Beštó si. Liljás véšnikos, četínel. Aló paš les jek tžrgóvtsos, óv-da si sar léste, tžrgóvtsos, stavisájle o dúi tžrgóvtsos. Akaná o jek tžrgóvtsos vakjerél akaléski: "Tut dan isi χízmetkjárja, amá me rakljákoro tsíkno nai, thai i godí, nána dav tsaloné narodóski." Akavá tžrgóvtsos phenghjás: "But-li si ti raklí butjarní?" O dad lákoro phenél: "Avdiés avdieséske vrénno si. Biš χízmetkjárja siné man, mi dukjáni vžrtínenas, thai naští doresavénas e mišterjénge, a mi raklí kórkori posreštínel sařorén, thai ispratínel, thai si beští ki kásada." O tžrgóvtsos vakjerél: "Kató si ti raklí edekí butjarní, thai vrénno, th' aavél láke katár o vas. Thovés-li mántsa, básí: me so kamangáv tútar ti raklí the sfžršínel adiká butí. The kerás jek kondráti: ti raklí th'ánla, so kamangáv, mándar túke so si mi dukjáni, me kherá, me řomnjá e čhavéntsa kadáv túke. Thai so si man stóka, sářori χaláli t'ovél túke. Amí ti raklí te n'ánla, so*

4. One day, two days, three days, always thus does she serve the customers. Twenty servants could scarcely attend to the shop, and the daughter both attends alone to the shop, and is seated at the cash-box, and her father does nothing but go for walks.

5. The daughter says: 'Father, betake yourself as an old man and go to the coffee-house, and sit down, and enter into discourse with your companions. Do not eat worry concerning the shop. I can look after yet two more shops, and nevertheless be seated at the cash-box.'

6. The father went to the coffee-house. He is seated. He took a newspaper, he is reading. There came to him a merchant, and he is like himself, a merchant, and so they were two merchants. Now the one merchant says to this merchant: 'You have servants indeed, but I would not give my daughter's little finger, and her understanding, for the whole nation.' This merchant says: 'Is your daughter very hard-working?' Her father says: 'She is busy all day. I had twenty servants, they attended to my shop, and they were unable to supply the needs of the customers, but my daughter alone ministers to them all, and serves them, and she is seated at the cash-box to boot.' The (other) merchant says: 'If your daughter is such a worker, and so busy, she must be worth a deal to you. Will you lay a wager with me? Whatever I will ask of you, that shall your daughter accomplish. Let us make a contract: if your daughter brings what I shall ask, I will give from my belongings unto you whatever I possess, my shop, my houses, my wife with the children. And whatever wares there may be, they shall all be made over to you. But should your daughter not bring what I shall ask, what will you give?'



*kamangáv, tu so kadés?" E rakljákoro dad phenghjás: "Mándar túke so si ándi dukjáni, i stóka thai o kherá kadáv tut thai kanáughjovav, mo gád-da te les." Sárore phendé šukár. Thovdí kondráti dži eftá diesén: odovká šéxi so kamangjél o tǝrgóvtsos, hemén nan'anghjár, kadžál andár i dukjáni, so si so nanái e stokása kalél. A te ánla odovká šéxi, "dži eftá diesén tu t'aavés te les mi dukjáni, so si stóka thai me romnjá e čhavéntsa žaláli t'ovén túke."*

7. *Kerdó o kondráti. Liljár pes, o tǝrgóvtsos e rakljákoro dad. Geló ki dukjáni, beštó si. Thoghjár po vas pe čhamjáte, ta mislínel. I raklí vakjerél: "Bábabe, so mislínés?" O dad phenghjár: "Ēē Sínko! Jek kǝxul žaljóm, so kǝxuléste na khándel!" I raklí phenghjár: "Sóske, be bába?" O dad phenél: "E sóske, Sínko!" Ikálel andár po bǝrk o kondráti, del les láte. I raklí liljár les, o kondráti četínel. I raklí phenghjár: "Tú-ku!" Sekninghjár pes. I raklí phenghjár pe dadéske: "Ábe-bába! Hič tut godí nanái-li? E tu na džanés-li me kai sinjóm džuvlí t'íkljovav agór i dis ne-li kaperén xašlátja palál man, te kerén man rezíli?" O dad phenghjár: "Ēē Sínko, žaljóm jek kǝxul, mé-da sinjóm pišmáni, amá ov nakló!" I raklí phenél: "Ēē bába! O básí léskoro si. I kalél amarí dukjáni, te godjása kaačhovás k'úlitses, te surtínas!"*

The girl's father answered: 'I will give you all I possess, both in wares and in buildings, whatever there is in the shop, and I will strip, that you may take my shirt too.' All things were agreed upon satisfactorily. A contract was made up to seven days: If she has not brought that thing which the merchant will ask for, he will enter the shop, and whatever there is or there is not he will take with the wares. But should she bring that thing, then 'you will come within seven days and take my shop, and all the wares in it, and my wife shall be made over to you with the children.'

7. The contract was made. The merchant betook himself, the father of the girl. He went to the shop, he is seated. He put his hand to his cheek, and he is thinking. The daughter says: 'O Father, what are you cogitating?' The father said, 'Eh, Sinko, I have eaten dung, and now I do smell of it!' The daughter said: 'How so, my father.' The father said: 'How indeed, Sinko!' He takes from his breast the contract, gives it to her. The girl took it, she reads the contract. The girl said, 'Too-koo! He has done it!' She sighed. The girl said to her father: 'My father, have you no understanding? And do you not know that as I am a girl, if I venture out of the town, evil-doers will fall upon me, to do me mischief?'<sup>1</sup> The father said: 'Eh, Sinko, I have eaten dung, and I too am repentant, but it has happened!' The girl said: 'Eh father, the bet is his. And he will take our shop, and owing to your foolishness we shall remain in the streets, to roam about.'

<sup>1</sup> Here there must be something left out, or the story is so well known that they think it unnecessary perhaps to explain that what the girl had to get for the merchant friend of her father was a ring from a dead man's finger, as stipulated in the contract when the girl read it.



8. *Jek dijés nakló, dúi dijés nakló, panš dijés naklé. Ašlé dúi dijés. I raklí phušljás pe dadés: "Bábabe, dži kití dijésén kerghjén o kondráti?" O dad phenél: "Dži eftá dijésén kerghjám les." Zvsnínel o telefóni i raklí, xoratínel e Grozdáke: "Grózdo, t'ikalés e grastés the thovés léske i zen, tha o gjémi. Me akaná kaváv."*

9. *Blevélilo. Liljás-peske raklí. Igalghjás jek moxtón šekjéri tha jek čuvalí (gonó) leblebías. Kerél e grastéske jek kakávi šerbéti. Del ko gras, piljás. Thovél léske o leblebías, xaljás. Uxtiní i raklí maškár i rat. O dad sovél. Vakjerél e rakljáke i raklí: "Grózdo, t'uxťjéla mo dad, tu te na vakjerés léske." Liljás pes, urghjás jek šéxja, ukístili e grastés, gelé kai gelé.*

10. *Dinjás ándi koríja, ándo veš; phirghjás χαρί, jek xadámi, dúi xadámi kerghjás,—“Heiŋg!”—šuburtínen o šúmes, adiká kerél: “Heiŋg! avél déko!” Akaná phúdel balvál. Liljás pes adiká, phenghjás: “Me kadžáv, te istérse te meráv, istérse t'ačháv.” Gelí kai gelí, dži epkáš o drom. Šuburtínen o šúmes: “Heiŋg!” phenél, “doldé man!” Šunghjás Dasén, vikínen “Dū-ū” e guruvén. Oi phenghjás: “Me kadžáv, thai istérse ovčárja-li isí, govedárja-li si, arabadžídes-li si, čorá-li si, me tsidinghjóm me meribnáste.”*

11. *Gelí, phenghjás: “Me akavká drom kadžáv, te istérse, kárik ikála man.” Gelí kai gelí i raklí. Čhitjás pe jakhá opré. So te díkhél? Jek manúš, muló, tha si umblavdó, te visínel. So te*

8. One day passed, two days passed, five days passed. Two days remained. The girl asked her father: 'Father, up to how many days did you make the contract (valid)?' The father says: 'Up to seven days we made it.' The girl rings the telephone. She speaks to Grozda: 'Grozda, lead out the horse, and place upon him the saddle and the collar. I am coming directly.'

9. Evening came. The girl betook herself. She carried with her a box of sugar and a sack of leblebi nuts. She makes for the horse a pot of sherbet. She gives it to the horse, he drank. She places before him the leblebi nuts, he ate. The girl arose betwixt the night. The father is sleeping. The girl says to the serving-maid: 'Grozda, should my father arise, you are not to tell him.' She betook herself, donned a garment, mounted the horse, they went and they went.

10. She entered a wood, a forest. She walked a little on foot. One step, two steps took she. 'Sh—sh' sigh the leaves in the trees, and she exclaims, 'Ah! some one is coming!' Now the wind blows. She betook herself, and said: 'I will go. Should He be willing, I shall die, and should He will it I shall remain alive.' She went and she went until half of the way was accomplished. The leaves are sighing: 'Ah!' she says, 'they have seized me!' She hears Bulgars, they are calling 'Dooo' to the cattle. She said: 'I will go, and should He will it, be they shepherds, cowherds, drivers, or thieves, I have set out unto my death.'

11. She went, she said: 'I shall go this way, and should He will it, He will lead me on.' Went and went the girl. She cast her eyes upwards. What does she see? A man, dead, and he is hanged, and swinging. What does she see?



*dikhél? Ko vas ki tsíkni nai jek angrustí sfetínel. I raklí phenél: "Sar kaláv la?" Isí telál odolké manušeste jek gras, phanló kaštéste. I raklí phenél: "Sar kaláv akik' angrustí?" O gras phenél: "So dikhés, tu našti les la, amí ukljés oprál man, tha te dokačines, te les la. Thai pó-sigo te uχljés, the phándes man pále me thanéste, te na avél olekátar mo čorbadžís, zerré tútda kačhinél, mán-da kačhinél. Thai pó-sigo te resés katár sinján, te džás-tuke." Liljás-pes i raklí, uχístili na-telž. Ukljél pe grastés, jek kamdžía čalavél les, thai igálel la kheré. Gelí kheré, uχístili. So te dikhéla i Grózda: "U mi kak' aalí?" "Táinje, ma vikíne! Uχtinó-li mo dad?" I raklí vakjerél: "Nána uχtinó hič." "Sigo te les katár o gras i zen, thai t'uχljavés o gjémi, the phándes les and' aaxšri, te les čulí, t'učharés les, kai terledimé isí, thai the khosés les šukár. Thai the kerés léske jek kakávi šerbéti thai the thovés léske čhamikjéntsa akhorá te χal."*

12. *Dísilo. Gelí i raklí, phuterghjás i dukjáni, bešti si péske ki kása. Savó mištéris avél te kinél, bes te na mangjél, ói ikálel, del les ándo vas, thai ov džál-peske. Aló o dad. Bešto si, mislínel. Pánda jek dijés ašló:—nakló šov dijés, aló eftáto. Aló o tšrgóvtsos. "Ēē, sar siné amarí χórata, thai amarí kondráti? Me mangáv t'isponínghjovel. Háda akaná, te les te rakljá, te íkljos andár e dukjáni!" Liljás čhivél len, o tšrgóvtsos, avrí. Ikálel len andár o kher. E rakljákoro dad vakjerél: "Abé, molínav-man túke de amén, baré, tsíkni odája, te bešás*

On his hand, on the little finger, a ring is shining. The girl says: 'How shall I take it?' There is under that man a horse, tied to a tree. The girl says: 'How shall I take this ring?' The horse says: 'Do you not see, you cannot take it, but get upon me, and reach up and you will take it. And get down again as quick as possible, and tie me back in my place, lest my master should come from yonder way, for then he would kill both you and me. And get back whence you came as quick as possible, and begone.' The girl betook herself, jumped down, mounted her own horse, gives him one stroke of the whip, and he carries her home. She went home, dismounted, what does Grozda see: 'O, my mistress has come!' 'Quiet, do not shout. Did my father arise?' The serving-maid answers: 'He did not get up at all.' 'Quickly take the saddle off the horse, and remove the collar and tie him up in the stable, and take a cloth to cover him, for he is sweating, and wipe him down well. And make him a pot of sherbet and place before him nuts and čamiks to eat.'

12. Day broke. The girl went, she opened the shop and there she is seated, at the cash-box. Whatever customer comes to buy, without his asking, she takes it, puts it into his hands, and he departs. The father came. He is seated, deep in thought. Yet one day remained; six days had passed and the seventh had come. The merchant came. 'Eh, how is it with our agreement, and our contract? I desire that it be fulfilled. Come now, take your daughter, and come out from the shop.' He started turning them out, did the merchant. He leads them out of the house. The father of the girl says: 'Now I beseech you, give us at least the





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*odiká raklí?" Jek Das vakjerél: "Heke-he! Ki Leighjé úlitsa isí jek dukjáni, tha isí beští mamúí." Gelé i voivóda thai o čor.*

14. "Dobř den, čorbadžítje!" "Dal Bog dobró, tǝrgóvets!" "Ja mi dai ot tája stóka! Kití páres maŋgés?" "Dúi šel lévja." *Liljás-pes, gelé-peske, tsidíndé kheré. Hem džan, hem čorátinen: "Bēi! Jek džuvlí sen t'aavél, te lel i angrustí!" Geló othé, vakjerén e čorénge: "I angrustí arakljám jekhé rakljáte, tǝrgóvka si, ki dukjáni bešél." I voivóda pheŋghjás: "Ha džas tasjá pále othé." Gelé paš la. "Dobř večer, čorbadžítje!" "Dal ti Góspod dobró!" Pazaríndé stóka, kíndé, phučén la: "Kití páres maŋgés?" "Maŋgáv tuméndar tri šel lévja." Ikalde te platínen, dúi šel lévja díné, o šel lévja phenén láke: "Na resén. Verovínes-li amén džin tasjá?" Lilé i stóka, džánpeske.*

15. *Zvznínel i raklí ko telefóni: "Grózdó, beljáke te pregínes o gabroléti thai te džarés man ko drom." Phanljás i dukjáni i raklí, gelí kheré, díkljás e čorá ándi úlitsa, vakjerél e Grozdáke: "Dikhés-li odolké manušen, kai džan e gabroletésa? Tu pála len katrádes o gabroléti. Tíχom tíχom sa pála len káte kadžán oví tu pála len sà te džas." Gelé kai gelé ándo veš.*

16. *Uχístili i raklí: "Grózdó! Kažarés man ariát athé, dži ko eftó saχáti. Te sinjóm džívdí kaaváv. Te meráva, dži ko eftó saχáti kažarés. Som nakló eftó saχáti, te džanés kai*

now, in the Ulitsa Leguè there is a shop, and there she is seated.' The chief and the robber went.

14. 'Good day, mistress!' 'God greet you, merchant!' 'Will you give me of that cloth! How much money do you want?' 'Two hundred levs.' He betook himself, they departed, and wended their way home. And as they go they converse together: 'Well, fancy now, and is it a woman, to come and take the ring!' They went yonder (home); they say to the other thieves: 'We have found the ring on a girl, a merchant's daughter, and she sits in the shop.' The chief says: 'To-morrow we will go there again.' They went to her. 'Good evening, mistress!' 'The Lord greet you kindly!' They bargained for some cloth, bought it, ask her: 'How much money do you want?' 'I want from you three hundred levs.' They took the money out to pay it. They gave two hundred levs, and as for the (remaining) hundred, they tell her they have not got enough: 'Will you trust us till to-morrow?' They took the cloth and they depart.

15. The girl rings at the telephone. 'Grozda, in the evening harness the pony chaise and wait for me on the road.' The girl closed the shop, went home, saw the thieves in the street, says to Grozda: 'Do you see yonder men who are going in the chaise? You will drive (our) chaise behind them. Quietly, quietly, always behind them, whither they will go, you also will always follow.' They went and they went into a wood.

16. The girl got down. 'Grozda, you will wait for me here to-night, until the seventh hour. If I am alive, I will come. If I die, you will wait until the seventh hour. As soon as the seventh hour has passed, you will know that I am dead, you will harness the chaise and depart. The merchant's daughter betook



# NOTICES.

## I.—REPORT.

THE presidency of the Gypsy Lore Society is, like the Gypsies themselves, vagrant and cosmopolitan. After a year's halt in warm Italy it has voyaged northwards to Sweden, for the choice of my successor has fallen, most appropriately, on

Mr. ARTHUR THESLEFF,

now resident in Stockholm. When assistant librarian for six years in the University Library of Helsingfors, Mr. Thesleff took advantage of his excellent opportunities to become acquainted with Gypsy literature; and his study of the race itself began in the early 'nineties, his method being that which has always given the best results—actual travelling with Gypsies. As a member of the Committee appointed by the Finnish Government to examine the Gypsy problem, he was granted very exceptional facilities for the investigation, not only of Finnish Gypsies, but also of Gypsies in almost all other European lands, and even in parts of Asia and Africa; and, as its secretary, he was author of the report which the Committee unanimously adopted. He possesses a collection of Gypsy books which is probably the largest in the world, having been completed by selections from the libraries of Bataillard, von Sowa, and Miklosich. Besides various publications in Swedish and Finnish, we owe to Mr. Thesleff the most important contribution to Romani lexicography which has been made in the present century, his *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnlandischen Zigeuner* (Helsingfors, 1901), a work which, combining scientific thoroughness with scholarly restraint, indicates the possession of much unpublished material of which it is the too concentrated essence. It is greatly to be regretted, for the advancement of Gypsy learning, that much of Mr. Thesleff's time has lately been spent as administrator of the Finnish Colony in the Argentine Republic; and I dare to hope that, for the failure of this unfortunate venture, painful as it must be to our new President, he will find comfort in a return to the Gypsy studies in which he has attained such eminence.

During the past year, 1910-11, Dr. Archibald Constable and Mr. E. O. Winstedt have again given so constant and valuable assistance in the editing of the Journal, that they may rightly be regarded as the real editors. The Bulgarian, Syrian, and Welsh Gypsy folk-tales of Mr. Gilliat-Smith, Professor R. A. S. Macalister, and Dr. Sampson, have been continued; and a further step made towards an Anglo-Romani Thesaurus, such as von Sowa provided for the German dialect, by critical reprints of Bryant's and Harriott's lists. Amongst much other valuable material which has been published, the sixteenth-century Gypsy glossary of Johan van Ewsum may be selected for special mention, and the opportunity taken to congratulate its brilliant editor, Dr. A. Kluyver, on the occasion of his appointment to a professorial chair in Groningen University. Similar congratulations are due to our member, Dr. V. Carlheim-Gyllensköld, who has been honoured with the title of Professor by His Majesty the King of Sweden.

The experiment, made last year, in helping the literary Gypsy, Engelbert Wittich, has proved by no means so complete a failure as appeared. Besides the important articles he has already published through us and in the *Hefte für Zigeunerkunde*, several manuscripts of his await space in our Journal; and, under the superintendence of Herr Reinhold Urban, he has made a translation of St. Mark's Gospel which has been accepted by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In Great Britain the outstanding event of the year has been the arrival of the large band of Gypsy coppersmiths which is still in the country. By



a happy coincidence Mr. Augustus John published collections from similar Gypsies whom he met in France and Italy, and thereby greatly facilitated the study of our invaders.

The statistics of membership are as follows:—

	<i>Libraries, etc.</i>	<i>Individuals.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
At the end of 1909-10 . . . . .	62	146	208
Losses . . . . .	1	15	16
Accessions . . . . .	2	6	8
At the end of 1910-11 . . . . .	63	137	200

We have again had the misfortune to lose three members by death—Mr. C. W. Sheppard; Mr. Albert T. Sinclair, the enthusiastic American *Romano Rai*, whose writings have frequently appeared in our Journal, and whose correspondence adds greatly to the weight of the Society's archives; and Mr. Hubert Smith-Stanier, better known as Mr. Hubert Smith, the courageous husband of the celebrated Esmeralda.

Finally, it is a pleasure to record the success of the appeal which my predecessor, Mr. Theodore Watts-Dunton, made for funds to relieve the Society's financial famine. A sum of £117, 19s. 0d. was collected, which, though not sufficient to 'wipe the deficit from the balance-sheet,' has nevertheless brought that deficit within manageable limits. There is still need of money if the G. L. S. is to achieve its full usefulness; and, should any members who have not yet subscribed still wish to do so, their contributions will be gratefully accepted: but even greater than this need is the need of new members to replace those we have lost.

ADRIANO COLOCCI.

## II.—INDEX TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

The present number is the first of the fifth volume of the New Series of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. The Index to the fourth volume—the work of Mr. Alexander Russell, M.A.—is in the press, and, with the title-page and preliminary matter, will be issued as soon as possible.

## III.—RECORDS.

Two of the principal sources from which fresh information about the early history of the Gypsies in England may be derived are Parish Account Books and Registers of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials. The latter will yield entries which will materially assist the genealogical work which is going on under the supervision of the Rev. George Hall. Consequently all members are warmly urged to look through such Parish Registers as they can obtain access to. Every entry in which the descriptions 'Egyptian,' 'Gypsy,' 'vagrant,' 'vagabond,' 'wanderer,' 'stranger,' or their Latin equivalents, occur, should be noted down; and a careful list of the Registers or parts of Registers, which have been searched should be kept. Entries containing obviously Gypsy names should also be copied, even when there is no description.

Many Registers have been printed and are easily accessible; the search in unpublished ones is more important. Some fifty printed, and a smaller number of manuscript Registers have been examined. To prevent overlapping, members willing to undertake this work are asked to communicate with F. S. Atkinson, Esq., Queen's College, Oxford, who will inform them (1) whether the Registers they propose to search have already been dealt with; and (2) whether they have been published. He will also be glad to receive the resulting extracts for the purpose of tabulation.



*muljóm, te pregínes o gabroléti, te džás-tuke.*” *Liljás-peske raklí tíxom tíxom palál len, péše, ol káte te džan, ói-da othé sa palál len po čorjál. Gelé kai gelé dží jekhé kapákjes. Vzdindé o kapáki, uxístile telž. Lel-péske raklí, gelí, vždel o kapáki. So te dikhél? Sa basamákja na telž. I raklí phenél: “K’uxljáv telž tha sar del o Del.” Uxístili, so te dikhél? Andár o vudár saránda čorá sovén, thai sa xžrkínen. I raklí phenghjás: “Kadáv andré, tha sar del o Del.” Phuterél o vudár, maškár o čorá uxťjél. Pal odovká vudár e čoréngo kána phuterés phutérghjovel, kána phándes bašél sa silása,—paat kerél o vudár. Bašló o vudár, na šundé.*

17. *Gelí kai gelí. So te dikhél? Andár o vudár i voivóda sovél, ko kérevetí, ko šeró saxáti štrapínel. O levovéri zakačímé ko šeró. Del i raklí, lel o saxáti, thai o levovéri. Tsidinjás t’íkljovel avrí i raklí. Tamám t’íkljol, o vudár baštó, sáŕoŕe čorá šundé, čudisájli i raklí. Káte te del? Phuterél jek vudár. So te dikhél? Sa čhindé manuša ándi odája. Čhivél pes maškár len i raklí, garavél pes ándo rat. Zasuté o čorá. Uxťjél i raklí, ikístili, tsidinjás t’aavél. Isí e čorén jek miníka (rikoní). Liljás te bašél e rakljá. Uxťiné o čorá: “Brēē, manúš isí avrí!” Sígo uxťjén, diné našibá o čorá na-avrí. Ukljél i raklí jekhé kaštéste, garavél pes maškár o šúmes. I rikoní gelí dží ko kaš, bašél la. O čorá phendé: “Aha-na-sín, duvár vždel amén akiká rikoní.” “Džár-ta, te mudaráv la!” Ikalghjás o levóveri, tsidinghjás,*

herself, quietly, quietly, behind them, on foot ; whither they go, thither follows she always behind them, secretly. They went and they went till they came to a trap-door. They raised the trap-door, and descended. The girl betakes herself, went, raises the trap-door. What does she see? Steps all the way down. The girl says: ‘I will go down, and God give what fortune He may.’ She descended, what does she see? Through the doorway forty thieves sleeping, and they are all snoring. The girl said: ‘I will enter, and as God wills.’ She opens the door and rises up among the thieves. Now the thieves’ door, when you open it, it opens, but when you shut it, it creaks with all its might,—paaat! creaks the door. The door creaked, they heard not.

17. She went and she went. What does she see? Through the doorway is sleeping the chief, at the head of his bedstead a watch is hanging. His revolver is hung up at his head. The girl makes a movement forward, takes the watch and the revolver. The maiden then starts to go out. Just as she passes out, the door creaked, all the thieves heard, the girl took fright. Whither shall she turn?’ She opens a door. What does she see? A heap of slain men in the room. She casts herself among them, hides herself in their blood. The thieves fell asleep again. The girl arises, came out, started returning (home). The thieves have got a small dog. It started barking at the girl. The thieves arose: ‘Heavens, there is some one outside!’ Quickly the thieves arise, and they gave chase and ran outside. The girl climbs a tree, and hides herself among the leaves. The small dog went up to the tree and barks at her. The thieves say: ‘Gemini! Twice this small dog has woken us.’ ‘Wait, I will slay it.’ One of them took out his



*mudarghjás la. Len pes o čorá palé telž. Uχljél i raklí, gelí paš i Grózda.*

18. *I Grózda dikhljás: "Hīī, Káko! da-li čhinghjás tut déko? Ta sinján edekí ratvalí." "Sigo pregíne o gabroléti, ta te džás-ameŋge." Gelé kheré, náŋgili, urghjás avér séχja. Džal, phuterél i dukjáni, beští si. Avén o čorá: "Dobžr den, čorbadžítje!" "Dal Bog dobró, čorbadží!" Kindé stóka, phučen la; "Kití maŋgés?" "Maŋgáv tuméndar paňš šel lévja." Ikálen o čorá, platínen. I raklí phenél: "Sedéte túka, vie šte tžrgóvtsi. Tólko mi alíš-veríš napravíte za méne, ja sžm blagodárna, če vi ispráštam za váša-ta žená armagánj." "Grózdo!" vikínel ándo telefóni, "Te les jek kutía, the phándes o levóveri ánde la. Thai te les jek kutía, the thovés o saχáti ánde la, thai th'aanés ki dukjáni."—"Hála, akavká te řomnjáke, but but sastipé mándar. T'igalés láke akavká, mándar, armagánj. Thai but sastipé te amaléskere řomnjáke, t'igalés láke akavká, mándar armagánj."*

19. *Gelé kai gelé. I voivóda phenél: "Bēē, lačés adiká raklí, godiavér!" Gelé-peske kheré. So te dikhén? Te phuterén ándi kutía: "Brēē, mo levóveri!" Phuterén okojá-da kutía, so te dikhén? "Brēē, mo saχáti! Abé adavká si mo saχáti, thai mo levóveri! Aškosín, brávos, adalké džuvljáke, kai alí thai liljás o levóveri, thai mo saχáti! Sar te kerás te mudarás la?"*

20. *Liljás pes jek čor, urghjás katrandžíska šexjá. Liljás pes paš la; tha jek továros zeitíni. Geló ki dukjáni. "Dobžr den,*

revolver, fired, killed it. The thieves betook themselves below again. The girl climbs down, returned to Grozda.

18. Grozda saw her. 'Heigh, mistress! Has any one wounded you? and you are so blood-besmeared!' 'Quick, harness the chaise, and let us begone.' They went home, she stripped, put on other clothes. She goes, opens the shop, is seated. Come the thieves: 'Good day, mistress.' 'God greet you, master.' They bought cloth, they ask her: 'How much do you want?' 'I want from you five hundred levs.' The thieves take out the money, pay it. The girl says: 'Be seated here; you are merchants. For all the bargains you have struck with me I should be grateful and will send you a present for your wife.' 'Grozda,' she calls on the telephone, 'take a box and shut the revolver up in it, and take a box and put the watch into it and bring it to the shop.' 'See here, this is for your wife, and many, many greetings from me. Take her this as a present from me. And much health to your comrade's wife, take her this from me, as a present.'

19. They went and they went. The chief says: 'Heavens! a fine girl that, and clever.' They went home. What do they see? As they open the box: 'Great Scott, my revolver!' and as they open the other box: 'Great Scott, my watch! But this is my watch and my revolver! Bravo, and long life and love to this woman, for she came and she took my revolver and my watch! Now how shall we manage to kill her?'

20. One thief betook himself, put on a tar-seller's clothes. He went to her; and one load of oil. He went to the shop: 'Good day, mistress!' 'The Lord



čorbadžitje!" "Dal ti Góspod dobró, katrandžiu!" "Íma málko zeitín če kupíšli? Četírese továri ímam ot négo zeitín." *I raklí phenghjás*: "Kití páres kadés man o zeitín?" "Panš t'epkáš lévja o kílo." "Kána kaanés les?" "Tasjá hénos čorbadžitje ándi javí ki dukjáni sinjóm." Geló o čor paš pe amalénde. Saránda tóvarja tovaringhjás, sa o čorá andé saránda kjumbédes; sa po-jek čor ladaghjás biš tóvarja. Anél láke zeitín. Geló ándi javí: "Dobró útro, čorbadžitje!" O zeitín anél. "Káte kistovarínas o zeitín?" *I raklí phenél*: "He otkotká, ándo dvóros!"

21. *Istovarindé o zeitín sárožo ándo dvóros. Nái-anglúno továros zeitín isí, t'oi mislínel kai sárožo zeitín isí. Aló plánne. O katrandžís phenél*: "Čorbadžitje, ti otívaš no obéd i ja če otívam no obéd. Kólko času če se véneš na dukjánu da meríme zeitínu? Nai kzsno do dva času da dóideš."

22. *Aló saχati dúi. I Grózda isí ki dukjáni, kórkoři. Liljás jek suv. But déxel te χal zeitíni mařesa. Mušínel, χevljarel o tulúm̄ba. O čorá phenén*: "Dizlízame-li?" *I Grózda phenél*: "Ne déite, ne déite, sedéte!" *Aló saχati dúi. I Grózda phenél*: "Káko, da vídiš u dvóru; ídž, szs édna ígla tamám szm premišnal, da zímem malko zeitín da jádem szs χleb, tia mi kazá: 'dizlízame-li?' ja i kazá: 'sedéte.'"

23. *I raklí phenél*: "traí, ne víkai! (táini, ma pištíne!)." *Xoratínel e telefoniása, avél o gradinačálnikos ta o pristávja ta*

greet you, tar-man!' 'I have a little oil which perhaps you will like to buy? Forty loads have I, and the oil therefrom.' The girl said: 'For how much money will you give me the oil?' 'Five and a half levs the kilo.' 'When will you bring it?' 'By to-morrow morning, mistress, I will be in the shop.' The thief went to his comrades. He loaded forty loads, all the thieves in the forty barrels, he loaded one thief a-piece in the twenty barrels. He brings her the oil. He went in the morning. 'Good morrow, mistress.' He brings the oil. 'Where shall we unload the oil.' The girl says: 'Yonder, in the yard.'

21. They unloaded all the oil in the yard. The first load is oil, and she thinks that all is oil. Mid-day came. The tar-man says: 'Mistress, you will go off to dinner and I will go off to dinner. At what time will you return to the shop, that we may measure the oil? Come at two o'clock at the latest.'

22. Two o'clock came. Grozda is in the shop, alone. She took a needle. She much desires to taste a little oil on bread. She pierces the barrel. The thieves say: 'Shall we get out?' Grozda says: 'Do not, do not, remain where you are!' Now it was two o'clock. Grozda says: 'Mistress, see yonder in the courtyard, I went, with a needle I had just pierced (a barrel) in order to take a little oil to eat with bread, when these fellows say to me: "Shall we get out?" and I answered "Remain."'

23. The merchant's daughter says: 'Be silent, do not shout!' She speaks through the telephone, the police inspector comes and the sergeants and the police-



*o džandári. "Ačoká an me dvóros saránda čorá sa ánde tumbe-  
donén garavén pes tha dikhén te mudarén amén." Ikalén o  
džandárja o čhurjá; zagradingé len sa nangé čhurjéntsa, o čorá  
maškaré, o džandárja sa turjál katár agorá. Ko šeró phosavél  
jek tjúmbes o džandári. O čor phenél: "Dizlízame-li?" O  
džandári phenél: "Izlóste." Tamám te íkljon o saránda-da čorá,  
o džandárja e kílîčjénsa sařoré jek po jek e sarándan-da čhindé.  
Ašló o katrandžís. Dolén léz-da, ikalén les ki úlitsa, den les jek  
jak, sa thárdel les, thai sa thábilo.*

### ORADÁ MASÁL, BURADÁ SALÍK.

man. 'See here, in my court forty thieves, all in barrels, are concealing themselves and awaiting their chance to kill us.' The police take out their knives; they surrounded them all with bared knives, the thieves in the centre, the police all around on the outside. At the head one policeman pierces a barrel. The thief says: 'Shall we come out?' The policeman answers: 'Come out.' And just as the forty thieves come out, the police with their knives killed the whole forty, one by one. Remained the tar-seller. Him too they seize, lead him out into the street, set fire to him, which burns him up, and he is consumed by fire.

## NOTES

### GENERAL

¶ By far the larger number of loan-verbs in this *paramísi* are borrowed from the Bulgarian. Referring to the original MS., I find various notes of interest interpolated in haste between the lines of the text during the dictation of the tale. Thus *čukní* is already found in this dialect in the meaning of 'whip,' preserving, however, the meaning of 'pipe,' which it had in Paspati's dialect. In this and many other instances Bulgarian Romani is, as one would expect, a kind of bridge joining Paspati's Gypsy to the Western dialects. Thus *andré léste*, *ánde láte*, *ándo kher*, and *an mo dvóros* are all found in the Sofia speech.

Talking of *čhamiká* or dried grapes, raisins, with my teacher (*čhamik* is also found in Paspati, and is a Greek word with Gypsy final *k*), I incidentally discovered that the Sofia dialect has the word *khiljáva* for plums (Pasp. *kiláv*), known also to the Rumanian, Bohemian, Polish, Basque, and Spanish dialects (v. Miklosich). The explanation given was: *šutlé khiljáva, kai řan len khamlí* (i.e. *khabní řomní*).

I subjoin a list of the loan-verbs, translated, with their equivalents, where I have ascertained them, in Bulgarian or Turkish, and a translation of these where the original meaning has been modified by the Gypsies. I have added the pure Bulgarian Romani equivalent where possible.

Of these loan-verbs, *vikínav* is common to many other dialects, Pasp. *vikízava*, etc., Hungarian and Bohemian dialects *vičínav*. It is the Bulgarian *vikam*. *Četínav*, *čudinav*, *mislínav*, *pištínav*, *svetínav*, *řoratínav* are of frequent use in this dialect, the others cannot be said to belong to the language. Except where otherwise stated, the origin is a Bulgarian verb, given in the 1st pers. sing. pres. tense, there being no regular infinitive in Bulgarian.





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§ 7. *Kerdó o kondráti* . . . cf. the two preceding notes. Nouns in *i* are indifferently masc. or fem.

§ 10. *o šúmes* . . . Bulg. *šuma*.

§ 12. *amari xórata* . . . 'our agreement,' from *xoratínav*, 'I speak,' from Bulg. *xóratja*, *xórtuvam*, etc., 'I speak.'

§ 12. *t'isponíngjovel* . . . 'that it be fulfilled.' Pass. mood with Romani pronunciation of the verb *ispǝlnjam*, *ispǝlnjávam*.

§ 12. *baré* . . . Bulg. Turk. *bare* باری, from the Persian, 'at least.'

§ 12. *zer kanangjaráv tut* . . . *zer*, means 'otherwise,' 'or else.' Cf. Turk. (Pers.) *zira*, 'because,' which is sometimes the meaning in Romani.

§ 12. *aχmákji* . . . Bulg. *aχmák*, 'a simpleton,' from Turkish, from Arabic.

§ 14. *Dobŕ den*, etc. . . . From here on begin the Bulgarian quotations, which increase in number towards the end of the tale.

§ 14. *čorbadžítje* . . . *čorbadži* is a title applied by Turks to Christian merchants, traders, etc. It originally means a seller of soup.

§ 14. *gelé-peske*, *tsidindé kheré* . . . 'They departed,' 'they made their way home.' A very learned member of the G. L. S. once challenged the correctness of *gelé-peske* in my Romani introduction to Bulg. Gypsy Songs (Jan. 1910). Will he now believe my teacher Paši Suljof?

§ 14. *Verovínes-li* . . . *verovínav* is, in pure Romani, *pakjáv*, Borrow's word *pazorrhús*.

§ 15. *pregínes*, etc. . . . Bulg., Russ., etc., root *vprjag*, *vprjog*.

§ 16. *χŕkínen* . . . Bulg. *χŕkam*.

§ 17. *čudisájli* . . . in the usual way from *čudínav man*, from Bulg. *čúdja-se*, 'to be astonished.'

§ 17. *káte te del* . . . pure Romani idiom. See Paspáti on the verb *dáva*.

§ 19. *Aškosín* . . . Turkish *ašk olsun*, or *ašk ola* (see translation).

§ 20. *katrandžíska šexjá*. . . . It may be a shortening of *katrandžíkere*, brought about owing to the similarity to the Bulgarian ending.

§ 20. *katrandžíu* . . . Bulg. Vocative.

§ 20. *ladaghjás* . . . pure Romani (cf. Paspáti *ladaváva*); just before, *tovarínav*, from the Bulg. *továrja*, is used in the same sense.

§ 22. *Muštnel*, *χevljarel* . . . Bulg. *mušja*.

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## II.—A RECENT SETTLEMENT IN BERLIN

By JOHAN MISKOW

**R**OPED in! Tethered to one spot! In vain, if occasionally, an individual prisoner breaks his shackles to enjoy a short spell of freedom! Civilisation demanded that these brown folk should be tamed, and wove its net round them in spite of their efforts to evade it by flight—for they were banished from England, Denmark, and France. At the beginning children were taken from their parents and sent to school to be transformed into



useful citizens. But this ancient remedy led to escapes and punishments so numerous that it was soon evident that the only course was to cancel the pedlar's licences of the Gypsies, and compel them to become sedentary. The necessary law was passed in 1907, and most of the nomads have now settled in large towns such as Berlin, Frankfurt, and Hamburg.

Of the twelve or fourteen families I learned to know during a month's stay in Berlin (December 1910), all the men were horse-dealers, while the women visited the restaurants to tell fortunes. The younger members stayed at home taking care of the house, drinking coffee and wine, and ever changing from friends to foes. Most of them lived miserably in cellars and slum-dwellings; they seldom possessed furniture, and were generally to be found sitting cross-legged on the floor. An exception was a little colony of three families, who lived more comfortably in a house connected with a timber-yard. The head of one of these was comparatively wealthy, for he possessed a stable with six or eight horses; but all the rest were poor. The children went to school, and, in addition, the Settlement Mission has engaged a lady to visit them and hired a hall for use as a kindergarten.

Transformed thus into city-dwellers, my friends live and dress for the most part much like townspeople. It would be easy to pass the men in the street without remarking anything unusual, especially as the citizens of Berlin are themselves rather dark. They cut their hair short, shave their beards, and, as regards clothes, have discarded the usual soft hat, top-boots, and silver buttons. Their ugly mouths and large hooked noses make them resemble Jews.

The women, however, have kept to a greater extent their individualities of dress and appearance. They neither 'do up' their hair nor wear hats, simply tying coloured silk kerchiefs round their heads, and their dresses are brightly coloured.

The type seems a little mixed, for it is unusual to find members of this tribe whose hair is really jet-black; in the case of a few of the children it was even fair. The complexion is also, as a rule, rather light.

All these Gypsies lived in the northern part of Berlin. In the southern part there was another tribe called *Rum Ungari*, who were musicians and spoke a Hungarian dialect. I saw them only once—small people, not handsome, and dressed like citizens. The two tribes were not on good terms with one another.



## I.—MALES

	Age	Height cm.	HEAD.			FACE.		FOOT. Length mm.	REMARKS.
			Length mm.	Width mm.	Index.	Length mm.	Width mm.		
Johan Strauss,	62	164	180	147	81.7	114	141	242	A true Gypsy; upright carriage. Handsome and friendly; nose large and hooked. Hair dark brown. Well built; large mouth; strong teeth. Eyes light brown; hair dark brown; skin copper brown. Handsome; eyes large and bright; hair dark brown. Typical; very fine and impudent.
Laitši Vairox,	38	166	190	150	79.0	127	143	246	
Joška Strauss,	19	167	186	149	80.1	127	134	...	
Buršjuk Franz,	19	160	175	148	84.6	112	135	236	
Tjondo Vairox,	18	163	188	153	81.4	113	143	254	
Šidan Freiwald, <sup>1</sup>	17	161	181	148	81.8	104	127	254	
Hallo Rose,	14	156	174	147	84.5	104	143	220	

<sup>1</sup> Belonged to a different tribe.

## II.—FEMALES



Most of the Gypsies in the northern settlement speak a little English, having been in England a few years ago<sup>1</sup>—one of the Vairox children died there. They have all two names; one for use among themselves, and the other for *gadše*. The most genuinely Gypsy family is called Strauss. The following are lists of some of the families; the males are marked *m.*, and the German surname is given in brackets.<sup>2</sup>

## (STRAUSS)

Murša (*m.*) and Tutorana  
 Joška (*m.*)  
 Linna  
 Hulda  
 Mara  
 Seske (*m.*)  
 Malika  
 Rupa  
 Janoš (*m.*)  
 Bilitsa (*m.*)

## (FRANZ)

Jani (Hugo) (*m.*) and Tšaia  
 Buršjuk (*m.*)  
 Bubella  
 Bopo (*m.*)  
 Linna  
 Kurli (*m.*)  
 Janno (*m.*)  
 Buddi (*m.*)  
 Šandor  
 Vadana

## (ROSE)

Tšurka (*m.*) and Zinna  
 Laitši (*m.*)  
 Gallo  
 Saga  
 Bossa  
 Hallo (*m.*)  
 Paprika

## (VEISSEBOCK)

Janoš (*m.*) and Mimmi  
 Bezzi (*m.*)  
 Haija  
 Hulda  
 Huba  
 Malla  
 Manni (*m.*)

## (HOLZMANN)

Kennik (*m.*) and Anika  
 Pieziph  
 Goka (*m.*)  
 Khindo (*m.*)  
 Laitši (*m.*)  
 Malla

## (?)

Goka (*m.*) and Saga  
 Jeva  
 Barra  
 Mimmi  
 Paprika  
 Janoš (*m.*)

## (ZAKTLAR)

Jatši (*m.*) and Vorsa

## (ZAKTLAR)

Mušjurka (*m.*) and Berbek

<sup>1</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 111-121, 373-384, and ii. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> In these proper names it is probable that *s* represents *z*, and that *z* stands for *ts*.—ED.



Muto ( <i>m.</i> )	Kunni ( <i>m.</i> )
Vadoma	Henno
Banjia	Piepa
Fetška	Jaja ( <i>m.</i> )
Ferenna	Peda ( <i>m.</i> )
Batšuri ( <i>m.</i> )	Zukro ( <i>m.</i> )
Pavor	Ilka
Bipa	
Goka ( <i>m.</i> )	
Drilla	
Florka	
(KANZLER)	(VAIROX)
Verro ( <i>m.</i> ) and Mantša	Laitši ( <i>m.</i> ) and Galuša
Gatti	Tšondo ( <i>m.</i> )
Jarni ( <i>m.</i> )	Luludša
Malika	Šajo ( <i>m.</i> )
	Ferzi ( <i>m.</i> )
	Zinna

## SPECIMENS OF DIALECT

The spelling is as in German, but the following letters have approximately the special meanings indicated:—

GYPSY		GERMAN		ENGLISH
<i>s</i>	=	<i>ss</i>	=	<i>ss</i> (mass)
<i>š</i>	=	<i>sch</i>	=	<i>sh</i> (share)
<i>tš</i>	=	<i>tsch</i>	=	<i>tch</i> (match)
<i>z</i>	=	<i>s</i>	=	<i>z</i> (zeal)
<i>dš</i>	=	<i>dsch</i>	=	<i>j</i> (John)
<i>j</i>	=	<i>j</i>	=	<i>y</i> (yellow)
<i>v</i>	=	<i>w</i>	=	<i>v</i> (vote)
<i>ts</i>	=	<i>z</i>	=	<i>ts</i> (ants)
<i>χ</i>	=	<i>ch</i>	=	<i>ch</i> (loch)

In this dialect there is some confusion of unaspirated Tenues with Mediae. The difference between the German Gypsy *p*, *t*, *k*, and *q*, *d*, *g*, being merely a matter of breath-pressure, is much less conspicuous than the difference between the unvoiced and voiced sounds which these letters generally represent. The six German Gypsy sounds are all voiceless, and are thus easily confounded



both by hearer and speaker. See Finck, *Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, p. xi.

1. *gurko*—Sunday. Mod. Grk. Κυριακή: Lálere Sinte, *Kurko*.
2. *luja*—Monday. Rum. *Lunĭ*: Lálere Sinte, *Luža*.
3. *mardsi*—Tuesday. Rum. *Martŭ*: Lálere Sinte, *Marts*.
4. *tetraši*—Wednesday. Mod. Grk. Τετάρτη: Lálere Sinte, *Tetradj*.
5. *šoiĵa*—Thursday. Rum. *Joř* (= *žoj*); Lálere Sinte, *Žoya*.
6. *barostoji*—Friday. Mod. Grk. Παρασκευή: Lálere Sinte, *Paraštúj*.
7. *savato*—Saturday. Mod. Grk. Σάββατον: Rum. *Sămbătă*: Lálere Sinte, *Sábato*.
8. *droböj to*—good morning.
9. *najis*—thanks.
10. *me sim nasválo*—I am ill.
11. *šoro sim*—I am poor.
12. *me sim tikno (-i)*—I am little.
13. *me trušálo sim*—I am thirsty.
14. *tu sal baro*—thou art great.
15. *boxalo tu sal*—art thou hungry?
16. *kino tu sal*—art thou tired?
17. *vo i nasul*—he is naughty.
18. *vov ladšo e*—he is good.
19. *o drom longo i*—the road is long.
20. *o gadšo i tulo*—the man is fat.
21. *e Romni tišli*—the Gypsy woman is thin.
22. *mur kēr tikno*—my house is little.
23. *o tšeri seleno*—the sky is blue.
24. *patšilo o vurdōn*—the waggon is broken.
25. *xadé tatšimo i*—here it is warm.
26. *guko maj ladšo e sar me*—he is better than I.
27. *guko i muro maj puro pral*—he is my oldest brother.
28. *amé sam pral daj pen*—we are brother and sister.
29. *tumé san baχtale*—you are happy.
30. *but manuš si brigišime*—many men are unhappy.
31. *and' o tšeri si but tšeheja*—in the sky are many stars.
32. *man si but grast*—I have many horses.
33. *man naj love*—I have no money.



34. *getši šave si duke*—how many children hast thou ?  
 35. *man si deš-u-jek šave*—I have eleven children.  
 36. *si tu panš šave*—thou hast five children.  
 37. *baha i ma*—I am frozen.  
 38. *tuke šil*—thou art cold.  
 39. *leske šil*—he is cold.  
 40. *o berš si les deš-u-duj šon*—the year has twelve months.  
 41. *ek šon si les drando dšes*—a month has thirty days.  
 42. *ek gurko si les epta dšes*—a week has seven days.
43. *me penav*—I say.  
 44. *tu penes*—thou sayest.  
 45. *vov penel*—he says.  
 46. *amé penas*—we say.  
 47. *tumé penen*—you say.  
 48. *(von) penen*—they say.  
 49. *me piav tut*—I drink milk.  
 50. *tu piesa*—thou drinkest.  
 51. *vov piela*—he drinks.  
 52. *amé piaso [? -a] mōl*—we drink wine.  
 53. *tumé pien radšéja*—you drink spirits.  
 54. *(von pien*—they drink).
55. *me lav miro golopo*—I take my hat.  
 56. *o gošari anav*—I will bring the basket.  
 57. *murdaref o lambáše*—I put out the lamp.  
 58. *naj penav*—I do not say so.  
 59. *me ši hadšardaf*—I do not understand.  
 60. *so de penav*—what shall I say.  
 61. *me bešav gatga*—I live here.  
 62. *me badšav le devleske*—I believe in God.  
 63. *me gindisajvav and' i mure amali*—I think of my friends.  
 64. *me šav agani dele, daj but i tšasura*—I am going down (to bed) now, for it is late (much o'clock).  
 65. *me dšav agani and' o veš*—I am going now into the forest.  
 66. *me šunav o balval purdel*—I hear the wind blow.  
 67. *me dšav e šavorentsa dordšodalinav*—I go to walk with the children.
68. *sovas tu*—sleepest thou ?  
 69. *hadšares tu*—dost thou understand ?





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100. *amé dšas*—we go.
101. *gaj dšas amé*—where are we going?
102. *amé darnas le grasten šov de das de tuloven*—we will give the horses oats that they may become fat. [*Darnas* may be *de anas*, 'let us bring,' or *dša(s) anas*, 'we will go and bring the horses, that we may give oats, that they may become fat.']
103. *amé kamas igen de dšilabas*—we want much to sing.
104. *le grast gamén de naršin*—the horses wish to run.
105. *le matšé gamén de najon and' o paje*—the fishes like to swim in the water.
106. *le šavore mangel*—the children beg.
107. *o paja maren ma*—I sweat (the waters are killing me).
108. *but manuš tši dšanán so de geren*—many men know not what to do.
109. *le batšar dortšon and' o veš*—the trees stand in the forest.
110. *e šov barol b' i puv*—oats grow in the field.
111. *sar bušos*—what is thy name? (How art thou named?)
112. *sar bušol*—what is his name?
113. *sar bušjon tše pena*—what are your sisters called?
114. *(me) tovav ma*—I wash myself.
115. *tu tovaš tu*—thou washest thyself.
116. *vov tovel be*—he washes himself. }
117. *voj tovel be*—she washes herself. }
118. *amé tovaš amé*—we wash ourselves.
119. *tumé toven tumé*—you wash yourselves.
120. *(von) toven (ben)*—they wash themselves.
121. *me tova ma sako de-tehare-früh*—I wash myself every morning.
122. *vov sas and' o panglimo*—he was in prison.
123. *vov sas beske niboske latšo*—he was good to his parents.
124. *vov asálas*—he laughed.
125. *o širikli urálas*—the bird was flying.
126. *o kam begélas*—the sun was shining.
127. *o kam begélas aradži, daj adšes brišindeskri dšes sas*—the sun shone yesterday, and to-day was a rainy day.



128. *o šavore rovelas gar nasul sas*—the child cried because she was naughty [? fem. or collective pl. with singular verb].

129. *o kam dšelas tele panšengo*—the sun set at five o'clock.

130. *e kajna arne dojinās*—the hens were laying eggs.

131. *e dširigle dšilabénas*—the birds were singing.

132. *daj tšeheja pabunas and' i rat*—and the stars were burning in the night.

133. *le šavora avenas našimasa*—the children came running.

134. *le šavora kelenas be daj sas vójagke*—the children were playing and were merry.

135. *me pendem*—I said.

136. *tu pendal*—thou saidst.

137. *vov pendas*—he said.

138. *amé pendam*—we said.

139. *tumé pندان*—you said.

140. *(von) pندان*—they said.

141. *aba χralem*—I have already eaten.

142. *me paglem muro burno*—I have hurt my foot.

143. *me tsigadem lesgi le grasten*—I showed him the horses.

144. *me puštem lestar hod barvalo sas*—I asked him whether he was rich.

145. *me sudem godi rat mišto*—I slept well to-night.

146. *me avilem be ratša kere*—I came home late last night.

147. *dajša opré ustilem de-tehare*—and rose again early in the morning.

148. *me opré ustilem sar le gadšen avenas andé*—I rose up when the strangers came in.

149. *me χalem b' o mismeri sumé, daj mas, grumplensa daj šaxrentsa*—at midday I ate soup and meat, with potatoes and cabbages.

150. *rodal tu le šavoren*—hast thou sought the children?

151. *diklan tu ek sapes*—hast thou seen a snake?

152. *bokurisajlan tu ara dšes*—didst thou enjoy thyself yesterday?

153. *nerindas*—thou hast won [? he has won].

154. *vov gajgátijas*—he cried out.



155. *vov opré uštilas*—he rose up.
156. *vov bešlas p' i puv tele*—he sat down on the ground.
157. *gukō maladas ma*—he hit me.
158. *o šavoro belas dele ba i mesáli*—the boy fell down from (? on) the table.
159. *bigindas tiro dad le grasten*—has thy father sold the horses?
160. *vov barilas daj gerdjelas de drabārel*—he grew up and became a prophet.
161. *but berš draijindas vovi*—he has lived many years.
162. *vo djas besko julo*—she gave her heart.
163. *voj besko golopo getsi opri b' o garfin*—she hung her hat up on the nail.
164. *amé mardam les mišto*—we beat him well.
165. *amé diklan o ker gaj o baro rai bešel*—we have seen the house where the king lives.
166. *me hardšademas*—I had understood.
167. *av mande*—come to me.
168. *dša leste*—go to him.
169. *dša ladé*—go to her.
170. *l'opré*—take up.
171. *ger ande o vuder*—shut the door.
172. *ger avrí o vuder*—open the door.
173. *pabar o lambáše*—light the lamp.
174. *de ma jak*—give me a light (fire).
175. *tsiga mange le grasten*—show me the horses.
176. *an mange i genevar*—bring me the book.
177. *de les ek tšesa kafeja*—give him a cup of coffee.
178. *dša and' i bolta daj gin tuke χabe de χas*—go to the merchant [?shop] and buy thyself food to eat.
179. *bišaven mange o paketo*—send me the packet.
180. *o nasul šavoro lašajlo be*—the naughty boy is ashamed of himself.
181. *vov mindig delimo gerelas*—he was always doing stupid things.
182. *suralas dšilaben*—he sang loudly [they sing strongly].
183. *le šavore χanaše*—the children quarrelled. [?χana še, eat nothing; or *ka našen*, who are running].
184. *si dan le grasten paji*—did you not give water to the horses?



185. *kana bale o grajstengro foro*—when is there the horse-fair again?
186. *kana aves tu bale*—when wilt thou come again?
187. *dši dšanaf*—I do not know.
188. *padšap dahare vej aver-dahare*—I believe to-morrow or the day after to-morrow.
189. *amé getšimas amare gada opré de šutzon*—we hang our shirts up to dry.
190. *sa le manuš baktale avena, de baršana (? badšana) le devleske vōrba*—all men will be happy if they believe the words of God.
191. *voj ek gošari sas be lengo vast, mas te ginen*—she had a basket in their (read 'her') hand, that they (read 'she') may buy meat. [Apparently a confusion due to German *sie*.]
192. *o kretjuno maj but*—Christmas is near.
193. *o Jesus gerdjilas kretjune*—Jesus was born at Christmas.
194. *le andšjela dšilaben e bakrenge*—the angels sing to the shepherds.
195. *sas ek vojar and' o tšeri*—there was a joy in heaven.
196. *vov bešlas and' o veš p' o galo graj*—he sat in the forest on the black horse.
197. *o grast belas dele, daj n'ašte ustelas apré*—the horse fell down, and could not rise up.
198. *sa asandé gaj and' i soba gelas, daj vov motolas so gerdas*—all laughed when he went into the room, and he related what he did.
199. *me símas adšes gaj i puri Zinna*—I was with the old Zinna to-day.
200. *voj kere sas, voj gamelas de šjal dor*—she was at home, but wished to go out.
201. *voj hadšardas hod naj sasdevesti*—she felt unwell.
202. *logi golin naj suralo*—her chest is not strong.
203. *voj gamelas de le de delebe (dele de dela be), me badšav*—she should give herself more rest (lay herself down), I believe.
204. *voj* (read *von*: confusion with German *sie*) *gerden bengi tserha opré daj muklen e kašt de pabun*—they put up their tent and let the sticks burn.



205. *le šavore ande paji daj lenge daj gerendas (? geradas) sumé—*  
the children brought water and their mother made soup.
206. *i rat ratjol—*the night comes (becomes night).
207. *sa sal loges sas—*all was so quiet.
208. *o šon daj o šeheja beginas—*the moon and the stars were shining.
209. *igen datšimo sas daj o šeri sas perdo felovora—*it was very hot  
and the sky was full of clouds.
210. *sa kalo sas sar angar—*all was black like coal.
211. *amé darajlémas daj gamenas (?) de-tehare d' avel—*we were  
afraid and (? they) wished that morning would come.
212. 'χana i bale de-tehare,' *badšav—*'when will it be morning  
again,' I think.
213. *ek tigni dširigli urálas—*a little bird was flying.
214. *daj bešlas b' eg tigni granga—*and sat on a little pine tree.
215. *voj doridšolas maškaral and' o veš—*it (fem.) stood in the  
middle of the forest.
216. *but seleni batra sas-la—*it had many green leaves.
217. *e batra tšuba gašuné sas—*the leaves were quite stiff.
218. *e granga gamelas maj bari d' avel—*the pine tree wished to  
grow bigger.
219. *e tsigni granga sas and' i sope daj nitši and' i šogár veš—*  
the little pine tree was in the room and not in the beautiful  
forest.
220. *voj n'ašté dikenas le šošojen—*it (she) could not see the hares.  
(The verb is 3rd pers. pl. A confusion of German *sie*.)
221. *šugár e tsigni granga momelantsa papalas daj ande maklé*  
*papirošose sas bela—*the little pine tree was prettily lighted  
with candles and coloured paper.
222. *daj le šavore dšelabenas daj kelenas basa la—*and the children  
were singing and dancing near it.
223. *voj bisderdas godi rat o veš—*and this night it (she) forgot  
the forest.
224. *trin Rom san (?) and' o drom and' o baro foro—*three Gypsies  
are in the road in the great town.
225. *ek Rom sas, daj Romni, daj šavo—*a Gypsy man, and woman,  
and boy.
226. *o drom lungo sas, daj o dšes sas nasul—*the way was long  
and the day was bad.



227. *o balval sas šudri sar jigo, daj o brišin delas*—the wind was cold like ice, and it was raining.
228. *von kedané zirdenas ben, lengo gada sas šingerdé*—they shivered, their shirts were torn.
229. ‘*ši san (? sam) amé inge χadé,*’ *pendel (? penel, says) o tsigno šavo.* ‘*Me sim boχalo daj trusálo, daj baho i ma*’—‘are we not yet there,’ said the little boy. ‘I am hungry and thirsty, and I’m frozen.’
230. *loges, šavo! Agnig mindjo dap du de χas*—quietly, boy! Now soon I will give you (something) to eat.
231. *daj von šjan inge dare*—and they went yet farther.
232. *daj jokal dšelen and’ i girtšima*—and at last they came to the inn.
233. *gatga dšen andi*—here they go in.
234. *daj o Rom andas beski mušika avri, daj dšolabelas*—and the Gypsy took out his fiddle, and played.
235. *i Romni kelelas: kini sas, daj voj loges nitš šalas beske bunentsa*—the woman was dancing; she was tired, and could scarcely move with her feet.
236. *ek súma lov dine-le, da χalé daj šalilé*—they (the spectators) gave a sum of money, and they (the Gypsies) ate and were full.
237. *o tsigno šavo tele delas be be lesgo šang be beske dadeske*—the little boy laid himself down on his father’s knees.
238. ‘*sosda najn but gadše barvale,*’ *rovelas e Romni*—‘why are not many men rich,’ cried the wife.
239. ‘*ga naj sar ladše,*’ *pendas o dad*—‘because they are not all good,’ said the father.
240. ‘*naj bregagki, muri širikli, amé ši bokajlana inge*’—‘be not sad, my bird, we have not yet been hungry.’
241. ‘*amar dad and’ o tšeri del amé so de mangas*’—‘our father in heaven will give us what we ask.’

ALPHABETICAL INDEX <sup>1</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>aba</i> , already : 141. Rum. <i>abia</i> , just now. Cf. Pott, i. 317, no. 17.             | <i>agani</i> , now : 64, 65. Mik., vii. 5, <i>akana</i> .                   |
| <i>adar</i> , parents : 85. ? <i>besk adar</i> = <i>beske dada</i> . See also <i>niboske</i> . | <i>agnig mindjo</i> , now soon : 230. Mik., vii. 5. (Hung.) <i>akanik</i> . |
| <i>adšes</i> , to-day : 89, 127, 199. See <i>dšes</i> .  | <i>amali</i> , friends : 63. Mik., vii. 6, <i>amal</i> .                    |
|  | <i>amar</i> (sing. masc.), our : 241.                                       |

<sup>1</sup> Words without reference numbers, but marked MS., though not in the preceding specimens, were obtained from the same Gypsies. In attempting to solve the many difficult problems with which this vocabulary abounds, the ready help of Mr. Sidney W. Perkins and Mr. E. O. Winstedt has been invaluable.



- amare* (pl.), our : 189.
- amé*, we (nom.) : 28, 46, 52, 100, 101, 102, 103, 118, 138, 164, 165, 189, 211, 229, 240.
- amé*, us (ourselves, acc.) : 118.
- amé*, to us : 241.
- See also *amar*.
- [*an-*, to bring]. Mik., vii. 7, *an*.
- anav*, I will bring : 56.
- andas*, he took : 234.
- ande*, they brought : 205.
- an*, bring (imper.) : 176.
- ? in *darnas* : 102.
- andé*, in : 148.
- ande*, in : 221.
- and'*, in : 31, 105, 109, 122, 132, 195, 196, 215, 219, 224, 241.
- andi*, in : 233.
- and'*, into : 65, 198.
- and'*, to : 178, 232.
- and'*, (think) of : 63.
- ger ande*, shut : 171.
- andšjela*, angels : 194. Hung. *angyal*.
- angar*, coal : 210.
- ara dšes*, yesterday : 152. Possibly a form of *aver*, but not given by Mik., vii. 68, s.v. *javer*. Cf. *aradši*, yesterday : 127. *Ara dšes* looks like a confusion of *aradši* with *adšes*, or may be a mistake for *ada dšes*.
- See also *dšes*.
- arne*, eggs : 130. Mik., viii. 93, s.v. *vando*.
- [*as-*, to laugh]. Mik., vii. 10, *as*.
- asálas*, he was laughing : 124.
- asandé*, they laughed : 198.
- ašte*. See *n'ašte*.
- [*av-*, to come]. Mik., vii. 12, *av*.
- aves*, wilt thou come : 186.
- avela*, it is becoming : 96, 97, 98, 99.
- avel*, he will come : 89.
- avel*, it would come : 211.
- avel*, it would become : 218.
- avena*, they will be : 190.
- avenas*, they came : 133, 148.
- avilem*, I came : 146.
- av*, come (imper.) : 167.
- aver-dahare*, the day after to-morrow : 188. See *ara* and *tehare*.
- avri*, out : 234.
- ger avri*, open : 172.
- digtjol avri*, looks (German, *sieht aus*) : 86, 87.
- [*badš-*]. See [*padš-*].
- baho*, ice. Mik., viii. 29, s.v. *pagosar*. In *baho i ma* (ice is to me), I am frozen : 229.
- baha i ma*, I am frozen : 37.
- See also *jigo*.
- baχtale* (pl.), happy : 29.
- baktale* (pl.), happy : 190.
- bakrenge*, to shepherds : 194. Abbreviated from *bakrengrengre*.
- bale*, again : 185, 186, 212.
- balval*, wind : 66, 91, 227.
- bapo*, grandfather : MS. Mik., viii. 32, *papus*.
- baro* (sing. masc.), great : 14, 165, 224.
- bari* (fem.), big : 218.
- [*barjov-*, to grow big]. Mik., vii. 17, *barjov*, s.v. *baro*.
- barol*, it grows : 110.
- barilas*, he grew up : 160.
- barostoji*, Friday : 6. Mik., viii. 32, *paraskevi*.
- barvalo* (sing. masc.), rich : 144.
- barvale* (pl.), rich : 238.
- basa*, near : 222. Mik., viii. 34, *pašo*.
- batra*, leaves : 216, 217. Mik., viii. 35, *patr*.
- batšar*, trees : 109. ? Rum. *băț*, stick, or Hung. *bodza*, Servian *baza*, elder-tree.
- be*, on : 237. Contraction of *opre*, Mik., viii. 26.
- be*, in : 191.
- be*, at : 89, 146.
- b'*, on : 163, 196.
- b'*, in : 110.
- b'*, at : 149.
- b'eg* (*be ek*), on a : 214.
- ba*, from : 158.
- p'*, on : 156, 196.
- be* (reflex. pron.), himself : 116, 180, 237. Mik., viii. 49, *po*.
- be*, herself : 117, 203.
- beske* (sing. masc. obl.), his : 237.
- beske* (pl. obl.), his : 123.
- beski* (sing. fem. obl.), his : 234.
- besko* (sing. masc. obl.), her : 162, 163.
- beske* (pl. obl.), her : 235.
- besk'* (pl. obl.), its : 85.
- ben*, themselves : 120, 228.
- be*, themselves : 134.
- bengi* (sing. fem. obl.), their : 204.
- [*beg-*, to shine]. *Pek*, roast, Mik., viii. 36, used metaphorically, as in Sztojka's dictionary : *sutni* [to shine] *pekel*, and in Sofia Romani.





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- But more probably *dela be*, lays herself.
- delimo*, foolish things : 181. Cf. *panglimo*, and *datšimo*. Mik., vii. 44. (Rum.) *dilimos*, s.v. *dinilo*.
- deš*, ten. In—  
*deš-u-jek*, eleven : 35.  
*deš-u-duj*, twelve : 40.  
*star-var-deš*, forty : MS.  
*okto-var-deš-daj-banš*, eighty-five : MS.
- de-tehare*. See *tehare*.
- devel*, God. As—  
*devleske* (dat. after *badš*), in God : 62.  
*devleske* (pl. obl.) : God's, 190.
- [*dik-*, to see]. Mik., vii. 43, *dikh*.  
*dikenas*, they saw : 220.  
*diklan* (? *diklam*), we saw : 165.  
*diklan*, hast thou seen : 151.  
*digtjol avri* (passive), he or she looks : 86, 87.
- [*dindar-*, to bite]. No such form in Mik., vii. 41, s.v. *dand*.  
*dindarel*, it bites : 82.
- doj*, there : 88.  
[*doj-*, to lay]. Hung. *tojni*.  
*dojinas*, they were laying (eggs) : 130.
- dor*, out : 200. See also *dare*.  
[*dordšodalin-*, to walk]. Perhaps *dor* + Hung. *sétálni*, to walk  
*dordšodalinav*, I walk : 67.
- [*dordšon-*, to stand]. Rum. Romani *tord'ov-*, stand ; passive of *ter*, hold : Mik., viii. 79. The *n* of the stem is perhaps a misreading of *v*.  
*dordšonav*, I stand upright : MS.  
*dortšon*, they stand : 109.  
*doridšolas*, it stood : 215.
- [*drabar-*, to read]. Mik., vii. 45, *drabar*.  
*drabares*, thou tellest fortunes : 77.  
*drabārel*, he prophesies : 160.
- [*draijin-*, to live]. Rum. *trăi*, to live.  
*draijindas*, he has lived : 161.
- drando*, thirty : 41.
- droboj to*, good-morning : 8. ? Bulgarian *dobro utro*.
- drom*, road : 19, 224, 226.  
[*dša-*, to go]. Mik., vii. 48, *dža*.  
*dšav*, I go : 65, 67.  
*šav*, I am going : 64.  
*dšavav*, I am going : 80.  
*dšes*, goest thou : 73.  
*dšal*, it goes : 90.  
*šjal*, she goes : 88, 200.
- dšas*, we go : 100, 101. ? Also in *darnas* : 102.
- dšen*, they go : 233.
- šalas*, she was moving : 235.
- gelas*, he went : 198.  
*dšelas tele*, it set : 129.  
*šjan*, they went : 231.  
*dšelen* (? *dšelan*), they came : 232.  
*dša* (imper.), go : 168, 169, 178.  
[*dšan-*, I know]. Mik., vii. 49, *džan*.  
*dšanaf*, I know ; 187.  
*dšanes*, knowest thou ? 77.  
*dšananan* (for *dšanenen*), they know : 108.
- dše*, girl : MS. Cf. *šē*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 118, fn. 6 ; and Mik., vii. 30, *šej* (Buk.), s.v. *čavo*.
- dšes*, day : 99, 127, 226. Mik., vii. 44, (Rum. and Hung.) *d'es*, s.v. *dives*.  
*dšes*, days : 41, 42.  
*adšes*, to-day : 89, 127, 199.  
*ara dšes*, yesterday : 152.  
[*dšilab-*, to sing]. Mik., vii. 56, (Hung.) *džilabau*, s.v. *gili*.  
*dšilabas*, we sing : 103.  
*dšilaben*, they sing : 182, 194.  
*dšilabénas*, they were singing : 131.  
*dšelabenas*, they were singing : 222.  
*dšolabelas*, he played : 234.
- dširigli*. See *širikli*.
- duj*, two. In—  
*deš-u-duj*, twelve : 40.
- [*duk-*, to hurt]. Mik., vii. 47, *dukh*.  
*dukal*, it hurts : 95.
- dutoné*, it thunders : 94. ? Rum. *dudui*, to boom ; Hung. *dördülni*, to make a thundering noise ; or Servian *tutnjiti*.
- e* (art.). See *o*.
- efta*, seven : 42.
- ek*, one, or indef. art. : 41, 42, 151, 177, 191, 195, 213, 225, 236.  
*eg*, indef. art. : 214.  
*deš-u-jek*, eleven : 35.
- felovora*, clouds : 209. Hung. *felhö*. Cf. Pott, ii. 392 ; and Mik., ii. 44 (no. 442), *felhóva*, *felhóve*, Wolke.
- foro*, town : 224.  
*foro*, market ; 185.
- früh* (German), early : 121.
- gada*, shirts : 189, 228.
- gaf*, village : MS.
- gadšo*, man : 20.  
*gadše*, men : 238.  
*gadšen* (acc. for nom.), men : 148.



- gaj*, where : 72, 80, 101, 165. Mik., vii. 69, s.v. *ka*.  
*gaj*, when : 198.  
*gaj*, with : 199.  
*gajgátijas*, he cried out : 154. ? Rum. *gâgâi*, to cackle ; or Servian, *kakotati*, to cry out.  
*galo*. See *kalo*.  
[*gam-*]. See [*kam-*].  
*gar*, because : 128. ? Pott's *ke*, because, i. 311. Cf. Mik., v. 33, *ke*, weil ; and Paspatis, p. 74, *ka*, 'Souvent il a le sens du Fr. dès que.'  
*ga*, because : 239.  
*garfin*, nail : 163. Mik., vii. 74, s.v. *karfia*.  
*gašuné*, stiff : [? *gaštuné*, lit. wooden] : 217.  
*gatga*, here : 61, 233. See also *χadé*.  
*genav*, book : MS. Lálere Sinte, *kenjva* ; Hung. *könyv*.  
*genevar*, book : 176.  
[*ger-*, to do, make]. Mik., vii. 75, *ker*.  
*geres*, thou doest : 76.  
*geren*, they do : 108.  
*gerelas*, he was doing : 181.  
*gerdas*, he did : 198.  
*gerendas* (? *gerdas*), she made : 205.  
*gerden* (? *gerdan*), they made : 204.  
*ger ande* (imper.), shut : 171.  
*ger avrí* (imper.), open : 172.  
*gerdjilas* (passive pret. sing. 3rd pers.), he was born : 193.  
*gerdjelas* (passive pret. sing. 3rd pers.), he became : 160.  
*getše*, how many : 74, 75, 76. Mik., vii. 77, *keti*.  
*getši*, how many : 34.  
*getšengo* (dat.), at what time : 73.  
[*getšim-*, to hang.] Rum. *acăța* ; Hung. *akasztani*, to hang (act.).  
*getšimas*, we hang : 189.  
*getsi*, she hung : 163.  
[*gin-*, to buy]. Mik., vii. 83, *kin*.  
*ginen*, they buy : 191.  
*gin* (imper.), buy : 178.  
[*gindisajv-*, to think]. Rum. *gândi*, to think ; Hung. *gondolni*.  
*gindisajvav*, I think : 63.  
*girtšima*, inn : 232. Mik., vii. 89, *kžrčma*.  
*godi*, this (fem.) : 145, 223. Mik., vii. 85, *kodo*.  
*golin*, chest (thorax) : 202. Mik., vii. 85, *kolin*.  
*golopo*, hat : 55, 163. Lálere Sinte, *kólopo* ; Mik., ii. 64, no. 79, *kolopo*. Hung. *kalap*.  
*gošari*, basket : 56, 191. Rum. *coș* ; Servian, *koš* ; Slov. *kôš* ; Hung. *kosár*.  
*graj*, horse : 196.  
See also *grast*.  
*granga*, pine tree : 214, 218, 219, 221. ? Rum. *crâng*, grove, or *creangă*, branch ; Servian, *krango*.  
*grast*, horse : 197.  
*grast*, horses : 32, 104.  
*grasten* (acc. pl.), horses : 102, 143, 159, 175.  
*grasten*, to horses : 184.  
*grajstengro*, of horses : 185.  
See also *graj*.  
*grumplensa* (instr.), with potatoes : 149, Hung. *krumpli*.  
*guko*, he (this one) : 26, 27, 157. Mik., vii. 88, *kuko*.  
*gurko*, Sunday : 1.  
*gurko*, week : 42.  
[*hadšar-*, to understand]. Mik., vii. 60, (Buk.) *hačar*, *hačard'óŭ*, to feel, and (Hung.) *hačar*, to remember, s.v. *chakjar*. He gives also 'hope' and 'intendo' as other meanings.  
*hadšardaf*, I understand : 59.  
*hadšares*, dost thou understand ? : 69.  
*hadšardas*, she felt : 201.  
*hardšademas*, I had understood : 166.  
*hod*, whether : 89, 144. Cf. *χοή*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 115, fn. 9. ? Magyar, *hogyha*, if.  
*hod* : 201.  
[*hodin-*, to rest]. Rum. *hodini*.  
*hodines*, thou restest : 75.  
[*χa-*, to eat]. Mik., vii. 59, *cha*.  
*χas*, thou eatest : 178, 230.  
*χanaše*, ? they eat nothing : 183.  
*χalem*, I ate : 149.  
*χralem*, I have eaten : 141.  
*χalé*, they ate, 236.  
*χra* (imper.), eat : MS.  
*χabe*, food : 178.  
*χadé*, here : 25. Mik., vii. 75, *kathé*, s.v. *katar*.  
*χadé*, there : 229.  
See also *gatga*.  
*i* (art.). See *o*.  
*igen*, very : 209. Hung. *igen*.  
*igen*, much : 103.  
*inge*, yet : 229, 231, 240. Pott, i. 317,



- no. 19, from Ital.; but probably Rum. *incă*.  
*inge dare*, yet further : 231.  
 [is, verb substantive]. Mik., vii. 66, *is*.  
*sim*, I am : 10, 11, 12, 13, 229.  
*sal*, thou art : 14, 15, 16.  
*i*, he is : 17, 20, 27. See also *naj*.  
*i*, it is : 19, 25, 37, 64, 229.  
*e*, he is : 18, 26.  
*i*, it will be : 212.  
*sam*, we are : 28.  
*san* (? *sam*), we are : 229.  
*san*, you are : 29.  
*si*, they are : 30.  
*si*, there are, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42.  
*san*, they are : 224. The form *sgn* is given by Mik., v. 26.  
*najn*, they are not : 238.  
*símas*, I was : 199.  
*sas*, he was : 122, 123, 128, 144, 225.  
*sas*, she was : 200, 235.  
*sas*, it was : 127, 207, 209, 210, 219, 221, 226, 227.  
*sas*, there was : 191, 195, 225.  
*sas-la*, it had : 216.  
*sas*, they were : 134, 217, 228.  
*jak*, light (fire) : 174. Mik., vii. 67, *jag*.  
*jek*. See *ek*.  
*jigo*, ice : 227. Mik., ii. 45 (no. 588), *jego*. Hung. *jég*. See also *baho*.  
*jiv*, snow : 93. Mik., vii. 66, s.v. *iv*.  
*jokal*, at last : 232. Possibly Servian, *jako*, now.  
*julo*, heart : 162. Mik., vii. 69, *jilo*.  
*k*. Some words usually spelt with *k* will be found under *g*.  
*kafeja*, coffee : 177. Rum. *cafea*.  
*kajna*, hens : 130. Probably Rum. *găină* in this case. But see Mik. vii. 70, s.v. *kahni*, and Ascoli, p. 54 : 'jedoch hat hier wahrscheinlich daco-roman *gëině* eingewirkt.'  
*kalo*, black : 210.  
*galo*, black, 196.  
 [*kam-*, to wish, to love, to like]. Mik., vii. 71, *kam*.  
*games*, dost thou like : 78.  
*gamel*, it likes : 82.  
*gamel*, it loves : 85.  
*kamas*, we want : 103.  
*gamén*, they wish : 104.  
*gamén*, they like : 105.  
*gamelas*, it wished : 218.  
*gamelas*, she wished : 200.  
*gamelas*, she should : 203.  
*gamenas* (?), we wished : 211.  
*kam*, sun : 126, 127, 129. Mik., vii. 77, *kham*.  
*kana*, when : 185, 186.  
*χana*, when : 212.  
*kašt*, sticks : 204.  
 See also *gašuné*.  
*kedané*, ? together : 228. Mik., viii. 80, s.v. *than*.  
 [*kel-*, to dance]. Mik., vii. 78, *khel*.  
*keles*, thou dancest : 78.  
*kelelas*, she was dancing : 235.  
*kelenas*, they were dancing : 222.  
*kelenas be*, they were playing : 134.  
*kēr*, house, 22. Mik., vii. 79, *kher*.  
*ker*, house : 165.  
*kere* (loc.), home : 146.  
*kere*, at home : 200.  
 [*ker-*]. See [*ger-*].  
*kino* (masc.), tired : 16. Mik., vii. 80, *khino*.  
*kini* (fem.), tired : 235.  
*kodar*, from there : 84. Mik., vii. 85, (Rum.) *kothár*, s.v. *kodo*.  
*kretjuno*, Christmas : 192. Rum. *Crăciun*.  
*kretjune* (loc.), at Christmas : 193.  
*la*. See *voi*.  
*-la* (enclitic), to it (her) : 216.  
 [*la-*, to take]. Mik., viii. 3, *la*.  
*lav*, I take : 55.  
*l'* (imper.), take : 170.  
*lambáše*, lamp : 57, 70, 173. Lálere Sinte, *lampásj*; Rum. *lampă*; Hung. *lámpa*. Sztojka's form is *lámpáse*.  
 [*laš-*, to shame]. Mik., viii. 4, *ladž*.  
*lašajlo be*, he is ashamed of himself : 180.  
*latšo*, good : 123.  
*ladšo*, good : 18, 26.  
*ladše* (pl.), good : 239.  
*le* (art.). See *o*.  
*-le*, they : 236.  
*len*. See *von*.  
*les*. See *vov*.  
*loges* (adv.), quietly : 230. Mik., viii. 7, *loko*.  
*loges nitš*, scarcely : 235.  
*loges*, quiet : 207.  
*longo*, long : 19. Rum. *lung*.  
*lungo*, long : 226.  
*love* (pl.), money : 33.



- lov*, money : 236.  
*luja*, Monday : 2.  
*maj*, more : 26, 27, 218. Rum. *mai*, more.  
*maj but*, near : 192.  
[*mak-*, to paint]. Mik., viii. 10, *makh. maklé*, coloured : 221.  
[*malav-*, to beat]. Mik., viii. 11, *malav. malavel*, he beats : 83.  
*maladas*, he hit : 157.  
[*mang-*, to beg]. Mik., viii. 11, *mang. mangas*, we ask : 241.  
*mangen*, they beg : 106.  
*manuš* (for pl.), men : 30, 108, 190.  
[*mar-*, to beat, kill]. Mik., viii. 13, *mar.*  
*maren*, they kill : 107.  
*mardam*, we beat (past) : 164.  
*mardsi*, Tuesday : 3.  
*mas*, meat : 149, 191.  
*maškaral* (adv.), in the middle : 215. Mik., viii. 14, s. v. *maskare*.  
*matšé*, fishes : 105.  
*me*, I : 10, 12, 13, 26, 43, 49, 55, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 114, 121, 135, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 166, 199, 203, 229.  
*ma*, me (acc.) : 95, 107, 157.  
*ma*, myself (acc.) : 114, 121.  
*ma*, to me : 37, 79, 174, 229.  
*man*, to me : 32, 33, 35, 81.  
*mange*, to me : 175, 176, 179.  
*mande*, to me : 167.  
*mānde* (? *mandar*), me (after *putš-*) : 80.  
*mandar*, me (after *dar-*) : 71.  
See also *muro*.  
*mesáli*, table : 158.  
*mindig*, always : 181. Hung. *mindig*.  
*mindjo* : *agnig mindjo*, now soon : 230. Hung. *mindjárt*. See *agnig*.  
*mismeri*, midday : 149. Mod. Grk. *μεσημέρι*. Mik., viii. 17.  
*mišto*, well : 145, 164.  
*mōl*, wine : 52.  
*momelantsa* (instr.), with candles : 221.  
[*mot-*, to say]. Mik., viii. 19, *motav. motolas*, he related : 198.  
[*muk-*, to allow, let]. Mik., viii. 19, *muk.*  
*muklen*, they let : 204.  
*muro* (masc.), my : 27, 142. Mik., viii. 17, (Rum.) *muró*, s.v. *minro*.  
*muri* (fem.), my : 240.  
*mure* (pl.), my : 63.  
*mur* (masc.), my : 22.  
*miro* (masc.), my : 55.  
[*murdar-*, to extinguish, put out]. Mik., viii. 20, s.v. *murdal*.  
*murdaref*, I put out (pres.) : 57.  
*mušika*, fiddle : 234. Rum. *musică*, music ; Hung. *muzsika*.  
*naj*, not : 33, 58, 201, 202, 239, 240. In several of these cases *naj* might be *na + i*, is. Mik., viii. 21, *na*.  
*najn*, they are not : 238.  
See also *ši*, *nitši*.  
*najis*, thanks : 9. Mik., viii. 21.  
[*najov-*, to swim]. Mik., viii. 22, *nand'ov*, pass. of *nand*, to bathe.  
*najon*, they swim : 105.  
[*naš-*, to run]. Mik., viii. 23, *naš. našel*, he runs : 84.  
*naršin*, they run : 104.  
See also 183.  
*našimasa* (inst. sing. of abstract noun), by running : 133.  
*n'ašte*, could not : 197. Mik., vii. 11, s.v. *asti*.  
*n'ašté*, could not : 220.  
*nasul*, naughty : 17, 128, 180. Mik., viii. 23, s.v. *nasvalo*.  
*nasul*, bad : 226.  
*nasvalo*, ill : 10.  
[*nerin-*, to win]. Hung. *nyerni*.  
*nerindas*, thou hast (? he has) won : 153.  
*niboske* (dat. sing.), to parents : 123. Perhaps Hung. *nep*, people ; if not Rum. *nepot*, nephew. See also *adar*.  
*nitši*, not : 219. Mik., vii. 31 (Hung.) s.v. *či* ; and viii. 24 (Rum.) s.v. *ni. nitš* ; in *loges nitš*, scarcely : 235.  
See also *naj*, *ši*. ? Rum. *nič*.  
*o* (art. masc. nom. sing.), the : 19, 20, 23, 24, 40, 56, 81, 82, 85, 125 (with fem. noun), 126, 128, 129, 158, 165, 180, 185, 192, 193, 197, 208, 209, 226, 227, 229, 234, 237, 239.  
*o* (art. obl. sing.), the : 31, 57, 65, 66, 70, 105, 109, 122, 149, 163, 165, 171, 172, 173, 179, 195, 196, 215, 223, 224, 241.  
*o* (art. nom. pl.), the : 107, 208.  
*i* (art. fem. nom. sing.), the : 206, 235.  
*i* (art. obl. sing.), the : 110, 132, 156, 158, 176, 178, 198, 199, 219 (with both fem. and masc. nouns), 232.  
*i* (art. obl. pl.), the : 63.



- e* (art. fem. nom. sing.), the : 21, 218, 219, 221, 238.
- e* (art. nom. pl.), the : 110 (?), 130, 131, 217.
- e* (art. obl. pl.), the : 67, 88, 194, 204.
- le* (art. masc. obl. sing.), the : 62.
- le* (art. nom. pl.), the : 104, 105, 106, 109, 133, 134, 148, 183, 190, 194, 205, 222.
- le* (art. obl. pl.), the : 102, 143, 150, 159, 175, 184, 190, 220. See also 203.
- la* (art. obl. sing.), the : 83.
- okto*, eight. In—  
*okto-var-deš-daj-banš*, eighty-five : MS.
- opré*, up : 147, 148, 155, 170, 189, 204.
- opri*, up : 163.
- apré*, up : 197.
- ovar*, yes : MS.
- p*. Some words usually spelt with *p* will be found under *b*.
- [*pab-*, to burn]. Mik., viii. 38, *phab*.  
*pabun*, they burn : 204.  
*papalas*, it was burning : 221.  
*pabunas*, they were burning : 132.
- [*pabar-*, to light (cause to burn)]. Mik., viii. 38, (Rum.) *phabar*, s.v. *phab*.  
*pabares*, thou lightest : 70.  
*pabar* (imper.), light : 173.
- [*padš-*, to believe]. Mik., viii. 35, *pat'*.  
*padšap*, I believe : 188.  
*badšav*, I believe : 62, 203.  
*badšav*, I think : 212.  
*baršana*, they believe : 190.
- [*pag-*, to break]. Mik., viii. 38, *phag*.  
*paglem*, I have hurt : 142.  
*patšilo*, broken : 24. Cf. Mik., viii. 38, (Hung.), *phadžel*, er bricht.
- paji*, water : 184, 205.  
*paje*, water : 105.  
*paja*, waters : 107.
- paketo*, packet : 179. Rum. *pachet* ; German *Packet*.
- panglimo*, prison : 122. Cf. *delimo* and *datšimo*. Abst. noun from *phand*, to bind, Mik., viii. 39.
- panš*, five : 36.  
*okto-var-deš-daj-banš*, eighty-five : MS.  
*panšengo*, at five o'clock : 129.
- papirošose* (? *papiroseste*, prepositional), paper : 221. Hung. *papiros*.
- patšilo*. See [*pag-*].
- pe*. See *be*.
- pen*, sister : 28.  
*pena*, sisters : 113.  
 [*pen-*, to say]. Mik., viii. 41, *phen*.  
 Present : 43-48.  
*penav*, I say : 58.  
*penav*, shall I say : 60.  
 Preterite : 135-140.  
*pendas*, he said : 239.  
*pendel* (?), he said : 229.
- [*per-*, to fill]. Mik., viii. 41, *pher*.  
*perdo*, full : 209.
- [*pi-*, to drink]. Mik., viii. 46, *pi*.  
 Present : 49-54.
- pral*, brother : 27, 28.  
 [*purd-*, to blow]. Mik., viii. 44, *phurd*.  
*purdel*, it blows : 66, 91.
- puro* (masc.), old : 27.  
*puri* (fem.), old : 199.
- [*putš-*, to ask]. Mik., viii. 43, *phuč*.  
*putšel*, he asks : 80.  
*puštem*, I asked : 144.  
*pušt* (imper.), ask : 89.
- puv*, ground : 110, 156.
- radšėja*, spirits : 53. Mik., vi. 51, *račija* ; Lálere Sinte, *rakia* ; Rum. *rachiü* ; Servian, *rakija*. Cf. Paspati's *rakúshka*, and Turk. *rāki*.
- rai* : *baro rai*, king : 165.
- rat*, night : 132, 145, 206, 223.  
*ratši*, night : 98.  
*aradši*, yesterday : 127.  
*be ratša*, at night : 89, 146.
- [*ratjov-*, to become night]. Mik., viii. 56, (Rum.) *rat'ov*, s.v. *rat*.  
*ratjol*, it becomes night : 206.
- [*rod-*, to seek]. Mik., viii. 58, *rod*.  
*rodal*, hast thou sought : 150.
- rom*, Gypsy (noun) : 225, 234.  
*rom* (for pl.), Gypsies : 224.  
*romni* (fem.), Gypsy woman : 21, 225, 235, 238.
- [*rov-*, to weep]. Mik., viii. 59, *rov*.  
*rovelas*, he was crying : 128, 238.
- sa*, all : 190, 198, 207, 210.  
*sar*, all : 239.
- sako*, every : 121.
- sal*. See *sar*.
- sapes* (acc. sing.), snake : 151.
- sar*, like : 210, 227.  
*sar*, how ? 90, 111, 112, 113.  
*sar*, than : 26.  
*sar*, when : 148.  
*sal* ; so : 207 (*l* from following word).
- sasderesti*, well : 201. Mik., viii. 71, (Bessar.) s.v. *šasto*, and 95, s.v. *vesto*.
- savato*, Saturday : 7.



