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VOL. III
No. 1



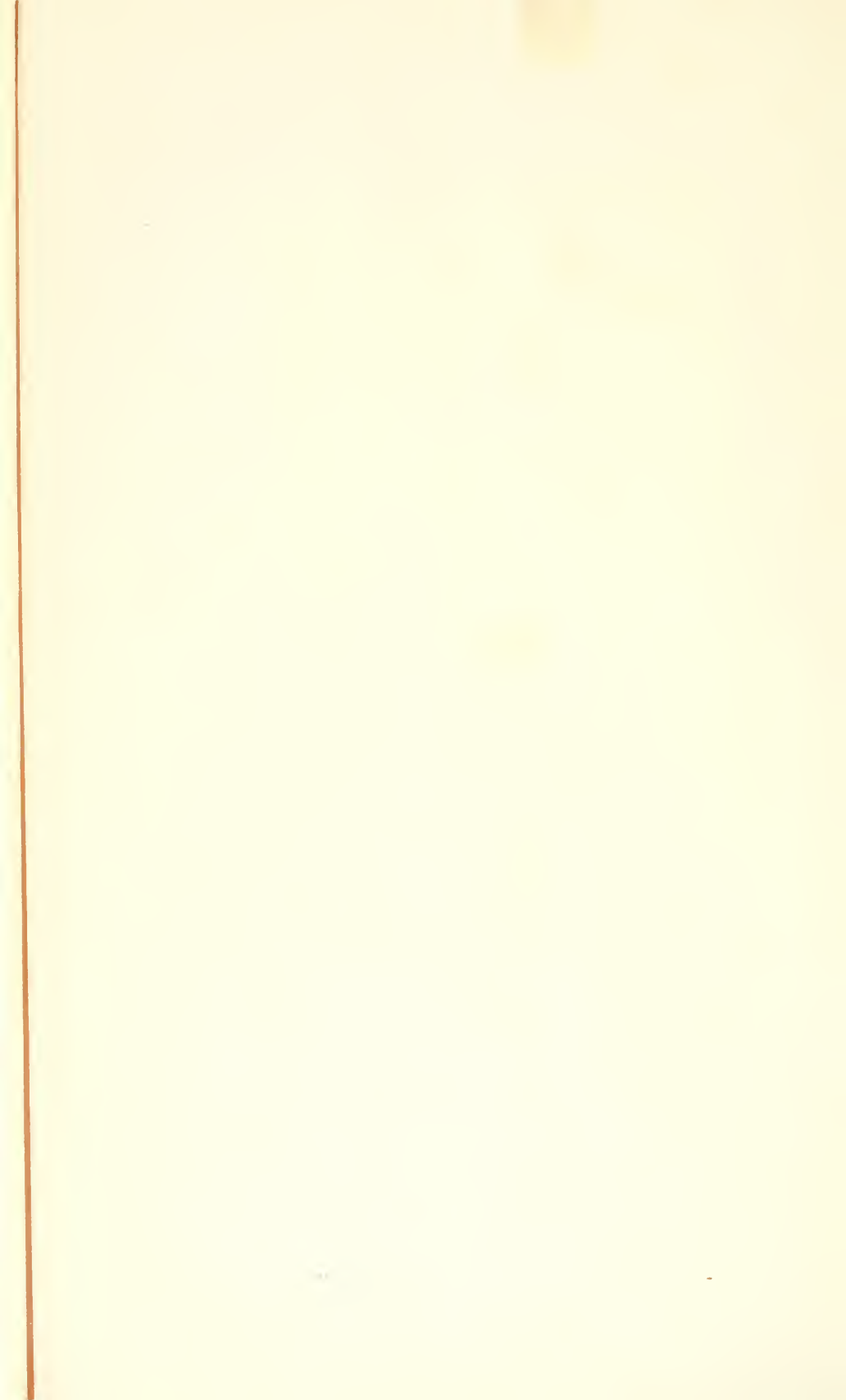
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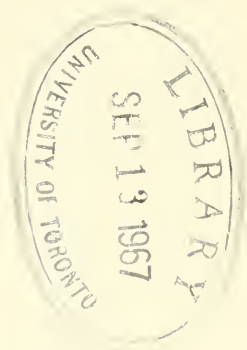


JOURNAL OF THE
GYPSY LORE
SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOLUME III

(JULY 1909—APRIL 1910)



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178

101

50

102

13

CONTENTS¹

	PAGE
LIST OF PLATES	vii
LIST OF MEMBERS	ix
ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1910	xvii
ERRATA	xx

NO. 1.—JULY 1909.

I. MICHAEL-JAN DE GOEJE. Par M. le Docteur A. KLUYVER	1
II. GYPSIES AS FORTUNE-TELLERS AND AS BLACKSMITHS. By Professor LEO WIENER	4
III. WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES. No. 9. <i>Ō DINILŌ ĩ BAKARÉNSA.</i> By JOHN SAMPSON, D.Litt.	17
IV. CHRISTMAS EVE AND AFTER. By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON	19
V. THE WORD 'ROM.' By ALBERT THOMAS SINCLAIR	33
VI. GLI ZINGARI NEL MODENESE. Del Cavaliere ALESSANDRO GIUSEPPE SPINELLI	42
VII. THE GYPSIES OF MODON AND THE 'WYNE OF ROMENEY.' By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT, M.A., B.Litt.	57
REVIEW	70
NOTES AND QUERIES	71

NO. 2.—OCTOBER 1909.

I. A NEW WORLD GYPSY CAMP. By WILLIAM MACLEOD	81
II. GLI ZINGARI NEL MODENESE. Del Cavaliere ALESSANDRO GIUSEPPE SPINELLI (<i>Continuazione</i>)	88
III. SWEDISH TSIGANOLOGUES. By HARALD EHRENBORG	111
IV. <i>Č UND Ĵ.</i> Von Professor Dr. JACOB WACKERNAGEL	119
V. A GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NAWAR OR ZUTT, THE NOMAD SMITHS OF PALESTINE. By Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	120
VI. NURI STORIES. Collected by Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	127
REVIEWS	149
NOTES AND QUERIES	150

¹ Complete Lists of the Reviews and of the Notes and Queries will be found in the Index under these headings.

NO. 3.—JANUARY 1910.

	PAGE
I. JASPER'S FAMILY	161
II. BORROW'S GYPSIES. By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON	162
III. GYPSY FORMS AND CEREMONIES. By Dr. WILLIAM CROOKE	174
IV. A BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE: O ČŮRDILENDŽIS. Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH	182
V. ROMANÉ GILJÁ. Liné Romendar katar o Romanó Gav ándi Dis Sófia BERNARD GILLIAT-PETALEJGRESTAR	198
VI. A CONTRIBUTION TO FRENCH GYPSY HISTORY. By FREDERICK CHRISTIAN WELLSTOOD, M.A.,	201
VII. A PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. By Lady ARTHUR GROSVENOR	204
NOTES AND QUERIES	225

NO. 4.—APRIL 1910.

I. THE GYPSY BLANKET	241
II. LA BELLA CHIAVINA: A FRENCH OR PIEDMONT GYPSY TALE. By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT, M.A., B.Litt.	242
III. GYPSIES AS FORTUNE-TELLERS AND AS BLACKSMITHS (<i>Continued</i>). By Professor LEO WIENER	253
IV. AFFAIRS OF EGYPT, 1908. By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON	276
V. A GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NAWAR OR ZUTT, THE NOMAD SMITHS OF PALESTINE (<i>Continued</i>). By Professor R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	298
REVIEWS	318
NOTES AND QUERIES	320
INDEX	321

LIST OF PLATES

MICHAEL-JAN DE GOEJE	to face	p. 1
MODON IN THE MOREA, WITH GYPSY SETTLEMENT.		
(Drawn in 1483 by EBERHARD REÜWICH for BREYDENBACH'S <i>Peregrinatio</i> , Mainz, 1486)	,,	60
BRAZILIAN GYPSIES AT BOSTON, U.S.A.	,,	81
JASPER PETULENGRO'S FAMILY (1878)	,,	161
ARREST DE LA COUR DE PARLEMENT, LYON, 1612.		
(Facsimile of Title)	,,	202
LA BOHÉMIENNE. By FRANÇOIS BOUCHER	,,	241



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INCOME

3 subscriptions for the year 1908-9,	£3	0	0
175 " " " 1909-10,	175	0	0
20 " " " 1910-11,	20	0	0
Copies and parts of Volume I. sold to Members,	12	12	6
" " Volume II. " "	9	9	0
Parts of Volume III. sold to Members,	0	5	3
Donation from Mr. David MacRitchie,	1	0	0
Sale of <i>Gaudeamus Igitur</i> ,	0	12	6
Collected for Engelbert Wittich,	14	17	0
Balance, expenditure over income,	23	11	2
	£260		7 5

EXPENDITURE

Discounts for the year 1909-10,	£1	19	3
" " " 1910-11,	0	14	6
	£2		13 9
Management and Correspondence—			
Receipt Book,	£0	8	0
Stationery,	5	6	6
Printed Notices,	3	10	0
Postages,	6	18	0
Auditor's Fee,	0	10	6
	16		13 0
Journal and Publications—			
No. 1. Letterpress,	£32	15	0
Illustrations,	5	2	8
	£37		17 8
No. 2. Letterpress,	33	18	0
Illustration,	2	6	5
	36		4 5
Carry forward,	£74	2	1
	£19		6 9

Brought forward,	£74 2 1	£19 6 9
No. 3. Letterpress,	£36 3 6	
Illustrations,	3 14 5	
	<hr/>	39 17 11
No. 4. Letterpress,	35 6 0	
Illustration,	2 1 7	
	<hr/>	37 7 7
No. 5. Letterpress (estimate),	22 10 0	
	<hr/>	173 17 7
Advertising and Reviews—		
Prospectuses and printed forms,	£2 6 6	
Envelopes and labels,	0 9 9	
Additional Journals printed for review,	6 11 10	
Postages,	2 10 0	
	<hr/>	11 18 1
Dispatch of Journal to Members,		10 8 5
Separate offprints for the authors of papers,		15 0 1
Cutting and casting special type during past three years,		13 1 0
Excess actual cost of Vol. II., No. 5, over estimate in last year's accounts,		1 18 6
Remitted to Geheimrat Professor Dr. E. Kuhn for Engelbert Wittich,		14 17 0
		<hr/>
		£260 7 5

BALANCE SHEET

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
To Creditors—	By Cash in Bank,
T. and A. Constable £181 16 2	£11 12 7
E. O. Winstedt, 25 0 0	Excess expenditure
The Honorary Secretary, 35 0 0	over income,
J. Summerskill, 0 10 6	1907-8, 129 5 4
	Do., 1908-9, 77 17 7
	Do., 1909-10, 23 11 2
	<hr/>
	£242 6 8
	<hr/>
	£242 6 8

I have audited the Books and Accounts of The Gypsy Lore Society, and examined the Vouchers relating thereto, for the year ending June 30, 1910, and hereby certify the above statement to be a true and correct one as shown thereby.

[Signed] J. SUMMERSKILL,

Certified Accountant.

21 VICTORIA STREET, LIVERPOOL,
April 24, 1911.

NOTE.—The Society owns the following property—

Stock of Journals unsold (at cost):

Volume I.,	.	.	.	.	.	£55	12	11
Volume II.,	.	.	.	.	.	69	3	5
Volume III.,	.	.	.	.	.	59	17	5
Subscriptions in arrears,	.	.	.	.	.	22	0	0
Dr. George F. Black's <i>Gypsy Bibliography</i> , provisional issue, standing in type,	.	.	.	.	.	not valued		

£206 13 9

ERRATA

Page	17, line 23,	for 'Čidě	read Čidě.
"	18, ,, 15, ,,	'Cas	,, 'Čas.
"	41, ,, 15, ,,	dopo un	,, dopo in un.
"	51, ,, 26, ,,	sotigliezze	,, sottigliezze.
"	53, ,, 16, ,,	Comune	,, Comune.
"	57, ,, 16, ,,	Consiglio	,, Conciglio.
"	57, ,, 16, ,,	diocesiani	,, diocesani.
"	76, ,, 45, ,,	forcera	,, foncera.
"	129, (iv., Trans., line 6),	for We made farther,	for read We reached again.
"	129, (iv., Trans., line 9),	,, made	read reached.
"	130, (v., Trans., line 6),	,, took horsemen for	read sent horsemen to.
"	137, (xv., line 10),	,, bāvimke	read bāvimkă.
"	140, (xix., line 21),	,, nāndik	,, nāndĕk.
"	141, (xix., Trans., line 4),	for the heads of our wives were	broken read they broke the heads of our wives.
"	142, (xxi., Trans., line 7),	for fled	read flee.
"	144, (xxiv., Trans., line 2),	for He went	read They went.
"	144, (xxiv., Trans., line 3),	for He did and He descended	read They did and They descended.
"	144, (xxiv., Trans., line 4),	for cities	read villages.
"	146, (xxvi., Trans., line 22),	for brought	read left.
"	159, line 6,	for Gypsyy	read Gipsyy.
"	183, line 38,	for ċ	read ċ̇.
"	213, line 22,	for inquisitive	read inquisitive.
"	248, line 12,	for Sinti. Pūčias	read Sinti, pūčias.
"	248, footnote 9,	for construction of	read construction or.