- seleni* (pl.), green : 216.  
*seleno* (masc. sing.), blue : 23.  
*so*, what : 60, 108, 198, 241  
*soba*, room : 198. Hung. *szoba* ; Servian and Bulg. *soba*.  
*sope*, room : 219.  
*sosda*, why ? 238.  
[*sov-*, to sleep]. Mik., viii. 67, *sov*.  
*soves*, sleepest thou : 74.  
*sovas*, sleepest thou : 68.  
*sudem*, I slept : 145.  
*star*, four. In-  
*star-var-deš*, forty : MS.  
*súma*, sum of money : 236. Rum. *sumă* ; Hung. *somma* ; Servian, *suma* ; German, *Summe*.  
*sumé*, soup : 149, 205.  
*suralo*, strong : 202. Mik., viii. 98, (Rum.) *zuralo*, s.v. *zor*.  
*suralas* (? *surales*), loudly : 182.  
*šaxrentsa* (instr. pl.), with cabbages : 149.  
[*šalov-*, to be full]. Mik., vii. 28, s.v. *čalo*.  
*šalilé*, they were full : 236.  
*šang* (for pl.), knees : 237. Mik., vii. 28, *čang*.  
*šavo*, boy : 85, 225, 229, 230, 237. Mik., vii. 30 (Rum.) s.v. *čavo*.  
*šave*, children : 34, 35, 36.  
*šavoro* (dimin.), boy : 158, 180.  
*šavore* (? fem.), child : 128.  
*šavore* (pl. nom.), children : 106, 183, 205, 222.  
*šavora* (pl. nom.), children : 133, 134.  
*šavoren* (pl. accus.), children : 150.  
*šavorentsa* (pl. instr.), with children : 67, 88.  
*ši*, not : 59, 229, 240. Mik., vii. 31, *či*.  
*tši*, not : 108.  
*dši*, not : 187.  
*si*, not : 184.  
*še*, ? not : 183.  
See also *naj*, *nitši*.  
*šil* (noun), cold : 38, 39, 96.  
[*šinger-*, to tear]. Mik., vii. 34, (Rum.) s.v. *činger*.  
*šingerdé* (pl.), torn : 228.  
*širikli*, bird (fem.) : 125, 240.  
*dširigli*, bird : 213.  
*dširigle*, birds : 131.  
*šogár*, beautiful : 219.  
*šugár*, prettily : 221.  
*šoija*, Thursday : 5.  
*šon*, moon : 208. Mik., vii. 35, *čon*.  
*šon*, month : 41.  
*šon* (for pl.), months : 40.  
*šoro*, poor : 11. Mik., vii. 37, *čoro*.  
*šošojen* (pl. acc.), hares : 220.  
*šov*, oats : 102, 110. Mik., vii. 51, *džov*.  
Lálere Sinte, *žob*.  
*šudri* (fem.), cold (adj.), 227.  
*šugár*. See *šogár*.  
*šugel*, dog : 81, 82. Mik., vii. 51, *džukel*.  
[*šun-*, to hear]. Mik., viii. 75, *šun*.  
*šunav*, I hear : 66.  
[*šutzov-*, to be dried]. Mik., viii. 74, s.v. *šuko*.  
*šutzon*, they dry : 189.  
*t*. Some words usually spelt with *t* will be found under *d*.  
*tatšimo*. See *datšimo*.  
*te*. See *de*.  
*tehare*, to-morrow, morning. Mik., viii. 76, *tachjara*. In-  
*dahare*, to-morrow : 188.  
*de-tehare*, morning : 211, 212. *de* is a Rum. preposition.  
*de-tehare*, in the morning : 147.  
*de-tehare-frih*, in the morning : 121.  
*aver-dahare*, the day after to-morrow, 188.  
See also *dajša*.  
*tele*, down : 73, 129, 156, 237.  
*dele*, down : 64, 158, 197, 203.  
With *dša-*, as in 64 and 73, it means 'to go to bed.' See Pott, ii. 285.  
See also 92.  
*tetraši*, Wednesday : 4.  
*tikno* (masc.), little : 12, 22.  
*tikni* (fem.), little : 12.  
*tigni* (fem.), little, 213, 214.  
*tsigno* (masc.), little : 229, 237.  
Lálere Sinte, *tsikni*.  
*tsigni* (fem.), little : 219, 221.  
*tiro* (sing. masc.), thy : 159. See also *tše*.  
*tišli*, thin, 21. Mik., vii. 84, *kišlo*.  
*to* : *droboj to*, good morning : 8.  
[*tov-*, to wash]. Mik., viii. 82, *thov*.  
Present : 114-120.  
*tova*, I wash : 121.  
*trin*, three : 224.  
*trušálo*, thirsty : 13.  
*trusálo*, thirsty : 229.  
*tserha*, tent : 204. Mik., vii. 31, *čerga* ; Servian and Bulg., *čerga*.  
[*tsigav-*, to show]. Mik., viii. 64, *sikava*.  
*tsigavel*, he shows : 81.



- tsigadem*, I showed : 143.  
*tsiga* (imper.), show : 175.  
*tšasura*, hours : 64, 74, 75, 76. Rum.  
*ceas*, hour, time : e.g. (*cincǐ*) *ceasurǐ*,  
 (five) o'clock.  
*tše* (pl.), thy : 113.  
*tšeheja*, stars : 31, 132. Mik., vii. 31,  
*čerchan*.  
*tšerheja*, stars : MS.  
*šeheja*, stars : 208.  
*tšeri*, sky : 23, 31. Rum. *cer*. Mik.,  
 vii. 31, *čero*.  
*tšeri*, heaven : 195, 241.  
*šeri*, sky : 209.  
*tšesa*, cup : 177. Lálere Sinte, *šēsa*.  
 Hung. *csésze* ; Servian and Bulg.  
*čaša*.  
*tši*. See *ši*.  
*tšuba*, quite : 217. Hung. *csupa*, sheer,  
 mere, bare, nothing but.  
*tšugnasa* (instr.), with a whip : 83.  
 Mik., vii. 38, *čupni*.  
*tu* (nom), thou : 14, 15, 16, 44, 50, 68,  
 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77,  
 78, 115, 136, 150, 151, 152, 186.  
*tu*, thyself (acc.) : 115.  
*tu*, to thee : 36.  
*to* : *droboj to*, good morning, 8.  
*du*, to thee : 230.  
*tuke*, to thee : 38.  
*tuke*, for thee : 90, 178.  
*duke*, to thee, 34.  
 See also *tiro*, *tše*.  
*tumé* (nom.), ye : 29, 47, 53, 119, 139.  
*tumé*, yourselves (acc.) : 119.  
*tulo*, fat (adj.) : 20.  
 [*tulov-*, to grow fat]. Mik., viii. 83,  
 (Hung.) *thulov*, s.v. *thulo*.  
*tuloven*, they grow fat : 102.  
*tut*, milk : 49.  
*u*, and. Mik., viii. 88. In-  
*deš-u-jek*, eleven : 35.  
*deš-u-duj*, twelve : 40.  
 [*ur-*, to fly]. Mik., viii. 89, *uri*.  
*urálas*, it was flying : 125, 213.  
 [*ust-*, to rise]. Mik., viii. 90, *ušti*.  
*ustilem*, I rose : 147, 148.  
*ustelas*, it rose : 197.  
*uštilas*, he rose : 155.  
*var*, times. Mik., viii. 93. In-  
*star-var-deš*, forty : MS.  
*okto-var-des-daj-banš*, eighty - five :  
 MS.  
*vast*, hand : 79, 191.  
*vej*, or : 188. Pott, i. 317, no. 18,  
 Hung. *vagy*.  
*vesto*. See *sasdevesti*.  
*veš*, forest : 65, 109, 196, 215, 219, 223.  
*vi*, also : ? 161. See s.v. *vov*.  
*voj* (nom.), she : 87, 117, 163, 200, 201,  
 203, 204 (for *von*), 215, 220, 223,  
 235.  
*vo*, she (nom.) : 162.  
*voj*, to her : 191.  
*la* (after prep.), it (her) : 222.  
*logi* (fem.), her : 202.  
*ladé*, to her : 169.  
 See also *-la*.  
*vojar*, joy : 195. Rum. *voios*, glad.  
*vojagko* (sing. masc.), merry : 86.  
*vójagke* (pl.), merry : 134.  
*von*, they : 48, 54, 120, 140, 228, 231.  
*lengo* (sing. masc.), their : 228 (for  
*lenge*), 191 (for *lako*).  
*lenge* (sing. fem.), their : 205.  
*-le*, they : 236.  
*vōrba*, words : 190. Rum. *vorbă*.  
*vov* (nom.), he : 18, 45, 51, 79, 84, 86,  
 116, 122, 123, 124, 137, 154, 155,  
 156, 160, 181, 196, 198.  
*vo*, he : 17.  
*vovi*, he : 161. Perhaps *vo vi*, he  
 also. See Mik., viii. 95.  
*les* (acc.), him : 83, 164.  
*les* to him : 177.  
*les*, to it : 40, 41, 42.  
*leske*, to him : 39.  
*lesgi*, to him : 143.  
*leste*, to him : 168.  
*lestar*, from him (after *pušt*) : 89,  
 144.  
*lesgo* (sing. masc.), his : 79, 81, 237.  
*vuder*, door : 171, 172.  
*vurdōn*, waggon : 24.  
 [*zird-*, to shiver]. ? German, *zittern* ; or  
 from *izdra*, the Rum. form of *lisdra*  
 (Mik., viii. 7) ; or perhaps from  
 Ješina's *zerdav* (Mik., vii. 27, s.v.  
*cid*) :—*von kedané zirdenas ben*,  
 they were drawing themselves to-  
 gether.  
*zirdenas ben*, they shivered : 228.





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# HISTORY

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covered, not a drop of gâjo blood ran in his veins. Naturally, he was proud of the fact. He had, very strongly developed, that pride of race and of family which is characteristic of all his relations. Dr. Sampson says, that the Herons 'are among the Gypsies who combine all the characteristics of their race in a remarkable degree. They have a profound *Stammkultur*, a Gypsy culture of their own, which is unaffected by gentile modes of thought. . . . *Par excellence* a Romani mystic, as Wester [Boswell] is a Romani pedant, [Isaac Heron] is as proud of his inscrutability as Wester is of his "dictionary talk," and he must be gently played with, if he is to be drawn out of his deep reserve.'<sup>1</sup> When he saw the 'German Gypsies' in 1906, he said at once: 'That's the breed we came from; they're *čikli foki*, but they're the right breed.' Nothing could exceed the tone of contempt with which he would speak of '*čoredé*—mongrels!'—and the rights of aristocracy were tacitly accorded to him and his by all the Gypsies I have ever met.

He loved to recall his earlier days, and would talk freely of George Borrow, of his first meeting with him and how 'Squire Borrow, he says to me, "Do you speak any way out of the common?"'—a delightful and instructive equivalent of Leland's '*Rakessa tu Romanes, miro prala?*' with the fixed glance and all the rest of it. Borrow used to see him occasionally up to the end of his life, and gave him leave to fish in the Broad at Oulton.

Then, later in Isaac's life, the Herons forsook the pleasant east country for the busier but richer north and northern midlands, and they are known from the lowlands of Scotland as far south as Nottingham. This latter place has always been a favourite with Isaac. For years he made his winter camp at Lenton, close by, with his son Īza and his family. His half-brother, Edmund, was buried at Wilford, in the neighbourhood, where also lie Edmund's daughter Amelia, the wife of Elias Gray, and her daughter Mizelli. Īnan King (or Young), a close relative of Isaac, lives at Nottingham, and another half-brother of his who was very fond of the place was Manful Heron, who is said to have bequeathed to Isaac a diamond 'as big as a cobnut.'

Another place which to the end was dear to Isaac's heart was Darlington, where on 1st March 1908, his aged wife Sinfai died and was buried. This was a grief which he never got over. He mourned for her in a truly characteristic way. His daughter-in-

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 92.



law Abigail said that the old man had never washed since she died, and he would never after that event allow any woman to clean up his waggon. 'I go wandering all day by my *lókero* like as if I was looking for someone. . . . Dere's only one knows what I feel, and dat's my dear *Duvel*. I'm like a lost sheep on de mountains without my old woman. . . . I feel something in *here* (striking his breast) mornin', noon, and night.' Thus he would continually revert to the thought of his loss, and how he still hoped to see her again one day. And so it comes about that one's memory of him will always be, above everything else, a pathetic one—of an old man of dark, wonderfully wrinkled skin, eye of smouldering fire, with big frame bowed with age; an old man whose firmly set mouth with the wrinkles at the corners told of a rare combination of stubbornness and humour; whose little broken-down basket-waggon was set beneath the shelter of that of his son *Īza*, and Abigail his wife, a visible token of one erstwhile so independent, but who now could no longer look after himself; who would sit for hours together living in the past without saying a word, and whose speech, when he was roused, always, sooner or later, veered round to the days of the past, now gone for ever, and to her whose memory was continually with him. Isaac Heron was one whom, once seen, it was quite impossible to forget. Romaničal and *gâjo* alike acknowledged his force of character; and look, demeanour and word alike bore a strongly marked stamp of individuality. His courtesy was of that natural type which is inborn, and which simply cannot be acquired. He could invite the visitor to step into his humble little *vardo* with such instinctive grace that one felt really honoured by the invitation, though when it was accepted there was barely room to sit down! His language, both in Romanes and English, was perfectly delightful. He was not a deliberate artist in speech like *Wester Boswell*, but I am sure Romanes was his natural *Muttersprache*. He might be heard praying in 'gentle Romany' at great length almost any evening, though surely no one could be hard-hearted enough to attempt to overhear. His whole family, I strongly suspect, use the old tongue among themselves far more habitually than is commonly supposed. This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the quality of his Romanes. That well has already been drawn pretty dry, no doubt. But one's delight, as an unfledged word-hunter, was keen on hearing such words and forms as *kuklo* (doll), *vaverkendi*, *par* (silk), *parengo* (silken), with a



strongly aspirated *p*. He could only speak English in the most picturesque way. 'He spoke vulgarly' became in Isaac's mouth 'I wouldn't put that discourse upon any gentleman.' There is an unconscious humour which perhaps appeals specially to a *rašai* like myself, when he said that he would talk 'like a parson out of the pulpit, explaining the meaning of each word I say!'

It was evident late in 1910 that he was failing, and the end came on February 21st from acute bronchitis at Sutton-on-Trent, after three days' illness. He expressed an earnest wish to be buried at Manston, near Leeds, where he had passed such a happy time a year or two before, by the invitation of his old friend, Mr. Malleson, who showed him many a kindness which he did not forget. There on February 24th he was buried, '*talla the bor*' (by *Īza*'s request), in Manston Churchyard; Mr. Malleson conducted the service, the writer being also privileged to take part. The only mourners present were *Īza* and Abigail, *Īnan* (Nottingham) Young, and Harry or Bosko the son of Isaac's daughter Lenda, with his *monišni*. At a respectful distance were some of the friends he had made during his previous stay at Manston.

All was as it should be for an old Romaničal's funeral; the sun shone, a fresh wind kept everything clean and bright, with a distinct foretaste of spring in the air, while away in the distance the smoke and bustle of Leeds was in the background. A fit symbol of the life which was ended, typical in a pre-eminent degree of the life of many another of the race we love—children of Nature and of the wild, yet forced by cruel circumstance to wear, however awkwardly, the garb of western civilisation and crowded city life. Isaac Heron, to me and to those who knew him, and who have the least grain of the *aficion* in their nature, will always remain entirely unforgettable in life and in his death, and I count it a great privilege to have been allowed to write this brief notice, for those who love him and his race, as we members of the Gypsy Lore Society do.

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It seems clear that in the death of Isaac Heron we have an opportunity such as rarely occurs for studying Romany observances in connection with death. For fortunately Dr. Naylor, who attended him in his last illness, felt much interested, and used the faculty of observation, which good doctors cultivate so successfully, to give us an account of what happened in a most valuable letter



written to our Honorary Secretary. The Rev. George Hall visited the scene shortly afterwards, and, bringing to bear all his scientific knowledge of Romany life and customs, was able, by interviewing again the chief persons concerned, to add many most interesting details; so that now first-hand and thoroughly trustworthy evidence is available.

The method therefore which I shall adopt is this: to print Dr. Naylor's letter as the *Haupt-Dokument*, next to quote such parts of Mr. Hall's report as give additional details, and finally to tabulate the various points on which further evidence is available. And I would suggest that all who have access to information or records on the subject should, in the future, communicate them to the editor of this journal, so that we may hope perhaps to collect all the material known for the elucidation of these most interesting occurrences. I have not thought it necessary to refer in detail to the writings of Mr. E. O. Winstedt (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 359-366), Dr. William Crooke (*ibid.*, iii. 180-81), and Mr. T. W. Thompson (*ibid.*, iii. 169), with which doubtless every member of the G. L. S. is familiar. The letters in brackets refer to the notes which follow Mr. Hall's report.

Dr. Naylor's letter is as follows:—

GROVE HOUSE, SUTTON ON TRENT,  
NEWARK, *March 3rd*, 1911.

DEAR SIR,—I was very interested in your letter of to-day, and, in reply to your inquiries, some of the facts attending the funeral arrangements of the late Isaac Herrin may be of use to you:—

I attended him for acute Bronchitis from Feb. 18th to the 21st, when he died. There was nothing in the treatment of his case which differed in any way from the ordinary, and during his life I was not admitted to any secrets,—nor after his death. Our local undertaker, Mr. T. Wales, made his coffin of solid oak, large enough to admit his corpse and his overcoat, lounge coat, waistcoat and trousers; all of which were turned *inside out* and placed beneath him, along with a striped mat (A and B). He was dressed in stockings, pants, and white starched linen shirt, and covered with a white sheet (shroud) (C). Mr. Wales was not allowed to know what was in the pockets of his clothes, but there was a jingling as of money or jewellery in the pockets (B). There was no bulging as of other articles, and he could see no other articles in the coffin except the above-mentioned clothes and mat.

Mr. Wales placed him in the coffin at 6.45 the evening before



his removal, and the lid was screwed down next morning, so that other articles might have been added. A large brass plate was fixed to the coffin engraved with his name, Isaac Herrin; and the removal of the coffin to the railway station was carried out with punctilious care and deference. He was buried in the Parish Churchyard at Manston, Crossgates, near Leeds (G).

With regard to his effects:—His living van was taken to the village blacksmith; wheels, shafts, harness, and horse's nosebag dismantled and placed in the van, and the entire structure burned to ashes; but the relatives kept for themselves the four hub-caps (brass) and the four hub-hooks,—what became of these no one knows (F).

The relatives were particularly careful that the woodwork was *thoroughly* reduced to ashes, and would allow no one to take away a piece of wood (which some villagers wished to do). After the fire the ironwork of the van was sold to the blacksmith, who, in return, shod the old man's horse. The horse was then taken to Doncaster and sold, and slaughtered by a firm who make cats'-meat for London.

Herrin's pot, pans, basins, and stove were broken up, but no one knows what was done with the fragments.

Such is all I can gather, but I must say I was impressed by the care lavished on him in his illness, by the love and respect in which he was held, and by the straightforwardness of his people. . . . I might add the old man was beyond all speech and help when I was first called in. His death was merely a question of time.

Believe me, yours very truly,

ARTHUR G. NAYLOR.

*Extracts from the Report of the Rev. G. Hall*

Dr. Naylor at the outset frankly admitted his inability to add anything to the facts he had already sent us. Said he, in tones of regret, 'If I had but known!' He was not present at the death, but saw the body next morning. It was well nourished.

Mr. T. Wales, the undertaker, *kirčeméngro* of the Lord Nelson Inn, has known the Herons for several years, and has enjoyed their confidence. Our old friend and his wife were accustomed to call at the 'Lord Nelson' when passing through Sutton. About 11 P.M. on Feb. 21st, Mrs. Wales was sent for and found Īza and Harry kneeling in the old man's *varđo*. Abigail and Harry's wife were weeping outside (I). All were in a frenzy of grief, their bodies



swaying to and fro, and they were crying aloud in great distress. Mr. Wales thought they might be praying, and some of their words he did not quite understand. One lighted candle was burning in the old man's van, and Mr. Wales saw it each time he visited the van from the death to the removal of the coffin (E).

A workman, past middle age, in Mr. Wales' employ, then performed the duty of laying-out (D). This man I sought out, and learned that none of the relations remained inside the old man's van during the laying-out. The man asked Īza how he was to place the arms: 'Straight down by the sides' was the reply, and this was done. So far as the man could tell, nothing had been removed from the van before or at the death. There was nothing unusual in the look of things inside the van. Early in the evening of Thursday, Feb. 23rd, the body was placed in the coffin. First of all, clothing was placed by Īza himself at the bottom of the coffin (A),—one suit of best clothes and a good overcoat, all turned inside out, and covered over with a striped bed-rug or coverlet. On these the body was laid, clothed in pants, socks, and white shirt (C). When Īza was handling the clothes preparatory to putting them in the coffin, a clinking or rattling sound as of money or of something metallic was heard, but Īza would not tell even Mr. Wales what was in the pockets of the clothes (B). No sort of grass, no ribbons, no flowers, no decorations at all. The coffin was removed feet foremost by the ordinary exit, and carried from the field by Mr. Wales's men to Crow Park Station, about 200 yards from the *varđo*, the mourners in black keeping near the coffin, and watching every movement of the bearers with most anxious eyes. Their concern was intense when the coffin reached the station and was being placed in the special coach hired by Īza. When paying Mr. Wales the funeral expenses, Īza handed him sovereigns 'with no flying horse on them, but crown and shield,' and *black*—had they come from a hoard?

On Saturday, Feb. 25th, Īza, by arrangement with Mr. Walster, the blacksmith of the place, brought his father's van from the farmer's field to a bare patch of garden ground behind the smithy. This was about 5.30 A.M., and it was dark. Wheels and shafts were removed and placed with the harness inside the van, which contained bedding, old clothes, hat and boots, and other small articles in a sack. Straw was saturated with paraffin, and Īza lit the pyre. Attracted by the big blaze, the village assembled and looked on in wonder. One *gāji* woman



persistently begged for a charred spindle, but Īza refused. The ashes were eventually scattered about the garden, and whatever iron remained after the fire was given to the blacksmith, whose son shod the old man's horse. The brass hub-caps and some hooks were preserved. A cast-iron stove, a quantity of crockery, with pans, etc., were pounded to fragments, and these were buried. The Trent river was too far away, and awkward to get at.

On Saturday morning, Feb. 25th, Mr. Wales put the question to Īza: 'Why have you made away with the old man's things?' (This was after the holocaust in Mr. Walster's garden.) Īza replied: 'My father would not rest in his grave if anybody got hold of his things; they must go with him' (F).

Īza told Mr. Walster that he was going Doncaster way, and when the party left Sutton, the old man's horse was seen tethered by a halter at the back of Īza's van.

Mr. G. Longmate, the farmer in whose field the camp was when the death took place, pointed out the spot, and said he had known the Herons for some years. When Īza and the other relations returned to Sutton after the funeral on Friday evening (H), Īza said to Mr. Longmate: 'We are feeling rather faint, for we have had neither bite nor sup since yesterday at tea.' The party then sat down to a substantial meal at Mr. Longmate's table, and ate almost in silence, like ravenously hungry folk. Mr. Longmate never heard of any of the party entering a public-house during the week they were at Sutton; he thinks Īza must have become a total abstainer (H).

## NOTES ON THE ABOVE

### A. *Clothes in the Coffin*

The clothes were placed beneath the body and *inside out*. Is any other example known of the latter usage, and what is its significance? Mr. Walter L. Behrens thinks it possible that it is in order to make the body stay in the grave 'from shame of walking abroad in such noticeable guise. That, if he could walk, he could also put his garments in order, is an inconsistency which is quite likely not to have been noticed by a primitive intelligence.' If so, would it not be more natural to clothe the body with them, rather than place them beneath the rug under it? Could we perhaps draw an analogy from reversed arms, and say that it is to show that they are now useless to the dead person? I feel almost sure that terror of the dead is the key to this and most of the other





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The jingling clearly shows that something metallic must have been in the pockets. Jewellery is usually destroyed or got rid of, but not always, apparently. Only last April Miss Gillington witnessed the funeral of Alice Barney. All her valuables were buried underneath her in the ground; next morning the caravan was burnt, the crockery broken up and the pieces buried. The last food brought her was buried also, but whether with her or not is uncertain. 'Her teapot was inside the van when the coffin was carried out, so it must have been broken and buried after the funeral, possibly in an adjacent cottage-garden. Her stove was thrown out and broken the first thing after she died.'

Pyramus Gray (d. Dec. 24th, 1886) had his fiddle buried with him. Perhaps this was that he might still keep the season of *Mul-čerus* in the right way for such a noted *boshomengro*. Oli Heron's pipe, otherwise John Young's, and knife and fork accompanied him to the grave; and a female Gypsy, name not known, is recorded to have been buried at Highworth, Wilts, in 1830, with knife, fork, and plate in her coffin.

Major Boswell and Pyramus Gray had sods of green turf placed on their breasts.<sup>1</sup>

### C. *Clothing of the Dead Person*

In this instance there seems nothing remarkable in the clothes actually worn. But there are other customs in the matter. Eliza Heron, wife of 'No Name' Heron, who died at Barford, Norfolk, some five-and-twenty years ago, was buried in scarlet bonnet and cloak—so her daughter, Genti Gray, tells me. The rector of the parish was a Gypsy-lover himself, and wanted the mourners to wear red too; they declined, 'But you know, *Rai*,' said Genti, 'that used to be our people's way, all the same.'

A male Gypsy mentioned in Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 121-123, was buried in walking dress. So was Pyramus Gray. Mr. Winstedt sends the following from Muret, *Rites of Funeral Ancient and Modern*, translated by P. Lorrain, London, 1683, p. 252:—'As concerning the manner of apparelling the Dead . . . some do only cover them with a large Winding Sheet, as we do in *France*; and others dress them in the very same Cloaths they were wont to wear when yet alive, as in *Italy* and other places.

<sup>1</sup> Ernst Samter (*Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, Leipzig und Berlin, 1911, p. 4) quotes a similar practice from Thuringia.

<sup>2</sup> But quoted from 'Cuthbert Bede' in *Notes and Queries*, June 6, 1857.



Which latter way was formerly esteemed more honourable and much used in the first *Centuries*.' There seems to be a dearth of records on the point: even the indefatigable Sartori quotes comparatively few instances (*loc. cit.*, p. 132).

#### D. *The Laying-out*

The only possible theory that occurs to me about Īza's emphatic direction as to the arms, is that the position with the arms laid straight out is freer and less helplessly confined than if, as usual, they were crossed on the breast. It might be felt that the body should have the power of moving if it wished to do so. John Chilcot, Noah Young's grandfather, and husband of Liti Ruth Lovell, is said to have directed as follows:—'Bury me under a sod, and plant briars over me (G). And don't bury me far down, and don't put no tombstone over me.' The idea would be the same as in *Sit tibi terra levis*.<sup>1</sup>

But many races are particular about the posture in which their dead are buried. Further light may be hoped for from the study of funeral customs in general. The field is too wide for the purpose of the moment.'

Probably no woman was allowed to lay the body out, in continuance of the old man's practice of excluding all women from his *vardo* since his wife died.<sup>2</sup> Parallels for this method of expressing grief would be most interesting, but none are to hand at present.

#### E. *Burning of the Candle*

This seems to be sufficiently definite evidence to show that the presence of the candle was not merely to give light, but for a ceremonial reason, and that it was to burn unbrokenly from the time of death to the removal of the body. Is there any special meaning attached to it by Gypsies, or is it, like Christian baptism among them, borrowed from the religious observances of the races among whom they find themselves?<sup>3</sup> It is, of course, a very

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Sartori, *loc. cit.*, p. 134, on the authority of E. H. Meyer's *Badisches Volksleben* (Strassburg, 1900), says, 'Männliche Leichen vom "Einwickler," weibliche vom "Totenweibchen" gekleidet.' But there is no reason to suppose that this is a general Gypsy custom.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Busbequius (1522-92) on the Turks: 'Quod si quis roget, cur tamen ita faciant, respondent, multa exstare antiquitus instituta, quorum utilitatem diuturnus usus comprobarit, causae ignorentur. plus quam se scivisse & vidisse veteres, non esse convellenda eorum placita. malle ea servare, quam cum suo damno



widely spread Christian custom,<sup>1</sup> found in the past and to-day in the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern and the Anglican. The body of King Edward VII. was surrounded by lighted candles, and was watched during his lying in state by soldiers of the Guards, and the custom is a frequent observance in the English and all branches of the Catholic Church to-day. So Gypsies may very easily have borrowed it from *gájé*. Noah Young's wife once came into Mr. Macfie's tent, which was lighted by candles set in ordinary candlesticks (not in cleft sticks), and said, 'take away those *mumlis*, they remind me of a corpse.'

Candles are definitely mentioned in an article in Hone's *Table Book* for June 1827, by J. R. T.: 'Last month I was gratified by observing the funeral attentions of the gipsy tribes to *Cooper*, then lying in state on a common near Epping Forest. The corpse lay in a tent clothed in white linen; *candles were lighted* over the body, on which forest flowers and blossoms of the season were strewn and hung in posies . . . the gipsy friends and relations sat mutely in adjoining tents.'

#### F. *Destruction of the Property of the Deceased*

Īza's reason is valuable as a definite statement coming from a true-bred English Gypsy. Engelbert Wittich corroborates it for the South-German Gypsies, and adds that unless the ghost of the departed is at rest the survivors will suffer in various ways.<sup>2</sup>

'In the case of a death—that is the death of an adult, and only of an adult, for the ceremony is not observed for little children—in a living waggon not only must all the objects be disposed of or destroyed (*vernichtet*) which are destroyed at a birth, but also, in this case even all linen and clothing except what the dead person is actually wearing and the musical instruments, money and pictures (photographs) which are about. But what can be removed from the waggon before the entrance of death may

*quicquam mutare. quae opinio apud nonnullos adeo invaluit, ut sciam quosdam sacro baptismate voluisse suos filios in occulto lustrari, quod dicerent se suspicari eum ritum aliquid boni continere, & non temere institutum.*'—A. Gislenii Busbequii *Omnia quae extant*, Oxoniæ, 1660, p. 144.

<sup>1</sup> Sartori (*loc. cit.*, p. 137) mentions lights among the means used for protecting the corpse, and the survivors, from evil influences. Many instances of the use of lights at death-beds are given by Samter (*loc. cit.*, pp. 76-77), and the meaning of the custom is discussed on the two following pages.

<sup>2</sup> Engelbert Wittich, *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner* (*Hefte für Zigeunerkunde*, Heft 2, Striegau, Huss-Verlag, 1911), p. 29. The translation is, however, made from a MS. of Wittich's. For the motive, cf. Mr. John Myers' note in this number of the *J. G. L. S.*



still be used. Everything else must be used no more, even if it be brand new (*nagelneu*) and those concerned be reduced to the greatest indigence thereby. Gypsies indeed who are better off do not as a rule sell such things, and simply burn everything, waggon, etc. Poorer folk sell them, usually of course to other travelling (*herumziehendes*) people, but certainly not to Gypsies, even though they should be perfect strangers. A rigidly observed custom. He who does not observe it commits a serious offence and is excommunicated (*bale tschido*, explained by Wittich elsewhere).<sup>1</sup> It is not only on account of custom that this rite is so exactly and severely observed; the superstitious fear in which the Gypsies hold their dead plays an important part here. That is, they believe that the ghosts of the dead must haunt the waggon in which they lived during their life, and find no repose until it is destroyed or removed from the family (*Stamm*). On that account, if such a waggon were to be further used by the relations (*Angehörigen*) they would come nightly and torment them and bring them ill luck. This is also the reason why the Gypsies never betray any of their secrets, *e.g.*, fortune-telling, trail-signs, [*patrins* as we say], etc., which they have learned from the dead. Even such Gypsies as have been excommunicated, and are excluded from all intercourse, never betray such things to non-Gypsies.'

When Saváina Boswell was buried in Liverpool just over ten years ago, all her clothes and blankets were burned and her crockery broken into tiny pieces, the ashes and fragments being strewn on a canal close by. Silver teapots and utensils were battered out of shape, and all articles of jewellery secretly dropped into the Mersey (T. W. Thompson in *The Tramp*, October 1910).

Hone's *Table Book*, quoted above (see E), gives an early notice of this custom:—

'In addition to this [*i.e.* Cooper's funeral] I transcribe a notice from an MS. journal kept by a member of my family in 1769, which confirms the custom then alluded to. "Here was just buried in the church (Tring) the sister of the Queen of the Gypsies, to whom it is designed by her husband to erect a monument of £20 price. He is going to be married to the Queen (sister of the deceased). He offered £20 to the clergyman to marry him directly; but he had not been in the town a month, so could not be married till that time. When this takes place, an entertainment will be

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 290.



made and £20 or £30 spent. Just above Esquire Gore's park these destiny-readers have a camp, at which place the woman died; immediately after which, the survivors took all her wearing apparel and burnt them, including silk gowns, silver buckles, gold earrings, trinkets, etc., for such is their custom."'

There is abundant evidence as to the burning of the waggon and other personal belongings of the dead. Twelve English instances, mainly collected by Mr. Hall, are before me as I write. Lame Lias Boswell said, not long ago: 'When my mother dies, all her things will have to be *hotchered*.' Surely the reason for this form of destruction in preference to others is, that it is total (cf. Wittich's *vernichten*) and irremediable.<sup>1</sup> Hence also the careful scattering of the ashes mentioned by Dr. Naylor.

It is not easy even to hazard a conjecture as to why the brass hub-caps and hooks were saved. Possibly, merely as convenient relics or mementos, portable and imperishable, sufficiently personal to the dead to be closely connected with him in memory, but not so closely as to encourage him to leave his grave and come after them. But Mr. Winstedt sends the following from Leland, Palmer, and Tuckey, *English-Gipsy Songs*, 1875, pp. 68-69 (note):—

'English Gipsies not only frequently burn or destroy all that belonged to their dead relations, but sometimes, when urged by strong emotions, make sacrifices like the one described in the foregoing ballad [burning a *varado*]. . . . It is, however, a fact that this highly interesting sacrifice was entirely "upon tick." I have omitted to state that the mortified lover also broke his watch to fragments; but, with some of the inconsistency characteristic of Gipsies, Indians, and other grown-up children, *he carefully collected and sold the fragments, as well as the iron portions of the waggon.*'

This, together with what was done at Isaac's wife's funeral four years ago, seems, alas! to suggest strongly that nothing more romantic than filthy lucre was the cause why the hub-caps were saved. I owe the following to Mr. T. W. Thompson, who

<sup>1</sup> For such bonfires Sartori gives no parallels. But, since living waggons are comparatively modern, it is obvious that the origin of the ceremony must be sought in some such custom as the burning of the bed on which a Gypsy has died. Sartori (*loc. cit.*, p. 127) quotes von Schulenburg's *Wendisches Volkstum* (Berlin, 1882), p. 110, and the *Internat. Archiv f. Ethnographie*, ix. 157, to show that the bed is defiled by death and must no longer be used. If this were part of the vagrant Gypsy's faith it is evident that destruction was inevitable, and it would have been easy and natural to adopt the same means as was already widely used for the straw on which a corpse had rested, viz. fire (Sartori, p. 144). Wittich attests that the bed is burnt after child-birth.



obtained it from Mrs. Charles Macfarlane, born Lily (Čuba) Lee, daughter of Oliver Lee and his wife Julia Boswell. 'Soon after the funeral the Herons sent for two gallons of paraffin. They then proceeded to break up the waggon and its contents, after which they soaked the wreckage in the oil, and ignited it. The brass caps of the wheels were saved, and subsequently sold, as was the iron that was left after the fire had burnt itself out. The cups and saucers, and crockery of every description, were smashed up fine, and carried twenty-six miles before being dropped into the river Tyne. The silver was sold, on condition that it should be melted down—but they never saw that this was carried out. . . . Three horses were shot, and the carcasses sold.' The slaughter of the horses is, however, doubtful.

In the slaughter of the horse one may perhaps recognise rather a provision for the dead man's comfort in the next world than a protective measure against ghosts. Compare Ernst Samter's note on the clay horses found in Greek graves (*loc. cit.*, p. 206).

### G. *The Place of Burial*

Formerly, as is well known, English Gypsies used to bury their dead in the fields or on breezy heaths such as Norwich Mousehold, so often mentioned by Borrow. I am not sure, however, whether there is any authentic instance recorded definitely by name.<sup>1</sup> In this case the grave was fairly deep, and by Īza's express request, *talla* the *bor*—luckily there was one. Is there any significance in thorns? John Chilcot asked that briars might be planted over him, and there is an interesting reference from Siebenbürgen in Wlislöcki (*Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 296).<sup>2</sup>

Thorns and hedges loom large in a Gypsy's life, and are, so to speak, very native to him; a child's tousled hair was described to me lately as being 'like thornpins.' Perhaps a surrounding of thorns, therefore, is felt to be only right for a departed Romanichal, and one which he will not wish to leave.

### H. *Fasting of the Mourners*

Fasting is a natural and widely spread method of expressing great grief, and by no means peculiar to Gypsies. In this case Mr. Longmate was somehow misled, for after the funeral the

<sup>1</sup> In *T. P.'s Weekly*, October 15, 1909, Mr. J. G. Bristow-Noble gave a description of such a burial, obtained by him from an actual eyewitness of the ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 302.



mourners all took some light refreshment in Mr. Malleson's house, but in spite of pressing it was of the slightest, particularly for a mid-day meal. I have also understood from Īza that he has been an abstainer from alcohol for some years: certainly I have more than once found him preferring lemonade or ginger-beer to *livena* in a *kirčema*.

### I. *Demeanour of the Mourners*

One naturally hesitates to discuss or criticise what so essentially belongs to the private life and the deepest feelings of people who have just suffered great loss. But it may perhaps be mentioned that their behaviour at the grave-side was most striking and pathetic. After the body had been lowered into the earth the mourners came to the foot, and there crouched down, bending themselves nearly double and leaning forward right over the grave, staring down at the coffin as if they would pierce the very wood with their gaze.<sup>1</sup> Thus they remained for some little time, rocking themselves backwards and forwards in grief, and then quietly rose and walked away.

Mr. Malleson tells me that he was informed that six strange Gypsy women came some weeks afterwards into the churchyard, found the grave, and remained kneeling round it in silence for an hour, after which they quietly departed. I hear also that Īza, who has been once or twice since to see the grave, is now particularly anxious to have an iron railing placed round it, and that his insistence on the point seemed to imply more than a mere desire to have the grave as decent as possible. He was looking wretchedly ill, and gave the impression of going in fear of something. I have not seen him myself since the day of the funeral.

My hope is that this summary of the facts of modern English Gypsy death-ceremonies, which fortunate circumstances have enabled us to record in a manner more complete and accurate than has hitherto been possible, may form the groundwork of thorough and scientific investigation, and that others will be stimulated to study the subject more minutely than has been possible for me. I should wish also to make it clear that any value that this article may have is due entirely to kind help

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Winstedt tells me that the behaviour of the mourners at Mary Buckland's (sister of Neily Buckland) funeral was exactly similar. Yet they were anything but a united family. See also *J. G. L. S.* (Old Series), ii. 379 and iii. 122, and Morwood, p. 179.





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And earth shall be my sheet.  
Green grass shall be my coverlet,  
As I lays underneath.'

The berries they does be turnen' red, the ferns be brown  
and gold;  
The heth be withered along the hill, and days do set in cold;  
From *vásavo mush's tulé* the *rúkas*, óven' up unseen,  
The dear Lord keep us Romanies all, this night in the Bushes  
Green!

'Little bird of Paradise,  
Do the work of Jesus Christ;  
Fear God, serve man,  
Do the work that no man can.  
Be go by sea, be go by land,  
God made us all with his right hand.  
God sends the branch;  
I'm the flower:  
God sends me and my happy hour.  
Now and for evermore, Amen.'

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## V.—NURI STORIES

Collected by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.

(Continued from Volume IV. page 287)

### LXXVII

*Áste tărănésne kăutėni, găre tă-kăutănd. Răure pândăsmă, lăherde émăgară pandăsmék. Mėyıl-ıhre. Lăherde minjıs kăjjik wėsrik, wınhă gūlik. Sūkır-kerdi ätsántă mūgară, u mändössän kúriămä mūgarémă. Mărdi äbsánkă băkrăk ärăttyos. Săbăhtän gări kărsănni. Mändėndis tă-súcăr, nănde ėsıhăs, tırdėndis ágmă tă-luhră-hră, u tırdėndis ikiėsmă. Kór-ıhre ikiės. Săbăhtän wėsri mūgarăk kăpiémă. Yıkák mnėştsän mărdă ébăkrăs u părdă kălōs, wără-kerdōs tímăă băkră. Klăurde gūliăk kăliăn, kıldė wăştisän ūdienni. Măndă minjt ılli kıldă bára. Fērōsis ciriémă bēn păliski, stúh-kerdă pălės, u fērōsis dăbısmă sırıus mănjısmă. Mri gūli. Părde kiyakės u părde zėrdän u părde kăliăn u mında hălėsän, răwăhre, băurdėndşan bādėsăntă. Ştırde min hnōnă, uhtúr-ıhre, găre tăn-kăutănd. Mındėndsän,*



*fērēndsān, u nīrdēndsān grēwarāškārā. Ktíf-kerdōssān grēwārā u mīndā ḥalōs, nīrdōssān tīllā-tmaliēškārā, u tīllā-tmāli bāndōssān u tīrdōssān inhīrikālāsmā u ktīb-kerdā ātsāntā des wars, u pānjān banīrēndi. Mīndā ḥalos grēwārā u rāwāḥrā.*

There were three thieves who went to steal. They moved along the road, they saw that there was a cave on the road. They approached it. They saw in it a woman sitting, and that she was a ghul. She shut the cave upon them, and left them in a room [*lit.* house] in the cave. She killed a sheep for them that night. In the morning she was going to eat them. They left her to sleep, took the skewer, put it in the fire till it became red, and put it in her eyes. Her eyes were blinded. In the morning she sat at the door of the cave. One of them killed a sheep and took its skin, dressed himself like the sheep; the [other] two made the flocks of the ghul rise and went up with them. He who had gone outside stayed with her. He struck her with a knife between her shoulders, split her shoulders, and struck her with a club in the middle of her head. The ghul died. They took her things and took the money and took the flocks and betook themselves, went, and divided them between them. They rose from there, went further, went to steal. They [emissaries of justice] took them, struck them, and brought them to the sheikh. The sheikh bound them and betook himself, brought them to the governor, and the governor bound them and put them in the condemned cell and wrote against them ten years, and they were bound. The sheikh betook himself and went.

## \*LXXVIII

*Āudik. Inhe° ābúškā pān. Mrā pāiōs. Málkādāntā gāre. Lāherdi ḥārās, štāldōsis. Cīrdi “Kérām kēšāk ēḥārāski.” Pārdi ḥārās kúriüstā, tīrdōsis kiyākāmmā, u síti. Ārātān síndi kūštóti-gálāk “Déim ḥārōm.” Bīri, tīrdi síriūs āḥār cāršiki. Síndi gálāk tīlli. “Déim ḥārōm.” Bōl bīri; nī gál-kerdi. Síndi tīlli-gáli bōl. “Déim ḥārōm.” Štāldi síriūs min āḥār caršik u gál-kerdi “Par ēḥārās u ja.” Pārdā mārñā ḥārās u gārā; mri pānjī bišwānānk u ibkār wānānki.*

There was an old woman. She had no husband. Her husband was dead. She went into a churchyard. She saw a bone, picked it up. She said, ‘I will make food of this bone.’ She took the bone to her house, put it among the things, and slept. By night she heard a little voice, ‘Give me my bone.’ She feared, she put her head under the covering. She heard a great voice, ‘Give me my bone.’ She feared greatly: she did not speak. She heard a very great voice, ‘Give me my bone.’ She put her head from under the covering and said, ‘Take that bone and go.’ The corpse took the bone and went. She died of fright and hunger.

## LXXIX

*Āstā yikāki tmaliémmā. Rāwāḥrā. Tēndis tmālie wī zerd. Lāmm’ iḥrā dēsismā mēyíl-iḥrā déākātā. Āstā cōnāki. Āzrā kal, “súcim unktiman.” Kēnāurdōsis u pīnāurdōsis. Pārdā, sítā ārātān. Nīm-ārāt tasnāurdōsis, u pārdā mnēšt[s] wīstāne*



*zérdan. Ni mǎndǎ wǎštis zérdak. Sǎbáhtǎn gǎrǎ dēǎk-mátǎstǎ. "Yikák wǎštím tmálik, sit' ũnkřimǎn wǎ mrǎ. Kélcǎn kéréǎn minjts?" Círde ǎbúskǎ déik-mat "Štas tǎ-mólanis." Gǎre tǎ-dfín-kerandis, móléndis. Níngřǎ wǎšt[s] cónǎ tǎn-tírís mál-kǎdmǎ. Ářǎ tǎ-kílcǎr; nímōs min ǎhǎr mǎndǎ málkǎdmǎ, u nímōs bára mǎndǎ u itbukra ǎtústǎ málkǎdǎ. Nǎnǎndi ǎtǎwarǎn tǎ-kólǎnd ǎtústǎ; ni kólǎrǎ málkǎd. U hǎdóttǎ la ajóti u la ũráti, u pǎnjī málkǎdmék. U mǎnde kúriǎk siriístǎ.<sup>1</sup>*

There was a certain one with the soldiers [in the army]. He went. The soldiers gave him twenty pounds. When he was in his own place,<sup>2</sup> he made his way to a village. There was a youth. Last night<sup>3</sup> he said, 'Sleep among us.' He fed him and gave him drink. He partook, and slept at night. At midnight he choked him and took from him the twenty pounds. He did not leave a pound with him. In the morning he went to the people of the village. 'There was a soldier with me, he slept among us, and died. What shall we do with him?' The people of the village said to him, 'Rise, let us bury him.' They went to dig his grave, they buried him. The youth entered [the grave] with him to lay him out in the grave. He came to climb out: half of him below remained in the grave, and half of him remained outside, and the grave closed on him. They bring hoes to loosen [the grave] upon him; the grave did not loosen. And there he is till to-day and till to-morrow, and he is in the grave. And they have put a tent over his head.

## LXXX

*ǎstǎ yikáki tǐllǎ-tmálik, ǎbúskǎrǎ zǎrǎki, u zǎrō mǎndǎ hǎlōs u kóldǎ yēgrístǎ u gǎrǎ sǎvyid-hócǎr. Lǎherdǎ éǧǎzali. Gǎrǎ fěrsi, ǎri ǎhǎr yégrǎki u nǎsri. Mǎndǎ hǎlos tǎ-infídrǎ klárǎntǎ. ǎtri ġǎzali grēwarǎs-dřiri. Ářǎ cónǎ grēwarǎskǎrǎ. "Déim dřirir; dī mási w' ǎmǎ dǎuǎm pǎcřis lámǎmǎ rǎsrómrǎn. Štírdōm min hnōn', ĵǎndómiš inhǎ dīrǎri, w' ǎmǎ mángǎmsi." Círdǎ ǎbúskǎrǎ "In-kōl bóōm bóur bandóssi w' ǎmǎ démri dřirim." Gǎrǎřǎ cónǎ bóiskǎrǎ, círdǎ "Bóia, in-kōl ũhǎ klárǎs ǐlli elhǎsmék." Kóldósis bóios. Mǎndǎ hǎlōs, gǎrǎřǎ cónǎ klárǎntǎ, lǎherdóssǎn erhónǎ. Pǎrdósis cóniǎ, wésrǎ klárǎnkǎ tǎrǎn mas. Štírdǎ min hnōn', mǎndǎ hǎlōs, rǎwǎhrǎ. Lǎherdǎ yíkǎ kǎsri, minjts dōsǎrǎki. "Kékǎ níngēk min hnénǎ?" círdǎ dōsǎrǎ. "ǎmǎ wǎ-třir ĵúlcǎ ĵǎrbǎskǎrǎ." Húldǎ ǎtústǎ dōsǎrǎ. Húilde pǎnjī u pǎnjī ĵǎrbǎskǎrǎ. El-mǎġrǎbīyát fǐkk-ihre ba'désǎnki. ǎrǎtǎn cónǎ níngřǎ dōsǎrǎstǎ tǎ-mǎrǎris, lǎherdǎ*

<sup>1</sup> This miracle was said to have taken place the previous day, in the village of Et-Tireh!

<sup>2</sup> That is, when he got his discharge and was his own master.

<sup>3</sup> *ǎžřǎ* here probably means something like 'the night before' the catastrophe of the story; but as the incident was alleged to have just occurred, it may be meant literally as a note of time.



*siték kápiätä, mǎrdósis. Sǎbáhtǎn láherdi dōsárǎs mǎrǎrǎ u ǎtri káli wǎrǎ-kersi cóniǎk, kerǎ hǎlōs dōsárǎ. Mǎndǎ hǎlōs ǎrátǎn, níngǎrǎ ǎtústǎ cónǎ, láherdǎ kálǎs kǎurék erhónǎ u cóni sítik. ǎrǎ min hnónǎ, párdǎ gǎstǎrniǎ min hǎstǎski. Sǎbáhtǎn wǎrǎ cóni kálǎs u hǎildi cónǎskǎrǎ. “Šta hǎrb-kerēm.” Cǎrdǎ cónǎ “ǎmǎ nǎ hǎrb-kerǎmi júri.” Cǎrdi ǎbúskǎ cóni “Kéi jǎnǎúr-dósis ínni ǎmǎ júǎr hǎrómi?” “ǎrátǎn níngǎrōm, láherdōm kálōs dōsárǎski erhónǎ kǎurék, u ǎtu sitóri. Pǎrdōm gǎstǎrniúr, u ha gǎstǎrniúr.”*

There was a certain king ; he had a boy, and the boy betook himself and mounted a horse and went to hunt. He saw a gazelle. He went to strike it, it went under the horse and fled. He betook himself till he lighted upon the bedawin. The daughter of the sheikh was disguised as the gazelle. The boy came to the sheikh. ‘Give me thy daughter ; [it is] two months I have been hurrying after her, when I reached you. I rose from there, I knew her that she was thy daughter, and I desire her.’ He said to him, ‘Set free my father, [whom] thy father has bound, and I will give my daughter.’ The boy returned to his father, said, ‘Father, set free that bedawi who is in prison.’ His father loosened him. The youth betook himself and returned to the bedawin, and saw them there. He took the girl, and remained with the bedawin three months. He rose from there, betook himself, and went. He saw a castle, in it a negro. ‘Why dost thou enter by here ?’ said the negro. ‘Let me and thee go down to fight.’ The negro came down to him. The two went down to fight. In the evening they were loosened from one another. By night the boy entered in to the negro to kill him, saw him sleeping at the door, slew him. In the morning the girl<sup>1</sup> saw the negro dead, and disguised [herself], the skin she puts on her, and makes herself a negro. By night the boy betook himself, entered in to her, saw the skin fallen there and the girl asleep. He came from there, took the seal-ring from her finger. In the morning the girl put on the skin and went down to the youth. ‘Rise, let us fight.’ Said the youth, ‘I do not fight with a woman.’ Said the girl to him, ‘What told thee that I am a woman ?’ ‘By night I entered, saw the skin of the negro there fallen, and thou wert asleep. I took thy seal-ring, and here is thy seal-ring.’

## LXXXI

*ǎštǎ yikáki tmáli. Tillék. ǎbúskǎ zárǎki. ǎrǎ yikák: Mǎǎǎrǎbik. “Nǎndék ǎbúrkǎ tmáliéski dǎ jóhǎrǎ, u déim potúr ; ráucǎr wǎštim báǎhǎrmǎ dǎ sǎ’ǎ.” Ba’ d dǎis párdǎ cónǎs Mǎǎǎrǎbi u gǎrǎ minjǎs. Rǎure mǎsǎk báǎhǎrmǎ. Mǎndǎ hǎlōs, ǎrǎ étálǎs ‘arkǎsmǎ. ǎri ǎbúskǎrǎ ébǎǎǎ. Dǎrdǎ pétōs u tírdǎ cónǎs minjǎs. Mǎndǎ hǎlōs, féra hǎtǎmmǎ Mǎǎǎrǎbi, u tírdǎ ǎgtǎ báǎhri. Tǎr-íhri báǎǎǎ. Hǎd-íhri tálǎs píštéstǎ. Mǎndǎ hǎlōs, dǎrdǎ cónǎ pétōs báǎǎǎki, u kíldǎ mněštis. Mǎndǎ hǎlōs Mǎǎǎrǎbi, kal “Ínkū ǎmǎkǎrǎ kǎšt.” Kǎnǎdrǎ cónǎ, láherdǎ gǎš cencǎsmǎ gǎš mǎrněni. Cǎrdǎ Mǎǎǎrǎbǎskǎ cónǎ, “Ni kwáme*

<sup>1</sup> Lit. a girl.



ăbărka." Míndă hălōs Mũgrăbi, răwáhră ; mándă cónă. Ǻrátăn  
 răwáhră, lâherdă dáuwi. Răură ătústă. Ǻră erhónă. Lâherdă  
 ínni kăsri. Kăsérmă gáir nísráki. Míndă hălōs nísr, kerdă  
 kéši cōnăskără, másik u sáli u mónăk. Kără u pířă. Săbáhtăn  
 lâherdă cōniăn. Mángerdă yikák mněšísăn ; " štírci min hnónă."  
 Intósis nísr yikák mněščăn. Săbáhtăn kólde nísrik-pištéstă pánjĭ  
 u bāios. Răwăh-kerdóssan bōiēsk-uyártă. Míndă hălōs ; 'azăm-  
 kerdéndis bōios pāubaginyétă. Măndi bāios kuriémă. Wără-  
 kerdĭ kélos rīštáski u năsri. Bāios círi " In kan mángărmĭ  
 pōiom, răštărăm bōim-kúriătă." Ǻră cónă, nĭ lâherdósis. Ǻră  
 Mũgrăbi, gără wăštis ; mítl-mă kerdă minjĭ áuwăl hăteră  
 kerdă minjĭs tání hăteră. Míndă hălōs cónă ărátăn, húldă  
 kăsrtă. Săbáhtăn klăurdósis ũhŭ nísr barúskă áuráska, dirék  
 ătústă wársăk. Ũhŭ klăurdósis li óbarŭskă, dĭ wársi ătústă.  
 Ũhŭ klăurdósis li-bāwis boiískă. Ǻră erhónă. Cĭrdĭ bāios  
 bōiskără " Ǻră pōiom : nádi-kerēs." Kal " Kéi mángĕk ?"  
 Cĭrdă cónă " Mángămi bāim." Cĭrdă " Lak, bárdă-kerăm ăbúr  
 ăbirki méji, u ărzĭn, u gésŭ, u símsim, u kŭrsĕnni. Săbáhtăn in  
 lâherdōm kull kōm min hălési, intómur bāur ; u nĭ lâherdōm,  
 cĭndōm síriŭr." Ǻrátăn cónă škă-fĕra mórze ; mănde kull síkl  
 min hălĭis. Săbáhtăn ără tmáli, lâherdă kull kiyák min hălési.  
 Kal " Lak, bárdă-kerăm kărăn mréndi u goriăn mrendi u gór-  
 wă[n] mréndi u káliĕn mréndi ; bárdă-kerămsi ăbŭrkără. In  
 kărórsăn, ha bāŭr, părēs ; u nĭ kărórsăn, cĭnămi síriŭr."  
 Bárdă-kerdōs. Ǻrátăn nádi-kerdă žănnăstă. Kăréndis. Cĭrdă  
 žănn " Nĭ drără-kerdósmăn : hlif nŭ hócer ătústă !" Săbáhtăn  
 nĭ mănde minjĭ wălă cĭnăk. Răwáhre. Ǻră tíllă-tmáli, nĭ  
 lâherdă minjĭ kiyák. Kal " Lak, intă ămăkără ăbŭndĕri ómŭ-  
 ġarĕk pištistă ărátăn u ăru ; l'intirdóris tómur bāur, nĭ tirdóris  
 cĭndōm síriŭr." Gără cónă ărátăn, tirdósis. Nĭngră mŭġarémă,  
 lâherdă erhónă tărăn ġáli. Mărdóssăn u ără. Săbáhtăn lâherdă  
 tíllă-tmáli bŭndĕri pištistă mŭġarĕki. Kóldă yĕġrōs tíllă-tmáli  
 u gără erhónă, lâherdă ġúlăn mărĭréndi. Míndă hălōs, răwáhră.  
 Intósis tărăn sŭi des [sic] tmáli u gără wăštis, u intós dĭ dōsără  
 u dĭ dōsări u tōs štar săndŭk zĕrdi, u mĭndă hălōs u răŭră  
 wăštis. Runăurdósis li-bōios-uyárik. Ǻră imbĕššĭr bōioskără ;  
 cĭrdă " Ha ără potrŭr." Láki-kerdos bōios tmaliémă, u părdos  
 kuriísmă u 'ámŭr-kerdă tmaliéntă " Răwăh-hócăs désărăntă."  
 Răwáhre désăsăntă u wĕsre.

There was a king. He was great. He had a son. There came a Mughrabi.  
 'There is offered to thee two jewels of a king (two royal jewels) and give me thy



son. Let him go with me by the sea two hours.' After a day the Mughrabi took the boy and went with him. They voyaged a month on the sea. He betook himself, came to the foot of a hill. There came a mule to him. He split her belly and put the boy in it. The Mughrabi betook himself, struck with writings [*i.e.* made an enchantment] and put incense on fire. The mule flew. She climbed to the top of the hill. The boy betook himself, split her belly, and climbed out of her. The Mughrabi betook himself, and said, 'Cast wood to me.' The boy looked, saw on all sides of him it was full of corpses. The boy said to the Mughrabi, 'I will not cast to thee.' The Mughrabi betook himself and went; the boy remained. By night he went, saw a light. He went to it. He came there. He saw that it was a castle. In the castle [there was nothing] but a vulture. The vulture betook itself, made food for the boy, meat and rice and a loaf. He ate and drank. In the morning he saw girls. He wanted one of them, 'Let her rise from here.' The vulture gave him one of them. In the morning they rode on the vulture's back, he and his wife. He made them go to their father's city. He betook himself; they invited his father to the guest-house. His wife remained in the tent. She clothed herself in a garment of feathers and fled. His wife says, 'If my husband desire me, let him follow me to my father's tent.' The boy came, and did not see her. The Mughrabi came, and went with him: as he did the first time with him he did the second time with him. The boy betook himself by night, descended to the castle. In the morning that vulture conveyed him to his other brother; he was a year's journey from him [*lit.* he was far from him a year]. That one conveyed him to his brother, he was two years' journey from him. That one conveyed him to his wife's father. He came there. His wife said to her father, 'My husband is come: call him.' He said, 'What do you want?' The boy said, 'I want my wife.' He said, 'See, I make full for thee this pool of lentils and millet, and corn, and sesame, and vetches. In the morning if I see every pile by itself I will give thee thy wife; and if I see it not I will cut off thy head.' By night the boy called on the ants: they left every sort by itself. In the morning the king came, saw everything by itself. He said, 'See, I make it full of dead donkeys and dead mares and dead cows and dead goats; I make it full for thee. If thou eat them, here is thy wife, take her; if thou eat them not, I will cut off thy head.' He filled it. In the night he called the *jinn*. They ate it. The *jinn* said, 'He has not satisfied us; may no good happen to him!'<sup>1</sup> In the morning they did not leave a fragment of it. They departed. The king came, he saw not a thing of it. He said, 'See, put for me this flag on the back of yonder cave by night, and come; if thou put it I will give thee thy wife, if not I will cut off thy head.' The boy went by night, and put it. He entered the cave, and saw there three ghuls. He killed them and came. In the morning the king saw the flag on the back of the cave. The king mounted a horse and went there, and saw the ghuls dead. He betook himself and departed. He gave him 3000 soldiers, and went with them and gave two negroes and two negresses and gave four boxes of gold, and betook himself and went with him. He caused him to go to his father's town. There came a messenger to his father, he said, 'Lo, thy son is come.' His father caused him to be met by soldiers, and took him to his tent and ordered the soldiers 'Go to your places.' They went to their places and stayed.

## LXXXII

*Gārēn min hnónă hūjōti. Tīrdōm sīriōm, sītōm. Āră yikāki Dōmi ūnktimăn, sītă tārăn ārāt. Nānd' ābūškāră māsik u sālī*

<sup>1</sup> An adaptation of an Arabic imprecation, *Allah la yihlif 'alēk*, which means something like, 'May God give thee no recompense for thy losses.'



*grēwarómān. Míndā hálōs u gārā. Ráurdā. Mángerdā grēwá-rāski snótāk. Intósis ābūškārā. Štírdōm min sícik, gārōm wāštis ūhū dētā. Ūhū dēmā sítēn ārātíyōs. Kāūtírā mněšmān dī kār. Míndēn kāūtās u tírdēn pālpālástā, tírdā elhás pāués mā u trāširdā ikcós u bigós; u nāndēnis sābāhtān tíllā-tmālieskārā. Tíllā-tmāli círdā “Kēi kerdék ūhū?” Círdēn ābūškārā “Kāūtírā kārémān.” Tírdōsis tíllā-tmāli elhāsmā u bāndōsis. Míndēn hālémān sābāhtān, nāndā kārémān u tírdā des zerd kāūt tmālieskārā, u kōlārā. Gāri mněšmān láciāk. Pārdōs yikák Cújik. Gārēn ābūškārā, nāūrēn ātústā, nī lāherdēnis. Sābāhtān ār’ ūnkítmān Dōmēni, círde āminkārā “Dírúrān ílli gāri, háti ehe dēmik.” Gārēn ābūškārā; pānjī inhe°. Ášte Dōmēni āminkārā erhónā. Mārde āminkārā óglāgāk u nānde sáli u gíri, u kārēn u pírēn. Sābāhtān gārtrēn. Áštā góriāk āminkā, lāherdēnis góri mrík. Tírdēn pūnj kícilā kājjānkārā tā kšaldéndis. Míndēn hālémān u rāwáhrēn. Sābāhtān ráurdēn, gārēn Gúld’-uyártā. Lāherdēn cónās ílli pārdék láciā erhóna. Míndēnis, mārde nis fěsik, u tírdēnis elhāsmā, u bāndōs tíllā-tmāli, u pārdēn láciā u rāwáhrēn.*

We went from there yesterday. I laid down my head and slept. There came a Nuri to us, he slept three nights. Our sheikh set before him meat and rice. He betook himself and went. He departed. He desired a dog from the sheikh. He gave it to him. I rose from slumber, went with him to yonder village. In yonder village we slept in the night. Two donkeys were stolen from us. We took the thief and put him in bonds (?), he put fetters on his feet, and shaved his beard and moustache; and we brought him in the morning to the governor. Said the governor, ‘What has that one done?’ We said to him, ‘He stole our donkeys.’ The governor put him in fetters and bound him. We betook ourselves in the morning, the thief brought us our donkeys and gave ten pounds to the governor and was loosened. There went a girl from us. An Egyptian took her. We went for him, sought for him, and did not see him. In the morning there came to us Nawar, they said to us, ‘Your daughter who went away, lo, she is in this village.’ We went to her: she was not [there]. There were Nawar with us there. They slaughtered for us a kid, and set rice and butter, and we ate and drank. In the morning we returned. There was a mare with us, we saw that the mare was dead. We gave men five beshliks to drag her away. We betook ourselves and went. In the morning we journeyed, came to Jaffa, saw the boy who had taken the girl there. We seized him, [nearly] killed him with blows, and put him in iron, and the governor bound him, and we took the girl and departed.

## LXXXIII

*Ášti diésni tmaliéni; pārdéndsān min hnónā, gāre Mékkātā. Yómin gāre Mékkātā tírdéndsān kamésmā bābūri-pāndāsmā. Min sābāhtān in kōlyāndi kameski, gāir dī sá’ā; žar ārātmā mněštis. Nāsre. Yómin nāsre āre klarānkārā. Pārde kiyakésān*





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*hálōs u rāwáhrā kuriésāntā. Āre járe nāndēndi wāštsān sái zerd; kullmānhum pārdā bāwōs.*

We went to the land of Egypt. We camped in a village, we went in the night. There came to us thieves. They were going to kill us. We fled from there, camped in a village. In the morning we went from there to the town to buy a gun. My father bought a gun, shot a pigeon with it, and brought it down. The Gentiles followed us to see him who had fired that gun, who he was. My father fled. The men were going to get donkeys and to bring them back. One of us rose from there, returned with them. He [read they] took him to the governor. He said, 'This is he who fired the gun and brought down the pigeon.' The Nuri said, 'It is not I, look ye if I have a gun; I have not got one.' The governor searched for it and he betook himself and went. The Nuri rose from there, drove a donkey, and betook himself and went to their tents. There came women carrying them with a hundred pounds: each of them took his share.<sup>1</sup>

\*LXXXVI

*Tmalék. Gūzéli yēgrūs. Yēgrūs kātīrā; lāherdā pāuūsderi, rāsrōssan tātān-dēmā. Gārā grēwarāski, cīrdā "Yēgrōm dēurmék": Cīrdā "Inhe° ūnkīimān." Cīrdā "Yēgrōm ūnkīirān, dēmi." Cīrdā "Dēmre° gāir t'hatt' imlūs." Cīrdā "Dēmre° nīm imlūs." Tāni dīs gārīrā dētā tillā-tmáli. Cīrdā "Dēim yēgrōm." Cīrdā "Dēmre° gāir t'hatt' nīm imlūs." Cīrdā "Dēmre° wālā rābāus." Gārā yiceskā. Cīrdā "Yēgrōm grēwarāskék ūhū dēmā." Ujāldā tillā-tmáli gōrāndelā; lāherdēndis kājje min dīrā. Kērde bītāsmā cālāk, cārdēndis kūštēmā. Kūīrā minjī gōrāndelā u mrā. Nānde u tīrde ātústā dīl ātnis. Ārātān āusa fērā yīcā[s]: fāsār-kerdā hīlmus: lāherdā gōrāndelās mārīrā, ujāldā tmālie bōl. Kōlde ātústā cālās, lāherdēndis. Hidd-kerdēndis dēi, bāgārdēndis, u pārde grēwārās u tīrdēndis elhāsmā.*

There was a pasha. His horse was fine. His horse was stolen; he saw its footprints, he followed them to a village of fellahīn. He went to the sheikh, and said, 'My horse is in your village.' The sheikh said, 'It is not with us.' He said, 'My horse is among you, give me [him].' He said, 'I will not give it unless you pay its price.' He said, 'I will not give half its price.' The second day the pasha returned to the village. He said, 'Give me my horse.' He said, 'I will not give it unless you pay half its price.' He said, 'I will not pay a quarter of its price.' He went to the Kaimmakam.<sup>2</sup> He said, 'My horse is with the sheikh of that village.' The Kaimmakam sent a horseman; the men saw him from far off. They made a pit in the earth, covered it with wood. The horseman fell into it and died. They fetched and put earth upon him. In the night

<sup>1</sup> The last sentence seems to be a matter-of-fact description of a highway robbery, perhaps with the idea of revenge on the village that had made itself so unpleasant. The women of Palestine often carry considerable sums of money in their headdresses, though a hundred pounds is rather an excessive figure. It is not clear whether the villagers were trying to secure the gun, or whether they resented the killing of the pigeon, which may have been village property. Probably both.

<sup>2</sup> A subordinate provincial governor.



the Kaimmakam had a vision [*lit.* a shadow struck the K.]: he interpreted his dream: he saw the horseman dead, he sent many soldiers. They dug the hole on him, saw him. They destroyed the village, broke it up, and took the sheikh and put him in prison. ;

## LXXXVII

Áštã kãjjãki dířãri bítãsmã. Pãrdi bãnos tãřãn sémãkãk: 'imlén. Štírdã póiôs, kal "Kerísãn ãminkãrã, júãr." Štírdi min hnónã, rãwãħri: kárdik bãnos méjik-kěš. Ářã min hnónã; tírdi tákni ágris u éba'dílãn. Čírdã póiôs "Kē sémãke?" Šká-fēri bãnos sótãk. "Pãuãs, lãħãs, yã déik-maṭ ēmãnsãs illi mán-gãri mněšim sémãk! Mũfalã-ħrã, intěsis cãlãsmã." Tírdéndis cãlãsmã. Kull dīs jãri bãnos cãlãstã, dīknãursi semãkén. Kēi cãri kãjjã? "Yã déik-maṭos, átme kãcñãurděsmi, ħãdóttã sémãke ħãstōsměni." Dīsãk jánde kãjjã, bãnos ħãzãri átústã; pēndósis min cãlãski u kárdi semãkén, kãrěndsãn u pīrěndsãn; mńdi ħãlōs sãbãħtãn bãnos, mãrdi dī cmãri u nīrdóssãn ãbũskãrã.

Štírdã min hnón', pãrdã 'ãlãtis u rãũrdã. Gãřã Ĥãũrãnãtã. Pãndãsmã kúndã dãwãũ. Pãrd' 'imlus. Čírdã bãũuskãrã "Kětã ni-štãlãn?" Pãrdã tãřãn kãř 'imlén. Štírde min hnónã, síte ãřãttýos; kãũtírã mněšis dī kãř. Gãře min hnónã, nãũre ãtsãntã, nī lãherdóssãn. Gãřã déiki grēwãřãskãrã. "Áma ya grēwãřã, kãrēm kãũtirěndi dēirmã." Štírdã min hnónã grēwãřã, nãndã kãũtãn, čírdã kãũtãnkã "nãnãs kãrēs ēmansãski." Gãře nãnděndsãn u áre. Intã grēwãřãski zéřdãk u intã kãũtãnki zéřdãk u štãldã kãrěstã u rãũrdã.

There was a man ploughing in the earth. His wife bought three fishes. Her husband arose, said, 'Prepare them for us, woman.' She arose from there and went: his wife made a lentil stew. He came from there: she set a wooden dish before him and millet-loaves. Said the husband, 'Where are the fishes?' His wife raised an outcry. 'Come, see, oh ye villagers, this man who asks for fish from me! He has gone mad, put him in the pit.'<sup>1</sup> They put him in the pit. Every day his wife went to the well to show him the fishes. What does the man say? 'Oh, villagers, you have made me a liar,<sup>2</sup> see, the fishes are in her hands.' From [that] day<sup>3</sup> they knew that the man, his wife is mocking at him; they lifted him from the well. She prepared the fish; they ate and drank; in the morning his wife betook herself, killed two chickens and set them before him.

He arose from there, took his family and departed. He went to the Hauran. On the way he sold a camel. He took its price. He said to his wife, 'On what shall we carry [our goods]?' He bought three donkeys. They arose from there, they slept in the night; two donkeys were stolen from him. They went from there, searched for them, found them not. He went to the village sheikh. 'I,

<sup>1</sup> No doubt one of the ancient and now dry cisterns with which the lands of every village in Palestine abound.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps = you have listened to lies about me.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* immediately, from that time.



O sheikh, my donkey has been stolen in your village.' The sheikh arose from there, he fetched the thieves, he said to the thieves, 'Fetch the donkeys of this man.' They went, fetched them and came. He gave a pound to the sheikh, and gave a pound to the thieves, and loaded his donkeys and departed.

## LXXXVIII

*Áštã yikáki tmálik, ábúskã pótrãki. Ářã yikák Mũgrãbik. "Déim pótrúr, ráucam wãštis sã'ãk, démri štar sãi zerd." Tósis štar sãi zerd tmalieskãřã, ráurã wãštis: ġı̄b-ı̄hre wãrsãk. Áre dériãkã, ġab-ı̄hri ġãm ätsãntã. Cı̄rdã Mũgrãbi cõnãstã "Áru sũcãn erhãnã; áuwãl äřátãki ämã bíddi sũcãm, u ätu äher äřátãki swëk." Sıtã Mũgrãbi. Mı̄ndi ħálõs äřátãn, äri cõnãskã éconi ı̄lli ġúldik pnãrik. Cı̄rdi cõnãskãřã "Štãli éwũtãs u twës siriı̄stã éMũgrãbiéski u mãrës u ämã pãřãmri." Štı̄rdã cõnã, nirdihrã°. Mı̄ndi ħálõs cõni u ġãri. Nı̄mı̄smã äřátãk cõnã sıtã u Mũgrãbi wësřã. Ári kãĵji, cı̄rdi Mũgrãbiéskã, "Štãl wũtãs u twës siriı̄stã ézarëski u pãřãmri." Štãldã Mũgrãbi wũtãs wã ı̄hriş-kerdã cõnãs-siri, mãrdõsis. Kãnídrã kãĵjiémã, wã ı̄nhã áudik, 'ı̄mrõs sãi wãrsi. Dfın-kerdã cõnãs. Mı̄ndã ħálõs Mũgrãbi, ġı̄b-ı̄hrã wãrsãk. Ářã pándõs cõnãs ħũbrtã; kãnídrã min éšãžãřã idrãkikkãki kíldik ħũbrãstã cõnãski. Šítémã u ätústã idrãki. Pãrdã dı̄ ħũtf idrãk u ġãřã tã-nı̄rsãn Mũgrãbi bõvı̄skã cõnãski tíllã-tmãliéskã. Štı̄rdã min ħnõnã, nı̄rdõssãn tmalieskãřã. Cı̄rdã ũhũ tíllã-tmãli "Mikrën ehe 'drãk?" "Nãndõssis yikáki Mũgrãbik." Mı̄ndã ħálõs tíllã-tmãli, cı̄ndã ħãbbãk idrãk, lãherdã pótrus sãuũr-hrëk ħũtfmã. Kãnídrã, lãherdã pótrus. "Nãnãs ämãkã Mũgrãbíãs." Kãnídrã Mũgrãbiésma, ũhũ ı̄lli pãrdã pótrus. Rõãri tíllã-tmãli potrı̄stã. Štı̄rdã, bãndõsis elhãsmã u cı̄ndã siriõs u tírdos ágmã Mũgrãbíãs u dírikerdos.*

There was a king, he had a son. There came a Mughrabi. 'Give me thy son, let me depart with him [for] an hour, I will give thee four hundred pounds.' He gave four hundred pounds to the king, he departed with him; they were away a year. They came to a place, the sun set upon them. The Mughrabi said to the boy, 'Come, let us sleep here: the first of the night I will sleep, and the end of the night thou shalt sleep.' The Mughrabi slept. A girl, sweet and white, betook herself by night, and came to the boy. She said to the boy, 'Lift this stone and put it on the head of this Mughrabi and kill him and I will take thee.' The boy arose, he would not. The girl betook herself and went. At midnight the boy slept and the Mughrabi sat up. The woman came, said to the Mughrabi, 'Lift the stone and put it on the head of this boy and I will take thee.' The Mughrabi lifted the stone and smashed the boy's head and killed him. He looked at the woman, and saw that she was a hag, her age a hundred years. He buried the boy. The Mughrabi betook himself, went away a year. His road came to the boy's grave, he saw a grape-tree that had grown from the boy's grave. It was



winter and there were grapes<sup>1</sup> upon it. The Mughrabi took two bunches of grapes and went to bring them to the boy's father, the king. He rose from there, brought them to the king. That king said, 'Whence are these grapes?' 'One Mughrabi has fetched them.' The king betook himself, cut one of the grapes, saw his son pictured in the bunch. He looked and saw his son. 'Bring me the Mughrabi.' He looked at the Mughrabi, it was that one who had taken his son. The king weeps for his son. He rose, bound the Mughrabi in prison and cut off his head and put him in the fire and winnowed him.

## LXXXIX

*Āstā yikāki tīllā-tmālik, potrēs des u štar u štārne. Āstā mīnjsān kūštōtā yikāki. Mīndā ḥālōs, cīrdā barēskārā "Tā-nāūcān āmīnkārā bēsāūi-hōcān." Kōlde gōrēsān u mīnde ḥālēsān u gāre. Lāherde ēkāsri ātre<sup>2</sup> gūlāskāki, u dīrēs gūlāski das u štar u štārne. Cīrdā gūl "Bīddi bēsāūi-kerāmsān' ēlāciān ēziriātānkārā." Bēsāūi-kerdōssān ābsānkārā. Cīrdā gūl "Āzrā ḥādi, mārāmi zīriātān u kūmnāmsān." Sīndā kūštōtā zārō. Cīrdā barēskārā "Intāsi sirtāwērān jūrān-siriāntā." Tīrde tārābīšān siriēsāntā jūrānki. Arātān ḥūldā gūl, lāheri īlli siriīstā tārābīši, mārārsi, mārđā giš dīrēs. Sābāḥtān zīriāte nāsre. Kānīdrā gūl giš dīrēsni īlli mārīrēndi. Bā'īdre zīriāte. Gārīrā kūštōtā zārō, pārdā min ḥnōnā yēgrōs gūlāski, u mīndā ḥālōs u nāsra.*

*Barēs-cōnāski šāūrā-ḥre "Pāūās tā-mārān kūštōtā zārēs ; urāti cēri bōimāntā 'āmā īlli sellīm-kerdōssān gūlāski'." Mīnde ḥālōsān ; ḥūldā cālāsmā kūštōtā cōnā tā-m-pīnāūr pāni ābsānkārā. Cīnde sālās minjī, u māndēndis cālāsmā, u pānjī gārā u pānjān gāre. Rāwāḥre bōisānkārā, cīrde "Bārōm kūštōtā mra°." Cōnā īlli cālāsmēk lāherdā yikāki cālāsmā, u lāherdā ēdiānā bākran, yikāk kalék u yikāk pnarék. Štīrdā min ḥnōnā kājjā īlli lāherdōsis cālāsmā. "Incū, ya āḥā cōnā, 'pnārā bākra gālīb-kerdā kālās' klāūārīr cālās-kāpiētā, u lāherdūr, cīrdūr 'kālā gālīb-kerdā pnārās' ḥlāūārīr bītāsmā āḥār." Cīrdā cōnā "Kālā gālīb-kerdā pnārās." Ḥlāūurdōsis bītāsmā gēnā āḥār. Infīdrā ēklarāntā, lāherdā āūdiāki, wēsra ūnkīs. Kūrīōs dīrik klārān-kuriāntā. Mīndā ḥālōs, sābāḥtān pārdā ēkāliān tā-rā'i-kersān. Cīrdi ābūskārā āūdi. "Hīndā nī ja, u hīndā nī ja, ēfeni ja, u ēfeni ja." Gārā. Lāherdā ēsāpās, ḥōṭ sīrik ābūskārā. Mārđōsis. Lāherdā hīndā émārđi ; mārđōsis. U hīndā kéik? ḥūgi kītīk, el-īlli mārđōsis, u pārdā īlli pāūusmēk ; 'albék ; u 'albēmā dūdāki, ihī ejjōsi Prōtkīlāski. Mīndā ḥānzīri, mārđōsis u pēndā īlli pāūusmēk,*

<sup>1</sup> A summer fruit.

<sup>2</sup> I do not understand *ātre*.



'álbi. *Áră Prōtkílă. "Dēim ejjóm" Círdă zárō "Indemri" gāir tā-klāuām dínyik-măhástă.* Klāurdōsis Prōtkílă dínyétă. Lăherdă; cındă dūdik-siri, Prōtkílăs-siri cntri. Míndă hălōs, răwáhră. Lăherdă štar das gūli aréndi tā-kaūtănd tállă-tmaliéski háznoš. *Áră min hnónă kűštótă cónă; kal "kíndă gărési?" "Gărēni in-kaūtăn tállă-tmálies háznoš."* Cónă kal "Ámă wăštísăn hrómi."

Míndă hălōs, kal "Átme tílla-hrési, u âmă kűštótă hrómi, níngămi dēmsi ábrănkără. Indérim kűllyikă kűštótă wűtăk; yóm inni kwămi wűtăs áuărim yikák." Kíldă pánjī ágrísăn u kta áuwăl wűt. Kíldă yikák. Cındă síriōs. Táni yikák, cındă síriōs. Lămmă nī mândă mnéšsăn wălă yikák, štírdă min hnónă, húldă bōus-kuriétă, lăherdă bėnos sítik. Wésri bėnos árătăn; štírdi min hnónă. "Ka barér?" "Ha siténdi." Gără ábsănkără, štăldóssăn u cındă síriésăn. *Áră bōios. "Kékă ya ábă, cındōr barér-sirie?"* Míndă hălōs, kal "Kurdéndim călăsmă u găre. Mărdéndim gāir Húyă klāurdóssim min călăski; u árom ábúrkă árătăn. Lăherdōm das u štar gúlne, găre kaūtăndi háznoš; u ha mărdómsăn u hădóttă átún kúriăkne kűréndi." Lăherdóssăn tállă-tmáli, műfal'-íhră, 'ámr-kerdă átsántă, kérde ágik déik-mat u šnăurdéndsăn. Lămmă íhre séken ukténdsăn calámmă. Míndă hălōs, wěslăurdă pótrus tállă-tmáli. Kűštótă íhră tállă-tmáli.

There was a king, his sons were eighteen. There was a little one among them. He betook himself, and said to his brethren, 'Let us seek for ourselves to marry us [*i.e.* wives for ourselves].' They rode their mares and betook themselves and went. They saw a castle that belonged to a ghul, and the daughters of the ghul were eighteen. The ghul said, 'I want to marry these girls to these boys.' He married them to them. The ghul said, 'To-night I will kill the boys and eat them.' The little boy heard. He said to his brothers, 'Put your head-dresses on the heads of the women.' They put their *tarbushes* on the heads of the women. By night the ghul came down, sees those on whose heads<sup>1</sup> were *tarbushes*, killed them, killed all his daughters. In the morning the boys fled. The ghul looked on all his daughters that were dead. The boys were far away. The little boy returned, took from there the ghul's horse, betook himself and fled.

The brothers of the boy plotted, 'Come ye, let us kill the little boy: tomorrow he will say to our father, "It is I who saved them from the ghul."' They betook themselves; the little boy descended into a well to get drinking-water for them. They cut the rope on him, and left him in the pit, and he went and they went. They went to their father, they said, 'My little brother is dead.' The boy who was in the pit saw some one in the pit, and saw two rams; one was black and one was white. The man whom he saw in the pit rose from there. 'Say, O thou boy, "The white ram has conquered the black one," and it will lift thee to the mouth of the pit; but if thou hast seen and said, "The black has conquered the white," it will lower thee down into the ground.' Said the boy,

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* 'the one on whose head.'



'The black has conquered the white.' He<sup>1</sup> lowered him still farther down into the ground. He broke in on the bedawin, he saw an old woman, he sat with her. Her tent was far from the tents of the bedawin. He betook himself, in the morning he took the goats to pasture them. The old woman said to him, 'Do not go *yonder* and do not go *yonder*, go in *this* direction and go in *that* direction.'<sup>2</sup> He went. He saw a serpent, it had seven heads. He killed it. He saw further a demon: he killed it. And what further? A lame pig, which he killed and took what was in its foot; it was a box; and in the box a worm, which was the soul of a Jew. He seized the pig, killed it and took the box which was in its foot. The Jew came. 'Give me my soul.' Said the boy, 'I will not, till thou raise me to the face of the earth.' The Jew lifted him to the world. He saw [the world]; he cut off the head of the worm, the Jew's head was cut off. He betook himself and went. He saw forty ghuls going to steal the king's treasure. The little boy came from there; he said, 'Whither are you going?' 'We are going to steal the king's treasure.' The boy said, 'I will be with you.'

He betook himself and said, 'You are big and I am small, I will go in and give it to you. Let each one give me a little stone; when I cast a stone let one come to me.' He climbed before them, and threw the first stone. One climbed up. He cut off his head. The second one, he cut off his head. When not a single one of them remained, he rose from there, went down to his father's house, saw his sister asleep. His sister sat up by night; she arose from there. 'Where are thy brothers?' 'Here they are sleeping.' He went to them, took them up and cut off their heads. His father came. 'Why, my son, hast thou cut off the heads of thy brothers?' He betook himself and said, 'They cast me in a pit and went away. They would have killed me unless God had raised me from the pit; and I have come to thee by night. I saw fourteen [sic] that were ghuls, they were going to steal thy treasure, and lo! I have killed them, and here they lie, they are on the top of thy house.' The king saw them, he became mad, he gave orders to them, the people of the village made a fire and burnt them. When they became ashes they cast them in pits. The king betook himself and caused his son to sit [with him]. The small (boy) became king.

## XC

*Āšte dī klarék, wāššan oġlāġāki. Ġāre tāni-k'nāndis. Kundēndis bi-štār kǎnīlǎ u dasnāwīāk. Yikák pǎrdǎ dī kǎnīlǎ u yikák pǎrdǎ dī kǎnīlǎ u dasnāwīǎ. Ūhū illi pǎrdǎ dī kǎnīlǎn [sic] mángǎri ōráski dasnāwīǎ. Štírdǎ min hnónǎ ūhū illi pǎrdǎ dīyǎ kǎnīlǎn u dasnāwīǎ. Círdǎ bāwístǎ "Āmǎ ġārōm kérāmī ħálōm mǎrnǎ kǎcinníšmǎ, ħōf ūhū klárǎ áuǎri mángǎri mnēštim dasnāwīǎ. Štírdǎ, ħálōs kárdǎ mǎrnǎ. Ār' ūhū illi diyēni kǎnīlǎ pǎrdǎ. Rékǎb-kerdǎ kǎħriǎ ágtǎ tā-māndōsis ġáli-hōcer. Lǎmmǎn māndōsis ġáli-hōcer, tīrdōsis émǎrnǎs, nǎndǎ kándōs sídriki u tīrdǎ āħarīis: u nǎndǎ, épanīǎ illi tátik ġáli-hōri ġūš-kerdǎ átústǎ, rējīrdǎ átústǎ. Kōld' ikiēs: círdǎ ābúskǎ "Intǎ dasnāwīǎ." Nǎndǎ ābúskǎrá ékefeni u tīrdǎ éďǎfi gorisnémǎ, u nīrdōsis žǎm'átǎ. Síwerǎ kéfénmǎ*

<sup>1</sup> Whether the ram or the man is ambiguous.

<sup>2</sup> Indicating the four cardinal points in turn.



*gūrżāk u kālismā gūrżāk. Nīrdōsis málkădtă, bândă ătústă. Lăherdă ărătăn ārēndi kăutēni kăutīrdēndi hăznōs tīllă-tmaliéski. Nīngre málkădmă, u dū-kerde cări tă-băwúndis ătsántă. Ăsti tirwălăki wăssăn. Kăutīr'. Dēndsi yikák mnéssăn ūhū tirwăl, lăn cīndă min ăuwăl hăwăă émărnăs kerdōsis dī fălķă. "Părŭmsi." Štīrdă mărňă min hnónă. Răsrōssăn, năsre: mănde plen giš deriisíntă. Părdă plen mărňă, răwáhră kuriístă. Ără băiskără, cīrdă "Năndōm ple ăbŭrkără bōl. Mīndă hălōs, ără kłără mnéscăn. Dasňawtăk-săui intōssis das-năwtăk; u gără ūhū kłără, părdă kaliēni u gōrwēni, u părdă dăwăi u íhră grēwără kăuméstă. Mīndă hălōs, ráurdă, tīrdă dériăkămă, părdă dōsărăk u dōsărík 'imlén, u íhră grēwără klăréstă.*

There were two bedawin, they had a kid. They went to sell it. They sold it for four piastres and a metallik.<sup>1</sup> One took two piastres, and one took two piastres and the metallik. He who took the two piastres wanted from the other the metallik. He who took the two piastres and the metallik arose from there. He said to his wife, 'I am going to pretend to be dead [*lit.* make myself dead by a lie] for fear that that bedawi will come and demand the metallik from me. He arose, made himself [as though] dead. He who took the two piastres came. He put the pot on the fire till he left it to boil. When he left it to boil he laid out the dead man, took a thorn of a *sidr*-tree and put it under him, and fetched the water that was boiling hot, and sprinkled and poured it on him. He opened his eyes; he said to him, 'Give me the metallik.' He put on him a shroud, and put thread in a packing-needle and carried him to the mosque. He sewed a hole in the shroud and a hole in his skin. He brought him to the grave, shut it on him. He saw by night thieves coming stealing the king's treasure. They entered the grave and lit a light to divide it among them. They had a sword. It was stolen. They give it, that sword [to] one of them if he cut this dead man and made two parts of him with the first blow. 'I will take it' [said the corpse]. The dead man rose from there. He followed them, they fled: they left all the money in their place. The dead man took the money, and went to his house. He came to his wife and said, 'I have brought thee much money.' The bedawi betook himself and came to them. The owner of the metallik gave him a metallik; and that bedawi<sup>2</sup> went, bought sheep and cows, and bought a camel and became sheikh of his people. He betook himself, departed, pitched his tent in a place, bought a negro and a negress, and became sheikh of his bedawin.