Yours sincerely

Alfred George

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY

NEW SERIES



VOL. III

JULY 1909

I.—MICHAEL-JAN DE GOEJE

Par A. KLUYVER

M. DE GOEJE, l'illustre arabisant de Leyde, vient d'être enlevé à la science. Il est mort le 17 Mai 1909 à l'âge de soixante-douze ans, après avoir occupé la chaire d'arabe à notre Université de 1866 jusqu'en 1906.

Ses diverses qualités constituaient un ensemble des plus heureux. Chez lui une grande puissance de travail était au service d'un esprit pondéré. Ses manières étaient charmantes. Il aimait à encourager tous ceux qu'il croyait être dans la bonne voie, sa bibliothèque était à leur disposition et il les recevait volontiers dans son cabinet d'étude, grande pièce bien éclairée, donnant sur un beau jardin. Bien qu'il prît intérêt à beaucoup de choses, il se méfiait de cette curiosité universelle qui a égaré tant de bons esprits. Il délimitait avec soin le champ de ses études, quelque vaste qu'il fût, tout en jetant des regards sur le terrain des sciences avoisinantes, qui sollicitaient son attention sans la captiver.

Mais pas de règle sans exception, et c'est comme une exception qu'il faut considérer ses efforts pour mettre en lumière l'histoire des Tsiganes. Par ses études préférées d'histoire et de géographie orientales M. de Goeje avait été amené à porter ses regards vers les origines de ces bohémiens dont l'apparition en Europe a soulevé tant de problèmes. En 1875 il fit paraître dans les travaux de l'Académie d'Amsterdam un mémoire intitulé *Bijdrage tot de*

geschiedenis der Zigeuners (Contribution à l'histoire des Tsiganes), dont M. MacRitchie publia une traduction anglaise en 1886. M. de Goeje y étudie l'histoire de cette peuplade qui chez les Arabes a le nom collectif de Zott, nom par lequel on désigne encore aujourd'hui les Tsiganes en quelques contrées de l'Orient. Est-ce qu'il faut voir dans les Zott les ancêtres des Tsiganes européens? D'autres savants l'avaient affirmé, et sans connaître les observations de tous ses devanciers, M. de Goeje crut devoir adhérer à cette thèse. Or les Zott ont leur origine dans le peuple indien des Djat: ainsi c'est d'une forme ancienne de la langue de ce peuple qu'il faudrait pouvoir dériver le système phonétique de la langue tsigane. D'autre part, si nos Tsiganes sont issus des Zott, habitants de pays où l'arabe était parlé, on s'attend à trouver des mots arabes dans les dialectes des Tsiganes européens.

Quoique le mémoire de M. de Goeje fût accueilli par le monde savant avec tous les égards auxquels son illustre auteur pût prétendre, l'assentiment ne fut pas unanime. On a pu lire ici-même¹ la traduction d'un article que M. Pischel publia en 1883 et dans lequel il releva les arguments contraires contenus dans les travaux de M. Miklosich. En 1878 celui-ci avait démontré² la ressemblance de la langue tsigane avec un groupe de dialectes du nord-ouest de l'Inde, appartenant à une contrée bien loin de la patrie des Djat; en 1876 il avait critiqué³ quelques étymologies que M. de Goeje avait proposées pour démontrer l'influence directe de l'arabe sur la langue des bohémiens. Ce n'est qu'en 1903 que M. de Goeje eut l'occasion de répondre à ces critiques, dans son *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*. Il reconnut de bon cœur que, l'étude des dialectes indiens n'étant pas de sa compétence, il n'avait qu'à s'incliner devant l'opinion de M. Pischel, qui approuvait les vues de Miklosich sur la parenté entre la langue tsigane et les dialectes de l'Hindoukouch; toutefois il se demanda si la différence d'avec la langue des Djat établie dès 1881 pour l'époque actuelle fût la preuve d'un désaccord égal à une époque beaucoup plus ancienne.

Il avait plus de peine à agréer les observations étymologiques de Miklosich, quoiqu'il fût tout disposé à retirer quelques-uns de ses exemples dont Miklosich avait contesté la valeur. Mais il ne croyait sa thèse générale réfutée ni par ces critiques de Miklosich,

¹ Voir le numéro d'Avril 1909, ii, 292.

² Voir les *Sitzungsberichte* de l'Académie de Vienne, T. xc.

³ *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, vi.

ni par quelques étymologies données par M. Pischel dans ses *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner* (1894). Il s'efforça de réunir un plus grand nombre de mots bohémiens dont l'origine arabe ne fût pas douteuse, et il conclut ainsi: 'je crois que ces exemples suffisent à prouver ma thèse que les ancêtres des Tsiganes, du moins la majorité, ont passé un certain temps dans un pays arabe.' C'est ce que les deux autres savants ne croyaient pas. Comment expliquer cette divergence d'opinions? La forme très succincte dans laquelle Miklosich présente ses raisonnements manque parfois de clarté; évidemment M. de Goeje ne s'était pas familiarisé tout à fait avec ce style. Lorsque M. de Goeje rapproche par exemple les mots *handuk* et *handako* de *khandaq*, il croit que ce rapprochement ne cadre pas avec les vues de son adversaire. En ceci il se trompait: ce rapprochement était aussi légitime pour Miklosich que pour M. de Goeje lui-même; seulement Miklosich n'y voyait pas un argument à l'appui de la thèse que M. de Goeje soutenait. Car on pouvait dériver ces formes tsiganes de formes néo-grecques, dont l'origine ultérieure était dans ce débat sans importance. Ainsi le persan, l'arménien, le grec, plus tard le turc et d'autres langues balkaniques, pouvaient avoir donné à la langue des Tsiganes européens des mots d'origine arabe, sans que pour cela les ancêtres des bohémiens eussent habité des pays où l'arabe fût la langue du peuple. Le même principe dirigeait le raisonnement étymologique de M. Pischel qui, d'accord avec Miklosich, supposait une route de migration par l'Arménie. Tel mot qui pour M. de Goeje vient attester le séjour des Tsiganes en pays de langue arabe est considéré par M. Pischel comme emprunté au persan.

Je ne sais si M. Pischel a donné quelque part un compte rendu du *Mémoire* de 1903, mais à son tour M. Sampson a reconnu l'extrême difficulté du problème des migrations. Il voudrait bien croire que Miklosich accorde une trop grande faveur aux arguments tirés de l'arménien, mais il hésite beaucoup à adopter l'opinion de M. de Goeje.¹ De son côté M. Finck établit pour la langue des Tsiganes arméniens des particularités phonétiques très importantes, qui la séparent nettement de tous les autres dialectes tant asiatiques qu'européens.² C'est ce qui rend la question encore plus compliquée.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 10 et 14.

² Voir son mémoire intitulé *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner* (1907), p. 59; puis *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 38.

Si donc l'argumentation de M. de Goeje n'a pas convaincu tout le monde, son autorité n'en a pas souffert. Car il était un maître de la philologie arabe, et l'analyse de la langue des bohémiens appartient en premier lieu à d'autres chercheurs. M. de Goeje ne le niait pas, il supportait la contradiction, bien satisfait d'avoir donné ses érudites observations sur l'histoire des Zott, que personne n'avait encore exposée avec une telle exactitude. C'était-là son domaine à lui, il n'aimait pas à le quitter, mais l'histoire des Tsiganes resta pourtant parmi les objets de son attention. Il s'intéressait aux travaux de la *Gypsy Lore Society*, et il entretenait des relations amicales avec plusieurs de ses membres, notamment avec M. MacRitchie et avec M. Colocci.

Comme tous les hommes éminents il inspirait le courage et la bonne volonté à ses disciples et même à d'autres personnes qui, n'étant pas absolument étrangers aux sujets de ses études, savaient apprécier quelque peu sa haute valeur. Il a eu les honneurs que le monde accorde aux grands érudits, il a illustré le nom de sa patrie qui lui était bien chère.

II.—GYPSIES AS FORTUNE-TELLERS AND AS BLACKSMITHS¹

By LEO WIENER

THE first recorded appearance of the Gypsies in the north was in the year 1417, when they were seen at Lüneburg.² From this place they roamed through northern Germany and, turning south, passed through Switzerland to France and Italy. Shortly afterwards they became known all over Europe. As they brought with them letters of recommendation from the King of Hungary, they had obviously travelled through that country, and thus their first appearance in Germany must have preceded the year 1417; and, when we consider that their 'dukes' bore good Christian names, such as Michael, Andrew, and Thomas, we must further conclude that they had long sojourned in Christian lands. This small band of scarcely three hundred men, which soon split up and died out, cannot possibly be considered as the ancestors of all the thousands of Gypsies now living in Europe. Either there

¹ Based on my article 'Die Geschichte des Wortes "Zigeuner,"' in *Archiv für neuere Sprachen*, cix. pp. 280-304, and corrected.

² Groome, *Gypsy Folk-tales*. London, 1899, p. x. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 272.

were many new accessions later, or others had come before them. That they represented but a small fraction of their race is also evidenced by the fact that they are not mentioned as tinkers or blacksmiths, in which capacities they have otherwise been best known. We learn most of their customary occupations in the second half of the fifteenth century by following up the information given us by travellers and pilgrims in Greece.

The port of Modon was situated on the south-west coast of the Morea. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it belonged to Venice, and offered refuge to the many nationalities that then overran the Balkan peninsula. The harbour lay conveniently half-way from Venice to Jaffa, and was a welcome stopping-place for all pilgrims who journeyed by this the most popular route to the Holy Land. Few of the itineraries and accounts of journeys by the way of Modon fail to mention the Gypsy suburb which their writers saw there.¹ Konrad Grünemberg² voyaged to the Holy Land in 1486. He made a drawing of the town of Modon, in which he located a Gypsy encampment of about three hundred reed huts. The same number is mentioned by Bernhard von Breitenbach³ and Le Huen,⁴ but ten years later Alexander Pfalzgraf bei Rhein⁵ knows of only two hundred houses, while Arnold von Harff⁶ reduces them further to one hundred. Twenty years later still, Tschudi⁷ found only thirty houses there. When Frescobaldi,⁸ in the fourteenth century, asserted that in the lower part of the town there were many hermits (*Romiti*)⁹ doing penance for their sins, he undoubtedly confused the Gypsies with penitents, a confusion which, as we shall see, prevailed in the fifteenth century.

¹ Cf. Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerfahrten nach dem heiligen Lande*, Berlin, 1880, and L. Conrady, *Vier Rheinische Palästina-Pilgerschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1882, under MODON.

² Röhricht and Meisner, *l.c.*, p. 153.

³ *Peregrinatio ad Terram Sanctam, ex Bernhardo Breitenbach Ecclesie Maguntinae decano et camerario*, p. 5. Vittenbergae, 1536.

⁴ In G. Méniglaize, *Voyage de Georges Lencheraud, mayeur de Mons en Haynaut*, p. 224. Mons, 1861.

⁵ In *Reyszbuch desz heyligen Lands*, p. 37. Frankfurt. a. M., 1584.

⁶ E. von Groote, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, pp. 66-8. Köln, 1860.

⁷ *Reysz und Bilgerfahrt zum Heyligen Grab desz Edlen vnd Bestrenngen Herren Ludwigen Tschudis*, p. 68. S. Gallen, 1606.

⁸ *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi Fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa*, Roma, 1818, p. 73: 'Ha nel pioggia della Sapienza molti Romiti a fare penitenza de' loro peccati.'

⁹ Balsamon (see p. 15 of this article) identifies the ἐρημίται with fortune-tellers and Gypsies.

The primitive methods of Gypsy smith-craft are described by Lencheraud¹ and Arnold von Harff,² and we also have a good account of Gypsy smiths at Zante³ at the same time. A hundred years later smith-craft still constituted their chief occupation in the Balkan peninsula, as we learn from an account of the celebration that took place at the circumcision of Sultan Mehemet's son in 1582.⁴ In the various processions there were Gypsy broom-makers, chimney-sweeps, musicians, dancers, bear-leaders and, above all, smiths. On a certain day there were not less than sixty smiths who pulled along a carriage in which three sat and worked at their forges.⁵ On another day four hundred of them seated themselves under the Sultan's window and plied their trade. The Sultan was so pleased that he ordered several thousands of *aspres* to be distributed among them.⁶ Thus, what they excel in to-day, they practised four hundred years ago, and must have practised long before. The pilgrims know these Gypsies by a variety of names: they call them Saracens, heathens, Egyptians, Albanians.⁷ They occasionally try to explain the false pretensions of the Gypsies as to their coming from Egypt by declaring that they really emigrated from a place Gyppe, which they variously locate close by Modon or at a distance of forty leagues. Gyppe is, however, nothing but the Greek Γυπτός, and so, apparently, even in Greece they were popularly connected with

¹ 'Et outre ce dit bourg, il y a de tous costez de la dicte terre ferme tygurons en grand nombre qui semblent logis de bien povres gens. Touttefois la pluspart des hommes sont sauldoyers à la ville de Modon à cheval; et en iceulx tigurions et en aultres villages assez près y avoit, comme nous fut dit, nil sauldoyers à cheval, et desquelz chevaulx j'en veys aucuns bons. Esquelz tigurions il y a grand partie de gens Egipcienz telz que ceulx que autresfois j'ay veu en nostre pays, et desquelz Egipcienz en y a la pluspart marricheaulx et euvrent d'icellui mestier eulx estans assiz à la terre et leurs souffletz sont de peaulx de chièvre. . . .' In G. Méniglaize, *l.c.*, p. 98 *et seq.* ² *Ibid.*

³ 'Dont vismes oprime merveille, car les forgeux de cloux et de fer de chevaulx sont forgeans emmy les rues, et sont assis sur la terre, comme ung cousturier est en nostre pais; ont lesdis forgeux une petite pierre de quoy ils mont du carbon contre, et font la du feu. Ladite pierre a environ deux pied de loing et ung pied de hault. C'est leur contrecœur elle est traquée au milieu, et ont une petite buise de fer et deux peaux de cuir liée a ladite buise sans estre couzue a ladite peau, dont il y a quelque valton ou bacelette qui tiennent lesdites peaux par le boult et les haulcent et abaissent et du vent font ardoir ledit carbon, qui est le plus estraingue chose a regarder que ne sçaroit escripte. Car ils sont tant de ce mestier et si dru que il samble que on soit en faire.'—*Voyage de Jacques le Saige*, par H. R. Duthilleul, p. 78. Douai, 1851.