<sup>1</sup> A coin worth about a halfpenny.

<sup>2</sup> The hero, not the metallik-hunter.





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Zangenhah summers about forty miles south of Shiraz, but I always understood it to occupy itself in the same way as the majority of the nomads in cultivating its lands, raising stock, making carpets, etc. [These are Kurds, not Gypsies.] In such a comparatively sparsely populated country as Persia, with inhabitants grouped into villages for mutual protection against robbery, small sections would naturally attach themselves to some larger body, and this may be the case in the case of the *Ghurbats*, or tinkers of the larger tribes.'

These valuable notes were enclosed in a letter of Bishop Edwarde Stuart of Isfahan, dated November 23, 1901. He writes: 'I staid a night at the E. Telegraph Station at Komishah, and there I was the guest of Mr. Blackman of the E. T. service, who I knew was a good Oriental scholar. I showed him your letter, on which he made the enclosed note [quoted above]. . . . I may add that the term *Kauli* is commonly used in Persian as a word of reproach. . . . On the pilgrim road to Kerbela we met some of the fraternity'—dancing girl class, who entertain the pilgrims and travellers. Notes and letters like the above are interesting and important as coming from scholars who know Persia, its history, its people, and who have lived there for years; also because they are interested in and have carefully considered Persian Gypsies.

Perhaps I might add that *karach* is a Tartar word meaning simply 'nomad,' and also commonly used in that sense by the Kurds. Hence *karachi*, 'nomads.' The *i* is the common Persian termination for the person doing, as *chang*, 'a harp' or tsimbal, *changi*, 'a player on a tsimbal,' the name used for the Gypsy dancing and playing girls in Constantinople.

A. T. SINCLAIR.

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*Songs of the Open Road: Didakei Ditties and Gypsy Dances.*

Tunes and Words collected in Hampshire by ALICE E. GILLINGTON. Music arranged and adapted by DOWSETT SELLARS. London: Joseph Williams, Ltd., 32 Great Portland Street, W. Price 2s. 6d. net.

As the first collection of Anglo-Romani songs which has appeared with accompaniments, Miss Gillington's work must possess much attraction and interest for Gypsy-lovers. From time to time songs noted from Gypsy singers have appeared



in the *Folk-Song Journal*, including the Gypsy carols collected by Mrs. Leather in Herefordshire, and the fine 'King Pharim' carol (afterwards published in Miss Broadwood's *English Traditional Songs and Carols*). Such Gypsy versions of our English carols and ballads sometimes contain points of great interest (notably in the case of 'King Pharim') in being coloured by Gypsy custom or belief. But so far no collection of English Gypsy songs with Romani words has appeared in print, and although the *Romané gilia* in this book are only four in number, they encourage the hope that others may be found if Miss Gillington, with her special opportunities, will persevere in the systematic collection of Gypsy music, especially among the purer bred Gypsies, which, of course, these south of England 'Didakais' are not, their very name being the pure Gypsy's imitation of the way half-breeds talk Romani (*did akai* for *dik akai*, 'look here').

The English Gypsy songs in this collection, though in themselves good and interesting examples of folk-song, may cause disappointment to the student who looks for possible Indian, or at any rate Romani, characteristics in their tunes, or anything distinctively un-English in their words. The first ten songs—excellent as they are—are all more or less familiar to collectors of English folk-songs; versions of almost all have been printed in the *Folk-Song Journal* under the same or other titles, and if not in the *Journal* in other collections, and the six more particularly noted as 'Gypsy songs' would be more accurately described as 'Gypsies' songs,' for though noted from Gypsy singers, they are all versions of folk-ballads which are for the most part widely spread in England and Scotland, and which there is no reason for supposing to be of Gypsy origin. Nevertheless it is interesting and useful to discover what songs are really sung by our south-country Gypsies, who have long been in close contact with *gâjos*, and to note the character of the ballads they have taken to their hearts and made their own—poaching, stealing, hanging, murder, and mercenary love seeming to have had a particular—perhaps a characteristic—attraction for them as ballad-motifs. These Gypsy versions are of much interest, and the tunes, almost without exception, excellent, though here again, where they are not actual variants of known folk-airs, the student of English folk-song will, we think, fail to discover—as has already been said—anything foreign to him in their scale and modes, melody, or rhythm. The New Forest Gypsies' 'Green Bushes' is a close variant in both



words and tune of other copies from various localities, and the same may be said of 'The Warminster Song'—better known as 'Geordie'—which is very near Mr. Cecil Sharp's Somerset forms—a widely spread ballad, presumably of northern origin, and believed in Scotland to refer to George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly, imprisoned in the reign of Queen Mary for supposed complicity with a notorious marauder he was sent to arrest, or, according to one of the Scots versions, 'for hunting the king's deer and rae' on his own account. This accords with the Gypsy version of Geordie's crime. 'Ripe it is the apple, love,' is the song more generally called 'Madam, I am come to court you.' 'Three gypsies came to the Door' is a version of the well-known 'Johnnie Faa' or 'Gypsy Laddie'—another ballad which seems to be of north-country origin, and has a pseudo-historical foundation. This—like the preceding one—is a song which it was very natural that Gypsies should make their own, despite the unfortunate hanging of the Gypsy troop, a catastrophe which they have retained without compunction in their version, though it is omitted from some English ones. 'Green grow the laurels' borrows its tune from 'The Bonnet o' Blue' ('Bonny Scotch Lad') and its wholly irrelevant refrain, 'We'll change the green laurels for the bonnets so blue,' probably from some song to the same tune celebrating the triumphant return from the wars of a Scottish regiment. But the most interesting song of these Hampshire Gypsies is 'The Brake o' Briars'—a Somerset version of which, 'In Bruton Town,' collected by Mr. Cecil Sharp, was contributed by him to the *Folk-Song Journal* in 1905. This ballad, though borrowing in this Gypsy version its opening verses from another story, is a form of the popular tale of Isabella and her Pot of Basil, long ago utilised by Boccaccio, and it is not the only Boccaccio folk-tale we may find among our English traditional ballads. Collectors will welcome this new version of one of our rarer ballads, which tells of the murder of a lady's lover—a serving-man—by her two brothers, who entice him to the woods on a hunting expedition, the situation of his dead body being afterwards disclosed to the lady in a dream. The German form of the story, as given in verse by Hans Sachs, tallies in all its main incidents, says Miss Broadwood, with the Somerset ballad. The story may well have been the theme of a minstrel ballad, and so brought into England.

Of the remaining Hampshire ballads, 'The Bonny Bushy Broom'





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volume deserves all the praise due to the pioneer, and for the general public forms an interesting and attractive selection of 'Songs of the Road'; but its value to the student would have been greatly increased by some reference to other existing versions of tunes and words. The comparison of varying copies of the same tune is an important branch of folk-song study, of value in arriving at the normal or typical form of an air: by comparing variants one may note how the licence of the individual singer may alter the rhythmical or melodic character of a tune, as in the case of 'Green Bushes' in this collection, which has diverged from the typical triple-time form into a mixture of common and triple time. By comparison of both texts and tunes it may be seen how the words have been rearranged by one line of singers to fit a particular tune, and, on the other hand, how a tune has been pulled out or curtailed to fit a ballad to which it has not originally belonged, thus becoming in process of time almost a new tune, for folk-singers seldom consciously invent a tune—rather casting about in their memories for something to which the new words may be sung, just as the ballad-maker generally makes his words to fit some tune he knows. A similar collation of the words with other versions would have cleared up some obscurities and odd corruptions in these Gypsy ballads, which, while left intact, might have been elucidated. For example, 'the yellow castle's lady,' in the 'Seven Gypsies,' is a misunderstanding of 'the Earl o' Cassilis' lady,' and there is a curious misconception in the conclusion of 'The Bonny Bushy Broom,' where the lover's original threat to slay his steed if it fails to overtake his lady in her flight has been construed into an indication of the murder of the damsel herself, leading to an additional verse of false explanation. In the same ballad an allusion, plain enough in another version, to the magic potency of the broom flower as a charm to induce sleep has also been obscured.

We have been considering the book wholly from the standpoint of its value to the Gypsy-lorist and the student of folk-song, but such questions as the English or Romani origin of the songs and music do not affect the fact of the volume's appeal to the singer for whom a good folk-ballad has a heart-stirring charm quite independent of its origin, history, rarity, or folk-lorish value, and to the lover of folk-dancing, who probably does not greatly care whether the steps of his country jigs and swing-songs go to a mid-Victorian polka or sickly modern waltz tune, or to a Romany



dance-measure of remote antiquity. Neither of these, let us hope, will be distressed by Mr. Dowsett Sellars' clever but extremely modern treatment of the melodies. Miss Gillington must have fallen in with some good singers, and should be encouraged to make use of her exceptional opportunities in the collection of further songs. At the same time we would urge her, if she wishes her books to be of more than a popular interest and value, not to plough a lonely furrow, but to put herself in touch with her fellow-collectors by joining the Folk-Song Society, whose systematic researches, references to allied forms and variants, and valuable store of collected material for the study of folk-song, should be of the greatest advantage to her in putting her collections on a sound basis.

ANNIE G. GILCHRIST.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 1.—JEK BIÁV

Ko biš ko másek Aprílos, ko berš 1911, uló jek biáv. Bernard Gilliat-Smith prandenghjas jekhé čhajá, o aláv lákeri Vóika, i náí ternedér čhai katár i familia Lubicz, o dad lákoro o hakím-el-karantína ándi χοραχανί slúžba. Uló jek práznikos ándi kangerí e Kapučinéngerí ándi Dis Beiruti, thai napalál o dad thai i dai e čhajákeri posreštindé e gostjén léngere kheréste. Pále gelé-peske o rakló tha i rakli jekhé gavéste ándi planina e Libanéskeri.

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### 2.—HUBERT SMITH-STANIER: A RETROSPECT, 1823-1911

A note written on the eve of the coronation of King George v., to wish Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Smith-Stanier of Brooklyne, Willes Road, Leamington Spa, a pleasant spending of that festival, brought me a reply from the latter to say that her husband 'passed away at one o'clock on Thursday morning, June 22nd, 1911; aged 88 years and 16 days.' In answer to a letter of condolence came these further details: 'The Ezel, Chilbolton, Hants, June 30, 1911. Dear Sir, Thanks for your kind letter. My husband was quite well, and so happy here, and liked the place and people so much, and went to bed as usual on the Monday evening, but immediately after saying "Good night and thank you" to Mr. Turton, he became unconscious, and never moved or spoke again. He . . . is buried with his father in the cemetery at Bridgnorth. The doctor assured me he did not suffer; but his short laboured breathing made it difficult to believe. It was cerebral embolism and valvular disease of the heart, what is generally called apoplexy.—Yours truly, Julietta Smith-Stanier.'

I accede to the request of the Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society that I should write a short account of him, the more readily because the newspapers, except *The*



*Bridgnorth Journal*<sup>1</sup> of 1st July, appear to have passed over his decease in silence. Yet he was an eccentric, and therefore an interesting man, who will long be remembered by those who knew him. My acquaintance with him began thus: Mr. F. Madan, of the Bodleian Library, called my attention to a letter on some mysterious words which appeared in *The Standard* in 1903, and advised me to write and say if they were Baskish. My letter caught the eye of Mr. H. Smith, as he then was, who wrote and said that he had heard of me from M. Pierre Vidal, Bibliothécaire de Perpignan. A long correspondence began, which ended only a year and a half ago. Mr. Smith's letters were not easy to decipher, but shew the kindness of his disposition and the catholicity of his interests. I stayed at his house for four days at Easter 1907, and dined with him on Easter Sunday 1908, a snowy day, when I saw him for the last time. On the former occasion I was his companion on an excursion by tram to Warwick, and a walk to Guys Cliffe. He was always a great walker, of a ruddy countenance, practising and preaching the duty of early rising. He used to drink white wine from Quixote-land. He was never tired of talking of the Basks, whom he admired, and took a lively interest in my work on the forms of the verb in the Baskish New Testament of 1571, of which he desired the continuation. He had lived in a tent in the forest of Iraty, in Baskland, and had been at Biarritz, as I also was, during the sojourn of Queen Victoria in 1889, and went over to San Sebastián to see her pay her famous visit to that lovely town. He showed me the haunted guitar about which much was written many

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<sup>1</sup> 'On Monday last the mortal remains of the late Mr. Hubert Smith Stanier were consigned to their resting place in the vault at the Bridgnorth Cemetery wherein his aged father the late John Jacob Smith was laid to rest in 1873. Bridgnorth has known few if any more kind-hearted and genial old English gentlemen than John Jacob Smith and his son Hubert who in recent years has been known as Hubert Smith Stanier, he having added to his original name that of Stanier in deference to the wish of his father's second wife, Miss Stanier of St. James's Priory, from whom he derived the fine old property attached to that Priory. The late Mr. Smith Stanier and his father, John Jacob Smith, and his grandfather, Joseph Smith, held the office of Town Clerk of this Borough, in succession, for the long period of one hundred and six years prior to the year 1887 when he resigned, and the present Town Clerk, Mr. J. H. Cooksey, who had been Deputy Town Clerk for many years, was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Smith Stanier at various periods in his career held many official appointments besides that of Town Clerk, including Clerk to the County Justices, Clerk to several bodies of Turnpike Trustees, Secretary to the Charity Trustees, Registrar of the County Court, Clerk to the Governors of the Grammar School, Steward of the Manor of Ackleton, etc., etc. He, with the then Mayor of Bridgnorth (the late Mr. R. O. Backhouse) in 1859-60, was chiefly instrumental in organising the 4th Shropshire Rifle Volunteers whose work, then begun, is now carried on by the F Company of the 4th Battalion of the K.S.L.I. He was also one of the founders of the Castle Lodge of Freemasons, No. 1621, and its first Secretary and Treasurer. Since his withdrawal from public life, he and his wife have lived in retirement at Leamington. He died on the 22nd ult. at Chilbolton in Hampshire at the advanced age of 89, the actual date of his birth being the 6th of June, 1822. At his interment the Corporation of Bridgnorth was represented by the senior member, Alderman Whitefoot, and by the Town Clerk (Mr. J. H. Cooksey). The Castle Lodge of Freemasons was also represented by a deputation consisting of the Worshipful Master (Mr. F. D. Roach) and several officers and members who each placed a sprig of acacia on the coffin. As an authority on antiquarian matters his help was much sought and valued. He was a member for many years of the Shropshire Archæological Society and of the Severn Valley Field Club, and in many ways he devoted much time and careful attention to the collection of matter of literary and antiquarian interest.'

A brief notice of him with his portrait appeared in *The Sphere*, of London, September 2, 1911.





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“*Dordi! Dordi! my dīrī fōkī,*” he pen’d, “dere’s a *pišom dand-in’ mandī*. Dat bit of rag mus’ have been lef behind by dem *juvli mumpāri*, de *beng te taser dem*, de *hindi jukels*. *Jā avré, my dīrī fōkī, jā sig*, and *wuser mandī* some *pūri bitī īzas* to *čiv opré my kokerū*. *Kēr sig.*”

‘And when Sanspi and them was gone, he stripped off every *kova* he was wearing, and burned them where he stood. Fath l he did, my blesseds.

‘And once in a lane by Gorleston he came up with some of the Hernes—No Name’s people—Sanspi’s relatives. They had a *čori, pūri gēri* just *merer’d*, and they was going to bury her in the ditch, for they was *atrašd* to *muk* the *gājos žalav* her.

“*Dādi! mā kel ajā*” he pen’d.

“For why, brother?”

“For because the *gājos* will *laš avrī* and *lel* you *adré tug.*”

‘So he did not let them bury her as they wanted to.

‘Narsty, owld men them Hernes was. There was their women-folk having always to wear men’s under-*kovas* for fear of what would be said if any of their own proper bits of things should be seen out to dry.

‘And more like cannibals than Christians, for they would eat dawgs, or anything.

‘Now wer’n’t they queer people these owld *Romaničals*, my *raias*?’

I cannot close this note without offering my profuse apologies to the shade of Riley Boss, Boswell, or Herne, for I did that splendid old rascal a grave injustice when I attributed Lúi and Hagi to him as wives. They were his sons!

T. W. THOMPSON.

#### 4.—CALIBAN.

Commentators have tried without success to establish the source of the name ‘Caliban.’<sup>1</sup> Some hold it to be a designed variant of *Cannibal*, and perhaps it is. Still, as *Kaliben* undoubtedly is the Romani for ‘darkness,’ I would like to put on record the suggestion that there is something more than a mere coincidence in Prospero’s words (*Tempest*, Act V. Sc. i.), where, referring to Caliban, he says:—

‘—This thing of darkness I  
Acknowledge mine.’

CHARLES STRACHEY.

#### 5.—AN EARLY MENTION OF THE LANGUAGE ‘ROMNEY’

I do not remember seeing the description of the Gypsies in a work called *The discoveries of John Poulter, alias Baxter*, which was first published in 1753, quoted in any work on the English Gypsies. Yet it is noteworthy, as the author not only knew that the Gypsies had a language of their own, different from cant, but was aware that it was called *Romani*, and even seems to have unconsciously known a word or two of it. He also describes their method of sheep-stealing and their mode of travelling, the description of the latter bearing out Groome’s contention that tents were not introduced till near the end of the eighteenth century. As Poulter, among other things, was a horse-thief, and had travelled in that capacity all over England associating with persons of similar propensities, he is not unlikely to have taken particular notice of the Gypsies. His *Discoveries*

<sup>1</sup> But see A. Kluyver in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, xiv. 53 (1896); A. E. H. Swaen in *Englische Studien*, xxi. 326 (1896); and Leland, *The English Gypsies*, p. 84.



consist of a confession of his own crimes and those of his accomplices, a description of the various kinds of knaveries most commonly practised at the time, and a few specimens of the cant used by rogues. The passage on the 'Faws or Gipseys' occurs on pages 36-37 of the second edition (Sherborne, 1753), from which I quote it:—

'Gypsies are a People that talk *Romney*, that is a *Cant* that nobody understands but themselves; they always travel in Bodies, Men, Women, and Children, with Horses and Asses, and never lie in Beds, but in Barns or Hedges, pretending themselves to be true *Ægyptians*, and deceiving ignorant People by pretending to tell their Fortunes, and are often sent for by Persons of Fashion. When they are applied to, they pretend they must consult their Books first, and take that Opportunity to enquire into the Family, that they may be able to give Account about what is ask'd them, and in this Manner they deceive the World. They are great *Prigers* of *Caunes* and *Bucket-chats*, that is Sheep and Fowl; and the Way they steal Sheep is this, They go in the Night to some Ground or Sheepfold, and catch a Sheep and break his Neck, and then leave it there till the Morning, when the Shepherd or Owner comes in the Morning and skins it, then the Gypsies beg the Flesh for their Dogs, when at the same Time they intend it for their own eating. They are great *Prigers* of *Lulley*, that is Linnen, and ought to be taken up and sent home as Vagrants.'

One would be left in some doubt as to whether *Caunes* was intended to mean 'sheep' or 'fowl,' if it did not occur again in the cant phrases with the translation 'fowl.'—'Pike a *Cauney* prigging; go a Fowl stealing.' It is therefore undoubtedly the Romany word *kani*; and *Bucket-chats* must mean 'sheep.' Is it a compound word formed from the Romani *bakoro* and the cant *ÿt*? *John* in the sentence, 'The Bus trap *johns* me; The Thieftcatcher knows me,' cannot be anything else than the Anglo-Romani *jin*. For the form of it compare Philip Murray's *jan* and another tinker's remark to Groome, 'I dunna *jön* your cant.'<sup>1</sup> I have heard the same form myself from some of the Prices of South Wales. None of these words occur in ordinary cant dictionaries. One other word is perhaps worth mentioning, *fam* a hand, in the sentence 'I am glim'd in the *Fam*, I am burnt in the hand,' since Leland states in his Slang Dictionary that 'The Gypsies claim this as a Romany word, and derive it from *fem*, five, or the five fingers, although five in Romany is *pange*.' But this word occurs in other cant word-books, and the full form appears to be 'fambles,' which certainly does not look like a Romani word.

The method of sheep-stealing described by Poulter has been mentioned by Myers (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 201), and at least one Gypsy suffered death for Lulley prigging, if one may believe the tale about Gilderoy Scamp in Way's novel No. 747 (pp. 61-63).

E. O. WINSTEDT.

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#### 6.—BURNING THE POSSESSIONS OF THE DEAD

Our Gypsies are apparently unable, or unwilling, to give a reason for the custom of burning the possessions of the dead, but the following chance allusion leads one to suppose that the motive may be fear. It would be interesting to know if any of our members have observed anything which throws light on the custom.

I was admiring the particularly handsome wagon which belongs to my old friend Lurēna Ryles (daughter of Edmund Herne). 'Yes,' said she, 'it's a good home, but when I die, my gals 'all burn it. An' would you believe it, Rai, when my dear husband died, we burnt all we had, an' I was so igerant as to 'ave 'is 'orse killed.'

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<sup>1</sup> *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 26.



'*Āwa*,' said Mizelli, one of Lūi's daughters—speaking hurriedly and with a furtive glance over her shoulder—'*mulo kovas sâ jâls pogadū drē* the drum, 'an there's *wafadi bok wi lendī*.' '*Tatcho sī*,' said the old lady with a note of finality, and abruptly changing the channel of conversation. JOHN MYERS.

While this number of the *J. G. L. S.* was passing through the press, the *Hereford Journal* of September 23, 1911, published a striking confirmation of the reason which Mizelli gave, and of the truth of Mr. Bartlett's theory. Cornelius and Lucina Price were hop-picking on the land of Mr. Davies of Claston, Dormington; and, during their absence on September 15, their youngest child Crimea, aged four years, set fire to his clothes. Unfortunately he wore a flannelette shirt, and his burns were, in consequence, so severe that he died in hospital on the following day. 'A touching rite was performed after the parents had heard of the death of the child, for in accordance with an old tradition or superstition prevalent among the gipsies and van-dwellers, the members of the family took their living van, which cost £80 to build, into the centre of a field, and there amid much grief they broke it to pieces with axes, and making a funeral pyre with the parts of the vehicle, set it alight and burnt it to ashes. On our representative, who was the only pressman at the inquest, interrogating the father of the child as to why he took such action, he replied that if the family had not done so the spirit of the boy would return in a short time and haunt the van.'

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#### 7.—TWO WELSH GYPSY FAMILIES

It was from Josh *Balā* and his wife that I obtained some information about two little known families of Welsh Gypsies—the Williams (Lenda's people) and the mysterious Ingrams.

The WILLIAMS family had its origin in one James Williams,<sup>1</sup> a Welsh minister, who took to the roads and married Hannah Smith! The children of this strange alliance possessed most of the characteristics of the black race in a marked degree, judging at any rate by the fact that one of them was nicknamed *Yoki Diddly*. Probably Jim discarded his religious principles when he went on the roads, and certainly they have not survived in his granddaughter Lenda. True, she would not allow one of her sons to *kel* the *boš* because it was *kurki dives*, but when I inquired why the poor boy (he was over forty) should not be allowed to amuse himself she naively replied: 'Well, you sees, my man there an' me we's getting owld, an' we likes to pretend to be 'ligious even if we're aint.'

The INGRAMS were well known to Josh. 'Real owld originals they was, *raia*, an' black as your hat, an' could *roker* won'erful deep, but they was very low class people, an' not like to us in their goings on. No, we never to say stopped with 'em, though we ran acrost 'em pretty of'en. They was mainly quack-doctors—made one bottle o' stuff cure a hunderd different people an' a hunderd different reseases like. The' was one on 'em, I demember, when they'd been drinking, showed my poor father a short, little stick what brought him in sackfuls o' golden sovereigns. He was a real *guzvero muš*. (You've maybe heard talk o' the black rod.) The's one on 'em what *bikens fosheno drabs* in a *burika* in Blackburn now, or was a few years since anyways.' Josh thought that they came from the south of England, but Oscar Boswell, who described them as tinkers and umbrella-menders as well as quack-doctors, was of the opinion that they came from Ireland. T. W. THOMPSON.

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<sup>1</sup> See Smart and Crofton's *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 253. The Jasper Gray mentioned there is none other than my friend Joshua.





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who continue to speak an Indian language, which of all living tongues is most nearly akin to Sanscrit.

Investigations made in India among the tribes which are still migratory there have shown that the original native country of the Gypsies was the Punjab or Rajputana, where Changars, a tribe very similar to the Gypsies in their mode of living, their customs, and language, still exist. The reports about these Changars are, however, so contradictory that it is hard to decide which of them are correct, which erroneous. In these conflicting accounts we have the best demonstration of how elusive the Gypsies really are. Several investigators, because the various Romani idioms agree in many respects with the Dard and Káfir languages, have placed the original home of the Gypsies in the North-West of India, the region where Changars are found at the present day.

The early history of the Gypsies is hidden in obscurity; some authors conjecture that, by reason of conflicts which occurred among the Dard tribes at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century, the Gypsies began to emigrate from India in great numbers. Possibly, far earlier a part of them had already moved into foreign countries.

The Persian poet Firdausi, who lived about 1000 A.D., relates that the Persian king Bahram-Gur in the year 420 A.D., received from the Indian king Shankal, 1000 Luris who were to enliven his poor subjects by their skill in music. Bahram-Gur assigned them a place of residence of their own, and gave to each man a donkey, a cow, and store of wheat for sowing. But the Luris consumed their wheat and their cows, and at the end of the year were as poor as ever. Enraged at this, the king ordered them to load their belongings on asses, and earn their living by singing and music. They were to travel through his dominions year by year, and delight with music and song both rich and poor. Firdausi says that in his day these Luris wandered through the world in accordance with this command and stole on the roads day and night. Luri or Luli are the names still given to the Gypsies in Persia. The tale of Firdausi may be mythical, yet there is no reason to doubt the fact that in the first half of the fifth century a great number of Gypsies wandered from India into Persia; this, however, does not imply that they were the ancestors of the European Gypsies.

As early as the ninth century a war of extermination was



carried on against the race in Asia Minor, and towards the end of the fourteenth century the Mongolian conqueror Timur-Lenk ordered the extirpation of the numerous Gypsy families which existed in Samarkand and caused disorders there. Gypsies were already to be found in the year 1322 in Crete, and in Corfu before the year 1346.

By the aid of their language it is possible to define with some certainty the route which the Gypsies took through Asia and Europe. There are in the European dialects of Romani, even in the Finnish dialect, Persian and Armenian elements; which prove that the Gypsies have not only wandered through the countries where these languages are spoken, but have also sojourned in them.

As the influence of the Greek language on all Gypsy dialects in Europe has been very great, it may be concluded that all European Gypsies have lived amongst Greeks for a considerable time, possibly centuries. The loan-words also in the several dialects show what routes the different groups have taken. From their various idioms the European Gypsies may be classified in the following thirteen groups: Greek, Rumanian, Hungarian, Moravian-Bohemian, German, Polish - Lithuanian, Russian, Finnish, Scandinavian, Italian, Basque, British, and Spanish.

Gypsies are met with in many parts of Asia, in Africa, in almost the whole of Europe, in North and South America, and in Australia. They have spread into every country in which the people have raised themselves to some degree of civilisation, whether Christian, Mohammedan, Buddhist, or Brahman. They do not live amongst savage tribes whose civilisation is lower than their own, because they are a nation of parasites. They have not lost consciousness of belonging to one another as a tribe, but they lack territorial patriotism, having forgotten where their original native land was situated. The Gypsies are a people in the true sense of the word, a people with its own language, manners and customs, with anthropological characteristics typical in all countries and climates, a people which, under the most heterogeneous conditions, at all times, in days of severity and most cruel persecution, no less than in those of milder treatment, has been able to maintain its national peculiarities with an indomitable tenacity, compared to which that of the Jews would seem to pale into insignificance.

The reasons why the Gypsies have not gone under in the



struggle for existence, why they have not fused, in any degree worth mentioning, with the peoples amongst whom they have lived, but have, for centuries, remained a tribe apart, will probably ever remain difficult, perhaps impossible, to ascertain completely, since a veil of mystery rests upon the race. A biological phenomenon such as that of the Gypsies is without analogy. Concerning themselves they know nothing, nor have they, in the proper sense of the word, any tradition. It is, however, conceivable that the remarkable conservatism of the Gypsies is a contributory factor, for, even if, as experience shows, they adopt outwardly the manners and customs of the people among whom they sojourn, as they do for their personal advantage, they nevertheless retain the points of view and customs of life of their forefathers, which they implant in their children and which are, consequently, the same to-day as they were centuries ago. Another, and perhaps the most important reason why they have remained the same isolated tribe is the language, which is still living and binds all Gypsies together into one people. Nor should one undervalue their inherent tenacity, and their faculty of maintaining life in spite of persecution and privation when other races would without a doubt have succumbed; one might indeed go so far as to say that, in proportion to the severity of the persecution directed against the Gypsies, has been their tenacity in clinging to their original customs; while, on the other hand, those of them who have lived under milder treatment have been to a certain extent assimilated to their surroundings and lost their distinctiveness and their language.

As will be evident from the following account, the Gypsies everywhere throughout Europe have been persecuted with the utmost rigour and hounded down like wild animals for many centuries. Herein, it may be, lies the partial explanation of certain of their characteristics, more particularly the bad ones, for which they have been notorious. The Gypsies, anthropologically characterised amongst other things by their dark complexion, and blue-black hair, by the piercing lustre of their eyes, the swiftness and vivacity of their movements, and the quickness of their intelligence, are an unsettled and restless tribe which wanders aimlessly, driven forward by an untameable and deeply-rooted instinct which governs their life. This passion for wandering may become dormant from time to time, but it breaks out with renewed vigour without any appreciable cause, as has been the case lately amongst the tent-





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nor have any attempts at their civilisation been made. It is the same in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the Gypsies number about 15,000, with this modification, that their roaming with horses and cattle has been restricted lately, owing to the present law regulating the removal of cattle.

In *Bulgaria* also are found both Christian and Mohammedan Gypsies, nomad as well as stationary (outside the towns), according to the latest census 52,132 in all, living mostly on the confines of Turkey and Rumania. They are musicians, smiths, horse-dealers, rag-pickers, jesters, etc., more given to work here than in other places, occupied even in factories and in agricultural labour, always, however, in great misery. A school which the Gypsies had in Sofia has ceased to exist of late years for want of support. The Christian Gypsies have the reputation of being more orderly and tend to assimilate with the Bulgarian element; the nomads are, perhaps, the widest wanderers among Gypsies. They have, for example, several times visited even Finland. There is not much to relate with respect to Bulgarian Gypsy legislation. According to the law of 1886 a vagrant mode of living is forbidden in the principality, and the entry of foreign Gypsies prohibited, but a law which indirectly affects them is that concerning the removal of cattle—which stipulates that every horse or cow shall be entered on a registration roll, of which there must be one for each parish, and shall receive a number, a law which makes horse-stealing very difficult. The Bulgarian government seeks to counteract as far as possible the vagabondage of the Gypsies, but the police, here as elsewhere, are powerless against them.

The Gypsies in *Servia* (1895: 46,212, out of a total population of 2,312,484) were, even after the liberation of the country from the Turks, at first under the supervision of an *haraschlia* or tax-collector, who was also in control of a 'Gypsy-office,' and was their head and mediator; but this official disappeared when the constitution was adopted. By a statute of 1879, it was ordered that the Gypsies should not be allowed to roam, and that passports should not be issued to them, except for journeys to a place named. A minute description of the person (*signalement*) was to be appended to the passport. In *Servia* also a cattle passport order has been made, to the effect that every animal must be registered, and may not be sold without notice, an order which is directed specially against the Gypsies; and finally, by a circular of 1891 it was decreed, amongst other things, that in all parishes the police



authorities should on the first of January of the following year make a search for all nomad Gypsies who might be roaming about without definite occupation ; and if such were found, send them to the district authority. In addition, foreign Gypsies were to be driven out of the country. Nomad Servian Gypsies were to be compelled to settle at their place of birth ; and such a census was to be arranged yearly in every district on the first of May and the first of November. These measures also have had some effect, since really nomad Gypsies seem scarcely to exist any longer in Servia.

The *Rumanian* Gypsies existed in Wallachia at least as early as the fourteenth century. They have been in a state of serfdom from ancient times under the crown or the prince, under monasteries and churches, or under the bojars, and this slavery was further expressly legalised by laws of 1816 and 1833, which placed the Gypsies on nearly the same level as cattle, and furthermore classified them in separate categories: *rudari* (miners), *ursari* (bear-leaders), *lingurari* (makers of ladles, etc.), *lajasi* (charcoal-burners, tinkers, smiths, musicians, etc.), *vatrasi* (servants), and *netosi* (thieves and semi-savages). Of these the *vatrasi*, in their intercourse with the bojars, have raised themselves to culture, and among their descendants are now several who are holders of state appointments, or who are men of learning. In 1837 the state of Wallachia released the crown Gypsies, about 20,000 in number, from serfdom, and directed them to colonise uncultivated districts, an experiment that was almost completely successful, thanks to the absence of prejudice even on the part of the population. In Moldavia too the emancipation of the crown- and church-Gypsies was carried out in 1844, but four-fifths of the Rumanian Gypsies still remained serfs under the bojars until, in the year 1848, all were declared free in Moldavia and Wallachia ; and slavery was abolished *de facto* in Moldavia in the year 1856. The Rumanian state has subsequently given land to many of the Gypsies, which they have been forbidden to sell during the first thirty years. The *lingurari* and *vatrasi* may now be said to be settled ; to a great extent the latter have even been absorbed into the aristocracy as a consequence of the levity and demoralisation of the upper classes. In Rumania there is now no law bearing directly upon Gypsies, the number of whom amounts to perhaps nearly 300,000 out of the 5,400,000 inhabitants of the country ; they live in peace with the population, carry on manual occupations, and cannot be



called idle, excepting the *ursari*, and particularly the *netosi*, who still live the same wild vagrant life as before, and maintain their purity of blood. The conditions which have proved effective for the advance in civilisation of the Rumanian Gypsies are their intercourse with the people, and the forbearance and kindness of the people towards them. The Gypsies, however, even in Rumania live on the whole a miserable and ignorant life.

Gypsies arrived in *Hungary* far earlier than in the countries of western Europe; even in the fourteenth century great hordes appeared with their leaders. There the position of the Gypsies became considerably better than in the rest of Europe, and several letters of protection were issued on their behalf in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the periods when, in other countries, they were most violently persecuted; they carried on manual trades on a large scale, and became metal workers and armourers. During the domination of the Turks the Gypsies were allowed to give free rein to their worst instincts, though attempts to regulate their condition were not wanting, as the statute of Mustapha in 1696 shows.

The Empress Maria Theresa was the first who began to take an interest in Gypsies with the intention of civilising them; their name she changed in 1761 to 'New Colonists' or 'New Hungarians.' The measures for the improvement of their position were aimed partly at compelling them to have settled abodes and partly at taking their children from them to hand them over to Christians, for training in trades and agriculture. Marriages also between Gypsies were forbidden. These edicts, however, led to no satisfactory result, especially as they were valid only in Hungary and not in adjacent countries; wherefore the Emperor Joseph II., also interested in the question, issued in 1783 a stringent regulation for the purpose of bringing to an end at one *coup* the wandering habit of the race, and of assimilating them to the rest of the population. The Gypsies were forbidden to sojourn in woods, they were to be settled in woodless regions, their children were to be taken from them temporarily and taught, wandering was interdicted, as also was horse-dealing, they were prohibited under threat of corporal punishment from speaking their own language, and they were to adopt the garb of the population; prohibitions were issued against their marrying women of their own tribe; beggars were to be punished, and those who abandoned their places of settlement or service were to be treated as vagabonds and brought back. But





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most two rooms, and being of a quite primitive nature. Those who are settled often live a more miserable life than those who wander, for the latter are, as a rule, better off. About 30 per cent. of the Gypsies consider Romani their mother-tongue. Of the total number 92·39 per cent. can neither read nor write (the corresponding figure for the population is 46·89 per cent.). There are 0·80 per cent. who are independent farmers, 0·92 per cent. servants and 0·46 per cent. day-labourers; there are 33,930 male and 16,576 female Gypsies carrying on trades, principally smiths and metal-workers (17,020 men), wood-workers (5553), and builders' workmen (15,395 men and women). The musicians, a considerable number, form in every sense the highest and most intelligent class.

Such are the circumstances of the Gypsies in Hungary; their position in that country is better than in many places, and the inhabitants are not so adversely disposed towards them as in Western Europe. The attempt made during the present decade (1890) by the Archduke Joseph, to civilise and settle a number of wandering Gypsies by every possible means, has unfortunately failed.

From Hungary the Gypsies penetrated into *Bohemia*, *Moravia* and *Silesia* in the beginning of the fifteenth century. They were cruelly treated in all these countries; special regulations from 1538 to 1580 prescribed that those in Bohemia and Moravia should be exterminated, and the Emperor Leopold I. proclaimed them outlaws as late as 1701. Executions were not infrequent, and in 1726 it was further decreed that full-grown males should be killed, the rest lose one ear, be whipped and expelled. Under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. more humane measures were adopted as has been related above in the case of Hungary. The Moravian-Bohemian Gypsies still exist in Austria. A great number of them continue to lead a really vagrant life, in spite of the strict police supervision and laws now in force, which prescribe enforced labour for idle vagrant persons who support themselves by begging.

The Gypsies immigrated into the *Polish-Lithuanian countries* and *Galicia* partly from Germany, partly from Rumania. In Poland their number amounts to 15,000, in Lithuania to 10,000 and in Galicia to 16,000. Those who entered Poland from Germany can read and write, those who originated from Rumania on the contrary stand at a very low level. At first the Gypsies in Poland suffered persecutions to which regulations from the end of the



sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century bear witness, but these persecutions soon ceased in consequence of the weakness of the government and the sympathy which the Gypsies found among the Polish people. Attempts, however, to induce them to settle have been unsuccessful. Formerly the Gypsies in Poland were subject to an elected chief of their own, who called himself king and had great power over them, but this title lost all significance after the partition of Poland.

During the reign of the Emperor Sigismund, in the year 1417, the Gypsies came for the first time into *Germany*. At first they were looked upon with wonder, but soon were universally considered a scourge to the country. Exceedingly severe laws were issued against them time after time, from 1498 onwards into the reign of Frederick III. Such were the regulations that Gypsies, merely because they were Gypsies, should be massacred by the sword, the women and children whipped, branded and expelled from the country: they were no longer considered human beings, but beasts to be exterminated, and these edicts were actually put into effect, veritable Gypsy hunts were arranged; but the Gypsies continued to exist and do still exist in Germany in not inconsiderable numbers, though precisely how many has not been ascertained. At present in Germany they are under the supervision of the police, which is rather strict; attempts to effect their settling have been abandoned, and what has been aimed at instead is the regulation of their wandering life and the placing of them under strict supervision in order to prevent transgression of the laws; even so, however, complaints arise about their misdemeanours, especially in South Germany where they are most numerous.<sup>1</sup>

Attempts to ameliorate the position of the Gypsies in Germany have not been wanting. Frederic II. founded the colony of Friedrichslohra, in the neighbourhood of Nordhausen, in order to settle on the land the vagrants who were wandering in the surrounding district.

In 1830 the Missionary Society in Naumburg took over this institution, and founded a school for Gypsies in Friedrichslohra, in which at first eighteen children were taught, while the adults were trained to such work as clearing woods. Houses also were constructed, into which some families moved; but the apparent success was of no long duration, and the older Gypsies spoiled everything. The government then decided to separate the children

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written the German Gypsy laws have been greatly changed.



from the parents and send them to be taught in Erfurt; this also was unsuccessful, because the children ran away, and after seven years of fruitless experiments the institution at Friedrichslohra had to be closed. The prejudice of the surrounding population contributed largely to this result.

Another attempt at civilising the Gypsies was made about eighty years ago by Prince Wittgenstein, who founded a Gypsy colony in Siegenland near Sassmannshausen in the north-west of Germany. He let farms to thirteen families, induced the children to go to school, and generally succeeded in his enterprise owing to his perseverance; but with the death of the Prince circumstances altered, and those who succeeded to the estate had not enough patience to continue the experiment. The Gypsies remained settled in the place, and still exist there comparatively unmixed, but they have retained their Gypsy character.

The *Italian* Gypsies came from Greek-Slavic regions through Germany into Italy in the same way as the French Gypsies, now living among the Basques, came into *France*. They appeared in Italy in 1422, and in France in 1447, provided with passports. They were soon assailed by the people in France, and forthwith edicts of extermination were issued against them. As a matter of fact, under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., the Gypsies among the French population were massacred. Some of them, however, succeeded in escaping into the Basque provinces where, in 1802, most of their descendants were captured and shipped to Africa.<sup>1</sup> A remnant of them is left on the Spanish frontier, but otherwise France of to-day is without Gypsies.<sup>2</sup> They are found in Alsace-Lorraine, but are few in number. In Italy the Gypsies met with a reception but little better, and their number in that country is consequently small; they exist in small groups throughout the peninsula, and lead a roaming Gypsy life. No laws and no attempts at colonisation with respect to them are to be noted in these countries.

The Gypsies entered *Spain* for the first time from France in 1447. In 1492 was issued the first statute, which ordered them to settle in towns or villages within sixty days or leave the country;

<sup>1</sup> But see *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 297.

<sup>2</sup> This statement requires some qualification. Wandering Gypsies have been met by Mr. Ehrenborg and others, whose command of French showed that they must have resided long in France, and who professed to have been born in France. The researches of Mr. Augustus John also prove that southern France has a considerable Gypsy population.—ED.





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fortune-telling, and the like. They are now considered to be English citizens, nay, even a privileged class, since the police allow them to wander without let or hindrance. Their number in the British Isles is about 20,000. The only special law regarding them is that of 1871, which prescribes compulsory school-attendance for the children; this law it has not been possible to enforce absolutely. On the other hand, there are some missionary societies working among the Gypsies, a work which is said to be successful; one society in particular has succeeded in educating Gypsies themselves to be missionaries. These converts have worked among their fellow Gypsies and converted several, who have subsequently settled down and tried to earn a living by honest labour. In Britain the Gypsies have remained a comparatively unmixed race.

The Gypsies who are found in Northern *Russia* have previously sojourned in Rumania, Hungary, Germany, and Poland. Those in Southern Russia have immigrated directly from Rumania. It is conjectured that the race did not enter Russian territory before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

On account of geographical and ethnographical differences the Gypsies of Russia can be divided into five groups: (1) the northern; (2) those found in the middle of Russia; (3) the Polish and Lithuanian; (4) the southern; (5) the Transcaucasian. The number of the Gypsies in Russia is estimated at 50,000.

Of the south Russian Gypsies those in the Crimea, who confess Islam, are the most settled, being engaged in definite manual trades and shopkeeping. Most of the Gypsies are found in Bessarabia; in central and northern Russia they are rather fewer in number. The Russian Government has never meddled with the inner family life of the Gypsies, taken away their children to be educated, persecuted them, nor promulgated severe regulations against them; they have, on the contrary, been treated in the same manner as the natives. However, a few edicts concerning them have been issued: for instance, a statute of 1759 providing that Gypsies should not be allowed to enter St. Petersburg, and another of 1767 which imposed on them a tax of seventy copecks, and granted them power to elect from among themselves a collector of the tax; in addition to this, those without passports were forbidden to change their abode.

In 1800 it was decided that Gypsies, not registered anywhere, should be registered in the place where they were found, and in



1802 it was ordered that they should be portioned out in small groups amongst the villages. In order to ameliorate their position they were obliged in 1809 to adopt a settled mode of life and have themselves registered in towns and villages. This would seem to have been ineffectual, as in 1839 a severe order was issued that all Gypsies in the country should settle unconditionally before the 1st of January 1841. This order it has been impossible to enforce. The present passport regulation provides that Gypsies may not receive passports until they are completely settled in the villages; those who are registered and not provided with passports or permits to leave their place of settlement, as well as those persons who receive them, are liable to be punished; removal from one place to another is permitted to such Gypsies only as are registered as traders or residents. Finally, by the law of 1894 Gypsies are forbidden to leave the places where they are registered to encamp or erect temporary shelters in the form of tents or huts. Were this law to be carried out, there would be an end of their wandering, but that such has not been the case is proved by the presence of nomad Gypsies everywhere in the country.

In Russia a remarkable experiment in Gypsy colonisation was made in the beginning of the nineteenth century in Bessarabia, where they were settled on crown land. The Office which controlled the Crown Gypsies had the management of everything connected with them, provided for the registering of births, marriages, and deaths, issuing of passports and sojourn permits, appointing of supervisors, collection of the taxes, settling of minor disputes, etc. Almost all these regulations were maintained until the Office was closed in 1843. The Gypsies were partly serfs, partly free, some settled, others not. The Government granted to the colonists in Kair and Faroanoff land for every family, money contributions for buildings, seed-corn, and other generous subsidies, as well as exemption from taxes and military service; owing, however, to the dishonesty and defalcations of the principals of the Office, the experiment was entirely unsuccessful.

In all probability the Gypsies entered *Denmark* gradually. As early as 1536 Christian III. ordered all 'Tartars' who were in the realm to depart within three months. In 1554 and 1561 severe edicts were reissued respecting the expulsion of the 'Tartars,' and finally in 1589 an ordinance was promulgated which added capital punishment to expulsion. These severe



edicts were in force until the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it does not appear that any Gypsy was executed or that the 'Tartars' decreased in number. In 1712 the Gypsies already came under the common law if guilty of crime, and by the middle of the century they were receiving instruction in Christian doctrine; people even began to concern themselves about their maintenance, they were taken into prisons, and there experiments were made in teaching them to work. The Gypsies, however, were not the only persons who roamed idly in Denmark, there were other vagabonds as well, descendants of the earlier *skojarene*, *natmäänd*, and *kjältlingar*, with whom the Gypsies gradually mingled and finally fused, losing many of their peculiarities. The *natmäänd* of Denmark, with whom the Gypsies for a century past have been identical, used also to move from place to place, lived without baptism or confirmation, in many cases practised polygamy, and carried on a true Gypsy life, but in Denmark they too have now become civilised, and the Gypsy problem has died out from inherent causes. Foreign Gypsies are forbidden by ordinances of 1875 and 1897 to enter the country; should they do so they are to be removed by the police, whether they have passports or not.<sup>1</sup>

The Gypsies appeared in *Sweden* for the first time in 1512, and it was not long before attempts were made to rid the country of them; they were notorious for mendacity and fraud, theft and plunder, fortune-telling and witchcraft, and they are described as persons who flit about in great crowds and inconvenience the peasantry by begging and stealing. In 1560 Archbishop Laurentius Petri obtained a decree that 'with Tartars the Priest shall not concern himself, neither inter their corpses nor christen their children'; this decree was revived at a clerical synod at Linköping in 1594. The Government constantly increased their efforts to get rid of the 'Tartars' by means of barbaric legislation, and finally a royal ordinance of the 5th of July 1637 directed that all male 'Tartars' apprehended within the borders of Sweden should be hanged without trial or judgment, and their women and children driven out of the country, a law which, however,

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed account of the attempts at civilising the Gypsies made by the Archduke Joseph in Hungary, of the experiments in colonisation in Germany and Russia, and of the work of George Borrow in Spain, would be too long to include here. Such a full account exists in the travelling report recently handed in to the Imperial Senate by the Secretary to the Committee, and it is from it that the above account of the Gypsies and their treatment in the countries mentioned has been drawn.





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at the Diet of 1897 by a motion from which the [Finnish] Committee beg leave to make the following extracts as being illustrative of the state of affairs, even in our own country [Finland]. The motion was founded on the following reasoning. 'Consequently the position of these people is somewhat as follows:—The children cannot obtain proper teaching or upbringing because the parents, even when they are willing to send their children to school, have no opportunity for doing so, since they are constantly on the move from place to place, and are not themselves able to teach them; those who are grown-up and able to work, especially if they have any family, are as a rule unable to obtain settled abodes, even if they desire them, because in most cases the parishioners will not allow it, fearing that they will ultimately become a burden on the rates—a fear easily understood—and the old, the sick, and the feeble must often be without proper care and nursing, since in many cases no parish community holds itself responsible for the furnishing of such aid. Thus it clearly follows that, if the evil is to be cured thoroughly, a beginning must be made with those who are in urgent need of relief, and for this the only available plan would seem to be that the State should undertake to pay reasonable compensation for such relief as may be afforded by the parish communities in urgent cases. If this were done a powerful hindrance to the settling of those able to work would also cease to exist, namely, the fear on the part of the communities that presently the poor rate would be raised on their account, since, in such cases, compensation from the State could be counted upon. It would be unreasonable to expect the State to grant compensation permanently in respect of such vagrants as were really settled and did not need relief after their settlement; but if in such cases a certain term of years, for example, twenty, were fixed, much would have been gained.

'We have therefore had in view a law, or an amendment of already existing laws, to compel all persons at present vagrant who were born in the country, or may be considered Swedish on other grounds, to be registered in the parish registers and census returns. Those among them who are in urgent need of poor relief would obtain such relief from the community where they have been so registered, the community being empowered to claim compensation from State funds for their expenses. Able-bodied vagrants would be enjoined to obtain work for



themselves within a certain time, and a permanent abode, on pain of being treated in accordance with the law of vagrancy, should it be proved that both could have been obtained but were not accepted. The children would be kept at school unconditionally, and teaching provided for older individuals whose education has been previously neglected, State assistance also being granted in certain cases to defray any extra expenses which a community may have incurred.

‘It may be objected that the foregoing aims could be achieved by the application of the present laws regarding registration in church and civil registers, compulsory schooling and the treatment of vagrants; but this has hitherto been found impossible, owing, no doubt, mainly to the fact that the persons in question could not be proved to belong to any definite parish or community, and consequently no such community counts it a duty to take charge of them, much less wishes to be responsible for the more or less heavy charges it would be at in so doing. In order, therefore, to rectify the anomalous condition of things, plainly a matter for the State, new laws or amendments of previous laws seem to be required.

‘The Committee of the Second Chamber have come *inter alia* to the conclusion and opinion that the aim of the motion might be best furthered by making an addition to the present law regarding civil registration, to the effect that all persons in the country, who, though necessarily considered to be of Swedish nationality, are not registered anywhere, should be subject, with their families, to compulsory registration either in the birthplace of the heads of the families, or, in the case of vagrants of full age, in their own, or else in the communities where they chiefly stay. In doubtful cases the decision should rest with the county authorities.

‘By well-ordered and energetic action on the part of the authorities, the great majority of vagabonds would be entered speedily enough in the proper registers, and it must be the duty of the State to come forward promptly and indemnify the several communities for the increased expense which would be caused by the new members.’

With regard to the limits of the liability for compensation, the originators of the motion proposed a term of about twenty years. The Committee of the First Chamber, on the other hand, considered that it would be a more rational solution of the



question that the State should undertake to give the several communities compensation for all moneys which they were obliged by law to advance for poor relief and the teaching of these compulsorily registered persons, while, on their part, the communities should be held responsible for such of the children of vagabonds as were born after the date of the compulsory registration.

Were the registration ordinance to be amended in the manner indicated, it would seem that the present statutes anent vagrancy, poor law relief, and schooling, should they in other respects meet present requirements, might be applied, with no little success, even to the class of society now in question.

The Committee of the First Chamber proposed in addition that the children of Gypsies should be withdrawn from the influence of their parents and relations, and that a law should be passed inflicting forced labour upon any person who tramps about from year to year and is a nuisance to the people, even though he should be possessed of some trifling means of support.

The resolution of the Diet was to submit that His Majesty should cause a proposal to be framed for measures which should remove the inconveniences pointed out, and, if necessary, communicate to the Diet the proposal deemed suitable for the purpose.

It is not yet known how the Gypsy question has fared under the Commission for Compulsory Education.

Early in the sixteenth century, soon after the Gypsies had begun to find their way across Sweden into *Norway*, they became mingled with other vagrant hordes, and were called, like the latter, *fanter*, a term which signifies those who form the lowest section of society, whether Gypsies or not. Consequently in Norway, also, the legislation regarding *fanter* is not a factor in the Gypsy question as such, but concerns vagrants in general, to whom the Gypsies indeed, as well as the *skojare* (cheats), belong. These different races have now almost amalgamated.

In Norway also, as in Denmark, the older legislation concerning *fanter* and Gypsies is severe, even cruel, and it was only in 1844 that the matter was discussed from a more humane point of view, a Commission being then appointed which proposed workhouses for the reception of the *fanter*. In the Storting, however, the result was merely a new poor law, which permitted the police to place in workhouses beggars on the tramp who





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Owing to the interest which the parish priest, J. Walnum, had taken in the matter, the work connected with the *fanter* question was taken up by a Commission in 1893, and statistics were issued showing that there were 3859 *fanter* in Norway. Walnum and the Commission proposed that the work should assume a double form, and be carried out on the one hand by the State and on the other by voluntary enterprise. It was for the former to see that a law was passed concerning neglected children by which the erection of educational establishments for them, and smaller and separate ones for the *fanter*, became obligatory on the State. Following on this, they recommended institutions for enforced labour for adults. The voluntary work was to be taken in hand by committees, local committees and private persons devoting themselves entirely to the matter.

In order to deal with the increasing *fanter*-life in Norway, two laws have now been added—the law of 1896 concerning neglected children, and that of 1898 concerning vagrants and beggars. By the former, a child under sixteen years of age, who has committed a punishable offence, or who, by reason of the vices of his parents or guardians, is found to be neglected, maltreated, or morally corrupt, or whose depravity is such that he cannot be reformed in any other way, is either to be placed in an industrial school, a home for children, or similar institution sanctioned by the State, or must be boarded out with some reliable and honest family, according to the decision of a *Waergerad* (Protectory Council) appointed in every community, consisting of the assistant judge, the clergyman, and five members elected by the community, amongst whom must be one medical man and two women. This council has power also to decide what punishment shall be given to the child, and to deprive the parents of their parental authority. The law further directs that separate compulsory schools are to be instituted by the State for children above twelve years of age who have committed serious breaches of the law or have otherwise erred grievously; in these they may be detained until they are twenty-one, though it is possible for them to be liberated conditionally before that age.

The law dealing with vagrants, beggars and inebriates, and with houses for compulsory labour, directs that any person able to work, who does not work regularly but begs and becomes a charge on the poor rate, if he persists in so doing after having



been warned, shall be sentenced to prison or to a house of compulsory labour. Those who roam about under circumstances which lead to the presumption that they maintain themselves wholly or in part by unlawful practices, and who cannot prove that they are earning their living lawfully, are to be committed either to prison or to houses of compulsory labour as vagrants for a term of three years, or, if not first offenders, six years. Beggars are to be punished by prison with bread and water. Tramps without settled abodes are to be provided with such at the expense of the State if they cannot acquire them otherwise, and they are to be treated as vagrants if they are found wandering within five years thereafter, presumably without earning their living in a lawful manner. The State provides a sufficient number of institutions for compulsory labour, separate houses for men and women, and at least two for each sex, so that difference is made with regard to age, previous conduct, and behaviour in the institution. In addition, an institution is to be provided for inebriates. The prisoners are to wear a distinctive garb, and to be subjected to compulsory labour according to individual capacity; they may be liberated on probation and again incarcerated. It is left to the managers to take steps for the settling of vagrants who have been punished in this way.

The Storthing in 1897 granted 5000 kroner (about £277) towards the voluntary work for vagabonds. The number of *fante* children under eighteen years of age was about 1600, under six years of age about 530. Walnum proposed that a beginning should be made with three homes for children, and with labour colonies for adults. The same grant as in the previous year was also made in 1898, and, in addition, 8000 kroner towards further attempts at inducing *fanter* to procure for themselves lawful means of livelihood and to give their children education; a further grant of 1000 kroner was made towards placing *fanter* in houses of compulsory labour and their maintenance afterwards. For the establishing of houses for compulsory labour, considerable sums have been granted, nearly two million of kroner.

As Walnum is undoubtedly the man who of late years has devoted most attention to the *fante* question and whose opinion is of greatest weight, it would appear not unsuitable to record here some of his utterances, as they may well be of service to us in forming an opinion on the Gypsy question.



In 1893, in an article on the 'Tartar Question,' Walnum, amongst other things, mentions that since the time of Sundt work for the *fanter* has lost more and more the character of rescue work undertaken in the service of Christian charity, and has become merely the procuring of poor relief for *fanter* without domicile, while the State and the communities have vied with each other in trying to escape the maintenance of such non-domiciled persons. Eilert Sundt in his time held the opinion that rescue institutions for 'Tartar' children were not really necessary; he believed that, if their elders were given opportunities to settle and abandon their wandering life, the children would cease from vagabondage. But it was vain to expect such a result. 'The craving for a wandering life is not something that is extinguished in a single generation. As it has taken many generations to grow, so it requires the work of generations to make it disappear. It exists in the very nature of the wanderers, in their blood, they cannot do otherwise. The craving is inborn.' 'Circumstances themselves, even in the time of Sundt, forced the problem of the education of the children to the front as a thing of supreme importance.' From the experiments made, it appeared that the bringing up of 'Tartar' children with others in the home, 'Hans Cappelens Minde,' was inexpedient; not wholly civilised, they required a special and most careful education. Walnum says: 'A children's home ought to be instituted exclusively for "Tartar" children, in order that the education given may have regard to their natural disposition, and ultimately help them to fight against it. In educating these children, there are so many tasks, so many difficulties, there is so much to make allowance for, that the work cannot be carried out except in some home specially arranged for them.' Side by side with the work among the 'Tartar' children, there should be also work among the adults, and it, too, should be of the nature of rescue work. Resorting to compulsory methods did not necessarily alter the character of the work. If, however, compulsion were adopted, it should be made effective, otherwise it would be but the pouring of water upon sand. 'Scarcely have they got out of the compulsory institutions before they again take up their wandering life. All they have learnt is how to proceed with greater caution, how to try and escape coming into conflict with the laws and exposing themselves to the interference of the police.' 'Should, however, resort be made to compulsory labour





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this to the "Tartars." A society ought to be formed to support the "Tartar Mission," just as there are societies for the support of the Mission to Seamen and other similar enterprises. This society should undertake the whole of the work for the "Tartars" and vagabonds, and adopt an attitude of support and help towards the work already done for them by the State. The missionary side of the work is by no means a hopeless task. The "Tartars" are not less accessible than other people to Christian influence, they are not more pagan than other pagans, even though they are exposed to many and severe temptations by reason of their disposition and their migratory life.' 'A mission among the "Tartars" must, in the nature of things, be an itinerant mission. The missionary must become, in a sense, a "Tartar" among the "Tartars." He must find them out and travel with them, he must visit those who have abandoned a migratory life as often as possible and exhort them to cling to their new mode of life and become true members of the Church. Further, the missionary work must, of course, not consist merely of the holding of meetings for edification—although that, too, may be done—but also, what is of more importance, of conversations with "Tartars" and pastoral visitation. They must be approached in all seriousness with earnestness and sympathy.'

As regards the division of the work, Walnum thinks that the principal task of inducing the vagabonds to settle ought in the future to be a State matter, while work connected with children's homes and missions might be carried out by voluntary charity. As it happens, the institution of a children's home for 'Tartars' in Norway has also become the care of the State. Walnum, moreover, lays stress also on the circumstance, and all experience seems to point towards it, that the conduct of the work among the 'Tartars' ought to be a special task assigned to one man. This has been done, and the man to whom the charge has been entrusted is Walnum himself, who has set to work, and already, by journalistic effort and other means, has interested the people of Norway in the *fante* question, and has succeeded in collecting large sums of money for the vigorous prosecution of the voluntary work. Three children's homes are being built for the children of vagabonds, and a labour colony founded for idle persons. In these homes children of a tender age are to be received and kept until they are eighteen. At the age of ten the children are to be moved into branch



institutions, two for each home, for purposes of education. The labour colony is to be arranged after German and Dutch models. It is to be carried on as an agricultural colony, but instruction is also to be given in manual trades, while the moral amelioration of the pupils is to be a conspicuous element. On the initiative of Walnum, a society has been formed for the counteracting of vagrancy. It has several subcommittees and women's committees, and Walnum himself serves in the capacity of general secretary. The fundamental rules were adopted at a joint meeting of the committees, the members of which have been enabled, by voluntary contributions, to begin the construction in rural places of the children's homes and the labour colony.

*(To be continued.)*

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## II.—NACHRICHTEN ÜBER DIE ZIGEUNERKOLONIE SASSMANNSHAUSEN. Aus den im Fürstlich Wittgenstein'schen Archiv befindlichen Akten.

**D**IE älteste, aus den Akten bekannte Nachricht über die Zigeuner im Wittgenstein'schen Lande kommt aus dem Jahre 1722, demals ist ein Zigeuner Friedrich Janson nebst Frau in Giessen eingesperrt worden, welcher dort vor Gericht angab, dass er zu Wittgenstein geduldet worden und sich allda nebst seinem Eheeweibe ehrlich genähret habe. Demnach haben sich also wohl schon vor 1722 Zigeuner im Wittgenstein'schen aufgehalten. Am 6. Juni 1726 verfügt der Landesherr von Wittgenstein, dass 10 gefangene Zigeuner im Lande bleiben können, wenn sie sich ordentlich halten, arbeiten und den Erbhuldigungseid leisten wollen.

Am 20. Juni 1738 erlässt der regierende Graf Friedrich zu Wittgenstein eine dreizehn Paragraphen lange Verfügung wider Zigeuner, Landstreicher, etc., worin diesen Ausweisung und bei erwiesenen Verbrechen der Tod durch den Strang angedroht wird.

Am 30. Oktober 1743 wird vom Grafen Ludwig zu Wittgenstein dem Zigeuner Florenz Hassler mit seinem Eheweib und Kindern der Aufenthalt im Amt Biedenkopf und der Handel mit Glaswaren da und in den übrigen Fürstlichen Landen gestattet.



Um 1750 bittet die Witwe eines Zigeuners Joh. Heinrich Menn um Aufenthaltserlaubnis und gibt an, dass ihr verstorbener Mann 14 Jahre lang auf Wittgenstein als Soldat gedient und hernach zu Sassmannshausen 4 Jahre lang gearbeitet habe.

Am 10. Mai 1754 verfügt der Landesherr, dass verschiedene durch den Landvisitator aufgegriffene Zigeuner Urfehde schwören, den Staubenschlag erhalten und dann des Landes verwiesen werden sollen.

Am 28. Juni 1769 verfügte der Landesherr, dass der Zigeuner Hassler zum Land Visitator angenommen werden solle. Die Fürstliche Regierung, die Magistrate der Städte und die Gemeindevertreter lehnten sich zwar gegen den landesherrlichen Erlass auf und betonten dass die Zigeuner bereits lebensstrafwürdige Handlungen ausgeübt hätten, auch von ihrer bösen Gewohnheit zu stehlen nicht ablassen und durch die Erhaltung des Land Visitator Dienstes wieder die beste Gelegenheit erhalten würden unter dem Deckmantel als wenn sie des herrenlosen Gesindels halber ausgingen, wie vorhin geschehen, heimlich zu stehlen und zu rauben. Dieser Protest half aber nichts, die Verfügung des Landesherrn blieb bestehen, mit welchem Erfolge lässt sich aus den Akten nicht ersehen.

Am 6. Juli 1829 erklärt der Fürstliche Oberförster Müller in Sassmannshausen zu Protokoll, dass die Zigeuner früher teils zu Neuwiese bei Schwarzenau teils im Tiergarten zu Wittgenstein gewohnt hätten und später nach Sassmannshausen verpflanzt worden seien.

Gegenwärtig besteht die Zigeunerkolonie-Sassmannshausen noch aus sechs Häusern, in denen sechs Familien mit zusammen 40 Seelen hausen. Diese Leute sind jetzt preussische Untertanen, gehören grösstenteils der evangelischen, einige wenige nur der katholischen Kirche an, die Kinder besuchen die Volksschule. Die Männer arbeiten in benachbarten Fabriken oder leben vom Hausierhandel, die Frauen betteln in der Umgegend.

Die Zigeuner sind bei der übrigen Bevölkerung und auch bei der Fürstlichen Verwaltung wenig beliebt und letztere sucht sie mit Erfolg los zu werden, in dem sie die elenden Hütten den Zigeunern abkauft und dann niederreißen lässt, wonach dann die früheren Besitzer gezwungen werden sich anderswo niederzulassen. Unter der jetzigen Generation, die sich übrigens auch mit der Deutschen Bevölkerung vermischt hat, haben sich alte Zigeunergebräuche wenig oder gar nicht mehr erhalten, auch





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Mizentius did never equall the vitiosity of this Incubus, that could embrace corruption, and make a mistress of the grave; that could not resist the dead provocations of beauty, whose quick invitements scarce excuse submission. Surely, if such depravities there be yet alive, deformity need not despair; nor will the eldest hopes be ever superannuated, since death hath spurres, and carcasses have been courted.'

There are seven books, with astonishing names at the head of them. Such as: 'Of the picture describing the death of Cleopatra,' 'Of the Mandrakes of Leah,' 'That our Saviour never laughed,' 'Of the sun dancing on an Easter day,' 'Of the appearing of the devil with a cloven hoof,' 'That the heart of a man is seated on the left side': which, to those who may know nothing, no more than Browne, of the other, is certainly, known to men and to women. Cleopatra knew it, and the worm.

Charles Lamb, who discovered everything by instinct, as Baudelaire also (for we cannot forget *The Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, with their subtle, intuitive footnotes, or how Baudelaire discovered Poe, Wagner, and Manet) writes, quoting from Browne: 'I am of a constitution so general, that it converts and sympathizeth with all things, I have no antipathy, or rather idiosyncrasy in any thing. These national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudices the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch:' these exquisite, refined, and intimately personal words: 'That the author of the *Religio Medici*, mounted upon the airy stilts of abstraction, conversant about national and conjectural essences; in whose categories of being the possible took the upper hand of the actual; should have overlooked the impertinent individualities of such poor concretions of mankind, is not much to be admired. For myself—earth-bound and fettered to the scene of my activities,—

Standing on earth, not rapt above the sky,

I confess that I do feel the differences of mankind, national or individual, to an unhealthy excess. I can look with no indifferent eye upon things or persons. Whatever is, is to me a matter of taste or distaste; or when once it becomes indifferent, it begins to be unrelishing. I am, in plainer words, a bundle of prejudices—made up of likings and dislikings—the veriest thrall to sympathies, apathies, antipathies.'

Before Lamb, Coleridge had written: 'Sir Thomas Browne is



among my first favorites, rich in various knowledge, exuberant in conceptions and conceits, contemplative, imaginative; often truly great and magnificent in his style and diction, though doubtless too often big, stiff, and hyperlatinistic. . . . He has brains in his head, which is all the more interesting for a little twist in the brains.' Then, in his *Appreciations*, Walter Pater writes an essay on Browne, near on forty pages, of great subtlety, and an interpretation of the mind of the man and of his works which leaves little more to be said. The most beautiful thing he writes on Browne is this: 'But, actually, what he is busy in the record of, are matters more or less of the nature of caprices; as if things, after all, were significant of their higher verity only at random, and in a sort of surprises, like music in old instruments suddenly touched into sound by a wandering finger, among the lumber of people's houses.' He writes also: 'But to many, certainly, Browne's would have seemed too like a lifelong following of one's own funeral. A museum is seldom a cheerful place—oftenest induces the feeling that nothing could ever have been young; and to Browne, the whole world is a museum; all the grace and beauty it has being of a somewhat mortified kind.' He praises the *Urn-Burial* in perfect words of praise: 'Nowhere, perhaps, is the attitude of questioning awe on the threshold of another life displayed with the expressiveness of this unique morsel of literature.' He realises, in that distorted age, 'that his supposed experience might at any moment be broken in upon by a hundred forms of a natural magic, only not quite so marvellous as that older sort of magic, or alchemy, he is at so much pains to expose.' And that Browne, who having only mentioned witches in saying that Satan 'endeavours to propagate the unbelief of witches,' and had, cruelly, acted as a judge of supposed witches, had no pity on them is awful to think of. But I wonder whether he had read *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, by Reginald Scot (1584), or even heard of it: for to me, my own second edition of 1651, seems one of the most absorbing books in the world. It contains treasures, such as that '*Incubus* was fain to ravish women against their will, untill anno 1400,' and that Merlin, in anno 440, was begotten of an incubus.

Browne's chapter on the Gypsies is the thirteenth of the Seventh Book. As far as I am aware, it has never been reprinted in full, or even quoted from. It is, I hope, a discovery.



## CHAP. XIII.

*Of Gypsies.*

Much wonder it is not we are to seek in the originall of Æthiopians and natural Negroes, being also at a losse concerning the original of Gypsies and counterfeit Moors, observable in many parts of Ægypt, Asia, and Africa.

Common opinion [printed *opinion*] deriveth them from Ægypt, and from thence they derive themselves, according to their own account thereof, as Munster discovered in the letters and passe, which they obtained from Sigismund the Emperour, that they first came out of little Ægypt, that having defected from the Christian rule, and relapsed into Pagan rites, some of every family were enjoyned this penance, to wander about the world; or as Aventinus delivereth, they pretend for this vagabond course, a judgement of God upon their forefathers, who refused to entertain the Virgin Mary and Jesus, when she fled into their Countrey.

Which account notwithstanding is of little probability: for the generall stream of writers, who enquire into their originall, insist not upon this; and are so little satisfied in their descent from Ægypt, that they deduce them from severall other nations: Polydore Virgil accounting them originally Syrians, Philippus Bergomas fetcheth them from Chaldea, Æneas Sylvius from some part of Tartarie, Bellonius no further than [then] Walachia and Bulgaria, nor Aventinus than [then] the confines of Hungaria.

That they are no Ægyptians Bellonius maketh evident: who met great droves of Gypsies in Ægypt, about Gran Cairo, Mataerea, and the villages on the banks of Nilus: who notwithstanding were accounted strangers unto that Nation, and wanderers from foreign parts, even as they are esteemed with us.

That they came not out of Ægypt is also probable, because their first appearance was in Germany, since the year 1400, nor were they observed before in other parts of Europe, as is deducible from Munster, Genebrard, Crantsius and Ortelius.

But that they first set out not farre from Germany, is also probable from their language, which was the Sclavonian tongue; and when they wandered afterward into France, they were commonly called Bohemians, which name is still retained for Gypsies. And therefore when Crantsius delivereth, they first





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George of Coalville knows, never unite in holy matrimony, but live in shameless promiscuity like beasts of the field.

The sections, other than the one dealing with the British Gypsies, are the work of Mr. F. S. Atkinson, who received valuable assistance from Mr. E. O. Winstedt. Both have my deepest gratitude for relieving me of so much pleasant, but arduous, labour.

#### BRITISH ISLES.

(a) *History*.—The year 1909 was ushered in by the sequel to the Boxing Day quarrels of the Gypsies encamped on the Bohemian Estate, Eastwood, Southend. This estate is partly owned and partly rented by about twenty-five or thirty families of Gypsies, who make it their permanent home. They are divided into two distinct camps: the converted Gypsies, the Buckleys and Smiths and their connections; and a varied mob of unregenerate *poš-rats* and ‘mumpers’ belonging to the families Smith, Stone, Bibby, Draper, Scarett, Webb, Livermore, Harris, Laws, etc. Skirmishes naturally take place between the rival factions, whilst internal disturbances are almost as rife, even amongst the attendants at Penderbella Buckley’s mission van (a derelict L. C. C. tramcar). This sequel was the appearance at the Rochford Petty Sessions of—(1) Lewis Livermore and Elijah Stone, charged with assaulting Elizabeth Smith (wife of Bartholemew Smith, a cousin of Gypsy Rodney Smith); (2) Fred Smith, son of the above, charged with assaulting Lewis Livermore; (3) Otte (really Ōti) Buckley, charged with doing damage to the extent of forty shillings to Bartholemew Smith’s van. Livermore presented an unusual appearance in court, ‘his head and eye being bandaged up, and, as an outer covering, he had what appeared to be two blankets. In a few words he had the appearance of being a typical Gypsy,’ reported the *Southend Standard*. He was accused of striking Mrs. Smith with a stick, and Stone of dealing her a blow on the head with an old tin kettle. Livermore objected to complainant and her husband on account of their religion; and Stone wanted to fight, but they refused. When a policeman arrived on the scene, allegations were made that Smith ‘went about thieving all day and preaching at night.’ Evidence for the prosecution was given by Elizabeth Smith, Bartholemew Smith, Fred Smith, their son, Beatrice Taplin, their daughter, and Thomas Taplin, husband of the last named. Stone denied the charge, and laid the blame on Thomas Webb, who appeared on the scene with Joseph Livermore, the latter stripped to the waist and wanting to fight any one. Complainant, however, said that Thomas Webb only swore. Kate Webb, wife of the profane Thomas, and sister of Lewis Livermore, on going into the witness-box announced: ‘I am going to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God.’ She said that her husband never struck Mrs. Smith, but was himself assaulted by Fred Smith, who threw a ginger-beer bottle at him. Jessie Stone, who said that the second prisoner was not her husband but her ‘lay by,’ gave similar evidence. Livermore and Stone were each fined forty shillings, and the case against Fred Smith dismissed. Otte Buckley was accused of throwing a bucket at the ornamental framework of Smith’s van. His father Sam (really Sant), and his brother-in-law, James Smith, stated that they did not see defendant do the damage, but nevertheless he was convicted.

This was not the only appearance of the Eastwood Gypsies in court during the year. Towards the end of April Nathan Buckley was summoned for neglecting to provide (1) a tent in a reasonable watertight condition; (2) sufficient privy accommodation; (3) a sufficient water-supply; (4) a sufficient covered ash-pit and dust-bin; (5) a suitable dry floor to a tent. The defendant, when asked his age, turned to his brother: ‘How old am I, Sam (Sant)?’ His brother answered that he was seventy. The Bench decided that on condition that Buckley destroyed his tent the remaining four cases would be adjourned. The two brothers thanked



them profusely, and left the court saluting at various intervals. A fortnight later, however, when Buckley was again summoned for breach of the bye-laws mentioned above, it was stated that the tent had not been destroyed. At the same time Charles Smith was fined for breaking bye-laws 2 and 4, whilst later in the year Thomas Laws was convicted for breaking bye-laws 2 and 5. In addition, Walter Harris (twice) and James Smith had to pay heavy fines for trespassing in search of conies, and Jack Harris fourteen shillings for swearing.

At various dates ranging from the first week in January to the last in December several members of the Hughes *poš-rat* family gained notoriety by breaking the law: Edward at Liskeard, James at St. Columb, Henry and Liberty at Yeovil, Abraham at Chichester, Charles (Bert) and Thomas at Eastbourne, Francis at Leamington, and John at East Kerrier.

On January 14 the indomitable Daisy Boswell of George Street, Blackpool, 'one of Gipsy Sarah's granddaughters' (according to her professional cards), reappeared in the Police Court, being charged at Fleetwood with pretending to tell fortunes. It was stated that she had obtained six shillings for the purpose of 'setting the crystal.' A fine of forty shillings and costs was imposed, but only part of this had been paid when she was summoned again, exactly a fortnight later, for a similar offence at Kirkham. A St. Annes servant gave evidence to the effect that she had given defendant one shilling to tell her fortune, two shillings more to consult the cards, and a further sum of six shillings to 'set the crystal,' in order that she might see all through her future life. Boswell told her to have nothing to do with a dark young man who used a whip, for if she did she would be a mother before she was a wife. She must never wear anything green, because it was unlucky. The Bench decided to leave the poor deluded servant to the tender mercies of the fraudulent world, and to send the defendant to prison for two months on the present charge, and for fourteen days for the non-payment of the Fleetwood fine. A gross injustice to both, surely!

On April 14 Regenda Townsend (80), Louisa Young, Adelaide Smith, and Clara Boswell (15) were charged at Blackpool with pretending to tell fortunes by palmistry. Two policemen in plain clothes visited the tents on the South Shore Fair Ground, and, having crossed the defendants' hands with silver, were told what they considered to be a lot of 'bosh.' Eva Franklin, a Gypsy living in Clare Street, but formerly of the South Shore, gave evidence for the defence, which attempted to prove that there had been no intent to deceive or impose. Townsend, Young, and Smith were fined ten shillings each, and Boswell bound over. Defendants asked for time to pay the fines, but the Chief Constable objected, saying that they were earning as much as £10 a day. The last prosecution of a Gypsy for fortune-telling on the South Shore was, it was stated, in 1891, when Mrs. Townsend was fined ten shillings and costs. During the whole eighty odd years that they had made a home there their fortune-telling had been connived at, until a year or two ago, when a bye-law was passed prohibiting the practice. The Gypsies were then warned that they would have to quit unless a promise was given that they would desist from it. Of course they gave the promise readily enough, and as readily forgot it as soon as the holiday season (1908) began. How else could they pay the large rents that Councillor Bean and other excellent gentlemen demanded for their pitches? They were not prosecuted for this breach of the infant bye-law. The Corporation instead changed their method of attack, and passed a resolution requesting the proprietors of land on the South Shore to allow no new encampments there, and to give their present Gypsy tenants notice to quit, complaints having been very numerous as to their troublesome and disgusting behaviour, and the insanitary condition of their tents. In January 1909 it was announced that the principal landowners, after much pressure and a little bullying, had consented to assist the Corporation, and in March that some of the Gypsies had already moved, whilst the rest were packing up their goods and chattels.



This process of packing up took an unconscionable time to accomplish apparently, for six weeks later most of the Gypsies were still there, and still *dukerin'* too in spite of the belated and somewhat inconsistent prosecution of April 14. An attempt was made to secure exemption from the ban for some of those who were born on the sands, notably the descendants of Sarah and Ned Boswell, whilst later in the year—in November—Mrs. Franklin addressed the following appeal to the King on behalf of all the Gypsies on the South Shore:—

‘To HIS MAJESTY,—I am very sorry to have to trouble you, but it is for a cause of necessity. It concerns all the gipsies at Blackpool. We have been resident here for the past forty years, and have always been encamped on one plot of ground. We all pay £20 to £25 for the season, and also pay rates and taxes. Our tents were the first things on the show ground, and now they want to get rid of us by giving us only one week’s notice.

‘It is very hard for us all. It is driving us from our homes after being here for so many years. Most of our children have been born, christened, and educated here. We appeal to His Majesty for his kind help and sympathy. We are English gipsies, and we look to our King for justice.—Your humble servant,

(Signed), Mrs. FRANKLIN.”

His Majesty (through his Secretary) replied that Mrs. Franklin’s letter had been passed on to the Local Government Board for inquiries to be made. What was the ultimate fate of the Blackpool Gypsies the Press-cuttings for 1909 do not state, but it is common knowledge that Gypsy Sarah’s descendants alone succeeded in retaining their pitch on the sands. Some of the rest took houses in Blackpool, others secured places on which to stand their vans and put up their tents on the outskirts of the town, whilst Noah and Oscar Young and Bendigo Lee removed with their families to Preston. Next summer, however, most of them continued to ply their trade on the sands, although they were not allowed to camp there.

The expulsion was unjust. The Gypsies were a nuisance to visitors to just the same extent as the rest of the parasitic population of the place, whose fortunes they helped to make. As for the residents, who were for ever complaining, they probably came under the same category as the bear with the sore ear. They might have refrained from libelling though, for it was nothing short of libel to describe the tents as insanitary, and is it not passing strange that only three members of such a disgraceful community should appear in the Police Court during the year on charges other than fortune-telling, and that their crimes should not be of such a heinous character as might have been expected from degraded ruffians? Here are the details of the offences. On May 18 Walter (William) Boswell stole a skirt from a wardrobe dealer’s, and subsequently pawned it for half-a-crown. He was sentenced to two months’ imprisonment. On November 4 Noah Young (68) and his son Oscar were fined 2s. 6d. each and costs at the Fleetwood Petty Sessions for using obscene language, and assaulting the ticket collector at Poulton Station—a man with ‘a nasty, slurring, spiteful manner’ according to the elder defendant.

To complete the annals of the Blackpool Gypsies, it is only necessary to record that William Townshend, for over thirty years a tent-dweller on the South Shore, died on January 10 at Birkenhead, aged sixty-five, and was buried at Blackpool cemetery on January 13.

At Guildford on January 9, an aged and very deaf Gypsy was prosecuted for ill-treating a horse, by working it in an unfit condition. He gave a name that sounded something like Matthew Jennix, and, when asked how it was spelt, replied: ‘They tell me it begins with a j.’ Police Constable Johnson, in giving evidence, stated that, on asking Jennix if he knew that the horse was lame, he was told that ‘it was foaled like it.’ The Bench requested a superintendent with a stentorian voice to ask the defendant if he intended killing the horse, but the latter replied: ‘I have changed it for a red one with a white face.’ ‘When did you chop him?’





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named as a member of the Executive Council although he had never replied to the circular issued. Having given the infant association a fair start, the Press then withdrew its support, and left it to stagger on alone, the burden of its title hanging like a millstone around its neck. After the end of June nothing more was heard of it.

On February 4, at Newton, John Small, Thomas Small, and Robert Small were fined for stealing hazel sticks for making clothes-pegs, and John Small was again fined for a similar offence at Moreton Hampstead on April 27. On July 21 Henry Small, of 10 Brook Street, Dawlish, was summoned at the Exeter Police Court for ill-treating his wife, Cinderella Small, and neglecting to maintain her. Early in September Priscilla Small appeared in the Police Court at Brixham for being drunk whilst in charge of a child, whilst on October 18 John Small reappeared, charged with theft at Tavistock. Finally at Exeter on December 14, T. Small, Robert Small, and W. Small, along with T. Right, W. Holland, and W. James, were fined for receiving wood stolen by Charles Broadway, another member of the same encampment.

At Torrington on February 6, James Saunders was fined for allowing seven horses to stray, and at Axminster on the same day Hiram Pigley and Thomas Penfold suffered a similar fate for obstructing the thoroughfare at Seaton with their caravans.

After this crop of Devonshire prosecutions, let us turn for a moment to Wales, where, at Llanelly, on February 10, Silvester Boswell and his father Ezekiah Boswell were committed for trial on a charge of stealing a watch and chain value £4; before passing on to Cambridge, where Francis Gray, a Lincolnshire Gypsy, was summoned on February 13 to show cause why certain obscene post-cards, prints, photographs, and written letters in his possession should not be destroyed; and thence to Crewe, where, two days later, Henry Giles Boswell, Gypsy vans, off North Street, Shelton, was charged, in conjunction with a local butcher, with the theft of a brown horse value £18, and a bay mare value £10.

The same day, the 15th, witnessed the departure of the Gypsies from the Black Patch on the outskirts of Birmingham, a camping-ground that they had occupied for nearly half a century. A temporary road was made so that the rickety vans should not have to traverse the rough ground—thus permitting of no excuse. By eleven o'clock (an hour after the appointed time) the caravans were slowly moving off the Patch, the men scowling and sullen, the women hurling invectives at the police as they passed. Soon only one caravan was left, a crippled vehicle that threatened to fall to pieces if it was removed. An offer was made by the Gypsies to burn it, but the representatives of the Park Committee insisted on its removal. In the end it was carried on planks, and gently deposited in the street. Then, if report speak true, a large body of men immediately erected a strong fence around the ground. Smiths, Loveridges, and Davises were the chief families that had been encamped there. Tom Smith 'the king' had removed into a house some time before, and Leonard Loveridge had also taken a house, but remained on the common until ejected. The latter and his wife (a daughter of Esau Smith) had occupied a pitch there for thirty-seven years, and their fourteen children and fifty grandchildren (thirty-eight living) had all been born there.

The breaking up of the encampment was followed on July 12 by the death of John Smith, aged about seventy, eldest son of the late 'Queen' Henty, who had died a few years earlier. The funeral took place on July 16, at Uplands Cemetery, in a family grave, in the consecrated portion of the ground, about fifty relations and friends being present. On two occasions disturbances seemed imminent, once when a slighted relative asked for an explanation, and once when some careless mourner was responsible for a little earth falling on the coffin before the committal sentences had been said.

The next cutting worthy of consideration is very vague, and all of interest



that can be gathered from it is that somewhere in Hampshire, sometime about February 18, William Harris, a Gypsy labourer, was summoned for discharging a catapult in the highway, and Charles Lee (whose real name was said to be Green) for playing a game of chance.

On February 23, Henry Gaskoin (generally known as Wally Gaskin) was sent to gaol for three months at Cambridge, for being drunk whilst in charge of a horse and cart, and for assaulting the police. Later in the year Saunders Gaskin and William Cooper Gaskin appeared before the magistrates at Spalding and Ipswich respectively. Surely this notoriously lawless family cannot be reforming themselves.

On February 27, Absolom Jones, a Sussex Gypsy, was summoned for allowing a horse to stray at Shermanbury. He wrote pleading guilty, and enclosed a Postal Order for 3s., out of which he received no change. Apparently it was the recognised thing for Gypsies in Sussex to fix the amount of their own fines in this way, for on March 9, Abraham Thatcher, who was summoned at Battle for the same offence, sent 5s., and was in consequence fined that amount inclusive of costs. 'From Abraham Thatcher no fixcue,' he wrote. 'Please ser I canot anoce to my sumes. I have sent you a little money insted, and i hoap you will take cages as I hant been any trouble to the bench before.' On the previous day, however, he ought to have appeared before the East Grinstead magistrates for (1) using a van without a nameplate properly attached, on two separate occasions; (2) keeping a dog without a licence; (3) allowing the animal to be at large without a proper collar. As these offences eventually cost him £1, 19s. 3d., he avoided the Police Court for the rest of the year. Eli Rose and Maria Jonson, who were asked to appear at the Horsham Petty Sessions on March 13, for allowing one horse to stray, decided that in their case 2s. 6d. was the punishment that fitted the crime, and each wrote enclosing a Postal Order for that amount.

Many other Sussex travellers, possibly Gypsies, including Stephen Gobie, George Smith (three times), John Kemp, Sarah Ann Godsmark (twice), Mary Ann Smith, Priscilla Brazil, and John James, were fined during March for trivial breaches of the law.

At Brynammar on March 1st, an inquest was held on the body of Jas. Price, a tramping Gypsy ninety years of age, found mutilated on the G.W.R. The jury handed their fees to the widow, a decrepid old woman of eighty-eight, whose shrivelled up appearance evoked much pity.

Were any proof needed to convince conceited moderns that the sum total of folly in the world is just as great as ever it was, a complete record of the successes which attended hoaxing, as practised by Gypsies on credulous publicans and shopkeepers in this enlightened England of ours in the year of grace 1909, would supply it. The news press only reflected in part the true state of affairs, for naturally most of the victims preferred to suffer their losses in silence rather than expose themselves to the scorn of their neighbours. Some few, however, set the machinery of the law in motion, and this worked efficiently on one or two occasions. The first cutting that comes to hand records that Polly Green (24) and Sarah Chamberlain (22) were charged at Bristol on March 3 with obtaining by false pretences sums of £3, 3s. 0d., 15s. 6d., and £4, 15s. 0d., in addition to six bottles of stout, six bottles of Bass, and six ounces of tobacco, from three local publicans. They adopted the usual procedure of displaying large sums of money, and offering to leave deposits on unlimited orders that they promised, and, in some cases, gave. This done, they proceeded to 'wheedle' their victims into buying, and paying for, a rug worth 10s. 6d., a ring worth 2s. 11½d., and a cart worth 16s. 6d., for the substantial sums mentioned above. Taking into consideration the fact that the prisoners had small babies to look after, the Bench did not send them to prison as they deserved, but only bound them over, and ordered



them to pay £5 damages each. Polly Green and Sarah Chamberlain, it may be added, were names assumed by Esmeralda Green (née Lovell or Amer) and Mizelli Lovell (née Stephens). The same pair reappear as Elizabeth Green and Emily Chamberlain at Llanilar, where, on June 4, they were fined £2 and costs each for a similar offence. They must not, however, be blamed for every hoax, for Esmeralda was in Westmorland when, at the Exeter Police Court, on August 5, two married Gypsies giving their names as Ada Turner and Josella Alice Smith were committed for trial for conspiring to obtain £7 by false pretences. Probably 'Ada Turner' and 'Josella Alice Smith' were members of the same gang, for the tale that they told resembled very closely, even in minute details, the one which had been used at Bristol. The gang referred to, if at full strength, would consist of Yunéti Lovell and her husband George Amer; and their children:—Henrimaretta Lovell and her husband, a queer little shrimp called Wilson; Leonard Lovell and his wife, Mizelli Stephens; Johnny Lovell and his wife, a Wilson; Esmeralda Lovell and her husband Render Green the younger; and Francis Lovell and his wife Ōmi James; also Ben Gaskin and his wife, Fiance Green, Render's sister; and one of the Tapsells with his wife, Johnny's wife's sister. Hoaxing and 'maceing,' together with an extensive trade in broken-winded and *čordē graiá*, have made their fortunes in the short space of a few years. Moreover, they are about the most entertaining set of rogues to be met with in England.

Whilst they were impoverishing the western side of the country with their sharp practices, a similar band, consisting of Mary Smith and her husband, Render Green the elder, and their children, Clara, wife of Ben or 'Nigger' Squires, and Louisa, were preying upon the east. They were first caught at Lincoln, where, as Annie Green (60), Elizabeth Squires (30), and Louisa Green (24), they were charged on April 29 with having obtained £5, 10s. 0d. by false pretences from a local silversmith. They entered his shop and bargained for a wedding-ring and a Queen Anne tea-service for a wedding present, and, on the understanding that these were to be purchased, the jeweller bought a 'Siberian wolf-skin' rug from them for £5, 10s. 0d. As might have been expected, the bargaining came to nothing, and the rug turned out to be an American coyote. On the Gypsies agreeing to refund the money the case was dismissed. Later in the year they were in trouble at Cambridge, where, after 'Annie' Green (60) had been convicted on October 25 for fortune-telling (although she swore on oath that she had never told fortunes in her life), her daughter Louisa Green (25) was charged on December 14 with conspiring with two other women to obtain £4, 15s. 0d. by fraud from the landlady of 'Ye Merry Boys.' The two other women, one of them the defendants' mother, had already appeared before the Court. Prisoner disclaimed all connection with them, but was committed for trial. *Kušti box* to her.

In addition to these two closely related bands, one or two other Gypsies were engaged in practising similar tricks. It is on record that Sarah Elliott and Mary Ann Smith were fined £10 each at Coventry on May 23 for obtaining £2, 5s. 0d. for a goat-skin rug by hoaxing and intimidation; that Alice Elliott and her niece, Isabella Elliott, were fined £5 each at Knaresborough on September 5 for obtaining £5 from a Boroughbridge publican by means of a trick; and that John Todd (18) was fined £15 (which was promptly paid by friends in Court) at Willenhall on June 21 for obtaining sums of 18s. and 10s. 6d. by false pretences. Who these Elliotts were it has been impossible to ascertain. In all probability they did not belong to the well-known Lincolnshire family, but to an entirely distinct family (and one not renowned for its law-abiding character) that may sometimes be met with around Bristol or London.

At the Wednesbury Police Court on March 5, a small fine was inflicted on Shadrach Skerrett, a Gypsy, of Dangerfield Lane, for being in possession of a straying dog and failing to report the same.





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joined by two or three of the younger prisoners, the remainder waving farewells as they were escorted to the cells.

In striking contrast with this desperate resistance to authority are the trivial offences of the fifteen Hampshire Gypsies, Richard Sheen and Alice Day (damaging turf in New Forest and Gadshill Wood), Ernest Smith (pony astray at Yateley), Margaret Stone and Tom Loveridge (no name on vans at Crookham), John Ayres (obscene language at Crookham), Maurice Ayres (obscene language at Deadwater), Charlie Green (poaching at Kingsworthy), Alice Day (theft of game-eggs at Broughton), Amos Wells (horses astray at Medstead), Henry and Mary Rogers and Esther Rawlings (bad language at Tadley), and James and Edward Lamb and Nipton Hibberd (killing a pheasant in close season at Hickfield), who were convicted at various dates from the middle of April to the end of May.

Perhaps the triviality of the crimes was due to the influence of the New Forest Gipsy Mission, which, in addition to its spiritual ministrations, assisted fifty families with parcels of warm clothing, provided two families with ponies, four with hawkers' licences, and several with money for the journey to the hop-fields. Since the work began it has induced over forty couples to marry.

Meanwhile the text of the Moveable Dwellings Bill was published on April 29, the Bill itself being read for a second time in the House of Lords on May 24, when it was referred to a Select Committee, whose report has already been dealt with in a previous issue (New Series, vol. iv. pp. 158-9).

On the 29th of April, too, Stephen Hewitt (husband of Pamela Smith) of Great Yarmouth, and John Taylor of Hopton, were fined at Woodbridge for turning their horses onto growing grass—or, in more familiar language, *puvin'* their *graiâ*. This John Taylor is no relation to Sylvester Taylor, who, a day or two later, was fined at Oswestry for encamping on the highway; nor to Isaac Taylor, who, in the first week in May, was convicted at Abergele for allowing his horses to stray; nor to Benjamin Taylor, who, at the same place, on September 4, had to pay 12s. 6d. for taking his three year old child with him into a public-house; nor to Richard Taylor, for stealing whose donkey John Ward, a groom, was sent to gaol for a week at Mold on November 8. The four last-named all belong to Longsnout's Breed.

Next come two prosecutions, both during the first week in May, under the new Children's Act—Lavinia Frankham at Blandford, and George and Sarah Davis at Witney. The latter were further charged with exposing their children, and with sleeping rough, and were sentenced to six months hard labour!

On May 4 John Oadley, one of a party of Gypsies, was sent to gaol at Little Bowden for assaulting with a bill-hook a policeman, who, when other means had failed, had attempted to move the party on by throwing a bucket of water over their fire. Two other members of the party, John Smith and Sidney Smith, were heavily fined at Market Harborough a week later for allowing their horses and donkeys to stray.

On May 16 a party of Gypsies 'under the control of' Caradoc Price, and consisting of eight families with twenty caravans, were evicted from Cymla Common, Neath.

On the 20th, at Swansea, Henry Riley (22), a tinker, camping at Stratford Common, Gowerton, was summoned for assaulting John Fury, an Irish tinker, whose jaw he broke, but the case was eventually dismissed. Thomas Riley also appeared in the Police Court during the year.

At the Southwell, Notts, Petty Sessions, on May 21, Isaac Smith appeared to answer charges of (1) keeping two dogs without licences, (2) unlawfully encamping on the highway, and was ordered to pay £1, 14s. 6d. in all.

On the same day at Coventry, Sarah Smith was summoned for obtaining 2s. 6d. by means of a device frequently practised by Gypsies—namely, a combination of hoaxing and fortune-telling. The Bench inflicted a fine of 50s.



On the 22nd Alfred Buckland, one of the Gypsies encamped on Maidenhead Moor, was fined for being drunk and refusing to quit licensed premises. On one other occasion, late in July, members of this colony appeared in the Police Court, when Matilda Buckland was summoned by Louisa Fletcher for using certain insulting words towards her whereby a breach of the peace might have been occasioned. Why it was not passes mortal comprehension. There was a cross summons. Mrs. Abbey Wilson, a Gypsy, gave evidence on behalf of Fletcher, and Louisa Buckland, her sister-in-law, and Owen Williams, on behalf of Buckland.

On the 24th, Violet Lee was sent to gaol at Midhurst, Sussex, for being drunk and disorderly; and about the same time George Draper of Folkestone was fined for obstructing the road.

June opened with the tragic death of Edwin Smith (18), a member of the encampment in Humphrey's Yard, Bedminster. At the inquest held at Bristol on the 9th of that month his grandmother (who addressed the coroner as 'my child') and Rhy Elliott gave evidence.

In Devonshire, Gypsies were making their presence felt, for during June complaints were received about encampments at Hook's Cross, near Ashburton, Mr. Brook's marsh, Totnes, and Church and Green Common, Loddiswell.

On the 21st William Bull, Eli his son, and James his brother, were summoned for an attack on two police officers at Lavington, near Devizes; whilst on the 26th Henry Roberts and Walter Smith appeared at the West Powder (near Truro) Petty Sessions to answer to minor charges.

But those wretched 'gipsies' who move about the Home Counties are clamouring for notice again, and alas! it cannot be denied them. It is necessary to record that Henry Beaney, William Johnson, Frank Smith, and Frederick Smith were fined at Seabrook, Kent, on June 4th, for encamping on the highway; and that, about the same time, John James, Minnie James, and Thomas Deacon were fined at Reigate for damaging Alderstead Heath.

The rest of the doings of the Gypsies during June were of an unimportant but varied character.

13th. Bias Boswell (26) accused at Liscard of being drunk whilst in charge of a horse, and with ill-treating the same.

25th. Funeral of one of the Kent Lees at Chatham.

Rodney Smith, the preacher, returned from America.

30th. John Thomas Holland (a descendant possibly of the famous Moses) was fined at Loughborough for taking fish from the river Soar during the close season.

On July 10 it was reported that William Blythe, 'a well-known Border Gypsy of the royal lineage of the Kings and Queens of Yetholm,' had died at Chirnside, aged seventy-six.

On the same date Jemima or Jessie Smith, hawker, Pontypool, was summoned at Hereford for camping on Whitmore Common, Burghill, but the Bench refused to convict.

Meanwhile various people, bearing such names as Rose, Sines, Matthews, Willett, Wenman, and Denman, all described as Gypsies, had appeared before the Surrey and Sussex magistrates.

On July 12 Levi Dighton, farm labourer, 1 Epsom Cottages, Foot's Cray, was fined at Bromley for assaulting Alfred Lee, dock-labourer, living in a van at Hurst Farm, Bexley—a place, by the way, where Gypsies may always be found, for Mr. Harry Vinson encourages them to camp and work on his land. Harriett Lee, daughter of the prosecutor, gave evidence.

A fortnight later Annie Lee, of the encampment in Day's Lane, Sidcup, brought a charge against a Japanese officer.

As a point of interest, it may be mentioned that the whole district round



about Sidcup—including Bexley, Eltham, Farnborough, and Plumstead—has an abnormally large Gypsy population.

At St. Austell, on July 15, a small fine was inflicted on Sophia Broadway, wife of the Charles Broadway mentioned above, for telling fortunes. It was stated that defendant had told her much-to-be-pitied victim to put a lock of her hair and a pinch of salt in paper and burn it, in order to break a bad spell that was hanging over her head.

On the 16th Reuben Smith (12), son of Shandres Smith, was convicted at Milnthorpe of stealing four eggs.

Shortly afterwards Richard Price (18) was sent to prison at Swansea for stealing a silver chain, the property of another Gypsy named Caradoc Price; and Ben Boswell, otherwise known as Stanley Evans, was charged at Narbeth with indecent assault.

Complaints were rife concerning Gypsy encampments at Chemical Road, Morrision, and at Glais.

Lodsworth Club Day ended in a free fight amongst the amusement caterers present. Hands and feet were found to be insufficient, so poles and even hammers were requisitioned. The sequel was the appearance of practically all the party at the Midhurst, Sussex, Petty Sessions on July 22. Tom Smith was charged with assaulting (1) his father Andrew Smith, (2) his sister Rosa Smith; Edward Carter with assaulting Andrew Smith; and Mary Ann Smith (wife of Tom Smith) with assaulting Esther Smith. Amy Smith (wife of Andrew Smith) and Joe Smith (husband of Esther Smith), who was himself assaulted by Carter, gave evidence. Further, Joe Smith, Tom Smith, and Edward Carter were summoned for using obscene language. A fine of £1 was imposed in each case.

At Basingstoke on July 27, Jane Cole, a Gypsy hawker, was fined for working a horse that had an extensive sore on its back and a wound on its fetlock. Both the wounds had dung pressed into them, and were then filled up with fuller's earth and blackened over.

Other Hampshire Gypsies in trouble about the same time were Walter Bowers, Emily Ayres, and Tom Gregory, the last named for using obscene language and threatening Leonard Lee, labourer, Eversley.

During the first week in August James Penfold and George Penfold were fined at Camelford for releasing three horses from a pound; also Aaron Fletcher and Alfred Light at Tottenham for squatting on common land in contravention to a bye-law passed in 1883, but never applied during the intervening twenty-six years.

An extraordinary story was related to the Highgate Bench on August 17 by a domestic servant who applied for a warrant for the arrest of a Gypsy woman called Lee, who had obtained £17, 17s. Od. in all from her, 'to put on the planet.' Naturally this planet proved to be very obstinate as long as there was a possibility of obtaining further and larger sums from the foolish and credulous maid.

August 18, 19, and 20 witnessed the trial of the Yarmouth fortune-tellers. The records of this, as preserved in the volume of Press-cuttings, are rather incomplete, and have had to be supplemented by information gathered from other sources. The Gypsies engaged in *dukerin'* along the sea-front and in Regent Road during the summer of 1909 included the following:—Liberina Barron, née Gray, professionally known as Madame Alexander; Lionora Tann, née Gray, daughter of Genti Gray and Santanora Printer, niece of Liberina, professionally known as Madame Tann; Nellie Hope, née Bonnett, daughter of Kíómi Gray and Charlie Bonnett, niece of Liberina, professionally known as Madame Nellina; and Adelaide Garratt, née Lee, daughter of Lovinia Smith and George Lee, granddaughter of 'Jasper Petulengro,' professionally known as Madame Lee; all of whom were more or less under the control of George Barron, Liberina's husband. During July they ascertained that the police were going to prosecute them, and this induced Barron to have notices printed and distributed stating that they did not





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Only two other members of the encampment were unlucky enough to be compelled to appear before the magistrates during the year—Edward Harris on October 11, for turning his three horses onto a field of wurtzel, and Edward Harris again and Jack Eastwood on December 13, for committing damage to a field of growing lucerne and for allowing ponies to stray respectively. Many others doubtless broke the law.

Towards the end of August Luke Smith and Louisa Coleman were fined for trivial but characteristic offences, the former at Wotton (Gloucestershire), and the latter at Eastbourne; whilst on the 27th Emma Finney was sent to gaol for fourteen days at Tullamore for fortune-telling, and taking away 6s. from a girl, in order to convert it into gold.

September was hardly a normal month, for the hop-picking caused the Gypsies—and especially the lower class ones—to congregate in Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire. Apparently those who went *tarderin'* the *levinengros* into Kent and Surrey were a particularly law-abiding lot (some of them were converted Gypsies from the Latimer Road area), for not a single Gypsy appeared in the Police Court in either county during the month. Hampshire only showed an average crop of convictions—Job Sherrard and Francis Hughes; poaching at Leamington; Job Sherrard, wilful damage to the New Forest; Noah Collis, horses astray at Basingstoke; Elizabeth and Thomas White and May Mathews, drunkenness at Alton; Luke Bull, encamping on highway at Alton; and Matthew Loveridge, leaving horse and cart unattended at the same place. The Police Courts in Herefordshire and Worcestershire, however, reflected the abnormality in an unmistakable manner. Early in the month James Loveridge, George Smith, Louisa Smith, Prudence Smith, and Glory Loveridge were fined at Bromsgrove for allowing nine horses and a donkey to stray. Next, Elizabeth Smith was in trouble at Hereford for damaging fruit trees; Edwin Boswell and Elizabeth his wife at Evesham for using bad language; and Matthew Butler (25) and Emily Coleman at Worcester for being drunk and disorderly. Finally, at Malvern, Cornelius Holland was charged with threatening to kill Matilda Smith, James Virgo (husband of Matilda Smith) with assaulting Cornelius Holland, and Matilda Smith with assaulting Cornelius Sherriff. There were cross summonses. Virgo boasted of the smallness of his boots, and Holland replied that he knew a man who wore smaller, and further, that Virgo's boots were made of tripe. Virgo thereupon used very foul expressions, and asserted that Holland's vans were made of tripe. Then they fell to fighting, the others naturally joining in. William Smith, a son of Virgo and Matilda Smith, gave evidence. Virgo was fined 10s. 6d. for assaulting Holland, but the other cases were dismissed.

On September 12 Edgar Lovell (22) was arrested by the Oldham Police on the charge of having, that day, caused the death of his child Susannah, aged fifteen months. His wife, a *gâji* called Mary Ann Dorsey, had parted from him about three weeks before, and gone to live at Oldham with her mother, taking the child with her. On the 12th Lovell paid a visit to his mother-in-law's house, but learned that his wife had gone out. During the temporary absence of Mrs. Dorsey he snatched up the child, and made off with it along some back streets. Neighbours who had witnessed the incident raised the alarm, and a pursuit was started, but before the pursuers could come up with him, both he and the baby were in Derker Mill lodge. Lovell was rescued, but the body of the child was only recovered after half an hour had elapsed. He was originally charged with wilful murder, but this charge was subsequently reduced to one of manslaughter, on which he was sentenced to three months' hard labour at the Manchester Assizes on November 9.

It is a relief to revert to more characteristic, and therefore more trivial, crimes. On September 23 Ellen Loveridge (49) was summoned at Lawford's Gate for obtaining 2s. by 'ringing the changes.' It was stated that defendant had been



working the country round Bristol for years, and practically made her living by means of this trick. All honour to her for being able to support herself and bring up a family of thirteen children in any way, legal or illegal.

On the 23rd also, Lavinia Frankham and her daughter Janet were convicted at Wareham for stealing sticks; on the 28th Selina Cooper was fined £1 and costs for encamping on the highway at South Lawton, Devonshire; on the 29th Harry Gray was found guilty at Lowestoft of allowing two horses to stray on the road at Blundeston; and on the 30th Amos Price was charged at Barry with receiving stolen property, but the case was dismissed.

Very little now remains to be recorded, for the most interesting cuttings dealing with the history of the British Gypsies during the last three months of the year have already been considered. On October 5 Henry Holland was fined at St. Columb for an unimportant offence, and before the end of the month Thomas Hicks was summoned at East Penwith. Sometime between then (the 5th) and the 13th Harry Smith was in trouble with the Rutland police.

On the latter day Edith Lee was fined at Pontypridd for obtaining various articles by means of a trick—the old one of hoaxing combined with fortune-telling. The same day witnessed the discharge at the Wiltshire Assizes of John Doe (61), accused of rick firing.

Then those troublesome Hampshire Gypsies or 'mumpers' (a plague on them whatever they are) reappeared in the persons of William Wells, Benjamin Wells, Jesse Wells, James Wells, Job Lamb, Joseph Williams, Job Williams, and Jack Stacey, all of whom were convicted at the Whitehill Petty Sessions, for various small and quite pardonable offences. Others of them who broke the law, and were caught in the act during this and the succeeding months, included Jack Lee and Walter Lee (damaged undergrowth at Thickthorn), William James (used abusive and threatening language at the same place), Henry Lee (used a cart without a nameplate on it at Odiham), Edward Lane (stole 3d. worth of firewood, the property of His Majesty the King at Hollywater), Elizabeth Ray (got drunk and became disorderly at the same place), James Ray and Benjamin Mitchell (rescued Elizabeth Ray from the police), Noah Cooper (used obscene language at Christchurch), Alfred Edwards (kept a dog without a licence at the same place), Ann Willett (damaged growing shrubs at Newport, I.O.W.), William Castle and Richard Sheen (damaged the New Forest), Reuben Hicks (worked a horse in an unfit condition at Yateley), Mary Ann Coates (allowed horses to stray at Whitehill), and Benjamin Mitchell (assaulted Tom Lee at Hollywater, the latter being also accused of assaulting Elizabeth Ray; evidence being given by Fanny Lee, John Smith, Daisy Mitchell, and Eli Frankham). There must have been a very large encampment in the Whitehill-Hollywater neighbourhood.

The Ongar district of Essex, too, harboured a considerable number of Gypsies, for on October 16 Walter Buckley, Elias Hedges, sen., Elias Hedges, jun., Alice Hedges, John Taylor, H. Adam, Linder Thorpe, E. Harris, Alfred Harris, and Joseph Upton, were all fined for taking caravans onto Norton Heath.

That Gerrards Cross Common was another gathering-place is proved by the prosecution on November 22 of John Smith, late of Gerrards Cross, Ballcher (Belcher) Lee of Chatham, George Cooper of Croydon, Francis Light of Bristol, Britannia Smith of Oxford, and Sidney Smith of Northampton, for wilfully damaging the grass and turf thereon, and (in some cases) for *puvin'* their *graiâ* in a neighbouring field of sainfoin. A month later some of the same party were around Kingston, for Belcher Lee and John or Joe Lee of Chatham were summoned for allowing horses to stray at Broad Lane, Walton, and George Cooper for pitching a tent on the highway at the same place.

In Kent nothing of interest happened, except the prosecution of John Smith, sen., and John Smith, jun., for encamping on the highway at Faversham about the middle of October; of Frank and Sarah Collins at Tunbridge Wells on October



24 for a minor offence ; and of Thomas Eastwood at Bromley on December 3, for wilfully damaging and stealing a portion of a fence. Why only a portion ?

A Surrey Gypsy named Job Smith was fined at Woking early in November, and several Sussex Gypsies (pray pardon the inaccuracy of description) including — Warner, Thomas Vinden, Lena Othen, Gertrude Ayres, Mark Ripley, Albert Matthews, Fred Turner, Samuel Saunders, and Joe Chapman, were subjected to a similar annoyance. There was a considerable camp of such travellers at Crowborough. They were just about as good Gypsies as the Mrs. Reid or Johnstone, an aged tinker woman, who was interred at Logierait Churchyard on October 29. It is recorded of this old lady that her artful manner of appealing for assistance seldom failed to have the desired effect.

The blood is probably a little blacker in Henry Smith, whose drinking propensities got him into trouble at Hereford ; and in Harriet Smith (27), who was charged at Worcester with allowing her children to beg. Certainly it must be so in Thomas Locke, who, with Cornelius Shepherd, was convicted of poaching at Newport (Salop), a town where Zebulun or Jim Locke, Esmeralda's brother, has made his home for many years. Also in Leonard Lock (one of *Poggi Bul's* breed), a lame Gypsy encamped at Oaken Lawn, who was ordered to pay 20s. 6d. at Wolverhampton on December 20, for assaulting a gamekeeper by striking him across the head with his crutch. Several years before, the gamekeeper had ordered Lock away from Kiddlemore Green, and was warned at the time that he would suffer for it, even if the Gypsies had to wait twenty years for their revenge. It ought to have been a great relief to him then to get his thump on the head over and done with, but as every one knows *gâjos* are ungrateful and keepers very spiteful.

*Invasion.*—As far as can be gathered, the British Isles were very little troubled by the presence of foreign Gypsies. On January 22 John Georgevitch, a 'Siberian Gypsy,' was accused at Ballymena of discharging a gun with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The prisoner could not understand English, so his companion, John Mitrovitch, acted as interpreter. The crowd, it was stated, behaved in a very riotous and improper manner, throwing stones at defendant's van because there was no performance. The case was dismissed.

On November 18 a picturesque band of 'Austrian' Gypsies, nineteen in number, arrived at Dover from Calais, four were found to be suffering from ophthalmic troubles, and were deported, the rest being admitted. According to the S.E. and C.R. officials, the party took train to London. The men were coppersmiths, and wore smartly embroidered capes slung over their shoulders, loose breeches, top boots, and wide-brimmed hats. Nothing more was heard of them.

( $\beta$ ) *Literature.*—The newspaper and magazine Press was not flooded with contributions from *Romanê Raiâ* during the year under consideration, nor did the hack writers greedily pounce upon a subject that might have afforded them unlimited copy of a striking and picturesque character. Consequently there is little to record in this section dealing with ephemeral literature.

To *T. P.'s Weekly*, April 9, the present writer contributed a paper on 'Jasper Petulengro and his Relatives.' For what little merit it possessed he was indebted to the reminiscences of Reuben Brinkley, a fine old Gypsy (albeit not of the bluest blood) then residing at Ely.

The *Newcastle Weekly Journal and Courant* for April 17 and May 15 contained short articles by C. A. Booth on Bamfylde Moore Carew and F. H. Groome respectively.

The *Northern Whig* on May 10 printed an article by Lewis Spence dealing with the Irish tinkers and their language, and *T. P.'s Weekly* on October 15 and November 26 letters by Sherley M'Egill and 'A Romano Rai' on the same subject. No fresh information was forthcoming from any of the writers.





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A correspondent writing to the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* on September 29 recounted how, whilst motoring from Liverpool to a remote Cheshire village, they passed three different bands of Gypsies, some driving horses, others in vans. 'On each occasion our chauffeur slowed down, passing them almost noiselessly, so as to avoid scaring the horses. Each time he did so we were surprised and delighted to hear several gipsies of each troupe politely thank him, some in quite a courtly and some in a very hearty way.'

The October issue of the *Cornhill Magazine* contained the first of the Rev. H. H. Malleson's charming stories of Gypsy life. It was entitled 'A Spoiler at Noon-day,' and has been so widely read that it is hardly necessary to call attention to it here. One or two members may, however, still have a pleasure in store for them.

To the *Barrovian*—the magazine of the secondary school for boys, Barrow-in-Furness—John Myers contributed two excellent articles. The first, which bore the vague and comprehensive title of 'Gypsies' (vol. ii. No. 3), was a vindication of the *Romani* character, and a brief account of the customs, beliefs, language, and appeal of the Gypsies. In the second, 'The Other Half' (vol. iii. No. 7), he conducted his readers on an imaginary visit to George Smith's *kēr*, to the waggons and tents of the Hernes and Lees, and then on to the tent of Amos Price, nephew of Fighting Fred the Gypsy, 'ondaunted by any man living.' It would be difficult to conceive of a better guide.

In 'Autumn: a Sketch' (*T. P.'s Weekly*, October 15), J. G. Bristow-Noble made an old poacher recount how fifty-six years ago a Gypsy buried his wife in a 'deep dell, where bracken and brier and nightshade and old man's beard grew in dense profusion.' Neither the names of the Gypsies nor the name of the 'deep dell' were given, but the author assured our Hon. Secretary that he gave the tale exactly as it was related to him.

To the November issue of *Camping* the Society's Hon. Secretary contributed an article on 'The Treasure of the Gypsies.'

In striking contrast with this was Harwood Brierley's 'The "Juva,"' in the *Daily Mail* for December 30. The title was a little misleading, for the article had nothing at all to do with that interesting species of vermin. It was all about two impossible people—one the author, and the other an aged Gypsy woman of the Kamlo or Lovel clan, whom he chanced to meet. It contained several tags of *Romani* obtained second-hand.

In the Christmas number (vol. ix. No. 3) of the *Kendalian*, the magazine of Kendal Grammar School, F. S. Atkinson wrote on 'Gypsies in Westmorland,' giving an account of the local potters—a class analogous to the Tinkler Gypsies—and saying a few words about Gypsies in general, and those of the English Gypsies most frequently to be found around Kendal in particular.

During the year lectures on Gypsies were delivered at Clevedon by the Hon. Secretary, and at Louth by the Rev. George Hall.

#### AMERICA.

The *St. Joseph News-Press* of January 5 reported charges against two Gypsy fortune-tellers, Mary Adams and Marie Mark, of defrauding a negro of \$5 in 'a money blessing rite.' Chief Joe Adams (or Adamowitz,<sup>1</sup> who in 1908 made application for the incorporation of 'The National Gypsy Association of America') avouched for their honesty, but Prosecuting Attorney Keller, who confessed to having been swindled out of \$3 himself, fined them \$19. It was added that eleven women had taken out fortune-tellers' licences, costing \$50 each. A photograph of 'the mother and the belle of the camp' was reproduced.

The same paper and the *St. Joseph Gazette* on January 7 reported that Mary

<sup>1</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 140, and iii. 292.



and Christ Studio were prosecuted by Peter Sterio for robbing his wife Mary of a gold nugget, two gold coins worth \$10 each, and a locket bearing the symbol of a secret fraternity. The property was restored, and the case dismissed when Christ Studio had paid the costs in three English sovereigns, temp. Victoriae. Both parties apparently belonged to Joe Adams' band.

On January 4 Leno Oloney, from a camp near Union Hill, N.J., was found guilty of stealing \$52 whilst she asked permission to read the victim's hand. (Surely this must be the Sena Olena<sup>1</sup> who robbed a cobbler of \$20 at the Bronx in 1908.)

The *World Magazine* of New York for January 3 devoted a page to an account of Scarletta Demetro, a famous artists' model. She was the daughter of an English lady and a Rumanian Gypsy who met in 1886. Her tribe was demanding that she should return and be crowned queen before her grandfather, King Hippolyte Demetro, should die. But she was inclined to prefer marriage with a Pueblo Indian, although her people had prepared her a waggon fitted with every luxurious appointment—even a bath-tub. She wore a charm, 'the hand of Fatma,' made of gold set with rubies and turquoises, and asserted that 'every gypsy girl wears one around her neck together with a shell, a tooth, and a red and blue bead.' The article had two photographs of Miss Demetro and one of the Indian.

The *Freeman* of St. John, N.B., on January 23 announced the death of Sancho Vasilovitch,<sup>2</sup> king of a tribe of Gypsies who are Catholics and winter at Elmwood Place, Ohio.

The *St. John (N.B.) Newspaper* of February 1, told how a Gypsy woman in a trance had correctly foretold that a hen would lay an egg with a map marked on it which would show where buried treasure was concealed.

The *Times* of St. John, N.B., on February 13 published a bad reproduction of a photograph having beneath it the inscription 'American Gypsies : Romany Women around their Campfire ready for the Valentine Day harvest.'

The *St. John (N.B.) Globe* reported the reunion with her family of a young lady who had been kidnapped by Gypsies at the age of seven 'and forced to follow the customs of their tribe.'

The *Christian Herald* of March 4 described a visit of Gypsy Smith the Evangelist (Rodney Smith) to a camp of Rumanian Gypsies at Pittsburg. He made himself understood in Romani. Their queen was Mrs. George Mitchell (née Bessie Gray).

The *Morning Chronicle* of Nova Scotia, on March 15 announced the arrival of a large troupe of Gypsies from England.

During March, Hoboken, N.J., was overrun by Gypsies who had wintered at Elizabeth. For insisting on telling fortunes and using insulting language a number were arrested, and Maria and Annetta Trenia, Maria Rinia, and Maria Rillecollo were fined \$5 each.

The *New York Press* of April 10 reported the passage of one hundred and fifty 'genuine gypsies' through Montclair, N.J., en route for Pennsylvania. A paper in German mentions the burial of a 'Gypsy' queen, Mary Gorman,<sup>3</sup> wife of James Gorman, at Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 14. She had died on November 6, 1908, at Pittsburg, Kansas, whence the corpse had been brought to Cincinnati. A wake lasting the whole night preceded the funeral.

The Philadelphia correspondent of the *New York Times* on April 21 reported that a negro of that city had been arrested for stealing \$10,000 from Rhoda Lovell, an aged Gypsy queen, camping on Lancaster Pike, Bryn Mawr. She was said to be a Welsh Gypsy.

<sup>1</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 294.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 147.

<sup>3</sup> A common Irish tinkler name.



The Montreal papers of May 11 mentioned a party of twenty Italian Gypsies, said to have come from Florence, who were *en route* for Saskatchewan.

During June a Gypsy horsedealer, Fred Artcher, of Binghampton, N.Y., was robbed of \$4500 by three men.

The *New York Evening Sun* of June 17 told how the Gypsies of Trenton, N.J., had been obliged to move on because a hostile mob accused them of kidnapping, owing to one of their women having chased a small boy through the streets.

The *Winnipeg Tribune* reported on June 8 that a band of twenty-two well-to-do Gypsies had been refused permission to cross the border into the States, as they had not the necessary certificate.

The *Montreal Star* announced on June 26 that the Ontario police were asking the Dominion Government to deport back to the States a band of Gypsies which was at Peterboro.

The immigration authorities of the United States in July decided to deport back to Buenos Ayres twenty-four Rumanian Gypsies, on the ground that they were likely to become public charges. Their objective was Oakland, California. The Gypsies furiously resisted the officials who were conducting them to the liner, and are said to have used their babies as clubs, a proceeding which caused a hostile mob to attempt to lynch them. This ill-treatment evoked an article in the *Providence Sunday Journal*. A sympathetic account of Gypsies in the States, and especially of Stanleys, horsedealers in Providence, was given. Some facts in Gypsy history were mentioned, and there were three photographs (A Gathering of Gypsies in Eastern Roumania ; An Encampment in the Steppes of Eastern Europe ; Austrian Gypsies as Labourers) and a sketch (Gypsy Women in the Streets of Bucharest).

The *Daily Chronicle* of July 20 announced the birth of a daughter of 'King Petrovitch,'<sup>1</sup> leader of a band of Servian Gypsies, two days out from Cherbourg *en route* for America.

The Montreal *Family Herald and Weekly Star* of July 21 reported that a Gypsy, George Brazil, had been sentenced at Uckfield for chicken-stealing.

'Gypsy Sam' wrote to the *Providence Sunday Journal* on August 3, from 'Gypsy Camp, Malumick (R.I.), offering \$100 for evidence of any Gypsy having been convicted of an offence against the criminal code of the State in which he resided.'

At Lloydminster (N.B.), on August 29, Vorseil Mitchell, a wealthy Gypsy rancher, charged his daughter Volga with stealing \$16,000 from him before eloping with a negro minstrel. An amicable settlement was eventually made.

At Chicago, on November 22, Zalacha (or Zalreho) Demitro, a Gypsy king, and his son Ephraim were arrested for kidnapping Amelia, the daughter of Ephraim Johnson, another Gypsy. Nicholas George and his family, who were witnesses for the prosecution, were informed against by the Demitros, who said they had crossed the Canadian frontier without permission.

In what appears to be a garbled version of the above story in the *St. John* (N.B.) *Globe* of November 5, Spero Nicholas, son of Nicholas George, falls in love with Mary Uboniwich. Her father Ulanzo is given \$1500 for the girl, and she is carried off. But here the famous chief Joe Adams steps in and wires to his brother chief, Aleck, to stop the marriage. Certainly Joe Adams and Zlatchio (this name seems to trouble American journalists) or Slatcho Demitro are enemies. But in addition Joe has a brother Nicholas.<sup>2</sup>

#### AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

Many papers announced the death on February 7 of Countess Festetics, who married Rudi Nyary,<sup>3</sup> a Gypsy fiddler.

<sup>1</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 147.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 140.

<sup>3</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 296.





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In *Der Tag*, April 30 and May 1, appeared two articles by W. Brepohl giving some details of attempts to settle the Gypsies in Germany and Austria, and a few notes on their character and history. The article was apparently occasioned by the proposal in the Deutscher Reichstag on March 31 to come to some understanding with Austria as to the methods of dealing with Gypsies.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Daily Despatch* on June 26 reported the suicide of a well-known actress, Hedwig Sommer, a daughter of 'strolling gipsy players.' During her professional career, and even after her marriage to the son of a rich hotel-keeper of Berlin, she was never able to resist the wandering impulse in her blood. Her practice of wandering away alone led to a divorce which was the cause of her suicide.

#### ITALY.

The *Star* of January 11 reported that a mass of rock falling on a Gypsy van at the foot of the Collelijiure Mountain, near Genoa, had killed six people and injured four.

#### PERSIA.

The November issue of *Man* contained an article entitled 'Notes on Musical Instruments in Khorasan with special reference to the Gypsies,' by Major P. Molesworth Sykes, C.M.G. It was illustrated by three exceptionally good photographs of Gypsy musicians with their instruments. A second article by the same author in the December issue, on 'Tattooing in Persia,' mentions that the work is generally done by Gypsy women.

#### RUSSIA.

Various newspapers reported the escape of a Gypsy woman from Odeoff Gaol with a child five months old.

The *Leeds Mercury* of March 15 reported that a Cossack of Poltava was suing a Gypsy for wrongly telling his fortune. After securing a large amount of fees, and sewing into his coat a five-rouble gold piece (made of copper), she told him he would be able to borrow as much as he wanted from the first man he met. His attempt to do so failed signally.

The New York *Staats-Zeitung* in July mentioned a case of *hokhano bâro* played on a lady living near Moskow. She was induced by a Gypsy woman to put about 1000 dollars' worth of jewelry in a bundle, give it to the Gypsy, and look the other way while the Gypsy delivered her prophecy. The bundle was then returned to her, with instructions that it was not to be opened for three days. It was then found to be empty.

#### SERVIA.

The *Otaxbina* is responsible for a statement that a Gypsy from Levtscha called Sulga arrived in Belgrade claiming relationship to King Peter.

#### SPAIN.

G. Adams-Fisher contributed to the *Los Angeles Times* of April 4 an article which included a description of the Gypsies of Granada, illustrated by a photograph of a 'Gypsy Dance.' They offered brass trinkets for sale and told fortunes, whilst seizing every opportunity of stealing. They wore dresses of bright colours, covered with 'gewgaws' of all sorts. Their homes were holes in the rocks 'in the valley beyond the Darro.' During the festival of Corpus Christi they gave a dance and sang songs which were vicious and offensive. Nevertheless the American visitors voted song and dance 'as delightful as they were disreputable.'



## TURKEY.

A newspaper in Yiddish said that the Gypsies of Pravista had protested to Parliament against a description of them in the Statute Books. They desired to be described as Mohammedans and not as Gypsies, and said that they were prepared to fulfil all the duties of citizens, even military service. In the debate on the subject, Major Wasfi Bey maintained that their request should not be granted, because they were not allowed the same rights as other citizens in the Province.

## V.—THE SONGS OF FABIAN DE CASTRO, EL GYPTANO

Communicated by AUGUSTUS E. JOHN, and

Edited by HERBERT W. GREENE

FABIAN DE CASTRO was born some forty-five years ago at Linares in the Province of Andalusia. Like so many other distinguished children of Apollo, he while still a lad was seized with the *Wanderlust*, and forsook his respectable family to take up with gâjos or other Gypsies, like himself in the 'roving line.' He has plied many trades and practised many arts, and has travelled alone or in strange company, afoot or otherwise, through many lands.

This master *Guitarrista*, when last heard of, was temporarily lodged in the *Estaripel* of Toledo, whither he had been forcibly conducted by the Commander of the Civil Guard for the offence of painting a picture which that functionary judged subversive of law and order. Let us hope that Fabian will soon be released to sell the notorious work at an increased price, and add one more chapter of accidents to those amazing Memoirs, the publication of which may be eagerly looked forward to by Gypsy students. Indeed all *aficionados* of life or literature are likely to be pleased and diverted by the varied experiences of this modern Gil Blas, recounted with that unfailing Gypsy humour which finds fun in unexpected places, and seasoned with that philosophy of which wandering Bohemians alone seem to possess the secret.

The following handful of songs from the voluminous traditional repertoire of *El Gyptano*, though of small linguistic or ethnological value, and divorced as they are from the magical accompaniment of the guitar, illustrate at least the profoundly rooted belief of the *Calés* in their Egyptian origin, and the spirit of solidarity which animates their race. As for Fabian, his conviction of his noble descent from the Pharaohs is unalterable.



‘But see,’ he will say, ‘in *all* countries the Gypsies will tell you they come from Egypt, how are you going to explain that? And your savants who profess to read the hieroglyphs—in reality there is only one person capable of that, and that is my old aunt, but she knows all the signs! Why! you have only to look at Gypsies to see that they are *Caballeros*. . . . Nevertheless, my friend,’ he adds solemnly, ‘to be noble, it is not merely sufficient to be a Gypsy!’ And with this comforting admission I will tactfully leave Fabian de Castro, successfully introduced, I trust, into company at once sympathetic and grateful!—AUGUSTUS JOHN.

- |                                     |                                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Por esas sierras y valles</i> | By these mountains and valleys |
| <i>Bajan los pobres Gitanos,</i>    | Descend the poor Gypsies,      |
| <i>En busca de Pharaon</i>          | In search of Pharaoh           |
| <i>Que era su primito hermano.</i>  | Who was their first cousin.    |

Pure Spanish, except that *primito* is a diminutive, unknown to my dictionaries, for *primo hermano* = first cousin.

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 2. <i>La Gitana que es Gitana</i> | The Gypsy woman who is a Gypsy  |
| <i>Y su sangre la mezcla</i>      | And mixes her blood             |
| <i>Merecía los tormentos</i>      | Would deserve the torments      |
| <i>Que daba la Inquisicion.</i>   | Which the Inquisition provided. |

Pure Spanish. If *mezcló*, which stands in the original MS., is right, it means, mixed; *i.e.* is the past tense.

- |                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 3. <i>Eso no lo firma el rey,</i>   | This the king does not sanction, |
| <i>Que Gitanitas con Gaché</i>      | Gypsy girls with Gâjos           |
| <i>Es sangre en contra la ley :</i> | Is blood against the law :       |
| <i>Que repara bien lo que tu</i>    | So look well to that thou hast   |
| <i>has hecho,</i>                   | done,                            |
| <i>Que eso no lo firma el rey.</i>  | This the king does not sanction. |

Pure Spanish, except *Gaché*; plur. of *Gachó* = any one not a Gypsy.

- |                                    |                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 4. <i>Si pasas por el desierto</i> | If you pass by the desert     |
| <i>Fijate en las Gitanitas</i>     | Beware of those Gypsy girls   |
| <i>Que resucitan los muertos,</i>  | Who resuscitate the dead.     |
| <i>Que si alguna vez vas á</i>     | So if some time you are going |
| <i>Egipto</i>                      | to Egypt                      |
| <i>Pasate por el desierto.</i>     | Pass by the desert.           |

Pure Spanish.





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9. *Primito, dame que ti pie,  
Viniendo sinelo de Egipto,  
Que abillelo de Faron  
Como todos Gitanitos.*
- Give me to drink, little cousin!  
I am from Egypt (*lit.* I am coming).  
I come from Pharaoh  
Like all Gypsies (*lit.* little Gypsies).

*Tripie* in the MS., I suspect conceals *ti pie* = drink to you. *Abillelar* = to come. *Sinelar* = to be. *Piar* = to drink.

CANTO DE NOCHE BUENA. CHRISTMAS CAROL OF  
THE GYPSIES.

- Abre mi la puerta, primo,  
Que yo tambien soy de  
Egipto,  
Que vengo de Pharaon  
Como to' (Sc. todos) los  
Gitanitos.*
- Open the door to me, cousin,  
For I too am from Egypt,  
For I come from Pharaoh,  
Like all true Gypsies.
- Todo aquel que sea Gitano  
No niega su descendencia :  
Yo no busco qualidad,  
Que busco correspondencia.*
- Every one who is a Gypsy  
Denies not his descent :  
I seek not quality,  
But correspondence (? of blood,  
or a friendly welcome).
- Que Pharaon dice :—  
Unid vuestras manos,  
Porque en nuestra raza  
Somos to's hermanos.*
- As Pharaoh says :—  
Join your hands,  
Because in our race  
We are all brothers.
- Y vayan viniendo  
Los vasitos llenos,  
Hasta que digamos :—  
Bueno esta lo bueno.*
- And let come and go  
The full cups,  
Until we say :—  
Good is the good.

The concluding line is not a mere tautology, which would be *Bueno es el bueno*. I take it to mean 'The good stuff, *i.e.* the wine, is all right, *i.e.* where it ought to be, in our stomachs.'



## VI.—THE SOUND ČH.

By BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

PROFESSOR JACOB WACKERNAGEL, in an article entitled 'Č und Ĵ' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 119), discusses the question of aspirated consonants in the Gypsy language, and in doing so takes it for granted that *čh* does not exist in European Romani,—'dass endlich für *čh* durchweg *č* eingetreten ist.' My object in writing this note is to dispose, once for all, of the inaccurate theory of the non-existence of *čh* in Romani, for which Paspatis is largely responsible. To Paspatis *čh* was an entirely foreign sound, not existing in his modern Greek, nor in Turkish, and it escaped his ear.

An examination of the Bulgarian Romani equivalents of the words mentioned by Professor Wackernagel is of the highest interest. We may leave out *čukel*, which should be *džukel* as Professor Wackernagel rightly observes, and therefore has no bearing on the question. But the following most certainly do possess the aspirate in Sofia, namely: *čhib* 'tongue,' *čham* 'cheek,' *čhad-* 'to be sick,' *čhin-* 'to cut.'

It is a most interesting fact, which goes far to prove the already accepted view 'dass in den europäischen Zigeunersprachen vielfach Verschiebung der Aspiration, namentlich solche auf den Anlaut, stattgefunden hat' (Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*), that 'cheek' is in Sofia undoubtedly *čham*, and therefore corresponds to Sanskrit *gambha* (Pott, ii. 193) and not to the Hindustani *čābnā* (Mik., vii. 28); whereas this last word *čābnā* has its equivalent in Bulgarian Romani *čam-kerāv* 'to masticate,' where the aspiration of *č* does not exist.

Unfortunately the Sofia Gypsies do not aspirate the *č* in *čangá* 'legs'; why I cannot tell. But I am not sure whether the word for 'yesterday' in Sofia, *ič*, ought to be brought into the question. Is it not equally probable that the final consonant of this word is only voiceless because it is final (cf. *jak*, *jagáte* 'fire,' *rik*, *rigáte* 'side,' but *jak*, *jakha* 'eyes')? As a matter of fact my Lálerè Sinte pronounced the word *iéž*.



I submit the following list of words in which there is no doubt as to the reality of the presence of *čh* :—

*čhádav*, I vomit.

*čhai*, girl.

*čham*, cheek.

*čhavó*, boy.

*čhavrí*, young chicken.

*čhel*, smallpox.

*čhib*; tongue.

*čhináv*, I cut.

*čhingjaráv*, I bore a hole.

*čholáv*, I peel.

*čhomút*, new moon.

*čhon*, moon.

*čhorá*, beard.

*čhoráv*, I pour.

*čhurí*, knife.

Also *ačháv* 'I remain,' *učharáv* 'I cover,' *učhanáv* 'I sift' (Paspati's *ushanáva*); but *ušljáráv* 'I knead' (Pasp. *ushleráva*).

It will be seen that *čh* is found at times where it 'ought not to be.' The regular past participle of *ačháv* is *ašló*.

The list is not exhaustive, but is sufficiently large to prove the existence of *čh* in Romani.

---

## REVIEWS

Juli Vallmitjana. *Els Zin-calós (Els Gitanos)*. Barcelona Tip. 'L'Avenç': Rambla de Catalunya, 24. 1911.

Pere Salom. *Gitanos. Llibre d'Amor i de Pietat*. Barcelona Societat Anónima La Neotipia. Passeig de Gracia, 77, int. 1911.

CATALONIA seems to have experienced of late a revival of interest in the Gypsies. Senyor Vallmitjana, who some time back published a novel about them, *Sota Monjuich*, under the *nom de plume* J. V. Colominas, has now produced in his own name a play, *Els Zin-calós*, a copy of which he has forwarded to us. The play itself is short and simple. A quarrel between two husbands leads to the wife of one putting a solemn curse on the daughter of the other. Consequent despair of the daughter and her mother. Reappearance of the husbands (neither having killed the other), appeals to the invoker of the curse, who graciously takes it off again, general reconciliation, and final bestowing of the girl, La Xivet, upon her lover, El Cigaleta.

There are a good many Gypsy words mixed up with the Catalan in which the play is written, and the following list, from





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*Spain*, pt. ii. ch. 2), but not a Gypsy word, being simply the Spanish *cuartillas* = pasterns.

*Ua* = yes (*unga*).

*Uribinyá* = to weep (*orobar*).

*Xivi* = bride. So it appears both in the text and in the note, but surely it must be a misprint for *xavi* (*tchavi*, Pasp.). At any rate *xavó* occurs later on.

*Xuguelet* = dog (*chuguel*).

And I may add *sobinyar* = to sleep (*sobar*).

The contribution of Senyor Salom consists of a series of short sketches of Gypsies, mainly of a melancholy kind. There is not much Gypsy talk in them, though the opening sketch of a Gypsy marriage tells us that the chief began with the solemn words of St. Matthew, spoken in his own language: '*Mangue ardiñelaré y chalarè al batuse y penaré*, etc.' What appropriateness there was however, in this use of the words of the Prodigal Son is not explained, any more than why a somewhat Rabelaisian quatrain is assigned to the bride, when it should obviously be spoken by the bridegroom. Another quatrain, of a similar class, may be cited from a later story, as a specimen of the dialect as reported by the author:—

*El minche de esa rumi*  
*Dicen no tenela bales;*  
*Los he dicaito yo,*  
*Los tenela muy juncales.*

The first comment is that here, as in the other two quatrains, the language is Spanish not Catalan, and the second that *tenela* is either a misprint or a mistake for *terela*. Among the very few other words used the only one requiring notice is *brijilí*, which, according to the author, means 'body.' I cannot trace it, but perhaps some other member of the Society may be able to do so.

HERBERT W. GREENE.



## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 8.—A GREAT AMERICAN RAI

Albert Thomas Sinclair was born on December 4, 1844, in North Beacon Street, Allston (Boston), where both his parents' families had built houses. His father was Thomas Sinclair, direct descendant of John Sinclair, the Scotsman who, about 1658, had founded Exeter, N.H.; and his mother, Caroline Abbey Tracy, whose English progenitor, Lieut. Thomas Tracy, ninth son of Sir Paul Tracy, came to Salem, Mass., in 1636. After three years at the High School on Academy Hill, Mr. Sinclair entered Harvard at the age of fifteen; graduating, in 1864, fifth of a class of ninety-nine, among whom was Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, son of the President, and afterwards U.S.A. minister in London. On reaching majority he was called to the Suffolk bar, and practised as Counsellor at Law until his death. A delicate child, his physical training received special attention; and so successful was it that he developed into a 'strong man,' was the best boxer of his time at college, grew to the height of 6 ft. 3½ in., and became afterwards not only the third best foil-fencer in the United States, but probably the best with the sabre. He married in 1889 Mary Terrill Ross, daughter of William T. Ross of Metuchen, N.J., and had three daughters, two of whom survive him. Mrs. Sinclair died some years ago, and Mr. Sinclair himself, suddenly, of pneumonia, on April 21, 1911, after four days' illness, at the place where he was born.

For some years after leaving college Mr. Sinclair must have been fully occupied with professional duties, for it seems not to have been until about 1880 that he first met William Cooper at Bar Harbor, and working two hours daily for a week, collected 1200 Gypsy words before he ever saw a Gypsy book. Thereafter the study of Gypsies became a passion to which all other interests were subordinated. He was a man of wide sympathies: his collection of two hundred Oriental rugs was among the most valuable in the United States; and he studied and wrote about eastern music and musical instruments, sailors' chanteys, tattooing, Shelta, and the jargon of the Irish masons. But, as he said, his life-work was the Gypsies, 'these other matters are mere side-shows'; and wherever possible he treated them from a Gypsy standpoint, maintaining, for instance, that it was the Gypsies who introduced the saraband into Spain, or discoursing on tattooing as an eastern Gypsy trade. In February 1910, he even began to write a book which was to bear the title 'Gypsies, Tattooing and Shelta.'

Before long every Gypsy near Boston knew 'Lawyer Sinclair,' and, as one of them said, 'e could *roker* to beat the cars.' Then he extended the sphere of his investigations, making four visits to Europe, wandering largely afoot, and everywhere searching for Gypsies. During one of these excursions he spent a whole year in Hungary studying the Romané. For the purposes of his work he became a great linguist, speaking French, German, Italian, and Russian fluently, and knowing enough of other Slavonic languages, as well as of Swedish, Danish, Finnish, Irish, and Hungarian, to carry on an ordinary conversation. As his horizon widened the necessity arose for a knowledge of Oriental tongues, and, nothing daunted, he undertook the study of Kurdish, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Thus equipped, he began, by correspondence, to collect information about Oriental Gypsies, exacting reports from missionaries, consuls, foreign ministers, ambassadors, merchants, travellers, scholars, military officers, and Government officials, in every district where Gypsies might be found. With the advance of years it became more difficult for him to visit his old Gypsy friends, or hunt for new ones in the foreign colonies of Boston. But 'Die alte Liebe rastet nicht' he wrote, 'The Gypsies were my first love, I can never forget or neglect them.' And so he encouraged them



to call at his house and office ; and, in summer, would sit in his front porch way-laying travellers, questioning Italian knife-grinders, cross-examining Armenians, Albanians, or aliens of any kind who happened to stray unsuspectingly into North Beacon Street, and always with a view to discovering Gypsies or learning about them.

The positive results of all his immense labour are not great. He formed some interesting theories, as, for instance, that all bear-leaders, and organ-grinders *with monkeys*, are of Gypsy race ; he recognised the vast importance of the study of Gypsy customs, habits, trades, and occupations—‘ We are all so much interested in the Romanichal, I feel every suspicious person, class, or trade should be thoroughly looked into.’ He maintained with enthusiasm the Gypsy origin of Hungarian music, and the Byzantine derivation of the word *Rom*. On the reformation of Gypsies, his views, expressed in a letter dated July 10, 1908, are illuminating :—‘ In America the Gypsies are abundantly taking care of themselves. Most of them are prosperous and flourishing. None of them are paupers, and none criminals. . . . The Gypsies in this country do not need to steal anything, and are developing in their own way into a thrifty, prosperous class, very many of them. Several in Boston have real estate worth 50,000 dollars or more. So it is in Worcester, Springfield, Somerville, Fall River, Hartford, Conn., and all over the country. Some have 100,000 dollars in good real property. Many are responsible horse-dealers, trusted year after year as fair dealers.

‘ Of course there is, and always has been, a strong prejudice against them, especially among some in the poorer and dirtier classes, often jealous of their success and superior cleanliness. Generally, however, even many of these rather like them, and to have their fortunes told. Girls and young men who pay a Gypsy woman 25 cents for a nice fortune get their money’s worth in fun. It is much better for them than to have it done in, or go to, some low theatre or concert hall.

‘ Many, very many, Gypsies all over the world prosper if left alone to do it in *their* way. It is so with the rich butchers in Spain, drovers and horse-dealers all through south-east Europe. But for the State to take these people and suddenly compel them to live as others do, in a thickly populated country, means misery and death. A captive wild bird nearly always languishes and dies. It has been so with the American Indians. Some have succeeded as lumbermen, hunters, guides, scouts. But all attempts to civilise them, and accustom them to white man’s ways in the settled parts of the U.S., have failed signally.’ Mr. Sinclair then quotes an article on *The Last of the Massasoits*, an ‘ Indian tribe, now only two miserable women (and princesses !) taken in charge by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which boasts itself as a Banner State in education, humanity, and philanthropy !’ ‘ What a sad, pathetic story ! Would that every one of these mistaken philanthropists who wish to impound the Gypsies, and take away—and kill—their children, could read it !

‘ We have not done much better with our attempts to improve the negro race in the U.S. Not one in ten thousand is thrifty or amounts to anything. Education and our good intentions have greatly deteriorated their wealth, have not improved their morals, and have made men of but very few of them. In some other countries in which the State and philanthropists have let the negro alone, and left him to work out his own salvation, he has done much better. I have met several such negro families rich, accomplished ladies and gentlemen, treated as equals by their white neighbours.

‘ If the Gypsies break the law and commit serious crimes, they should be punished like other people. But to bring their children up in workhouses is a wicked thing to do. Their natures will not allow it ; and everybody knows that even an American poorhouse child seldom becomes anything but a burden to Society, a pauper or criminal. . . . Let the Gypsies alone. Lend them a help-





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Again, in May 1911, on a Saturday night at about 10.30 P.M., I was sitting with two Gypsy women, a Herne and a Lee or Scamp, in their camp among the bushes at the river-side. The children were in bed, and the men away at a music hall. The moorhens were very noisy that night, and the Herne woman exclaimed: 'May the Lord stop their breath!' The other, after listening intently, said in a tone of relief: 'It says "kek, kek, kek."' The sound certainly had a little resemblance to 'kek,' and the bird's calls came in groups of three. ALFRED JAMES.

#### 10.—OLD CUSTOMS

Although Őli Lee and his wife, who are living in a tent at Newport, Mon., awaiting the completion of a new waggon, are only about thirty years old, they keep up the ancient Gypsy customs. Mrs. Lee told me that she had her own cups, etc., when *chiv'd* to *wodrus*, and that after the month's quarantine they were broken: and she added that her mother invariably took the additional precaution of wearing gloves.

Again, whilst apologising for the lack of butter in some cake, she said that her husband never ate butter in any form, asking—'How long is it, Őli, since you had butter?' He answered quite roughly, 'How should I know, woman?' Then she lowered her voice and told me that their little daughter who died had been very fond of bread and butter.

Also, when I had twice corrected Őli, who referred to Cinderella Lovell (in Way's No. 747, which I was reading) as 'Charlotte,' she told me that the child's name was Cinderella, and that he was unwilling to pronounce it.

I asked whether they would eat from a plate which a dog had licked—Lizzie Smith allows his dog to eat from his plate;—and Őli, pointing to the old kettle, replied with emphasis,—'If that kettle was to fall into the clothes' water, we'd smash it up.'

It is pleasant to think that these customs will not die away for at least another generation.

JOHN MYERS.

#### 11.—THE NUMBER EIGHT

Is eight a sacred number among the Romané? I ask because here [in St. Joseph, Mo.] they fire eight volleys as the corpse is carried out from the (Polish Catholic) church-door, keep a fire burning on the grave eight days, and pour eight libations of whisky upon it. These exasperating scamps are nearly all Huns.

MARY A. OWEN.

14th Oct. 1911.

#### 12.—A BATTLE IN BERLIN

It will be remembered that, besides the settlement of horsedealers he described, Mr. Miskow mentioned a tribe of Hungarian Gypsy musicians in Berlin, with whom they were not on good terms (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 15). The two colonies have been at war, and in consequence four of the musicians appeared in the law courts, charged with breaking the public peace. The circumstances were reported as follows in the *Erste Beilage zur Vossischen Zeitung* of September 29, 1911, a copy of which has been kindly sent by Professor Richard Andree:—

'The Gypsy battle in the Wedding district resulted in a charge of breaking the public peace which occupied the second court of the third Landgericht. The Gypsy musicians Franz Ansinn, Ewald Wappler, Ratta Weiss, and Peppi Reichmann were produced from custody. The accused belong to the Gypsy tribe which



has settled in the east of Berlin near the Silesian Railway Station. This tribe, which is nicknamed "The Austrians," lives in bitter enmity with another Gypsy tribe which has pitched its camp in Koloniestrassé and neighbouring streets in the north of Berlin, and is nicknamed "Prussian." The present accusation is based on the following circumstances: In the outhouses of the premises No. 119, Koloniestrassé, there have lived for a long time about seventy Gypsies, who mostly support themselves as musicians. Between these and the so-called "Austrians" there subsisted a deadly hatred which has already led repeatedly to conflicts. This quarrel came to a head when a band of musicians believed they had been ousted from a situation by the others. One fine day a regular battle resulted. About thirty Gypsies from the east drove in motor-cars to the Soldiner-Strassé, where they assembled at the house of a former member of their company. From here they marched, armed with revolvers, muskets, indiarubber cudgels [cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 133], and daggers, to the premises No. 119, Koloniestrassé, in order to take their competitors who dwelt there unawares. Here, when the battle-cry "The Austrians are coming" resounded, the factor for the property, Jurthe the cobbler, attempted to refuse the storming party admission. Being unsuccessful, he closed the entrance to the court with a lattice-gate to hinder the intrusion of the gang until the police were informed. A regular battle with firearms now began in the court, for the "Austrians" fired over the lattice-door into the windows of their foes. This put the inhabitants of the next house in a position of great danger, since the bullets frequently penetrated into their dwellings and shattered objects. Meanwhile the police arrived and arrested several of the rioters, who were afterwards conveyed to the bridewell. Proceedings were commenced against several other Gypsies, but had to be abandoned because their complicity could not be established beyond doubt. On the proposal of the advocate, the present defendants were in due course liberated from custody, on producing bail to the amount of 60 and 100 marks. With one accord they abandoned their deposits and dispersed themselves all over Germany, so that endless difficulties confronted the police authorities when they attempted to catch the fugitives again. They were finally discovered in Elsass. In yesterday's proceedings the court sentenced Wappler, Weiss, and Reichmann each to fifteen months' imprisonment. In the case of the defendant Weiss, three months' imprisonment, endured before the trial, was counted as served. The defendant Ansinn was liberated for want of sufficient evidence.'

---

### 13.—BRITISH GYPSY CRIMES, 1910

The following analysis of the charges made against so-called Gypsies during the year 1910 is based on a collection of press-cuttings mainly obtained from an agency, but partly also from kind correspondents who have sent many extracts from local newspapers which the agency overlooked, generally because the name 'Gypsy' did not appear in the title of the paragraph. It may be well to remind the reader that the classification is altogether unscientific, the seven divisions being so arranged as to form a 'crescendo' of blameworthiness from the Gypsy point of view. The misdeeds of Group 1 are inseparable from a wandering life, and occur in the best-regulated nomad families; the second division contains offences which are due to carelessness or absence of mind, sins of omission for the most part. The third has a distinctly sporting character, and includes those crimes which most of us would be proud to commit if, like the Gypsy, we could afford to brave the consequences of detection. The transgressions of Group 4 are the results of poverty, and those marked 5 of ebullitions of the natural man; while Group 6 is frankly dishonest, and 7 contains sporadic cases of really serious crime.



1. Damaging turf, etc., by camping, . . . . .	25	
Camping on the highway, . . . . .	29	
Allowing horses to stray, . . . . .	61	
Obstructing road, van unattended, etc., . . . . .	18	
Want of water-supply or sanitary accommodation, . . . . .	13	
Sleeping out, . . . . .	2	
Making fires within fifty feet of road, . . . . .	2	
	<hr/>	150
2. Furious riding or driving, . . . . .	3	
Cart or van without lights, . . . . .	7	
No name on cart or van, . . . . .	4	
Dog without licence, or collarless, . . . . .	9	
Dog not under control, . . . . .	1	
Hawking without a licence, . . . . .	6	
Breaking pound, . . . . .	2	
School-attendance, etc., . . . . .	12	
	<hr/>	44
3. Poaching, . . . . .	27	
Taking wood, sticks, etc., . . . . .	8	
Fortune-telling, . . . . .	7	
Hoaxing with fortune-telling, . . . . .	10	
Gaming, . . . . .	5	
Discharging gun, . . . . .	1	
	<hr/>	58
4. Cruelty to horses, . . . . .	7	
Begging, . . . . .	1	
Cruelty to, or neglect of, children, . . . . .	7	
Disgracing His Majesty's uniform, . . . . .	1	
	<hr/>	16
5. Assaults (including assaults on police), . . . . .	28	
Family quarrels, . . . . .	8	
Drunkenness, simple, . . . . .	36	
,, with horses, . . . . .	1	
,, with children, . . . . .	5	
Obstructing police or concealing felons, . . . . .	2	
Obscene language, . . . . .	12	
	<hr/>	92
6. Thefts, value less than ten shillings, . . . . .	26	
,, value more than ten shillings, . . . . .	20	
Stealing by ruse (not fortune-telling), . . . . .	22	
Receiving stolen property, . . . . .	1	
Unjust scales, . . . . .	1	
	<hr/>	70
7. Murder (Pannell and Small), . . . . .	2	
Arson, . . . . .	2	
Abduction, . . . . .	1	
Robbery with violence, highway robbery, . . . . .	6	
	<hr/>	11
		<hr/>
		441





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## 16.—ZIGEUNER IM POLNISCHEN UND RUTHENISCHEN SPRICHWORT

Die Polen haben ein Sprichwort: *Dal sie cygan dla kompanii powiesic* (Der Zigeuner liess sich der Gesellschaft wegen aufhängen). Ueber den Ursprung desselben erzählt sich das Volk nach Dr. Constantin Wurzbach<sup>1)</sup> folgende Sage:

‘Ein Russe, ein Pole und ein Zigeuner lebten in Eintracht zusammen und fristeten ihr Leben auf eine nicht empfehlenswerte Weise. Einmal als sie wieder von einer neuen Unternehmung mit Beute beschwert heimkamen, fingen sie an über das Gefährliche ihrer Lebensweise nachzudenken und wurden nicht wenig für ihre Zukunft besorgt. ‘Ach,’ begann der Eine, ‘wenn sie uns einmal auf frischer Tat erwischen, so werden wir ohne Widerrede gehangen und sie geben uns auch nicht Zeit unsere Frevel zu bereuen.’—‘Du hast Recht,’ fiel ihm der Zweite, dem dies zu Herzen ging, ins Wort; ‘bereiten wir uns auf den letzten Augenblick vor, denn wir kennen nicht Tag, nicht Stunde, in denen wir von dieser Welt Abschied nehmen müssen.’—‘Gut,’ meinte der Dritte, ‘bereiten wir uns alle auf diese feierliche Stunde vor, denken wir als hätte sie bereits geschlagen; binden wir einen Strick an den nächsten besten Ast und hängen wir uns einer nach dem Anderen auf. Sie waren einer wie der Andere nicht wenig über solch Vorschlag bestürzt. Nachdem sie eine Weile im tiefen Schweigen vor sich hingestarrt, unterbrachen sie die feierliche Stille mit dem Ausruf ‘Versuchen wir es also’—‘Wenn ich den Fuss rühre,’ sagte der Russe, ‘so bindet mich los.’—‘Mich’ meinte der Pole, ‘wenn ich mit der Hand winke.’—‘Und mich,’ setzte zuletzt der Zigeuner hinzu, ‘sobald ich aus vollem Halse pfeife.’—Der Pole und der Russe überstanden glücklich die Probe, der Zigeuner aber konnte, da ihm der Strick den Hals zusammenschnürte, das verabredete Zeichen nicht geben und schlummerte für die Ewigkeit ein. Von da an pflegt man, wenn man, minder aus eigenem Antrieb als den Freunden zu Liebe, irgend eine Sache unternimmt, zu sagen: ‘Der Zigeuner liess sich der Gesellschaft wegen aufhängen.’

Die Ruthenen und Kleinrussen haben das gleiche Sprichwort: *Pry kompanii daw sia i cyhan powisyty*. Jedoch hat bei ihnen, wie auch sonst bei den polnischen Grenzbewohnern der Ungarisch-galizischen Grenze, das Sprichwort eine andere Sage zur Grundlage. Dieselbe lautet:

‘In die Wohnung eines Edelmanns schlich sich zur Nachtzeit ein Zigeuner, zog eine grosse Tasse von einem Tische, worauf sich anderes kostbares Geräte befand, und da er sie ihrer Schwere wegen nicht halten konnte, liess er sie fallen. Das dadurch entstandene Getöse weckte die zahlreiche Dienerschaft. Der Zigeuner, den Gedanken an Beute aufgebend, suchte in rascher Flucht seine Rettung und verbarg sich im nahen Walde. Der durch den Verlust mehrerer ihm werthen Gegenstände—die im Fall zerbrochen waren,—erbitterte Herr, befahl seinen Leuten, den Täter zu verfolgen und aufzubringen. Sie erwischten auch bald zwei Zigeuner, welche sie vor ihren Gebieter stellten. Dieser hatte im Bereiche seiner Besitzungen das Recht über Leben und Tod. Die Zigeuner gestanden im Verhöre, dass Einer von ihnen der Täter sei; jeder aber erklärte, weder von der Absicht seines Gefährten überhaupt, noch von dieser Unternehmung insbesondere etwas Näheres zu wissen, da jeder für sich seinen Geschäften nachgehe. Darauf nahm der Ortsrichter sie ins Verhör, fragte sie, wer von ihnen sich ins Herrenhaus geschlichen und den Schaden angerichtet habe und versicherte sie, dass der Unschuldige sogleich würde in Freiheit gesetzt werden, widrigenfalls sie beide gehangen würden. Nichts desto weniger wollte der Unschuldige seinen Gefährten nicht verraten und liess sich der Gesellschaft wegen aufhängen.’

Aus der zweiten Erzählung, wie aus dem Sprichwort überhaupt, geht hervor,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Constantin Wurzbach, *Die Sprichwörter der Polen*, Wien, 1852.



dass die Zigeuner in früherer Zeit unter den Ruthenen als aufopferungsfähige Menschen und treue Freunde ihrer Genossen gegolten haben. Dies ist keineswegs für den Zigeunerforscher wertlos. Denn die Ruthenen hatten ja, wie auch die Polen, zu allen Zeiten sehr oft Berührung, ja, man darf fast sagen, dauernden Umgang mit den braunen Söhnen der Freiheit. Wenn das Volk sich daher eine derartige Meinung bildete, so beruht diese auf Beobachtung. Die Ruthenische Sage würde somit *gegen* den Vorwurf *der Feigheit*, der ja öfter den Zigeunern, z. B. von Liebich, gemacht wird, sprechen.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL.

#### 17.—REPUTED GYPSY SETTLEMENT AT MAY HILL

The Rev. D. M. M. Bartlett asked (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 64) whether a Gypsy settlement at May Hill, Gloucestershire, has been identified. In answer to his query, Mr. William Crooke has most kindly sent letters from the Rev. Barnard K. Foster, Rector of Taynton, and the Rev. S. Summers, who has been for seven years the resident curate in May Hill itself. May Hill is about nine miles from Gloucester, and contains nearly a hundred houses, chiefly in the parish of Taynton, but partly also in Huntly and Longhope. The inhabitants get their living by working in the woods, doing farm-work, brickmaking, etc.; and Mr. Foster describes them as apparently 'a distinct race from the rest of the parish, virile and hardy, with a distinct tendency to breed, there being often twelve or fourteen in one family. The children are alert, quick in answering, and have nice features. Superstition prevails, and was very prominent about four years ago, when there seemed to be cases of witchcraft which attracted the attention of the London papers. The race on May Hill seems to interbreed, and there are frequent cases of insanity.'

Mr. Summers, however, denies that there is any trace or tradition of Gypsy origin, or that there is anything particularly interesting or uncommon about his parishioners. Such peculiarities as they possess he attributes to their isolated home and to in-breeding, and he reports that, being now much more closely connected with the rest of the world, they have lost to a very great extent their old-world peculiarities.

#### 18.—THE SOULS OF DONKEYS

During the spring of 1910, as I was passing down the Rambla in Barcelona, I noticed over a small shop the sign *El Gallo de Morón*. Having spent some time in Morón, and thinking the proprietor might have an interesting anecdote about his sign, I entered. The proprietor was a garrulous old fellow, who told me little about *El Gallo de Morón*, but gave me the following picturesque information:—'I am a native of the province of Soria,' said he. 'At the famous fair of Almazán, in that province, the Gypsies on All Saints Day light up the cribs in the stables, saying that it is to light the souls of the poor little donkeys.' (*Los Gitanos iluminan cada pesébre y dicen que es para iluminar las animas de los pobrecitos burros*).

J. STEWART MACLAREN.

#### 19.—SMEARING DOOR-POSTS WITH HONEY

In reviewing Mr. Winstedt's article on 'Forms and Ceremonies,' I referred to the custom of smearing the gate-posts with honey (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 180), a practice which is more probably derived from Eastern Europe than from India. The following extract seems to corroborate this view:—

'At the close of the ceremony the priest and the newly married couple join



hands and solemnly walk three times round the altar through the incense fumes, while the wedding guests pelt them with sweetmeats, a symbolism which has its origin in antiquity (*καταχύσματα*, see Schol. ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 768), and which among the peasantry takes the form of the smearing of honey on the lintel of the young bride's door' (Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, 1892, p. 91).

On the arrival of the bride at the house of the bridegroom, his mother 'stands waiting at the door holding a glass of honey and water in her hand. From this glass the bride must drink, that the words of her lips may become sweet as honey: while the lintel of the door is smeared with the remainder, that strife may never enter in' (*Ibid.*, pp. 95-6).

WILLIAM CROOKE.

## 20.—PRESENTIMENT AND A DREAM

It was my good fortune to hear from the lips of old Lizzie Petulengro—or as he himself prefers it, George Smith—the following beautiful expression of Gypsy feeling:—

When we was a stoppin' into Dublin, me an' me brother Ōti, an' my poor wife Kērlenda, we 'ad a dear little child wot we called Patrick Arthur, cos 'e was borned into Ireland. Well, we was off to a big 'orse fair, into a place called Āthālōn, an' we 'ad to stop over-night cos the fair was wery early in the morning. Well, me an' my dear brother, an' a dealing man bī the name of Brian O——, slep' in the same room—we 'ad a power a' money about us. Well Rai, I couldn't sleep at all, an' I tossed an' turned, an' got up. An' Brian says to me, 'What is it that ails the man, is it ill ye are'? 'No,' says I. 'Then,' says he, 'lie down man, an' go to sleep.' But sleep I couldn't, an' 'e axes me again what was the matter. 'I'm oneasy in my mind,' I says, 'with thinking there's trouble at home.' 'Did ye leave anyone ill,' he axes. 'No,' I says. 'Then,' 'e says, 'for God's sake, lie down man, an' it'll all be gone by morning.' But I couldn't rest, an' I got up, an' walked all night with a policeman. In the morning, I took the first train back to Dublin, an' I met a man as used to stable our 'orses, an' 'e says to me, 'How did ye know?' 'Know what?' says I, for I knowed then as something were wrong. 'Why,' 'e says, 'go home as quickly as ye can, for there's trouble.' An' when I got home, my dear little boy was dead. He'd gone off in a fit. All that night my poor wife hollered like a mad thing, an' we couldn't do nuthin to calm her. She was *diviū* for three nights, an' then she slep'. An' she dreamed. She dreamed as she saw our dear little boy nursed by a angel. An' the angel said to 'er, 'Will you 'ave 'im back?' An' she 'eld out 'er arms, an' said, 'Yes, yes.' An' 'e axed 'er again, an' she said 'Yes.' Then a third time the angel said wery slow an' solemn, 'Will you 'ave 'im *back*.' An' she shuddered, and covered 'er eyes, an' said 'No.' An' from that day she never fretted, an' we knowed as we 'ad one of owern in 'even, a' watchin an' a' pleadin for us. An' I knows dreams is true, cos Joseph in the Bible dreamed dreams as cum true.

JOHN MYERS.

## 21.—SYRENDA LOVELL AND THE BENG

We chatted of *Mulos*, and I ventured to ask if Syrenda believed in them. 'Believe in them' (raising his voice), 'Why, I once walked five mile with the Devil, man!'

'*Kušto*, my *Dadas*, tell us all about it.'

'It was up in Wales, Rai, in a lonely place with big mountains. I'd bin doin a job in a little bit of a *gav*, an' I was *jālin keri*. I'd 'ad a drop, but I wasn't *moto*, an' I was walkin' in the middle of the road, an' a black dog come and





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are more easily formulated and believed in than proved ; and it is difficult to withstand the evidence brought forward by Schönbach in a paper on the mediæval preacher Berthold of Regensburg's contributions to ethnology.<sup>1</sup> In one of the latter's sermons occurs the sentence :—'faciunt igitur diaboli sicut latrones, qui tribus signis vere vie signant falsas vias, quas faciunt versus speluncam latronum in silvis, et stulti viatores putant se incedere per vias rectas, eo quod videant aliquod illorum trium signorum, videlicet crucem, lapidum collationem, et virgarum seu miricarum (Dornsträucher, Du Cange 5, 406) innodationem, et sic incautos decipiunt et eos spoliant et occidunt.' In support of the common use of these three tokens as guiding clues Schönbach quotes from a still earlier author, Burchard, bishop of Worms, who died in 1025 A.D.,—'aut portasti in aggerem lapides, aut capitis ligaturas ad cruces, quae in bivis ponuntur,'—and infers that the signs were first used by ordinary people as fingerposts to help them along the roads, which in those days were none too good, and then by mediæval robbers ; and from the latter, not from Indian custom, the Gypsies have derived them. In the light of Burchard's evidence this conclusion seems inevitable, even supposing that the robbers referred to by Berthold were really Gypsies. And that supposition is not impossible, seeing that Berthold in another passage quoted by Schönbach includes witchwives and horsedealers, a combination hardly found outside of Gypsy tents, in one and the same condemnation :—'vetule et incantatrices, que dicunt hominibus futura—equorum venditores, rostauscher, ousslacher cognitiones cordis, qui promittunt multis longam vitam et fallunt populum.'<sup>2</sup>

If one could be certain that Berthold had met these horsedealers and witches in Germany in the thirteenth century, it would be an interesting addition to the solitary reference to Gypsies in Germany before 1400, but unfortunately Berthold had travelled in Austria too, and may have met them there, and learned their use of the *patteran*.

Burchard's reference, however, to these road-signs in Germany about 1000 A.D. seems to tie their origin to Germany, and this receives some support from the survival of a similar usage among German highwaymen as late as the nineteenth century. Evidence for its existence among them about 1814 is afforded by Christensen's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss einer Anzahl von Räubern, Dieben und Vagabonden* (Hamburg, 1814), p. 14 :—'Auf dem bestimmten Sammelplatz (Wijatzef)—dies ist entweder bey einer Capelle, in einem Walde, oder sonst einem leicht zu erkennenden Platze—finden sich die Eingeladenen zur festgesetzten Stunde ein. Auf dem Kreuzwege dahin zieht der Vorübergegangene bey Tage eine krumme Linie längst dem Wege, den er eingeschlagen ohngefahr von nachfolgender Gestalt. [A wavy vertical line is here figured.] Damit dieser dem nachkommenden zum Merkzeichen diene.'

This support is not very strong. The words collected from the band of robbers arrested at Sulz about 1787<sup>3</sup> proves that there were Gypsies among these highwaymen : and the use of the *patteran* in all three of the forms mentioned by Berthold is attested by Liebich<sup>4</sup> among German Gypsies. There is therefore the possibility that in this case it was borrowed from and not by the Gypsies. But this particular wavy line assigned to the thieves is not, so far as I know, used by Gypsies : and in any case it is exceedingly hard to believe that the *patteran* was introduced by Gypsies into Germany so early that it had passed into current use among gâjos

<sup>1</sup> Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt. Zweites Stück. *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1900), Phil.-hist. Classe, Bd. cxlii. Abh. 7, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 109-117.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Zigeuner* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 96. Cf. also Wittich, *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner*, p. 27.



there by the year 1000. Indeed, it is highly improbable that they would have taught its use to strangers at any period.

On the other hand, there is one difficulty in the way of the assumption that it was borrowed by Gypsies from the Germans. Wlislöcki<sup>1</sup> states that it is in use among the wandering Gypsies of Turkey, Servia, and Rumania, as well as Siebenbürgen, Hungary, and Poland.<sup>2</sup> The latter might easily have borrowed it from their neighbours the German Gypsies. But if Wlislöcki's evidence proved that it was universal among all the Gypsies of Eastern Europe, the same argument would hardly fit their case. His knowledge of Turkish and Servian Gypsies, however, was probably limited to wide-wanderers; and it is noticeable that the word by which he says they know these signs is one which does not appear to occur in Paspati's vocabulary. Indeed, I cannot find any term for the *patteran* in his dictionary, nor do I remember any reference to its use among writers on Gypsies of Eastern Europe. It is possible, therefore, that Wlislöcki's evidence only applies to wandering tribes who have learned the usage from other Central European Gypsies; and the very full development which, according to his description, the *patteran* has reached among those Gypsies<sup>3</sup> may indicate that Central Europe was the original home of its use. At any rate, there is enough evidence to shake one's belief in its Gypsy origin, unless very much stronger evidence of its use in Eastern Europe can be brought forward, or it can be proved to be a common practice among uncivilised and nomadic nations.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

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#### 25.—DIE ZIGEUNER IN NASSAU

Wer heute von Wiesbaden aus das Nassauerland durchstreift, der stösst hin und wieder auf Nachkommen von Zigeunern, welche sesshaft geworden sind. So findet er in den Orten *Medenbach* und *Mudershausen* vollständige Zigeuner-niederlassungen. Die Bewohner derselben bekennen sich ohne Weiteres als Zigeuner, obwohl sie sehr viel von ihren Zigeunereigentümlichkeiten verloren haben.

Ueber die Entstehung dieser Niederlassung herrschte bisher vollkommenes Dunkel. Weder die Bewohner der Orte, noch die Behörden oder etwa die Zigeuner selbst waren in der Lage Anhaltspunkte für die Gründung dieser Niederlassung zu geben. Soweit alte Leute zurück denken können, waren die Zigeuner in Medenbach resp. Mudershausen. Woher sie kamen, wusste niemand.

Dem Unterzeichneten war es daher ein grosses Vergnügen bei der Durchsicht der Zigeunerakten des Kgl. Staatsarchives zu Wiesbaden auf ein in den Repertorien des genannten Instituts nicht aufgeführtes Aktenstück zu stossen, welches einige Aufklärung geben dürfte und für die Vermutung über die Entstehung der Niederlassungen Anhaltspunkte gibt. Nach diesem Aktenstück aus dem Jahre 1712 (1 H. II. 59, XIII. 2 Epstein, Gen. Ib), hat die Fürstl. Nassauisch-Idsteinische Regierung an ihrer Landesgrenze und zwar zu Medenbach, Oberamt Hochheim im 16. Jahrhundert einen Zigeunerstock (Galgen) gesetzt. Das erwähnte Aktenstück trägt die Ueberschrift: 'Die Nassauische Disputation des Orthes, wo der Zigeunerstock zu Medenbach stehet.' Es wird der Nassauischen Regierung der Vorwurf gemacht, dass sie diesen Zigeunergalgen jenseits ihrer Landesgrenze aufgestellt habe und zwar auf Fürst. Hessischem Territorium, wodurch sie sich

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<sup>1</sup> *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner* (Berlin, 1892), p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Borrow mentions its use by 'the Russian Gypsies and those of the Hungarian family, who stroll through Italy on plundering expeditions' (*Zincali*, 1902, p. 29).

<sup>3</sup> *Aus dem inneren Leben der Zigeuner* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 96-112



eine Territoriumsverletzung zuschulden kommen liess. Auf Verlangen der Hessischen Regierung wurde eine ziemlich umfangreiche Verhandlung wegen dieser Territoriumsverletzung geführt.

Ueber die Zigeuner selbst sagt das Aktenstück nichts. Aber dennoch bildet es einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Kunde des Zigeunerwesens im ehemaligen Herzogtum Nassau und zur Erforschung der Herkunft der nassauischen Zigeunerniederlassung zu Medenbach.

Sofort nach den Beschlüssen des Reichstags 1497 (Reichabschied § 21) erliess auch der Ober-Rheinische Kreis, zu welchem damals Nassau gehörte eine Verordnung, die wiederholt verschärft wurde, dass Zigeuner *auch dann*, wenn sie *keine* Verbrechen begangen hätten mit willkürlichen Strafen zu belegen seien. So sagt die verschärfte Ordnung des Ober-Rheinischen Kreises vom 24. Oktober 1709 wörtlich, dass sie, 'wann sie auch gleich keines Spezialverbrechens überführt werden, dennoch zu *exemplarischen* Strafen gezogen und zu Schanz und andere Arbeit applicirt, des Landes und Kreises öffentlich, nach Befinden auch mit Staupenschlägen verwiesen und auf die Galleeren versendet' werden sollen.<sup>1</sup> Am 10. April 1711 verschärft dieselbe Behörde diese Verordnung dahin, dass, wenn das 'Zigeunergesindel' in Kreislanden innerhalb vier Wochen noch getroffen werde 'es ohne weitere Formalität mit Ruthen ausgehauen auch mit auf dem Rücken gebrandmarkt und alles Kreises Landen auf ewig verwiesen' werden sollen, 'wie auch zu einer Warnung, Meherung des Abscheus und korrektion solchen ruchlosens Gesindels durch den ganzen Kreis, in jedem Lande auf denen Strassen *Gränzen besondere Stöck mit angeschlagenen Blechen & darauf gemalten Zigeuner samt einer hinter sich gehenden in Handen habenden Ruthen und der Unterschrift Zigeuner Straff aufgerichtet werden sollen.* Wofern aber trotz dieses ein marquirter oder Bösewicht *sich erkecken würde* gegen dieses Gebot, *soll er durch den Henker mit dem Strang vom Leben zum Tot hingerichtet werden.* Der oder diejenige aber, welche einen oder mehr von solchen Schauderleuthen der Obrigkeit denuncieren oder angeben, sollen eine ergiebige Recompens von des Denuncierten etwa bey sich habenden Effekten empfangen : um also dermaleins von solchen höchstgefährlichen und schädlichen Mord und Raubgesindel Land & Leute nach deren Hab & Gut zu befreien und sicher zu stellen.'<sup>2</sup> Der Rheinische Kreis erliess dann zum Abscheu und Exempel, am 20. Juni 1722 zu Frankfurt am Main eine neue Verordnung betreffend Zigeuner aus der ich folgendes hervor hebe :

§ 2. Da unter solchen bösen und originellen Leuthen, Zigeuner, Jauner in der Tat, vornehmlich mitgehörende, sich gemeiniglich unter dieselben zu verstecken pflegen, sind auch diese nicht minder als jene zu bestrafen zu verfolgen und auszutilgen und werden solchen dieselben Fordernisse durch gegenwärtige Verordnung, von welchen noch womöglich zu Ende dieses Monats Juni in allen Orten Kreyses zu publicieren, verwarnet, sogleich jetzt gedachte Kreys Landen quittieren, und sich nirgens mehr darin betreten zu lassen, würden sie aber nach Verfliessung des künftigen Monats Juli darin ergriffen, *sollen dieselben und wenn auch sonst weiter keine speciale Missetat auf sie verbracht werden könnte mit dem Gut befundenem Brandmal O. C. auf dem Rücken gebrandmarkt* auch nach Beschaffenheit der Person und Umständen entweder gleich nur leviter ausgestrichen oder scharf mit Ruthen ausgehauen. Sofort nach abgeschworener Urphed aus denen gesamten Ober Rheinischen Kreyslanden und nachdem er verwarnet dass im Wiederergreifungsfalle der Strick ihm ohnfehlbar zu teil werden würde, mit Benennung der zur Raumung des ganzen Kreys Landen erforderliche 8 oder 14 tagige Zeit in dem darüber zu erteilenden Certificat oder Pasir Zettel auf ewig relegirt und verwiesen werden.

<sup>1</sup> Original im Kgl. Staatsarchiv zu Wiesbaden.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*





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baden gehören nun zu denjenigen Staaten, welche mit den Zigeunern wenig human verfahren.<sup>1</sup>

Was Wunder, dass eins von diesen Ländern, Nassau-Idstein, daher auch, als die Frankfurter Beschlüsse in Kraft traten, sofort einen Zigeunerstock aufrichten liess, und Medenbach als Abschreckungsort wählte und zur ständigen Zigeunerrichtstätte erhob.

Dass es nun gerade Medenbach vorbehalten wurde eine spätere Zigeunerniederlassung zu bilden, lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass 1. nach altem deutschen Recht *vogelfreie* Menschen, die sich im Bannkreis des Galgens oder der Richtstätte, unter *Aufsicht* der Scharfrichter, aufhielten unangetastet blieben. Sie galten als ehrloses Gesindel, wurden gemieden und verachtet. Notdürftig fristeten sie ihr Leben, durch 'ehrlose' Hantierungen, wie Abdecken gefallen Viehes oder dergleichen. Verlassen durften sie ihren Kreis nicht. Es ist kein Aktenstück darüber erhalten geblieben, ob diese Praxis den Zigeuner gegenüber gehandhabt wurde, doch scheint es so zu sein, da § 4 der Verordnung vom 20. Juni 1722 die Arbeitsfähigkeit derselben berücksichtigt.

Es wird ja ungeschrieben der Gewohnheitsgebrauch entstanden sein, wie bei anderen Kriminalfällen, so auch bei den Zigeunern den Schutz der 'unehrlichen Leute' gelten zu lassen.