⁴ *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation . . .*, von Hans Lewenklaw von Amelheurn, p. 468 *et seq.* Frankfurt a. M., 1590.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 508.

⁷ It is interesting to observe that in Albanian *αλζαρι* means 'smith who shoes horses.'

Egypt, a fact that is recorded by a pilgrim as early as 1350.¹ The new-comers in 1417 asserted that they originated in Egypt or Little Egypt. It may, of course, be that they actually occupied some territory which was known as Little Egypt, and some have identified this with Epirus,² which is supposed to have borne that name in the title of the Turkish Sultan. But this identification is nugatory in the face of the statement of 1350, that is, of more than one hundred and fifty years before, in which the reference was directly to Egypt. If, then, they came from Little Egypt, such a place merely reflected an old tradition, and may have been any region where they sojourned in large numbers. The claim which they put forward was a very old one, and they obviously expected or wished it to be believed. There must have been some reason why they chose that country rather than one through which they had passed as their original abode, and it is not difficult to show that an Egypt legend with which they were connected had long preceded them in Central Europe.

The first thing that strikes us as very strange is the protection which the band of roving Gypsies enjoyed at the hand of Church and State, especially when we consider that they were not believed to be good Christians. Not less striking is the oft-repeated legend of their seven years' wandering. According to Aventinus³ they were condemned to travel about for seven years because their ancestors had refused to receive the Virgin and the Christ-child. This obviously points to a periodic wandering. The same is stated in Trausch's Manuscript Strassburg Chronicle.⁴ Tschudi,⁵ writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, said that they claimed to have come from Little Egypt, or from Greece, and had

¹ 'Mandopolini sive Mandindes; isti legem nullam defendunt, sed sunt Egyptii dicentes, se esse de genere Pharaonis; fures optimi, de loco ad locum cum uxoribus navigantes, crebra et varia artificia operantes, solis ardorem non curantes. Cum Grecis Greci, cum Sarracenis Sarraceni et sic cum aliis; et si aliquis cum uxore sua comprehenditur, non irascitur, sed [eum] primo potest, similem vicem sibi reddit.'—Ludolphus de Sudheim, *De Itinere Terre Sancte*, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Tome II., Documents, p. 375. Paris, 1884.

² See M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, p. 80. Leide, 1903.

³ In Johannes Turmair's *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. iii. p. 518. München, 1883.

⁴ 'Sie sagten es müsste all 7 Jahr ein Rott ausziehen vnd Buss thun, dieweil sie vnsser liebe Fraw nicht haben herbergen wollen.'—Trausch, *Handschr. Strassburger Chronik*, ii. 36 b.

⁵ 'Und seit dasselb Volck si wärint usz dem Land Zingri, usz dem kleinern Egypten, und hette si der Soltan und der Türek vertriben, und müsztind 7 Jahr uszfaren; etlich sprachen si wärint von Igritz.'—Aegidii Tschudii *Chronicon Helveticum*, vol. ii. p. 116. Basel, 1736.

to wander for seven years. Similar accounts are given by Corner,¹ Krantz,² Münster,³ and Stumpf.⁴

At Bologna⁵ the 'duke' pretended that he had forfeited his lands and possessions to the King of Hungary for having renounced his Christian faith, and that he was obliged to wander for seven years before seeing the Pope in Rome; meanwhile the Gypsies had permission from the Emperor to steal to their heart's content. At Paris⁶ it was said that they had confessed to the Pope, and that their penance consisted in travelling about for seven years without sleeping in a bed. Varying as these reports are, they all point to a legendary relation of the Gypsies to Christianity and to a periodic migration.

Although generally known as thieves, the Gypsies were not so

¹ 'Causa autem hujus divagationis eorum & peregrinationis dicebatur fuisse aversio a fide & recidivatio post conversionem suam ad Paganismum. Quam quidem peregrinationem continuare tenebantur ex injuncta eis penitentia ab Episcopis suis ad septennium.'—Hermann Cornet *Chronicon*, in Eccard's *Corpus historicum mediæ ævi*, ii. 1225. Lipsiæ, 1723.

² 'Ferunt ipsi ex iniuncta sibi penitentia mundum peregrinantes circuire: sed fabellæ sunt . . . per aliquot annorum interualla redit.'—Krantz, *Sazonia*, lib. xi. cap. ii. Köln, 1520.

³ Copies Krantz and expands him. Seb. Münster, *Cosmographia*, p. 267 *et seq.* Basel, 1554.

⁴ 'In disem 1418. jar kamen erstlich die Zyginer, so man nennet die Heiden, in Helvetien, gen Zürych vnd andere ort, die waren mengklichen seltzam, vnd hievor in disem land nit mehr gesehen: deren waren mann, weyb vnd kinder auff 14.000. personen geschätzt, doch nit an einem hauffen, sonder hin vnd wider zerströwet. Si gaben für, wie sie ausz Egypten verstossen weren, vnd müszten also im ellend 7 jar büsz würcken. Sie hielten christliche ordnung, trügen vil gold vnd silber, doch darneben arme kleider. Sie wurden von den jhren ausz jhrem vatterland herüber mit Gelt verlegt vnd besöldet, hatten keinen mangel an zee rung, bezalten jhr essen vnd trincken, vnd nach sibem jaren füren sie widerumb heim. Das vnnütze Bübenvolck, so bey vnseren tagen herumb zeücht, hat sich seidhero erhebt, deren ist der frömmest ein Dieb, dann sie allein sich stälens ernehren.'—H. J. Stumpf, *Schweytzer Chronik*, f. 731 a. Zürich, 1606.

⁵ 'Il qual Duca avea ringata la Fede Cristiana. E il Re di Ungheria prese la sua Terra, e lui. Esso Duca disse al detto Re di voler tornare alla Fede Cristiana, e così si battezzò con alquanti di quel Popolo, e furono circa 4000 uomini. Que' che non si vollero battezzare, furono morti. Dappoichè il Re di Ungheria gli ebbe presi, e ribattezzati, volle che andassero per lo mondo sette anni, et che dovessero andare a Roma al Papa, e poscia tornassero in loro paese. . . . Aveano un decreto del Re di Ungheria, che era Imperadore, per vigore di cui essi poteano rubare per tutti que' sette anni per tutto dove andassero, e che non potesse essere fatta loro giustizia.'—*Scriptores rerum italicarum*, vol. xviii. p. 611. Mediolani, 1731.

⁶ 'L'Empereur, & les autres Seigneurs, par grande deliberation de conseil, dirent que jamais ne tenroient terre en leur pays, si le Pape ne le consentoit, et qu'il convenoit que là allassent au saint Pere à Rome: & là allerent tous petits & grands à moult grand peine pour les enfans. Quand là furent, ils confesserent en general leurs pechez. Quand le Pape ot oüye leur confession, par grande deliberation de conseil, leur ordonna en penitence d'aller sept ans ensuyvant parmy le monde, sans coucher en lit.'—In *Les Œuvres d'Estienne Pasquier*, vol. i. p. 407. Amsterdam, 1723.

considered universally by the early writers. The Parisian reporter does not know of their depredations from personal experience, and Stumpf even quotes the Gypsies as models when compared with the vagabonds of his time. In literature they fare even better. In the *Fastnachtspiele*¹ and in Hans Sachs² and, later, in Lope de Vega,³ they are not represented at all as bad men, and elsewhere⁴ they are considered as honourable people. The Italian *Zingaresche*⁵ mention them as good Christians who foretell the future to Mary and the Christ-child. The Italian authorities know of the *Zingaresca* from the sixteenth century on, but it can be shown that it must have existed in Italy before. The golden age of Servian literature in Ragusa on the Adriatic began some time before the year 1500, and in many ways is a reflex of the contemporary Italian literature. Even the lighter masquerading songs of their Romance neighbours were imitated by them, as they also celebrated their masquerades. Čubranović, who wrote about 1525, treated the subject of the fortune-telling Gypsy woman in his famous drama, *Jegjupka*⁶ ('the Egyptian woman'). This became so popular that no less than three poets elaborated and expanded it after his death. This contemporaneous interest in the *Zingaresca* in Ragusa and Italy and its fuller development in the Servian language presupposes a previous more extended use of the same subject in Italy. But in distinct contradiction to this obviously traditional conception of the Gypsies in literature we find persistent police regulations⁷ against these vagabonds, who were terribly persecuted from the end of the fifteenth century on. This was partly due to the enormous prevalence of vagabondage at the time, when many beggars, imitating the Gypsies in manner and appearance, disturbed the countryside with their depredations.⁸

¹ *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, p. 823 et seq. Stuttgart, 1853.

² *Hans Sachs*, herausgegeben von Keller und Goetze, vol. xiv. p. 29 et seq. Tübingen.

³ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1890. Vol. ii. p. 365 et seq. ('La vuelta de Egipto'). p. 467 et seq. ('El tirano castigado'). vol. iii. p. 351 et seq. ('La madre de la mejor'). p. 453 et seq. ('La corona deribada y vara de Moisés').

⁴ The following book is interesting: *Turckenpuechlein*, 1522, of which the second title runs: *Gesprech oder Vnderrede: so ein Einsidel, ein Hunger, Türck, und Zigeüner newlich miteinander gehabt, zu den sweren leiffen dieser vnser zeit dienstlich*.

⁵ See E. Lovarini, *Nota*, in Menghini's *Canzoni antiche del popolo italiano*, vol. i. p. 117 et seq. Roma, 1890. The oldest datable *Zingaresca* is of the year 1520.

⁶ In *Stari pisci hrvatski*, vol. viii. Zagreb, 1876.

⁷ See cap. iii. ('Perseenzione degli Zingari') in Colocci, *Gli Zingari*. Torino, 1889.

⁸ Minsheu, in the first edition of his dictionary, London, 1617, p. 215, writes as follows:—

'*Gipson* or *Gypson*, a counterfet rogne, one that speaketh gibbrish or giblegable.'

But the old traditional conception prevailed in literature until Cervantes in his *Jitanilla* laid the foundation for a picaresque treatment of the Gypsies.

From the views expressed by the writers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it appears that the Gypsies were known in three capacities. Wherever they were settled, they plied, above all, the trade of blacksmiths; again, in their rôle of fortune-tellers, they are connected with a legend bearing on the childhood of Christ, as in the *Zingaresche*; as strolling vagabonds they are still associated with this legend, but also the curse of the 'Wandering Jew'¹ is upon them. All future investigation in this line of Gypsy lore should hold strictly to this threefold division, which is destined yet to yield important discoveries for the period preceding their first appearance, if, instead of indulging in abstract speculations as to the meaning of Gypsy appellations, we content ourselves with tracing backwards the legends connected with their threefold capacities. I shall here make an attempt to apply this method to the elucidation of the group of words of which the German correspondent is *Zigeuner*, etc. I am sure the explanation offered here, which, though upholding in the main my previous view, as expressed in my German article, completely departs in its final source from my previous assumption, for ever settles this moot point, and brilliantly illustrates de Goeje's tentative explanation of the origin of the European Gypsies.

An unknown clerical writer of Cologne,² who travelled to the Orient about the year 1340, has left a description of the various nations seen by him. Among them are the peculiar *Mandopolos* who neither summer nor winter live in houses and never remain in one place longer than three days. They are jugglers and thieves, and profess the religion of those among whom they happen to be. They speak a language of their own, which is not understood by others.³ We here have a fine description of Greek Gypsies, of

p. 168 'Egyptians (Egyptiani) are in our Statutes and Lawes of England, a counterfet kinde of roagues, that being English or Welsh people, accompanie themselves together, disguising themselves in strange robes, *blacking* their faces and bodies, and framing to themselves an vnknown language, wander vp and downe, and vnder pretense of telling of fortunes, curing diseases, and such like, abuse the ignorant common people, by stealing all that is not too hot, or too heauie for their carriage.'

¹ Simrock long ago pointed out the relation of the Gypsies to the legend of the Wandering Jew (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, vol. i. p. 432 *et seq.*); also P. Cassel in *Ahasuerus*, p. 41 *et seq.* Berlin, 1885.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, vol. xix. p. 1-86, Halle, 1886, and, before that, in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, Bd. i. pp. 446-80, 627-46. Göttingen, 1862.