Zweitens aber ist anzunehmen, dass Medenbach als Hinrichtungsort auch in besonderer Weise der Verurteilungsort der Zigeuner wurde und dass daher in *besonderer Weise* gerade dem Orte Medenbach die Pflicht der Erziehung von Zigeunerkindern zufiel. Nach § 4 der schon mehrfach erwähnten Kreisverordnungen sollen ja die verhafteten Zigeunerkinde zum Handwerk 5. Grades und zur christlichen Erziehung der Ortsbehörde zufallen. So wären denn jene Nassauischen Zigeuner Nachkommen jener Zwangerziehungszöglinge. Jedenfalls durften dieselben den Ort nicht verlassen. Zufolge der Kreisverordnung und auch der Reichsabschiede waren ja *alle an Zigeuner* ausgestellten Passe ungültig. Ein Abwandern in andere Orte war daher unmöglich. Nun werden sie die Erlaubnis erhalten haben als halbehrliche oder auch nur als 'unehrliche' Leute in Medenbach und bei Medenbach zu bleiben. Hierauf würde auch der gänzliche Mangel an den zigeunerischen Eigenschaften schliessen lassen. So wäre die Zigeunerniederlassung Medenbach nicht wie die zu Sassmannshausen und zu Kröge (Neujägersdorf) in Hessen eine freiwillige, sondern sie wäre aus dem Zwang eiserner und ungerechter Gesetzesverordnungen entstanden. Sie wäre ein Beweis dafür, dass der Zigeuner nur dann seinen Gewohnheiten untreu wird, wenn ihm die Freiheit gänzlich entzogen

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<sup>1</sup> So befindet sich im Wiesbadener Staatsarchiv noch ein Brief des Dillenburger Kanzleirates C. v. Lücke an die Fürstlich Nassauische Regierung, worin dieser mitteilt, dass im Schloss zu Braunsfels ein Zigeuner, der seit Jahren Zwangsarbeit verrichte in seinem Gefängnis gebrechlich und arbeitsunfähig sei. Es fragt an, ob die Regierung etwa genehmige, dass dieser Aermste nunmehr noch auf die Folter gespannt werde, um zu prüfen ob er früher nicht Verbrechen begangen habe, die sein Leben verwirkten. Es sei dies auch insofern von Vorteil als er dadurch der Fürstlichen Herrschaft dann weiter keine Kosten mehr mache, andererseits in seinem gemeinen Wesen nicht mehr schädlich werden oder der Behörde zur Last fallen könne. So geschrieben am 29. April 1741.—Ein Kommentar ist überflüssig! Ein Mann der viele Jahre ohne Hohn Zwangsarbeit verrichtet, soll gefoltert werden, damit er Verbrechen gesteht, für die er an den Galgen kommt, nur damit er kein 'Gnadenbrot' isst. Glücklicherweise war er kein Landeskind und die fremde Regierung verweigerte die Zustimmung zu dieser 'Rechtshandlung' Nassaus. Dies setzte am 10. Jan. 1739 auf jeden Zigeuner der von den Bauern tot oder lebendig eingebracht werde eine Belohnung—10 Gulden für den Mann und 4 Gulden pro Frau, Nassau-Dillenburg jagte nach einem Schreiben vom 1. Mai 1741 die Kinder unter 14 Jahre einfach fort, während es die Eltern hinrichtete.



wird und er unter der Knute einer Zwangserziehung von frühester Jugend an schmachtet und dressiert wird. Ein Verfahren, welches nicht unhumaner gedacht werden kann.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit muss ich noch erwähnen dass ich den Spuren der deutschen Zigeuner im 16. & 17. Jahrhundert in den Akten folgend auf eine Tatsache aufmerksam wurde, die ich bisher in Zigeunerwerken noch nicht beachtet fand. Es scheint, dass die in Europa lebenden Zigeuner sich mit Vorliebe einen Nebenverdienst dadurch zu verschaffen suchten, dass sie durch Anwendung von Zaubermitteln, Besprechung und dergleichen, die Bestimmung des Geschlechtes bei ungeborenen Kindern hervorbringen wollten. Wenigstens findet sich an verschiedenen Stellen alter Gerichtsakten die Tatsache, dass in Deutschland die Meinung verbreitet war, Zigeuner könnten durch Zaubereien auf das Geschlecht des zu gebärenden Kindes einwirken. So sind mehrere Zauberakten vorhanden, die diese Tatsache erwähnen. Unter anderen ein Aktenstück über einen Hexenprozess des 17. Jahrhunderts in dem eine Frau beschuldigt wurde, sich während der Schwangerschaft mit Zigeunern abgegeben zu haben. Eine Anzahl Zeugen bestätigte, dass schwangere Frauen die Zigeuner zu Zaubierzwecken herbeiholen und dass dieses auch von der Angeklagten geschehen sei.<sup>1</sup> Es ist leider nicht aus dem Aktenstück zu ersehen, ob es sich hier um wandernde oder sesshafte Zigeuner handelte. Doch nehme ich an, dass die letzteren mehr in Frage kommen, da es menschlich weniger denkbar ist, dass schwangere Frauen sich unbekanntem Zigeunern anvertrauten, besonders wo sie durch die Tat sich der Leibesstrafe (bis zum Tode) aussetzten.

Ähnlich wie in Medenbach wird auch die Kolonie in Mundershausen entstanden sein, da bei der Kleinstaaterei viele Territorien auch im Oberrheinischen Kreis waren und Mundershausen einem anderen Nassauischen Fürstentum angehörte denn Medenbach.

FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPOHL.

#### 26.—GYPSY TATTOOING IN PERSIA

Of his bride Shirin the hero in *The Glory of the Shia World* (Major P. Molesworth Sykes, 1910, p. 82) boasts, quoting from a Persian poem, 'The beauty of my beloved is independent of my incomplete love. Her beautiful face is not in need of rouge, colours, *tattooing*, or a mole.'

This refers to the fact that for centuries all Persian women have been tattooed, and the Gypsies are the Tattoo-artists.

A. T. SINCLAIR.

#### 27.—HAPPY BOZ'LL<sup>2</sup>

Lying below the minster-crowned hill at Lincoln are several large commons, one of which, known as the 'Carholme,' is renowned as the scene of the Lincolnshire Handicap. Another of these grassy stretches, locally designated the 'Cow Paddle,' is used at fair-times by Gypsies and travelling folk of all grades and shades. Here, on April 24, 1911, while picking up pedigrees and *pišoms* among the numerous *vardos*, I came upon grave old Tom Boyling<sup>3</sup> and his facetious son Walter, by whose fire, when the day's last glow was tinting the city towers, I took down a few characteristic legends of that queer old Munchausen of the English *Romanicëls*—Happy Boz'll.

But first a word as to the Boylings and their connexion with Happy Boz'll. How true is the saying that a man seldom sees the thing that has been just under

<sup>1</sup> Kgl. Staatsarchiv zu Wiesbaden Hexenprozesse III. e. 8 a. Wiesbaden 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 129-130; *In Gypsy Tents*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>3</sup> Tom Boyling married Harriet, daughter of Will Wilshaw (Wilshire, Welcher, etc.). Their son Walter married Emily, daughter of Sam Elliot.



his nose all his days. The Boylings, I now learn for the first time, are a Lincolnshire family, hailing originally from Nettleham, a village near Lincoln. They are *Gájé* horsedealers, who have mixed a good deal with the Gypsies, travelling in the Eastern counties; yet, an East Anglian myself, and a fairly inquisitive one at that, I have never before this year so much as heard of the Boylings. Tom Boyling (now about eighty years of age) tells me that his father, George Boyling, had two wives:—(1) a Boswell<sup>1</sup> who had a big son of her own named Absalom (Abbi, 'Happy'), when George married her; and (2) Joyce Tanzy (Tom's mother), sister of Bill Tanzy, the husband of Jack Gray's sister Esther. Thus Happy was brought up by George Boyling, and eventually took a Gypsy wife, and had a daughter named Trēnit, who mated with a Sherrif of the Midlands, so at least I am informed by my friend Láias Boswell, the lame fiddler of Derby. According to Tom Boyling, Happy, who has been dead these many years, was 'jist the rummist ole liar azivver walkt Gawd's earth.' He was always the hero of his own lying tales, and bore a variety of names, such as Uncle Happy, Happy Jack, Happy Boyling, and Happy Boz'll. Subjoined are a few tales obtained from the Boylings at Lincoln Fair.

'Happy Boz'll nivver had no wagon. He an' his wife Becky travelled all their lives wi' a pack donkey an' tent. One night their tent got afire, an' iverythink they had wuz burnt to ashes. They had nuthink left in the hull wurld 'cep'n' the ole dickey an' his blinkers. Nex' mornin' when they crep' out from under the hedge, Happy sez to his missus, "Now, my Becky, we's gotten to *máng* hard all dis blessid day." An' by the time as evening come roun' they'd actilly gotten a new fit-out altogether. Under the hedge wuz rigged up the beautifullest tent you ivver see. New blankits, there wuz, an' new beddin' an' new iverythink. "Well, my Becky," sez Happy, "How do yer like it?" Sez Becky, "We's not done so werry bad arter all, my Happy; we's gotten a better *tan* an' a better *háben* nor we had last night." Sez Happy, laffin' soft-like, "An' I's thinkin', my Becky, 'at it's wunnerful like gitten married agen.'"

'Wunst Happy wuz goin' along a road ower the Peak o' Darby. He hadn't gone far afore he see a cart full o' the werry best chiney, all coloured an' gilt it wuz, rale delicate stuff, an' 'twix' the shafts stood a fine hoss wi' silver-plated harness. There they wuz onto the gress, an' nobody whatsomivver wi' 'em. Happy lit his pipe an' waited a bit to see if anybody 'ud come along. But nobody come. So he ups an' leads the hoss an' cart to an inn jus' roun' the bend o' the road, an' axes the landlord if he knows who's the owner, which to be sure he duzn't know nuthink o' the kind. So on an' on goes Happy, up hill an' down dale, inquisitin' at ivery willage an' farmhouse fer the owner o' that 'ere hoss an' pot-cart, but he nivver could light on the gentleman nowheres, though he come werry nigh to breakin' his pore ole heart wi' anseriety in tryin' his best to find him.'

'Wun time Happy had a grindin'-barrow made outen a hull block o' silver, an' whenever he wur thirsty he'd nobbut to chop off a lump o' silver an' go to the nearest public to get as much drink azivver he could carry. In course o' time his barrow shrinkt to a little teeny thing, an' at last Happy hadn't no barrow left at all.'

'Happy wuz wunst walkin' beside a hedge, crackin' nuts. He'd pockits an' pockits full of 'em, an' he happen-like to fling a nut-shell ower the hedge, an' it hit a werry fine hare, an' killed it. Wuz'n't that strange, now?'

'Nuther time Happy wuz crossin' a field, an' he see a sack full o' somethink, he didn't know what, lyin' on its side. So he up an' dispected it, an', there, if it wurn't full o' heggs. He picked up the sack and carried it away on his back, an' nivver crackt none of 'em.'

GEORGE HALL.

<sup>1</sup> I am at present unable to place genealogically this female Boswell.





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associated by correspondence—we may even say by friendship—with William Wilberforce. Ever prompt in what he believed to be the cause of the oppressed, the subject of the (then) new Poor Laws excited his keenest opposition. He styled himself the ‘Paupers’ Advocate.’

Another cause in which he proved a successful champion of the oppressed was that of boys as chimney sweeps, his advocacy having much to do with the passing of the law which abolished this iniquitous system.

He was one of the first to hold forth the State lottery to public reprobation, and he published, in conjunction with Mr. James Montgomery, in 1817, a work called the *State Lottery, or Thoughts on Wheels*.

A keen lover of nature, his poetic muse gave vent to many rhymes of no mean order.

But it is to the part he took as the Gypsies’ friend that we would specially allude. Full of interest in this nomad race, he was the author of a work entitled *The Gypsies: their Origin, Continuance, and Destination; or, The Sealed Book Opened*.<sup>1</sup> He believed that as the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, they were closely associated with the Jews in Biblical prophecy.

<sup>1</sup> This work was founded on an essay, ‘A Word for the Gipsies,’ which was followed by a poem of sixteen verses, ‘The Gipsy Girl,’ and occupied twenty-eight pages of his little anonymous book, *The Blind Man and His Son, a Tale for Young People. The Four Friends: a Fable. And a Word for the Gypsies* (London, 1816, 12mo). The volume was dedicated to James Montgomery, and the profits arising from its sale were to be applied in aid of the Society for the Relief of Aged Females in Sheffield. Fourteen years later this essay was expanded into *Parallel Miracles; or, the Jews and the Gypsies* (London, 1830, 12mo), dedicated ‘To the Committee and Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society,’ to which institution the profits were devoted. The object of this second edition, as stated on the title-page, was ‘to show that, while the former people [Jews] remain a byword and a reproach in the CITIES of all countries, the latter [Gypsies]—the descendants of the ancient Egyptians—continue, as predicted by the prophets, dispersed and despised in the OPEN FIELDS of the same, till the time appointed for the restoration of both to their own land.’ Reprinted in smaller type, and containing 195 instead of 166 pages, the book next appeared as *The Gypsies: their Origin, Continuance, and Destination, as clearly foretold in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel* (London, 1836, 12mo), reaching in the same year ‘the fourth edition, greatly enlarged,’ in which the title is shortened by omitting the final phrase. This fourth edition consisted of 259 pages, and contained for the first time the chapter on Mexican Gypsies. Lastly, after an interval of six years, the work reappeared, in a wonderful emblematic cloth cover, and embellished by a full-length portrait of the author, as *The Gypsies: their Origin, Continuance, and Destination; or, The Sealed Book Opened. The fifth edition, greatly enlarged* (London, 1842, 8vo, 299 pages, but really 279), dedicated ‘With fervent gratitude to Almighty God,—being now entering on my Eightieth Year,— . . . to my Four dear CHILDREN, who, through half that period, have been to me a constant source of comfort and blessings.’



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timidity. Though every thing about her was of course novel and striking, a proper sense of which she expressed, yet she never appeared to act as if in an element to which she had never been accustomed; nor, when dressed in better clothes, did they appear either to embarrass her, or to attract much of her attention. With the servants, she was soon a favourite. Obliging and attentive to all, she requested that they would keep her always employed, and she went about all the house business to which she was set, in a way that appeared as if she had been accustomed to it. She could sew very tolerably. She soon learned to milk, with which she was much pleased. Her brother being a tinker, brazier, tinner, umbrella-mender, &c. &c. &c., she had acquired a knowledge and an expertness which few servants possess. She was cheerful and merry with the servants, expressing her happiness in her new situation, and frequently contrasting it with her old one. On their asking her if she should be glad to see her brother when he came for her, she almost screamed out, "Oh, no—I hope he won't come! If he does, I shall be ready to creep into a bottle!" On seeing a mouse, she said that they used often to have dormice which they called the *seven sleepers*. We kept two young hedgehogs in a box in the kitchen to clear us of blackclocks. They only came out in the evening. On first seeing one of them she appeared quite delighted, as if she had met with an old acquaintance; she snatched it up in her hand, exclaiming, "Oh, you old gentleman; but I'll make you both whistle and sing!" On being asked how she would do that, she said by squeezing his toes. The mother of one of the servants was stopping with us, to whom Clara became much attached. "Well Clara," she said, "when you come into the neighbourhood where I live, you'll be sure and call to see me." "Oh! yes! I'm sure I will; for you know, Mrs. T., that though mountains and valleys cannot come together,—distant friends can."

'With two of my daughters she soon became a favourite; always humble and respectful, but when told to sit down, either to converse, to be instructed, or to teach them the Gypsy language, she never appeared neither awkward nor timid. She expressed herself in very proper language, with a little of a foreign tone and manner, pronouncing the T, de. She made use of no provincialisms. The circuit which she had been accustomed to take, was very extensive, from the northern parts of Yorkshire, to Sussex, &c. She soon learned her letters, and made them very



well on a slate, but did not appear ready at combining them into words. Her comprehension on any subject 'proposed, appeared to be very quick and clear, and her feelings acute. On the subject of religion, she knew but little. In a short conversation which I had with her respecting God, she was much affected. She knew that there was a God, but had not, till she came to us, been used to pray, but said that she did now, every night and morning, and always would. She said, with tears, that she was sure she loved God, and felt that He loved her. She went with the servants to church, she had frequently been in one, but never where there was an organ; with that she was much pleased. The child behaved so well, and appeared to be so happy and thankful, that I concluded to keep her at least for some time longer. On telling her so, and asking if she thought her brother would let her stay, she said that she was sure that they both would be very glad, and very much obliged to me.

'The brother came at the time fixed, and both surprised, and grieved me by declaring that he should be obliged to take Clara with him. He expressed his obligation as strongly as language could do; indeed, I had difficulty in restraining him from going down on his knees to me; still he said that though he knew that it would be greatly to the advantage of both himself and his sister for her to stay, yet that his wife and one child were so ill that he had been obliged to hire a woman to take care of them, and could not possibly do without Clara. We were all much concerned, as we wished to qualify the girl for making a respectable servant, and also to learn more from her of the manners and language of the Gypsies. The brother on first seeing his sister had, I found, told her his intention of taking her away. I sent for her into the room: she had been in tears. I told her that as he was only her brother, she was old enough to decide for herself whether to go with him or stay, and that she should do as she herself determined. She said at once, without hesitation, that, as they wanted her, she would wish to go. I told her that she judged very properly, and that we should always be glad to see her. I strongly suspected that the man was, however, deceiving me. I left home before them, and in my way to the town, I met with the wife, who said that she was as well as usual, and did not wish for Clara's return.

'I can only account for the man's conduct on the supposition of his being acted upon by that Divine fiat which hath ordained



the Gypsies to remain a distinct and *dispersed* people, till the fulness of the time for their re-assembling in their own country shall arrive. I had not much opportunity of conversation with the man, but as far as I had, it went fully to confirm the information given to me by Boswell, though he was not either so intelligent or personable a man as the latter.

‘During Clara’s stay with us, my daughters endeavoured to obtain what information they could from her respecting the language spoken by the Gypsies. In some instances, she certainly was not so competent as others might have been to afford it. What they obtained, however, may probably suffice, in some degree, to gratify curiosity, and lead to some useful result. From the lists of words which have been obtained, and published, from Gypsies in different countries, it is ascertained that the language spoken by them all, has originally been the same. There is a little difference in the pronunciation, and consequently in the spelling; as might be expected, in many instances, they have several names for the same thing. In every country it is probable that they substitute words from the language of that country, wherever they are at a loss for words in their own, or whenever they find them readier or better. The following list of words which my daughters obtained from their interesting visitor, though probably in many respects imperfect, may be found interesting. Had they been at all aware that her stay would have been so short, they would have enabled themselves to have given a much fuller and clearer account of the language than they have been able to do. Much as I am sure that poor Clara was attached to us, and much as I am assured that it was her wish, and intention to see us whenever she could, as she faithfully promised to do, we have never, in the course of four years, either seen or heard anything of or from her. I doubt not but that the family have since purposely kept away from the district. Nothing, I think, can account for the conduct of the party in this instance, but that intuitive, though perhaps unconscious, bias of the mind, which keeps the Gypsies, as ordained, a distinct and vagrant people.’

We may differ from my grandfather in his opinion of the Gypsies’ ancestry, but we must admire his enthusiasm on their behalf. May we by his example be inspired with an increased interest in this strange, wandering, albeit ancient people.





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typical Heron, well-built, big-boned, very dark of complexion, is the description given of her father, who, like many of the old-time Gypsies, followed the calling of tinker and grinder, bearing on his back a small grinding-machine, or 'creel' as it was called, with a fire-kettle fastened alongside. He was fond of the Fen Country, and travelled around Cambridge, St. Ives, Peterboro', and King's Lynn, but occasionally he would take a long round through Lincolnshire into Yorkshire, returning by way of Staffordshire and Derbyshire to his beloved fenny flats. Clara's mother belonged to that branch of the great Boswell clan which had contracted the surname to Boss, owing, it is said, to the evil reputation of the Boswells at that time.

The children of Lěshi and Sēni were—Ryley,<sup>1</sup> whose name for years evoked a shudder of horror in many a Romani *tan*; Pāni, who mated with Black Ambrose Boss, and accompanied no certain knowledge. Here are a few jottings from my note-books illustrative of the perplexities besetting the path of the pedigree-hunter.

From Jane (Eldorai) Boswell, age 85, of Derby: 'Dey used to say owld Lěshi Herren's dad wur Sěthi Boswell, not dat great big giant outen de Cornish Country—now, he's de biggest Boswell we had—but anoder Sěthi owlder nor him. Lěshi wur a Herren on his modder's side. I dismembers her name. D'y're all dead and gone dis many year.'

From Sampson Boswell, age 75, son of Allen and Delata Boswell: 'I remember Sinny's man Lěshi as a very feeble old fellow. He travelled wiv me daddy and me when we was makin' for *Lundra*—that wur in the big Extribition year (1851), and pore Lěshi wur that helpless, we left him behint at Wisbech. Sinny I know'd, 'cos I left money wiv her when I took a wife. We allus understood as how she'd three sons by old No Nim (No Name) Herren. Well, she died wiv one of 'em, it wur Johnny—he wur at Chatham. I wur only about 15 when I know'd Lěshi, and he must have bin a good bit over 80. But, stop a bit, there's a book as traces all our people back a thousand year. It's in print four hundred year old. I'll get it for you from my daughter at Camberwell by the time you comes again.'

Isaac Heron, whom I last saw alive on February 4th, 1911, at Old Radford, Nottingham, told me that Lěshi belonged to the days of No Name, Manabel (Emanuel), and Richard Heron, who were three brothers. 'I'd an uncle, Lūshi, a son of my grandfather Richard, as married Sally, daughter of Senny's Lěshi. I 'members Lěshi, a very old man, big, dark, like all the men of our fam'ly was. That's the truth. But, his parents? Now, that's more'n I know.'

From Robert Smith, age 83, of Notting Hill: 'The mother of old Lěshi was Stutterin' Diney (Dinah) Herren. She stutter'd that bad, it took her five minutes to get one word out. Her people come out o' the Black Country. One time Senny lived with No Nem (No Name) Herren. Old Lěshi's father was a Boswell, and Abel Boswell sartinly had a brother Lěshi. I believe Abel had Senny for a while and Senny were a Smith before she was a Boswell, yes, I feel sure of it, and the Scamp and Stanley families was somehow mixed up with them.'

I give these notes for what they are worth. At any rate, they will serve to show how carefully the genealogist must go to work.

<sup>1</sup> Ryley Boswell had three wives: (1) Lucy, daughter of Taiso Boswell and Sophia Heron; (2) Shurensi (*Yōki Shuri*), daughter of Elijah Smith and Sophia Chilcot; (3) Charlotte, daughter of Antony Hammond, gent., and Paizēnni Heron (or Young). These wives bore to Ryley nineteen children whose names are known.



him to America; Sarah, who married Richard Heron's son Lūsha; and Clara, the subject of the present sketch. To these a few authorities in Gypsy genealogy add a fifth child, James, whom others, however, seemingly better informed, declare to have been a *bastardus* of Sēni. Left from whatever cause without parental care while of tender age,<sup>1</sup> Clara's upbringing was undertaken by an aunt, with whom she journeyed on a circuit so extensive as to include the towns of North Yorkshire and the hop-gardens of Sussex.

When nearly fourteen years old, she passed through a memorable experience during a short stay under the roof of Samuel Roberts of Sheffield.<sup>2</sup> Let us glance at our piquant little Gypsy as she moves across the pages of her genial chronicler. Combining the vivacity of a child with the self-possession of an adult, this mere slip of a lass seems verily to cast a spell upon the good philanthropist and his household. Pleasant is the picture of Clara imparting instruction in the *Romani ěib* to the Misses Roberts; while the father of these ladies in his turn finds in this brown-faced child of the wilderness an exemplary listener to his gentle words on religion. Even in the kitchen the girl wins her way, astonishing the servants by her many-sided cleverness, and tickling them now and then with quaint descriptions of Gypsy tricks; *e.g.* how to make a hedgehog whistle and sing by squeezing his toes. Nothing, indeed, could have been better than the girl's behaviour in her unaccustomed environment, and it is not surprising that her departure when it came gave rise to expressions of grief on both sides.

On quitting this agreeable home it was but natural that Clara should promise to revisit it, yet, so far as is known, she never again crossed the threshold of Samuel Roberts. One explanation of her avoidance of Sheffield is not far to seek,—her relapse, for in the light of subsequent happenings the girl's Gypsy nature appears within a brief space to have reasserted itself with such force as to overpower the good impressions made upon her mind in the home of the kindly *rai* of the *Čurimeskro Gav*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Lěshi and Sēni died very like when Clara was *tarni*' (Patience Deighton). Several authorities affirm that Lěshi was living about 1850-51, he being then 'very feeble' and 'quite childish.'

A tenable theory is that Sēni went off with another *Romaničel*, and Lěshi, who was growing old, placed his little daughter in the care of Lucy Scamp, wife of Sēni's brother Abel Boswell, or Boss. Lěshi was never *b.p.* Lusha, son of Dick Heron, undoubtedly was transported.

<sup>2</sup> *The Gypsies*, by Samuel Roberts (4th ed., 1836), pp. 88-103.



Concerning the dramatic termination of the Sheffield episode, two versions are extant. According to Mr. Roberts, it is James Vanis, otherwise Hearn, who comes for Clara with a lying pretext on his lips. In Borrow's statement<sup>1</sup> it is Ryley who snatches his young sister away in a characteristic spirit of violence. It is true, the girl had a half-brother named James, yet seeing that Borrow obtained his facts during lengthy conversations with Clara herself, it may be presumed that 'James Vanis'<sup>2</sup> was after all only one more of Ryley's many aliases.

The scene now changes to Norfolk, whither Clara has been hurried behind her brother's 'flying pony.' The curtain lifts to show us the fire-lit clearing in the sombre wood, where she sits dejected beyond measure, the film on her pretty eyes glistening with tears. Solemn as an archdeacon on a visitation day, Don Jorge is seen admonishing the girl in the presence of her guardians, three keen-eyed women staring across the red glow of the fire. Surely they are Ryley's wives,<sup>3</sup> at whose hands Clara is to acquire a more than ordinary proficiency in those subtle arts which she afterwards displayed so eminently on Epsom Downs. In the care of these astute mothers in Egypt she remained until her deliverance arrived in the manner set forth in the opening of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Romano Lavò-Lil* (1907), pp. 241, 242. Ryley's domineering spirit is in no way exaggerated by Borrow. Old Robert Smith (Shuri's nephew) of Notting Hill tells a story showing how the ingrained roughness of the man would sometimes take brutal expression even towards those who loved him best. Ryley was in a temper one morning about his breakfast. 'I haven't no breakfast,' said Shuri. 'Then I'll give you some breakfast,' shouted her angry man. So he struck her a blow on the face. Blood flowed fast and red, and soaking a crust in it, Ryley flung it at his wife, saying, 'There's your breakfast, Shuri!'

<sup>2</sup> It seems clear that the puzzling name Vanis was no legitimate surname, but rather a spurious alias used occasionally, as in this instance, for the purpose of concealing identity. One recalls another episode when pseudonymity was resolved upon, and one of the conspirators extolled the advantages of being a Vance,— 'There's some go in a name like that! . . . it gives you some standing at once. You may call yourself Fortescue till all's blue, and nobody cares; but to be Vance gives a man a natural nobility.' Dr. Sampson (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 157) took a similar view of the pronunciation when he connected Vanis with Fiansi, the name of Philip Murray's friend. It is, however, at least equally probable that Samuel Roberts meant Vēnis, and that it was a Gypsy contraction of Sylvanus. An actual case is on record where a proud gâjo wished to christen his baby boy after his uncle Sylvanus, and the clergyman indignantly protested against embarrassing the innocent child with the name of a somewhat disreputable heathen goddess.

<sup>3</sup> In *Yôki* Shuri's palmy days she was regarded as a *čovihâni* by many Gypsies, *poš-rats*, and other travellers. Ambrose Thorpe informs me that at one time he positively feared Shuri. If he chanced, on quitting his father's *vardo* of a morning, to meet her on the road, he would straightway turn back in order to avoid bad luck.





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defeated. Clara's own daughter Patience (Mrs. Solomon Deighton), who was on Epsom Downs when Borrow talked with her mother, declares that her '*deari dai* never, never married on'y once.' Said Genti Gray to me one morning, 'Wot's that you wur arskin', my *rai*, did Clara Herren marry twice? Nay, that she never did. Who's bin a-putten o' that *hokaben* into yer *šēro*? Clara had Nēlus Smith fer her *muš* an' nobody else, so there!' (this with a flash of anger in her blue-grey eyes). On the other hand, the Yorkshire grandchildren<sup>1</sup> of Ryley Boswell and *Yōki* Shuri maintain that their great-aunt Clara certainly had 'a *vaver muš* besides Nēlus Smith, and one or two more, very like. You *jins* what rummy *foki* our old people was.' There are London 'delations'<sup>2</sup> of *Yōki* Shuri who agree with this view. And there I leave the matter, with the observation that no Romani biography would be at all characteristic without its dusky threads of baffling mystery recurring amid the gay reds and yellows of the story.

As might be expected, Clara's figure still looms clear in the memories of a few of our older living Gypsies. One hot day in the long summer of 1911, I looked up my old friend Alice Boss née Gray (the nonagenarian *pivli* of Louis, the eldest son of Ryley Boswell and Shuri Smith), who resides with her married daughter Wilhelmina in Borrow's beloved Norwich. In a sweltering atmosphere reeking of fried onions, I listened to Alice's recollections of Clara as a young wife. 'Do I 'member Ryley's sister as married Nēlus Smith? *Dādi*, I minds her well enew, but I mun clear me head a bit. (Here the old lady whipped out a shiny metal snuff-box, and took more than one deep, loving pinch of the pungent dust.) A natty, fly, little thing wur Clarey—Auntie Clarey we used to call her. She allus looked small along of her six-foot man—that wur Nēlus Smith. Talk about pretty curls, now she had some, and a nice'd bit o' culler in her cheeks. Did you ever *jin* Nēlus? A demarkable thing about him wur his odd eyes. One wur blue an' t'other brown. Funny, wurn't it? He run away wi' Clarey when she wur nobbut a gell. He used to go about wi' a grindin' barrow, and I've heard say as he died more nor a year after his dear wife somewheres into Suffolk. Some says they both of 'em died in a *butsi-kēr*.'

<sup>1</sup> One of these is an ex-champion boxer of Yorkshire, Jack, son of Deláia Wilhelmina Boss (daughter of Ryley Boswell and Shuri Smith) and George Wilson, marine store-dealer, of Hull.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Robert Smith, nephew of *Yōki* Shuri, states that Clara's second husband was Lazy Lee, who had 'a tidy bit of *wongur*.' This marriage is said to have caused 'a great bother in Clara's family.'



Another *Romaničel* who remembers Clara is old Genti (daughter of Ōsēri Gray and Eliza Heron), whose house on wheels may be found down a certain twisted back lane in Norwich. [By the way, Genti's brother Louis<sup>1</sup> married Clara's good-looking daughter Leanabel. It is said that he coolly took her away from a travelling *gájo*,<sup>2</sup> by whom she had had several children. Pretty Leanabel sat on the grass by the *gájo*'s fire, when Louis touched her on the shoulder: 'Go you across to my tent, mi deari, and stay there.' She obeyed. And to the injured *gájo* Louis flung the menacing remark: 'Don't you dare to look on her no more, else I'll *mâr* you.'] One June evening in Genti's wagon, the talk turned upon Clara. 'Now, *rai*, I'll tell you who she wur the werry spit of, an' that wur my own blessed mother, 'Liza Herren—No Nŭm's daughter. That's the truth. Clara wur like my mother, of a middlin' size. She'd beautiful dark eyes,<sup>3</sup> black *bal* fallin' in curls, and a small mouth and pretty lips. Ay, you may take my word for it, she wur rale nice-lookin'. Can't I jest see her now bendin' ower hers bit of fire, a-mendin' of her red-spotted *šuba* slitten in a place or two by narsty bramble thorns.'

Of Clara's last years, which were spent in Suffolk, a county well known and loved by her, but little has been gathered. One by one nearly all her children had been removed by death. Patience, her youngest daughter but one, states that her mother 'never really settled anywheres.' Certain it is, however, that for a short time she occupied a small cottage at Sudbourne, a village lying a few miles inland from Aldeburgh Bay. She is there remembered as 'a neat little body' who persisted while her strength lasted in going forth day by day with her hawking basket. When conversing with friends at this time, she would often recall the few short days spent so happily with the Roberts family at Sheffield, and during the recital of these fragrant reminiscences her face would light up with a significant smile.<sup>4</sup> Senile decay at length caused her to seek admission into the Plomesgate Workhouse,

<sup>1</sup> Louis Gray excelled as a *bošomengro*. Towards the end of his life he became a preacher, and he is believed to have exercised a considerable influence over Clara's mind during her last years.

<sup>2</sup> Harry Halford, traveller, of Diss, Norfolk.

<sup>3</sup> Looking at Genti's blue-grey eyes led me to put the question: 'Your parents, I suppose, had both of them dark eyes, *bibi*?' 'Sartinly, black as coals.' 'Then where did you get those eyes of yours, Genti?' 'Well, well, werry like *mi dai* *lell'd* a *tringruši* off some *gájo*, and *lell'd mandi*. There, now you know!'

<sup>4</sup> I have it on the authority of Patience Deighton that her mother was converted before she died. Cornelius Smith, of Cambridge, the father of Rodney Smith, the





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that if any of his people became Gorgios he would kill them. ["H'm, very likely."—P.] He had a sister of the name of Clara ["My own mother, I do declare."—P.], a nice, delicate, interesting girl, about fourteen years younger than himself, who travelled about with an aunt ["That were her aunt Lucy, little old Abel Boswell's wife. She was one of them Scamps."—P.]: this girl was noticed by a respectable Christian family, who, taking a great interest in her, persuaded her to come and live with them. ["That were at Shevviold, where they makes the knives and scissors, as I've heard my *dai* say many a time."—P.]. She was instructed by them in the rudiments of the Christian religion, appeared delighted with her new friends, and promised never to leave them. After the lapse of about six weeks there was a knock at the door; a dark man ["Old Ryley, for sure!"—P.] stood before it who said he wanted Clara. Clara went out trembling, had some discourse with the man in an unknown tongue, and shortly returned in tears ["The narsty old toad, to make her cry!"—D.], and said that she must go. "What for?" said her friends. "Did you not promise to stay with us?" "I did so," said the girl, weeping more bitterly; "but that man is my brother, who says I must go with him, and what he says must be." So with her brother she departed, and her Christian friends never saw her again. ["Well, well, to be sure!"—D.] What became of her? Was she made away with? Many thought she was, but she was not. Ryley put her into a light cart, drawn by "a flying pony," and hurried her across England even to distant Norfolk, where he left her, after threatening her, with three Gypsy women who were devoted to him. With these women the writer found her one night encamped in a dark wood, and had much discourse with her, both on Christian and Egyptian matters. She was very melancholy, bitterly regretted having been compelled to quit her Christian friends, and said that she wished she had never been a Gypsy. ["H'm, there, mother!"—D.] The writer, after exhorting her to keep a firm grip of her Christianity, departed, and did not see her again for nearly a quarter of a century, when he met her on Epsom Downs, on the Derby day when the terrible horse Gladiateur beat all the English steeds. She was then very much changed, very much changed indeed, appearing as a full-blown Egyptian matron ["Egyptian? Well, my mother *was* very dark, a'most like a Jewess."—P.], with two very handsome daughters ["Ah, my own sisters, Leanabel and Phoebe. Both of 'em's dead



now. Outen all the thirteen children mother had, there's on'y me and Lidi left."—P.], flaringly dressed in genuine Gypsy fashion, to whom she was giving motherly counsels as to the best means to *hok* and *dukker* ["Well, my *dai* was very clever at *dukkerin*. She brought us all up on it, but she was converted before she died."—P.] the gentlefolks. All her Christianity she appeared to have flung to the dogs, for when the writer spoke to her on that very important subject she made no answer save by an indescribable Gypsy look. On other matters she was communicative enough, telling the writer, amongst other things, that since he saw her she had been twice married ["No, no, never, *rai*, that's not true, not a word of it (excitedly). As I've telled you afore, my mother was never married on'y once, and that were to Cornelius Smith. That's the dear God's truth."—P.], and both times very well, for that her first husband, by whom she had the two daughters whom the writer "kept staring at," was a man every inch of him; and her second, who was then on the Downs ["On the Downs! Eh, dear, when I thinks o' them days, I feels as how I'd like to wander about again. *Awa*, I was on the Downs the day when that *rai* talked to my mother. He could *rokker* like a book, he could. After that, he come a deal to see us in different places where we was stoppin'."—P.], grinding knives with a machine he had, though he had not much manhood, being nearly eighty years old, had something better, namely a mint of money, which she hoped shortly to have in her own possession.'

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### III.—ROBERTS'S VOCABULARY

THE conditions under which Roberts's Gypsy words were collected were unusually favourable. The whole vocabulary was obtained from a single individual, Clara Heron; and she was, for the moment, in a frame of mind so communicative and so grateful that evasive answers like those which Mephistopheles gave to the inquisitive Norwegian<sup>1</sup> and the Siberian Gypsy to Dr. Otto Duhmberg,<sup>2</sup> cannot even be suspected. Clara was doing her best, and she was by no means unfortunate in her choice of confidantes; for Samuel Roberts's daughters, to whom she dictated

<sup>1</sup> Hubert Smith, *Tent Life with English Gipsies in Norway*, Second Edition, London, 1874, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Miklosich, *Beiträge*, iv. 38, s.v. *Enkel*, *Enkelin*.



the list, were evidently scrupulous and well educated young ladies, yet unprejudiced by any familiarity either with Oriental languages or with Romani itself. The artlessness of their work more than compensates for occasional mistakes, and its general accuracy compares favourably with that of Bryant, a professional scholar, or even with that of the orientalist Harriott. As the Rev. T. W. Norwood wrote on January 2, 1886, after he had transcribed and 'corrected' it, the vocabulary was a 'capital exercise of the young ladies.'

But Norwood was not the only master who corrected the Misses Roberts's papers: a veritable Board of Examiners read and marked the list, and it was copied (and mutilated) by a series of more or less scholarly persons. In presenting it to the public—an appreciative public, since the work reached its fifth edition—in his book, *The Gypsies* (London, 1836), their father described in an Appendix how he had read some of the words, from the proof-sheets, to the Gypsy landlady of a Sheffield tavern.<sup>1</sup> Kogal-nitchan in the following year imbedded almost all Roberts's words in the vocabulary he added to his *Esquisse sur l'Histoire, les Mœurs et la Langue des Cigains* (Berlin, 1837). Like Norwood he 'corrected' the spelling, but not always successfully, for he believed that English *ch* was equivalent to French *sch*, and transliterated *chick* and *kichimmo* by *schick* and *kischimmo*.<sup>2</sup> Equally erroneous was his idea that *-ben* is the termination of the Gypsy infinitive, in consequence of which he rendered Roberts's enigmatical *kell* 'reach' by 'Atteindre, *kelloben*,' and *bucclo* 'hunger' (really 'hungry') by 'Avoir faim, *buceloben*.' The condition of Roberts's words was not improved when Casca, in 1840, translated

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this landlady, Mr. T. W. Thompson kindly sends the following:— 'It is probable that the landlady mentioned by Samuel Roberts was "Yoki Diddly" Williams, daughter of James Williams and Hannah Smith (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 80), and wife of Manful Boswell, son of Lewis Boswell (? or Lewis Buckley). This Mr. and Mrs. Boswell did keep a *kicema* in Sheffield about the time mentioned by Roberts. They prospered exceedingly for a time, and brought up their children "like *rais* and *ranis*." Of Yoki Diddly and one of her smart daughters a very pretty story is told. As they were out driving together one day they passed a family of Gypsies encamped by the road-side. "Look, mammy, look at those nasty rough people," remarked the "flash" daughter. "It's a wicked shame that they're allowed in the way they are about the country. They ought to be flogged and driven away." "No they oughtn't," replied Yoki; "they ought to be giv'd money, for them's the harmlessest and kindest-hearted poor, dear people in the world. It's you what deserves to be flogged for a nasty mumpy toad, and s'help me God you shall have it." Thereupon she gave her daughter a sound beating. This information I obtained from Josh Gray and his wife, Lenda Williams, niece of Yoki Diddly, on Sunday, August 27, 1910.'

<sup>2</sup> See Pott, ii. 426, last two lines.





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irregular spelling. The sound *e* is sometimes represented by *a* (*adra*, *aprá*, *baringro*, *bars*, *ca-ha*), but *cheris* and *taléy* are also found. When final, *i* is generally *ee*, but *bibbi* and *pe* occur, and *e* stands for *i* in *pero*. The English vowel *aw* (as in 'law') is written *o* (*acola*, *apono*, *bolo*, *borum*, *jodra*, *moro*, *podo*, *pono*, *sola*) or *au* (*araunah*, *canauvo*, *chau*, *jaungkell*, *waggaulus*); and *ū* is rendered both by *ou* and *oo* (*caningarou*, *luvoo*, *mulloo*, *poof*, *pourouchau*, *rouzha*, *sherrou*, *shoon*, *souve*). For *u* sounds where *o* is commoner cf. also *drum* and *lun*. A final silent *e*, lengthening the preceding vowel, appears in *pofo*, *sofo*, *souve*, and *tofo*. Diphthongs are found in *arai*, *chi*, *derai*, *di*, *gry*, *moyla*, and *roi*. It may also be noted that a lisped *r* occurs twice (*chinglet*, *congling*); and that *v* is never found as an initial—only the bilabial *w*.

In conclusion, Roberts's remarks on the absence of native grammar in Anglo-Romany may be reproduced:—

'One word, distinguished by no inflexions, is all that the Gypsies use to form the moods and tenses of a verb. Though they retain in their language the pronouns, *ou*, I; *tut*, thou; *mande*, me; they appear to prefer the English ones, and in other cases to supply, from necessity, the deficiency of their language by English words:—

I dell . . . . .	I give.
I dell yeyeck (a good while since) .	I gave. <sup>1</sup>
I will dell . . . . .	I will give.
Dell . . . . .	Give.
I may dell . . . . .	I may give.
I might dell . . . . .	I might give.
To dell . . . . .	To give.

'As there are no particular inflexions for particular parts of speech, the same word occurs both as substantive and verb, as *giv*, song; to *giv*, to sing; but not always; *killin*, dance; to *kell*, to dance.'

#### VOCABULARY.

*acola*, black. Pott, ii. 106: 'Acola Rb. mit einem Vorschlage.' The initial *a*, as in *allullo*, *apono*, *arai*, *araunah*, and *arincina*, is probably the English article derived from the phrases in which these words were used. The middle vowel *o* represents, as in several other words, the English *aw* vowel: and the final *a* must have been an indistinctly pronounced *o*: cf. *arincina*, *bitta*, and *rincana*.

*adra*. See *chivitadrá* and *jodra*.

<sup>1</sup> ? I *del* 'd you *yek*, 'I gave you one,' or an imitation of slovenly English 'give' for 'gave.'



*allullo*, red. For the initial *a* see s.v. *acola*. Pott, ii. 107, 338.

*aparai*. See *aprá*.

*apono*, white. Pott, ii. 107, 359. See also *pono*.

*aprá*. See *hatchaparai*, *kellitaprá*, and *sellitaprá*.

*arai*, gentleman. Pott, ii. 265. The initial *a* is the English article. See also *derai* and *hatchaparai*.

*araunah*, lady. Pott, ii. 265-6. The *a* is probably the English article, but cf. Borde's *achae*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 164. See also *pibbleraunee*, where the final vowel is more correctly recorded. Casca perverted this word to *arainab*.

*arée*. See *sellitarée*.

*arincina*, pretty. Diefenbach (*loc. cit.*, col. 390) wrongly refuses to connect this word with *rai*: 'Vsch. vom obigen ist wohl *rinkeno*, Adel, neben *ricker* (-*Weli-mann*), schön. Rotw. cf. *rincano*, schön, *karincino*, -a, niedlich. Rb.' Pott, ii. 264. See also *rincana*.

*atch*. See *hatchaparai*.

*auriggu*, undress. Pott, ii. 74: 'auriggu (deshabiller) Kog., meint Dief., als Comp. mit Sskr. a va.' This can scarcely be Gypsy *uri*-, Anglo-Romani *riv*-, since Roberts gives the participle elsewhere as *ruddee*. More probably the verb is *riger*-, and the prefix may be *avri* miswritten. See also *biggerit*.

*av*. See *hav*.

*bacca*, tobacco. In Editions i. and iv. the translation also is 'Bacca.' English slang.

*bachico*, sheep. A curious form of S. & C.'s *bókocho*, *vákasho*, 'viell. irrthümlich,' as Pott, ii. 84, remarks, quoting it from Kogalnitchan.

*balla*, hair. The word is plural.

*bar*, stone.

*baringro*, sailor. Kogalnitchan copied this word as *baringhero*, and the first vowel, which is the vowel in English 'bare,' puzzled Pott. In the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, iv. pt. 2 (1841), p. 19, he wrote:—'Auch in *baringhero* (matelôt) muss ein Fehler stecken, sei es nun, dass man darin Zig. *bero*, Sskr. *wêḍa* (Boot), Hindi *bêḍâ* (raft), oder, mit mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit, *pani*, *panin* (Wasser, Meer) zu suchen habe.' In *Die Zigeuner*, ii. (1845) 89: 'Bars . . . und *baringhero* Matelôt verm. hieher [*bero*, boat], wo nicht zu *panin* (Aqua), in welchem Falle r st. n verdruckt wäre.' The word is, of course, the genitive plural of *bero*, = 'man of boats.' See also *bars*.

*bars*, ship. The *s* is a misprint for *o*, as Pott points out, ii. 89, taking the word from Kogalnitchan. For the vowel *a* see *baringro*.

*bashuo*, cock. The *u*, as also in *smeutinno*, is a misprint for *n*.

*bes*, year. Pott, ii. 82: 'Kog., viell. (wie *bischa* Pluie; *brischaben* Pleuvor) bloss aus Versehen ohne *r*, *besch* (An, année).' Kogalnitchan had, however, transliterated Roberts's word correctly, and it is the ordinary English form.

*bes*, sit.

*bibbi*, aunt.

*biggerit*, carry. A misprint for 'rigger it,' probably due to a carelessly written capital R. Kogalnitchan adopted the word as 'Charrier, *biggherit*.' Pott, ii. 398: '*Biggherit* Charrier [Laugentuch?] Kog., wofür aber *briggherit* Carreggiare [!] Pred.' A sad example of the consequences of slovenly proof-reading. See Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, f.n. See also *auriggu*.

*bikkin*, sell. Pott, i. 451: 'als Imp. *bikkin* Rb.' It is, of course, not necessarily imperative in uninflected Anglo-Romani.

*bissha*, rain. This word occurs twice in the first and fourth editions of Roberts's book: one entry is cut out in the fifth. Smart and Crofton give both *bishno* (without the *r*) and *brishindo*,



*bitta*, small. Pott, ii. 402, quotes it as *bitto* from Kogalnitchan.

*bolo*, pig. The first vowel represents the English *aw* sound.

*borum*, large. Pott, ii. 315. At 414 he compares *gudlam* but does not explain the final *m*. In his section on *Gaunersprachen*, ii. 33, he quotes a number of words in *-um*, which, however, throw no light on this Romani adjective; and at ii. 161 some Gypsy nouns (s.v. *chadum*). The *m* may have been derived from the following word, e.g., *boro muš*, or *borum* may represent *bo(ro)rom* or even *boro 'un* (=one). But it is perhaps safest to take it for a misreading of *borow* or *borou*, since *-ou* is several times used to represent the final vowel of a masculine adjective.

*boshree*, fiddle. Pott, ii. 426, quoting incorrectly from Kogalnitchan, says 'boshri [so!] Jouer du violon.' The word is, however, more probably a noun here. Perhaps a misprint for *boshru*, Smart and Crofton's *bóshero*, 'fiddler.' If the participle *bošno* were not so exclusively used for 'cock' one might be tempted to read *boshnee*: cf. the *bashadi* of Borrow's *Lavo-Lil*. See also *bosshimangree*.

*bosshimangree*, fiddle. Gen. pl. of abstract noun *boshipen*, 'thing of fiddlings.' See also *boshree*.

*bouro*, snail. S. & C. give both *baúri* and *boúri*, and refer to Vaillant's *buro*. Pott, ii. 416: 'Viell. Venez. bovolò (cochlea) Nemn. Cath. p. 1092.'

*bucclo*, hunger. This accounts for Kogalnitchan's 'Avoir faim, *buceloben*,' for he believed that *-ben* was the infinitive termination, and added it to verbs (cf. *kell*). He seems to have taken 'hunger' for a verb, added *-ben*, and misprinted *e* for the second *c*. Pott, ii. 396. The word, of course, means 'hungry' not 'hunger.'

*burrouco*, shop. S. & C. give the forms *boódega*, *boódika*, and *boórika*, the last of which is probably intended here. Pott, ii. 405: '*Budikka* Laden Bisch. Verm. daraus auch burruco (boutique) Kog., doch vgl. burica Celt. i. nr. 306, b.' quoting from Diefenbach.

*burwin*, weep. Pott in the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, iv. pt. 2 (1841), p. 12, says 'burwin (pleurer) ist gewiss nichts als Vermengung von Weinen mit Wein (ungar. bor, lat. vinum),' and again in *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 267: 'Burwin (pleurer) Kog. scheint mir auf einem Missverständnisse aus Ung. bor (d.i. Wein) mit Lat. vinum, wegen der grossen Aehnlichkeit der beiden Deutschen Wörter, zu beruhen.' On p. 455 he quotes an analogous confusion from thieves' jargon. He did not know, of course, that Kogalnitchan had taken the word from Roberts: the mistake would be impossible in English. Probably as in *biggerit* an ill-formed capital R has been read as B, and the word is a participle formed with the English *-ing* from the Gypsy stem *rov-*. The original spelling may have been *rowvin*.

*butsee*, work. Kogalnitchan as usual 'lifted' this word together with another form from a different source: 'Travail, *butin*, *butsi*.' Pott, almost equally as usual, misunderstood it, suggesting, ii. 403, to make a phrase of the two words: '. . . wenn man in butin, butsi (travail) Kog. das Komma streichen, und dies: "labor multus [s. ob. but]" erklären wollte.'

c. See also under *k*.

*ca-ha*, house. This curious spelling is evidently an attempt to represent the strongly aspirated *k* in *kher*. Pott, ii. 91, failed to recognise the word in its strange disguise. Cf. *choa* and *coa* for the omission of *r*.

*cam*, ear. The *m* is a misprint for *n*, as Pott, ii. 102, points out: 'Cam Kog. ist falsch, nur richtig kan.' See also *caningarou* and *caningo*.

*canauvo*, turnip. Pott, ii. 124, without remark. S. & C. give the forms *konáfni* and *konaáfi*, connecting them with Anglo-Romani *kraáfni*, Paspati's *kárfia*





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- the genitive singular. The literal meaning is 'thing of writings (or writing),' *čín-* 'to cut' having the secondary meaning of 'to write,' cf. *scribere*. See *chinger*, *chinglet*, *chinnamangree*, and *chinnet*.
- chinnet*, cut. Pott, ii. 209, suggests 't st. l?', in which case the word would be third pers. sing. pres. ind. But more probably it is the verb-stem, or imperative, with English 'it,' *chin* it, 'cut it.' See *chinger*, *chinglet*, *chinnamangree*, and *chinnamasngree*.
- chiv*, tongue. Pott, ii. 216. See also *chivya*.
- chivan*, put on. Pott, ii. 113, from Kogalnitchan who misquotes the word: 'wogegen schiven (Mettre sur) Simplex wäre gleich czivav.' The word may be *čiving*, or, more probably, 'čiv on.' See *chivitadrá* and *chivvitaléy*.
- chivitadrá*, put in. Pott, ii. 113 and 290. Literally 'put it in,' *čiv* it *adré*. See *chivan*, *chivvitaléy*, and *jodra*.
- chivvitaléy*, throw down. Pott, ii. 85: 'Kog. had u. Abattre auch chivvitaléya, das ein hinten mit tele (herab) verbundener Imper. scheint,' and 113. Literally 'put it down,' *čiv* it *talé*. For Kogalnitchan's final *a* see Introduction. See *chivan*, *chivitadrá*, and *pertaley*.
- chivya*, tongs. Pott, ii. 209: 'das räthselhafte schivya (Pincettes),' and 231. The word is nom. pl. of *chiv* 'tongue' (q.v.); the Misses Roberts having presumably said 'tongs' and Clara Heron heard 'tongues.' Groome, *In. G. Tents*, p. 84, f.n.
- choa*, steal. Pott, ii. 114: 'Kooa fechten Rb., cua (Tirer les armes) Kog. haben eher r verloren, als dass sie zu Lith. kowà Kampf, Gefecht) gehörten. Aehnlich wäre das Verhalten in tschoren, tschoa Voler Kog.' und 201. The usual form is *čor*. Cf. also *cooa* and *ca-ha* for the loss of *r*.
- chucca*, coat. Pott, ii. 178. Note the difference in Clara Heron's words between this and *chaca* 'shoes.'
- chuckinee*, whip. Pott, ii. 181.
- chunga*, lips. The word means 'knees.' Perhaps a confusion of 'lips' with 'hips,' or a misunderstanding of *čungar* 'to spit.'
- churee*, knife.
- clisn*, lock. Copied by Kogalnitchan, but apparently overlooked by Pott, ii. 122.
- coc*, uncle. Pott, ii. 91.
- cola*, black. See *acola*.
- com*, love. Usual Anglo-Romani for *kam-*.
- congling*, church. A curious form of *kāngri* with *l* for the usual *r*, as Pott points out, ii. 150. Cf. *chinglet*. For the interchangeability of the *-i* and *-in* terminations see Diefenbach's views, Pott, ii. 403, footnote. Common elsewhere, it is rare in Anglo-Romani. For the final *g* cf. Zippel's *paning*, Pott, i. 186 and ii. 343.
- cooa*, fight. Copied by Kogalnitchan as 'Tirer les armes, cua.' For this way of spelling *kur*, see s.v. *choa*. Pott, ii. 114.
- coppa*, blanket. Pott, ii. 100. Diefenbach (*loc. cit.* col. 370): 'Scheint aus einer (deutsch. oder roman. etc.) europ. Sprache entl.'
- cosshtee*, stick. Pott, ii. 120. The termination *-ee* may be misprinted: if so, the word is plural, *coshta* or *coshtes*, and means 'sticks.'
- craton*, button. Pott, ii. 123, without remark. This puzzling word seems only explicable on the assumption that it is *crafnee* misprinted. The word means 'nail,' but is used in Anglo-Romani in the sense of 'button.' See *canauvo*.
- currio*, earthen vessel. Pott, ii. 154. S. & C. *kóro*, *kúra*, *koóri*.
- cushto*, good.
- cutta*, guinea. Kogalnitchan 'Guinée ou tout autre monnaie considérable, cutta.' Pott, i. 52 and ii. 99. He quotes Diefenbach's comparison with German *G. chadweli*, Bischoff's *katwilēja*, *kadwilgen* (pl.), Liebich's *chadwill*, *charwell*, *kadwill*, etc. The Anglo-Romani word is, however, merely *kotor* 'a piece.'



- dad*, father. See also under *pourouchau*.
- darya*, teeth. Misprint for *danya*. Pott, ii. 315; 'r verm. st. n.'
- del*, give. Third pers. sing. pres. indic., literally 'he gives.' See below, *del* 'strike,' *delman*; and the introduction.
- del*, strike. Pott, ii. 300: 'In der Bedeutung "schlagen" scheint es elliptisch "jemandem einen (Schlag, dyben i. 135.) geben" bezeichnen zu sollen. Vgl. *del* (*frapper*) Kog. und *del, de* (*Blow, a knock*) Harr.,— eig. 3. Pers. Sg. Präs. und 2. Sg. Imper.' See also *del* 'give' above, and *delman* below.
- delman*, ask. Pott, ii. 300: 'Auch *delman* Interroger Kog. halte ich für: "Er gebe mir [etwa: Antwort]." So hat Zipp. u. vermessen als Adj.: Na *dēla pale keekiste tschi* Er fragt nach keinem was.' It is, however, here simply the common ungrammatical Anglo-Romani use of the third pers. sing. for all parts of the verb, in this case the imperative. Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, f.n.: '*delman*, "ask" (= *del man*, "give me").' See *del* above, and *mande*.
- derai*, master. Pott, ii. 265: 'Arai (*gentilhomme*), *derai* (*maitre*) Kog., viell. beide mit Art., in welchem Falle *de st. ye* verdrückt sein oder dem Engl. the entsprechen müsste, sonst *de die Part.* (dass, wenn; und).' The *de* is, of course, the English definite article as pronounced by a race which has neither *δ* nor *θ* in its alphabet. See *arai* and *hatchaparai*.
- di*, mother. The *i* here represents the diphthong *ai*. See also under *pourouchau*.
- dic*, see.
- disk*, five. This must be a misprint for *desh*, and the translation 'five,' instead of 'ten,' a misunderstanding. Pott, i. 221: 'Disk, nach Roberts 5, hält Diefenb. für Verwechslung mit 10.' Cf. *pange*.
- divvus*, day. Roberts has a footnote (Editions i. and iv.) 'Latin, Dies—Italian, Di.—Divum, in Latin, is day-light.' In Ed. v. the first word is misprinted 'Letin.'
- drum*, road. Pott, ii. 319. For the vowel, cf. *lun*.
- dud*, light. Pott ii. 310, says, 'Dud tag Rb.,' but Roberts does not give the word in this sense.
- duddramangru*, lantern. Pott, i. 133: 'Datterwabasgro (*wärmend*) vgl. Pchm. *ta'tarav* (*wärmen*), auch wohl *daddermangru* (*lanterne*) Kog.' He corrected this mistake in vol. ii. 310: 'Duddramangra Lanterne von *dud* Lumière Kog.,' but in neither case did he reprint Kogalnitchan's word accurately! The word is genitive pl. of an abstract noun formed from a verb *duderava* 'to make light'; but the verb has perhaps no real existence. Had it been formed direct from the noun, like *bengipen* from *beng*, the word would have been *dudimangro*.
- due*, two. Roberts adds a footnote 'Greek, Duo.—Latin, Duo.—Italian, Duc [sic].—French, Deux.' The Italian misprint occurs in the 1st, 4th, and 5th editions.
- duvvel*, God. Roberts adds a footnote 'Greek, (obsolete) Dis.—Latin, Deus.—Italian, Dio.—French, Dieu.' Pott, ii. 312: 'Duvvel Rb. Gott (auch Christus).' What was his authority for the statement within brackets is not apparent.
- frill*, butter. A carelessly written *Kill* has been read as *Frill*. Pott, ii. 258: '. . . durch irgend ein Versehen *frill* (*Beurre*) Kog.'
- galway*, girl. Pott, ii. 140: 'Ob *garbha* (*proles*), fragt Dief.' The word is certainly not Romani. The Misses Roberts may have misunderstood a command '*Jal*'way, Girl,' 'Go away, Girl.' Or it may be some kind of cant or slang. It seems scarcely possible to connect it with American Hobo-talk in which 'the Catholic priest is nicknamed "The Galway"' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 186), nor with Westmorland dialect *galway*, 'a small mare.'



- gav*, town. Pott, ii. 135: '. . . gav Rb. Irv., woher wohl gäv (ville) Kog.' Pott's comment is taken directly from Diefenbach's review of Borrow's *Zincali*, col. 395.
- giv*, corn.
- giv*, song. The correct Romani is, of course, *gili*: but cf. S. & C.'s *ghiveli* 'song' and *ghivóva* 'I sing.' See also *giv* 'sing' below.
- giv*, sing. This is the Anglo-Romani form recorded by S. & C. as *ghivóva*. Kogalnitchan added *-ben*, which he believed to be the termination of the infinitive, and printed 'Chanter, *ghivaben*.' Pott, i. 445, commented '. . . ghiv (chanson), ghivaben (chanter) Kog. enthalten gleichfalls ein, wenigstens nicht radicales v, welches sich aber viell., wie bei Anderen b, gleichsam als Wurzelbestandtheil festsetzte.' See also *giv* 'song.'
- granz*, barn. The 1st edition has, more correctly, *granza*. Roberts added the footnote 'Italian, Granogo.—French, Grange.' He might also have added Rumanian *grăunțe* 'corn.' Pott, ii. 145: '† *Granza*, grange. Kog. Entl.'
- gruvnee*, beast. Pott, ii. 142. The word means, more exactly, 'cow.' See also *gruvvenee*.
- gruvvenee*, cow. See also *gruvnee*.
- gry*, horse. The *y* stands for the diphthong *ai*.
- gudlam*, sugar. Probably a misprint for *gudlow*: see s.v. *borum*. Pott, ii. 133, 315.
- gudlee*, moise [*sic*]. So in Edition v.: Ed. iv. has, correctly, 'noise.' Pott, ii, 133. See also *wottogudlee*.
- gunno*, bag. Pott, ii. 136.
- gurrishtee*, shilling. The *t* is a mistake, the word intended being S. & C.'s *górishí* meaning 'a groat,' three of which, *trin-górishí*, make a shilling. Pott, i. 52.
- han*, eat. Pott, ii. 158: 'Han Rb. ist Conj. (comedant).' Perhaps more probably a misprint for *haw*, the verb-stem. See also *haw* and *hapristicheris*.
- hapristicheris*, dinner-time. Kogalnitchan altered the word to *hapristitschiro*, and Pott, i. 184, took his form: 'Kogaln. hat die Dat. wuddrustitschiro und hapristitschiro [schr. n st. des ersten r] Tems de coucher [lit.], de diner.' *Cheris* is Roberts's form of the word for 'time.' *Hapristi*, according to Pott, should be *hapnisti*, i.e. *χabenesti*, a dative of *χaben* the abstract noun from *χα-* 'to eat.' The misprint *r* for *n* occurs also in *darya* 'teeth.' See *han* and *haw*.
- hatchaparai*, rise. If this is simply *hač apré* 'rise up,' it is the only case in which *ai* stands for *ē*. Perhaps an *r* has been omitted, and the phrase should read *hatch apra, rai* 'get up, Sir,' in which case one would have to assume that Mr. Roberts superintended his daughters' lessons.
- hav*, come. Pott, ii. 52: 'Das h in hav (venir) Kog. ist falsch.'
- haw*, hate. From this and the preceding word it is evident that either the Misses Roberts or Clara misplaced their *h*'s. The translation should be 'ate,' or rather 'eat,' since it is the verb-stem. Pott, ii. 173: '*Haw* (hair) Kog. noch verdächtiger als *haw* (venir), das wenigstens, bis auf das h, richtig ist.' *Haw* (venir) is Pott's mistake for *hav*. See *hapristicheris* and *han*.
- hecco*, haste. Pott, ii. 173 and 226: 'Hecco (se hâter) Kog. verm. mit h st. s, wenn nicht s vorn durch Druckf. fehlt.' That is, Pott took the word to be *seko* or *šeko*, and connected it with *sig* 'quick,' 'soon.' *Héka* is, however, the usual Anglo-Romani for 'haste,' the form in Borrow's *Lavo-Lil* is *hektu*, and Mr. Winstedt has heard *keka*, none of which suggest an initial *s*.
- herro*, leg. The pure form ends in the diphthong *-oi*. Pott, ii. 162: '. . . mit Weglassung des i, herro (jambe) Kog.'
- hotcha*, burn. Pott, ii. 160.
- hotchawitcha*, hedgehog. Pott, ii. 173: 'Wohl kaum zu Engl. Hedge-hog.' Groome, *In G. Tents*, p. 59, f.n. See Pischel, *Beitrage*, pp. 26-7.





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*mulloo*, die. Pott, ii. 449. The meaning should be 'dead.'

*mumlee*, candle. Diefenbach (*loc. cit.* col. 390) quotes '*mumlì* Rb.' connecting it with Pers. *مو*.

*mush*, man. See also *mushi-staddee*.

*mush*, arm. The final vowel *i* is omitted : cf. *pan* 'river.'

*mushi-staddee*, hat. Kogalnitchan adopted this as two words, *muschi*, *staddi*. Pott, ii. 243 : 'muschi [letzteres unstreitig Mütze, Zipp. mizka] Kog.' It is however by no means *unstreitig*, but rather impossible. See also Pott, ii. 463, s.v. *munéla*, and 458, *mitzka*. The word probably represents *mush*'s *stadi* 'a man's hat.' See also *staddee*.

*muttramangaree*, tea. Pott, ii. 54, misprints this word 'Multra mangaree Thee Rb.' and gives the amazing solution 'Wein auf (tra) Kohlfeuer' ! Later, ii. 440, he attributes this explanation to Diefenbach, recognizes the misprint 'lt verm. falsch st. tt,' and connects the word correctly with *muter*-.

*muy*, mouth.

*nafflee*, be ill. Pott, in the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, iv. pt. 2 (1841), p. 20, took this word for a misprint for *nassli*, a mistake which he repeated in *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 323 : 'Naffli (être indisposé) Kog. scheint bloss verdruckt mit ff st. ss.' The word is, of course, an ordinary Anglo-Romani form of the adjective *nasvalo*.

*nash*, run.

*noc*, nose.

*ou*, I. This may be a mistake for *ov* 'he' ; but more probably it is a misreading of *me* carelessly written, or even perhaps the record of an ill-pronounced English 'I.' See *delman* and *mande*.

*pal*, brother.

*pan*, river. Evidently *pani* 'water,' the final vowel having been lost as in *mush*, 'arm.' See also *tattipani*.

*pan*, tie. Usually *pand*- in Anglo-Romani.

*pange*, four [*sic*]. The final *e* is of course silent. Like Graffunder's children, Clara evidently knew little of figures, for the word means 'five.' Cf. *disk*.

*panuigasha*, handkerchief. Pott, ii. 343, s.v. *panin* : 'Das von Dief. hierher gestellte panuigascha (mouchoir) könnte inzwischen auch Ital. panno einschliessen.' S. and C., p. 161, connect Roberts's word (which they spell *paningosha*) with the Polish or Bohemian loan-word *pandschoche* 'stockings,' which Pott (ii. 348) quotes from Zippel's East-German Romani. The *-ui-* is very probably a misprint for *-in-*, and Gypsies often use kerchiefs or rags instead of stockings, yet this explanation must be taken as somewhat doubtful. The word is evidently the same as the *pangushi* of Borrow's *Lavo-Lil*, and is not without resemblance to S. and C.'s own *póngdëshler*.

*pappin*, goose.

*parrac*, thank. Pott, ii. 355, s.v. *parkirvava* : 'Unstreitig mit Unterdrückung des einen r : Barkaf danken Bisch.; barke Imp. danke Graff. MS., dem parrac Rb. zu entsprechen scheint.'

*pash*, half.

*pe*, drink. Verb-stem : to be read *pī* : cf. *pero*.

*pen*, sister.

*pero*, foot. To be read *pīro* : cf. *pe*.

*pertaley*, fall. Literally 'fall down,' *per tale*. See *chirvitaléy*.

*pibbleraunee*, turkey. Pott, ii. 362, s.v. *pollerdihna*, quotes several words with the same meaning, amongst them Zippel's *pulverdina* 'mit einem bemerkenswerthen v, was viell. um eines Scherzes willen, gls. als wäre es 'verwittwete



Dame' bei Kog. pibblerauni (Dindon; Pred. Gallo d'India) lautet.' Norwood obtained a similar expression for 'turkey' from Mrs. Cooper (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 212): '*táunö ráunÿ*, turkey (from its gait).' It would be natural to assume that the expression is *pivli ráni*, 'widow lady,' but Vaillant in his *Grammaire . . . des . . . Cigains*, 1868, p. 122, has 'PIBL, glouglou;—*araun*, dindon,' so that the beginning of the word, if he can be trusted, may be onomatopœic like the Scots 'bubblyjock.' See also *araunah*.

*pirronit*, open. The *n* is a misprint for *v*, and the 'it' is English: read therefore *pirrov it*, 'open it.' Pott, ii. 113, suspected this, but was uncertain whether Kogalnitchan had taken the word from Roberts. See also ii. 353, s.v. *piro*.

*pisha*, honey. S. and C. also give 'honey' as one of the meanings of *písham*. It is literally a 'flea,' 'fly,' or 'bee.' Pott, ii. 366.

*plashta*, cloak. Pott, ii. 368.

*podo*, full. For S. and C.'s *pórdo*. Pott, ii. 380, s.v. *pcherdo*. Roberts also has *podo* 'fill,' and the word is really a participle 'filled.'

*pofe*, field. The final *e* is silent as in *sofe*, *pange*, and *tofe*. Roberts has also the same word, more correctly, as *poof* 'the earth.' See also *povingra*. Pott, ii. 376.

*pomya*, apple. This word looks like a French or Italian loan-word, in which case it might be possible to offer an explanation of Bryant's *poomingro* 'peach' other than that given in *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 185. Pott, ii. 378, so takes it, not knowing that it was Anglo-Romani, and it is impossible to equate it with S. and C.'s *pobé* 'apples.' Roberts himself adds a note 'Latin, Pomus.—Italian, Pomo.—French, Pomme.' The alternative seems an impossible one,—*purumia*, 'onions.'

*pono*, flour. Smart and Crofton also give this among the meanings of *pórno* (*paúno*) 'white.' Kogalnitchan quotes it incorrectly as the Romani of 'fleur,'—'Fleur, *pano*, *ruzha*'—and Pott, ii. 359, translated 'weisse Rose, indem mir das Komma falsch scheint.' Predari, of course, fell also into the trap and rendered *pano* by *fiore*! See also *apono*.

*poof*, the earth. See also *pofe* and *povingra*.

*poree*, feather. Harriott also gives this form of the more usual *por*.

*pourouchau*, grandchild. Roberts added a note: 'For Grandfather, the Gypsies say, Puradad; for Grandmother, Poureedi; old Father, old Mother. Thus Pourouchau must signify child of age.' Kogalnitchan copied him: 'Petit-fils, *purutschau* mot-à-mot, enfant d'âge.' Pott, ii. 182, compares German *Gross-Sohn*. See also ii. 382.

*povingra*, potatoes. Pott, in the *Hallische Jahrbücher*, iv. pt. 2 (1841), p. 19, quotes this word from Kogalnitchan, who had misprinted it *provingra*, and remarks: 'vielmehr phuvjingeri (Kartoffeln) Zipp. von phû (Erde).' In *Die Zigeuner*, ii. 377, he has 'provingra (pomme de terre) Kog., worin r—trotz poor Irv. s. ob.—wahrsch. Versehen st. o oder h.' It is, of course, the genitive plural of *puv*, and means 'things of fields.' Possibly the final *-a* should here be read *ē*. See also *pofe* and *poof*.

*pratness*, darkness. Perhaps a cant word, although Pott, ii. 274, quoting it from Kogalnitchan, comments thus: 'Pratness (obscurité) Kog., nach Dief. ein entstelltes und hybrides W. [etwa aus Rb., mit. Engl. Suff. und Zig. Präf., vgl. apri rad, auf die Nacht Zipp.?.]'

*puradad*. See under *pourouchau*.

*pusramangara*, fork. Pott, ii. 389, s.v. '*Pchosavav* Ich steche.' It is the genitive plural of an abstract noun, and means 'thing of prickings,' having no connection with *pus* 'straw,' as Borrow asserted it had, s.v. *possey-mengri*, in his *Lavo-Lil*. To judge by the first *r* in Roberts's form, it may be derived from a causative *puserava*, instead of from *pusava* or the usual *pusavava*. S. and



C. have *poóshuméngro*, *pósoméngro* 'fork,' and *poósoméngri*, *póssoméngri* 'spur.' Casca has ridiculously *Tischgebet* ('grace') as translation, intending *Tischgabel*!

*puss*, straw.

*rai*. See *arai*, *derai*, and *hatchaparai*.

*ratee*, night. The Anglo-Romani form.

*raunah*. See *araunah*.

*raunee*. See *pibbleraunee*.

*retza*, duck.

*rigger*. See *auriggu* and *biggerit*.

*rincana*, handsome. The Anglo-Romani *rínkeno*. See also *arincina*.

*riv*. See *ruddee*.

*roi*, spoon.

*romino*, Gypsy.

*rouzha*, flower. S. and C. have this correct form in *roózhaw-poóvaw*, 'flower gardens.' Pott, ii. 359.

*ruddee*, dress. Rather 'dressed,' for, as Pott, ii. 74, points out, it is the past participle of the Anglo-Romani verb *riv-*. See also *auriggu*.

*ruk*, tree.

*sa* and *sai*, laugh. The second may be a misprint for *sal* which is often used in Anglo-Romani for all parts of the verb, although it really means 'he laughs.'

*sap*, snake.

*sappin*, soap. Roberts added 'Latin, Sapo.—Italian, Sapone.—French, Savon.'

*see*, heart.. Usually *zī*.

*sel*, take away. Misprint for *lel*, really third person sing. pres. indic., but used in Anglo-Romani as a verb-stem to be treated grammatically as an English word. Pott, ii. 113. See also *sellitaprá* and *sellitarée*.

*sellitaprá*, take up. The *s* is a misprint for *l*, and the phrase should be *lell it apré*, 'take it up.' The later history of this word is curious. Roberts printed it 'Sellitapra *a*,' the *a*, as in several other cases, being a reference to a footnote stating that 'the Gypsy-girl laid a particular emphasis on the last syllable.' Kogalnitchan tacked this *a* on to the word and gave 'Relever, *sellitapraa*.' Then came Casca who misread the French as *révéler* and remodelled the spelling, a process which produced the puzzling 'Entdecken, *sellitrapaw*.' Pott, ii. 113. See also *sel* and *sellitarée*.

*sellitarée*, take out. As Groome pointed out, *In G. Tents*, p. 84, f.n., this is *lel it avrí*, 'take it out.' Kogalnitchan, as in the previous word, absorbed the reference *a* which Roberts wrote after the word, and altered the spelling to 'Oter, *sellitaria*.' Pott, ii. 113.

*shammut*, chain. In the first edition the word is *shammit*. In the vocabulary it follows immediately after *shello* 'well,' and the two must be taken together. Thus we have *shello shammut* 'well chain'; which, though it shows that the first word means 'chain' or 'rope,' and not 'well,' throws little light on the second. Pott, ii. 231, has *sshamm*, 'near,' but it is impossible here, being doubtful even in its own East-German dialect. *Čomut* is out of the question, and the word is evidently misprinted, though it is difficult to conceive such a combination of errors as would derive it from *Hannik* (well).

*shello*, well. The meaning is 'rope.' See above, s.v. *shammut*.

*sherrou*, head. Pott, ii. 222, quotes 'sherrou Rb.'

*shil*. See *skil*.

*shoc*, cabbage. Pott, ii. 229.

*shoducca*, apron. Pott, ii. 231, quoting incorrectly Kogalnitchan's incorrect *scha-ducca* and not knowing the English source of the word, suggested 'Etwá





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comments : 'vgl. Leibchen, Frz. corset, corselet (Demin. von corps) und Lat. tunica aus Sskr. tanu (Leib).' The word is the plural of Anglo-Romani *trupus* 'body.'

*tud*. See *zud*.

*tuggonso*, sorry. According to Pott, ii. 307, Diefenbach explained this word as an instrumental case ; but the *s* is probably a misprint for *o* (cf. *bars*), and the word is an adjective *tugeno* from *tug* 'sorrow,' 'trouble.'

*tut*, thou. In form the accusative.

*waggaulus*, fair. Pott, ii. 77 : 'Der Endung nach zu<sup>z</sup>schliessen, Lehnwort.' For forms of this word see S. and C., pp. 149-150.

*wallin*, bottle.

*wangisha*, finger. Cf. S. and C.'s *wóngushi*.

*wardo*, cart. Pott, ii. 80.

*wast*, hand.

*wesh*, wood.

*wottogudlee*, shout. Pott, ii. 133. Partly English :—'What a *gudlee* !' See also *gudlee*.

*wudda*, door. Pott, ii. 78.

*wuddress*, bed. Pott, ii. 78. See also *wudrusticheris*.

*wudrusticheris*, bed-time. Two words, of which the first, *wudrusti*, is, as Pott, i. 184, recognised, a dative. See *wuddress*, *cheris*, and *hapristicheris*.

*wusra*, throw down. Kogalnitchan translates 'Abattre.' Pott, ii. 85. See also *wusrit*.

*wusrit*, throw. Pott, i. 344 : 'Etwa I. Praes. u. Imper. mit Engl. it (es) ?' Really 'wuser it.' See also *wusra*.

*yaw*, to walk. A misprint for *Jaw*, the imperative or verb-stem. Pott, ii. 212 : 'Yaw (le promener) Kog. könnte als Imper. zu a v a v II. 52, gehören, oder als I. Sg. Präs. hierher [*dscha*], oder noch bestimmter = Sskr. *yâmi*.' See *jaungkell* and *jodra*.

*yeck*, one. See also Introduction, *yeyeck*.

*yoc*, eye. Roberts adds : 'Latin, Oculus.—Italian, Occhio.'

*yog*, fire. See also *yoggramangee*.

*yoggramangee*, gun. Pott, i. 148 : 'Kog. *yoggramangri* (fusil), das also von einem Abstr. auf ben ausgehen muss, wohl schwerlich zu *dav karie*, ich schiesse. It is the fem. genitive pl. of an imaginary abstract noun *yoggripen* 'firing,' and means 'thing of firings.' See also *yog*.

*yoro*, egg. Pott, ii. 51, said 'gewiss bloss Druckf.,' but the word is, of course, the ordinary Anglo-Romani form.

*zud*, milk. A misprint for *tud*. Pott, ii. 296.

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#### IV.—NORTH AFRICAN GYPSIES

By ARNOLD VAN GENNEP

THERE are some problems, of general bearing, in Northern Africa to which I wish to draw the attention of tsiganologues. When I was in Algeria last summer (1911), Lieutenant Bretzner, a friend of mine who occupies a detached post in the far south,



spoke to me of the peculiar vernacular and the dark type of some tribes in the valley of the Saûra, farther south than Colomb-Béchar. Another friend, the well-known philologist William Marçais, who is *Inspecteur des Écoles Indigènes d'Algérie* and resides in Algiers, told me that, in his official *tournées*, he had often met with people of dark complexion who travel all Northern Africa, including Morocco, from one end to the other. The men are little seen, but the women wander through the villages, settlements, and towns, telling fortunes by means of sugar in the hand. I mentioned the tribes of the Saûra, and he replied that their existence was well known in Algeria.<sup>1</sup>

Since then I have found, in Doutté's excellent work *Religion et Magie dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, Louis Jordan, 1909, pp. 42-48), the following passage, which gives a preliminary account of the ethnological problem :—

‘ Une autre classe à caractère plus ou moins magique est celle des Beni ‘Ades. On nomme ainsi ceux que l'on pourrait appeler des Tsiganes algériens. Ce sont des nomades dispersés dans toute l'Algérie ; les hommes exercent les professions de tatoueurs et de maquignons ; ils circoncisent parfois les jeunes enfants ; les femmes disent la bonne aventure en examinant dans le creux de la main du sucre, des fèves, du marc de café ; ce sont elles que l'on entend crier dans les rues d'Alger “ et guézzana ! ” la “ diseuse de bonne aventure ! ”

‘ Dans la province d'Oran, les Beni ‘Ades sont remplacés par les ‘Amer, très semblables comme allure et comme profession ; seulement chez les ‘Amer ce sont surtout les femmes qui tatouent et les hommes sont maquignons. D'après les Musulmans, ils auraient été maudits par Sidi Ahmed ben Youssef, le célèbre saint de Miliana, qui leur aurait dit : “ si vous mendiez, on vous donnera : mais si vous cultivez, vous serez déçus ! ” Voilà pourquoi, dit-on, ils vivent en mendiant et ne se livrent jamais à l'agriculture.

‘ Toutefois Beni ‘Ades et ‘Amer ne semblent pas se considérer

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Borrow's ‘ Children of the Dar-bushi-fal ’ (*Zincali*, pt. i. chap. 6), of which tribe he said, ‘ If those who compose it are not Gypsies, such people are not to be found in North Africa. ’ They were swarthy, lean and agile, great wanderers, thieves, went about badly dressed though by no means poor, possessed a language of their own, were conjurors and reputed magicians, dealt in mules and donkeys, and told fortunes by means of oil or flour, or by putting shoes in their mouths. Borrow suggested that the test of language should be applied, and in this he was followed by Bataillard, who describes the ‘ Guedzâni ’ and refers to the ‘ Beni Addès ’ in his *Notes et Questions sur les Bohémiens en Algérie* (extrait des *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, séance du 17 juillet 1873).—ED.



comme maudits par le santou de Miliana, car ils sont tous ses serviteurs religieux, et visitent souvent son tombeau. Sont-ce des Tsiganes, des essaims de ce singulier peuple de l'Inde qui se répandit dans l'Europe occidentale au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et qu'on a désigné sous les noms les plus variés ? Le mot *Guezzana* semble le prouver ; il y a en arabe vulgaire un verbe *guezzen*, qui signifie "dire la bonne aventure" et on a pu penser qu'il n'était pas primitif et venait de *Guezzana*. Toutefois, il est plus probable que ce mot vient de la racine arabe *djazala*, être sage, avoir du jugement, la permutation de *djazala* en *gzana*, bonne aventure, étant normale dans les dialectes marocains. Mais on observera à ce propos que le nom des almées égyptiennes (*alimeh*) qui paraissent bien être des Tsiganes, signifie "savante, instruite, sage," comme *guezzana*.<sup>1</sup> On pensera sans doute que nous sommes là encore en présence d'une classe dont les membres sont revêtus d'un caractère magique. D'autre part, le tatouage est essentiellement une opération magique.'

M. Doutté then compares the Beni 'Ades and the 'Amer with the divergent groups discovered in Morocco by Mouliéras—the Zkara, who have special chiefs of a religious character called *rousma* (a word of which the meaning is uncertain), and are also worshippers of the saint of Miliana ; then the Mlaïna, on the banks of the Sébou, who have as chief a *sherif* Miliani ; the Ghouatha, of the same religion as the Zkara ; and the Ghenanema of the Oued Saûra, known for their periodic migrations, in the course of which they visit Miliana, begging and practising petty trades. There must also be similar groups in the Sahara, for instance, the Tafilelt, and in the neighbourhoods of Marrakech and Mequinez. Sidi Ahmed ben Yousef of Miliana is considered a heretical saint by the Musulmans, and seems to be the common patron of all these little scattered groups.

'La question reste ouverte' concludes M. Doutté, 'elle sera résolue si on arrive à prouver que Zkara, Zekkara, n'est qu'une altération analogue à Zingari, l'une des nombreuses formes du mot Tsigane.'

But the passage quoted from Doutté's work gives an account of only one side of the question. I myself chanced upon two others, but the progress of my inquiries into the ethnography of Northern Africa is checked by the presence of some 'unknowns'

<sup>1</sup> Bataillard, *loc. cit.*, discusses the derivation of this name in connection with a paper 'intitulé mal à propos *Origine des mots Zingari et Gipsy*' in the *Magasin Pittoresque*, June 1872, p. 183.—ED.





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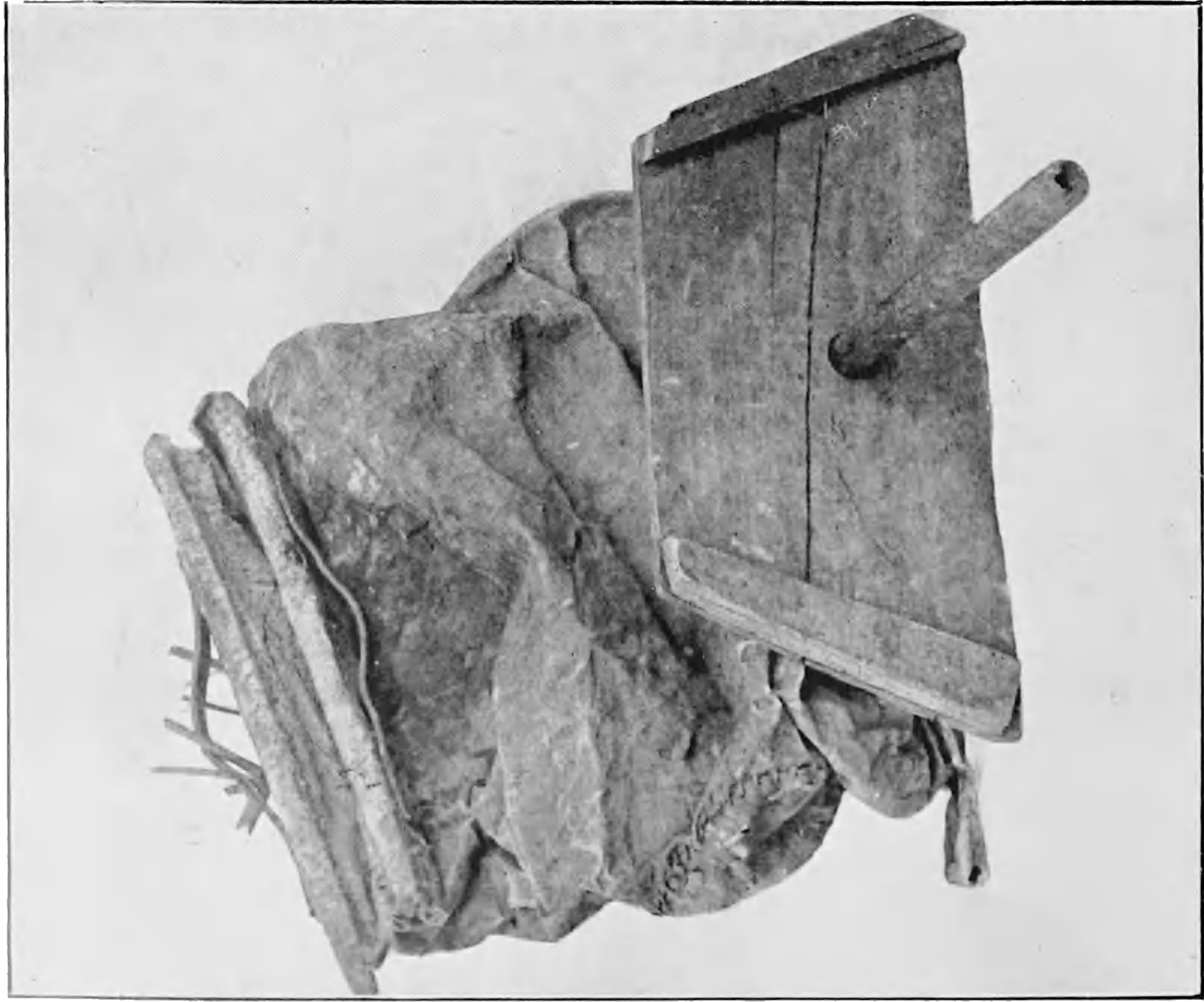
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BELLOWS OF GYPSY COPPERSMITHS



BELLOWS OF THE BENI YENNI (KABYLIE)



in the equation, which can, I think, only be solved with the co-operation of tsiganologues.

The first problem is concerned with tattooing. When we study the various skin-marks which are found on the foreheads, arms, bodies, and legs of North African peoples, we arrive, as I have shown in a paper published in the *Revue d'Ethnographie*,<sup>1</sup> at the following classification:—First we have a series of tattoo-patterns, certainly pre-Mycenæan, which comprises the lozenge, the cross, etc. Such signs are found also on Kabyle pottery. A second class includes naturalistic devices such as the date-palm, various animals (*e.g.* the gazelle), etc. Then comes a third class, found for the most part in Tunis, which is certainly akin to modern Egyptian tattoo-marks. But these Egyptian tattoo-marks, as has been shown by Ch. S. Myers,<sup>2</sup> are in turn akin to Indian tattoo-marks, and are all the work of Gypsies. This fact was already ascertained for Egypt many years ago by Lane; and I think that these signs, when met sporadically in Tunis and Algeria, are a Gypsy importation. I have found no records of such patterns farther west than Kabylie; but, since special inquiries were not made, the silence of documents cannot be used as an argument. I ask then, in the first place, Can any member of the Gypsy Lore Society give me information about Gypsy tattooers in the department of Oran, in Morocco, and in Spain?

The separation of North African culture from that of Spain is historically impossible. The interesting problem is: to what extent are the cultural elements of Northern Africa imports from Spain, and to what extent imports from the East? If Gypsies were involved, the double movement is equally probable.

I pass now to my second problem. I made special inquiries about North African bellows and found two types in use: the one named *râbûz* in Arabic (رابوز) and *tarabust* in Berber, the other named *kîr* (كير) everywhere. The mechanism of the *râbûz* is shown in the opposite plate.<sup>3</sup> It is merely the hide of a

<sup>1</sup> 'Etudes d'Ethnographie Algérienne,' *Revue d'Ethnographie*, 1911, Oct.-Déc., and 1912, Janv.-Février.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. S. Myers, 'Contribution to Egyptian Anthropology: Tatuings,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1902, pp. 82-89 and pl. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> For comparison with this African *râbûz*, a photograph of the goat-skin bellows used, two together, by the 'Galician' Gypsy coppersmiths, who arrived in England in May 1911, is added. It was taken at Beddington Corner by Mr. Fred. Shaw on Nov. 21, 1911, and is the type to which Mr. Augustus John referred in his note 'Pišota' (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 320). Paspati, p. 274, describes the same instrument: 'Derrière, est le soufflet, le *pishôt*, formé d'une grosse outre, fendu en haut; il s'ouvre et se ferme par deux morceaux de bois attachés aux lèvres de l'ouverture. Le



sheep or goat, so sewn together as to have a large aperture at one side and a small one at the other. The *kîr* is our ordinary bellows, triangular in shape, provided with a valve, and held vertically or horizontally according to the nature of the work. My inquiries led me to think that the *râbûz* is the special bellows for copper- and silver-work, but that the *kîr* is used mainly for ironwork. Since working in iron certainly belongs to a different cultural cycle from copper- and silver-work, we must seek for two different centres of diffusion. If we are to accept the theories of Dr. Willy Foy of the Ethnological Museum at Cologne,<sup>1</sup> we must look for

soufflet est mis en jeu, tantôt par la femme, tantôt par les enfants. . . . Les Tch., comme tous les Orientaux en général, travaillent assis.' Bataillard, in 'Les Zlotars' (*Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 2 Série, vol. i. p. 518 et seq.), quotes from a letter of Isidore Kopernicki, dated 3rd November 1877, a description of the bellows used by almost sedentary Gypsy bronze- and brass-founders in the hamlet of Korostowate (commune of Hlinniça, on the right bank of the Pruth in Bukovina): 'Le soufflet est exactement semblable à ceux que j'ai vus chez les forgerons et les chaudronniers ambulants en Roumanie. C'est un sac de cuir grossièrement corroyé. A son fond rétréci en entonnoir est monté un tuyau de bois, long de 15 à 20 centimètres, dont le bec est garni d'un anneau de fer. Les deux bords opposés de la large entrée du sac sont fixés à deux bâtons de bois, qui, étant appliqués l'un à l'autre ou écartés, ferment et ouvrent le sac. Ces mouvements rythmiques sont exécutés de la main droite, dont les doigts passent dans les deux anses de cordon ou de courroie attachées au milieu de chaque bâton. Pour employer le soufflet aux opérations qui seront décrites plus loin, on fixe le tuyau horizontalement, comme il sera expliqué, le fond du sac reposant à terre. En ouvrant le sac et en l'élevant, l'ouvrier le remplit d'air; et ensuite, en le fermant et en l'abaissant avec une certaine force contre terre, il produit dans le tuyau un fort courant d'air, comme celui qui s'échappe d'un soufflet ordinaire. Ce soufflet sert en même temps aux Tsiganes de sac de voyage, dans lequel ils portent tous leurs outils, matériaux et provisions. Ce sac est fait tout d'une pièce: on écorche un veau ou un mouton, en partant d'une incision circulaire faite autour du thorax de l'animal, juste au-dessous des aisselles; sans léser la peau, on l'écorche jusqu'aux genoux et aussi loin que possible sur la queue. On fait corroyer cette peau, tant bien que mal, pour la rendre assez souple; on lie hermétiquement les deux ouvertures à l'endroit des jambes, qui forment deux appendices latéraux en cul-de-sac; on fixe le tuyau de bois dans l'ouverture médiane à l'endroit de la queue; on applique les deux bâtons à l'entrée du sac, et le soufflet est fait.' The plate includes a picture of the bellows. The latter part was translated into German by Prof. Richard Andree in his *Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern*, 1884, p. 83. With regard to the bellows of vagrant coppersmiths, Bataillard adds a footnote: 'J'ai décrit ce soufflet dans une communication intitulée: *Sur le mot zagaie . . . et sur le nom du soufflet de forge primitif* (voir *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie*, séance du 21 mai 1874, p. 409-412). Mais les Caldarari emploient souvent deux de ces soufflets à la fois, en les faisant fonctionner alternativement à droite et à gauche, de manière à produire le jet continu du soufflet de forge, ce que ne paraissent pas faire les Zlotars.' The 'Galician' Gypsy coppersmiths, mentioned above, used two bellows in this way, and the air-pipe was of metal, not of wood. Students of Gypsy bellows are referred to the description quoted by Wiener from the *Voyage de Jacques le Saige* (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 6, footnote 3), to Arnold von Harff's account (*ibid.*, p. 64), and to Henri van Elven's article on Belgian Gypsies (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 134-142 and 232-238).—ED.

<sup>1</sup> W. Foy, 'Zur Geschichte der Eisentechnik, insbesondere des Gebläses,' *Ethnologica*, vol. i., Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1909, pp. 185-222, and supplements in *Globus*, vol. 97, 1910, pp. 142-144.





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name of the whole instrument, but also the names of each of its parts. The forms and names of bellows used among Spanish and Portuguese Gypsies would be of special interest.

The hypothesis towards which I incline is that copper- and silver-work in Northern Africa are Gypsy importations, it may be from India and Persia, through Egypt, or it may be through Hungary, Central Europe, and the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

## V.—MARRIAGE OVER THE BROOMSTICK

By M. EILEEN LYSTER

‘WE were married in Roman fashion; that is, we gave each other our right hands, and promised to be true to each other.’ So Ursula told Borrow in the course of the conversation held beneath a hedge, and her account of a Gypsy wedding is that usually given by the *Romanē* when questioned on their marriage customs. Nevertheless there has always been a widespread belief among the *gâjē*—though little evidence has ever been produced in its support<sup>2</sup>—that this plighting of troth was formally ratified by jumping over a broomstick.

*barban*, the Spanish-Romani equivalent of *balval* ‘wind.’ Bischoff gives *tūcho* also as German Gypsy for ‘bellows,’ but it is really *duxo* ‘breath’: possibly Ješina’s Bohemian-Romani *ducos* is a misprint for this word. The word *kuschnja*, which Pott attributes to Kraus at ii. 125, and to Zippel at ii. 306, is probably the plural of Liebich’s *tuschni* ‘bottle,’ Anglo-Romani *tušni*, *kušni*, ‘can,’ ‘basket,’ ‘faggot’; and may be a participle of *kuš-* ‘to flay,’ meaning originally a ‘leather bottle’ or ‘wine-skin.’ The Scandinavian, Polish, and Russian Gypsy words for ‘bellows’ I have been unable to find; and Mr. Arthur Thesleff tells me that there is none in Finnish-Romani. For Asiatic-Romani Paspatis gives ‘*Korik*, (As.) Soufflet. Tr. كوركى *keuruk*, soufflet de forge’; and Professor R. A. S. Macalister writes that the Syrian Nawar, who are the only smiths in Palestine, besides an expressive onomatopœia, *pūf-keri* ‘the puff-maker,’ use *kūr*, presumably the same word as the African *kîr*. Finally M. van Gennep himself points out that Major P. Molesworth Sykes, in his ‘Anthropological Notes on Southern Persia’ (*Journ. of the Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxii., 1902, p. 348), gives *dam ahengari*, which he describes as the Persian term, although, as stated in the text, the usual word in Persia seems rather to be *kîr*.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Should any members of the Gypsy Lore Society wish to send answers which, by reason of the number of illustrations or for other causes, cannot be printed in their own Journal, I should be glad if they would forward them to me at the Villa Flamande, Bourg-la-Reine, Seine, France, for publication in the *Revue d’Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, of which I am editor. I wish to express my hearty thanks to the Editor of this *Journal* for the most valuable footnotes he added to the text.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 343.



Now one day two years ago Siani Wood<sup>1</sup> was dictating to me in Welsh Romani. The folk-tale she was telling will worry any folklorist who tries to fit it neatly into a tabulated group of stories, for it is only a palimpsest where the ancient plot can be but dimly discerned beneath the extraneous incidents superimposed upon it by the narrator.<sup>2</sup>

‘He called his daughter, “Go, bring me two branches of broom.” She went and brought them to him. He threw them down before the lady’s feet. He took her by the hand and together they leapt over them. Thus were they married in his fashion.’ [*T’ o dūi oxtilé pārl ’éndi tā roberdé sus-lē aré peskō drom.*]

The tale wandered on, I almost feared to stop Siani and ask her about the broomstick marriage lest she should deny her knowledge. But presently she brought me some dinner, and while we were sharing it I spoke:

‘Why, my child, have I never told you about that before? Yes, sure, it has been done, and I know those that have done it too.’

She pointed towards her husband, who lay sleeping a little distance away from us, and whispered in Romani:

‘His mother would be married in no other way, and she was following the fashion that her mother and her grandmother had followed before her. [*Fededér kamélas o Romanō drom sār lakī purī dai, tā dai, kedé ’lan lati.*] And just so did our dear Lord when He was on earth.’ She nodded emphatically, ‘*Aua, fēth, čai.* And in those days husbands and wives lived together for years without quarrelling and reared a road-full of children. [*Liné drom pardō tiknē opré tā jidé kitanés bēršéndi tā bēršéndi tā kekār činérénas.*] “Ye two fight day after day, ye are never done,” the old woman would say to me when Howell and I fell out; “hadst thou followed the Gypsy custom it might have been better with

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Sampson’s pedigree of the ancestors of Matthew Wood, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 370.

<sup>2</sup> It can be seen, however, that it belongs to the large group of tales founded on the theme of Grimm’s ‘Robber Bridegroom’ or the English ‘Mr. Fox.’ Siani duplicated the characters in a curious manner, making twin heroines and two villains; each pair passed through somewhat similar adventures, and the sisters were happily reunited at the close. ‘Mr. Fox’ would seem to be a favourite theme among the Gypsies. Groome (*Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 168-175) gives versions from Poland and Hungary besides one told to Dr. Sampson by Matthew Wood. Dr. Sampson has since heard two other variants, both distinctive and beautiful, one of which appears to be the story Siani had in mind when she patched together her rambling composition.



thee [*te 'ves te kes ō Romanō drom fededēr avésas*], but nowadays there is no Gypsy law left in any of your hearts." And once I asked her, "*Eī dādē!* what then was your custom?" And she answered, "The lad would twist thee a ring of rushes.<sup>1</sup> Then ye would tell the oldest man present that ye wished to wed, and he would go himself and cut two long branches of broom and lay them on the ground. Ye two would clasp hands and leap backwards and forwards over the sticks. [*Tumē dūī te oxtén vast tã vast kitanés pārl akála dūī košta aṅlé tã pâlē.*] And lastly the old man would put the ring half-way upon thy finger and thy husband would push it down into its place."'

'Did she tell you anything more?'

'There was no more. There was a feast, and every one would give the young ones a kettle or a blanket, or what they could. But that is as it might be to-day.'

In the summer of 1910 I met Eldorái,<sup>2</sup> the eldest of 'Taw's' children. A little squarely built, grey-headed old woman, she seized my hand and danced up and down in delighted welcome the second time I visited her; on the first occasion I was of course greeted cautiously, with reserve befitting the reception of a stranger.

'I want to be out on de roads again; I feel it inside me, here, . . . dere are none of de old *Kâlē* left now, we are all mixed up wid de *gâjē*.<sup>3</sup> Look at my childer, see *her*,' and she pointed to one of her daughters, a depressed looking young woman who sat sulkily in a distant corner, 'why, she does not know as much *Romanī* as you do . . . de old people wouldn't let no *gâjē* come anear dem.

'De marriage over de broom? You ask me 'bout dat? 'member I never seed it done myself, but I've heer'd my mother talk 'bout it. De old gran'father, he held de stick, dis way [one end resting on the ground], den de "bride's girl" jumped over it, an' den de bridegroom, den de bride, an' last de "bridegroom's man."'

<sup>1</sup> *Vaṅuṣtrī kedī paburnātē*, 'the ring was made from a rush.' According to Siani the marriage ring must be made of 'what God has growed from His earth.' As soon as possible this is replaced by a gold ring, bought with money earned partly by the husband and partly by the wife, which, being the fruits of their united labour, 'binds them together right.' The remains of the rush ring are treasured by the wife as a protection against evil.

<sup>2</sup> See Matthew Wood's pedigree, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Eldorái is herself a prime offender. Married successively to a Welshman and an Irishman, I believe that the greater part of her life has been passed in a house, out of hearing of the *Romanī* tongue.





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VI.—OLD WARNING-PLACARDS FOR GYPSIES<sup>1</sup>

By RICHARD ANDREE

THE museum of the ancient free town of Nördlingen, under the direction of Professor Ludwig Mussnug, the town archivist, is rich in materials for the history of civilisation. On the occasion of a visit to it, I found the two warning-placards for Gypsies of which photographs, about a third the original size, are given opposite. Both are painted on tin (*Blech*), and are, unfortunately, not quite perfectly preserved—their meaning, however, would be sufficiently obvious, even if the explanatory inscriptions did not declare it. Since such warning-placards have been but rarely preserved, I believe that a reproduction of them will not be out of place here.<sup>2</sup>

The placards date approximately from the year 1700, and give a vivid picture of the short shrift then given to these troublesome people. The first shows a Gypsy, with his back bared to the rod, driven to a gallows, on which, as example and warning, one of his companions already hangs. The inscription reads: ‘Punishment for Rogues and Gypsies’ (*Jauner u. Zigeiner Straff*). The gallows figures also in the second tablet, but here the punishment is also extended to a woman, who, with the upper parts of her body naked, is being driven off by flogging. Here the legend explains: ‘Penalty for Gypsy men, women, and . . . who are found in the country’ (*Straff der im Land betretenen Zigeiner Zigeinerin und . . .*).

The place of origin of these placards is one of the most checkered regions in the whole German Empire, a region where the

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Königlichen Sammlung für deutsche Volkskunde zu Berlin*, Bd. iii. Heft 4, 1911, pp. 198-200, and revised by the author. The original title was ‘Alte Zigeunerwarnungstafeln.’

<sup>2</sup> Heister (*Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen*, 1842, p. 106) records that in Prussia, in the time of Friedrich I., ‘Ueberall an der Grenze wurden Galgen mit der Inschrift errichtet: “Strafe des Diebs- und Zigeuner-Gesindels, Manns- und Weibspersonen,”’ perhaps referring to such pictures. Pischel (*Beiträge*, 1894, pp. 7-8) states, on the authority of a Rescript of Karl VI., dated at Vienna, 26th October 1717, that *Tafeln*, forbidding Gypsies to enter, were put up at the boundaries of Bohemia and Silesia. Brepohl (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 156) quotes an enactment of the *Ober-Rheinische Kreis*, dated 10th April 1711, which provided that ‘in jedem Lande auf denen Strassen Gränzen besondere Stock mit angeschlagenen Blechen & darauf gemalten Zigeuner samt einer hinter sich gehenden in Händen habenden Ruthen und der Unterschrift Zigeuner Straff aufgerichtet werden sollen.’ This explains the *Zigeunerstock* mentioned by Brepohl earlier in his note, and perhaps the ‘Gypsy-poles’ of Pischel (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 298).





**EIGHTEENTH CENTURY GYPSY WARNING-PLACARDS**

*(From the Schloss Harburg, Nördlingen)*









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for ever from all his territories. If they returned the other ear was also to be cut off, but the adults were to be executed.<sup>1</sup>

In Prussia, at that time, outlawed (*vogelfrei*) folk were not more mildly treated than in Austrian territory, as an edict of Friedrich Wilhelm I., dated October 5, 1725, testifies. According to it, Gypsies who were found in the royal Prussian jurisdiction, and were over eighteen years old, were to be punished with the gallows, without distinction of sex.<sup>2</sup>

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## VII.—O BOVEDANTŪNA: A TALE IN FRENCH ROMANI

Communicated by AUGUSTUS E. JOHN

And Edited by ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

THE Gypsy, Baukols by name, from whom I obtained the following specimens of French Romani had travelled from his headquarters at Nice to Martigues, where I came across him in the summer of 1910. His object in thus wandering so far from his usual haunts was to visit the grave of a deceased relative. He has no connection with the families of de Barre and Larivière whom I had already met, and his dialect is less pure than theirs. He appears to have lived much in the north of Italy, and his early wanderings in America and other countries have doubtless tended to multiply the grammatical depravities with which his speech abounds: but the impatience with which he dictated the story of *O Bovedantŭna*, rendering the scribe's task one of unusual difficulty, must account for many of the errors and obscurities of that narrative.

I found the family one evening with their van and horse encamped by the public wash-house on the outskirts of Ferrière, the men busy classifying a vast collection of old leather, and the women occupied with the preparation of supper. They were not unwilling to chat with the stranger in their musical and fluent Romani, and I returned the next morning to forgather with the amiable Baukols. While we sat together, there arrived upon the

<sup>1</sup> Schwicker, *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn*, 1883, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of the edict reads: *Edict, dass die Zigeuner, so im Lande betreten werden, und 18 Jahre und darüber alt seyn, ohne Gnade mit dem Galgen bestraffet, und die Kinder in Waysen-Häuser gebracht werden sollen. De dato Berlin, den 5. October 1725. Alten Stettin. Gedruckt bey Johann Spiegeln, Königl. Preussis. Pommers. Regierungs-Buchdrucker.*



scene a guardian of the town, his face aflame with the resentment which the spectacle of poverty, real or apparent, ever arouses in the official mind. With violent gestures he bade my friends begone. Baukols without excitement replied that he was encamped on the *commune*, that he had certainly no intention of taking up his permanent residence in so poor and uninteresting a neighbourhood, and would be moving on in due course; but that in the meanwhile he wanted no interference from anybody. Far from being mollified by this response, the *jūkakero* turned away in a great fury, waving his arms, fulminating against the whole race of Romanichels, and giving till mid-day as the limit of municipal grace.

After this pretty scene we went into the town, and at a *café* table I hurriedly took down the tale of *O Bovedantūna*, which follows, and is the second folk-tale in the French Gypsy dialect to be recorded, the first being *La bella Chiavina*, taken down by Bataillard many years ago, in 1850. A. E. J.

Most of the peculiarities noticed in Bataillard's tale recur in *Bovedantūna*. *Ba* is the word used for a father, *Sinti* for a Gypsy family, though *hauptmano* seems to have given place to another loan word *šefo*. Affixed *-lo*, *-li*,<sup>1</sup> are used as freely as in *Chiavina*; and there is the same mixture of Italian, German, and French loan words. A like inconsistency prevails in the treatment of *s* between vowels, forms such as *kar(e)sa* and *veia* occurring in the same sentence. Similarly *(i)si*, 'he is,' is variously represented by *is*, *i* and *ki*, while *Chiavina* has *si* and *hi*. Do these variations point to a mixture of dialects? The dialect, as spoken by this family at any rate, has considerably deteriorated. It seems to be going the way of English Romani, and gradually losing its sense of gender and declension. *Kava* is generally used for the feminine,<sup>2</sup> *leskero* for 'her,' and *yov* once in place of *yoi*, which does not occur. *Čai* is never declined; the verbs *pen* and *risponder* are followed by the Nominative instead of the Dative<sup>3</sup>; the Ablative in *-sa* apparently has usurped the place of the Locative: *tutar* is used as a Dative (l. 137): and prepositions are

<sup>1</sup> They are sometimes separated from the verb and affixed to the reflexive pronoun; e.g. lines 6, 50, 52, 74, 121, 126.

<sup>2</sup> But *'kaya* in line 29. Apparently this is the case in Finnish Romani; cf. Thesleff, p. 119, and Bourgeois, *Esquisse d'une grammaire du Romani Finlandais* (Torino, 1911), p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Occasionally the preposition *ke* is used; e.g. lines 76, 78, 103.



gradually ousting case-endings. There are also some very strange verbal forms and usages. *Rakerdan* (l. 111) occurs as a 3rd person plural. The uninflected root seems to be used in the phrases *ker 'vela-li* (l. 91), *ker 'veli* (l. 104), and *te ker pa-lū* (l. 121): and whether forms such as *kerli* (ll. 88, 106, 113), *kameli* (l. 88), *leli* (ll. 92, 98) are intended to be mere variants of *kerela*, *kamela*,<sup>1</sup> *lela*, shortened forms of *kerela-li*, *kamela-li*, *lela-li*, or an uninflected root with affixed *-li*, I cannot venture to suggest. *Pili* (l. 1), if it is a verb at all, and *χalū* (l. 98), which seems to have a passive sense, are even more extraordinary. E. O. W.

- (1) *jas<sup>2</sup> pili e bešiali andri ye stanya*. (Let us) go . . . the beasts in a stable.
- (2) *ja róda ye pisle χaben te χas*. Go seek a little food to eat.
- (3) *'kova dives avela-lo tattoben*. To-day there will come heat.
- (4) *i junari kurena pen-le dino kuraben*. The soldiers fight a fierce battle.
- (5) *kame te urtes andr'o panin?* Do you wish to jump in the water?
- (6) *čindas pes-lo peskro musi*. He cut his arm.
- (7) *kamian te keles*. You wished to dance.
- (8) *kamiam te kelas*. We wished to dance.
- (9) *nai buriben rakar'na būt*. The people don't talk much.
- (10) *java andr'o foro da Salon te 'čav ye semana, štor ou panš divesa*. I am going to the town of Salon to stop a week, four or five days.
- (11) *mo pral bičerela manga ye lettra k'o foro*. My brother will send me a letter to the town.
- (12) *si štik te 'vav pale*. If I can return.
- (13) *o kova kuč ande 'kava foro*. Things are dear in this town.
- (14) *o kova kuč, nasti jivios*. Things are so dear one could not live.
- (15) *jivios misto andre akava tem*. I could live well in this country.
- (16) *dava manga sovel te na trompava tut*. I swear I will not deceive you.
- (17) *giás te sovel peska telal i ruk*. He went to sleep under the tree.
- (18) *biš oxto berš*. Twenty-eight years.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *kameli-li* (l. 92). *Raka-lū* (l. 80), *raká-li* (l. 84) are equally puzzling.

<sup>2</sup> *ǰ* is used for the English *j* sound.





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- (49) *akava čai ke trasela-lū ke peskro ba ke te marelas ni gaio.*  
 (50) *A forza ke 'kava čai priavela les mūkias pes-lo te perno(?).*  
 (51) *Allora ye dives u čavo būterdas-lū i gabia ta dias lumpi*  
 (52) *akave čai po te riven(?) pes-li e te ŷan-ni vek sal i dui.*  
 (53) *Ye kopu ridi, o čavo ŷas-lū te dikél-lū si na is kek trūyal du*  
 (54) *čatolu du krali.*

This youth here was the servant of a prince [who had put his daughter] into a den of lions. One day this girl says [to] this youth:—‘If you wish, one day when my father is away at the little town,<sup>1</sup> a mile<sup>2</sup> from here, we will go both of us, since you tell me that you [are a] Gypsy. We will go away from here, we will find your relations and live all together. So my father will not know where I am for him.<sup>3</sup> And later we will see what we can do.’ Bovedantuna answers this girl that he is afraid that her<sup>4</sup> father would slay them both. Compelled by the girl’s prayers, he let himself. . . . Then one day the youth opened the den and gave linen [to] this girl for to clothe herself and that they go away both of them. Once she was clothed, the youth went to see if there is not any one around the castle of the king.

*Palal ŷién-li pinga vek sal i dui. Kerden-*

- (55) *li plus bût da biš kilometri andro ye veš. Lačen ye puri*  
 (56) *mago ke pīryavdas-li. O Bovedantūna penela-li aĵal:—*  
 (57) *“Kai ŷaia, mro čavo?” “Ĵava andre mo kher.” I puri*  
 (58) *penela les:—“Na ŷa, mo čavo; car o krali kerdas te ŷal-lu*  
 (59) *sa peskri ŷunari trūyul tro kher da tro ba.” O čavo ŷala-lo*  
 (60) *pale ye vaver rig; lačela-lū o čavo da o ba du prince ke*  
 (61) *kamelas-lū i čai. Allora 'kala Sinti ūrtién 'pre i men du*  
 (62) *Bovedantūna da di čai; da ŷieni t'o pengro čatolo. Palal o*  
 (63) *Bovedantūna ridas pes-lo da ŷunari, ta lias ye grai da*  
 (64) *ŷunari pesal(?),<sup>5</sup> ta ŷias-lu d'anglan o čatolo du krali; ta*  
 (65) *pendas-lu aĵal:—“Si kameha tri čai, il faut que tu 'ves te*  
 (66) *kurés mansa.” Palal u krali penela-lu o Bovedantūna:—*  
 (67) *“Ten manga mo si kašpidal<sup>6</sup> mri čai.” O čavo risponde-*  
 (68) *vela-lū kai “I tiri čai kela mistos, car ye ba sar tu na*  
 (69) *meritaveia de te 'čes 'pre i čik; car is trop so kerdan okava*  
 (70) *čai. Da tiri čai i la k'o kher du princū; ta 'kana kamaia*  
 (71) *tro čatolo ta sa tro kova.” Ū krali penela-lū o Bovedan-*  
 (72) *tūna ke dela les bût love, mek ke<sup>7</sup> te 'čel-lu trankilo. O*  
 (73) *Bovedantūna rispondavela-lu ke na kamela-lū či lestra.*

<sup>1</sup> For this strange use of the instrumental, cf. l. 94, o princu *kher'sa bcšel-lū*.

<sup>2</sup> I translate *ma* as though it were ‘*mīa*.’

<sup>3</sup> Cf. l. 119. Explained as ‘*où qu'il est*,’ in the latter passage.

<sup>4</sup> The reflexive seems to be misused here. Cf. ll. 129-31.

<sup>5</sup> Read *peske*?

<sup>6</sup> Read *Pen manga mot sik, ašpidel*?

<sup>7</sup> Read ‘*mais que*’?



- (74) *Kamela-lū sar peskro mištipen. Kūren pen-le. O Bove-*  
 (75) *dantūna mar'la-lu o krali.*

Afterwards they went away both of them. They did more than twenty kilometres in a wood. They find an old witch who was walking. [To] Bovedantuna she says thus:—‘Where are you going, my child?’ ‘I am going to my house.’ The old woman says to him:—‘Go not, my child; for the king made that he went with<sup>1</sup> his soldiers round your house, [the house] of your father.’ The youth goes back another side; he finds the youth and the father of the prince who loved the girl. Then these Gypsies threw themselves upon the neck of Bovedantuna and of the girl; and they went to their castle. Then Bovedantuna clothed himself as a soldier, and took a horse of a soldier, and went in front of the castle of the king; and he spake thus:—‘If you want your girl, it is necessary that you come and fight with me.’ Then the king says [to] Bovedantuna:—‘Tell me, quickly, does my girl weep (?)’ The youth answers that ‘Your girl is doing well, for a father like you does not deserve to stay on the earth; for what you did [to] that girl is too much. And your girl is there in the house of the prince; and now we want your castle and all your things.’ The king says [to] Bovedantuna that he will give him much money, but that he keep quiet. Bovedantuna answers that he does not want anything from him. He wants all his fortune. They fight. Bovedantuna kills the king.

- ’*Vela-lu pale k’o princo. Penela*
- (76) *les k’o princo:—“O krali ki-lū mulo; ta ’kena ki-lu bisogno*  
 (77) *te žal-lū adoi au čatolo di princesesa te lel-lū sar o mištipen.”*  
 (78) *O princū trašiás-lu. Penela k’o Bovedantūna ke ker’lás pes*  
 (79) *mistos te žal-lū yov. Allora o Bovedantūna rispondavela-lū*  
 (80) *ke yov ke pour ’kova kov’akai ke naštik raka-lū, car is-lū ye*  
 (81) *simple cavaliero; car is būt officieli andré čatolo di prince-*  
 (82) *sesa, e ke partretise (?) ke štik marén les. “Da sa i žunari*  
 (83) *naštik ’ven andr’o čatolo di princesesa, e dans ’kava momentu*  
 (84) *šti maren ma. I tū mosi tū ke manges te raká-li tūsa, ou*  
 (85) *si kamela-li pandra i guera, ou si kamela-li te del-li peskri*  
 (86) *čaj ta o mišipen ke ’vela tūka.”*

He comes back to the prince. He says to the prince:—‘The king is dead; and now it is necessary that he goes there to the castle of the princess to take all the fortune.’ The prince was afraid. He says to Bovedantuna that he would do well to go himself. Then Bovedantuna answers that for this matter here he cannot talk, for he is a simple cavalier; for there are many officials in the castle of the princess, and that it was possible that they would slay him. ‘And all the soldiers cannot go into the castle of the princess, and in that moment they may kill me. And you must beg that she speak with you [and say] whether she wants war again, or whether she will give her child and the fortune that it come to you.’

<sup>1</sup> Here and in l. 104, *sa* or *sar* seems to be used as a preposition = with. This use is attested by Borrow’s Spanish and English Gypsy vocabularies, by Smart and Crofton, and by Leland; and it is accepted by Miklosich (*Mundarten*, xi. 2), on the analogy of the similar use of *ke* and *te* both as prepositions and suffixes or postpositions. But it is contested by Dr. Sampson (*J. G. L. S.*, i. 95). Here Dr. Sampson suggests it might bear its ordinary sense of ‘all,’ if one assumes that *žunari* is left uninflected as being a borrowed word. Colocci, p. 364, gives *su*, ‘with.’



O princu *ĵala-lu* accom-  
 (87) pagnado de cavaliere *Bovedantŭna* d'anglo o čatolo di  
 (88) *kraliča*, ki *peskri* *kŭnyada*. *Mangela-li* so *kameli* te *kerli*.  
 (89) *I kraliča* *rispondavela-li* k'avant te *dikel-li* *peskri* *čai andré*  
 (90) *ye dini* *rasa* ke *marden* *pengro* *kuž pral*, ke *kaméla-li* *feder*  
 (91) *te maren* *li sasare*, e *te kaméla-li* ke *ker 'vela-li* *peskri* *pral*  
 (92) *pour* *te leli* *i revánja* di *peskro* *kūž rom*, *ta palal* *kameli-li* *i*  
 (93) *guera* *pandra* *pale*. *O Bovedantŭna* *uštela-lŭ*. *Penela-lŭ*  
 (94) *aĵal*:—" *Sar kaméia*. *Na mangava* *feder*. *O princu* *kher'sa*  
 (95) *bešel-lŭ*"—o *Bovedantŭna*; e *penela-lŭ*:—" *Na raka*. *Na*  
 (96) *pandra* *mo*<sup>1</sup> *rakavava* *me*. *Si kamela-li* *sar* *penava* *me*  
 (97) *'vela* *furnido*." *Yov penela-li*:—" *Avant* *ke* *te 'vel* *furnido*, *faut*  
 (98) *te leli* o *Bovedantŭna* *te* *ke* *te* *χalŭ* *par* *sar* *peskri* *dini*  
 (99) *bešiale* *andro* *peskro* *giardino*." *O Bovedantŭna* *rispon-*  
 (100) *devela-lŭ*:—" *Avant* *te* *tri* *bešiali* *ke* *te* *χan* *man*, *štik* *te* *uštes*  
 (101) *da* *matina*." *O Bovedantŭna* *ĵias-lŭ* *peska* *vek*, *car* *dikias-*  
 (102) *lŭ* o *princu* *na* *iš-lŭ* *kek* *rat* di *χoli*.

The prince goes accompanied by the cavalier Bovedantuna before the castle of the queen to his sister-in-law. He asks what she wishes to do. The queen answers that before she will see her child in a fierce nation which slew her dear brother, she would rather that they kill them all, and that she wishes to make her brother come for to take revenge for her dear husband, and then she wants the war back again. Bovedantuna gets up. He speaks thus:—"As you wish. I ask no better. The prince shall sit at home," [says] Bovedantuna; and he says:—"Speak not. I will not speak again. If she wishes as I say, it will be finished." She (?) says:—"Before it will be finished, she must take Bovedantuna and cause him to be eaten (?) by all her wild beasts in her garden." Bovedantuna answers:—"Before your beasts eat me, you will have to get up in the morning." Bovedantuna went away, for he saw that the prince has not any angry blood.

*Ĵias-lŭ* *vek*; *pendas-lŭ*  
 (103) *aĵal* *k'i* *ĵunari*, *ke* *si* *yov* *mankolas-lŭ*, *ke* *'venas* *sarsare*  
 (104) *nasadé*, " *car* *i* *kraliča* *kamela-li* *te* *ker* *'veli* *peskri* *pral*, *sar*  
 (105) *pengri* *ĵŭnari*, *otene* *li* *i* *revánja* di *pengri* *kova*. *Ta* o  
 (106) *princu* *kamela-lŭ* *te* *kerli* *i* *pasa*"—*I teleni*<sup>2</sup> o *Bovedantŭna*:  
 (107) —" *Pour* *sar* *pengri* *kova*, e *sar* *dikiúm* *trahiso* *te* *ke* *dióm* *i*  
 (108) *čai*, *ĵava* *veko* *te* *dikav* *sar* *kamela-li* *te* *ker'la*, *car* *yom*  
 (109) *našado*. *Ĵa* *te* *roda* *mangi* *vaver* *māl*. *'Vava* *pale* e *ĵanav*  
 (110) *si* *gaignavavu*. *'Vela* *sar* *minga*."

He went away; he spake thus to the soldiers, that if he failed they would all be lost, 'for the queen wishes to make her brother come, with their soldiers, to take revenge for their affair. And the prince wants to make peace.' And Bovedantuna

<sup>1</sup> Read 'mot'? The following word may be a mistake for *rakarava*.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'e *penela*.'





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- (131) 'Vién pale ke pengro kher da o princo. Sundás-lu k'o  
 (132) Bovedantŭna ki ker'las-lŭ i briganti, te mardas-lu peskri  
 (133) kŭnyada. Kamias te del-lŭ love ta mištipen. Yov rispon-  
 (134) dadas-lŭ ke sŭfferdas-lŭ dosta argal du čiro ke 'čias-lŭ linča.  
 (135) Akana kamela-lŭ sar, ou autrement "sar tu meripen ou  
 (136) miro." O princo rispondavela:—"Mangava tut excusa.  
 (137) Le u čatolo di Contediča; dasa les tutar te tu mukes mi  
 (138) geštil, car mardal dosta da maren." Yov so ker'la-lu? Jal  
 (139) peska vek ke peskri māl ta 'vena pale ū čatolo. Roma-  
 (140) davena pen-le k'i čai i Contediča, ta 'čena k'u čatolo sa  
 (141) kitané k'i briganti.

They made conditions and then they went before the castle of the queen, and took all her (?)<sup>1</sup> rich things, Contediča's<sup>2</sup> things, and her money, and slew her. They went back to their house, [the house] of the prince. He heard what Bovedantuna was doing [with] the brigands, that he slew his sister-in-law. He wished to give money and fortune. He answered that he suffered long enough when he abode with them. Now he wants all, or else 'all your death or mine.' The prince answers:—"I beg your pardon. Take the castle of Contediča; we will give it to you that you leave me quiet, for you have slain plenty of men (?)." What does he do? He goes away to his friends and they come back [to] the castle. They marry themselves to the girl [of] Contediča, and they stop at the castle all together with the brigands.

### VOCABULARY.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| a, by, 50. (It.)                                      | andre, in, into, 15, 57, <i>andré</i> 81, 89,           |
| (accompagnare), accompany, accompagna-                | <i>andri</i> 1, <i>andr'</i> 5, 10, 33, 83, 111,        |
| nado, 86. (It.)                                       | <i>andro</i> , 55, 99, <i>ande</i> 13, <i>and'</i> 121, |
| (ač-), stay, 'čava 117, 'čav 10, 'čes 69,             | <i>adré</i> 42.   |
| ačel 125, 'čel 72, 124, 'čaiia 46, 'čenu              | <i>anglan</i> , before, <i>d'anglan</i> 41, 64, 111,    |
| 140, 'čen 22, 'čias 134.                              | 129, <i>d'anglo</i> 87.                                 |
| adoi, there, 77.                                      | ( <i>anre</i> ). See <i>ranie</i> .                     |
| adré. See <i>andre</i> .                              | ( <i>apre</i> ), on, 'pre, 34, 61, 69.                  |
| aǰal, thus, 47, 56, 65, 94, 103. (Cf.                 | <i>argal</i> , before, long (of time), 22, 134.         |
| Engl. Rom. aǰá.)                                      | ( <i>ašpidava</i> , weep?), <i>ten manga mo si kaš-</i> |
| akai, here, 22, 42, 45, 46, 80. (Cf. <i>akavo</i> .)  | <i>pidal mri čai</i> , 67.                              |
| akana, now, 23, 135, 'kena 76, 'kana 70.              | au, to the, 77. (Fr.)                                   |
| akavo, this, 43, 'kavo 42, 127, <i>akava</i> 15,      | autrement, otherwise, 135. (Fr.)                        |
| 49, 122, 'kava 13, 40, 43, 50, 83, 111,               | ( <i>av-</i> ), come, 'vav 12, 'vava 109, 'ves 65,      |
| 'kaya 29, <i>akave</i> 52, 'kala 61, 122,             | 'veia 36, <i>avelu</i> 3, 'vela 75, 86, 91, 97,         |
| 'kavakai 117.   | 110, 123, 'vel 97, 'veli 104, 'vena 139,                |
| ( <i>akova</i> ), that, 'kova 3, 80, <i>akola</i> 22. | 'ven 83, 'vias 118, 'vién 131, 'venas                   |
| allora, then, 51, 61, 79. (It.)                       | 103.  |
| alors, then, 110, 122. (Fr.)                          | avant, before, 89, 97, 100. (Fr.)                       |
| <i>ambrol</i> , pear.                                 | ba, father, 44, 47, 49, 59, 60, 68.                     |
| amo, (?), 112.  | <i>baličo</i> , pig.                                    |

<sup>1</sup> The reflexive form seems to be misused in this sentence. Cf. l. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly not intended as a proper name, but as an irregular diminutive of 'contessa.'



- balovas*, pig's flesh.  
*bar*, stone.  
*Barida*, (? a place-name), 119.  
*baro*, big, 39, *bari vinta*, gale.  
*baχtalo*, happy, 127, *bi-baχtalo* unhappy.  
*bella*, beautiful, 21. (It.)  
*berš*, year, 18.  
*(beš-)*, sit, *bešel* 95.  
*bešiale*, beasts, 99, *bešiali* 1, 100. (It. bestie.)  
*bi-*, without, *bi-baχtalo* unhappy.  
*(bičer-)*, send, *bičercla* 11.  
*bis que*, because, 45. (Fr. *parce que*.)  
*bisogno*, necessity, 76. (It.)  
*biš*, twenty, 18, 55.  
*boriben*. See *buriben*.  
*bravallo*, rich, 130, *bravali*. (Cf. Pott, ii. 416-7).  
*breno*, bran. (Span.)  
*briganti*, brigands, 121, 122, 126, 132, 141. (It.)  
*brišindo*, rain.  
*brolosu*, bridle. (? Corrupted from Italian 'briglia,' diminutive 'brigliozzo.')
*brumsa*, pot. (Cf. Borrow, *Zincali*, *brinsela*, bottle. Possibly from Fr. or Germ. 'Bronze,' brazen thing, or Germ. 'brummen,' hum.)  
*buriben*, world, people, 9, *boriben* 41. (? *bariben* or Germ. Rom. *bolepen*.)  
*būt*, much, 9, 23, 55, 72, 81, *butar*, more, 20.  
*(būter-)*, open, *būterdas* 51. (Cf. Mikl., v. 50, *puter*; vi. 16, *phuter*; 17, *puler*; 32, *putar*; *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 222.)  
*car*, for, 58, 68, 69, 80, 81, 101, 104, 108, 117, 124, 138. (Fr.)  
*cavaliero*, cavalier, 81, 87, 127. (It.)  
*con*, with, 117. (It.)  
*condizione*, conditions, 128. (It.)  
*Contediča*, (? proper name or 'countess'), *passim*.  
*čai*, girl, 43, 49, 50, 52, 61, 62, etc.  
*(čam)*, cheek, *i čamia*, the cheeks.  
*čato*, castle, 129, *čatolo* 62, 64, 71, 77, 81, etc., *čatolu* 54. (Fr.)  
*čavo*, boy, youth, 42, 43, etc., *le čavé* 25.  
*či*, anything, 73, 120.  
*čib*, language, *valčo čib*, French language.  
*čiben*, bed. (Cf. Mikl., vii. 32. Peculiar to western European dialects.)  
*(čigar-)*, quarrel, *čigareni* 30.  
*čik*, earth, 34, 69.  
*(čin-)*, cut, *čindas* 6.  
*čiro*, time, 134, *dino čiro*, bad weather, *lače čiro*, good weather.  
*čoraro*, poor.  
*čurin*, knife. (For the final -n cf. German Rom. Mikl., vii. 39.)  
*da*, of, 10, 59, 63, 101, 131, 138, as, 63. (It.)  
*(da-)*, give, *dava* 16, *dasa* 137, *dela* 72, *del* 85, 133, *dióm* 107, *dias* 51, *diūm sūne* 29. (For this last use cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 245.)  
*da*, and, 60, 62, 70, 82. (Cf. *ta*.)  
*da*, than, 55.  
*dai*, mother, 112.  
*dans*, in, 83. (Fr.)  
*(dar-)*, fear, *dar'na* 20.  
*de*, of, from, by, 39, 41, 43, d' 41, 45, 46, 87, 111, 129. (Fr.)  
*de*, (?), 30, 69.  
*di*, of, 39, 62, 77, 81, 87, 92, etc. (It.)  
*(dik-)*, see *dikav* 108, *dikél* 53, *dikel* 89, *dikaia* 48, *dikiūm* 107, *dikiá'* (= *dikial*) 32, *dikias* 101.  
*dinkla*, grocer. (? Connected with German 'dingen,' to haggle: or a mere abusive term, cf. 'Dingeler,' 'ein groszer unbeholfener Mensch.' A. Berlinger, *Schwäbisch-Augsburgisches Wörterbuch*.)  
*dino*, wild, fierce, 4, *dini* (fem. sing.) 90, (pl.) 98. (An unexampled form of the word. Cf. Mikl., vii. 43, 44. Cf. also s.v. *čiro*.)  
*dives*, day, 3, 43, 44, 51, *divesa* 10.  
*domestique*, servant, 42. (Fr.)  
*dosta*, plenty, 134, 138.  
*drak*, grape.  
*(drom)*, road, *droma* 38.  
*du*, of the, 42, 53, 60, 61, 64, 70, 117, 134. (Fr.)  
*dui*, two, 38, 45, 52, 54, 115.  
*(dūk-)*, hurt, *dūkadal* 37.  
*e*, and, 46, 52, 82, 83, 91, 95, 109, 114, 124. (It. or Fr. Cf. also i.)  
*e*, (?), 45, 121.  
*excusa*, excuse, 119. (It. or Fr.)  
*faut*, is necessary, 65, 97. (Fr.)  
*feder*, better, 90, 94.  
*fenistra*, window. (? It. *finestra*. But cf. *Ješina*, *fenstra*, Thesleff, *frensta*, Mikl., *Mundarten*, ii. 37 (No. 109), 70 (No. 359), vi. 25, 39, and



- Beiträge*, iv. 23, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 223, *filastr*, Constantinescu, p. 111, *feleástra*, p. 46, *feléstra*, and Pischel, *Beiträge*, 30.)
- foro*, town, 10, 11, 13, 33.
- forza*, force, 50. (It.)
- frindo*, foreign, *frindi tema*. (Germ. 'fremd.' Cf. Thesleff, *fremdo*, *frendo*.)
- furnido*, finished, 97. (It. *finito*.)
- gad*, shirt.
- gaignavava*, I shall gain, 110. (Fr. *gaigner*.)
- gairo*, 49, *ni gairo*, both (?).
- gav*, town, *gavesa* 44.
- gavia*, cage, 43, 114, *gabia* 51. (It. *gabbia*.)
- geštil*, quiet, 138. (Germ. 'still' corrupted.)
- giardino*, garden, 99. (It.)
- (*gili-*), sing. *giavel* 41. (For the loss of the *l* cf. German and Spanish Romani. Mikl., vii. 56.)
- glaso*, glass. (Germ. 'Glass'; cf. Ascoli, 134.)
- goni*, sack.
- grai*, horse, 63.
- guera*, war, 85, 93. (It.)
- gūro*, bull.
- gūrūmni*, cow.
- gūstria*, fingers. (For this shortened form, cf. Mikl., vii. 9, who quotes Rumanian, German, and Scandinavian Romani, and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 141.)
- χ will be found at the end of the alphabet.
- i*, and, 84, 106. (? It. Cf. also *e*.)
- il*, it, 65. (Fr.)
- (*ind-*), bring, *injes* 26.
- (*is*), be, *yom* 47, 108, 118, *is* 53, 69, 80, 81, 124, *iš* 102, *i* 70, 126, *ki* 44, 76, *yomes* 127.
- (*ja-*), go, *ja* 2, 58, 109, *java* 10, 39, 57, 108, *jaia* 57, *jala* 59, 86, 110, 112, 120, *jal* 58, 77, 79, 138, *jas* 46, *jas* 1, 45, 53, *jana* 115, *jan* 52, *gial* 33, *giás* 17, *jas* 64, 101, 102, *jién* 54, *jiene* 129, *jieni* 62.
- (*jan-*), know, *janav* 109, *janela* 47, *janel* 120.
- (*živ-*), live, *živios* 14, 15.
- šov*, oats.
- žukakero*, guard. (? = *žukliakero*, son of a bitch; but cf. *shung*, Colocci and Ascoli, 134, 138.)
- žunari*, soldiers, 4, 59, 63, 64, 82, 103, *žunari* 105. (Cf. Colocci and Ascoli 134, 138, *shung*, guard; Borrow, *Zincali*, *jundunar*, and Pott, ii. 172; also the Bulgarian Gypsy *džandári*, which Mr. Gilliat-Smith tells me is from a Bulgarian word 'žandari'; but whether that is derived from French 'gendarme' or Persian 'žān-dar,' 'life-guardsmen,' is uncertain.)
- žüngalo*, ugly, *žüngalo mui*, ugly face.
- žuva*, louse.
- žuvel*, woman, 40.
- kai* (= *ke*), that, 68.
- kai*, where, 47, 57, 118.
- kak*, uncle.
- (*kam-*), love, *kameha* 65, *kaméia* 44, 94, *kame* 5, 27, *kamela* 73, 74, 85, *kaméla* 90, etc., *kameli* 88, 92, *kamaia* 70, *kamelas* 19, 61, *kamelás* 118, *kamias* 133, *lamiam* 8, *kamian* 7.
- kan*, when, 36.
- kapa*, blanket. (Possibly It. 'cappa,' cf. Pott, ii. 100; but cf. also Paspatis's *κίρρα*.)
- (*kar-*), call, *kar'sa* 36, *karela* 126, *karali* 24.
- kas*, hay.
- kašpidal*. See *ašpidava*.
- ke*, that, 44, 49, etc., *ke te* 26, 49, 72 (? = *que*), 97, 98, 100.
- ke*, than, 115.
- ke*, who, 56, 117, 118.
- (*ke*), to, into, at, *k'o* 11, 70, 75, 76, etc., with (?), 141, *ki* 88.
- kek*, any (after negative), 53, 102, 114.
- (*kel-*), dance, *keles* 7, *kelela* 40, *kelas* 8.
- (*ker-*), do, make, *ker* 91, 104, 121, *ker'la* 31, 108, 138, *kela* 68, *ker'li* 88, 106, 113, *keras* 48, *ker'las* 78, 132, *kerdan* 69, *kerdas* 58, *kerden* 54, 128.
- kher*, house, 57, 59, 70, 122, 131, *kher'sa* 94.
- ki*, (?), 132.
- kilometri*, kilometers, 55. (It.)
- kitané*, together, 47, 121, 141.
- klodera*, clothing. (? Germ. *Kleider*.)
- kopo*, time, *ye kopu* 53, *ye kopo* 121. (Apparently peculiar to German Romani: cf. Pott, i. 229; Liebich, p. 142, *koppa*; Von Sowa, *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, p. 43, *kopa*, *kopo*.)





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- 'Narr.' Colocci, however, regards it as a variant form of *nasvalo*. Only found in German, Finnish, and Italian Romani.)  
*(nas-)*, run, *nasel* 35.  
*(nasav-, našav-)*, lose, *našavena* 23, *našado* 109, *nasadé* 104.  
*nasti*, be unable, 14, *naštik* 80, 83.  
*nesla*, ass. (Germ. 'Ein Esel'; cf. Pischel, *Beiträge*, 20, *Esla*.)  
*ni*, them (?), 49, *-ni* 52.  
*(nigav-)*, bring out, *nigadal* 113, *nigadás* 117, *nigavén* 118.  
*niglo*, hedgehog. (Germ. 'Ein Igel'; cf. Pischel, *Beiträge*, 20, *Iklo*.)  
*nivūli*, dull (of weather), 31. (Cf. It. *nubole* and Germ. *Nebel*.)  
*nonna*, grandmother, *kuž-nonna*, grandmother. (It.)  
*o*, the, 5, 11, 13, 14, 48, 53, etc., *u* 51, 66, 71, etc., *i* (fem. sing.) 17, 51, 57, 61, etc., *e* (pl.) 1, *i* (pl.) 4, 38, 45, 52, 54, 82, 115, 132.  
*officieli*, officials, 81. (It.)  
*okava*, that, 69.  
*(ottenere)*, obtain, *otemel*, 105. (It.)  
*ou*, or, whether, 10, 84, 85, 135. (Fr.)  
*oxto*, eight, 18.  
*paba*, apple.  
*pale*, back, 12, 36, 60, 75, 93, 109, 131, 139.  
*palal*, afterwards, then, 54, 62, 66, 92, 129.  
*pana*, pan. (Germ. *Pfann*.)  
*pandra*, again, 85, 93, 96. (Cf. Colocci, pp. 369, 374 (*ritornare*), and p. 383 (Rumelian Gs.), Ascoli, pp. 144-5. Both seem to take it as a form of the reflexive pronoun; but that hardly gives the sense required in this tale, nor in some of the instances they quote. It occurs in Bulgarian Romani: e.g. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 3, l. 7, where it is translated 'yet more'.)  
*pani*, water 39, *panin* 5, 20.  
*panš*, five, 10.  
*papun*, grandfather, *kuž-papun*, dead grandfather.  
*par*, by, 98. (Fr.)  
*(para)*, thousand francs, *šo pare* 6000 fr. (Turkish,  $\delta, \lambda$ ; cf. Paspatis, *pára*, and possibly Engl. G. *bar* and Finnish G. *bar* = 'Mark'.)  
*paramisi*, story.  
*partretise*, be possible, 82. (? It. *potesse*.)  
*pasa*, peace, 106. (It. *pace*.)  
*pasteka*, melon.  
*patria*, leaf.  
*(pen-)*, say, *penava* 96, *pene* 45, *penela* 43, 56, 58, 66, 71, etc., *pendas* 65, 102.  
*(pen-)*, wheel, *štar penia*, four wheels (? lit. four sisters).  
*(penser)*, think, *pensevela* 113. (Probably French, but cf. Engl. G. *penčava*, and Paspatis's *pintcheráva*.)  
*(per-)*, fall, *pelias* 34.  
*perche*, because.  
*perno*, (?), 50.  
*persigi*, peaches. (It.)  
*pes*, himself, 6, 50, 52, 63, 78, *peska* 17, 101, 128, 139, *peskra* 112, *pen* 4, 74, 140, *pinga* 54, 115, 128, *pa* 121, 126.  
*pesal*, (? *peska*), 64.  
*peskro*, his, her, 6, 49, 74, 92, 99, *peskri* 24, 59, 85, 88, etc., *pengro* 62, 90, 129, 131, *pengri* 23, 105, 107.  
*(pi-)*, drink, *pien* 20, *piena* 20.  
*pili*, (?), 1.  
*(pīr-)*, walk, *pīryardas* 56, *pīrde* mumpers.  
*pirano*, lover, 21.  
*pisla*, a little, 2, 27. (South Germ. *Bissel*, *Bissle*; cf. Pott, ii. 402, and *Predari*.)  
*plaxta*, sheet. (Apparently peculiar to western European dialects, cf. Mikl., viii. 48, and *Predari*.)  
*plus*, more, 47, 55. (Fr.)  
*po*, (? *pour*), 52. (Fr.)  
*poisi*, peas. (Fr.)  
*pour*, for, 80, 92, 107, 124. (Fr.)  
*pral*, brother, 11, 90, 91, 104.  
*(prier)*, beg, *priavela* 50. (Fr.)  
*princesesa*, princess, 77, 81, 83. (It., Fr.)  
*princo*, prince, 75, 76, 86, 131, *princū* 70, 116, *princu*, 94, 102, 106, 119, prince 60. (It., Fr.)  
*(puč-)*, ask, *pučena* 122.  
*puri*, old (woman), 55, 57.  
*pušum*, flea.  
*que*, that, 45, 65. (Fr.)  
*(raka-)*, talk, *raka* (? uninflected form) 80, *raká* 84, (imp.) 95, *rakarava* 96, *rakerela* 123, *rakar'na* 9, *rakerdan* 111.  
*ranie*, eggs. (? metathesis of *anre*; cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 251, *bink*, *kaisli*, for metathesis in this dialect.)



- rasa, race, 23, 90. (It. *razza*.)  
 rat, blood, 102.  
 rat, night, 29.  
 revánja, revenge, 92, 105, revanja, 125.  
 (Fr.)  
 rig, side, 39, 60.  
 (risponder), answer, rispondevela 48, 67,  
 99, 113, 116, rispondavela 73, 79, 89,  
 136, rispondadas 133.  
 (riv-), dress, ridi 53, misto ridi, well  
 dressed, riven 52, ridas 63. (This  
 form of *uri-* is peculiar to Ger-  
 man, Italian—cf. Colocci's *riviben*—  
 and Engl. Romani. Cf. Mikl., viii.  
 89, 90.)  
 (rod-), seek, roda 109, róda 2.  
 roda, wheel. (It. *ruota*.)  
 rom, husband, 115.  
 (romer-) marry, romadavena (Passive)  
 139. (Mikl., viii. 58, 59, only quotes  
 Germ., Scand., and Engl. Romani for  
 this verb.)  
 ruk, tree, 17.  
 rulo, chain.  
 sa, with (?), 59, sar 104.  
 (sa-), laugh, sána 25.  
 salo, axle tree. (It. *sala*.)  
 salvatiku, savage. (It.)  
 sar, all, 46, 68, 74, 77, 98, etc., sa 71,  
 82, 140, sal 45, 52, 54, 115, sarsare  
 103, sasare 91. (For this latter form  
 cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii.  
 244.)  
 sar, as, how, 25, 68, 94, 96, etc.  
 semana, week, 10. (Sp.)  
 serga, sheet. (Germ. *Sarg*.)  
 si, if, 12, 43, 53, 65, 85, 96, 103, 110.  
 (It., Fr.)  
 sik, quickly, ? 67.  
 simple, simple, 81.  
 Sinti, Gypsies, relations, 22, 46, 61.  
 (Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii.  
 244-5.)  
 so, what, 69, 88, 111, 112, 122, 138, sa  
 48.  
 (sov-), sleep, sovel 17.  
 sovel, oath, 16.  
 stadi, hat.  
 stanya, stable, 1. (Only German, Scand.,  
 Finnish, Engl., and Spanish Romani.  
 Cf. Mikl., viii. 68.)  
 streyo, straw. (Germ. *Stroh*.)  
 strinte, stockings. (Germ. *Strümpfe* ;  
 cf. Pischel's *Beitrage* 23, 26, *Strümpfo*,  
 Colocci, *strimpi*.)  
 (suffrire), suffer, sūferdas 134. (It., Fr.)  
 (suiver), follow, suivavava 114. (Fr.)  
 (sūno), dream, sūne 29.  
 šefo, chief, 123, 126, 127. (Fr. *chef*.)  
 šelo, rope.  
 šo, six.  
 šošoi, rabbit, 28.  
 špeku, pig's flesh. (Germ. *Speck*.)  
 šti, be able, 84, štik 12, 48, 82, 100,  
 naštik 80, 83. (For the rather rare  
 form without the negative, cf. Mikl.,  
 vii. 11, 12, Ascoli 147, Borrow *Lavo-Lil*,  
 and Colocci.)  
 štor, four, 10.  
 šukar, fine, 28.  
 šukli, salad. (For the form with *k*, not  
*t*, cf. Rumanian, Hungarian, and Scan-  
 dinavian Romani, Mikl., viii. 75, 76.)  
 (šun-), hear, šundás, 131.  
 ta, and, 47, 51, 63, etc., te 98.  
 tai, and, 123.  
 tardo, late, 48. (It.)  
 tattoben, heat, 3.  
 te, that, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, etc., who, 116.  
 (te), to, t'o, 62.  
 tekla, dish-cover. (Germ. *Decke*. Cf.  
 Thesleff, *tekka*.)  
 telal, under, 17.  
 teleni, (? = *penela*), 106.  
 tem, land, 15.  
 ten, (? = *pen*), 67.  
 tirača, boots.  
 tiro, thy, tiri 68, 70, tro 59, 71, tri 46,  
 65, 100. (Cf. *tu*.)  
 tover, axe.  
 (trahir), betray, trahiso 107, trahido  
 124. (Fr. Italianized.)  
 trankilo, quiet, 72. (It.)  
 (tras-, traš-), fear, trasela 49, trasen 30,  
 trašias 78.  
 (tromper), deceive, trompara 16. (Fr.)  
 trop, too much, 69. (Fr.)  
 trūyal, round, 53, trūyul 59.  
 tsikno, little, tsikni 44.  
 tu, you, 45, 65, 68, 115, 137, tū 84,  
 (Acc.) 37, tut 16, 114, 136, tūka 86,  
 tūsa 84, tutar 137.  
 tu, your, 118, 135. (Cf. *tiro*.)  
 tusni, bottle, 26, also tušni.  
 (urt-), jump, urtes 5, ūrtién 61. (? *uri-*,  
 'fly,' or Fr. *hurter*, 'throw').  
 (ušt-), get up, uštes 100, uštela 93.  
 valčo, French, valčo čib. (Germ. 'Welsh,'  
 cf. Pott, ii. 83.)  
 vangli, earrings. (For this rare form



- cf. Whiter's *vanglé*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 179, and Von Sowa's *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner*, p. 84, *weimga*, from the Waldheim list. *Vangli* is also used by Welsh Gypsies.)
- vav*, other, 39, *vaver* 60, 109, 114.
- vek*, away, 44, 46, 52, 54, etc., *veko* 108. (Germ. weg.)
- veš*, wood, 55.
- vinta*, (li), wind (? pl.), *bari vinta*, gale. (It. vento.)
- virta*, inn (? Germ. Wirthaus. Cf. Von Sowa's *Wörterbuch* 84, Colocci, and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 235, f.n. Predari has the form *wirtus*. But the 'Galician' Gypsies now in England use *birta*.)
- vodro*, bed.
- werdin*, waggon.
- wūdar*, door.
- ye*, a, 1, 2, 10, 11, 26, 42, 43, 44, 53, 55, 60, 63, 68, 80, 90.
- yov*, he, 79, 80, 103, 123, 126, 133, 138, she (?) 97, *les*, (Acc.) 50, 76, 82, 122, 137, *les* (Dat.) 47, 58, 72, 119, *leste* 111, *lestra* 73, *la* 130, *latra* (?) 112, *linča* 124, 134, *lesa* 123.
- zor*, strongly, fast, *nasel-lo zor*, he runs fast.
- zoralo*, strong, *nai büt zoralo*, it is not very strong.
- (*χα-*), eat, *chalū* 98, *chan* 100, *chas* 2.
- χaben*, food, 2.
- χali*, 42. (Probably *krali*, but possibly *χulai*, 'lord,' 'master.')
- χaxni*, fowl.
- χolav*, trousers.
- χoli*, anger, 102.
- (*χοχav-*), lie, *χοχavava*.
- χοχano*, liar.
- χοχaviben*, lie.

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## VIII.—REPORT ON THE GYPSY PROBLEM

By ARTHUR THESLEFF

(Continued from page 107)

FROM statistical material enriched by his own knowledge, the Secretary of the Committee has drawn a map, showing the distribution of the Gypsies—the 1551 persons mentioned above—in Finland.<sup>1</sup> Each Gypsy is represented by a red dot placed in the parish or municipality where he was baptized or registered, or if no registration had taken place, in the parish he regards as his domicile, or in which he chiefly stays. Thus it can be seen from the map where the Gypsies have congregated in any considerable number, where there are only a few, and where they are entirely absent. Rectifications might easily have been introduced for some dozen or so of communal districts, but this has not been done, as the proportion of faults would have been too apparent. The number of Gypsies not included in the statistics, for some

<sup>1</sup> Expense prohibits the reproduction of this wonderful map in the *J. G. L. S.* The original report can, however, be obtained through Williams and Norgate (14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.) for a few pence, and is interesting, even to those who cannot read the language in which it is written, on account of this graphic representation of the distribution of the Gypsies in Finland. Pages 32-66 of the Report, containing for the most part minute statistics of the Finnish Gypsies, have been omitted in the translation.—ED.





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order of the number of individuals in each family, the most numerous first:—

Hagert, Lindeman, Blumérus (Lumbelin, Blimerus), Hedman, Schwartz, Lindgren, Långström, Åkerlund, Blomberg (Lundberg), Nyman, Bollström, Svart, Berg, Lindberg, Palm, Palmrot, Flink, Lindström, Nikkinen, Borg, Roos, Ek, Florin, Korp, Erling, Walentin (Wassberg), Grönfors, Grönstrand, Sjöberg, Baltsar, Lind, Ahlgren, Friman, Grek, Moderus, Walerius, Hagert-Nyman, Roth, Isberg, Häger, Zitron, Palmros, Klarin, Sundberg, Enroth, Franzén, Ruuth, Högman, Tobin, Kärkein (Kärkkänen), Santalakso (a mixed race), Lojander, Reinholm, Frisk, Asp, Stenroth, Gustafsson, Bergman, Hörman, Lindros, Dahlgren, Sibylla, Wilenius, Axelsson, Sederholm, Heribert, Wenström, Walander, Lindqvist, Faltin, Chydenius, Lundahn, Rosenvall, Lundvall, Wall, Berglund, Qvist, Nordling, Friberg, Schröder, Wahlström, Peltomäki (a mixed race), Nulva (a mixed race), Åkerblom.

Gypsy families found wandering in Finland in the present century, but not met with during the census already mentioned, are as follows:—

Bergström, Hultin, Sohlström, Wänberg, Ehrström, Skarman (Kaarman), Storsvart, Nygren, Fröberg, Lagerin, Strömfelt, Tallgren, Färdig, Lilja, Tingberg, Hartman, Hoffrén (Hammonen), Hommonen, Huummonen, Lintu (Frisk), Tranström, Murman, Murén, Tudin, Palmén, Törnros, Pettersson.

The distribution of the larger families is in the main as follows:—

*Hagert*: Leppävirta (35), Säkkijärvi (19), Hiitola (14), Sordavala (14), S:t Andreae (5).

*Lindeman*: Korttesjärvi (21), Etsäri (17), Jyväskylä (14), Viitasaari (11), Laukas (7), Ruovesi (6), Lappo (6), Kauhava (3).

*Blomerus*: Sordavala (46), Impilaks (37), Ruokolaks (2).

*Hedman*: Karstula (21), Gustaf Adolf (16), Saarijärvi (9), Viborg (7), Viitasaari (4), Joutsa (4), Sysmä (4), Kuopio (3).

*Schwartz*: Pielisjärvi (16), Eno (13), Sotkamo (12), Kajana (12), Säräisniemi (7), Oulais (5), Haapavesi (3).

*Lindgren*: Kivijärvi (19), Kuivaniemi (14), Kiiminki (10), Pudäsjärvi (6), Haapajärvi (5), Viitasaari (4).

*Långström*: Frantsila (23), Kestilä (12), Pyhäjoki (8), Kärsmäki (4), Kuivaniemi (3).

*Åkerlund*: Säkkijärvi (48), Sakkola (7).



- Blomberg*: Savitaipale (13), Viborg (10), Kirvus (10), Iittis (3).  
*Nyman*: Ruokalaks (16), Savitaipale (12), Sääminki (9)  
 Ugunimi (7), Libelits (3).  
*Bollström*: Sordavala (33), Bräkylä (8), Hiitola (3).  
*Svart*: Halso (30), Perho (6).  
*Berg*: Impilaks (14), Ruskeala (9), Ilomants (8), Pernå (4).  
*Lindberg*: Alavo (12), Haapajävi (7), Peräseinäjoki (6), Honka-  
 joki (3), Kurikka (3).  
*Palm*: Viborg (11), Somero (11), Libelits (3).  
*Palmrot*: Kurikka (17), Ruovesi (5), Ilmola (4), Vetil (4).  
*Flink*: Rovaniemi (22), Kemijärvi (8).  
*Lindström*: Puolanko (16), Etsäri (5), Nummis (4).  
*Nikkinen*: Leppävirta (14), Heinävesi (6).  
*Borg*: Gustaf Adolf (17), Keuru (2).  
*Roos*: Nummis (11), Kiikkala (11).  
*Ek*: Hirvensalmi (11), Sysmä (8), Lappvesi (3).  
*Florin*: Tuusniemi (7), Heinävesi (4), Kuopio (2), Kajana (2),  
 Nilsä (2).  
*Korp*: Kivinebb (11), Viborg (6), Björkö (2).  
*Erling*: Luumäki (6), Viborg (5), Säkkijärvi (4), Tammela (4).  
*Wallentin*: Sysmä (17).  
*Grönfors*: Pielavesi (12).  
*Grönstrand*: Siikais (8), Sastmola (5).  
*Sjöberg*: Alajärvi (16).  
*Baltsar*: Rautalampi (16).  
*Lind*: Mohla (8), Säkkijärvi (5).  
*Ahlgren*: Iittis (13).  
*Friman*: Viborg (3), S:t Andreae (2), Kauhava (3), Lappo (2).  
*Grek*: Kristina (8), Joutseno (2).  
*Moderus*: Sievi (12).  
*Walerius*: Sordavala (11).  
*Hagert-Nyman*: Juuga (11).  
*Roth*: Keuru (10).  
*Isberg*: Säkkijärvi (5), Jaaskis (3).  
*Häger*: Nykyrka (10).  
*Zitron*: Iittis (10).  
*Palmros*: Haapajärvi (9).  
*Klarin*: Orimattila (8).  
*Sundberg*: Sysmä (9).  
*Enrot*: Viborg (6).  
*Franzen*: Leppävirta (7).



*Ruuth*: Keuru (7).

*Högman*: Kristina (6).

*Tobin*: Sakkola (5).

*Kärkein*: Jääskis (3), Ruskela (2).

*Reinholm*: Perho (4).

*Lojander*: Tammela (5).

*Frisk*: Karis (3).

*Asp*: Walkeala (3).

*Stenroth*: Nurmo (4).

The remaining families are represented by only one or two individuals. There are also members of the families given above scattered through other parishes than those indicated.

If really effective measures are to be proposed regarding the Gypsies amongst us, it is absolutely necessary to learn to know this people with all possible thoroughness. The Secretary of the Committee, who has for some years made a profound study of them both here and abroad, has, for this purpose, written a treatise on the Gypsies of Finland for the use of the Committee. This treatise, so far as the members of the Committee are able to judge, gives on the whole a faithful account of this unhappy people dwelling in our midst, and from it the following account of the characteristics of the Finnish Gypsies, and the chief differences between them and the Gypsies of other countries, has been taken.

The literature of the subject, now comprising nearly two thousand more or less voluminous works, is all but silent as far as the Finnish Gypsies are concerned.

In the year 1854 A. Schiefner, a University man, noted fifty-four words, and in 1855, twenty-three words belonging to the Finnish and Russian Gypsy dialects, and in 1857 Professor Sophus Bugge published a few notes made in the beginning of the century by A. J. Arvidsson, containing some general opinions, examples of inflexions of words, and twenty-two words of Finnish-Romani. By means of these notes Franz Miklosich, the foremost investigator in the field of Gypsy language, has been able to prove that the Finnish Gypsies form a linguistic subsection. A treatise by Ch. Ganander, which obtained the silver medal of the Swedish Academy of Belles-Lettres, has been lost to posterity; and the Romani notes of Pastor K. J. Kemeth (died 1832) were burnt after his death because they were considered to be an ungodly work. Shorter statements (often incorrect) about the Gypsies of Finland are found in various authors; and in 1894-5 J. R. Aspelin





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From of old they have been famed for their beauty, though the belief in this is much exaggerated. They are, as a rule, uncomely, and they have often features so sharp-cut as to be almost angular. Their beauty, when it occurs, is evanescent; the Gypsy ages early, and by the time a Gypsy woman is thirty her appearance is already that of a witch. The Gypsy can always be recognised by the expression of the eyes. There is in them a peculiar stare, a piercing expression, almost radiantly savage and passionate. The gestures of the Gypsy are extremely lively. When he speaks his whole body is animated. He may also be known by his elastic step and the suppleness of arms and limbs which still characterise him even in our country, where he has been living for centuries among a people so ungraceful as the Finns. The Oriental descent of the Gypsies shows itself in their early puberty. They are extraordinarily immune against atmospheric influences, and endure the severities of the Finnish climate better than the Finns themselves. The children, however, are not, as is the case in the south, habitually naked even in the severest frost. They are able to defy the harshest privations and fatigue, but for heavy, continuous labour they have no powers of endurance. Though puberty is so early, the Finnish Gypsies often attain advanced old age, and die generally of senile decay. Among the few diseases to which they are subject are smallpox and measles; sometimes lame, dumb, or paralytic Gypsies are found, and even epilepsy occurs occasionally. A remarkable fact is that a Gypsy's wounds heal with incredible speed. Mental diseases are very rare: one case is known in Finland; a woman, in consequence of extreme want, became deranged and put an end to her life, the solitary case of suicide known amongst Gypsies.

*(To be continued.)*

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## IX.—NURI STORIES

Collected by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.

*(Continued from page 68)*

XCI

*Aštā yikāki tillā-tmālik. Āšt' ābūškārā tārān zārāk, diyēs tillēni, yikāk kūštōték. Mīndā hālōs tārāni potrēs, kōlde gōrēsān u gāre. Pārde wāštisān šas sāi zerd, kúllyikā dī sāi. Štīrde*



min hnónă, lâherde pândăsmă gâl. Mînde hălôsă. Lâherde târăn pand; kúll yikák gără pândăsmă. Štîrdă min hnónă kûštôtă, lâherdă klaréni pândăsmă, wēs'r' ũnkîisă. Cîrdă tillă-kláră "Kéi mángēk?" Cîrdă cónă "Wăšîm dî sâi zerd, gărôm pãrom minjîsă kálie." Cîrdă kláră "Impăr minjîsă kálie, u m'nēsă ōmŭgărétă gŭlăskáră. Yómin céri gŭl 'Kéi mángēk?' incú 'Mángămi măhkanî.'" Nîrdóssă gŭlăskáră káliă. Cîrdă äbüskáră gŭl "Kéi mángēk?" Cîrdă "Mángămi măhkanî." Intósis äbüskáră, pãrdósis u gără. Răwáhră désăstă; pândăsmă lâherdă kăsrăk, minjîs cóniăki. Méil-ihřă átústă. Mîndi hălôs; kērdi äbüskáră cóni kēs u pîš u káră u ibsútră, u pãrdi mnēšis măhkanî. Mîndă hălôs, răwáhră; lâherdă barēs dîyănă pândăsmă. Răwáhre târăni sâuă. Génă pãrde kullmánhum dî sâi zerd u kúlliyikă gără pândăsmă. Áră klárăntă pánjî, kal "Impăr minšă dîăná sâi zerdámmă dăwáre u m'nēsă gŭlăskáră. Incú 'Mángămi sŭfré<sup>1</sup>.'" Gără gŭlăskáră, nîrdă dăwáă, mángerdă mnēšîs sŭfré. Mîndă hălôs, răwáhră. Áră pândăsmă, lâherdă cóniă, pãrdi mnēšîs sŭfré. Lâherdă dîyănă bāră. Mînde hălôsă târăne u răwáhre. Štîrde min hnónă dîyănă cónă illi tilléni, cîrde bôiosăntă "Nî mândă wăšîmă potrúr kûštôtă kiyák." Mîndos tillă-tmáli u tîrdósis măkinémă. Štîrdi min hnónă cóni illi tósis măhkanî. Pândăsmă lîmm-kerdi das sâi tmaliéni u ári íkbâl uyárik u tîrdi. Cîrdi tillă-tmaliéstă "Năn ämăkáră zárēs illi potrésă kûštóték, hōf hrîb-kerămi uyárŭr." Gără tillă-tmáli, mândósis u áră. Lâherdósis cóni, pãrdôs, cencísmă wēsłáurdos, 'ámr-kerdi tmaliéntă, răwáh-kerdóssă. Pánjî u dósári wēsre erhónă. Bēsăuî-hrôs cónă. Mînde hălôs, răwáhre pánjî u cóni u dósári désăstă, wēsre erhónă, u nisŭb-kerde äbüskáră kăsrăk u băuîskă. Cóni diknáurdi bôis pãris. "Ahăk póom illi besăuî-hrômîs." Štîrdă bôios min hnónă, mîndă hălôs u kērdă äbsănkáră kēs u pîš. Lăgiš-kerde pánjăn u gŭéli. Štîrdă cónă, pēndă tirwálos u kôldă yégros u cîneri sirie-sámmă<sup>2</sup> gŭălánki. Lămmăn násre táni désăstă štîrdă cónă, răwáhră kuriístă. Lâherdă bāios kúriămă 'nhe°. Pãrdósi gŭl u gărék minjîs. Yôm illi gără minjî, kôldă yégros cónă. Lâherdósis wēsrek kăsrîk-kapiētă gŭl, u cóniă tîrdik minjî. Mîndă hălôs cónă, fērósis tirwálmă, cîndă síriôs, u năndă bôios. Răwáhră

<sup>1</sup> So pronounced. In Arabic it would be pronounced *sŭfră*.

<sup>2</sup> I do not understand the force of the locative here, unless it mean 'he cut upon [i.e. wounded] their heads.' To imply 'he cut off their heads' the simple accusative is used, as in a few lines farther down.



*māumustā, min māumuski rāwāhrā bōrustā. Lāherdā bōos mrēk. Pārdā bāwās zerdānki illi bōos mändōsan; barēs diēsni kúll-yikā pārdā bāwos u pānj íhrā tíllā-tmáli uyármā.*

There was a king. He had three sons, two were big, one little. His three sons betook themselves, rode their mares and went. They took with them six hundred pounds, each one two hundred. They arose from there, they saw a ghul on the way. They betook themselves. They saw three roads: each one went on a [separate] road. The little one rose from there, he saw bedawin on the way, stayed with them. Said the sheikh, 'What do you want?' Said the boy, 'I have two hundred pounds, I have gone to get goats for them.' Said the Arab, 'Get goats for them, and leave them in that cave for the ghul. When the ghul says "What do you want?" say "I want the bottle-filler."' He conducted the sheep to the ghul. The ghul said to him, 'What do you want?' He said, 'I want the bottle-filler.' She gave it to him, he took it and went. He went to his village: on the way he saw a castle, in it a girl. He approached it. The girl betook herself, and prepared for him food and drink, and he ate and was content, and she took the bottle-filler from him. He betook himself and departed; he saw his two brothers on the way. They three went together. Each of them took other two hundred pounds and each went on a road. He came to the Arabs, [who] said, 'Take for the two hundred pounds camels and leave them for the ghul. Say, "I want a table."' He went to the ghul, took the camels, asked from her a table. He betook himself and went. He came on the road, saw the girl. She took the table from him. He saw his two brothers. They three betook themselves and went. The two big sons rose from there, and said to their father, 'Thy little son has not left anything with us.' The king took him and put him in prison. The girl to whom he had given the bottle-filler rose from there. On the way she picked up a thousand soldiers and came before the city and encamped there. She said to the king, 'Bring me thy son, the small one among thy children, for fear lest I destroy thy city.' The king went, fetched him and came. The girl saw him, took him, made him sit beside her, commanded the soldiers, and made them go. She and the negress stayed there. The boy married her. They betook themselves and went, he and the girl and the negress to the place, they stayed there and they built a castle for him and his wife. The girl showed her husband to her father. 'This is my husband whom I have married.' Her father rose from there, betook himself and made for them food and drink. They and the ghuls made a quarrel. The boy arose, took his sword and mounted his horse and cuts off the heads of the ghuls. When they fled to another place the boy arose, went to his house. He saw that his wife was not in the house. A ghul had taken her and gone with her. When he went with her, the boy mounted his horse. He saw the ghul sitting at the door of the castle, and the girl was put inside. The boy betook himself, struck him with a sword, cut off his head, and fetched his [own] wife. He departed to his uncle, from his uncle he went to his father. He saw that his father was dead. He took his share of the money which his father left: his two brothers each one took his share, and he became king in the city.

\*XCII

*Kúri kánēt tálāstēyā. Kúriāmā kúštóti júri u potrés tārānēs. Kúštótā zárō mufalék. Gáli-kerdā tíllā-potros "Ya de,<sup>1</sup> bíddi jam kám-kerām, 'nhe° kam erhénā. Dē mónāk min-šaním."*

<sup>1</sup> Pronounced short—*dĕ*, almost *de°*. This is the vocative of *dāi*, of which I found no other example.





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*ŭnkŭmin, wěsti ŭnkŭmin kádd-mă mángĕk.*" *Ba'd pŭnj wars mră kúriäk-săwi, wésră zárō deriústă, pánjĭ u báus wésre g'hâr, la jăndi wălă ōuăndi. Potrósăn ĭsăm hrónă.*

The house was on a hill. In the house was a little woman and her three sons. The youngest son was a fool. Her big son said, 'Mother, I wish to go to work, there is no work here. Give me a loaf.' His mother said, 'Which do you want? If you want a small loaf God let you be, if you want a big one God take you.' 'Give me a big one and let Him kill me.' He took the loaf and went.

[There was] a big house. He knocked at the door. The master of the house came. 'What do you want?' 'I want to work.' 'What is your work?' 'As you desire I will do.' 'Go to [*lit. from*] the door that is yonder.' He came there. The master of the house came. He said, '[There are] eighteen long-ears [hares], all of them mine. To-morrow go with them, feed them on grass. If you go with them and one of them goes away, I shall cut off your head.' He went with them, fed them on grass. He sat by the side of a well. He smoked. He opened the bundle,<sup>1</sup> he wanted to eat bread. There came an old woman. 'Give me a little.' 'I have not got it, I will not give it thee.' It was evening. He went to bring the hares. He saw only three. He went to the house; the master of the house came out to him. He fetched a knife and cut his head off.

The middle son said, 'I wish to follow my brother, give me a big loaf.' He went. As happened to his brother happened to him. [There were] two heads, one there, one here.

Said the third brother, 'My two brothers are happy, I wish to follow them: give me a little loaf.' Said his mother, 'Good, go with the sieve, bring water.' He went, took the sieve, went to the well. He saw a little bird. It said to him, 'Put leaves and clay in the sieve.' He did so, took water to his mother in the sieve. His mother gave him a loaf. He went to the big house. He saw the heads of his brothers. He threw stones at them and laughed at them. 'What are you doing, O fools?' He entered the house. He had not a shoe on his foot or hat on his head. The old man came. 'What do you want?' 'I want to work.' He took a garment to him and gave him bread. He said, 'Go out to-morrow with the hares: let them stay with thee. They are all written down on a paper with me.' The next day early he whistled to them. The hares came: the boy went with them. The old woman came. She asked for food. He gave all his food to her. He went, saw a hedgehog, he killed it and skinned it, cooked it and ate it. She gave a silver whistle to the boy; he blew on it, they all came to his side. He brought them to the house. Their master was satisfied. 'Our servant is clever.'

The second day it happened likewise. The old woman said to him, 'You are going to marry your master's daughter.' He said, 'How do you know?' She said, 'I am clear-sighted, I prophesy, I strike in the earth [*i.e.* read by geomancy], and I know everything.' He went to the house, saw the girl, saluted her, they began to talk with one another [as] friends. The third day they went to a big village and were married. When they returned they saw the old woman. The boy said, 'Come with us, stay with us as long as you want.' After five years the master of the house died, the boy sat in his place, he and his wife stayed happy, not going or coming. Their son is there now.

## XCIII

*Āštă tillă-tmáliăki, w' āštă yikăki sâiĭĭ u yikăk nejjări. Sâiĭĭ kĕrdă dĕ sĕmăki ŭrpăski, u nejjăr kĕrdă yĕĝrăk hăšăbi.*

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* 'handkerchief'; a knotted handkerchief being frequently used as a convenient bag for carrying flat cakes of bread, etc., to the fields.



*Hadí-kerdä säiḡ semäkēän tilla-tmaliéstä ; intós pünj säi kânîlä. U nejjär intä yēḡri tilla-tmálieskárä ; intósis das säi kânîlä. Stírdä min hnónä tilla-tmáli ; nírdä yēḡri kuriétä. Árä pótros tmaliéski, kláurdä yēḡri bárä, kóldä yēḡirtä, mīndos kaníski. Tir-íhrä minjt̄ yēḡir. Árä ékäsrkä illi ḡälēmék ; li-tán' ūyár' ; mīndósis kaníski áuräki, windrāurdósis. Ášti minjt̄s cóniäki kāsrmä, tilla-tmáliäs díri. Mīndä ḡalos cónä, bēsāui-ḡrósís. Nāndi dī zárō. Mīndä ḡalos, árä, bóios cóniäki ; láherdä bēsāui-ḡrik, wāšt̄ ziriätēni. Mīndä cóniäs, kárdä áḡi tā-šnāūāris. Kóldä yēḡirtä cónä, mīndos kaníski, tir-íhrä minjt̄s ; ḡärä kāsrtä. Párdä potrés u párdä báis u nāsra minjt̄sän. Mīndä ḡalōs cónä, árä énáhrík sāwāitā, wésra, 'ābbi-kerdä ḡātos dif, kādīḡ kárdä ; ári šārāräk yēḡirtä, wīnni ḡrēk dīl. " Kíḡä ḡärāni cínāni pāniā ? " " Māncār tilla zárō erhēnā, wā āmā wā-tīir, küštótä zárō cínāni." Cīnde pāniā ; küštótä zárō pālisték. Árä kāūtár ; párdä tilla zárēs. Ūḡū illi pālisték kánídrä éfeni ; kūrā záro pāniāmā ; ūḡū párdos kāūtár. Wésre panj u báios rōāndi. Illi párdos kāūtár ; ášte kājjēni pāndāsmä, fēre kāūtári, párdē zárēs mnēši. U illi pāniāmā kūrā ; āstā yikáki semmáki, kúrdä šábäki, péndä zárēs ḡárdék. " Štas tā-nānsän éziriatān tilla-tmaliéstä." ḡärä cónä, ráwáḡrā bóúistā, láherdä potrés āḡrīs. Mīndä potrés, imcirdóssän, u bóios kárdä wiḡwék [sic] min-šan potrúski. Mīndä ḡalōs cónä u ḡārtrā uyártä illi báios mnēšik ; párdä wāšt̄is štar elf tmaliēni u párdä kuriēni wāšt̄is u nūsūb-kerdä ḡāiyāmān íkbāl uyárik. Árä ābüskárä tilla-tmáli panj u wāzír. Ári díros-wāzírāsiki ābüskárä, bēsāui-ḡrósís. Wésra jatréskā des dīs. Árä ḡúlāk ārátān, párdä báis u ḡärä minjt̄s. Sābáḡtān cirdä jatrústä " Nī ári báiom ūn-kétrān ? " Cirdä " Nī ári." Jāndä párdósis ḡūl. Mīndä ḡalōs u kóldä yēḡrōs u ḡärä páci ḡúlāsiki. Rāūrā tārān mas, pānji ráūāri tā-rāsra ḡúlās-kāsros. Štírdä min hnónä, láherdä ḡēnā yikáki báisikā. Nāndóssi ḡūl. Árä ḡūl, fērósís tirwálmā, cīndä sīrios. Kóldä dínnā láciä, u péndä yēḡros ḡúlāsiki, kóldóssís u kláurdä ūdēinān yēḡristä. Mīndä ḡalōs, ráwáḡrā. Árä jat-réstä, kárdä ūrsōs báisikā, u mīndä ḡalōs ráwáḡrā bóúistā u bení-kerdä tārān kāsra, kull juārkarā kāsraäk ; u mīndä ḡalōs, wésra bóisikā. Mra° bóios w' íhrā pānjī tilla°-tmáli [sic].*

There was a king : and there was a goldsmith and a carpenter. The goldsmith made two fishes of silver, and the carpenter made a wooden horse. The goldsmith presented the fishes to the king ; he gave him five hundred piastres. And the carpenter gave the horse to the king ; he gave him a thousand piastres. The king rose from there, he conducted the horse to the house. The son of the king came,



caused the horse to be loosened outside, rode the horse, seized it by its ear. The horse flew with him. He came to that castle which was in the wilderness; to another city; seized it [the horse] by the other ear, made it stop. There was a girl there, in the castle, daughter of the king. The boy betook himself, married her. She bore two sons. The father of the girl betook himself and came; he saw her married, that there were children with her. He took the girl, made a fire to burn her. The boy mounted the horse, seized it by the ear, it flew with him: he went to the castle. He took his sons and took his wife and fled with them. The boy betook himself, came to the side of a river, sat down, rolled a cigarette, made tinder [=struck a light]; there came a spark on the horse and it became ashes. 'How are we going to cross the water?' 'Let the big boy remain here, and I and thou, [and] the little boy, will cross.' They crossed the water; the little boy was on his shoulder. There came a hyæna; it took the big boy. He who was on his shoulder looked *thus*<sup>1</sup>; the boy fell in the water; [while] the hyæna took that [other] one. He [the father] and his wife sat weeping. [As for him] whom the hyæna had taken; there were men on the road, they shot the hyæna, and they took the boy from him. And [as for him] who fell into the water; there was a fisherman, he lowered a net, he took up the boy safe. 'Rise, let us bring these boys to the king.' The youth [*i.e.* the father of the boys] went, he departed to his father, he saw his sons before him. He took his sons, kissed them, and his father made a festival for his son. The youth betook himself and returned to the city from which his wife was; he took with him four thousand soldiers, and took with him tents, and pitched the tents before the town. There came to him the king, he and the vizier. The daughter of the vizier came to him, he married her. He stayed with his brother-in-law ten days. There came a ghul by night, took his wife and went with her. In the morning he said to his brother-in-law, 'Did my wife not come to you?' He said, 'She did not come.' He knew that a ghul had taken her. He betook himself and rode a horse, and went after the ghul. He went three months, he went till he reached the ghul's castle. He rose from there, he saw another one with his wife. The ghul had taken her. The ghul came, he struck him<sup>2</sup> with a sword, cut off his head. He loosened the two girls, and took the ghul's horse, rode it and caused those two to ride on his own horse. He betook himself and departed. He came to his brother-in-law, he made a marriage-feast for his wife, and betook himself and went to his father, and built three castles, a castle for every woman;<sup>3</sup> and he betook himself and stayed with his father. His father died and he became king.

## \*XCIV

*Zămán aštă tmáliăki cămdekk bōl, zălămi măṭăntă: cînări siriēsăn u šnăuărsănnă u mărărsănnă. Dīsăk min dīsănki kerdă bănšăk: ašte tărăn hăiti măkinni u yikăk gără kūrări. Păci hăităski elli kūrerek kerdă măkinăk; u elhăsmă hōṭ šibbăki. Kan yikăki bănîrek min hnônă, bănîrek tămelli min-šan žimă-iki. Auwâl dīsăski lăherdă hōṭăni šibbăkăn. Ārătăn kām-kerdi măkină u iḥră hăit elli gără kūrari dîră ni-hra°, aḥrăb min-illi*

<sup>1</sup> Accompanied by illustrative gesture. The sense is that the boy [perhaps attracted by the noise made by the hyæna] turned round and overbalanced himself.