³ *Zeitschrift*, pp. 23-4. 'Vort sint da andere snoide kirsten in deme lande, ind dye heischent da Mandopolos, dye steynt ind strygent ind geynt ouch zo samen mit wyven

whom, on the island of Crete, we have a still older one from the pen of Symon Simeonis:¹

‘Ibidem et vidimus gentem extra civitatem ritu græcorum utentem, et de genere Chaym se esse asserentem, quæ raro vel nunquam in loco aliquo moratur ultra xxx dies, sed semper velut a deo maledicta vaga et profuga post xxx^m diem de campo in campum cum tentoriis parvis oblongis nigris et humilibus ad modum Arabum, et de caverna in cavernam discurrit; quia locus ab eis inhabitatus post dictum terminum efficitur plenus vermibus et aliis immunditiis, cum quibus impossibile est cohabitare.’

Long before that, in the tenth century, Leo Diaconus² speaks of the Cretans as given to fortune-telling and roving; he may have transferred what he had heard about the Gypsies to the whole people of the island. Here the Gypsies are represented apparently as good Christians, which is not at all surprising, for they are frequently described later as taking part in church festivals. Thus Martin del Rio³ tells of those who danced at

ind mit kinden [zo samen], ind koment winter noch sommer nummer yn huys, ind gaint ouch mit groissen schairen van eyne dorpe zo deme andern, ind machent dinck, da sy af sich generent, noch ere wyfen brengent kint in den huysen. Ind blyvent ouch nyet langer dan dry dage up eyne stat, ind wurden sy yrgent laneger gehalten, so sturven sy, ind weren ouch dry dage in deme huysse, dar sy sturven. Ind dese lude haint under sich eyn eyne sprache, dye nyeman en kan verstain, dan sy onder sich; mer sy verstaint doch wail andre lude sprache, ind nummer en kyvent sy onder sich. In vynt eyn wyf yren man by eyne andern wyve of ein wyf yren man by eyne andern manne, mer kan he dat gedoen, he doet eme dat selve widerum ind nyet mer wort dar na. Ind so geent sy zo samen wynters ind somers van eyne stede zo der andere, ind lygent zo velde mit groisser scharen dages ind nachtes mit pyfen ind mit bougen as vur eyne slosse, ind stelent zo maile sere, wat sy essen of dryncken. Ind war sy koment vur eyn grois dorp, ind da machent sy eyn kaffende spill, so dat alle dye lude uyss louffent, ind dar under stelent sy, wat man essen ind dryncken sall. Vort dise lude by so wat lude sy koment, sy syn kirsten of heyden, we lange dat sy by eyn sint, so lange haldent sy sich ouch na yrme seden an essen ind an drincken, an vasten ind an vure, ind en haint geynen hern noch priester; mer under wat kirsten yre wyf kinder brengent, na yrme seden laissent sy dye douffe intfain, mer under wat kirste sy synt des sondages, geynt sy alle zosamen zo kirchen mit pyfen ind mit bougen, ind haldent eyne misse van den heiligen dryn koning, dat sy got umb eren wille geleyde ind behoede, wair sy hien varent durch berge ind woystenyne. Vort under wat kirstenen dise lude sterven na yrme gelouven, laissent sy sich berichten ind begraven.’

¹ *Itinerarium Symonis Simeonis, et Hugonis Illuminatoris ad Terram Sanctam*, p. 17. Cambridge, 1778. The passage in point refers to the year 1322.

² λέγεται γὰρ κατόχους εἶναι Κρήτας μαρτείας καὶ βωμολοχίας καὶ πλάναις, πρὸς τῶν Μανχαίων καὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ παρελθόντας ἀνέκαθεν.—In *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*, Pars. xi., p. 24.

³ Borrow (*The Zingali*, vol. i. cap. ii.) quotes the passage: ‘When, in the year 1584, I was marching in Spain with the regiment, a multitude of these wretches were infesting the fields. It happened that the feast of Corpus Domini was being celebrated, and they requested to be admitted into the town, that they might dance in honour of the sacrifice, as was customary.’

the feast of Corpus Domini, while Vaillant¹ makes them take part in the Easter celebration. Much more to the point is what Noe Bianco² has to say of their reverence of the Virgin:

‘Sono di questa medesima osservanza i Zingari, benché non siano battezzati; i quali ultra modo riueriscono la vergine benedetta: e piu tosto si lascerebbono amazzare, che indurre a dishonorarla.’

The above-mentioned *Mandopolos* appear occasionally as *Mandapolos* in all the scores of editions of the *Three Kings of Cologne* that were in the fifteenth century current in various languages. Obviously *Mandopolos*³ is nothing more than Greek *μαντιπόλος*, given in Stephanus, which means ‘telling fortunes,’ just as *mandindes*, mentioned before as equivalent to *mandopolos*, is a Vulgar Greek feminine plural *μάντιδες* of *μάντις*, ‘fortune-teller.’ They are, then, of the type of Gypsies with which we become acquainted after 1417.

In the fourteenth century the Greek historian Mazaris⁴ mentions the Egyptians among the seven nations inhabiting Greece. It is generally assumed that the Gypsies are meant, but that cannot be proved with certainty, because much earlier Egyptian acrobats were mentioned by Nicephorus Gregoras,⁵ and as early as the tenth century Joannes Cameniata⁶ spoke of Syrian Ismaelites and Ethiopians landed by the hostile Arabs in Thessalonica. It is not impossible that even these were Gypsies, especially the acrobats, in which capacity Gypsies are mentioned even in 1417. In any case it is interesting to read in Gregoras that Egyptian acrobats travelled over Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia, and went as far as Spain. The presence of such dark-skinned people would naturally have aided in transferring the name of Ethiopian and Egyptian to the Gypsies. Indeed, we have a distinct mention of Ethiopians in Central Europe. Roger Bacon⁷ explains their sojourn there on the ground that they were addicted to magic arts and

¹ Colocci, *l.c.*, p. 310.

² *Viaggio del Rever. P. F. Noe Bianco, della congregation de' servi*, f. 72 b. Vinetia, 1566.

³ How absurd various Gypsy etymologies have been, we can learn from the treatment of this word by Ennen in *Orient und Occident, l.c.*, p. 451: ‘Ihr Namen *Mandopolo*s erinnert an den zigeunerischen Bettelspruch “Mong poolu mong,” bei Pott, ii. 445 . . . von dem zigeunerischen verbum *mangawa, mangaben* betteln.’

⁴ Groome, *l.c.*, p. xx. *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 268.

⁵ *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Pars xix. p. 348 *et seq.*

⁶ *Ib.*, *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 512.

⁷ *The ‘Opus Majus’ of Roger Bacon*, vol. ii. p. 211. Oxford, 1897. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 363.

were searching for dragons. The passage is interesting and runs as follows :

‘Repens quod est esca Aethiopum est draco, secundum quod David dicit in psalmo, Dedisti eam escam populis Aethiopum. Nam certum est quod Aethiopes sapientes venerunt in Italiam et Hispaniam et Franciam et Angliam, et in istas terras Cristianorum in quibus sunt dracones boni volantes, et per artem occultam quam habent excitant dracones de cavernis suis, et habent sellas et froena in promptu, et equitant super eos et agitant in aere volatu fortissimo, ut dometur rigiditas carniū et temperetur durities, sicut apri et ursi et tauri agitantur canibus et variis percussionibus flagellantur, antequam occidantur pro comestione. Cum ergo sic domesticaverint eos, habent artem praeparandi carnes eorum, sicut est ars praeparandi carnes tyri, et utuntur eis contra accidentia senectutis, et vitam prolongant et intellectum subtiliant ultra omnem aestimationem. Nam nulla doctrina quae per hominem fieri potest tantam sapientiam inducere valet sicut esus istarum carniū, secundum quod per homines probatae fidei didicimus sine mendacio et dubitatione.’

If these were not Gypsies, we have an inexplicable riddle before us, for certainly, except for the acrobats mentioned before, no Ethiopians are known to have been in Italy, France, and Spain in the thirteenth century. It has been assumed that twenty-four years before that date Gypsies had reached the Rhine. At least so a passage in Dalimil’s rhymed Bohemian Chronicle¹ has been interpreted, but the case is too problematic, the distinct Gypsy characteristics being absent from the account of the roving band described there. But there can be no doubt whatsoever about the Gypsies being described a century earlier in the much-quoted German Bible paraphrase:²

‘Agar gewan ein chint
von dem w̄hsen chaltsmide sint.
Als Agar daz chint gewan
Ismahel gap si im den nam :
danne chomen Ismahelite
die uarent in dem lande wite
daz wir da heizzen chaltsmide.
We gescheh ir lide
wan alliz daz si habent ueile
daz ist mit grozzem meile.

¹ *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. iii. p. 171 et seq.

² J. Diemer, *Genesis und Exodus nach der Milsäter Handschrift*, vol. i. p. 36. Wien, 1862.

Er chöf wol oder ubele
 er wil ie etwaz dar ubere,
 Dei löte si beströffent
 mit div und si uerchöffent,
 sine habent hös noch heimüt,
 alle glet dunchent si güt,
 daz lant si durchstrichent,
 daz livt si beswichent.
 Alsus betriegent si daz livt,
 si röbent nieman ubirlöt,
 ach gescheh in und ach,
 we gescheh ir chinnebach.'

These Gypsies are called *Kaltschmiede* from their occupation as smiths. It is generally assumed that the word means 'cold-smith,' that is, 'hammerer of cold metal,' but this is not very certain. It is far more likely that the first part of the word is identical with German *kälte*, a 'tumbler' or 'dish' of some kind, or Italian *caldain* a 'vase' or 'pot,' and that thus the whole means 'tinker.' As these smiths were strangers and possibly non-Christians, they are characterised by the word Ismaelites. In another place¹ we are told of the Ismaelites: 'Er uuas Ismahelisisún, non demo Ismahelitae cúman sint, die der húser nehábent, súnter ókkeret uilzhús unte ándera únuuátliche héreberga.' Here we have the additional information that the Ismaelites, the cheating 'cold-smiths' of the previous passage, lived in tents. Since Joseph was sold to Ismaelites and these took him to Egypt, we find elsewhere² again that Joseph was sold to smiths.

There is something peculiar about these *Kaltschmiede* of the Middle Ages. They were both considered almost as outlaws³ and at the same time enjoyed privileges⁴ unlike those of any other guild. As early as the thirteenth century the *Kessler* or *Kaltschmiede* of Germany could show letters-patent, and as late as the end of the fifteenth we hear of *Kesslertage*, 'smith diets,' and the election of *Kessler* kings.⁵ I shall try later to broach the subject of their privileges. So much is certain, these Gypsies are again so called from their occupation. In my German article I insisted upon looking here for a solution of the vexed question of the etymology

¹ *Ib.*, vol. ii. p. 25 (from Williram, in *Quellen u. Forschungen z. Sprach- u. Culturgeschichte*, vol. xxviii. p. 4. Strassburg, 1878).

² *Ib.*, vol. i. p. 100.

³ *Zeitschrift des deutschen Altertums*, vol. ix. p. 545.

⁴ Sattler, *Vom Kessler und Kaltschmiedschutze*, Tübingen, 1781; Mone in *Anzeiger für Kunde des deutschen Mittelalters*, vol. viii. p. 457 *et seq.*, and *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, vol. ii. p. 4 *et seq.*; xiii. p. 160 *et seq.*; xvii. p. 32.

⁵ O. Henne am Rhyn, *Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes*, vol. i. p. 300. Berlin, 1886.

of *Zigeuner*, and I tried to prove that it meant 'blacksmith.' However, I could not find the exact prototype of the word. I am now more fortunate. I had purposely omitted any reference to Miklosich's explanation of the word *Zigeuner*,¹ because I considered it inconclusive and incorrect, but was unable to rectify it. Now, in the light of my additional material, the rectification will be self-evident.

Miklosich adduced all the references he could find in Byzantine authors to the sect of Melchisedecans that flourished in Phrygia in the ninth century and were known under the name of 'Αθήγγανοι, and claimed that the one mention of 'Αθήγγανοι in Balsamon (*ob.* 1204) had distinct reference to Gypsies. This passage in Balsamon is a commentary to the 61st and 65th canons of the Trullan Council, and runs as follows: "Ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς ὄφεις ἐγκολπιζόμενοι οἱ καὶ ἀθήγγανοι λεγόμενοι τὸν μὲν φασὶ γεννηθῆναι εἰς ἡμέραν κακοποιῶν, τὸν δ' αὐτῶν ἀστέρα ἠγαθὸν, εὐτυχίας καὶ δυστυχίας γενησομένης ἀπαγγέλλουσι, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ φλυαροῦσι, μηδὲ γραφῇ παραδοθῆναι ἄξια.—'Εγγαστρίμυθοι δὲ καὶ γινώσται λέγονται πάντες οἱ σατανικῶς ἐνθουσιῶντες, καὶ προλέγοντες δῆθεν τὰ ἄγνωστα: ὡς αἱ κριτρίαι, οἱ ἀθήγγανοι, οἱ ψευδοπροφήται, ἐρημίται καὶ ἕτεροι."² It is obvious that these snake-charmers, fortune-tellers, and ventriloquists who are called 'Αθήγγανοι can be no other than Gypsies, but when Miklosich insisted that the name of the sectarians was transferred to the Gypsies, I had to part from him, because it was inconceivable that the name of a local sect which died out in the middle of the ninth century, and was not known as practising magic arts any more than any other heretical sect, should have been chosen from scores of possible appellations to be applied to the Gypsies. Furthermore, a Georgian writer of the eleventh century knew the magicians in Constantinople under the name of *Atsinkan*, and in the fourteenth century Gypsies are mentioned in Hungarian and Rumanian records as *acिंगani* and *acigani* respectively. The change of *θ* to *ts* and *c* is quite unusual. The name of the sect of *Καθαροί* has become *cathari*, *catari* everywhere except in Germany, where it is *Ketzer*, and in Greece, where it has remained *Καθαροί*. Why, then, should such a change have taken place with 'Αθήγγανοι in Greece?