<sup>2</sup> This ghul seems, grammatically at least, to have been masculine.

<sup>3</sup> The first wife, the vizier's daughter, and the other girl rescued from the ghul, whom the hero evidently married also.





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Said a girl, 'We have.' She went and brought it, and they drank. The youths killed the girls and fled. The ghul came, saw her daughters dead. They crossed that valley,<sup>1</sup> they went, that saw that city, that there was a king in it. Two boys went up to the king, and the little one remained. The big boy said to the king, 'The ghul has a mare, worth the full of a bag of gold.' Said the king, 'Who will bring it?' Said they, 'There is a little boy, he will bring it.' Said the king, 'Bring ye him, let me see him.' They brought the boy. Said the king to him, 'Bring me the mare that belongs to the ghul.' The boy went for it, stayed in the valley till evening. He went to them, he saw the mare bound. He loosened it, and rode it, and betook himself, and fled. He came to the king, and said to him, 'Here is the mare.' The king saw the mare, said to him, 'My daughter is thine [*lit.* has come to thee], and he married her to the boy who brought the mare, and made the boy stay with him. Those two [others] departed.

## XCVI

*Āštā yikāki cōnēk, rābi-kerdēk dī sābā' tā-tillā-ḥre. Āšti gālāki, ḥrīb-kerdi dēōsān. Mīndā ḥālōs cōnā, gārā dēitā, lāherdā gāli ḥrīb-kerdik dēi. Āšte dī nāḥlāk erhōnā. Kīldā ātsāntā. Āri gāli, lāherdi cōnās. "Ātu kīndā gārūri? Gāir kūmnānir!" Wārt-kerdā dī sābū'ān. Āre sābū'ā, mīnde gāli, šākf-kerdēndis, māndā kull šākfi kadd kāfāski. Fūr-iḥrā cōnā. Dēmā nī lāherdā maṭ minjīs. Gārā, nāndā māte min dēānki u tīrdā minjīs. Lāmmān 'āmr-kerdā dēi iḥrā grēwārā minjīs. Mīndā ḥālōs wā iḥrā kaliēni ūnkīs, u bēsāu-i-ḥrā. Ārōsis zārāk. Āsti ābúskā bēnāki, u bēnos māngāri kājjāk ūdēmā. Cāri kājjāskārā bēnos "Immār bārōm tā-m-pārāmur." Štāri cōnā, cāri "Nī-mārāmse." Štīrdi min hnōnā cōni, ktīf-kerdi bārās ārātān. Sābāḥtān lāherdā bēnos mūkēttifi bārōs. Mīndā cīriā cōnā u cīndā ktāfān. U mīndā bēnos, šākf-kerdōsis uktōsis ēcalāsmā, u bāndā ātūstā wūṭān cālās-kāpi, u tīrdā sīrios u sītā.*

There was a boy who nourished two lions till they became big. There was a ghul, [who] ruined their village. The boy betook himself, went to the village, saw that the ghul had destroyed the village. There were two palm-trees there. He climbed up them. There came the ghul, she saw the boy, 'Thou, whither art thou going? [Nothing will serve] but that we eat thee!' He loosed the two lions. The lions came, seized the ghul, tore her in pieces, every piece was left the size of a handful. The boy was delighted. In the village he did not see any one. He went, took people from [other] places and put them in it. When he built the village he became sheikh in it. He betook himself, and became possessed of goats [*lit.* it became there were goats with him], and he married. There came [= was born] to him a boy. He<sup>2</sup> had a sister, and the sister desired a man in that place. His sister says to the man, 'Kill my brother so that I may take thee.' The youth arises, says, 'I will not kill him.' The girl arose from there, bound her brother by night. In the morning he saw that his sister had bound her brother. The boy<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably the widespread idea that evil spirits cannot cross running water is tacitly hinted at here, the ghul being on that account unable to follow the youths.

<sup>2</sup> The hero, not the new-born son.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the villager whom the sister desired.



took the knife and cut the bond. And he<sup>1</sup> betook himself, cut her in pieces, cast her in a well and closed upon her the stones of the well-mouth, and laid down his head and slept.

## XCVII

*Áštã tíllã-tmáliãki, äbüskã zárãki. Míndã hãlõs, lágiš-kerdã potrússãn. Štírdã pótrõs, kóldã yégrãs, u nãsrã. Ářã uyárãkãkã tíllã-tmálik minjť, unkiis láciãki. Láherdi cõnãs tíllã-tmáliãsdír, mangerdõsis. Círdi cõni “Mangéim bõímki.” Gãrã cõnã, mangerdõsis. Círdã tíllã-tmáli “Bãrdã-kerãmi äbürkãrã ésãhni mast, u twës siriirtã u kílce énáhlětã. Inkú ämäkãrã dī katf bëlãh, ämä démri dírim.” Štírdi cõni; kãndi wãlak min siriiski cõni, u tírdõsis sãhãnmã. Šká-hřã<sup>2</sup> mast, u sãhn míndã siriismã cõnãski. Kíldã cõnã náhlětã u kúrdã dī katf bëlãh u míndã hãlõs u húldã cõnã. Pëndã wãli min mástãski, íhrã mast tímñã páni. Círdã tíllã-tmáli “Ůhũ cõnã tíllã-tmalies pótrõs inkérdã ékãmãs.” Štírdi ‘ad cõni min hnõnã, kal “Ja bõiómkã, in-mangéim.” Gãrã bõiskã, mangerdõsis. Kal “Lak, äšti éderiammã dī gúli, in mãrësãn u nãn ämäkã siriésãn u áru, ämä démri dírim.” Gãrã äbsãnkãrã cõnã, láherdã diënnãn gúlãn wësreñdi. Mãrdõssãn u cíndã siriésãn u nãndã siriésãn u tírdõssãn tíllã-tmaliës áger. Pãrdã díris u bësãwí-hřõsis, u tõsis sã dõsãrã u sã dõsãri, hãmil-kerdã äbüskã das bãgl zérđi. Rãwãhrã dësãstã. Ářã uyarístã láherdã bõíos mrëk u íhrã tíllã-tmáli uyãrmã.*

There was a king. He had a boy. He betook himself and quarrelled with his son. His son arose, rode a horse and fled. He came to a city, there was a king in it, he had a daughter. The girl, the king's daughter, saw the boy and desired him. The girl said, 'Ask for me from my father.' The boy went and asked for her. The king said, 'I will fill for thee this dish of *laban*, and put it on your head and climb this palm. Cast down to me two bunches of dates, and I will give my daughter.' The girl arose, plucked a hair from her head, and put it in the dish. The *laban* became solid and the dish fixed on the head of the boy. The boy climbed the tree and threw down two bunches of dates and betook himself and descended. He took the hair from the *laban*, the *laban* became like water. The king said, 'This boy is the son of a king if he has done that work.' The girl rose once again from there, she said, 'Go to my father and ask for me.' He went to her father and asked for her. He said, 'See, there are in yonder places two ghuls, if you kill them and bring me their heads and come, I will give my daughter.' The boy went to them, saw the two ghuls sitting. He killed them and cut off their heads, and took their heads and put them before the king. He took his daughter and married her, and he gave him a hundred negroes and a hundred negresses, he loaded for him ten mules with gold. He went to his place. He came to his city, saw that his father was dead, and became king in the city.

<sup>1</sup> The hero.

<sup>2</sup> The narrator here suggested an alternative word 'ákuđrã.



## \*XCVIII

*Áštã yikáki tillék ktíri déri dérmãn ikiánkã : édēsãsmã inhe° mítlis. Ářã yikák ikiēs cãmdéni. Nãndã bláriãk-ikiēs, tirdóssãn ikiéstã : lãherdã áhsãn min áuwãl. Ba'd hōt dīs gārtrã dermãnik-sãwiétã. Gal "Ker wãším gūzēlwémã, déim tkim, u pãr bláriãk-ikiēs, hōf lãhimsãnni éfirãnãn bōl, insakrome° sūcãm.*

There was a great Christian who used to give medicine for eyes<sup>1</sup> : in this place there is not one like him. There came one whose eyes were bad. He fetched a cat's eyes and put them for his [the patient's] eyes ; he saw better than before. After a week he returned to the doctor. He said, 'Do me the favour, give me my eyes and take the cat's eyes, I fear from seeing so many mice that I cannot sleep.'

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 28.—THE GYPSY AND FOLK-LORE CLUB

To the Gypsy and Folk-Lore Club the Gypsy Lore Society extends a hearty welcome. Founded by Mr. W. Townley Searle, and under the presidency of Mr. Augustus John, it proposes to promote the cultivation of Gypsies, and the collaboration and conviviality of their admirers, by social methods which the older society, with its world-wide membership, cannot adopt. Although situated in London, its appeal is not only to Londoners ; for Mr. Searle intends to publish a monthly magazine which will represent Gypsy life and thought in a spirit less scientifically severe perhaps, but also more romantic—possibly even more humorous—yet not necessarily less illuminating than is possible in this journal.

## 29.—BIBLIOGRAPHY

To facilitate the preparation of supplementary lists for the Gypsy Bibliography, Dr. George F. Black (New York Public Library) would be much obliged if members, who publish articles on Gypsy subjects in magazines other than the *J. G. L. S.*, would send him copies, or full bibliographical details. The particulars required are—(1) full name of author, (2) title of article, (3) title of magazine in which it appeared, (4) date and place of publication, (5) volume-number, and the numbers of the pages where the article begins and ends, (6) list of illustrations, (7) a few words as to its subject and contents.

## 30.—LITTLE CORRECTIONS

The Rev. D. M. M. Bartlett, in his excellent article on Isaac Heron (p. 46), makes Eliza Gray (Genti's mother) to be the wife of 'No Name' Heron. She was his daughter. Again (p. 38), he says that Sinfai Heron (Isaac's wife) was buried at Darlington. True, she died there, but was buried alongside of her brother Tom Gray (Caroline's husband) at Simon Side Cemetery, Tyne Dock.

GEORGE HALL.

<sup>1</sup> A clumsy way of expressing 'eye-doctor.'





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escape being bewitched. In old Friesland, when the wedding procession had arrived at the house of the bridegroom, one of the bridegroom's relations threw a besom in front of the threshold, and over it the bride had to step in order to avert harm.'

The use of a besom, though in a somewhat different way, at Dutch marriages is also mentioned on p. 170 on the authority of Reinsberg-Düringsfeld's *Hochzeitsbuch*, p. 233.

### 33.—ASPIRATED CONSONANTS

The use of the Greek 'rough breathing' sign to express aspirated consonants, e.g. *p'arr* (silk), does not commend itself to all our members. Ješina writes *ch*, e.g. *pchenav* (say), and this is clumsy. However, the aspirate is so strong and distinctive that a full-sized character ought to be used. Certain Russian Gypsy forms are suggestive. The substitution of *h* for *s* in the German dialect is curiously reversed in Russian Gypsy *psiko* (shoulder), *psirava* (walk), *ot-psirava* (open), *psal* (brother), for *phiko*, *phirava*, *phal*. Compare also Ješina's *ksil* (butter) for *khil*. Miklosich says this is characteristic of Eastern European Romani, but Catalan Gypsies use *tsuvolo* (tobacco), as I hope before long to prove.

Although to some *ph*, *lh*, *th* suggest entirely different sounds, yet since we have *f* and  $\chi$  and do not require a sign for English *th*, which only occurs in obvious loan-words such as *thinkava*, a desirable uniformity in transcribing texts would be secured if members agreed to employ *h* to express the aspirate after *p*, *k*, *t*, and *č*.

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

### 34.—BETWEEN TWO HILLS

Last September I had a very interesting chat with a Gypsy, and evidently gained his confidence. After I had wished him good-bye, he said: 'Well, brother, I hope we may meet again between two hills.' I have never previously heard this expression. Can any member of the G. L. S. explain it?

EDGAR KENYON.

### 35.—PERIODICAL MIGRATION

The following is an interesting point in the vagrant life of India:—The Kilikets, whose chief occupation is carrying about picture transparencies which they show at night in the Bombay Presidency, live in little reed huts. 'The huts are so small that there is scarcely room to stand upright, and, in obedience to custom, they are moved from place to place at the end of every third month. Sometimes this rule is not kept, and instead of moving the hut the fireplace is moved from one corner of the hut to another.'—Monograph No. 116, *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*, 1908, p. 3.

WILLIAM CROOKE.

### 36.—GYPSY SMITHS IN SWEDEN

At Linköping this morning (20th January 1912) I found five small tents containing eight men, eight women, and fifteen children. The leader, Andreas Morkoi, aged forty-five, and born at Barcelona, was not at home. I entered one tent and found that the proprietors were Caroly Taikun, aged thirty-four, and born at Gefle (Sweden), and Purtsa Viška, born at Boden in the very far north



of Sweden. Probably suspecting that I was an emissary of the police, they would give me little information. Caroly Taikun spoke good French and German, fair English (learned during three months in America and a few days in London), intelligible Russian, and probably Italian and Spanish. They told me nothing willingly; but, according to them the Taikun group consists of about eighty families, many of the members of which were born in Sweden and Norway but more perhaps in France, and some in Spain. HARALD EHRENBORG.

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### 37.—COUNTERFEIT EGYPTIANS

The following extracts from the sixteenth-century *Zimmerische Chronik* are not without interest, though they do not refer to actual Gypsies. They show that the name of Michael, one of the leaders of the famous bands of Gypsies who invaded Germany early in the fifteenth century, was still remembered nearly a hundred years later: and that bands of marauding Gypsies were not uncommon then. Graf Johann Wernher must have seen a good many of them, and taken a considerable interest in them too, before he could successfully masquerade with his followers as a Gypsy, and carry off all the geese from a town which refused to get rid of them at his orders. Indeed, this escapade and the still stranger freak of calling himself Count Michael of Little Egypt to annoy his relatives, are mad enough to entitle him to an honourable position among *Romani rais*. This assumption of a Romany title by a *gájo* magnate suggests doubts as to the claims of such persons as 'Herr Panuel, Hertzog in Klein-Aegypten und Herr zum Hirschhorn desselben Landes' to be recognised as genuine Gypsies. But there is this difference, that the chronicler never refers to Wernher by his assumed title, and the family, to whose annoyance it was assumed, would be still less likely to perpetuate the jest on a tombstone, or to omit the family name. Wernher seems to have lived from 1480 to 1548 A.D.

'Zu denen zeiten waren etlich, und nit die wenigisten, Gegginger, die erhielten in irem dorf ain zimliche anzall gens, wie auch noch beschicht, und dieweil die gens die waid daselbst (wie man dann spricht) verdarpten, was solchs dem uberigen thail der gemaindt ganz beschwerlich. Die beclagten sich dessen gegen herrn Johannsen Wernhern, irem herren. Der liess nun durch die amptleut bevelchen, die gens furderlich hinweg zthuon. Dess wolt nit beschehen. Er liess über etlich zeit inen das an ain straff gebieten. Das wolt auch nit helfen. Als nun abermals clag furkam, wolte er inen die ungehorsamme nit nachgeben, so wolt er sie auch umb das gepott nit furnemen oder zu schaden bringen; derhalben, als Hanns Gremlich uf ain zeit bei im war, rustet er sambt dem Gremlichen und andern sich zu in allermassen wie die Zigeuner, zogen das Riet hinab geen Geggingen, das sie von niemandts erkannt warden. Ain thail under inen war bei den purn im dorf, die andern ganseten uf den veldern und in den wisen; und ehe die purn dess wahr nammen, kamen sie mit denen gensen darvon. Und ob gleichwol etlich purn inen nachzueilen und inen die gens wider abzujagen sich understanden, so waren doch die also beritten; zu dem begaben sie sich in die welde, das die purn nicks schaffen, widerkeren muesten. Die gens wurden zu Menningen aussgepeutet. In wenig tagen hernach beschickt herr Johanns Wernher den amptman und etlich des gerichtts von Geggingen, denen zaigt er an, das er und sein gesellschaft die Zigeuner weren gewest, dann er sie umb ir verachtung und ungehorsame uf dissmals höher nit straffen oder umb das bott bringen wellen; waverr sie aber weiter ungehorsam erschinen, wurden sie dessen nit geniessen, sondern höher gestraft werden. Darneben erforschet er, wievil gens den armen entwert, und als er das erkundiget, liess er denselben die bezallen" (*Zimmerische*



*Chronik*, herausgegeben von Dr. K. A. Barack,<sup>1</sup> vol. ii. pp. 188-9, Tübingen, 1869).

‘Hiebei ist zu vermerken, das in widerannemung des graventitels die drei gebrueder eben so wenig, als in andern sachen, sich kinden vergleichen; dann graf Johann Wernher seinen gebruedern zu widerdriess nur ain gespöt darauss gemacht und nampt sich graf Micheln von Klainen-Egipten, einem Zigeuner nach, der also vor jaren wolt gehaisen sein’ (*ib.*, iii. 286).

E. O. WINSTEDT.

### 38.—GYPSIES AT EGER

The *Manual-Chronik* of Andreas Baier contains two references to visits of Gypsies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the town Eger, one of which may have some interest, as it refers to one of the first recorded bands of Gypsies in Germany, and the other, because the Gypsies occur in a curious capacity, as assisting in fishing.

‘1418. Die Ziegeiner khommen das erste mahl in Deutschland und nach Eger’ (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Eger* bearbeitet von Heinrich Gradl, vol. 3 of *Deutsche Chroniken aus Böhmen*, herausgegeben von Dr. L. Schlesinger, Prag, 1884, p. 75, § 169).

‘Anno 1558. Dem 5 martzi haben mir, Endres Peyer, in die 60 Zigauner helfen zum Stadel fisch (en); haben 11 reissige pferdt gehabt; gab inen ein gut ctn. fisch’ (*ib.*, p. 88, § 208).

To the first of these references a footnote is appended, ‘Chronicon Procopii not. (*Font. rer. hus.*, i. 76);’ but I cannot find any work of this title either in the Bodleian Library or in the British Museum.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

### 39.—CERVANTES AND THE GYPSIES

That Cervantes had a first-hand knowledge of the Gypsies is obvious to every reader of his works. In *Don Quixote* there are a few references to them. Pasamonte, who stole Sancho’s ass, ‘had disguised himself as a gipsy, being able to speak the gipsy language’ (chap. xxx.). The trick of quickening the pace of an ass by putting quicksilver in its ears (chap. xxxi.) has been noted in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 246. In *Jitanilla* Cervantes describes the life of the *aficion*, but there is another passage in the *Novelas Ejemplares* which is worth quoting at length, if only for its masterly sketch of the whole Gypsy life in few words. It occurs in *The Dogs’ Colloquy* :—

‘What I did among the gypsies was to consider at that time their many acts of malice, their impositions and their lies, the thefts in which the girls as well as the boys practise themselves as soon almost as they leave off swaddling-clothes, and learn to walk. Do you see the multitude of them there is scattered through Spain? Well, they are all acquainted with, and have information of one another, and they store up and transfer the thefts of one horde to another, and *vice versa*. They yield better obedience than to a king, to one whom they style Count, who and all his successors have the surname of Maldonado, and this not because they come from the bearer of that noble name, but because the page of a gentleman of this name fell in love with a very lovely gipsy, who did not choose to admit his love unless he turned gipsy, and took her for his wife. The page did so, and so greatly pleased the rest of the gypsies that they raised him to be their lord, and paid him obedience. As a sign of vassalage, they accord him part of the robberies they

<sup>1</sup> The *Chronik* forms vols. 91-94 of the *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*.





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grisly beards will gain them honourable standing in the foreground of a landscape. We had a couple of these fellows with us, each leading a baggage horse, to the tail of which last, another baggage-horse was attached' (Kinglake, *Eothen*, chap. ii.). What does the name mean, and to whom, in addition to Gypsies, is it applicable?

ALEX. RUSSELL.

#### 41.—GYPSY MEDICAL SCIENCE

Of the two following Gypsy remedies, the first was told me by one of the Burtons and the second by a Herne *rakli*:—

For whooping-cough. Take clippings from the hair of the cross on a donkey's back, put them in a bag, and hang them round the child's neck until the cough is cured. This is infallible!

Or, for the same disease: Cut a little hair from the back of the child's head, put it between two pieces of bread, and throw it to a dog. The dog will eat it, the cough be cured, and there will be no chemist's bill to pay.

An old Gypsy woman named Jowles, settled near Weston in Somersetshire, told me on Whit Monday, 1911, that she had a special medicine for her ulcerated mouth. The ingredients were snails which had been placed in a manure-heap until they 'went to water,' which water was then drunk. I noticed, however, that the ulcers remained uncured.

ALFRED JAMES.

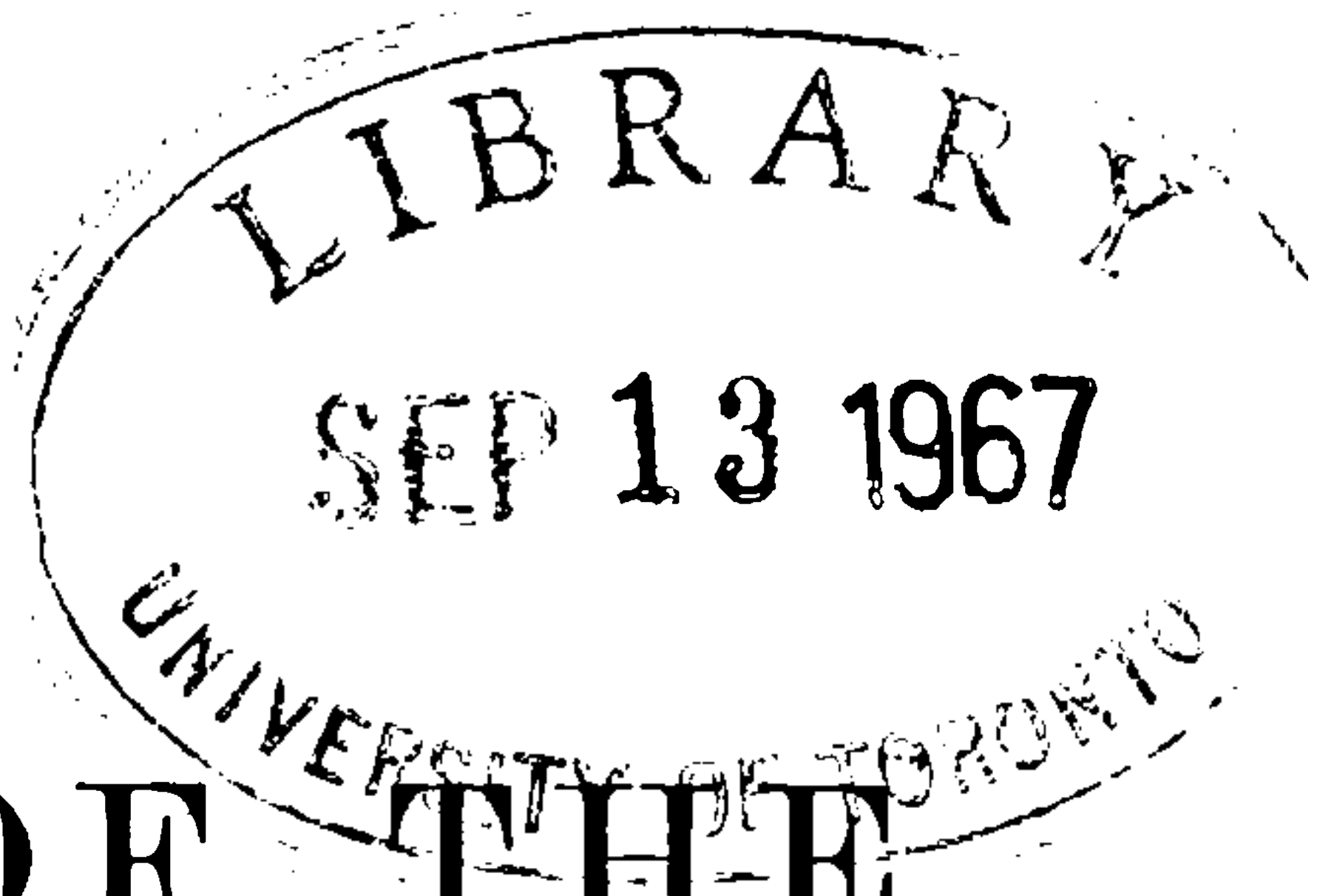
#### 42.—SIR WILLIAM JONES ON THE GYPSIES

'We come now to the river Sindhu, and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a district called by Nearchus in his Journal Sangada, which M. D'Anville justly supposes to be the seat of the Sanganians, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at present by our countrymen in the west of India. Mr. Malet, now resident at Púna on the part of the British Government, procured at my request the Sanganian letters, which are a sort of Nágari, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other Indian dialects, from the Sanscrit; nor can I doubt, from the descriptions which I have received of their persons and manners, that they are Pámeras, as the Brahmans call them, or outcast Hindus, immemorially separated from the rest of the nation. It seems agreed that the singular people called Egyptians, and by corruption Gypsies, passed the Mediterranean immediately from Egypt, and their motley language, of which Mr. Grellmann exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many Sanscrit words, that their Indian origin can hardly be doubted: the authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of Gypsy words, as *angúr*, charcoal; *cáshth*, wood; *pár*, a bank; *bhú*, earth; and a hundred more for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of Hindustan, though we know them to be pure Sanscrit, scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old Egyptian, and that the Gypsies were Troglodytes from the rocks near Thebes, where a race of banditti still resemble them in their habits and features; but, as we have no other evidence of so strong an affinity between the popular dialects of old Egypt and India, it seems more probable that the Gypsies, whom the Italians call Zingaros and Zinganos, were no other than Zinganians, as M. D'Anville also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of Arabia or Africa, whence they might have rambled to Egypt, and at length have migrated, or been driven, into Europe.'—*Sir William Jones's Discourses delivered before the Asiatic Society, London, 1824, pp. 135-6. (Discourse 8. Delivered February 24, 1791. 'On the Borderers, Mountaineers, and Islanders of Asia.')*

ALEX. RUSSELL.

STROMNESS, 11th Sept. 1911.





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I.—FIFTY WELSH-GYPSY FOLK-RIDDLES

Edited with Notes and Introduction (from the text of  
John Sampson)

By ROBERT PETSCH

THE Gypsy riddles which are here published, and to which Dr. Sampson has requested me to add some remarks, were obviously borrowed from the European peoples with whom the wandering Gypsies had intercourse during their migrations, or, at least, were invented and formed after such models. As far as I can see, they do not throw fresh light on the primitive Indo-European literature, nor on the part which riddles may have played in the rites and religious traditions of remote antiquity. But they possess some interesting features, displaying somewhat original adaptations of the common literary materials and forms.

By the term 'Riddles' we are accustomed to imply two distinct kinds of literature, which in all probability differed from one another originally. The first refers to the peculiar experience of him who proposes the riddle, which of course cannot be guessed without special information. Here the hearer's interest in the solution is less than his disappointment at having troubled himself in vain; but one does not mind seeing another disappointed in



the same way. Therefore a widespread and favourite kind of story deals with men and women of unusual ingenuity who obtained a considerable advantage by proposing a riddle to some person who had not the special information for solving it. Compare the story of Samson (Judges xiv.), the exact counterpart of Oedipus guessing the riddle of the Sphinx. Nowadays such stories, for the most part, refer to persons who are delivered from severe punishment by putting a riddle which the judge cannot guess. They are called in German *Halslösungsrätsel*, that is to say, 'Riddles for slipping one's neck out of the collar' (as it were 'neckslipping questions'). But, as there are no examples of this first class in our small collection of riddles, we pass to the second.

These are merely a play of wit, describing things by their more or less striking qualities in a somewhat indirect way. They refer, by means of loose association, to lines of thought quite different from those to which the real subject of the riddle belongs, bewildering by this to-and-fro method as well as by concise allusions to the main points while dwelling easily on some indifferent incident. These 'Riddles in their proper sense,' as I ask leave to name them, remind us then in many respects of popular proverbs, and, like these, are based on a particular form of æsthetic apprehension which I formerly proposed to call the 'gnomical form of apperception.'<sup>1</sup> Both riddles and proverbs are often moulded in poetic and even strophic forms, and in many cases are recited in a more or less loose prose. It would be a mistake to suppose that the most elaborate and artificial riddles are the latest, and that they developed step by step or were embellished by any modern poet from the simpler 'Joyous demaunds,' to use the title of an old collection of English riddles. On the contrary, all original poetry, the fragments of which have remained to us in any form, represented a primitive mixture of word, tone, and gesture, and therefore must possess simple but fixed forms. Our well-known short questions (to be described below) in most cases may be degenerate forms of old versified riddles or imitations of such degenerations. As far as I can gather, lacking acquaintance with the Romani language, from Dr. Sampson's translations, I should refer to such riddles as No. 19 as the most primitive and valuable from an historic and æsthetic point of view.

We propose to examine firstly these more elaborate and detailed riddles, the parallels of which in other languages are mostly

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. cxvi. p. 386.





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of our riddles. We have already stated that the description is often enlivened by using proper names (Nos. 19, 23) or by telling a short story (Nos. 28, 47, 49, cp. also Nos. 4 and 21); the scenery is sometimes introduced in a skilful manner, as in 23: 'I went down into the garden and saw old Rustyback' (Nos. 4 and 4a, but also 17a); or some local information is given merely from the standpoint of the propounder of the riddle (Nos. 9, 14, 17, 24, 25). Really enigmatical expressions are seldom used, yet we generally meet with a plain statement or an introduction such as—'what is' (No. 5) or 'tell me' (No. 9); but we do not find such expressive formulas as in the English and Scotch strophes: 'Riddle me, riddle me, rot tot tot,' or 'A riddle, a riddle, as I suppose,' and the like.

So much for the 'true riddles,' which are about 80 per cent. of the total number in our collection. But there are examples of other kinds too. Sometimes an antithetical strophe is reduced to a short striking sentence, like No. 27: 'The dead carries the living' (a boat, cp. No. 39, 40); or to an amusing play upon words, such as 46: 'My grandmother used to boil the pudding in her stockings' (she wore stockings when boiling it!); here the solution is contained in the riddle itself, as in the widespread question on the name of the dog (No. 45). Such riddles are nearly related to the well-known perplexing problems, like Nos. 2, 7, 8, 29.

Some 'amusing questions' (Nos. 1, 3) are given here: I think it is probable that there are many more in use among the Gypsies, but our examples will suffice; every one knows them, and some people, when they are in the mood, will produce a large number of them in a few minutes; we can find among our schoolboys and in public-houses the same jests rife which four or five hundred years ago delighted our ancestors. These as well as the other kinds of riddles mentioned above have now passed from our fellow-countrymen to the sons of the Far East, as our parallels will show,<sup>1</sup> or may have been enlarged by them with some valuable additions.

R. P.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to print or even to note here all parallels which could be brought forward from the immense literature dealing with European Popular Riddles; I refer, as far as possible, to the excellent book of R. Wossidlo, *Mecklenburgische Volksrätsel*, Wismar, 1896, where the reader will find an overwhelming wealth of information; besides, I have added English and Scotch parallels, as far as I could find any in the limited time at my disposal. My sources were these:

J. O. Halliwell (i.): *Nursery Rhymes of England*, new ed., 1858.

J. O. Halliwell (ii.): *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales*, 1849.

Robert Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1847.

W. Gregor, *Notes on Folklore of North-East of Scotland*, 1881.



*Collector's Note.*

Every one will welcome Professor Petsch's philosophical disquisition on these simple Romani folk-riddles, picked up 'kai t̄ā 'koi from Gypsy children and adults, and familiar to all Kōlē. While in general agreement with my learned colleague as to the European source of most of these *zumavibená*, I cannot as a Tsiganilogue entirely suppress the wish that an older origin may be claimed for at least one or two of them. Professor Petsch, for instance, has supplied no European analogue for my No. 4, and when we recall the early Aryan symbolism which identified the heavens with a pasture, may we not hope that the same idea has been conserved in this riddle? Cp. Pictet, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, ii. 70, 'Du moment que les rayons solaires sont devenus des vaches, le soleil devient naturellement un taureau, ou bien le pâtre divin par excellence. C'est pour cela que *gó*, au masculin, figure parmi les noms du soleil, et du ciel étoilé en général, car les astres représentent aussi le troupeau des vaches célestes. Le titre de *gôpati*, maître des vaches et pasteur, est donné, non-seulement au soleil, mais à Krishna et à Vishnu. C'est là une source nouvelle et abondante de mythes variés que je ne veux pas suivre dans leurs embranchements multipliés, et qui, chez les Indiens comme chez les Grecs, ont leur origine primitive dans l'ancienne vie pastorale. Ici seulement quelques-uns des rapprochements les plus frappants.' Kuhn also notes the remarkable coincidence in the Low German 'Kaupat' (=Kuhpfad), one of the folk-names of the 'Milky Way,' and an exact parallel of Skr. *gopatha*.

Again, in Leitner's account of Dardistan (the Dards, if some say true, being first cousins to our own Gypsies) I find, among the seven riddles quoted by him, two which at any rate closely resemble some of our own. Cp. with my No. 35 Leitner (p. 17), *Méy sazík héyn, súreo peréyn, bás darre pató; búja*. Now listen! My sister walks in the day-time and at night stands behind the door. Ans. A stick. A variant of this riddle occurs also in the *Kashmíri Riddles* of J. Hinton Knowles, No. 64 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lvi. pt. i. No. iii.—1887), *Kurih haná ásam; duhas ásam phírit thúrit yiwán, kálachán ásam baras tal bihán*. I have a little girl, by day she wanders hither and thither, at night she sits down by my door. Ans. *Lúr*, a staff. Cp. moreover with my No. 20 Leitner's No. 4. *Astóri mió*



*dádo dimm dáwa-lók ; dáyn sarpa-lók, buja.* My grandfather's body is in Hades ; his beard is in this world, now explain !

Some day, let us hope, by the collaboration of various members of the Society, we shall be provided with a really representative collection of the Riddles of the Gypsies. In the meantime one may at least recall Paspatis's first folk-tale, which contains a beautiful example of what Professor Petsch terms the Samson type. Cp. *Études* (p. 598), '*I raklí penghiás, pen to lav. O rakló penghiás, me daiá urydinióm la, me dadés uglístinióm les, me meribnástar paní pilióm. Dikliás i raklí andré po lil, nást' arakliás.*' 'La fille dit: dis ton énigme. Le garçon dit: j'ai endossé ma mère, j'ai monté mon père, et de ma mort, j'ai bu de l'eau. La fille regarda dans son livre, elle ne put pas (l') expliquer.' We have also in the second of Wlislöcki's four Transylvanian Folk-Tales (Romani text with German translation) three notable riddles, while fifty others (German translation only) are given in his *Volksdichtungen der siebenbürgischen und südungarischen Zigeuner*, Wien, 1890, pp. 161-8. Note also in Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, chap. vii., p. 159, 'When John went off to his supper, the children fell to asking riddles, not modern conundrums, but good old-fashioned "sense-riddles," like the *zagádki* of the Russian peasantry. Ancient they must be; for who, without the leisure of Methuselah, could ever discover that "a nettle" is meant by "In the hedge, and out of the hedge, and if you touch it, it will bite you"? or that "Under water, and over water, and never touches water" signifies "a woman crossing a bridge with a pail of water on her head"? But the answers nowadays are always known beforehand, and the children were charmed to find the Rei more ignorant than tiny Dona, who shouted "Blowbellows" to "The bull bulled it, the cow calved it, it grewed in the wood, and the blacksmith made it;" and "Fiddle" to "It plays in the wood, and sings in the wood, and gets its master many a penny." "As I was a-going along the road one day, I met a man coming through the hedge with a lot of pins and needles on his back" was clearly our Romani friend "the hedgehog"; but "a cherry" was less obviously suggested by—

"Riddle me, riddle me, red coat,  
A stick in his hand, a stone in his throat;  
Riddle me, riddle me, rōti tōt."

Let me wind up a note, which is perhaps in the nature of an excrescence, by the story of the ancient Gypsy, who when called





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7. Z. *Stifō p̄al kī tō dakō p̄al—sō sī 'dová tukī?*  
P'. *Tō dad.*
8. Z. *Kon sī ō mūrš te kaméla vavēr mūršéskō tiknō fededér  
nō peskō nogō?*  
P'. *Ō mūrš kamél peskī romnī fededér nō peskō tiknō.*
9. Z. *Čōr, čōr aré ī p̄ūv, štōr 'kensa tā dūī štōr herénsa, p̄en  
maṅī sō sī?*  
P'. *K'abnī grasnī ar'ī p̄ūv.*
10. Z. *Sō sī te jala anré ō pānī, tā talál ō pānī, tā čalavél ō  
pānī kek?*  
P'. *Yōrō ar' rečkákī bul.*
11. Z. *Sō jala 'prē pōrnó tā 'vela talé melanó?*  
P'. *Ō yōrō.*
12. Z. *Sō sī pōrnó tā melanó tā sōr pōrnó?*  
P'. *Ō yōrō.*
13. Z. *Kōlō sār vaṅár, tā nai vaṅár kek ;  
Pōrnō sār īv, tā nai īv kek ;  
Oχtéla 'koi tā 'kai  
'Jō sār tārnō bita grai.*  
P'. *Kakaráčka.*
14. Z. *Aré p̄ūviāti dikóm deš te tārdénas štōr.*  
P'. *Rakiákē vaṅústē došénas.*

7. Q. Brother-in-law to thy mother's brother, what is he to thee? A. Thy father.
8. Q. Who is the man who loves another man's child better than his own? A. The man [who] loves his wife better than his child.
9. Q. Grass, grass in the field, with four eyes and eight legs : tell me what it is. A. A mare in foal.
10. Q. What is it that goes into the water, and under the water, and through the water, and never touches the water? A. An egg in the duck's belly.
11. Q. What goes up white and comes down yellow? A. An egg.
12. Q. What is white and yellow, yet white all over? A. An egg.
13. Q. Black as coal, and yet not coal ;  
White as snow, and yet not snow ;  
It leaps here and there  
Like a little foal.  
A. A magpie.
14. Q. In a field I saw ten pulling four. A. A girl's fingers milking.



15. Z. *Okē deš pōrnē graiá te jana talal ī mūra. Ak'on jana, ak'on jana ; ak'on 'čena, ak'on 'čena.*  
P'. *Ō graiá sī tē dandā.*
16. Z. *Stōr pōrnē rōniā prasténas pala vaverkéndi tā kekār tildé vaverkén.*  
P'. *Ī baviákerō.*
17. Z. *Bitā moxtō talé 'doi : yekē piravéla les ; pūv pārdī gōjē na pāndéna les kek.*  
P'. *Penaxó.*
- 17a. Z. *Ručó 'prē ō rukē. Yekē tārdéla lā talé, bōrō deš nā čivénas lā pōlé kek : yekē pageréla lā, bōrō deš 'šiš čivéna lā kitanés pōpalē kek.*  
P'. *Ī penaxó.*
18. Z. *Bitedér nō bita musō tā ručedér nō kek filišín.*  
P'. *Ī zulúm tōp ō rukē.*
19. Z. *Hikī Pikī 'drē bōrriátī ; čalá tū ī Hikī Pikī, dandéla tut.*  
P'. *Basavī patrín.*
20. Z. *Sō prečéla t'ō šērō talé t'ō pīrē opré ?*  
P'. *Purum.*
21. Z. *Akēk'óv 'vela, mī yakē sī pārdí manké mō pērr.*  
P'. *Ī tatē-móskerō.*
22. Z. *Sō jivéla ar'ī bōrr tā kekār jala zelant ?*  
P'. *Ī χuχuní.*
15. Q. There are ten white horses going under the hill : now they go, now they go ; now they stop, now they stop. A. The horses are thy teeth.
16. Q. Four white ladies run after each other, but never catch each other. A. A windmill.
17. Q. A little box down there ; one can open it, a field full of men cannot shut it. A. A nut.
- 17a. Q. High up on the tree : one can pull it down, a hundred cannot put it back ; one can break it, a hundred cannot put it together again. A. A nut.
18. Q. Smaller than a mouse and higher than a castle. A. A plum on a tree.
19. Q. Hikki Pikki in the hedge ; touch Hikki Pikki and she will bite thee. A. A nettle.
20. Q. What grows head down and feet up ? A. An onion.
21. Q. Here he comes : my eye is filled before my belly. A. Mustard.
22. Q. What lives in a garden and never grows green ? A. A mushroom.



23. Z. *Gīóm talé ar'ī bōrr, t̄ā dikóm ō p̄urō lolō dumō ; čindóm leskō šērō t̄ā mukdóm leskō trūpos konyō.*  
P'. *Lolō šox.*
24. Z. *Jōs mē pārl ī p̄urj, dikóm bita melanō mūrš, azdóm les opré, p̄idóm leskō rat, t̄ā učerdóm les talé.*  
P'. *Ī ōréna.*
25. Z. *Gīóm 'rol ō ruká t̄ā 'vīóm 'rol ō ruká, 'yom drūba košt : nai yek̄ tačš, nai yek̄ baŋš, nai yek̄ kuškō te xočerél : t̄ā 'yom mē drūba košt t̄ai.*  
P'. *'Yom gonō p̄ārdō koštenéŋō mel t̄op mō dumō.*
26. Z. *Jidó alán, muló maskál, trūpos t'ōzť palál.*  
P'. *P'agē-pūviéŋerō.*
27. Z. *Ō mulō rigeréla ō jidé.*  
P'. *Bērō.*
28. Z. *Ō mūrš te kedás les bikindás les, ō mūrš te kindás les na wōntsélas les kek, ō mūrš te 'yas les junélas čī trušal lesti.*  
P'. *Muléskō moxtō.*
29. Z. *Sō jala bōredér kana činésa lā ?*  
P'. *Xev.*
30. Z. *Ok'ī bita juvél ridť p̄ōrntť, p̄uredér te jivéla bitedér jala yoi.*  
P'. *Mumblī.*

23. Q. I went down into the garden and saw old Rustyback : I cut off his head and left his body alone. A. Red cabbage.
24. Q. I was going over the bridge ; I saw a little yellow man, I lifted him up, I drank his blood, and I threw him down. A. An orange.
25. Q. I went through the trees, I came through the trees, I got a heap of wood ; not one [piece] was straight, not one was crooked, not one was fit to burn ; yet I got a heap of wood. A. I got a bag of sawdust.
26. Q. Alive in front, dead in the middle, body and soul behind. A. A plough.
27. Q. The dead carries the living. A. A boat.
28. Q. The man that made it sold it, the man that bought it did not want it, the man that got it knew nothing about it. A. A coffin.
29. Q. What grows bigger the more you cut away from it ? A. A hole.
30. Q. There is a little woman dressed in white ; the longer she lives, the shorter she grows. A. A candle.





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41. Z. *Sō jala kī bōrō gav, jala tā ačéla?*

P'. *Ō drom.*

42. Z. *Sō jala kī Lundra tā dikéla anré sōkon hudár?*

P'. *Ō drom.*

43. Z. *Gīóm k'ō veš tā 'yom les, 'vīóm avrť tā bešdóm talé te r'odá leski, 'yom les, tā šiš l'atōs les.*

P'. *Kōrō ar'ō pīrō.*

44. Z. *Sō jala pārl ō pānī tā talál ō pānī, tā pārl ō košt tā talál ō košt?*

P'. *Ī tārnī juvel te jala pārdál ī koštenéŋī pūrj tā rigeréla koštenéŋī tušnī pārdī pānī tōp lakō šērō.*

45. Z. *Al'ō mūrš te kistéla tōp ī greskō dumō tā 'doi pīréla.*

P'. *'Doi sas ī jukléskō nav.*

46. Z. *Mī pūrī dai keravélas ī goi aré peskē χολová.*

P'. *'Čelas t'ō χολová tōp peskē herā kana kelas ī goi.*

47. Z. *Tōp leskē čōŋā te kel les. "Anré ši-lō?" pēndás you. "Aua," χοčē you, "anré ši-lō; kela maŋi mištó tā kamáva les."*

P'. *Čioχéŋī budíka, tā budíkakerō te čivéla čioχ tōp rōnīákō pīrō.*

48. Z. *Pērr k'ō pērr, vast k'ō dumō, bita lolō kova te jal anré bita lolē fanésti.*

P'. *Dai te dela peskō beχt ī tiknéski.*

49. Z. *Sas mē kōkésti kova kai ačél opré, sas mē bibiátī koia kai sas balanť: mīrō kōk čidás ō kova kai pračéla anré mē bibiákī koia kai sas balanť.*

P'. *Šuveliákī herói tā šērō.*

50. Z. *Sō sī yekē χev te pándél dūī χevyá?*

P'. *Čī tō naké aré mī bul, tā junésa.*

41. Q. What goes to London, goes and yet stays? A. The road.

42. Q. What goes to London, and looks in at every door? A. The road.

43. Q. I went to the wood and I got it, I came out, and sat down to look for it; I had it, and yet I could not find it. A. A thorn in the foot.

44. Q. What goes over the water and under the water, and over the wood and under the wood? A. A young woman crossing a wooden bridge, carrying a wooden pail of water on her head.

45. Q. Here is a man on horseback and still he was walking. A. 'Still' was the name of the dog.

46. Q. My grandmother used to boil the pudding in her stockings. A. She was wearing stockings when boiling the pudding.



## NOTES

1. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 394; *Halliwell*, ii. p. 143, no. 10:  
 What God never sees,  
 What the king seldom sees,  
 What we see every day.  
 Read my riddle, I pray. (An equal.)
2. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 931, which is of the same group:  
 Ik heff all'n halben swienskopp mit twee ogen sehn, du ok? (Mit den  
 eigenen Augen.)
3. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 395:  
 Alles geit rin un alles geit rin. (In das Alter.)
5. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 315 b:  
 Geit wat rund um'n hus 'und kickt in alle löcker. (Die Sonne.)
6. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 345 b; *Halliwell*, ii. p. 145, no. 18:  
 A house full, a yard full,  
 And ye can't catch a bowl full. (Smoke.)
7. Cp. the following riddle, well known in Germany:  
 Es ist nicht meine Schwester, nicht mein Bruder, und doch meiner Mutter  
 und meines Vaters Kind. (Ich selbst.)
11. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 328:  
 Witt smiet ik't up't dack, gäl kümmt'twedder daal. (Ei.)
12. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 31 e:  
 In einem weissen Berg blüht eine gelbe Blume; wer die Blume will haben,  
 muss den ganzen weissen Berg umgraben. (Ei.)
13. Cp. *Gregor*, no. 37:  
 It's as white's milk  
 An' as black's coal,  
 An' it jumps on the dyke  
 Like a new-shod foal. (Magpie.)
14. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 167; *Halliwell*, ii. p. 148, no. 35:  
 Link lank, on a bank,  
 Ten against four. (A milkmaid.)
15. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 42; *Halliwell*, ii. p. 142, no. 8:  
 A flock of white sheep  
 On a red hill;  
 Here they go, there they go,  
 Now they stand still.  
 (The teeth and gums.)
- Halliwell*, i. no. 141, p. 78:  
 Thirty white horses on a red hill,  
 Now they tramp, now they tramp,  
 Now they stand still. (Teeth.)
16. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 156:  
 Auf einem Berg stehen vier Damen, die laufen in Windeseile und kriegen  
 sich nie. (Windmühlenflügel.)
19. Cp. *Gregor*, 35, 36 (p. 81):  
 Robbie-Stobbie on this side o' the dyke,  
 Robbie-Stobbie on that side o' the dyke,  
 And gehn ye touch Robbie-Stobbie  
 Robbie-Stobbie 'ill bite ye. (Nettle.)



- Cp. *Chambers*, no. 10 :  
 Heg-beg adist the dike and Heg-beg ayont the dike ;  
 If ye touch Heg-beg, Heg-beg will gar you fyke. (Nettle.)
- Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 51.
21. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 192, 193 :  
 De bruutmann keem to gahn,  
 wat heff ik di denn dahn,  
 Dat ik di hier treff weenen,  
 ik will di jo doch nähmen !—  
 Ik doh jo gornich weenen,  
 dat sünd jo middacksthränen,  
 du sühst jo hier de rest,  
 de mi de thrän utpresst. (Zwiebel.)
23. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 200 :  
 Es steht auf einem Bein, ist kugelrund und trägt das Herz im Kopf. (Kohl.)
26. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 241 :  
 Vörn fleesch, un hinnen fleesch, in de midd holt un isen. (Pflug.)
27. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 78 ; *Gregor*, no. 32 :  
 As I leukit our ma father's castle wa'  
 A saw the dead carryin' the living awa.' (A boat.)
28. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 403 ; *Gregor*, no. 22 :  
 The wiz a man bespoke a coat :  
 When the maker it home did bring  
 The man who made it would not have it,  
 And the man who spoke for 't cudna use it,  
 And the man who wore it cudna tell  
 Whether it suited him ill or well ? (Coffin.)
- Halliwell*, i. p. 74, no. 124 :  
 There was a man made a thing,  
 And he that made it, did it bring ;  
 But he 'twas made fore did not know,  
 Whether 'twas a thing or no. (Coffin.)
29. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 397 :  
 Dat ward ümmer grötter wenn dor nicks bi dahn ward, dat ward ümmer  
 lütter, wenn dor wat bi dahn ward. (Loch im Strumpf.)
30. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 416 ; *Halliwell*, i. p. 79, no. 145 :  
 Little Nancy Etticoat,  
 In a white petticoat  
 And a red nose ;  
 The longer she stands,  
 The shorter she grows. (A candle.)
34. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 255 :  
 Binnen blank un buten blank, liker fieesch un bloot mang. (Fingerhut.)
35. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 291 :  
 Geit de stuuw up un daal, mööt in'n düüstern winkel stahn. (Besen.)
37. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 364 :  
 Kann reisen oewer water un land, kann spräken un hett doch keenen ver-  
 stand. (Brief.)
39. Cp. *Wossidlo*, no. 280 :  
 Geit up'n kopp to boen. (Schuhnagel.)
44. Cp. *Halliwell*, ii. p. 148, no. 37 :  
 Over the water, and under the water,  
 And always with its head down.  
 (A nail in the bottom of a ship.)





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adopted surnames which they borrowed from those of persons of quality. At least some of these names, it is clear, had been adopted when the ancestors of the Finnish Gypsies were vagrant in Sweden. This is proved by the fact that the name Roos is very common amongst the Gypsies of Sweden, Norway, and Finland. In Norway as well as in Finland the names of Berg, Friman, Lind, and Palm are found.

Finnish-Romani bears yet further evidence to their Swedish origin. The Swedish element in it separates the present Gypsies of Finland from those of other countries, and constitutes them a branch or linguistic subsection of the Gypsy people. Their dialect presents a purity and an antiquity which is astonishing when one considers the length of time they have been isolated from the rest of the race.

The loan-words afford information about their earlier wanderings. The fact that so many Swedish loan-words have crept into their language may possibly be explained in this way:—The Gypsies, conversing among themselves in the presence of the Finnish peasantry, employed the Swedish language learnt in Sweden, in order to gain respect, and, in the course of time, by reason of long usage, adopted words from it into their own language. In the Finnish dialect of Romani there are no Russian words; but, on the other hand, there are South-Slavic ones which are common to the languages of all European Gypsies, and which, consequently, must have been appropriated by the Gypsies during their sojourn among the Southern Slavs of South-eastern Europe. Finnish influence on the Finnish Gypsy dialect is very slight; those who speak their language best hardly ever use Finnish but constantly Swedish words, although the great majority of them do not understand or speak that language. Thus the language of the Finnish Gypsies has partly maintained an unusually archaic character, partly altered by the assimilation of loan-words, and now forms a dialect which is not spoken by Gypsies in any other country, and is sharply separated from all other Gypsy dialects. As far as the language goes, the Finnish Gypsies might rather be called Swedish. Their dialect differs more from Russian-Romani (which contains a number of Russian loan-words) than from the German or English; indeed, it stands nearer the Hungarian dialect than the Russian. A Gypsy of Finland finds difficulty in understanding a foreign Gypsy.

Characteristic of the Finnish Gypsies is their passion for



wandering, on account of which they are to be classed with the nomad Gypsies of southern countries. If one looks back to the period of their first arrival in the north, either in Sweden or in Finland, one is forced to believe that the Gypsies then roaming the country were nomad tent-Gypsies, because their intercourse with the population at that time was extremely little, and the fear they inspired great. The severity of the climate, however, soon compelled them to give up tent-life. Nowadays the Gypsies of Finland neither range about with tents nor dwell in them, but with the peasantry in houses, bath-cabins, malt-kilns, or barns. In spite of this they should still be classed as nomad Gypsies, since they are always on the 'fante path,' and hardly ever make a home in one spot, not even when they are well-to-do and own land. The instinct to wander has thus remained unimpaired—the manner of their wandering has changed, that is all. Sometimes a lull in their restlessness may be noticed, and they appear more settled, but it is only for a time. The Gypsy nature breaks out with renewed and greater vigour, and the son of India is once more a restless and untamed nomad. The wanderings of the Finnish Gypsies are of a local character. Where the Gypsy has been wont to go, where his forefathers for countless generations have gone, that is his beat to-day; seldom in his travels, continuous through summer and winter, does he transgress the borders of the region within which tradition confines them. The several groups, though they live in much isolation, are yet acquainted with each other. When the passion for wandering rises to a higher pitch, the Gypsy sets out on longer journeys, relations in distant regions are visited, friends and connections meet at fairs, and thus it may be said that all Gypsies know each other: they form merely one great family, whose members are scattered throughout almost the whole country. The Finnish Gypsies differ also from others in that they have no leader, chief, or king—the head of the family guides the members on their journeyings. The ancient mode of travelling in huge long caravans is still occasionally practised in certain parts of Österbotten. By instinct, as it would seem, Gypsies from various parts of the country congregate in a certain region, presently to set forth in great companies upon some journey, after the manner of their forefathers, an atavistic outbreking of a habit long since abandoned. As a rule, the Gypsies wander in small groups, or still smaller families, from farmstead to farmstead. There are in Finland



instances of Gypsies having extended their excursions far beyond the borders of the country. Finnish Gypsies have journeyed through Scandinavia, and have reached occasionally even the coast of the Black Sea: such wide-wanderers are, however, exceptions. Although there are some who have undertaken these longer journeys, there has been practically no contact with other Gypsies. There is scarcely an instance of a Finnish Gypsy's having married a foreign one. Only a single case is definitely known, when a Finnish Gypsy on his travels married a Polish Gypsy woman.

While from time to time foreign Gypsy hordes, belonging to the south, make visits, more or less prolonged, to Finland, the Russian Gypsies hardly ever do so; once only, in all probability, have South Russian Gypsies from Bessarabia invaded the territory of Finland—North Russian Gypsies, on the other hand, are never seen. The foreign tent-Gypsies, who in the last few decades have strayed into Finland almost every year, exercise not the slightest influence on the Finnish Gypsies. No marriage has been entered into with them (an attempt was made once); never within memory has a single individual belonging to a foreign band remained in the country. At the utmost, single Finnish Gypsies have witnessed with wonder the strange progress of the foreign hordes, but, owing to the difference of languages, if for no other reason, have not come into close contact with them.

The Finnish Gypsies, in contradistinction to the Gypsies of the south, are, with the exception of certain destitute families in Eastern Finland, cleanly. This feature is possibly also due to their wish to win respect among the population. They use bath-cabins as often as possible, and wash their clothes more carefully than the Finnish peasants. Every Gypsy, if he can manage it, is well clad, and endeavours in this respect to emulate the gentle class. They have a predilection for certain colours, such as yellow, green, and red, the Finnish Gypsies for red especially. The women wear red shawls, or particoloured shawls containing red, to cover the body, and a red cloth on the head. The men have long broad red belts and red neckcloths. Ornaments are much less worn than by the Gypsies of the south; if any are used, they consist of rings and ear-pendants, but not coins.

The manners and customs of the Gypsies of Finland have undergone changes; on the other hand, they have maintained with wonderful tenacity the chief Gypsy modes of earning a





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are alone, and never to earn money. No instrumental music is found among them. A few, however, of late years have learnt to play the violin or accordion, but not as an inherited occupation.

This holds good even of Gypsy dancing. The Gypsies in Finland not only have a natural talent for dancing, but have also inherited from generation to generation the mode of dancing—the genuine original Gypsy dancing: their women in Finland, however, do not appear as dancers before the public. Their dancing is very like that of Turkey; those who have seen the one, know the other. But in countries where the Gypsies have had opportunities of cultivating their skill, the art has assumed other and more wildly passionate forms, as, for example, in Spain, in Egypt, and to some extent also in Russia. The typical character in all is, however, the same.

On the other hand, no evidence is to be found indicating that the Finnish Gypsies had in ancient times anything to do with puppet-shows or the exhibiting of trained bears. Neither are they conversant with jugglery, excepting a few card tricks.

The chief occupations of the Gypsies are horse-jobbing, quackery, fortune-telling, begging, and stealing. The Finnish Gypsies are virtuosi of the highest order in these, their principal, if not only, means of acquiring a livelihood.

Horse-jobbing is so universal, that every one of them might be said to be a horse-dealer or a horse-jobber; even the poorest who do not own horses are as experienced as the rest in all that concerns them. Horse-dealing is the Gypsies' chief means of getting money, and there are instances in Finland of Gypsies having made fortunes by it. Here, as in other countries, fraud is more or less the accompaniment of their horse-dealing, and few transactions are completed without profit to the Gypsy.

After horse-jobbing, the Finnish Gypsies' main occupation is quackery. They believe themselves able to cure almost all diseases, not only in animals but also in man. The cleverer a Gypsy is, the greater his reputation among his kinsfolk. Their connection with medicine is often associated with humbug of one kind or another, but by no means invariably; experience has shown that the Gypsies really have succeeded by their methods in curing the diseases of animals, and, to a certain extent, those of man. Consequently many Gypsies are held in great respect by the population. There are Gypsies who pass themselves off as real savant 'doctors,' and who go their rounds, well dressed



and in smart turnouts, in districts where they are not known. Quackery, as carried on at present by the Gypsies, should be looked upon as a development of the witchcraft of former times; the belief in the Gypsies' supernatural power has, to a great extent, already passed away and yielded place to the belief in their power of healing. The Gypsies too, in their turn, have abandoned their tricks of witchcraft in consequence of the spread of culture, and have embraced more serious methods. These have partly been passed down from father to son, partly intercepted from some veterinary surgeon or medical practitioner. So long as the populace believe in their skill, so long will quackery flourish, even should it become contrary to law, since no efficient control can be exercised. The habit of quackery is so ingrained in the Gypsies, that not only do they all know something of it, but they also believe in the salutary effect of their own medicines and ointments, and spend money in procuring them. The belief in 'drops' and their sovereign efficacy in healing remains, even among those Gypsies who have emancipated themselves from most of the Gypsy habits. Quackery will long continue to be the principal means of livelihood of a number of Gypsies.

Gypsy fortune-telling and tricks of witchcraft boast an ancient ancestry, as they have been and are still carried on in India as well as in every country into which the Gypsies have penetrated. As already mentioned, these tricks have nowadays largely lost their former efficacy in Finland. The Gypsies themselves, generally speaking, do not believe in them, and merely employ them to deceive credulous, superstitious people. The Finnish Gypsies tell fortunes less by the lines of the hand than by cards, which they mostly bring with them. Superstition is still widely prevalent among the Finnish people; old women fortune-tellers and old men wizards still figure largely, but most of them are Finlanders. The Gypsies are but seldom resorted to, although the belief in their powers of fortune-telling and of witchcraft still survives in certain parts of the country, and this belief is the reason why the Gypsies are still feared among the people.

Begging continues to be a general Gypsy pursuit in Finland, but is carried on exclusively by women and children. As beggars the Gypsies appeared in India, as such they made themselves known in their first incursions into Europe, and as such they appear to this day. While still little more than babes, they attain a dexterity in begging which is astonishing. If they lack patience



in everything else, if they are without endurance in work, they have as compensation an extraordinary perseverance in this branch of wage-earning. The South European Gypsies beg even when they possess much money. Well-to-do Finnish Gypsies, on the other hand, pay for every thing they get from the farmsteads they visit on their tours. Such Gypsies form the aristocracy of the Finnish tribe, and are looked upon by the others as persons of quality and repute.

Gypsy begging and thievishness are closely connected. In all ages and in all countries the Gypsies have gained a reputation for being thieves; with all nations amongst whom they have wandered the terms Gypsy and thief are nearly synonymous. Their conception of proprietary right is abnormal, their moral ideas are deficient, and they are unable to distinguish between *meum* and *tuum*; they do not consider a theft a blameworthy action. A Gypsy who has been sentenced for this crime deems the punishment unjust, because he cannot realise the significance of the offence; he submits humbly to superior power, but his self-esteem does not suffer in the least by the punishment; he continues to be the same proud Gypsy as before. The Gypsy's craving to steal is inborn, it is already present in the disposition of the Gypsy child. It can hardly be said that the Gypsies were obliged perforce to become thieves owing to the compelling power of circumstances, of temptation, or of example; this quality is far more deeply seated, it has been inherited from generation to generation, and has been further developed. The craving can be arrested, by a severe education it may even be suppressed, it is but seldom that it can be eradicated. It is the moral defect which is the fatal flaw in the ethical constitution of the Gypsies; and it is this which dissociates them from all other tribes, and has contributed to their becoming the most despised and worst hated people on earth. Yet they do not steal from each other, and very seldom from such persons as have treated them kindly. So, in such thefts, race-hatred may be an accessory motive. In most cases the Finnish Gypsies appropriate things of little value, eatables, articles of clothing, etc., but there have also been greater thefts. In sparsely populated and lonely regions the Gypsies may often become a real terror to the inhabitants, since they pass in great bands, usually at the time of the hay harvest, when all the workers are far from the farmstead, and only some old woman and small children remain in the house. It not infrequently





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monies. Traces of some earlier belief have been searched for in vain. Among the Gypsies of Finland one cannot find the slightest hint of heathen customs, and what little they know of the Christian religion is without influence on their mode of life or actions. Although most of them are baptized (in 1895, 1490 persons), all they know of Christianity is what they have picked up from the peasants. Those who have been confirmed (536 persons) have, of course, more religious knowledge, and of these there are a very few who have attained a certain piety—shortlived as a rule. The solemnisation of marriage in a church means nothing to the Gypsies. Where it has taken place it has generally been submitted to merely in order that the Gypsy couple may obtain increased reputation in the eyes of the peasants. The statistics of the number of baptized, confirmed, and married in church show how far the Gypsies have complied outwardly with the requirements of the Christian Church; they are a criterion of their formal complaisance, not of the spirit of religion within them. The Gypsies seldom go to church. From a few places, however, different reports have been received. Occasionally it happens that on some church festival they take their place, proud and overbearing, on the first seat in the church for the purpose of showing off and making an impression on the peasantry. Everything is done for show; the children are baptized in order to obtain a certificate of baptism; young people wish to be confirmed so that they may have a certificate of confirmation; marriages in church and churchings take place for the sake of reputation.

The level of education among the Finnish Gypsies is not very high. Statistics show that 50 individuals have been to some school or other; 17 to ambulatory schools, 21 to elementary schools, 3 to prison schools, and the remaining 9 to other schools. Seventy-three were stated to be able to read and write; to read only, 513; and unable to read or write, 396, though the latter figure is probably much higher in reality.

To all non-Gypsies who have acquired knowledge of this race mendacity stands out as a leading feature in their character. The mysteriousness of their nature, their instinctive desire to segregate themselves from all other people, has been the reason why the Gypsies only in the rarest instances have given reliable information about themselves. They will live their own free life, and they wish no one to obtain intimate knowledge of their social circumstances. They live with each other in a mutual freemasonry, with most



men of different race in hostility, in friendliness, though not in confidence, with a few. Their constant endeavour is that other people shall have as little knowledge as possible about them, in any case, incorrect knowledge. 'Mendacity to all the world beside, to ourselves the truth' might be called the motto of the Gypsies. Their language has been the chief cause of the remarkable absence of change in their mode of life in the course of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years. This language, which is unintelligible to others, the Gypsies use when they are conversing among themselves and do not wish to be understood by outsiders. In Romani they speak the truth, in other languages they try to mislead those who listen to them. Times without number they have been saved in the moment of peril by that very Gypsy language. As a matter of fact, Finnish is the mother-tongue of most of our Gypsies; in addition, some of them know Swedish and Russian. The children learn to speak the Gypsy tongue only when about ten years of age. In the south of Europe, Romani is generally the mother-tongue, the language spoken most commonly; it is, on the other hand, seldom spoken by the Finnish Gypsies, though all grown-up persons know it. The Gypsy trusts no one outside his tribe; he is the most distrustful man on earth. He sees fraud and guile always in the actions of every one else, he suspects every man and scents traps in everything. The cowardice of the Gypsies is common knowledge. Their bravery is that of superior force only. This cowardice has possibly been developed in times of persecution, when the Gypsies had no rights and were placed outside the law. The necessity for the Gypsies in Finland to be constantly on their guard arises partly from the fact that their actions are contrary to law, partly because they are not infrequently pursued and seized unjustly. They often try to deceive the police by false documents and by changing their names. In most cases where Gypsies have committed crimes in places to which they do not belong, it has been found difficult to ascertain their identity, simply because they use each other's names and exchange and borrow passports. Consequently it has often happened that an innocent person has had a bad mark put on his parish certificate, and that a guilty man has been repeatedly sentenced as a first offender for the same offence. Many Finnish Gypsies purposely own several names, and use, sometimes one, sometimes another. A number of Gypsies have not yet been registered, generally because they have not been received into any



parish community. In 1895 there were 1412 persons registered in church or civil registries.

Because of their ignorance, the Gypsies do not as a rule have themselves vaccinated. In 1893 only 546 Gypsies were given in the statistics as vaccinated or as having had smallpox.

No Gypsies are addicted to the vice of intemperance to such a degree that it proves fatal to them. The men often drink, on special occasions such as fairs, large quantities of intoxicants, but this is not the habit of their daily life. One might go further and say that to see a Gypsy in a state of inebriety—excepting at fairs—is an exceedingly rare sight. In this they differ from the Gypsies of Southern Europe, amongst whom drinking is very common. Of tobacco the Gypsy is passionately fond. Even women often smoke. Fights occur fairly often between Gypsies, women being the usual cause. Disputes are not seldom decided by single combat. When the Gypsies are drunk, the fights have a tendency to become bloody: more than one Gypsy has lost his life in this way, and many bear scars, the souvenirs of some great encounter.

The social life of the Gypsies in Finland is very far removed from that of a well-ordered community. Nothing binds the Gypsy; absolute freedom is what he desires; all restraint that the community wishes to impose upon him he flings contemptuously aside. This thirst for liberty has an enormous influence on the whole physical and psychical life of the Gypsies. They cannot be tied to the soil, cannot submit to the demands of the police or of law-abiding society, they wish to be free even from the restraint of moral and religious laws. The Gypsies (who are on the lowest level of the scale of culture) should be looked upon as a community of children of nature who as yet have but a superficial knowledge of civilisation and who will long defer its adoption, not because they are deficient in intelligence—for they possess it in a high degree—but because they cling with inflexible tenacity to their ancient manners and customs. Their volatile nature and inability to consider the future, their instability and restlessness, make any approach to even the lower forms of civilisation impossible. Wheresoever Gypsies are met with, in whatever country or among whatever nation, they have everywhere either remained untouched by civilisation or have adopted merely its worse features. They have experienced only its more shady sides, coming into contact, as they do, with the scum of the various nations they have encountered in their wanderings. And so they consider that they





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relations. Love of their children is perhaps more developed in the Gypsies than in any other race. If a mother were to be forcibly deprived of her children, life would lose its value for her, because she loves them passionately, with all her soul. Nevertheless, the Gypsies do not exhibit these attractive qualities in the presence of the hated stranger.

The fidelity of the Gypsy woman to her own race has become almost proverbial; but the conditions, the life, and the relations within the family are quite peculiar. The result of the premature puberty of the Gypsies, and the licentiousness of their carnal passions, is that in many cases those who are not bound individually live promiscuously. From such groups the several couples segregate and contract marriages which—lawful or unlawful—become more or less lasting and constant, of a greater or less fidelity. As long as the man loves the woman her fidelity is certain. In former times adultery on the part of the woman was severely punished by the relations. The punishment—a bodily stigma for life—has gradually died out, but opinion on the matter continues to be very severe. The Finnish Gypsies dread nothing so much as venereal contagion. Infected persons are despised by all other Gypsies as long as they live, and only very few cases of such diseases have occurred among them. These qualities are the indispensable conditions of their life. Higher than anything else in their regard stands the desire to maintain the race sound and unaltered; and if these qualities were not present in the Gypsy, the existence of the race would be jeopardised.

Generally speaking, the Gypsies are a kind people; they wish no evil to any one, unless special circumstances, such as the craving for revenge, one of their strongest passions, demand the contrary. There are among the Gypsies of Finland persons who have a bad reputation even from the Gypsy point of view, whose actions the tribe as a whole are far from approving, and who are considered to destroy the reputation of the race.

The Gypsies are wholly dependent on their feelings, they feel rather than think; they are subjective to such a degree that their power of judgment is impaired. The feelings of the Gypsies, their grief and their pride, are, in Southern Europe, reflected in their music, in which the deepest qualities of the Gypsy soul find their expression. The Finnish Gypsies are equally dependent on their feelings, and this is shown in their whole view of life, of the world, and of men.



By their alertness, vivacity, and quickness of perception, they differ radically from most of the other inhabitants of the country. They are exceedingly clever, have an unusually good memory, and are apt at learning. A Gypsy child learns more quickly than one of another race. If the Gypsies had not possessed such intellectual qualities, they would have been unable to fight through the storms of life as they have done, but would have gone under in the battle long ago. Their native gifts afford them a great power of knowing the weak points of men, national and individual prejudices, of which they take advantage.

It is, however, not so much deliberate thought as intuitive feeling which is the characteristic of their minds.

Grief, destitution, and reverses befall every Gypsy, but he bows under them with fatalistic resignation. A strain of profound melancholy pervades the whole race, and a sad gravity is deeply ingrained in the soul of the Gypsy. Even in the joy and merriment that life at times brings him there is discernible a tinge of sadness. The Gypsies hardly ever laugh. Incessant, gnawing sorrow has impressed its indelible mark on their souls and made them the greatest of pessimists. They are bound together in suffering, and the hard, inevitable fate which hangs over them unites the whole race.<sup>1</sup>

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### III.—A WITCH, A WIZARD, AND A CHARM.

By FRANK STANLEY ATKINSON and ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT.

SITTING in Siterus Boswell's<sup>2</sup> caravan on Abingdon Common a year or more ago, we were at first rather annoyed by the intrusion of Manful Roberts, a very 'gorgeous' looking member of one of the other families camping there. But Manful proved not only deeper in his Romany than his appearance warranted, but also entertaining on the subject of witches, or rather of one witch. A

<sup>1</sup> In the original a third section, pp. 91-132, follows this: its interest is, however, specially for a legislative body, and it has been judged unnecessary to translate it for this Journal.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Siterus Boswell, son of Thomas Boswell and Künsaleti Smith, travels under the name of John Lewis. After the death of his grandfather, Lewis Boswell, known as 'old Lewis' to the villagers where he travelled, his father was commonly called Tommy Lewis; and, with the carelessness of a Gypsy with regard to names, he adopted the alias for the rest of his life, and was buried at Challow in August 1910 as Thomas Lewis. All his children pass under the name Lewis. Siterus' Christian name was dropped on the death of an uncle of that name, and replaced by John.



casual mention of the word *čovihâni* drew from him several tales of the occult powers of Dona, daughter of Manuel (*alias* Mantis) Buckland and wife of 'black' Willy Buckland. Though he stood in boundless awe of her, or perhaps for that very reason, his own experience of her, he admitted, had been favourable. Meeting him some years ago, when with a young man's carelessness he had squandered the stock provided for him by his father and was without a penny in the world, she had promised him an immediate betterment of his lot and increasing good fortune throughout his life. And up to the present her prophecy had been fulfilled. He started at once to prosper, and is now in fairly comfortable circumstances as a travelling show proprietor.

But his cousin Willy Buckland—not identical with Dona's husband<sup>1</sup>—had fared less happily. When he fell foul of Dona he was attending fairs with a steam roundabout and other properties to the value of two or three thousand pounds; and, though they were not all paid for, he was enjoying good luck with them. But at Bampton fair one summer, there was a quarrel between him and Dona's sons, the latter assaulted him, and he prosecuted them. Dona was so annoyed, when told of the threatened prosecution, that she went up to Willy as he sat on the footboard of his waggon, *del'd* him in the *mui*, and prophesied that before the end of the year he would have but one old waggon left on the roads. A few months later his engine ran away down a hill, smashing everything except itself; the engine was appropriated by creditors to compensate themselves for the portion of the stock for which he had not paid; and by the end of the year Willy had only one old waggon left. The story of this memorable accident is well known among local travellers, and Willy himself and other members of his family have often told us about it, though they do not always mention Dona's part in the catastrophe. Willy has partially recovered from his monetary losses: but ill-luck still seems to dog him, and three years running he has lost a child of almost the same age on almost the same date.

Manful went on to relate an experience which Abraham Buckland, Willy's father, had of the folly of offending Dona. They were camping on the same ground, and Abraham had just had a new bolt put in his waggon, fastening the shafts to the body

<sup>1</sup> This Willy is the son of Abraham Buckland and Emily Shaw; while 'black' Willy is a son of John Buckland and Fairneti Green, whose mother, Lëo, was an aunt of Abraham. Manful's mother, Ettie Buckland, is Abraham's oldest sister.





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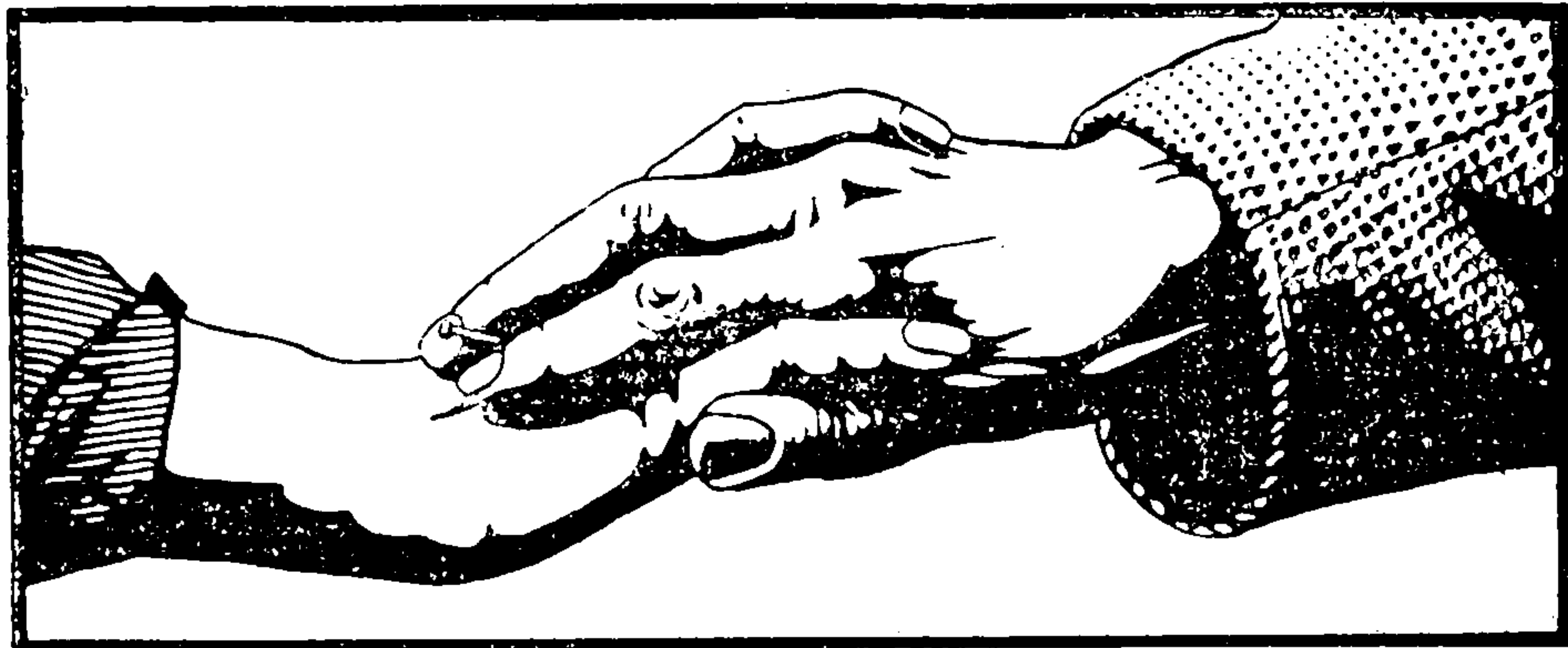
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arrested on three charges, and was to appear before the magistrates the next morning with very little hope of an acquittal. Dona took him by the hand and told him that she was going to the top of the hills to 'wrestle with God and Devil,' and that her son would be acquitted. She went on up the hills, and presumably wrestled as successfully as Abraham of old, though matched with a double adversary, since the next day her son was acquitted on all three counts. Manful rather illogically inferred that she had *biken'd* her *kokeri* to the *Beng*. He might just as well have assumed that she had *biken'd* her *kokeri* to *mi diri Duvel*, since she treated them with strict impartiality. The Berkshire downs would seem to be a favourite haunt of His Satanic Majesty, as it was on the downs near Newbury that he made his bargain with Riley Smith.<sup>1</sup>

Oddly it was from a Gypsy, Eli Rose (*alias* White), who travels round Newbury and the downs, that we learned at Reading lately a charm to counteract a witch's spells. His brother had been bewitched for eight years by a certain old Eliza—whether *Romani* or *gáji* he did not say. She had told him that the horse he was driving would kick to pieces every trap he put it in, that any other horse he got would do the same, and that he would have bad luck in every way. That horse fulfilled its part of the witch's will, though quiet as a lamb in any one else's hands. Other horses followed suit, and his luck was as bad as luck could be till Eli gave him the recipe to cure it. And this is the recipe. Take a brass pin between your first and second



fingers and, when grasping the witch's hand to shake, seize it in such a way that those two fingers at least pass between her first finger and her little finger and rest on the back of her hand, pressing her two middle fingers in towards her palm.<sup>2</sup> Then, while

<sup>1</sup> Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 297-9.

<sup>2</sup> To elucidate the process, which is really simpler than it sounds, an illustration made from a photograph, for which we have to thank Mr. F. Shaw, is given.



shaking hands and withdrawing your hand, rub those two fingers downwards towards yourself, drawing blood with the pin between them from the back of her hand as you do so. The pin is not essential, if you can rely on your nails to draw blood; but blood must be drawn, as that is what renders her powerless.

This belief in the efficacy of drawing a witch's blood is quite common, and not confined to Gypsies. In Lincolnshire, for instance, not so very long ago, an unlucky old woman suspected of witchcraft was forced to sit down on a chair stuffed with pins.<sup>1</sup> And the trick of concealing a pin between one's fingers when shaking hands is one that would readily suggest itself as an easy method of drawing blood unnoticed, and no doubt is also common. It is certainly used by Gypsies in Wales as well as England, since a South Welsh Gypsy, Jack Price, recently admitted to us that he had used it himself. He professed disbelief in witchcraft; but stood in awe of two persons. One of these was a young girl with whom he had been on affectionate terms: but one night, when her importunity forced him to inform her that his affection was limited by fidelity to his wife, they kneeled down together in a field, and the damsel proceeded to call down curses upon him in a blood-curdling manner. Why he obligingly kneeled to be cursed, he did not explain. But the result was that within three months he lost three horses worth £37, and disaster after disaster dogged his footsteps for a year. Then he, too, broke the spell by drawing blood with a pin while shaking hands with her. He, however, scouted the idea that the position of the fingers was of the slightest importance; and indeed, for the mere purpose of drawing blood, Eli's elaborate directions were quite unnecessary.

On the other hand, it is highly improbable that such precise instructions should be meaningless: and the position of the fingers suggests a fairly reasonable explanation. One of the commonest signs used in Italy to avert the evil eye is to stretch out one's hand towards the person suspected of it with the first and little fingers extended and the two middle fingers pressed back towards the palm with the thumb.<sup>2</sup> Now, if Eli's directions are followed, this is precisely the position which the witch's hand is caused to assume. It is certainly odd that the witch should make this sign and not the bewitched; but it would be impossible

<sup>1</sup> Gutch and Peacock, *Examples of printed Folk-lore concerning Lincolnshire*, p. 77 (Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, No. 63, London, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895), pp. 259-260.



to make the sign and to scratch at the same time; and perhaps it was thought that the sign must have some effect whoever made it. Similar misunderstandings or wilful perversions of superstitions, which they have borrowed, are not uncommon among the Gypsies. At least one Gypsy kept an inverted Lent, fasting for several Fridays after Easter instead of before;<sup>1</sup> and Leland notes that they hang horse-shoes with the points up instead of down, as other people hang them.<sup>2</sup> So that there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that a perverted evil-eye charm has been combined with the belief in drawing a witch's blood, especially as the evil-eye superstition is attested among English Gypsies.<sup>3</sup>

To return to Dona Buckland, it is only fair to add that her reputation is limited. Siterus and his wife had known her all their lives, and never before heard of her as a *čovihâni*. But most of her acquaintances regard her as somewhat uncanny, a reputation which may be due to her mobile face, her wild eyes, and occasional violent movements. Some remark of ours, when we met her at Stow fair a year ago, caused her to leap suddenly to her feet, throw both arms above her head, and with fists clenched, eyes rolling, face twitching, and her whole body quivering, denounce the 'gorgeousness' of her sister in the next caravan. She certainly looked wishful enough to utter a curse; but to our disappointment she forbore.

There is, however, one person in whom all the Gypsies of this part of England seem to believe as a wizard, old Josh Loveridge of Towcester, but they are generally reticent as to his doings. Among the Bucklands the following strange tale is current, and each of them asserts that one of the others was eye-witness of it. Josh's son was arrested for stealing a bundle of faggots—long faggots, four or five feet in length—and they were brought into court at the trial. Josh himself attended; and, as the trial proceeded, he kept his eyes fixed on that bundle of faggots, and looked and looked, until the faggots tipped themselves up on end, and turning over and over lengthwise gracefully left the court. After this discreet withdrawal of the *corpus delicti*, Josh's son was acquitted; though why it should be considered less of a crime to steal an ambulant bundle of faggots than any ordinary dead sticks is not apparent.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 279.      <sup>2</sup> Leland, *The Gypsies*, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Groome, 'The Influence of the Gypsies on the Superstitions of the English Folk' (*Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891), p. 304; and Leland, *The English Gypsies*, pp. 121, 138.





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what you've come about. It's that half-sovereign: and your husband has been beating you every night since you lost it.' After putting a few questions, he inquired if she would recognize the person whom she suspected; and, being told that she would, he answered: 'Then I'll bring them to you in this room. Look over your left shoulder, and tell me if you see anything.' The woman looked and was *trašer*'d out of her *meripen* to see her sister-in-law standing behind her. Josh inquired if she had seen the person she suspected, and she admitted that she had. Thereupon she was asked again to look over her left shoulder, which she did, and there was nothing there. Once more she was requested to look, and again she saw her sister-in-law. Then Josh said that he would plague that person so that on her return home she would find the half-sovereign put back in the purse in the cupboard, whence it was taken. But on the road home she would meet a Gypsy man near the *kičema*, and he would follow her and try to induce her to go to the *kičema* with him. Of him she was on no account to take any notice, but was to keep 'boring' on about her business, or else she would not find the money. On her return journey she met the Gypsy man, who, Nelson supposed, was the *Beng*; but, mindful of Josh's instructions, she kept 'boring' on about her business; and, when she reached her home, she found the money in the purse in the cupboard behind the cups and saucers, precisely where it was when she lost it. Nelson added that at times he could hardly believe such things to be possible, but, as we knew, there certainly were evil-spoken men and women about the country: and to that we assented with a safe conscience.

Evil-speaking seems a feeble explanation of these marvels; and, though mesmeric suggestion might account for the appearance of the sister-in-law, the meeting of the Gypsy on the road, and even the magistrate's acquittal in the first case, it could hardly have operated at a distance on the sister-in-law's conscience and made her return the money. Nor, unless one is prepared to credit Josh with the powers of an Indian fakir, could it have made a large audience see sticks rotate. It is worth noting, perhaps, that some Scottish Gypsies were once accused of 'casting the glamour' over a number of people at Haddington, and a Scottish Act of 1579 mentions their power of 'charming,' while De Rochas speaks of Gypsies of the Basque provinces as mesmerists and clairvoyants.<sup>1</sup> Other tales told of Josh point to mesmeric influence

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 42; New Series, ii. 286-7.



too, if they can be believed. For example, when a traveller near Towcester loses his horse, he does not waste his time looking for the animal, but goes straight to Joshua and explains his difficulty to him. Joshua inquires whether he would know his own horse, if he saw it; and the man of course answers with indignation that he would know it among a thousand, if he only got the chance. Thereupon Joshua gives him a mirror and bids him look in it; and in a short while the man sees his horse in a field or a stable, or wherever it may happen to be. On describing the surroundings to Joshua he is told where to go, pays his fee, and goes straight and fetches his horse.

Why the mirror and the rest are necessary is not obvious, since Josh seems quite capable of seeing things at a distance himself. At any rate, Abraham's brother, John (*alias* Shippy) Buckland, was once camping near Oxford, when a favourite black colt of his fell ill, and he had to call in a horse-slaughterer. When the man came, Shippy was seized with a strange whim to kill the horse himself, and took the pole-axe and did so. Almost immediately afterwards he moved off towards Towcester, accompanied by Abraham and his son Leonard, our informant. When they got near Towcester they met Josh, who at once said to Shippy that he had had some *wafedi bâk* lately, and had had to kill his black colt with his own hands. Those, however, who are in the habit of visiting local nomads and know how quickly a comparatively unimportant piece of news, such as the death of a horse, is passed round, may not see any great marvel in this last instance of Joshua's powers. Indeed, that and the following tale suggest that Joshua knows how to use private information so as to impress his gullible acquaintances.

Shippy's wife, Mary Buckland, and another Gypsy woman were arrested some years ago at Northampton for some kind of swindling, and Joshua offered, if paid for the trouble, to obtain their acquittal. But Shippy refused to have any 'devil's work,' and the two women got six months' imprisonment. At the end of their term, the two husbands and some of their friends drove over from the place where they were stopping to meet the women on their release, and, to be sure of being in time, they started very early, arriving at the gaol before it was light. There in the dusk they descried Joshua, who, on the previous day, had said he would be there before them, leaning against one of the gate posts; and when he caught sight of them, he urged them to go away; he was



drawing the women out, and they interfered with the operation. They withdrew in awe, and shortly afterwards Josh appeared with the two women. The probability seems to be that Joshua knew they would be released early in the morning, and used his knowledge to impress the others with a view to future profit. If so, he was not altogether disappointed, as the husband of the other Gypsy woman is said to be one of his regular clients, paying him a weekly sum when his luck is bad. And he is a person who is celebrated for the speediness of his recovery after a spell of bad fortune. At one time a prosperous *graiengro* in Northampton, he failed through recklessness, and started on the roads without horse or van. Yet in a few months he was on his feet again; and when in Oxford a winter or two ago appeared to be in flourishing circumstances. But in the spring he flitted, leaving debts behind him, and through his own folly his van was seized in payment for them. Only a few months later, in spite of his being an undischarged bankrupt, and having creditors on the look-out for him at Oxford, the news came down the road that he was having a waggon of the most costly and elaborate kind built at Reading; and in that he is still travelling, seemingly in the greatest prosperity, and unmolested by his creditors. And the credulous lay it all to Josh's credit. Leonard Buckland tells me that Josh's charges are most moderate, only a shilling or so a week, and you may ask for what luck you like; 'some of them asks for diamonds and things.'