Before proceeding any further, I must quote a passage from

¹ *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, vi. p. 57-64. Wien, 1876.

² Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 137, coll. 720-1, 741.

Zonaras¹ in the beginning of the twelfth century which has been completely overlooked. Speaking of Nicephorus, he says: 'Μανιχαίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις Ἀθιγγάνοις ἐν χρησμοῖς τε καὶ οἰωνίσμασι καὶ τελεταῖς ἀπορρήτοις ἐκέχρητο. κἀντεῦθεν εἰς τὰς χώρας τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς εἰσεφθάρησαν, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄβελτέρων εἰς τὴν πίστιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν διεφθάρησαν.' So Zonaras knew that the Manichaeans and those who were called 'Ἀθίγγανοι' were then scattered among the 'Romaic,' *i.e.* Latin, nations. The Manichaeans were then to be found everywhere, the sect of the Athingani had been long extinct, consequently he, like Balsamon nearly a century later, considered the Gypsies as in some way related to the older sectarians. Like Balsamon, he is cautious: he does not say they 'are' the Athingani, but that they 'are called' the Athingani. Now, if de Goeje has proved anything, it is that the Zotts or Jats who were settled in Persia were not the Gypsies, but that, in all likelihood, the Gypsies followed them as blacksmiths. Blacksmith in the Pehlevi language, that is, the language of Persia before the tenth century, is *āsīnkār*, literally 'ironworker,' from *āsīn* 'iron' + *-kār* a suffix meaning 'maker,' 'worker.' This word still exists in Persian and Turkish as *āhingār*. What, then, happened is this. When the Gypsies arrived in Greece from Persia, their name *āsīnkār* came with them, and this was by the scholastic writers understood as identical with Ἀθίγγανος. We have numerous such pseudo-classical transformations. One of these is the word for monkey, which de Goeje wrongly gives in the form of *μαῖμουν*² as a native Arabic word. This Arabic word was borrowed from the Greek *μῦμῶ*, which itself is a pseudo-classical adaptation of the older *μορμῶ*, 'the Gorgonhead,' to a root *μῦμῆσθαι*, 'to imitate.' Of this I treat in another article. This *āsīnkār* became in the Georgian version *atsinkan*, and is the antecedent of early Modern Greek ἀτζίγκανος 'Gypsy'³ and Hungarian *acīngani*, Rumanian *acīgani*. An apocopated form of *āsīnkār* appears in Greece at a very early date. Ducange gives *τζηγαράς*, 'incantator,' *τζυγαρισμός*, 'incantatio,' and this *τζηγαράς* is identical in meaning with the previously mentioned *mandopolos*. These words are all from unprinted manuscripts, but Crusius⁴ has proved that one of these, *De Amoribus Lybistri et Rhodamnes*, was written about the

¹ *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Joannes Zonaras, Tom. iii., p. 308.

² *l.c.*, p. 49.

³ Alessio da Somavera, *Tesoro della lingua italiana e greca-volgare*. Parigi, 1709.

⁴ A. Ch. Gidel, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne*, p. 170. Paris, 1866.

year 1200. The Italian *Zingaro* is nearer to the Pehlevi *āsīnkār* than any other, but all the European related forms are easily deducible from this or the apocopated word.

(To be continued.)

III.—WELSH GYPSY FOLK-TALES

Collected and Edited by JOHN SAMPSON

NO. 9. Ò DINILŌ Ī BAKARÉNSA

An early tale from Matthew Wood at Tal-y-Llyn. Variants of this widespread little story from Ireland, Norway, Iceland, Burgundy, Sicily, Greece, and India are cited in Groome's *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. 262, and Margaret Hunt's *Grimm*, vol. i. pp. 264, 422. There is also a very close parallel in the pleasant version told to a young son of a governor of Jamaica by his nurse, a Mulatto woman, born in Antigua, which is printed in the *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. 3, pt. 1., p. 51.

Ò DINILŌ Ī BAKARÉNSA

'Dói sas bita givés-kō kēr, tā kušī guruvá, tā trin p̄alá. Diniló sas yek̄ p̄al, tā akála dūī p̄alá wontasénas te mār'na¹ les. Junénas kek sō te ken. Xoē' ō p̄uredér p̄al, "Juk, av akái. Akē 'mē jasa kī mō d̄ir devél." "Sār java mē 'dōī?" "Av 'mensa." "Aua mē!"

Gilé te len gonó. "Já 'rē 'kái." Aré ō gonó g'as. Ak'ō dūī p̄alá p̄andéna gonó. Akē jana peyī ō dūī tā rigerénas ō gonó. 'Vilé ke kiréima. 'Čidē ō gonó tulé tā gilé aré ī kiréima te len dropa lovína.

Ak'ō gájō 'vela tā bakaré. Akavá² sas 'rē ō gōnó. Hūpísás³ top

THE FOOL WITH THE SHEEP

There was a little farm-house, and a few cows and three brothers. One of the brothers was a fool, and the other two wanted to get rid of him. They could not think what to do. Said the eldest brother, "Jaek, come here. See! we are going to heaven." "How can I go there?" "Come with us." "Ay, that will I!"

They went to fetch a sack. "Get in here." He got into the sack. The two brothers fastened it. The two set off bearing the sack. They came to an inn. They put down the sack and went inside for a drop of ale.

Now a stranger comes by with sheep. Our fellow in the sack shouted to him.

¹ mār'na]. Accent of rapid speech. Cp. later *mer'n* for *meréna*, *mer'las* for *merélas*.

² Akavá]. The demonstr. pronouns take oxytone accent when used substantively, paroxytone when used adjectivally; e.g. *okóvu mūrš*, but *okorá si ō mūrš*: *akáia ráni*, but *akaié sas ī ráni*.

³ Hūpísás]. From Eng. "whoop."

lesti. "Sō sī?" *χοῶ* ὁ γάγῳ. "Akē mūrš jala kī mō dīr devél." "Sār man¹ java mē oddi." "Pirá² tū akáva gonó."

Piraddis ὁ mūršs ὁ gonó. Ak'ō vavér 'vela 'vrī ὁ gonó. Čiddás ī vavér mūršs anrē ὁ gonó tū p̄andīas les. Ak'ō vavér jala ī bakarénsa keré.

Vavér dūi 'vena avrī tā len ὁ gonó, tā jana peḡī k'ō dōriāv. Učerdé les aré ὁ dōriāv. Ak'ō dūi p̄alá 'vena p̄ātē. 'Vilé poš ὁ kēr 'dó-i-kái³ jivénas, tā *χοῶ* ὁ p̄uredēr p̄al ī vaveréskī "Kérása 'kaná."

Diké ὁ vavér p̄al tā trašudé te dikén les ī bakarénsa. "Kái 'yan odála bakarén, Jak?" "Aré ὁ dōriāv, diniláia!" "Av 'mensa, Jak, te sikavés ὁ fan kái 'yan len."

Čiddás ὁ Jak ὁ bakarén 'trē p̄uviátī. Ak'ō trin jana peḡī. "Kái s'ō fan Jak?" 'Vilé ὁ trin k'ō dōriāv. "Aš top akái," *χοῶ* ὁ Jak ī p̄uredēr p̄aléskī. 'Čas kái⁴ p̄endás leskī, l'ō Jak učerdás les aré ὁ dōriāv. Mēr'las 'rē ὁ p̄ānī, tā ὁ p̄ānī keradás.⁵ "Sō kela 'kaná? ' *χοῶ* ὁ tārnedēr p̄al. Kedélas⁶ ὁ t̄uledēr bakarén. "Učer man talé mankē lela t̄ulé bakarén sár."

"What's the matter?" quoth the stranger. "Here's a man going to heaven." "How can I go there myself?" "Open this sack." The man opened the sack. Out comes Jack. He put the other man into the sack and fastened it up. Here he is, going home with the sheep.

The other two came out, and they took the sack and went off to the sea. They flung it into the water. The two brothers were coming back. They reached the house where they lived. And said the eldest brother to the other, "We shall manage now."

They beheld the youngest brother, and they were amazed to see him there with the sheep. "Where didst thou get those sheep, Jack?" "In the sea, you fool." "Come with us, Jaek, and show us the place where thou didst get them."

Jack put the sheep into a field. Now the three set off. "Where is the place, Jack?" They came to the sea. "Stand here," said Jaek to the eldest brother. He stood where he was told, and Jack flung him into the sea. He was drowning and the water was boiling around him. "What is he doing now?" said the younger brother. "He is picking out the fattest sheep." "Throw me down before he gets all the fat ones."

¹ *Man*]. Ethical dative; lit. "how to me [that] I go there."

² *Pirá*]. Verbs in -*av* commonly drop the -*v* in the Imperative.

³ *Dó-i-kái*]. The W. Gypsies generally use *dó-i-kái* (less often *kái*, as below) to render "where" in the sense of "at the place in which."

⁴ *Kái*]. Cp. above, note 3.

⁵ *Keradás*]. From *keraváva*, 'to boil,' 'to cook.' The W. Gypsies have preserved part of the now disused Passive Voice of the same verb in the phrase *keriōla*, "it is boiling," used of a pot or kettle. Cp. Pott, i. 428 (from Bischoff) "i *pyri kerjohla* Der T.[opf] kocht."

⁶ *Kedélas*]. Read as if "[*pendás ὁ Jak te*] *kedélas*" etc., "[Jack replied that] he was picking out," etc., though I translate as if "*kedéla*."

*Palál-sō učerdás ō dui palá te mēr'n aré ō pānī, keré gīás ō Jak
'kaná.*

Okē sá!

After he had thrown his two brothers into the water to drown, Jack betook himself home.

That is all!

IV.—CHRISTMAS EVE AND AFTER

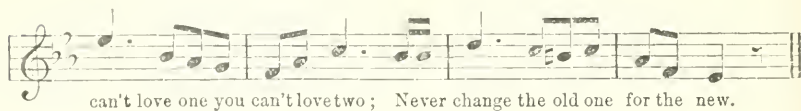
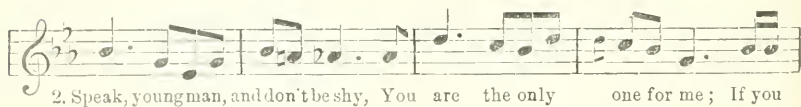
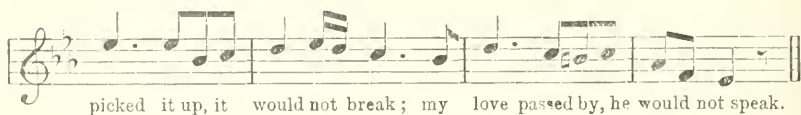
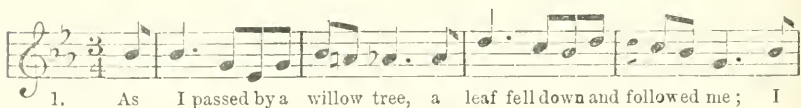
By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON

I

IT had rained nearly every day for a month, and no one could remember the streets in Kendal being dirtier. 'Ay dear me! but isn't it mucky? I nivver did see nowt like it i' aw me born days!' was what the farmers' wives had been saying to one another all day as they hurried about buying cards and presents, for it was Christmas Eve. Towards evening my friend Frank S. Atkinson and I went to visit the Gypsies who were staying just outside the town, and it was only after a considerable amount of floundering—ruinous alike to boots and temper—that we eventually reached the *vardos*. 'Buller' barked vigorously, but was silenced; then the *chavis* clustered round us, and were leading us off to the tent, when Lavinia looked out of her waggon, and invited us to come up and sit down. Our hostess needs a word of introduction. She is no *posh-rat*, but a real *tatchi Romani chui*, with the blood of the old Hernes, Boswells, and Lovells in her veins. She is as dignified as any queen, and as proud of her ancestors (especially her grandfather, old Wester of famous memory) as the most poverty-stricken aristocrat in the land. She was married at a very early age, at least according to her own account. When she was a girl of sixteen she had her fortune told by an old Gypsy woman—'a real howld witch.' This *chovihani* told her that in a few days she was going to meet her *tarno* young *mush*, that his name would be Shandres —, that they would be married secretly in less than three months, and that they would have a big family of children. Every item of this came true, the last no less than the others. Meera, the eldest child, is now married, and her waggon stands alongside her parents'. In addition, there are seven more children

living—Hubert, Vensalena, Starkey, Diddles, Lulu, Nornas, and Freeda—and at least one dead. This family had made a long stay at Kendal, and consequently we had become very intimate with them: they were our Gypsies, and we were their *rais*.

But 'this loitering profiteth nothing,' so let me hasten to add that Shandres was at home, and was mending his fiddle. When this had been successfully accomplished he very kindly consented to play for us, and, once begun, he played on and on, passed from one tune to another, dance-music and Christmas-carols, songs and hymns all coming alike to him. As he remembered some almost forgotten melody a beaming smile lit up his still handsome face, and never was he more pleased than when he played and sang a beautiful and pathetic old folk-song:—



As I passed by a willow tree,
A leaf fell down and followed me;
I picked it up, it would not break;
My love passed by, he would not speak.