Unfortunately we cannot vouch for Josh's personal eccentricities, as neither of us has seen him. But possibly he owes part of his reputation to the uncanniness of his appearance and behaviour. He is said frequently to start walking round and round a person who is conversing with him, contorting his face, waving his hands, and muttering to himself, and is credited, too, with ability to form a complete circle of his body round one's feet, if the spirit moves him so to do, and with other strange tricks, such as lying down in the street and rolling round one. That is how he behaved to Kuri Buckland<sup>1</sup> when asking her to marry his son, and promising that she would be a *râni* all her life and never have to work, if she would; whereas, if she refused, nothing but *wafedi bâk* would ever fall to her lot. Not unnaturally, after seeing him perform these antics in the street, Kuri refused to have such a father-in-law, and married one Jack Hicks; and

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Tēni Buckland, who was an aunt of Abraham.





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## E BATIMÉSKERI PARAMÍSI.

1. *Siné jek thagár, isí-da les jek gras, odolké-da grastés níko našti dikhél; sáde jek slúga isí, ov džal paš les ándo aχzíri, avér ni jek jak našti dikhél les. Odovká-da gras nanái, amí si χalákoro čhavó.*

2. *Isí-da e thagarés štar rakljá. Ikístile o rakljá ki sófa, bešté si, tha khuvén gergífi. Dinjás o rakló ándo aχzíri paš o gras, igalghjás léske akhoréntsa leblebés, tha dinjás te χal o gras, tha jek kakávi šerbéti. Sar te del andré i slúga, phuterghjás o vudár, dikhljás e thagaréskeri phuredér raklí e grastés, o gras-da ašló maíli láke. O rakló del e grastés o šerbéti, ov na piél. Pále ov del les, pále na piél. Geló i slúga: "Thagára, the thagaribnása, sa to gras dav les šerbéti, ov na piél." Phučél e slugás o thagár: "Dikhljás-li dek dženo e grastés, kána dinján andré paš les?" — "Thagára, the thagaribnása, sa te rakljá siné ki sófa, možebí léndar dek džení te dikhljás." "Víkine-ta me rakljén."*

3. *Vikiñghjás i slúga e rakljén, alé paš o thagár. Thoghjás e rakljénge ándo fútes e štaréñge-da akhoréntsa leblebés. Bičhalghjás te den ko gras te χal. Andár káskere futá kaχál, láke maíli ašló. Ói dikhljás les. I tsiknedér phen dinjás, o gras na χal; i stréno phen dinjás, o gras na χal; i tréto phen dinjás, o gras na χal; i štárto, i nái-phuredér dinjás, o gras χaljás. O thagár léske dinjás la, e čhaiá.*

## THE HISTORY OF BATIM

1. There is a king, and he has a horse, and no one can look at that horse; there is only one servant who goes near it in the stable, no other eye can see it. And that beast is not really a horse, but the son of an ogre.

2. And the king has four daughters. The daughters came out on to the balcony, are seated and embroidering. The stable-boy entered the stable, went up to the horse and gave it leblebi with nuts to eat and a kettle of sherbet. As the servant entered, he opened the door and the king's eldest daughter saw the horse, and the horse remained enamoured of her. The boy gives the horse the sherbet, it will not drink. Again he gives it the sherbet, again it refuses to drink. The servant went: 'O King, by your Dynasty, I repeatedly give your horse sherbet, and it will not drink.' The king asks the servant: 'Did any person see the horse, when you entered to it?' 'O King, by your Dynasty, all your daughters were on the balcony, perchance one person of them may have seen it.' 'Call, then, my daughters.'

3. The servant called the daughters, they came to the king. He placed in their aprons, the four of them, leblebi with nuts. He sent them to feed the horse. From whose apron he will eat, of her he is enamoured. She is the one who saw him. The youngest sister gave, the horse does not eat; the second sister gave, the horse does not eat; the third sister gave, the horse does not eat; the fourth, the eldest, gave, and the horse ate. The king gave her to him, his daughter.



4. *Thoghjás o thagár e čhaiá ándo aχzíri, paš o gras. I čhai phenél: "Dévla-le! Mo dad dinjás man grastéste; sar akaná k' uχtjél, ta mánsta jek t' ovél?" O gras uχtinó, čhitjás pi mortí, ašlo jek manúš. (De man, Dévla, dúi jakhá te dikháv les!) Thábljol pékjol, šukátar.*

5. *Geló paš i raklí. Ašló lása jek. O gras phenél: "Šun mánde! Tasjá me k' íkljovav sáde andé zelznoné šexjén, thai telál man zélzno gras. Kanakháv tasjá turjál te dadéskere palátes. Te phenjá kaphenén: "Dévla! Mo dad me phenjá naští ne-li dinjás manušéste? Amí mi phen gelí, gelí, grastés liljás!" Tu, sakín, te na χoχáughjoves te vakjerés kai me sinjóm to rom; zerre pósle, edekí-da kovés mánje romní, thai demirdén (srastéstar) tservúlja te kerés, srastéstar roulí te kerés, ta te ródes t' arakhjés man. Číne-ma-číne-džéza-davúlja."*

6. *Nakló hanγ 'čoká:—"Maŋgáv tut te na vakjerés. Tasjá kanakháv sáda andé parnén, thai telál man parnó gras. Te phenjá kaphenén túke: 'Mi phen, élaba, te lélas asalkés tha the phenáv láke brávos. Amí ói gelí liljás grastés!'"*

7. *Nakjél o rom lákoro; o phenjá aprasán la, kai liljás grastés. Kána adiká pe phenjénge: "So si-če! Adavká kai nakló, e parné šexjénsa, thai e parné grastésa, ov uló mo rom."*

8. *Blevélilo. Gelé-peske. "E, sar," o rom phenél, "ne-li phenghjóm ta te na vakjerés? E, romníje! srastéstar tservúlja te kerés, srastéstar roulí te kerés, ta te ródes Číne-ma-číne-džéza-davúlja,*

4. The king placed the girl in the stable, near the horse. The girl says: 'O God! My father has given me to a horse; now, how will he arise and become one with me?' The horse arose, cast its skin, remained a human being. (Give me, O God, two eyes to behold him!) He shines and burns with beauty.

5. He went to the maiden. He became one with her. The horse says: 'Hear me! To-morrow I shall go out dressed all in green garments, and under me a green horse. I shall pass to-morrow around your father's palace. Your sisters will say: "God! Was not my father able to give my sister to a human being? But my sister went, and went, and took a horse!" You take care, do not give yourself away and say that I am your husband; or afterwards, though you be my wife, you will make shoes of iron and a staff of iron, and you will search for me till you find me (in the land of) Číne-ma-číne-džéza-davúlja.'

6. So happened then thus: 'I beg you not to tell (them). To-morrow I shall pass (dressed) all in white, and under me a white horse. Your sisters will say to you: "Had my sister taken such an one, I would have said bravo to her. But she went and she took a horse!"'

7. Her husband passes; the sisters mock her because she had taken a horse for husband. Then she to her sisters: 'What then! That one who passed in white clothes and with a white horse, it is he who became my husband.'

8. Evening came. They went away. 'How now,' the husband says, 'did I not tell you not to say anything? Ah, wife! you must make shoes of iron and a staff of iron, and search for me (in the land of) Číne-ma-číne-džéza-davúlja until



*ta t' arakhjés man."* *Frrrrr!* *adavká, o gras, urjánilo, geló-peske paš pe daiá. Dikhljás i dai, liljás te rovél: "O mo Bátim, aló-peske!"*

9. *Uxtiní adiká, kerghjás-peske srastéstar tservúlja, srastéstar roulí ta tsidinjás Číne-ma-čine-džéza-davúlja, te ródel les. Deš berš drom phirél, ta ko deš-u-jek arakhljás les. Dikhljás jek česma; bešti dži odolké česma. Odolké-da rakléske, e Batimjéske, jek slúga anél séko diés paní tasósa, katár i česma. Phušljás i čhai: "Káske kalés paní an adalké tasós." "Isí jek rakló, Bátim, vikínen les." "An-tá, ta te piáv andár adavká tásos paní." Ói na mangljás te piél, amí mukhljás pi angrustí ándo tásos. O χízmetkjári-da, e Batimjéskoró, na dikhljás ándo tásos i angrustí.*

10. *Vzdzinjas te piél, o Bátim, paní. So te dikhél? I angrustí, e romnjákeri, ándo tásos! Vikinjas, o Bátim, pe slugás: "Ko siné ki česma?" "Isiné jek terní borí." "Vikíne-ta la, paš man, ta avél." Geló o rakló: "Éla, vikínel tut, o Bátim."*

11. *"E, ne-li phenghjóm tut, kána kanákháv me, tu, te phen-jéngé te na vakjerés, kai me sinjóm to rom?" "E, χοχάυghjiljom, vakjerghjóm." "Kaavél mi dai, kaχál tut." Del la jek korediní, kerél-la suv, o Bátim, thovél la pe bžrkéste.*

12. *Avél sar avél i dai: "Leléi, ternó mas aló mángge." Kaná o Bátim: "E, néne, so kakjerés, kai aχáljan?" "E, Sínko, so kakeráv? Akatár kaχáv la, palál kaχiljáv la." "Néne," o Bátim*

*you find me.' Frrrr! He, the horse, flew away, went to his mother. The mother saw and began to cry: 'O my Batim has returned!'*

9. She, the wife, arose, made herself shoes of iron and a staff of iron, and travelled (to the land of) *Číne-ma-čine-džéza-davúlja* in search of him. She treads the road for ten years, and in the eleventh year she found him. She saw a fountain; she sat down near that fountain. And every day a servant brings to that youth, to Batim, water in a pail, from the fountain. The girl asked: 'For whom will you take water in that pail?' 'There is a youth, Batim they call him.' 'Bring here, that I may drink water from that pail.' She did not want to drink, but she let her ring fall into the pail. And the servant, Batim's servant, did not see the ring in the pail.

10. Batim raised the pail to drink water. What does he see? His wife's ring in the pail! Batim called his servant: 'Who was at the fountain?' 'There was a young bride.' 'Call her, that she may come to me.' The boy went: 'Hela, Batim calls you.'

11. 'Ee, did I not tell you that when I passed you were not to tell your sisters that I am your husband?' 'Ee, I gave myself away, and told them.' 'My mother will come and eat you.' He gives her a blow and turns her into a needle, does Batim, and pins her to his breast.

12. His mother comes: 'Olelei, young flesh has come to me.' Now Batim: 'Mother, what will you do, now that you have guessed?' 'What will I do,





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*hemén n' arakhljóm, kačáv tut."* *Gelí adiká. I čhai akaná bešti si; akaté por dikhél, lel les; okoté por dikhél, kídel les; thai sa rovél. Hékje okotár, o Bátim avél. "Sóske rové-če?" "Sar te na rováv? Ti dai maŋgjél akalká odáyes, o saránd-u-jek sa te pheráv porá."* *"U, deliníje! Sóske rovés?" "Sar te na rováv, kai phenghjás som avél kačál man!" "Íkel avrí. Te pištínes: 'Élan kušlár, élan čiriklé,' te phenés, 'O Bátim uló.' Sa ačuká te pištínes, so si kušjá, so si čávkes, urjavdé kaavén, naŋgé k' íkljon. Kapherés sa odáyes, epkaš-da kaáčhjól."*

16. *Hékje okotár alí i phurí: "Kerghján-li če, lubníje?" "Kerghjóm, Néne." "Ko sikaghjás tut, to kčúl-da te čal, mo kčúl-da te čal."*

17. *Pále ándi tasjarín. Biáv kakerél, i phurí, ta kakanínel pe phralén thai pe phenjá ko biáv. "Šunés mánde, lubníje, tasjá te džas, te vikínes me phenjá, te phenés kai biáv keráv." Amá i phen-da si lákeri, čála. "Lačés, Néne." "Som na gelján, kačáv tut." Bešti si i čhai, rovél. Aló o Bátim: "Sóske rovés?" "Rováv. Ti dai bičhalél man pe phenjáte, te kanínav la biavéste." "Šunés mánde," o Bátim phenél. "Tu kadžás, amá te dikhés te si o jakhá phiré, ói sovél; te si o jakhá phanlé, ói dikhél. Thai ki lévo čučí čhai piél, ki désno čučí murš piél čučí. Tu som gelján katár i lévo rik te les e čhaiá, te thovés ki désno čučí; katár i désno rik te les e čhavés te thovés ki lévo čučí."*

remain over. You hear me now, if I do not find (it done) by the time I return, I shall eat you.' She went. Now the girl is seated; here she sees a feather, and takes it; there she sees a feather, and gathers it up; and all the time she is crying. Behold yonder comes Batim. 'Why are you crying?' 'How can I help crying? Your mother wishes me to fill up these forty-one rooms all with feathers.' 'Ooo, foolish one! Why are you crying?' 'How can I help crying, for she said as soon as she returns she will eat me.' 'Come out. Call out: "Come, pigeons, come sparrows, Batim is here." If you continue calling out like this all the pigeons and all the sparrows will come clothed and will go out naked. You will fill all the rooms, and half will remain over.'

16. Behold the old mother comes: 'Have you done it, you harlot?' 'I have done it, mother.' 'He who showed you, let him eat your excrement and my excrement!'

17. Again on the morrow. The old mother will celebrate a wedding-feast, and she will invite her brothers and her sister to the feast. 'Hear me, O harlot, to-morrow you will go call my sister and tell her I am celebrating a wedding-feast.' But the sister too, her sister, is an ogre. 'Good, mother.' 'If you do not go I will eat you.' The girl is seated, and crying. Batim came: 'Why are you crying?' 'I am crying. Your mother is sending me to her sister, to invite her to the wedding-feast.' 'Hear me,' Batim says. 'You will go, but if you see that her eyes are open, she is asleep; if her eyes are shut, she is awake. And at the left breast a girl is sucking, at the right breast a male is sucking the breast. As soon as you arrive, take the girl from the left side and put her to the right breast; from the right side take the boy and put him to the left breast.'



18. *Ói-da, šunghjás; džanǵálili i χála: "O, amá ternó mas aló mánge! Amá so te keráv túke? Ko sikaghjás tut to kχúl-da te χal, mo kχúl-da te χal!" Gelí-peske.*

19. "*Sar-če, lubníje, kaninǵhján-li?*" "*Kaninǵhjóm, Néne.*" *Ko sikaghjás tut to kχúl-da te χal, mo kχúl-da te χal! Šunés mánde, lubníje; tasjá kadžás me phralén te kanínes biavéste. 'Te phenés, 'But sastipé te phenjatar, te avés ko biáv.'*"

20. *Pále adiká bešél, rovél. Hékje okotár o Bátim avél: "Sóske rové-če?" "Sar te na rováv? Ti dai bičhalél man pe phraléste, vikínel biavéste." "Má-dara, le-ta túke kotorá, patjár te vasténde. Ov, i fúrni sa pe lešjésa šulavél. Tu som gelján te phenés: 'O, Aǵa-le, te vastorí istharghján'; te thovés ándo vastá andékhora o kotorá. Ov nanái kazaxál-pes túte."*

21. *Dikhjás la. "O, so ternó mas aló mánge! Amá so te keráv tut? Ko sikaghjás tut, to kχúl-da te χal, mo kχúl-da te χal!" Gelí-peske. "Sar-če lubníje, gelján-li?" "Geljóm, Néne!" "Tut, ko sikaghjás tut to kχúl-da te χal, mo kχúl-da te χal!"*

22. *Ándi tasjarín lilé pes, o Bátim thai i čhai našén látar. Hékje okotár avél i dai: "Bátim! Bátim!" Ni Bátim nanái, ni níko nanái! "Lubníje! Lubníje!" Ni lubní nanái, ni Bátim nanái! So te dikhél? Pelí palál len te resél len. O Bátim phenél pe romnjáke: "Irín-ta-če, dikh palál túte ko avél."*

18. She heard, and awoke, the ogre: 'Ho, ho, young flesh has come to me! But what can I do to you? He who showed you, may he eat your excrement and my excrement!' She went.

19. 'How then, you harlot, did you invite her?' 'I invited her, Mother.' 'He who showed you, may he eat your excrement and my excrement! Hear me, you harlot; to-morrow you will go invite my brothers to the wedding-feast. Say: "Many greetings from your sister, and may you come to the feast."'

20. Again she is seated and crying. Behold there comes Batim: 'Why are you crying?' 'How can I help crying? Your mother is sending me to her brother to call him to the feast.' 'Fear not, fetch pieces (of cloth) to bind your hands. He always sweeps out the oven with his carcass [?]. As soon as you have arrived, you will say: "O master, you have burnt your hands"; and you will immediately put into his hands the pieces. He will then not attack you.'

21. He saw her. 'O, what young flesh has come to me! But what can I do? He who showed you, may he eat my excrement and your excrement!' She went. (The ogre-mother): 'How now, you harlot, did you go?' 'I went, Mother.' 'He who showed you, may he eat my excrement and your excrement!'

22. On the morrow the girl and Batim arose and ran away from her. Behold there comes the mother: 'Batim, Batim!' But there is no Batim, nor anybody! 'Harlot, harlot!' But there is no harlot, and no Batim. What does she see? She set out after them, to catch them up. Batim says to his wife: 'Turn round, look behind you who is coming.' 'Ei, Batim! Your mother is coming. With fire and smoke she has put out her tongue from her mouth, and from very



“*Ei, Bátim! Ti dai avél. Jagása, thuvésa pi čhib ikalghjás andár o múi, xoljatar svítkes íkljon.*” So te dikhél o Bátim? Kai avél i dai, kerél pe romnjá fúrni, ov kerél pes furundžís, ta tharél i fúrni. Hékje okotár, i dai nakjél. “*Furundži-be, na diklján-li jek džuvlí, t' ek murš te nakjén?*” I lubní fúrni ašlí, o rom furundžís ašló. “*Ake, tharáv i fúrni, ta mařó te pekáv.*” *Irisájli napálpale.*

23. *Kídel pes, lel pe romnjá. Pále tsidinjás o Bátim; našén. Dikhljás i dai, pále pelí palál len. “Iрін-ta-če, ta dikh avél-li déko palál amén?” So te dikhél? I dai avél sar avél; ha akaté, ha okoté, te resél len. Našti resél len. Kerél pe romnjá, o Bátim, gjóli, ov áčhjol pátitsa. Alí i dai: “E, Bátim, akatká te gazínav, te piřoré kagazínav; okotká te gazínav to dumoró kagazínav. Pále, te džanáv kai si okiká lubní, okotká te čhiáv te mudaráv la. Amé te si pále mo Bátim, kačhiáv, kačalaáv les, kamerél; pósle, so te keráv?” Irisájli-peske.*

24. *Džal, kídel pes o Bátim, thai i romní, pále našén. Pále dikhél i dai; del našibá palál len, našti ne dikhén la, so zařortindé. Ov-da, o Bátim, so te dikhél? Palál pes i dai resél len véče. Ov-da so kakerél? Kerél pes gjúli, kerél pe romnjá šípka. Alí i dai: “E, Bátim, te čhináv i šípka, móšte sinján tu; te čhináv o gjúli, móšte sinján tu. Te džanáv akaná kai o gjúli sinján tu, kai i šípka si lubní, t' ikaláv la korenjénsa. Amí, Sínko, ne-li dexinján,*

rage sparks come forth.’ What does Batim see? As his mother is coming, he turns his wife into an oven, and makes himself a baker, and lights the oven. Behold the mother passes. ‘Baker, have you not seen a woman and a man passing?’ The ‘harlot’ had become an oven, the husband had become a baker. ‘Behold I am lighting the oven, that I may bake bread.’ She returned back again.

23. He makes ready, takes his wife. Again Batim sets out; they flee. The mother saw, again she started after them. ‘Turn round, see if any one is coming behind us.’ What does she see? The mother is coming, coming; now on this side, now on that, endeavouring to catch them up. She is unable to catch them up. Batim turns his wife into a pond and he remains a duck. The mother came: ‘Ah, Batim, if I tread here I shall trample on your feet; if I tread there, I shall trample on your back. Moreover, if I knew that yonder (the duck) was that harlot, I would cast (a stone at her) and kill her. But if on the other hand it is my Batim, I should hurl (a stone at him) and strike him, and he would die; and then what should I do?’ She returned.

24. Batim goes, gathers himself together, and the wife, and again they flee. Again the mother sees, and starts running after them, and they are unable to see her, because they are talking together (*lit.* what they have started speaking). And Batim, when he looks behind him, the mother catches them up already. And what will he do? He makes himself a flower, and his wife a wild rose-bush. The mother came: ‘Ah, Batim, if I cut the rose-bush it may be you; if I cut the flower, it may be you. If I now knew that the flower is you and that the rose-bush





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§ 8. *urjánilo* . . . The past participle of 'to fly' is generally *urjánilo*; of 'to dress' it is usually *urjavdó* (see § 15). In the present tense, 3rd pers. sing., the former is *urjál*, the latter *urjél pes*, but *urjavél pes* is more common.

§ 12. *kai axáljan* . . . for *axáliján* (see Mik. vii. 5). I am writing these notes in Varna, and have already had some occasion to study Eastern Bulgarian Romani, which differs considerably from the Western dialect as found in Sofia. Here *axáljovav* is unknown. They use *hakjaráv* or *çakjaráv*, which must be referred to the Rumanian Romani *chakkiaráű*, *hakjaráű*, and Hungarian Romani *haçar* (Mik. vii. 60).

§ 12. *sa ásfes te pherés la* . . . Sofia Romani uses a Greek form of plural for this pure Gypsy word. In Varna they say *asfá*, as it should be.

§ 13. *Therdí si ta rovél* . . . My MS. has distinctly an *h* in *therdí*. Miklosich remarks that the *h* should be there if one refers the word to Sanskrit *dharati*.

§ 13. *i kátsa nanái pendžár, kai si maklí ásfes* . . . I have never seen the form *pendžár* in any other dialect. It is probably only used in the expression *nanái pendžár*, meaning 'it is not known, knowable or observable.' It is thus a translation of the Turkish *bélli déil*, which Paši Suljoff quoted as its explanation. He also gave me the Bulgarian *ne se poznáva* as an alternative. This means 'it is unrecognisable.' *Pendžár* must therefore be considered to be an adjective. For the rest the verb *pendžaráv* is found in this dialect both in the Active and in the Passive, as in Paspati.

§ 13. *Sóske rové-če?* . . . The disappearance of the *s*, so common in more corrupt dialects, is very rare here.

§ 13. *le-ta o tenekjédes, pher la paní* . . . Two tins are used for carrying water, one in each hand. The noun, though in the plural, is felt to be a collective singular. Hence *pher LA paní*.

§ 13. *jek čuváli lon* . . . Turk. *čuvál*. But they also use the pure Romani *gonó*.

§ 13. *sa bilánilo o lon* . . . Paspati, also, has *bilániovav*, *biláni(ni)lo*, but he says, of the primitive verb *biláva*, that it is only used in the past part. *bilanó*. However, *bilál*, 'it melts' (intrans.), does exist in Sofia. Because it is not found in Paspati, Miklosich (vii. 22) seems to think it incorrect in the Hungarian dialect. *Bilál* is not a contraction from a \* *biljovél*, but is as regular a third pers. sing. pres. as *džal*.

§ 15. *Pále ándi tasjarín* . . . *Tasjarín* adds yet another form to the manifold variations of the word used by all Gypsies to mean 'to-morrow.' The nearest approach to *tasjarín* is probably Rumanian Romani *teserín*, *de teharín*. The Sofia dialect also has *tasjá ándo javín*, and *tasjá but javiné*. The meaning of *javiné* in Sofia is that given to it by Paspati's Gypsies, and it is most probably the equivalent of the Sanskrit *yáminí*. See Paspati, p. 588.

§ 15. *Íkel avrí* . . . Rare, for imperative *íkljov*. Compare *igál*, used as an imperative in Sofia = 'bring out,' on analogy with *ikál*, imperative = 'take out.' Here a little dissertation on these different forms seems necessary. *Nikáva*, 'I go out' (see Paspati), is the verb from which so many forms have been derived, whilst other words have been confused with those forms by analogy. *Nikáva* forms *nikaváva*, in Sofia *ikaláv*, 'I take out, extract.' Thus *ikál* is here quite a regular imperative. In Varna the *n* has not gone. They say *inkálel*, 'he takes out' (also meaning to dismiss a servant, e.g. *inkaldé les*), like Paspati's nomads. *Igál* is by analogy, for they also use it as a third pers. pres., e.g., *but baxt t'igál tuke*, 'may much luck attend you, accompany you, lead you out.' They also say *ligáv*, *ligál*, which somehow reminds one of *ligervava*, *liged'as*, etc., of other dialects, though these are generally referred to Hindu *lédžānā*. However, the Sofia dialect also uses *igálel*, third pers. sing., and also *ingjarél*, which brings one at last to the true origin of the word, Paspati's *anghia keráva* and *anghiaráva*, or (nomad) *andaráva*, a causative of *anáva*.

§ 17. *te si o jakhá phiré, ói sovél; te si o jakhá phanlé, ói dikhél* . . . *Phiré* is another case where I noted the existence of *ph*, as above *th*, where Miklosich



expected to find it. See Mik. viii. 47, where he gives Bohemian *phrad'as* and Polish *psirau*. The above-quoted sentence is found as follows in Paspatis, p. 434: *Te isí lénghere yaká pinré, ol isí sutté, te isí banlé lénghere yaká, isí djangané.*

§ 20. *Ov, i fúrni sa pe lešjésa šulavél . . .* Turkish-Romani word *leši* = 'carcass.' But I am doubtful as to this passage.

§ 24. *froljalé čaréstar zumi te xan . . . froljaló* is the usual adjective for 'golden.' But they also use *somnakunó*. The noun is *somnakál*. It is remarkable how some words disappear from a dialect. In Varna the word has totally disappeared save in the stereotyped form: *o somnál phuró Devél.*

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## V.—A GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NAWAR OR ZUTT, THE NOMAD SMITHS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued from Vol. III. p. 317)

### VII. VERBS

85. **T**HE inflexion and syntax of the Nuri verb are not easily systematised. The key to their complexities lies in the fact that the original Aryan tense-system has utterly broken down under the influence of the Arabic verb, and that while such Nuri personal endings as are necessary have been retained, their syntactic treatment is now purely Semitic.

86. There are three moods: Indicative, Imperative, and a kind of Conditional-Optative. The use of the last-named is very irregular. There are two voices, Active and Passive, but the latter is avoided as much as possible, and the materials for constructing its paradigm are in consequence very imperfect. The indicative has two tenses, a Present-Future and a Preterite: the other moods have but one tense. Certain tenses have a Positive and a Negative form. The preterite indicative active distinguishes the gender in the third person singular: this is the only trace of a distinction between 'he' and 'she' in the language.

#### INDICATIVE MOOD

87. **PRESENT-FUTURE TENSE.**—There are three forms of the present-future indicative, which may be called the Positive, the Dependent, and the Negative. The dependent drops the *i* at the end of the personal endings; the negative prefixes *in*, and hamzates



and strongly accents the last syllable. The following paradigm illustrates their personal inflexions:—

	POSITIVE	DEPENDENT	NEGATIVE
	(I bring, etc.)	([that] I bring, etc.)	(I do not bring, etc.)
1. Sing.	<i>nǎnǎmi</i>	<i>nǎnǎm</i>	<i>innǎnǎme°</i>
2. „	<i>nǎnēki</i>	<i>nǎnēk</i>	<i>innǎnǎye°</i>
3. „	<i>nǎnǎri</i>	<i>nǎnǎr</i>	<i>innǎnǎre°</i>
1. Plur.	<i>nǎnǎni</i>	<i>nǎnǎn</i>	<i>innǎnǎne°</i>
2. „	<i>nǎnǎsi</i>	<i>nǎnǎs</i>	<i>innǎnǎse°</i>
3. „	<i>nǎnǎndi</i>	<i>nǎnǎnd</i>	<i>innǎnǎnde°</i>

*Obs. I.* Especially in the third person singular, I heard *-eri* at least as often as *-ǎri*, and in the accompanying stories the termination has sometimes been so rendered in transcription. There is, however, insufficient evidence available to classify the verbs into conjugations. No doubt such a distinction existed originally, but it is now too corrupt to be recovered. So also *kēl-índi* (not *-ǎndi*), in iii. 3.<sup>1</sup>

*Obs. II.* The heavy consonants in the third person plural produce a shift of accent in the positive form.

*Obs. III.* The termination *-ēk*, *-ēki*, in the second person singular can be distinguished from the predicative suffix by the absence of the accent.

*Obs. IV.* The hamzated vowel in the negative form is distinctly a short *e*, not an *i*.

*Obs. V.* In *lǎhǎmni* (lxxvi. 58) 'let me see,' the *-ni* is an emphatic syllable which we have already seen attached to the pronominal suffixes.

88. From such evidence as is available, it appears that the dependent form was originally intended to denote the subordinate verb in a sentence. There is a similar distinction observed in colloquial Arabic, the principal verb being denoted by a prefixed *b*. Thus, 'he desires' is *yěrd*, 'he goes' is *yěruh*: 'he desires to go' would be *byěrd yěruh*, while 'he goes to desire' would be *byěruh yěrd*. In Nuri, however, the two forms are much confused, and the distinction between them is almost lost: especially in the second person singular, where the positive form is hardly used at all. An example is *pǎrēki* in lxx. 10. The dependent form is always employed when the pronominal suffixes express the object: thus *nǎnǎmsǎn*, not *nǎnǎmisǎn*, 'I bring them.' The sentence *mǎrǎnd mǎtǎn u pǎrǎndi kiyǎkésǎn* (xvi. 12), 'they kill people and take their things,' shows the two forms used indifferently.

89. The prefix *in-* of the negative form is very often omitted, the hamzation being then the only indication of the negative sense of the verb. Thus *nǎnǎmi*, 'I fetch': *nǎnǎme°*, 'I do not fetch.'

<sup>1</sup> The accompanying series of Nuri stories are thus referred to in these sections and in the vocabulary: 'iii. 3' means 'story iii, line 3.'





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	<i>D</i> -PRETERITE	<i>R</i> -PRETERITE
1. plur.	<i>nǎndēn</i>	<i>bīrēn</i>
2. „	<i>nǎndēs</i>	<i>bīrēs</i>
3. ,	<i>nǎnde</i>	<i>bīre</i>
3. „ compound	<i>nǎndénd-</i>	<i>bīrénd-</i>

*Obs.* The first and second persons, singular and plural, may have an *i* at the end, as *nǎndómi*, *bīrésī*, etc. This form has no traceable difference in sense or use from the form without the *i*. Possibly there was originally a distinction such as we have drawn between analogous forms in the present-future, but in the preterite it has quite disappeared. In the longer form (with *i*) the accent is generally thrown forward on the penultimate syllable, as in the examples just given.

93. The compound form of the third person is used, always and only, when prepositional suffixes are used to express the object of the verb. Thus *nǎndǎ kǎjjǎn*, 'he brought the men'; but *nǎndóssǎn*, 'he brought them.' *Nǎndésan* (xvi. 15) for *-déndśǎn*, is merely a slip.

94. The negative proper to the preterite tense is *nī*, *nī*. It does not induce hamzation; exceptions to this are, however, sometimes found, evidently under the influence of the usage in the present-future. Thus we have *nī lǎherde°* (i. 7), 'they did not see,' instead of *lǎherde*. A still further exception is *bārōś lǎciǎki mangǎrde°*, 'the brother of the girl did not want it,' where, as in the present-future, the negative particle is omitted, and the negative expressed by hamzation alone. In viii. 11 the imperative negative *na* is used by a *lapsus linguæ vel calami* for *nī*. It is not very common to find the negative of the verb compounded with the pronominal suffixes formed by hamzation *only*: *mǎndossi°* (lxxiii. 8), 'she did not leave him,' is an example.

*Obs.* Hamzation is sometimes found even when a negative is not intended. This is especially the case in *mra°*, *mre°*, 'he, they died,' where the vowel is nearly always hamzated—possibly to shorten an ill-omened word as much as possible. But compare the hamzation of the imperative *indé*, 'give,' which appears as *'nde°* in xxx. 1.

95. The substantive verb *hrómi* (see *post*, § 116) is preterite in form, but often present-future in meaning.

96. The *n* of the personal suffix of the first person plural is elided before the *r* of the second plural pronominal suffix, both in the present-future and in the preterite. Thus *lǎherdérǎn* (i. 14) for *lǎherdén-rǎn*, 'we saw you': similarly *dērinni* (xviii. 5) for *dén-rǎn-ni*, 'we will give you,' the *-ni* being emphatic, and the *ǎ* of *-rǎn-* being assimilated to the adjacent vowels (§ 5). In xviii.



8 *tăn-diknâurăn* is for *tăn-diknâuăn-răn*, 'that we may show you.' A less universal assimilation is *mărdôrăn* (xiv. 10) for *mărdôr-săn*, 'thou hast killed them.' The *-k* of the second person singular in the present-future likewise disappears before the pronominal suffixes: as *kéi démi* (x. 9) for *dék-mi*, 'what will you give me?' Another curious assimilation is *săbăk-hóces* (lxix. 5) for *săbăk-hóceris*, 'he precedes her.'

### IMPERATIVE MOOD

97. This mood has but one tense, and in it only the second person singular and plural. The singular is the bare stem of the verb: the plural is formed by adding *-ăs*:

*năn*, bring thou.

*nănăs*, bring ye.

98. The form *năni*<sup>o</sup> in l. 7, which happens to be hamzated owing to a preceding negative, is a feminine, no doubt evolved by analogy with Arabic: in this language the imperative singular is the bare stem when the person or object addressed is physically or grammatically masculine, but adds *-ī* when feminine: as *žīb*, 'fetch thou, man,' *žībī*, 'fetch thou, woman.' Cf. *kerísăn jăăr*, 'prepare them, O woman' (lxxxvii. 2).

99. The imperative of the first and third persons is supplied either by the optative, as in *răucăr wăštīm băhărmă* (lxxxi. 3) 'let him go with me by the sea,' or by a periphrasis, the Arabic *hălli*, 'let, suffer,' with the dependent present-future; as *hălli nănăm*, 'let me fetch': *hălli nănănd*, 'let them fetch.' This is an Arabic construction, with the difference that in Arabic the pronominal suffixes suitable to the sense are added to *hălli*, but not in Nuri.

*Obs.* Sometimes *hălli* is omitted, as in *nănăssăn lăhămsăn* (xix. 13), 'bring ye them, let me see them.'

100. The negative proper to the imperative mood is *na*, *nu*, which does not induce hamzation. But *ni*, *nī* is very often used loosely in its place, with or without hamzation. Indeed, a vowel is sometimes supplied to assist hamzation, as in *ni kšălă*<sup>o</sup> (xxxii. 4) for the proper form *nu kšăl*, 'do not pull.'

### OPTATIVE MOOD

101. The optative mood has but one tense, the form of which resembles that of the dependent present-future, with *ōc*, *īc*, or *uc*



inserted between the stem and the personal ending. This inserted syllable carries the accent. The paradigm is accordingly as follows:—

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st pers.	<i>nănóčăm</i>	<i>nănóčăn</i>
2nd „	<i>nănóci</i>	<i>nănóčas</i>
3rd „	<i>nănócăr</i>	<i>nănócănd</i>

*Obs.* As in the negative form of the present-future, the *k* of the second person singular is dropped in the optative.

102. When the stem of the verb ends in *s*, the form of the optative is modified for ease in pronunciation. The vowel of the inserted syllable is lost, the accent being thrown back on the stem. The *t-sh* elements in the *c* suffer metathesis, and the *sh* then assimilates the *s* of the stem. Thus *năsócăn*, ‘that we flee,’ becomes shortened to *născăn*, analysed to *năs-t-š-ăn*, which becomes *năs-š-t-ăn*, and finally *năštăn* (xiv. 11). A similar assimilation is seen in *răštăssăn* (xvi. 8) for *răscăssăn*, ‘follow them.’

*Obs.* The curious form *dăuș* (xxix. 6), ‘hurry,’ is probably an abbreviation for *dăuci*, the optative of *dăuăr*, ‘to hasten.’ Another instance of metathesis is *jasătme tărăne wă wěštăm*, ‘go you three and let me stay.’

103. The use of the optative is a little hard to define. Properly it seems to denote the intention of doing the action specified by the verb. It has generally the proclitic *tă-* before it when used in this sense, as in *gărēn Hăurínătă tă-‘ăisúcăn* (iv. 2), ‘we went to the Hauran to get a living.’ This is, perhaps, the commonest use: but it is extended in various directions. Thus in xxxiii. 13, *démri tă-gărícăm* merely means ‘I will give thee when I return.’

104. When the *tă-* is omitted, the optative has, as a rule, a simple imperative sense: as *găríci fi-sá‘ă* (xxix. 6), ‘return in an hour.’ But it often has the secondary sense which in English would be expressed by the infinitive: as *insălcrome° istírcăm*, ‘I cannot rise up’: *bíddi jam năúcăm*, ‘I want to go to seek.’ In the word quoted at the end of § 96 it has nothing more than an indicative sense.

#### PASSIVE VOICE

105. The passive is avoided as much as possible, and no complete paradigm can be reconstructed from the examples collected. It seems to be formed by inserting *-ir-* between the stem and the personal suffixes. Examples of the present tense are *kăutíréndi*,





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it is, as a rule, retained throughout the paradigm. I have, however, heard *bíddnă fűrrájicăn*, 'we want to look,' which is unusual: the *-nă* is the Arabic first person plural suffix, and the phrase is constructed with the *optative*, which is extemporised for the occasion from the Arabic *fűrrăž*, 'to look, see.'

(III.) A *necessitative*: as *lázim nănăm*, 'I must bring.' The negative is *lázim inhe° nănăm*, lit. 'necessity is not, that I bring.'

(IV.) An *inceptive*, constructed with the Arabic *sar*, 'he became.' In this case the Arabic verb is inflected with the proper Arabic terminations, as *sáret*, 'she became,' etc. An example is *sar kúnéri hăláwi* (xiv. 16), 'he began to sell *halawi*.' Here the positive form of the present-future is used instead of the dependent.

(V.) A *periphrastic future*, exactly corresponding to the English 'I am going to do,' or 'I was going to do,' formed with the verb *jar*, 'to go,' constructed with the dependent present-future. Both members of the compound are in the person appropriate to the occasion, as *krénă gărűr jak* (lit. whither—thou went—thou goest), 'where were you going to go?'

(VI.) Such complicated tenses as the paulopostfuture are expressed by Arabic: as *lan árór ósa'ătă bikún fērōmsi*, 'If you come at that hour I shall have beaten him,' where *bikún* is the Arabic auxiliary which, used with the preterite, forms the tense in question.

### THE CAUSATIVE VERB

108. *The Causative Verb*.—By inserting the syllable *ău*, *lău*, or *nău* between the stem and the personal endings, a new verb is formed which is the *Causative* of the simple verb. In the preterite the inserted syllable has an *r* at the end (*ăur*, *lăur*, *năur*), but always has the *d*-preterite inflexion, even though the simple verb has an *r*-preterite. Thus—

*bítră*, he feared.

*bínăurdă*, he frightened.

*kéră*, he ate.

*kěnăurdă*, he fed.

*wésră*, he sat.

*wěslăurdă*, he caused to sit.

*tírděn*, we paid.

*tírnăurdéndmăn* (vii. 3), they compelled us to pay.

*Obs.* I. There seems to be no rule to determine which of the three forms of the inserted syllable is to be selected for the causative of any particular verb. Each case has to be determined by separate observation. In the appended vocabulary the causative forms are entered as though independent verbs.



*Obs.* II. The simple verb is sometimes not found in the collections I have made (this may be a mere accident in most cases). For the verb *dik-*, 'to see,' common in most Romani dialects, the Nawar seem to substitute invariably another verb *lăher*: but the causative of the former verb is preserved in the sense 'to show': *tă-diknămir*, 'that I may show thee' (x. 9): *diknăurdă*, 'he showed.'

### THE INFINITE VERB: VERBAL DERIVATIVES

109. There is no certain Infinitive form anywhere in these collections. For the purpose of naming verbs, the third person singular of the dependent present-future is employed in the vocabulary and grammar.

110. As has already been noticed (§ 81), the predicative suffix is used to form participial forms.

111. The place of the infinitive is taken by the dependent present-future. As a rule the proclitic prefix *tă-* precedes the verb. Thus 'he went to fetch firewood' is *gără tă-nănăr kŭšt*. In such a phrase as this the dependent verb, when it agrees with the principal verb in subject, is in the same number and person. 'I went to fetch' would be *gărōm tă-nănăm*. See § 112, *Obs.*, for an example in which the verbs have different subjects.

*Obs.* A curious exception is *gără tă-ḱăutănd* (lxxi. 1), 'he went to steal,' which should of course be *tă-ḱăutăr*. I suspect that there is a psychological basis for this anomalous construction: thieves generally go out in bands, so that in this particular context (naturally very common) the plural is used instinctively.

112. The optative is also used in this sense: as *măndossi° kălcăr* (lxxiii. 8), 'she did not let him rise.'

*Obs.* In this example the *tă-* is, as often, omitted. Compare *gără ră'i-kersăn*, 'he went to pasture them' (lxxii. 3). In *nî măndéndmăn hlăuăn* (iii. 8), 'they did not suffer us to pitch,' we see an example of the dependent verb differing in subject, and consequently in person, from the principal verb.

113. The termination *-innă* is a formative for the substantive denoting the verbal agent, or sometimes the instrument. Thus from the stem *găz-*, 'to sting,' is formed the substantive *găzinnă*, 'the stinging thing,' *i.e.* a bee. Compare *kăcinnă*, 'a liar': *ḱăutinnă*, 'a thief.' There is also a feminine form *-inni*, which as a rule denotes the female agent: as *kăcinni*, 'a she-liar.' But sometimes the feminine form denotes a different agent altogether, as *găzinni*, which means not 'a queen-bee,' but 'a scorpion.' Examples of the use of this formative to denote the instrument are *klinnă*, 'a key' or 'a box,' from *kōl-*, 'to open': *ḱlinnă*, 'a ladder,' from *ḱōl-*, 'to mount': in both these cases we see syncope of the stem vowel. The meaning is sometimes extended: a



curious example is *pāubăginnă*, 'a courthouse, guesthouse, or public hall of any kind.' This properly means 'the foot-breaker,' and indicates that the primary association that the Nawar have with such places is connected with the bastinado.

114. The termination *-innă* is sometimes used in a sense indistinguishable from a participle: as in *snôtă gărinnă piér cālăski* (lix. 5), 'the dog was going (*lit.*, was a goer) to drink from the well.' Compare *nu min hăstém, cămdă kerinnă*, which means, 'do not touch my hands, you will make them dirty' (*lit.*, a 'dirtier' of them): *ămă gārôm wărt-kerinnă snôtăs*, 'I was going to loose the dog.' In *ăuni gim'a*, 'next week,' *ăuni* is short for *ăunni*, 'coming,' an adjectival form.

### THE SUBSTANTIVE AND AUXILIARY VERBS

115. Substantive and auxiliary verbs play a very important part in Nuri, for not only have they the ordinary duties of such verbs, but they are also freely employed to adapt the many verbal derivatives from Arabic by which the *lacunæ* in the native vocabulary are filled up.

116. The predicative suffix is as a rule used for the simple copula. But other verbal forms are used as well, apparently indifferently. These are:—

(I.) The Arabic *kan*, 'he was,' which like *kal*, 'he said,' is in Nuri treated as unchangeable in form throughout the numbers and persons.

(II.) The defective verb *ăstôm*, 'I was,' of which only the preterite is found: it is conjugated like any other preterite, save that it is one of the very few verbs that have not a *d* or an *r* in the personal inflexions: thus *ăstôm(i)*, *ăstūr(i)*, *ăštă*, *ăšti*: *ăstēn(i)*, *ăstēs*, *ăšte*. Except in the third person, singular and plural, this verb is very rarely used, so far as my experience goes.

(III.) The important verb *hócer*, 'to become.' The optative third singular being in far commoner use than the present-future, I prefer to name this verb by that part of it. The conjugation of the verb is as follows:—

#### PRESENT-FUTURE

Singular.	Plural.
<i>hómi</i>	<i>hóni</i>
<i>(hwéki?)</i>	<i>(hwési?)</i>
<i>hóri</i> (negative <i>inhe°</i> )	<i>hónđi</i>





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went,' is a quite unusual compound of a native Nuri preterite with the auxiliary preterite.

*Obs.* Another expression for 'he did not want' is *miš nihrā°*. Here *miš* is the Arabic negative, and *nihrā°* is perhaps a mere telescoping by rapid utterance of the word *nīrdāhrā°*, which has become to all intents and purposes a single word.

120. The other auxiliary, *kérār*, is simple in its construction. The only points in its conjugation that call for notice are that it has the *d*-preterite, that the optative seems never to be used (the present-future dependent is substituted), and that the substantive *kerinnā* is not found, *kéri* or *kérā* being used instead: as *bāklīk-kerā*, 'a maker or merchant of fried meat' (*bakli*).

*Obs.* Quite anomalous is *kūmnā-kerā* (lxxvi. 25), for 'he ate.'

121. There is no verb for 'to have' in Nuri: its place is supplied by the substantive verb and the prepositions *ūnktī*, *wāštī*, with the suitable pronominal suffixes. In the present tense the verb is often omitted: as *ūnktīr bōli zērdi*, 'thou hast much money.' The verbs used are usually *āštā* for the present positive, *inhe°* for the present negative, and *kan* for the preterite: as *āštā ag wāštīm*, 'I have fire (matches)'; *inhe° ag wāštīm*, 'I have no matches'; *kan ag wāštīm*, 'I had matches.' Another formula is the directive case with the predicative suffix: as *āme° āminkārā kāmēni ūdēsāsmā*, 'we have relatives in that place.'

### IRREGULAR VERBS

122. The careful reader of the examples will find many little irregularities in quantity and colour of vowels and in accentuation, which are hardly of sufficient importance to enumerate. There are, however, some verbs that depart from the normal form more or less widely, and it is desirable to give at least outline paradigms of them.

**ĀUĀR**, 'to come.' Pres.-fut. *āuāmi*, *āuēk*, etc. Pret. *ārōm*, *ārūr*, etc. Imper. sing. *ārū*, plur. *āuās*: another form, *wa*, *was*, is sometimes found. The opt. and pass. were not found. For the opt. the dep. pres.-fut. of a verb *pāuār* are used: as *tā-pāumóm* (sic), *tā-pāuān*, etc. The imper. of this verb, *pa* or *pāu*, is sometimes used instead of *āru*.

**CÍNĀR**, 'to cut.' Pres. *cnāmi*, *cnēk*, etc. Imper. plur. *cnes*. The rest of the verb regular: *d*-preterite.



CAR, 'to say.' Pres. *cámi*. Imper. *cwa* or *cū*. Rest regular: *d*-preterite, with stem *cir-*.

DER, 'to give.' Pres. *démi*, *dēk*, *dēr*, etc. Pret. *tómi*, *tóri*, *tā*, etc. Imper. *dē*.

FAR, 'to beat.' Pres. *fámi*, *fak*, *fári*, etc. Pret. *fērōm*, *fērūr*, etc. Opt. used as imperat., *fúmnām*, *fúmnēs*, *fúmnār*, etc. There is also an imperative *fē*. Participle with pred. suff., *fūrék*. Verbal agent, *fěnnā*. Pass. pret. *fūrómi*, *fūrári*, [*fūrék*, *ftrik*, used for 3rd person].

JAR, 'to go.' Pres. *jámi*, *jak*, *jári*, etc. Pret. *gārom*, *gārūr*, etc. Imper. sing. *ja*, plur. *jas*. Participle with pred. suff., *gārék*: verbal agent *gārinnā*. Opt. not found. Passive, in sense of 'to return': pres. *gārāmi*, fut. *gāryāmi*, pret. *gārtrōm*, opt. *gārčām*, causative pret. *gārnāurdōm*.

KAR, 'to eat.' Conjugated like *far*.

SWAR, 'to sleep.' Pres. fut. *swámi*, *swēk*, etc. Pret. *sitómi*, *sitári*, etc. Opt. *súčām*. Imper. *swa*.

### VERBAL PARTICLES

123. The following particles are used to affect the sense of the verb:—

(I.) The negative particles. The proper Nuri negative particles are *in-*, *nī*, *na*, *nu*, which have already been discussed. Besides these, the Arabic *māš*, *miš*, is common, used with or without hamzation: thus, *tíllā-tmáli mángāri dērim ple, āmā kal miš nihrōm°*, 'the king wished (*lit.* wishes) to give me money; I said I did not want it.' This is the connexion in which this Arabic particle is most frequently used. *Lāu*, to be carefully distinguished from *lāu*, 'if,' is properly a negative answer to a question ('no'): but it is sometimes used to negative a sentence, as in *āme lāu kāutēni hrēne°*, 'we are not thieves' (i. 2). This is, no doubt, a modification of the Arabic *la*. The word *inhe°*, properly meaning 'it is not, it becomes not,' is also sometimes used as a simple negative: as in *inhe° kāutēni hrēnde°*, 'they are not thieves' (i. 11).

(II.) The proclitic *tā*. This has a variety of senses, ranging from 'in order to,' 'with the intention of,' to 'so that' (as a consequence) and simply 'until.' It may be a particle native to the language, like the European Romani *te*, or else (as I am inclined



to believe) an independent word, being in fact an abbreviation of the Arabic *ḥāttā*, which it exactly resembles in its use. It has already been sufficiently illustrated in discussing the optative as infinitive (§ 103), and further examples will be found in almost every one of the series of stories. This particle is often found (in the sense 'until') with the indicative tenses. It is occasionally prefixed to words other than verbs, as in *tā-'ād inhe° kiyāk* (vi. 8), 'till again there is nothing,' i.e. till there was nothing more.

(III.) The Arabic *min-šān*, 'for the sake of, in order to.' This is adopted freely in Nuri, and constructed with the dependent present-future, or sometimes the optative.

(IV.) The proclitic *in*, before a labial *im*. This particle, which must be carefully distinguished from the present-future negative prefix, was apparently originally the distinguishing mark of the dependent verb in a sentence; but whatever discriminating value it may have possessed has become obscured, and it is impossible to trace any influence on the sense of the passage in most of the cases where it is found. It is specially common before imperatives, but there does not seem to be any difference of meaning between *déim* and *indéim*, for instance: both apparently mean 'give me,' and nothing more. It is extremely common in combination with this particular verb: possibly here again psychological forces are at work, for to the Nuri beggar 'to give' is the most important verb in the language, and it happens to be short and insignificant unless helped out by this extra syllable! Other examples of the use of this particle are:—

*In-kól ūhū klárās* (lxxx. 8), 'loose that bedawy.'

*Hālli máte illi kerāndi cālān in-kérānd bītās āḥār pándāki*, 'let the people who make cisterns make (dig) a way (tunnel) under the earth.' Here it evidently marks the verb *kerāndi* as being dependent on *hālli*.

*Gārā in-dér tillā-tmaliéskā* (ii. 2), 'he went to give to the governor,' is similar to the last example: but in the same story *in-téndis nīm zerd* (ii. 14), 'they gave him half a pound,' the verb is not dependent.

(V.) The infix *-nā-*. This is inserted at pleasure, without any apparent change of the sense, before the second member of words compounded with *kérār*, as *gūzél-nā-ker kúriā*, 'tidy the house,' where the *nā* might be omitted without modification of sense. Probably this infix also was originally a mark of the





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*Ůnktr bóli zérd, lán mrór ūráti giš jári*, 'you have much money, if you die to-morrow it will all go.'

*Izǎ-kán tómur nīm-imhǎlǎ, indē° barárkǎ pŭnj kǎntlǎ* (xxxi.), 'if I give you half a majidi you must give five piastres to your brother.'

### VIII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON SYNTAX

125. The subject of the sentence is as a rule named as late as possible, often producing an ambiguity which lasts till the sentence is completed: as *štírdǎ min hnónǎ, dil tírdǎ átán kálǎski, u mándǎ klárǎs mǎnjísmǎ údōsǎrǎ* (lxxii. 7), 'that negro rose from there, put clay on the skin, and left the bedawi in the middle.'

126. On the other hand, for clearness or emphasis, the object, when expressed by the pronominal suffixes, is sometimes anticipated: thus *déik máṭǎs grēwárǎn, inténdǎsǎn pŭnj zérd* (xlvi. 9), 'they had given them, the sheikhs of the village-people, five pounds.' A similar anticipation is often found when the suffix denotes the possessor: as *ǎme bǎrémǎn* (xliv. 10), 'as for us, our wives.'

127. In reported speech the direct narration is generally used: thus *škǎ-fērǎ min kúriǎk-mǎnjéski 'kónik ǎlli barék?' Círdǎ ūhǎ* 'Ámǎ hrómi,' 'He called from inside the house "Who is outside?" The other said "I am."' This is so even when there is a connecting particle: as *hǎrǎf-kerde ǎnni 'Mīndéndmǎn'* (i. 12), 'they told that "they took us."' An exception is found in ii. 5: *Kéi círdǎ tíllǎ-tmáli? fǎnni bélósis*, 'What said the governor? that he would bind (*lit.*, had bound) him.'

*Obs.* This picturesque form of narration, by interpolating a rhetorical question and answering it immediately, is common in Nuri as in Arabic, whence it has probably been borrowed.

128. There are many cases of enigmatical syntax, the result of mental confusion between two constructions. Examples are:—

*Inhōre° unktimǎn árū* (l. 5), 'you cannot come to us.' This is a compound of *inhōre° árūek* and the direct negative imperative *na árǎ*.

*Míndǎ hálōs ǎrátǎn, ráuci minjts kuriēmíntǎ* (xxxviii. 4). This can only mean 'he betook himself at night, went with it to our tents'; but *ráuci* is second person singular optative. The narrator probably had in his mind some phrase of direct speech, and (confused by the unusual task of dictating) inadvertently said



‘you may go,’ instead of *râurdă*, ‘he went.’ An exactly similar confusion is *Kîlci klără âbuskără étirwălmă fûmnēs, cîndă kōlēs* (lxxii. 14). Here *kîlci* and *fûmnēs* are second singular optative, used as imperative, and the sentence therefore means ‘come out to him, O bedawi, strike him with the sword . . . he cut his arm.’ This makes rather a far-fetched sense, and I prefer to take *kîlci* and *fûmnēs* as confusions for *kîldă* and *fēră*, and to translate ‘the bedawi came out and struck,’ etc.

*Impâr potrēs u ja u năste* (lxxiii. 11). Here the sense of the context obviously requires *părdă potrēs u gără u năsre*, ‘he took his sons and went and fled,’ but the narrator has mixed it up with an idea that the man was commanded to do so: the literal sense of the passage being ‘take thou his sons and go, and that they fled.’

## IX. PARTICLES

129. Of the adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions there is little to say, beyond what may be gleaned from the vocabulary.

130. Adjectives are freely used for adverbs, as in Arabic. Adverbs of time are formed by adding *-ăn*, *-tăn* to the substantive: as *dīs*, day; *dīsăn*, daily; *ărăt*, night; *ărătăn*, nightly; *sûbăh*, morning; *săbăhtăn*, in the morning. Another formative is *-tyos*, as *ărăttyos*, which see in the vocabulary.

131. There are no native conjunctions, and only a few native prepositions: the deficiencies are freely supplied from Arabic, but conjunctions are more sparingly used than in that language. In Nuri, sentences are much shorter and more disconnected.

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## REVIEWS

*By Land and by Water.* By ELLA FULLER MAITLAND. London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., Ltd., 1911. Price 6s.

‘THERE is, without doubt, witchery in tones, and spells can be cast by the sound of spoken words,’ is one of the happy phrases in this happy book. But the words need not be spoken, nor the tones uttered. There is witchery in the gentle tones of the colour-schemes which Mrs. Fuller Maitland sketches, and a spell of tranquil sympathy in the words of every chapter. Envidable is the lot of her companions—the favourite blackbird which, of his



own will, was seldom far from her side; the great-tits and robins which usually breakfasted with her; and all the birds and beasts which took her affection for granted. One would like to read their books about her!

One would wish, too, to meet the skipper again to whom the Gypsy truly foretold so tragic an adventure, and to breakfast with the Romany harvesters in the oat-field. The authoress has a genius for friendship. The grey cat knew it, who, ignoring first well-bred hints and then open hostility, walked boldly into the room with a composure that an empress might envy. The hawker of clothes-pegs knew it, who told her fortune as a free gift for the sake of something she saw in her face. And you will know it too, gentle reader, when you have read her book.

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*Hefte für Zigeunerkunde*, 1-5, Huss-Verlag, Striegau i. Schles.

Reinhold Urban, *Die Sprache der Zigeuner in Deutschland* (30 Pf.).

Engelbert Wittich, *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner* (40 Pf.).

Henri Bourgeois, *Kurze Grammatik der mitteleuropäisch-zigeunerischen Sprache* (40 Pf.).

Reinhold Urban, *Die Herkunft der Zigeuner* (20 Pf.).

Fräulein Frieda Plinzner, *Bilder aus dem Leben der Berliner Zigeunerkinder* (20 Pf.).

In spite of the modest price and appearance of this series it possesses points of unusual interest and importance. All the volumes are useful, and one at least has special claims to attention because its author is a Gypsy born and bred. Wittich, with whose name all members of the Society will be familiar, is certainly not the first Gypsy who has written on Gypsy life—three at least of the Smiths in England have done so, though only incidentally—but his work is far more thorough and elaborate than theirs, and he has the advantage of dealing with Gypsies in a less advanced state of denaturalisation than those of this country. His pamphlet is all the more useful, as Liebich's book, the standard authority for German Gypsies, was published some fifty years ago, and one could not tell how far customs had decayed in the interval. It appears that very little decay, if any, has taken place at present, though one may doubt if that state of affairs will last much longer.





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The recognition of the defilement in the touch of a woman's clothes is of more interest. It has been noticed to exist in precisely the same form among English Gypsies,<sup>1</sup> though it does not seem to be observed by the foreign band now in England. Among Wittich's friends it exists in still another form: a woman's underclothing may not be hung up in a caravan, as its touch would condemn a man to outlawry. This may explain the strange custom attributed by Addie Lee to the old Herons,<sup>2</sup> of not allowing their womenfolk to wear ordinary feminine underclothing: though, if so, it was rather a pharisaical dodge on their part, as the pollution obviously was inherent not in the form of the clothes, but in the wearers of them.

Wittich does not mention the commoner belief that there is pollution in the crockery, etc., used at meal-times by a woman who has recently given birth to a child. But this is perhaps an oversight, as there is other evidence in his pamphlet that the idea of pollution at the time of child-birth is current among his Gypsies. A birth may not take place in a van, as, if it does, the van itself and all its contents except clothes are defiled and unfit for use. The mother and child may be placed in the van after the birth has taken place; but, if so, male Gypsies may not eat anything that has been cooked there, until after the child's baptism, nor may they touch the child. Death in a *var-do* has a still more defiling influence; and in that case even the clothes present in it at the time have to be got rid of. Wittich, it may be noted, attributes this custom to fear of the dead man's ghost.

Though the birth custom has not been noticed, so far as I am aware, in England, the death custom is of course practically universal among our Gypsies. Indeed they seem to be even stricter than their German brethren, as Wittich expressly excepts the death of a child, but some of the Prices last year burned the waggon in which a child died.<sup>3</sup>

Other customs which call only for a passing mention, as they were well attested before, and fairly universal, are the avoidance of the name of a dead person, the sacredness of an oath by the dead, the practice of paying a visit to the grave a year after burial, and the pouring of wine or beer on it. Finally, one may call attention to a strange coincidence. Wittich mentions one

<sup>1</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 78.

<sup>3</sup> *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, v. 80.



Gypsy who fasted from meat every year for six weeks beginning on Good Friday. This is practically identical with the inverted Lent observed by Reynold Hearn,<sup>1</sup> which also began on Good Friday. It seems odd that the same idea should have occurred independently to two Gypsies; but I cannot offer any explanation of it.

One other pamphlet of the series deals with Gypsies from a social aspect, but from the peculiar point of view of the missionary. Fräulein Frieda Plinzner describes her mission-work among the children of a large Gypsy colony in Berlin. The spectacle of healthy children reduced to a state of sentimentality, in which they burst into hymn and prayer with a glibness bordering on profanity, appears to delight the heart of some people. To me it is inexpressibly nauseating. However, I am willing to let those who appreciate it have their turn, comforting myself with the reflection that the effects are not likely to be more permanent on this occasion than they have been in the case of previous experiments of the same kind. A summer of wild freedom will soon clear the mist of sentiment from the children's brains, and nature and the Romany blood will reassert their pagan claims.

The editor of the series is himself responsible for two of the pamphlets already published; and he must be complimented on his indefatigable energy as author and editor. One of his pamphlets discusses the origin of the Gypsies, the eternal riddle of the Gypsyologist. From a scientific point of view, I fear, little can be said for the solution offered by Herr Urban; indeed it is a distinct retrogression to the oldest theory of all, and, what is still more damning, to the methods of proof of the dark ages. It depends entirely on a biblical text referring to the dispersion of the Egyptians! The only supplementary testimony is that of the early Gypsies, who laid claim to an Egyptian origin. But even with that the case is very weak. The Gypsies are notorious liars; and the fact that they claimed to come from Egypt is almost sufficient in itself to prove that, wherever else they came from, it certainly was not that country. And as others have adduced biblical witnesses to show that the Gypsies were the dispersed ten tribes of Israel, the Hebrew prophets can hardly be counted satisfactory or conclusive evidence.

The remaining three volumes are linguistic; and, as they are all intended for beginners, and presumably for the same beginners, it seems rather a pity that some fixed system of spelling was not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 279.



adopted for the series. Still the differences are perhaps such as would not puzzle even beginners much. Finck and Gilliat-Smith's edition of Frenkel's material for a partial translation of the Gospels is the first attempt of any length at biblical translation into the German dialect of Romani. Herr Urban's contribution is a manual of the same dialect. It is evidently intended to teach tiros the barest outlines of the language with which they can make some headway with spoken Romani; and it may be said to have achieved its object. Of course the author has not succeeded in keeping out of his specimen sentences and texts forms which do not occur in his short sketch of grammar.<sup>1</sup> That, however, is hardly a drawback, as it should induce the learner to turn to fuller works.

M. Bourgeois' pamphlet, in spite of the rather high-sounding professions of its title, is practically nothing but an abstract of Von Sowa's Slovak Gypsy grammar. In some points he departs from Von Sowa, and not always for the better. For instance, he has adopted Ješina's view that aspirated *k*, *t*, *p*, *tj* are to be pronounced like those letters followed by a German *ch*. Surely Von Sowa is more correct, both historically and phonetically, in insisting that the aspiration is merely a strong *h* sound. A far more serious point, however, is the omission of any qualification to the statement that *h* is to be pronounced as German *ch*. The *h* which occurs most frequently in the book is that which has replaced *s* in some Romani dialects. M. Bourgeois cannot wish to imply that this *h*—which all authorities are agreed is so weak an aspirate as to be hardly audible—is pronounced as a German *ch*. In a work intended for beginners, such a slip is most unfortunate, as it may be doubted whether they would make themselves intelligible if they followed the rule laid down. If they pronounced *džaha* as *džaxa*, they would be far more likely to be understood to mean 'go, and eat,' than 'let us go.' Again at times, M. Bourgeois hardly seems to have followed the principle laid down in his introduction of rejecting special forms and selecting the more universal. The oblique form of the article in *le* cannot be called more universal than that in *e*; yet Bourgeois mentions only the *le* form, and carefully alters all the contrary examples in the specimens at the end. A few of his alterations in these texts seem unnecessary (e.g. *havore* for *savore*, p. 18, and *denara* for *denaren*, p. 26). *Asari* for Von Sowa's *asavi* (p. 17) is doubt-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *dikhap* with the German *p* for *v*, and the affixed pronouns *lo*, etc.





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*Fr* for *K*; and the shape of their capital *S* can be deduced easily from the fact that it was misread *L*. If, then, the first serif of their capital *H* were started rather too low, the whole letter written without breaking the contact of pen and paper, and the last serif flourished a little, the result would closely resemble *Sh*.

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#### 44.—THE PUNISHMENT OF INFIDELITY

On Sunday, April 9, 1911, while chatting about Wlislöcki in the tent of Lurēna Hern, I happened to mention that foreign Gypsies punished unchastity in their women-folk by cutting off noses or ears. Lurēna became somewhat excited, exclaiming, 'That's what our old people used to do—cut their noses.' There were gasps of astonishment from the girls, and for a few seconds my heart stopped in anxiety whether more would follow. She continued, 'My uncle Manful—my father's brother—cut off his wife's hair, an' cut off all 'er clothes by 'ere [pointing to her hips],<sup>1</sup> an' then chased 'er like that round a field with a bulldog. That was to shame 'er. I dunno what she 'd done, but 'twas done, when I was a little gal.' Then, turning to the girls, 'An' your uncle Nūkes wanted to do the same thing to 'is wife, but Caleb [Lurēna's brother] wouldn't let 'im—'an that ain't so long ago. An' in the old days, Rai, our sort of people used to say to the women, "*kel* as you *kom* wi' the *tarno gâjo rais*, but *kek wafadu*," an' they know'd thă wouldn't be. 'Cos our women is more partikler 'an gâjos, an' the *puro fōki 'ad nai* hang their clothes outside to dry, fearful the gâjos 'ad *dik 'em*.'

Nūkes Hern still travels South Wales, mostly the neighbourhood of Swansea, but I have not yet met him.

JOHN MYERS.

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#### 45.—THE GYPSY LISP

In *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, vol. i. p. 170, Mr. David MacRitchie quotes the *Alonso* of Gerónimo de Alcalá on the lispings of Gypsies, and asks: 'Is there any other writer who has any remark corroborating this "lispings a little, after the Gitáno fashion"?'

Yes, Cervantes mentions it in *La Gitanilla*:<sup>2</sup> "'Will you give me of your winnings, zeñores?" quoth Preciosa (who, like all gipsies, lisped, a trick with them and not a natural infirmity).'

ALEX. RUSSELL.

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#### 46.—MARRIAGE CUSTOM

The following appeared in the *Libausche Zeitung* recently. Unfortunately I have omitted to note the date. It may be founded on an article, 'A Gypsy Wedding in Poland,' by Kajetan Dunbar, which appeared in *The Wide World Magazine*, vol. xxiv., No. 144 (March 1910), pp. 541-8.

'Von den seltsamen Ehesitten und Heiratsbräuchen der Zigeuner, teilt ein Aufsatz der "Roma" interessante Einzelheiten mit. Alle Ehen der Zigeuner

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<sup>1</sup> Samter quotes from Preuss (*Globus*, 1903, lxxxiii. 272) a Mexican parallel for retributive nakedness. See Ernst Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, Leipzig und Berlin (Teubner), 1911, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Pott (ii. 216 and 236) and later Sampson (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iv. 173) have of course used it to explain peculiarities in Bryant's vocabulary; and Pott (ii. 359), rather curiously, describes the Gypsy pronunciation of παραμίθι as 'das Gr. Theta lispelnd.'



werden vom König geschlossen ; sie sind nicht gleich endgültige Ehen, sondern zunächst eine Verbindung auf fünf Jahre Probezeit, nach der die Heirat erst im Sinne der Zigeunersitten Gesetzeskraft erlangt. Die Eltern des Bräutigams kaufen den Eltern der Braut das Mädchen ab ; je nach ihrer Schönheit wird der Kaufpreis angesetzt. Wenn Streitigkeiten entstehen, entscheidet der König. Der Vater des Bräutigams zählt dem Zigeunerkönig die für die Braut vereinbarte Summe vor, der König zählt die Münzen nach und erklärt dann, dass die Summe stimmt. Als Dritter hat dann der Empfänger, der Vater der Braut, das Recht, in Gegenwart der Versammlung die Höhe des Betrages noch einmal festzustellen. Der zweite Teil der Zeremonie entspricht den standesamtlichen Formalitäten. Der König fragt den Bräutigam : "Willst du dieses Mädchen auf fünf Jahre zur Frau nehmen und sie zum Altare führen, wenn sie dir in dieser Zeit immer gefolgt, dir Kinder geschenkt und dich nicht betrogen hat ? Wenn sie dir nicht folgte und keine Kinder zur Welt brächte, willst du dann zu mir zurückkehren und die Scheidung beantragen ? Versprichst du mir, wenn das Mädchen dir treu bleibt, von ihren Eltern nie das Brautgeld zurückzuverlangen ?" Der Bräutigam muss alle Fragen einzeln bejahen ; ebenso verspricht die Braut, treue zu halten und nach 5 Jahren wiederzukehren, um dann endgültig mit dem gewählten Mann die Ehe einzugeben. Der Zigeunerkönig wechselt dann die Ringe, und die Probeehe auf Zeit ist geschlossen.'

FRED. G. ACKERLEY.

11th May 1911.

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#### 47.—SOME FRENCH EDICTS AGAINST THE GYPSIES

France is perhaps the only country where laws and the merciless prosecution of the laws have taken some lasting effect on the Gypsies. Yet singularly few of the French laws have been published, probably because the only Frenchman who has paid any serious attention to the Gypsies devoted his energies mainly to an earlier period of their history. Of the four laws which are reproduced here, the first is mentioned by him<sup>1</sup> but not quoted. The second is referred to by Lucas in his *Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, p. 107 ; but again no details are given. Unfortunately I have not been able to print them from early editions ; but, as the only difference would lie in minutiae of spelling, it seems preferable to make them available to students from such copies as I could, rather than to wait for an indefinite period until I could get access to older copies or some other researcher came across them.

(1) *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*. Par MM. Jourdan, Decrusy et Isambert. Paris, [1822-3], 8°.

Tome xii. pp. 566-7. François I. (Poyet, Chancelier.)

No. 276.—Édit défendant l'entrée du royaume aux Bohémiens, et enjoignant à ceux qui y sont d'en sortir.

Paris 24 juin 1539 ; enregistré le 4 août au parlement. (Vol. M., fo. 171.)

François, etc. Comme cy-devant certains personnages incognus qui se font appeler Boesmiens, se soient, par plusieurs et diverses fois assemblés, et sous ombre d'une simulée religion ou de certaine pénitence qu'ils disent qu'ils font

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<sup>1</sup> Bataillard, 'De l'apparition . . . des Bohémiens' (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, sér. 1, tom. v. p. 533).



par le monde, soient venus et entrés en cestuy nostre royaume, pays, terres et seigneuries, parmy lesquels ils ont accoustumé aller, venir, séjourner et traverser d'ung lieu à l'autre, ainsi que bon leur semble, faisant et commettant par les lieux et endroits où ils passent plusieurs et infinis abus et tromperies dont, cy-devant, nous sont venues plusieurs plaintes et doléances.

Sçavoir faisons que nous voulons à ce pourveoir, pour le soulagement de nostre peuple, et obvier auxdites tromperies et abus ;

Pour ces causes et autres bonnes et justes considérations, à ce nous mouvans, avons dit, déclaré et ordonné, disons, déclarons et ordonnons, par ces présentes, que nous ne voulons ni entendons que d'oresnavant aucunes desdites compagnies et assemblées des dessusdits Boesmiens, puissent aucunement entrer, venir ni séjourner en nostredit royaume ni ez pays de nostre obéissance, ni en iceux fréquente, en quelque sorte et manière que ce soit ;

Mais nous voulons que si aucuns de leur qualité se ingéroient de y venir et entrer cy après qu'il leur soit par nos juges et officiers des lieux où ils arriveront, fait expresses injonctions, sur peine de punition corporelle, qu'ils ayent à vuider hors nostredit royaume, et eux retirer d'icelui le plus tôt que faire se pourra, et d'oresnavant n'être si hardis de plus y venir ni fréquenter en quelque manière que ce soit.

Et si après lesdites défenses faites aucuns d'entre eux s'efforçoient de faire le contraire et ne se retiroient dedans le temps qui leur sera par lesdites injonctions préfix.

Nous voulons que par nosdits juges et officiers, chacun en son regard, destroit et juridiction, soit procédé contre eux, comme infracteurs et transgresseurs de nos ordonnances et défenses, de sorte que les autres y prennent exemple, et que, par ce moyen, ils se déportent de plus venir ni fréquenter en nostredit royaume, comme dit est.

Si donnons, etc.

(2) *Ordonnances royales* . . . Paris, 1606.

p. 167. No 104 of the *Ordonnances du roi Charle neufiesme, faicte* . . . en la ville d'Orleans.<sup>1</sup>

Enioignons a nos Baillifs & Seneschaux, ou leurs Lieutenās, & autres nos Officiers chacū en son endroit, faire commandement a tous ceux qui s'apellent Boëmiens ou Egyptiens, leurs femmes enfans, & autres de leur suite, de vuider dedans deux mois nos royaume & païs de nostre obeïsscāce à peine des galleres, & de punition corporelle. Et s'ils sont trouvez ou retournent apres lesdits deux mois, nos Iuges feront sur l'heure sans autre forme de procez, raser aux hommes leur barbe & cheueux, & aux femmes & enfans leurs cheueux, & apres deliureront les hommes à vn Capitaine de nos galleres, pour nous y servir l'espace de trois ans.

(3) *Rec. gén. des anc. lois franç.*, tome xvii. p. 391.

[On p. 387 :—] No. 360.—Déclaration qui defend de porter des armes à feu, pistolets de poche, poignards et couteaux en forme de baïonnettes, et réglement sur le recélé, et sur la police des jeux et des cabarets, sur le port d'armes des militaires, etc.

Paris, décembre 1660.

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Recueil gén. des anc. lois franç.*, tom. xiv. p. 89, where the law is reprinted, the date was 'janvier 1560, reg. au parl. le 13 sept. 1561.'





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l'an de grace mil six cent quatre-vingt-deux, & de notre regne le quarantième. *Signé, LOUIS. Et sur le repli, par le Roi, LE TELLIER.* ET scellé du grand Sceau sur cire jaune.

In the *Rec. gén. des anc. lois franç.*, tome xix. pp. 393-4, this edict is reprinted with a note:—'Les Bohêmes ou Bohémiens paroissent venir de l'Égypte ou de l'Asie mineure. Pa[s]quier fait remonter leur arrivée en France à 1427.—Les États de Blois (1560) en demandèrent l'expulsion, et l'ordonnance rendue en conséquence leur enjoignit de sortir de France, à peine des galères.' But the 'Ordonnances de Blois' were not drawn up until 1579; and I cannot find any reference to *Bohémiens* in them. Probably Blois is a slip for Orleans, and the edict referred to is the second of this series. F. C. WELLSTOOD.

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48.—CORNELIUS AGRIPPA ON GYPSIES.

Dr. D. F. de l'Hoste Ranking has kindly sent the following extract from chapter lxxv., 'De Mendicitate,' of Cornelius Agrippa's *De Vanitate Scientiarum Declamatio Invectiva*, Cologne, 1584:—

'Sunt alij qui votorū et perigrinationū pretextu provincias obambulant, laborem ex industria fugiētes, otiosa paupertate ostiatim mēdicantes, atq; ij interim, ne cū regib. quidē vitam suam commutare velint, modo illis liberum est, quolibet & velint, vagari, quodcunq; collibitum est facere bello et pace. Vbiq; tuti ab exactionibus, a publicis oneribus, a seruitutibus. a cēsuris ciuilibus vndiq; & vbiq; liberi, nec pro fraudibus, dolis, imposturis, furtis, iniurijs in jus vocati, & velut dijs sacri ab omnibus inoffensi: atque tamen ex illorum ordine non minima nascitur pernicies, ingentiaque prodeunt facinora, dum praetextu mendicitatis, ciuitatum & prouinciarum explorant secreta, fraudib<sup>9</sup> & dolis exercitati hostiles deferunt, referuntque tabellas, ad omnium prodicionum genera instructi. Ab ijs nonnunquam incensae vrbes, quod proximis annis ipsa Gallia, atque vrbs Trirensis [? Trevirensis] experta est, nonnunquam ab ijs corr[u]ptae aquae, infectae fruges, venenata pabula, & seminata peste ingens hominum strages facta est. His adnumerandae sunt gentes illae, quas *Cynganos* vocant. Quas aliena iuuant, proprijs habitare molestum. Fastidit patrium non nisi nosse solum. Hi enim ex regione inter Ægyptā Aethiopiam oriundi, de genere Chus filij Chaã,<sup>1</sup> filij Noe, adhuc vsq; progenitoris maledictione luunt, per vniuersum orbem vagātes, in triuijs tenroria<sup>2</sup> erigētes, latrocinijs & furtis, deceptionib<sup>9</sup> et permutationib<sup>9</sup>, atq; ex chiromantica diuinatione oblectantes homines ijs fraudibus victū mendicāt. Volaterranus hos Vxios esse putat Persidis populos secutus Scilatē, qui Constantinopolitanam scripsit Historiam. Hic enim dicit Michaelē Traulum Imperatorem ex vaticinio Vxiorum adeptum fuisse imperium, quae secta per Mesiā atq; Europā sparsa, passim omnibus futura predicebat. Polydorus Assyrios atq; Cilices affirmat.'

To this text Mr. E. O. Winstedt adds as commentary:—

The reference to Volaterranus is to the *Commentariorum urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani octo et triginta libri* (Basileae, MDLIX.), lib. xii. p. 253:—'Vxij gens maxima, & Vxia regio Strabōi, ex qua Coaspes fluuius oriū. Hos ego putauerim quos vulgus nūc Vxios siue Cinganos uocat, q per orbē, maximeq; per Italiā sparsi degūt, more ferarū, nulla lege, nullis artibus, tantū futura prædicentes, cū cēs ferè populi orientales præsertim uicini Chaldæis, Mathematicæ sint addicti: autorē habes Silacem qui historiā scripsit Constantinopolitanā. Dicit Michaelē

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement of Simon Simeonis, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> ? tentoria.



Traulum Imperatorē ex vaticinio Vxiorū adeptū imperium fuisse, quae secta per Mœsiā ac Europam sparsa, passim omnibus futura prædicebat.' The author, Raffaello Maffei of Volterra, lived from 1451 to 1522; and it is interesting to find him testifying to the large number of Gypsies existing in Italy at that date. But what does he mean by saying that they were commonly called *Uxii* or Cingani? The latter term is plentifully illustrated by the documents quoted by Spinelli, with the alternative titles 'Cingari,' 'Egyptiani,' 'de Egypto minori.' But no name even remotely resembling *Uxii* seems to have ever been applied to them in Italy or anywhere else.

The reference to Scilates and the *Uxii* is equally mysterious. Scilates can hardly be any one but Johannes Skylitzes, who wrote a Byzantine history about 1079. But the only part of his work, which I can find published under his name, does not contain the tale about the accession of Michael Traulus. This extract is printed as a continuation of Cedrenus' *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*: but the whole of Cedrenus' work from the year 811 is said to be a copy of Skylitzes' history, and, in the Latin translation, published by J. B. Gabius in 1570, it is printed under Skylitzes' name. As the tale of a prophecy of Michael's accession is given in this work,<sup>1</sup> one would have supposed that this was the passage referred to by Maffei; but in all editions to which I have access the prophecy is attributed not to one of the *Uxii*, but to one of the Athinganoi. Indeed this is among the passages mentioned by Miklosich (*Mundarten*, vi. 58) when dealing with the claims of the Athinganoi to be considered as Gypsies. Nor are the *Uxii* mentioned, so far as I can find, either by Skylitzes or Cedrenus: the nearest approach to them in those authors are the *Οὔζοι*, but, as they are described as Scythians or Huns, who with an army of 600,000 men defeated the Bulgarians and Romans, and are not credited with any prophetic powers, they can hardly be identical with the *Uxii*, though like the Gypsies they are said to have settled in Greece.<sup>2</sup>

The passage of Polydorus Vergilius mentioned by Agrippa is perhaps worth quoting, mainly for the sake of one sentence. It comes from his work *De inventoribus rerum*, book vii. chapter 7, 'De origine sectæ deæ Syriæ sacerdotū, Assyriorum, Antonianorum, atque Cæretanorum,' where, after describing the wandering priests of the Syrian goddess mentioned by Apuleius, he continues:— 'Durat adhuc superstitiosa fraus in gente: nam nunc non sacerdotes, sed magnus uilissimæ plebis sexus utriusq; numerus in omnes orbis etiam Christiani partes diffusus, uoti, ut aiunt, causa, sine fine peregrinatur, uictum ostiatim quæritando. Mulieres chiromantiam profitentur, hoc est, per linearum manuū inspectionem diuināt, interim egregiè doctæ ad subtrahendam furtim è marsupio eorum, quibus futura prædicunt, pecuniam, nisi bene cauerint. Nusquam ultra tertiū diem immorantur, sub diuo prope ciuitates & oppida tabernacula collocāt, sunt omnes stigmatibus notati. Ex quo satis constat, hos esse Assyrios,<sup>3</sup> qui fraudibus et dolis exercitati, ritu sacerdotum deæ Syriæ, eo mendicabulo uiuūt. Istos Itali Cilices uocāt, quòd ex Cilicia, quæ, teste Plinio, Syriæ proxima est, proficiscantur: alii uerò extra Italiam, Aegyptios nuncupant. Ab ijs igitur Syriæ deæ sacerdotibus usq; ad nos huiusce fraudis labes peruasit' [ed. Basileæ, 1545, p. 470].

Here again we find an unusual name for the Gypsies—*Cilices*, for which Colocci<sup>4</sup> finds support in Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs* and in an Italian Gypsy song mentioning Cilicia. But the most noticeable points are the statements that they were all tattooed and that they dwelt in tents. Tattooing is probably ascribed to the band which invaded Western Europe in the early part of the fifteenth century

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Bekker in the *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, ii. 70-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, ii. 654-7.

<sup>3</sup> He has stated above:—'Item in sacris deae quibusdā iuncturas manuum & ceruices stigmatibus notabant, inde Assyrii omnes notati uisuntur.'

<sup>4</sup> *L'origine des bohémiens* (Città di Castello, 1905), p. 4.



by the Bourgeois de Paris, in whose journal their first visit to Paris is recorded. He, however, seems to limit its use to the women :—‘les plus laides femmes que on peust veoir et les plus noires ; toutes avoient le visage deplaié.’<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the use of tents is nowhere attributed to those early visitors, unless they are implied in the phrase ‘lochatu more gencium armorum’ used in the description of their visit to Sisteron in 1419,<sup>2</sup> though they were used by an apparently distinct company of Gypsies who visited Ratisbon in 1524 and 1526, and stated that they came from Hungary, not from Egypt like the rest.<sup>3</sup> Nor are references to tents forthcoming in Western Europe till the end of the eighteenth century. Hence Groome<sup>4</sup> and Bataillard<sup>5</sup> have inferred that they were not used by western Gypsies until the English Gypsies resuscitated the use about 1780. But this passage seems to upset that theory. Presumably it applies to Italian Gypsies, since the author was a native of Urbino. But it is worth noticing that he had spent sixteen years or more in England, and was still living here when he wrote the last five books of the *De inventoribus rerum* ; so that he had had ample opportunity of seeing Gypsies in England as well as Italy, and possibly the description may be taken to apply to the Gypsies of both countries.

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49.—EIN ZIGEUNERWIEGENLIED

Aufgezeichnet i. J. 1903 in Ključ in Bosnien von *Jelica Belović Bernadzikowska*.

Die Sängerin nachfolgenden serbischen Wiegenliedes ist die Zigeunerin *Gjula Šerifović*, eine Moslimin aus dem Zigeunerdorfe *Punir* bei Ključ. Die Verse 16-20 sind wohl eine Interpolation der Zigeunerin, die gerade beim Wünschen oder Verwünschen war, und zwar gehören die entlehnten vier Zeilen zu den vier Schlusszeilen, die wieder Bestandteile eines eigenen Liedes bilden, das ein wider ihren Willen von ihren Eltern an einen ungeliebten Jüngling verkauftes Mädchen singt, um ihrem Gram Luft zu machen. Eine Variante zu diesem zweiten Texte veröffentlichte die Frau Einsenderin im xi. Abschnitt ihrer in den *Anthropophyteia*, B. viii. (1911) erschienenen Studie vom ‘Goldtüchlein und Handtuch in Glauben, Brauch und Gewohnheitsrecht der Slaven.’ Die Zigeunerin Gjula dachte sich bei der halb unbewussten Durcheinanderwürflung zweier Liedertexte wohl nichts anders als : ‘möchte der Fratz denn doch endlich einmal einschlummern !’ und sang darauf los, nur um zu singen :

*Andante.*

The musical notation consists of two staves of music in 2/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is simple and repetitive. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Spa - vaj, si - ne, u tan - koj be - ši - ci,  
 spa - vaj, si - ne, u tan - koj be - ši - ci.

Spavaj, sine, u tankoj bešici !  
 Uroci ti pod bešikom bili  
 Kano gjogi ploče sve četiri !  
 Uroke ti voda odnijela  
 a sanak ti voda donijela !

5

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449* . . . per Alexandre Tuetey (Paris, 1881), p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *J. G. L. S., Old Series*, i. 328.

<sup>3</sup> *J. G. L. S., Old Series*, i. 340, 344.

<sup>4</sup> *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> *J. G. L. S., Old Series*, ii. 46-52.





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das Wochenbettfest, Vrgl. mein Buch : *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Wien 1885 : — Von der Haube (*jemenija*) und dem Tüchlein (*jagluk*) handelt eingehend die eingangs erwähnte Studie Frau Bernadzikowskas, V. 24f. Anspielung auf Heiratsmärkte, wie sie nur noch hie und da als Ueberlebsel eines alten Brauches auch bei den Chrowoten und Serben vorkommen.

Dr. FRIEDRICH S. KRAUSS.

Wien vii. 2, Neustiftgasse 12  
am 17.1.1911.

#### 50.—EINE ALTE ZIGEUNERGRABINSCHRIFT IN NORWEGEN

Ja wenig sind der Spuren und Anhaltspunkte, die man darüber hat, dass die Zigeuner auch in den hohen, kalten Norden Norwegens eingedrungen seien. Es dürfte daher für weitere Kreise der Freunde dieses Volkes von Interesse sein, dass ein genauer Kenner der Volkslieder und Volksliteratur der Norweger, der sich auch mit der Sammlung von Grabinschriften und Sprüchen dieses Landes befasst, Herr Dr. Jürges, Bibliothekar der Nassauischen Landesbibliothek zu Wiesbaden, in einem mittelalterlichen Werk einen norwegischen Zigeuner-reim fand. Herr Dr. Jürges hat diesen mit der Quellenangabe dem Unterzeichneten freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellt. Seiner Meinung nach, handelt es sich hier um eine direkte Grabinschrift, welche der Herausgeber des Quellenwerkes, der Originalität derselben wegen, uns übertrug. Herr Dr. Jürges äusserte auch die Ansicht, dass die Abfassung des Reimes von Zigeunern *selbst* herrührt, da die Art desselben so sehr wenig dem allgemein Charakter der nordischen Volksverse entspricht.

Aufgezeichnet ist der Reim bei Ludwig M. Lindeman, *Aeldre og nyere Norske Fjeldmelodier*, Christiania (ohne Jahreszahl) C. Wahrmuth. Er lautet :—

#### TATERVISE

*Jeg nepp tolv Aar var  
Jeg nisted mor og Far.  
Jeg fik dog ikke at laere  
Sa vel som mange Klere,  
Som ha sin Far og Mor,  
Indtil de bliwe stor.*

In deutscher Sprache würde der Reim nach der Uebersetzung des Herrn Dr. Jürges lauten :—

Ich war kaum zwölf Jahr alt,  
Als ich Vater und Mutter verlor.  
Ich konnte nicht soviel lernen  
Wie manche andere,  
Die ihren Vater und ihre Mutter haben,  
Bis sie gross geworden sind.

Mir scheint die Tatsache, dass Lindeman die Ueberschrift: *Tatervise* gibt dafür zu sprechen, dass es sich um ein Liedlein der norwegischen Zigeuner handelte, welches auch wohl zu einer Grabinschrift benutzt wurde.

Was da auffällt ist die Betonung des Unterschiedes in der Erziehung gegenüber den anderen Kindern Norwegens. Es klingt fast, wie eine zaghafte Entschuldigung.

Jedenfalls ist die Aufnahme des Reims in das alte Sammelwerk ein deutlicher Beweis, dass damals schon die Bevölkerung des hohen Nordens die Zigeuner kannte und ihnen Beachtung schenkte.

F. W. BREPOHL, Wiesbaden.



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By ALEXANDER RUSSELL

G. = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

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