'Speak, young man, and don't be shy,
You are the only one for me;
If you can't love one, you can't love two;
Never change the old one for the new.

'I wish my heart was made of glass,
That you might view it through and through,
Might view the secret of my heart—
How dearly, dearly I love you.'

Then give me back that one I love,
 O! give, O! give him back to me;
 If I only had that one I love,
 How happy, happy should I be.¹

After Vensa (a most entrancing girl, age 'sweet seventeen and never had a kiss,' according to her own account) had presented each of us with a large apple as a Christmas present, we began discussing the superstitions and customs connected with the season. They were unacquainted with the custom of burning ash wood on Christmas Day, and we were equally ignorant of what Lavinia had to tell us.

'I've heard my māmmy tell us many a time,' she began, 'and we used to laugh at it when we was girls, but I've heard her say many a time as all the cows, and horses, and Christians as well, goes down onto their knees on Christmas Eve. Many a time since then, young fellow, I've went across a field on Christmas Eve, and seen all the hanimals a-eating with one knee onto the ground and the hother up. And one Christmas Eve—s' help me God! it's as true as that there's into my hand—I was a-going across a field to fetch some water, and I hadn't gone far when down I comed onto my two flat knees. The field, sir, was as smooth as a bowling green—but I couldn't help myself no more nor any Christian could. The dear Lord was born then, wasn't he? or something like that?'

We assured her that people said that He was born then, after which she continued:—

'And some of the howld *Romanichals* used to say that you shouldn't wash your face on Good Friday.'

'So you don't wash your faces on Good Friday?' we asked.

'O! yes, we does, but that's what they used to say, d'ye see?'

'They used to think it was *wafadi bok* to wash on Good Friday.'

As they could not think of anything else just at the time, I began telling them various superstitions that I had heard from one of the Gypsy Welshes who travels Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire.

'You knows Aunt Lucy, old Rodney Shaw's wife,' she said.

¹ There are a large number of variants of this song, which was a favourite with the old Gypsies. It is still remembered by the Gypsies of the Eastern Counties as well as by those of the North Country. The tune was recorded by the Misses M. and N. Dixon of Kendal. The third and fourth verses are sung to the same tune as verse two.

'Well, she is the most superstitious owld woman as you ever set eyes on; O my! she is superstitious. If she was to meet a sweep when she was going out hawking in the morning she would stop him, shake hands with him, and then kick him as hard as ever she could. Once she fair shamed me when I was out with her and she did this. The sweep as well got angry with her, so she told him all about it, how she would have good luck now. "Well, you can kick me again if it'll do you any good," he says to her. "No, my dear," she says, "once is quite enough."

'Then there's another thing about the Shaws. Years ago one of them was going along a road, and a crow flew down and settled just in front; that meant that he was going to hear some news about the Gypsies. Well, he went on a bit further, and met a empty cart tied behind another, so now he knew that he was going to hear that one of his relations was in prison, or going to be put in prison. When he got home, sir, the first thing they towld him was that Jimmy had got *le'd* on suspicion for stealing something. They kept him in prison for three days, and then the trial came on, and he got off. Now this is something else what you mayn't have heard of, sir. When the owld Grays used to be travelling they always sewed a piece of bread into the inside of their horses' collars to prevent 'em being 'witched. At one time their horses was doing very badly, so they went to see a owld cunning man what lived at Trapston [Thrapston] in Northamptonshire. They axed him what they should do, and he towld 'em to sew a bit of bread into the inside of their horses' collars. They tried this with a owld horse what was going to die, and bit by bit it picked up, and got well again, and ever since then they've always sewn a bit of bread in their horses' collars.¹

'And there's another thing the owld Grays used to do when they was travelling. If ever they passed a blacksmith's shop they used to go in, and pick up bits of broken nails, as they thought this would keep the *mulos* away.² These cunning men, sir, was

¹ It is interesting to notice that in an old book entitled *A Werke for Householdors*, published in London in 1537, the following passage occurs:—"The charmer taketh a pece of whyt brede, and sayeth over that brede the Pater Noster, and maketh a crosse upon the breade; then doth he ley that pece of breade unto the toth that aketh, or unto any sore; tournynge the crosse unto the sore or dysease, and so is the person healed." This is quoted as a footnote in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. In Westmoreland the old inhabitants regard a piece of bread as a cure for toothache.

² Iron is almost universally regarded as all-powerful to keep away ghosts and malignant spirits or to destroy their influence. Sir John Rhys, in *Celtic Folklore* (pp. 296-7), tells how a woman living in Peel, and suffering from a swelling in the neck, had it charmed away by an old woman, who 'brought with her no less than

queer people. They'd sowld themselves to the devil, so as they could do what they liked as long as they were alive. There used to be one at Norwich, what kept a black rod, and the Gypsies used to go once every year to get a bit of this so that they could make any one buy from them, or give them money. But the real owld Romanies used to carry little efts about with 'em in a bottle of spirits to make people give them money, or buy from them.'¹

Lavinia was unacquainted with most of these superstitions, but she told us that any one carrying a piece of wheat in his pocket could obtain anything that he wished for. Since then she has told my friend that she sprinkled bread over Meera when she was ill in order to bring a blessing on her.

'I was going out to a farm t'is morning,' Starkey began, 'and the' was a frog comed and jumped right at me. I knowed as I wasn't going to have no huck when I saw it, and I didn't neither.'

'They say it is bad luck to see a stoat running across the road in front of you,' I added; 'or to meet a sweep unless he is cock-eyed—if he isn't, spit at him. Then none of the Lincolnshire Grays will put the saddle onto a horse before the bridle, as they think it is bad luck. One of them used to keep a tame hedgehog, and this hedgehog learned to laugh. Every morning, as soon as they got up, it would come and look up into their faces. Sometimes it would laugh, and sometimes it wouldn't; if it did they always had good luck that day.'

'Some of them also believe that if you take a toad, stick three pins into it, and then wish, you can do any one any harm that you like. If you burned pins and salt, and wished, that would do just the same.'²

My friend now went up into Meera's waggon, whilst I wrote a letter for Shandres to his 'dear sister and brother.' 'He hoped that they would have a good Christmas dinner, as he would if he possibly could, as he was going to have a hedgehog and plenty of potatoes.'

As soon as this was finished he went out to look after the nine pieces of iron, consisting of old pokers and old nails, and other odds and ends of the same metal, making in all nine pieces. After invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, she began to rub the girl's neck with the old irons; nor was she satisfied with that, for she rubbed the doors, the walls, and the furniture likewise, with the metal. The result, I was assured, was highly satisfactory, as she has never been troubled with a swelling in the throat since that day.'

¹ On p. 9 of *In Gipsy Tents* Groome records a superstition which resembles in some ways the one given above about the power of efts to bring money.

² See Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 13-14.

horses, and Lavinia, Vensa, and myself had a long talk about fairies.

‘D’ye know what a fairy pipe is, young fellow?’ Lavinia asked.

‘No I don’t, *dai*, but tell me all about them.’

‘Well, often as you’s going along a howld footpath, or across a ploughed field, you’ll see a pipe with a dear little dotty stem onto it. The first time I ever seen one was when I was a little girl, and I remember my māmmy brought one of these home. “Dear māmmy,” I said, laughing at her like, “where did you get that little pipe from? You can’t smoke that, māmmy, it’ll burn your nose.” “I ain’t a-going to smoke it, my dear,” she says, so I towld her to chuck it away. “You let it alone, my dear,” she says. “That’s a fairy’s pipe that is, and it’s got a dear little bit of ’bacea into the bottom, what the fairies has been smoking.” She wouldn’t give it to me, so I axed her what she was a-going to do with it. “Carry it about into my pocket,” she says, “and then it’ll bring me good luck.” God strike me dead if th’ wasn’t one of these dear little fairies’ pipes into her pocket when she died, and my sister broked it up, and dropped it into the canal along with the hother things what belonged to her.’¹

A doubt now seemed to cross her mind, and she asked :

‘You know what a fairy is, don’t you, young fellow?’

I assured her that I did, and then she continued :

‘Well, you know, sir, some people laughs at you, and says : “The’ is no such thing as fairies,” but they’re only a pack o’

¹ ‘. . . The following story . . . I find cited in Welsh by one of the Liverpool Eisteddfod competitors :—There is in the parish of Ysphyth Ifan, in Carnarvonshire, a farm called Trwyn Swch, where eighty years ago lived a man and his wife, who were both young and had twins born to them. Now the mother went one day to milk, leaving the twins alone in the cradle—the husband was not at home—and who should enter the house but one of the *Tylwyth Teg*. He took the twins away and left two of his own breed in the cradle in their stead. Thereupon the mother returned home and saw what had come to pass; she then, in her excitement, snatched the *Tylwyth Teg* twins and took them to the bridge that crosses the huge gorge of the river Conway not very far from the house, and she cast them into the whirlpool below. By this time the *Tylwyth Teg* had come on the spot, some trying to save the children, and some making for the woman. “Seize the old hag” (*Crap ar yr hen wrach!*) said one of the chiefs of the *Tylwyth Teg*. “Too late!” cried the woman on the edge of the bank; and many of them ran after her to the house. As they ran three or four of them lost their pipes in the field. They are pipes ingeniously made of the bluestone (*carreg las*) of the gully. They measure three or four inches long, and from time to time several of them have been found near the cave of Trwyn Swch. This is the first indication which I have discovered that the fairies are addicted to smoking.’—*Celtic Folklore*, by Sir J. Rhŷs.

It is interesting to note that Lavinia was born at Mold in North Wales, and so was Meera her eldest child. A large part of her girlhood was passed in Lancashire and Cheshire, but she has not been in Wales now for about twenty years.

hignerant fools. The's fairies just as much as the's Christians.
 . . . D'ye know what fairy butter is, sir?'

'No.'

Well, it sticks onto howld trees such as black thorn in lumps about as big as the knob what's onto that stove there, and it has a shell onto it like a hegg shell.'

'No, māmmy, it's not that shape,' Vensa interrupted.

'Hush, Solomon, you always knows everything, and you knows nothing,' her *dai* replied very much annoyed. 'It's more like a mushroom stalk than anything else, sir, only it's thicker, d'ye see? The hend is round like a ball, and into the inside of the shell the's some stuff what just looks like butter.'

'Can you eat it, māmmy?'

'What stuff you are talking, boy! In course you can't eat it.'

'Can fairies eat it, māmmy?'

'Yes, Isaac, fairies eats it.'

'Oh these little *bengs*!' Vensa ejaculated. 'Lulu, s' help me God! I'll *mor leste*. Go on, māmmy, and tell the *vai* about it.'

'Well, young fellow, I've heard my dear māmmy say many a time as this fairies' butter was the luckiest thing into the world, and often and often I've had bits into my pocket, or into the *vardo* to bring us good luck.'¹

Lavinia stopped as she saw that I was busy writing, politely waited until I had finished, and then continued:—

'And they says, young fellow, as if you puts little babies' napkins out onto the grass, the fairies comes and walks over them, and makes them all roughy.'

We paid the penalty for discussing such troublesome things as babies, for Freeda wakened up shortly afterwards, and engrossed her *dai's* attention, so that all serious business for the evening was at an end. Presently we took our leave, Vensa accompanying us down the field, and telling us a delightful little story on the way.

'Once the' was a Gypsy man called Lee staying by the side of the road, and he was just cooking some snails when up comes a policeman.

'"What you doing here?" he axes very roughly.

'"Nothing, sir," says the Gypsyman very politely.

¹ . . . In Northumberland the common people call a certain fungous excrescence, sometimes found about the roots of old trees "Fairy Butter." After great rains, and in a certain degree of putrefaction, it is reduced to a consistency which, together with its colour, makes it not unlike butter, and hence its name.—Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, chap. on Fairy Mythology.

“What’s them you’ve got in that pan?”

“*Bauris*, sir.”

“What the devil’s *bauris*?”

“Snails, sir.”

“To hell with you and your snails. Just get a move on at once, d’ye hear?”

“The dear Lord forgive you, sir, for cursing his dear wittles.”

II

During all the rough weather which followed Christmas we visited our friends regularly and frequently. They seemed to bear the cold remarkably well, and although the tent was blown over one night in a snow-blizzard, they did not complain, but regarded it as one of the best jokes in the world. The next really memorable visit (to me) was on January 11, when I went alone. I had been out in the country all day since breakfast, and consequently was very hungry when I turned up at the Romany *tan* at about 4 P.M., so I asked Miss Vensa to make me a ‘dear little drop of tea.’ Nothing could have pleased her better, and soon she was bustling about with surprising energy.

‘Lulu, go and ax Meera if she’s got any milk; we’ve used all ours, tell her. Oh! Will, the’ isn’t a bit of butter either. Here, you there, Nornas, go and ax Meera if she can let us have a bit of butter till to-night. Where’s daddy’s big cup at, māmmy?’

‘Under the bed, my dear, tied up into a howld curtain,’ her *dai* answered. A beautiful large cup was produced.

‘What a fine cup that is, Vensa!’

‘Yes, they costs four and six each at Southport. We used to have a lot of ’em, but these children broked ’em all. Now then, you little *bengs*, go down into the tent a bit till the *rai* has his tea. Dear māmmy, send ’em down into the tent. (They go reluctantly.) Here, my dear *pal*, your tea’s ready now.’

I was hungry, and ate away steadily, but I wanted to talk at the same time. However, Lavinia would have none of it. ‘Go on, young fellow, and get your tea, and never mind talking,’ was her constant advice, or command. Vensa, too, was kept unnaturally quiet, and she heaved a sigh of relief as she saw me lighting my pipe. ‘Have you finished your wittles,’ she asked. The mention of the word ‘wittles’ reminded me of Lee, the policeman, and the

snails. This in turn reminded me that Fennimore Shaw—one of old Rodney's sons—had told me that the Gypsies regarded snails as an infallible cure for consumption. I asked Lavinia about this.

'Yes, that's quite right, my dear; they're the best thing into the world,' she answered.

'Finny also told me about a relation of his—a dear little boy—who was suffering from whooping-cough. They brought the doctor to him, but he couldn't do him any good, so what do you think they did? They caught a dormouse, cooked it, and then gave it to the little boy, telling him that it was a piece of bird, because he would not have eaten it if he had known what it really was. He ate some of this "bird," got better and better, and was soon quite well again. Finny said that nearly all the old Gypsies used dormice to cure whooping-cough, but some of them use fried mice instead.'¹

'Well, we don't use dormice for whooping-cough, young fellow; we uses them if a *chare* will *muter adrē* the *wudrus*, d'ye understand? We just give it the back legs, but in course we don't let on what it is.'

'What do you use for whooping-cough, *dai*?'

'Watercress is a very good thing, sir, with a little bit of that brown sugar what you uses to put onto bacon, and some honey mixed with it. And I'll tell you what's a good thing for croup but riesty bacon fat fried down, and afore it resolves add some pepper and vinegar; it opens the pipes of the lungs, d'ye see.'

I next told them a story which originated with old Lucy Shaw.

'Once the' was a poor dear little Gypsy girl in a big hospital, and her māmmy went to see her. The little girl said she would like a bit of *hotchi* to eat, as she thought it would make her better. So her māmmy went home, roasted a hedgehog, put the back legs in a little basket, and covered it with a nice white cloth. Then she went to the hospital. She rang a bell, and a nurse comed to the door, and axed her what she wanted.

"I've brought something for my little girl," she says.

"Well, what is it you've got?"

"A bit of *hotchi-witchi*, ma'am."

¹ Pliny, in his *Natural History*, viii. § 223, mentions a censorial law prohibiting the eating of dormice; he also says (*l. c.* xxx. § 86) that a decoction of the fat of dormice and shrewmice was held to be most useful for those who feared paralysis. In Scotland, in the eighteenth century, dormice were eaten as a cure for whooping-cough.

“ Whatever ’s that ? ”

“ Oh ! it ’s a kind of bird, ma’am ? ”

“ Yes, but what ’s its proper name ? ”

“ I couldn’t say rightly what you would call it, ma-am, but we always calls it *hotchi-witchi*. Just taste it, my dear, and see if it isn’t good.”

‘ So the nurse, she takes it out of the basket, tastes it, and likes it. After that she gives it to the little girl, and she gets better again.’

‘ Yes, hedgehogs is very nice things when you ’re ill, young fellow, but they don’t do you no good, and I ’ll tell you for why. They’re too much like your ordinary wittles, d’ye see ? and when you ’re ill you wants something quite different.’

‘ What about squirrels, *dai* ? When one of the Shaws was very ill they gave him roast squirrels, and he got better after the doctors had given him up. He had some kind of fever.’

‘ Well, squirrels would be better ’an hedgehogs, but we never uses them. The Gypsies does use hedgehogs’ fat though to put in their ears if they have earache, or can’t hear well.’

‘ And around Cambridge many of them use it to make their hair dark and soft.’

‘ What you should use for that, young fellow, is rum and beef marrow, and lard. That keeps your hair clean, makes it glossy, and turns any grey hairs black again, but it mustn’t have no salt into it. Then the’s another thing, young fellow ; if you wants to make anybody grow fat—say a boy or a girl as won’t thrive—d’ye know what to do with them ? You would get some linseed ; then buy a pennyworth of black spanish, resolve it in water, and take half ; then buy a penny lemon, and put the juice to the linseed and the spanish ; give them one wine glass at a time, and if that doesn’t make them fat, nothing will.’¹

‘ What’s that stuff what ’s into a paper behind that picture, māmmy ? ’ Vensa asked.

‘ Just get it down, my dear. That there, young fellow, brought me alive again when I was dead—the doctors couldn’t do nothing for me. It’s the dear God’s truth what I ’m a-telling you, sir, and I ’ll tell you what it is but the buds of the flowers what

¹ Adelaide Lee gave me the following recipe to make me grow fat : Take eight young oysters, cover them with a red cloth, and sprinkle flour on the cloth. Leave these for two or three days, and then swallow three of them each morning, taking care not to chew them. Always keep eight oysters under the cloth by replacing those which have been eaten by others.

grows onto helderberry trees. You picks them, and dries them, and then steeps them in boiling water, and they're very good for pains in your chest, or your back. Here, Vensa, just give me a bit of paper, and I'll give him some into his pocket. And d'ye know what "Robin-under-the-hedge" is?—"Mouse's ears" we sometimes calls it.'

'It grows with a dear little dotty flower onto a long stem, and has a three-cornered leaf with a little white dot in the middle.' Vensa added.

'Well, that's a very good thing for a cowl'd, sir,' Lavinia continued. 'And another thing as'll cure a cowl'd or a sore throat is a piece of brown paper tied round your neck, and covered with fat from a cow's kidneys, and snuff.'

Next Vensa held out a very suspicious-looking bottle towards me, and remarked: 'Here, my dear *pal*, you just taste this.' I read the label: 'Martell's Three Star Brandy,' and then tasted. 'Ugh!! Do you mean to *drab* me? What in the name of all that's nasty is this?'

'It's something my daddy is taking to make him eat. What is it, dear māmmy; I can't remember.'

'Well, young fellow, the 's wormwood into it—that's to make him eat; and camomile flowers and buckbean—they's for his kidneys.'

'You do know a lot about flowers and herbs, *dai*!'

'Well, you know, my dear, the ' isn't a flower or a herb what grows what isn't good for something, and in summer I spends many an hour looking into the bottom of the hedges, and into the banks. The 's them brooms, sir, what grows onto the roadside with bright yellow flowers—they're a good thing for the dropsy. The's two kinds of 'em—maidens' brooms and gentlemen's brooms—but it doesn't matter which you gets.'

'And there's ragweed, *dai*, that grows in poor pasture fields; it has a yellow flower, and a very nasty smell. The Gypsies in the eastern counties collect this, and make it into an ointment for dressing wounds, or taking down swellings.'

'Do you know how to make your hand stop bleeding when you cut it?' Vensa asked, and, as I said that I did not, she continued: 'you get one of those big plantain leaves, make it hot in front of the fire, and then clap it hard onto the place what's bleeding. And when my daddy cuts himself when he's shaving he uses those fuzz-balls what grows into fields like mushrooms; they

go brown when they gets owld, and it's that brown powder stuff like snuff what he uses.'

'You knows what "tarment" is, young fellow?' Lavinia asked. 'It grows onto commons and places like that; it has a little yellow flower growing onto a long stalk, and it runs along the ground like a strawberry.'

'Yes, I know what you mean, *dai*; "tormentil" we call it.'

'Well, that's a splendid thing for pains in your kidneys, or swelling in your legs. Rasperry leaves and strawberry leaves, they're a good thing for a woman what's been confined.'

'How would you cure toothache?' I asked.

'Well,' Vensa answered, 'you would get some poppy heads, some camomile flowers, some sage, and some thyme, and put some hot water onto them, and then steam your face.'

'Did you ever eat poppy heads?' Lavinia asked. 'We often does—just the dried seeds out of 'em, d'ye see? and they're a good thing for sending babies to sleep with too.'

I asked how they would cure warts, and Lavinia answered:

'The's two ways of curing them, sir. One way is to boil 'taters with their skins on, and howld your hand into the brown froth what's onto the top. The hother is to get a piece of raw meat, put it onto the wart, and leave it there a good time. Then put it in a damp place, and leave it to rot, and as it rots your warts will go away.'

'A *posh-rat* told me another way of curing them, *dai*. You get a piece of string, and tie as many knots in it as you have warts. Then take your string and burn it, watching it as it burns, and as each knot disappears, one wart will disappear, until they are all gone.'

Lavinia went on to tell us that when they cut the back legs off frogs in France two more grew at once; and that there were no frogs in Ireland because St. Patriek had banished them all.

'Now that 'minds me of something else,' she continued. 'It's years and years ago since it happened, as I was only a little girl at the time. We was staying near Wigan, and the' was some more people staying along with my daddy's lot. One of these hother people was very bad with phlegm onto his chest, and into his throat. One day he goes and catches a dear little dotty frog, no bigger nor what would go into a thimble, and he ties a bit of strong thread onto one of its back legs, and keeps on letting it go down his throat and pulling it up again. It's the dear God's

truth he did, young fellow, and it cleared the phlegm out of his throat bootiful, but we wouldn't do such a thing as that.'

Soon after this Vensa and I went down into the tent to Starkey and the *chavis*, and a rare noise we made. I was very loath to tear myself away from them, but as Starkey very kindly offered to go part of the way with me I managed to get away by nine o'clock. I had four miles to go, but as the weather had cleared up a little we quite enjoyed our walk. After Starkey had asked me if I thought that there was such a thing as the devil, we began discussing horse-doctoring as practised by the Romanichals. 'Say you had a howld horse as was going grey,' he began, in answer to my question as to how he would 'fake' an old horse so as to make it look like a stag, 'you would clean its teeth first with plenty of salt and water, or if they was very brown you might use some soot; perhaps you might just touch them up a bit with a file. Next you would brush it well all over, and then clip it. Then you would get some stuff of the right colour—a kind of paint it is—and a little paint-brush, and paint every white hair you could see. Then give it a lot of turnips and wet grass to make it nice and big, d'ye *dik*? plait its tail and mane with clean straw, put it a new halter on, and then it would be ready for the fair.'

'What's the stuff you use to colour its hair, Starkey?'

'I don't know, Will, but my father does—he's got it written down onto a piece of paper.'

'The Gypsies round Cambridge use Potassium Permanganate if they have a horse with grey eyebrows, or anything like that. They have a very simple way, too, of making an old thin horse look nice and fat. A day or two before the fair they make it swallow a lot of salt, which makes it so thirsty that it drinks gallons of water, and swells itself out beautifully. Then to make them look sprightly they have all kinds of tricks. Sometimes they rub their hamstrings with half a brick, and then rub in turpentine—that's a grand thing for a lazy horse. Again, some of them pour a bottle of soda-water into the horse's ears, both to get it up if it lies down, and to make it prick up its ears and look smart. If a horse is frightened of noises they put balls of lead in its ears, and tie them there with a piece of ribbon which is the same colour as the horse's hair.'

I then told him of the trick, mentioned in *Romany Rye* of making a horse swallow a small live eel. Like all Gypsies

to whom I have mentioned the trick, he was unacquainted with it. None of them look upon it with favour, and two or three have expressed the opinion that the eel would eat out the horse's inside, and kill it in a day or two.

'If you had a mad horse what kicked and bited, what would you do with it?' Starkey asked.

'Give it a gallon of ale.'

'That is a good thing, but laudanum's far better;¹ it'll make the maddest kicker as quiet as a lamb. And if you had a big, ugly white horse, what you wanted to sell for a lot of money, you would clip it well first; then get some walnuts, and press them down against the horse's hair, and screw them round so that they left a lot of brown spots onto it about as big as half-crowns, but not all the same shape, d'ye see? Then you would sell it for a dappled horse, and get a lot of money for it.'

'And what about a *pogado barolengro*, Starkey?'

'Well, for one of them you gets a lot of that thin paper they puts lard into, and makes it up into little balls—not round ones, but longish ones like sausages. You would make the horse swallow these, and then turn it out for all night into a field where the' was plenty of long wet grass. If you gived it anything in the morning you should make it all wet first. And another thing what'll set a horse is them big golden beans. You puts them into a bucket of water for all night, and then gives them to the horse in the morning. At one fair we sometimes goes to—Rosley Hill, I think it is—the's a field where they let us put our horses and a broken-winded horse'll set of itself if you put it into this field. The's hardly any more grass onto the field than the' is onto the middle of the road here; but we can't find the herb that makes them set, although we've looked for hours every time we've gone.'

I interrupted him to say that many of the Gypsies used starch and paragone (?) for broken-winded horses, after which he continued:

'If you had a horse what had got a lame leg or lame foot, and you didn't want nobody to know, you would put a little stone into the tother foot just beside the frog—not into the one what's lame, d'ye *dik*? That would make it lame of both feet, and it

¹ One of Isaac Heron's descendants has since told me that yew leaves are sometimes used in place of laudanum. Two leaves, well dried and crumbled in the hands, are administered in a large double-handful of best oats.

would walk as if it wasn't lame at all. The worst thing though that you can have is a *nokengro*. The' is no real cure for them. The best thing is to put some bran into a bag, with some hot water onto it, and then put the horse's head into the bag, and let it steam.¹ You know them vets. when they has a horse what's got the strangles, they uses a thing like a hedgehog onto a stick.'

He finished his account of horse-doctoring by telling me that the sovereign remedy for a swelling caused by a kick, or anything like that, was to put on a hot water bandage, and then a cold water bandage over. 'Tom Young, he has a horse 'at's just like a crocerdile when it walks, it's got such a big lump onto its leg. Well, I towld him to try this, but he wouldn't; he only tied a bit of straw around, and now the lump's twice as big as it was.'

V.—THE WORD 'ROM'

By ALBERT THOMAS SINCLAIR

THE Gypsies in Europe and America universally call themselves *Rom*, or *Rum*. This word, however, is not so used by Gypsies in Asia, nor in Africa, except by some who have wandered over from Europe. In Armenia and the Caucasus some, comparatively few in numbers, call themselves *Dūm*, *Dōm*, *Lōm*, the same word as *Rom*. Gypsiologists have taken it for granted that the Romané brought this word with them from their original home in the east, and a volume would hardly contain all that has been written in endeavouring to trace its origin.

Professor Ferdinand Justi once began a letter to me with these words: 'Die Folgerungen, welche man aus sprachlichen Beobachtungen für ethnographischen Verhältnisse ziehen kann, haben sich schon oft als unsicher, oder täuschend ergeben, so dass man hier sehr vorsichtig sein muss. Besonders scheint es mir misslich, die Zigeunersprache, für solche Untersuchungen oder Schlüsse zu benutzen, weil die Zigeuner überall wo sie gewandert sind ihren Sprachschatz bereichert haben, und weil in vielen Fällen nicht

¹ Dr. Ranking tells me that the usual Gypsy remedy for glanders is to fill the horse's nostrils with nettles. These are removed the next morning, and after the phlegm has been washed out the animal may safely be guaranteed as sound—for twenty-four hours.

sogleich deutlich ist, ob ein Wort echt indisch-zigeunerisch, oder aus einer mit den indischen verwandten arischen, oder indogermanischen Sprachen entlehnt ist.' This admonition should be borne in mind in discussing the word *Rom*. One must be cautious and consider whether it may not have been borrowed on the way, and never brought from the east. For an important fact has been generally overlooked. There are to-day in European and Asiatic Turkey millions of people, *not* Gypsies, who call themselves by this same word, and to whom it is applied by all Arabs, Turks, Persians, Hindus, and others, and this has been the case for two thousand years.

The Byzantine Empire, also styled the East Roman, Eastern, or Greek Empire, was founded in 395 A.D., and was brought to a close on May the 29th, 1453, when Mohammed II. captured Constantinople. During this period the Greeks called themselves 'Romans,' *Ῥωμαῖοι* (Lat. *Rōmānī*).¹ At first its territory included Syria, Asia Minor and Pontus, Egypt, Thrace, Moesia (now Bulgaria), Macedonia, Greece, and Crete, but it varied in extent at different periods. The whole empire during much of its existence was rich, populous, and filled with large cities and a pleasure-loving people.² Among the population were many millions of Greeks, calling themselves 'Romans.'

Persian and Arabic writers, even Firdusi and Tabari, used *Rūm* as a general designation for the Byzantine Empire,³ and the word appears everywhere, not only in large lexicons, but also in colloquial phrase-books.⁴

¹ *Dictionary of Roman and Byzantine Greek, 146 B.C. to A.D. 1100.* By E. A. Sophocles. 1870. Introduction p. 10.

² The magnificence of the Greek civilisation in Asia Minor is shown by the immense ruins scattered all over the district. In one of the wildest regions now found in Kurdistan, the Bohtan, are seen such ruins, each several square miles in extent. In one, houses and a church were dug out of the solid rock in the side of a mountain. The inscriptions are Greek, and show themselves to be since the Christian era. One of the ruins is at Hazru, another at Maya Tarkin, or Farkin, and there are others in the region.

³ See Prof. A. W. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 88, 157, 216. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, p. 31. Leide, 1903.

⁴ Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, *rūmī* رومي 'Roman,' 'Greek,' 'Turkish'; *rūmī*, 'Greek'; *rūm* روم 'Greece'; *rūmī u zangi*, 'Greek and Ethiopian.' Wollaston, *Eng.-Pers. Dict.* (p. 1479), 'a Greek,' *yūnānī* يوناني, *rūmī* رومي; 'Greece,' *yūnān* يونان, *rum* روم; 'Turkey' (p. 1483), *mulk-i-rūm* مملکت روم (land of Turks); 'a Roman' (p. 1102), *ahl-i-rūm* اهل روم (a native of Rum), adj. *rūmī*, رومي; 'Romish' (p. 1103), adj. *rūmī* رومي, *rūmānī* روماني; 'Greek'

During the Byzantine period, and for some centuries after, it was considered an honour, even by the Turks, to be called a *Rūm*, and all the people in what is now European Turkey and a large part of Asia Minor were so termed. The Turkish Admiral, Sidi Ali Reïs, who visited India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia in the sixteenth century, called himself *Rum* with pride. 'Wherever he goes,' said his translator, 'and whatever he sees, Rum (Turkey) always remains in his eyes the most beautiful, the richest, and the most cultured land of the whole world.'¹ He was known under the fictitious name of *Kiatibi Rum*, or 'Turkish writer.' One day the Emperor (in Hindustan) asked him whether Turkey was larger than India, and he said, 'If by Turkey your Majesty means Rum proper (*i.e.* the province of Sivas²), then India is decidedly the larger. But if by Turkey you mean all the lands subject to the ruler of Rum, India is not by a tenth part as large.'

To-day the word *Rūm*, *Rōm* (since in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani the same letter و represents *ū* and *ō*) is used generally in a more restricted sense than formerly. It is applied by Orientals to all Greeks, about two million in number, who are not natives of Greece, and in a still narrower sense to members of

(p. 499), sub. and adj., *yūnānī* يوناني, *rūmānī* روماني. Shakespeare, *Hindustani Dict.* (p. 2310), 'Greece,' *yūnān*, *rūm*; 'Grecian,' sub. or adj., *rūmī*; A. روم, *rūm*, 'Rome,' 'the Turkish Empire,' 'Greece,' 'Romelia,' 'Asia Minor' (p. 1199); A. يونان *yūnān*, 'Ionia,' 'Greece' (p. 2223); A. يوناني *yūnānī*, adj., 'Grecian,' sub. m., 'a Grecian'; 'Turkey' (the country), *rūm*; 'Turkish Empire,' *rūm* (p. 2399). Cameron, *Egypt.-Arab.-Eng. Dict.*, *rūm*, pl. *ārūm* اروام 'a Greek Christian,' also *rūmī* رومى; 'Romish,' 'Greek Church,' *Rūm* روم; *Rūm* روم 'Byzantium,' 'the Roman Empire of the East,' 'Asia Minor,' 'a part of Asia Minor' (p. 109); *Yōnān* يونان 'Greek Ionia,' 'Greece,' 'the Greeks' (p. 319). Belot, *Arab.-French Dict.*, 'Byzantine,' 'Greek,' *rūm*, pl. *ārūm* اروام (p. 280); so *rūmī*, *rūmīyāh* روميه رومى; *Yūn*, *Yūnān* يونان 'the Greek nation'; *Yūnānī* يوناني 'a Greek,' 'a Hellen.' Meyer, *Conv. Dict. Arab.-Geru.*, 'Orthodox Greek,' *rūm*; 'a Greek,' *rūmī*, *yūnānī*, etc. Rosen, *Colloq. Pers.-Gr.* (p. 392), 'Turkey,' *Khāk-ī-Rūm* خاك روم (land of Turks).

¹ *Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral, Sidi Ali Reïs, in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, 1553 to 1556 A.D.* Translated from the Turkish by A. Vambéry. London: Luzac and Co., 1899.

² 'Our author means by Sivas, the old seat of the Osmons; but in India and Central Asia *Rum* is generally understood to stand for the west, and more particularly for the Ottoman Empire.' (Quoted from Vambéry, Note e.)

the Orthodox Greek Church in European Turkey, Africa, and Asia, but not to those in Greece. In Greek the words *Rōmēōs* (Ῥωμαῖος), *Rōmīōs* (Ῥωμηός), which mean 'Roman,' are applied to Turkish Greeks. For an inhabitant of Greece proper different words are employed. The Turks use *Yūnānī*, *Yūnānli*, and the Greeks Ἕλλην, vulgar Greek Ἕλληνας (*Hēllin*, *Hēllinas*); for the country 'Greece' they say *Yūnān*, يونان and Ἑλλάς (*Hēllās*), respectively.¹ *Yūnān* is from the Arabic and means 'Ionia.' The Turkish Government also styles all Christians, and even Protestants, *Rūm* in their travelling *Teskere*. I have myself asked a hundred Syrian Arabs 'İnt *Rūm*,' and the answer has come back 'Änā *Rūm*' ('Are you a *Rūm*?—'I am a *Rūm*'). They were Greek Catholics, of whom there are 60,000 or more in Syria. Very often also have I heard the same word used in conversation for a Turkish Greek.

Only the Gypsies of European Turkey and those derived from them call themselves *Rum*. The name is not applied to themselves in Asia or Africa by the Gypsies.² De Goeje quotes two cases which seem to be exceptions to this statement.³ One, *Doum* (*Doumān*), was given by Captain Newbold as used by Aleppo Gypsies. The word was not collected by Captain Newbold himself, but by another, and was *Doumān* not *Doum*. The Captain expressly states that he himself never heard or found this word, nor *Rom*, used by or for any Oriental Gypsies. Sir Richard Burton, who has incorporated this fact in his book on the Gypsies, makes the same assertion. Burton also states 'that Nawar, Runeli, and Chinganeh are all the same Gypsies.'⁴ The word

¹ Youssouf, *Turk.-French Dict.*, *Rūm* روم, 'Roman,' 'Byzantine Greek,' 'Modern Greek of Turkey' (p. 485); *Yūnān* يونان, 'Greece'; *Yūnānī* يوناني, 'a Greek of Greece'; *Yūnānli* يونانلى, 'an inhabitant of Greece' (p. 629); *Roma* روما, 'Rome' (p. 484); *Rūmī*, adj., روسي, 'what appertains to the Romans, to the Byzantine Greeks, or to the Modern Greeks of Turkey' (p. 486). Ružicka-Ostoic, *Turk.-Germ. Dict.*, *Rūm*, *Rūmlü*, *Urūm*, 'a Greek'; *Rūm*, *Rōmā*, *Rūmā*, 'Rome' (p. 369); *Yūnān*, 'Old Greece' (p. 180). Karl Wied, *Turk. Gram.* (p. 168), 'a Greek of Greece,' *Yūnānli*; 'a Greek who is a Turkish subject,' *rum*. Petraris, *New Greek-Germ. Dict.*, Germ.-Greek part, 'a Greek,' Ἕλλην, vulg. Ἕλληνας; 'a New Greek,' Ῥωμηός; 'Greece,' Ἑλλάς; Greek-Germ. part (p. 429), Ῥωμαῖος, 'a Roman' (p. 430); Ῥώμη, 'Rome,' vul. Ῥωμηός, 'a New Greek.' See also p. 314. Paspatis, Ῥωμαῖοι, 'the Byzantines,' p. 21. In conversation Greeks say for a Turkish Greek, *Rōmēōs*, *Rōmēikōs*, sometimes *Rōmēōs*; and for one from Greece, *Hēllin*, *Hēllinās*; and for Greece, *Hēllās*.

² MacRitchie, *The Gypsies of India*, p. 43. London, 1886.

³ De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes*, p. 69. Leide, 1903.

⁴ Burton, *The Jew, the Gypsy, and El Islam*, p. 217. London, 1898.

Rumeli is simply Turkish Greek (Ruž.-Os. *Dict.*, p. 369, *Rūm Rumli*, etc.). Burton also gives *Rumeh* as a word for Gypsies: 'Kurbat, Rumeh, Jinganeh.' *Rumeh* is 'Rome' in Arabic.¹ In the same book it is stated (p. 231) that 'Consul E. T. Rogers of Damascus, during two years' residence and long travelling, never heard any such word as *Dumi*. Neither did Captain Newbold nor Sir Richard himself,' though he was at one time consul in Damascus. Extensive enquiries by myself, verbally and by letter, from native and European residents of Aleppo, Damascus, Bagdad, and many other cities and towns in Asiatic Turkey, as well as in Egypt and Persia, have led without exception to the same conclusion. No Gypsies out of Europe and America call themselves *Rom* or *Rum*, except European Gypsies who have wandered from their home.² Armenian and Caucasian Gypsies often use the word *Dūm* or *Lom*, formed by the common interchange of *r* and *l* or *l* and *d*, as in *Luli* and *Luri*, or *Das*, 'ten,' which in Afghan is *las*.

Another explanation of de Goeje's word is not improbable. There is a city Douma (Dūmā) of about 4000 inhabitants, distant one day's ride from Beirut. Many Gypsies, I am informed by a native, winter there, and, in their summer circuit, would probably visit Aleppo and call themselves *Doumān* (*Dūmānī*), as does every inhabitant of Douma. Two or three bands of Turkish Gypsies from Europe camp outside the city every year and give shows and musical performances.

In Turkestan, Persia, and Beluchistan, Gypsies do not call themselves *Rom* or any variation of the word.

The mere similarity or even identity of words cannot, however, settle the origin of the word *Rom*, *Rum*. The Rumanians call their country *Romānia*, and themselves *Romānī*, which is 'Romans.' There are thousands of Gypsies there now, and if it were a fact that the Gypsies originated there (but it is not), we

¹ Belot, *French-Arabic Dictionary*, p. 654, 'Rome,' *Rumeh* رومى, Roman,'

Rūmānī روماني.

² In Syria the Rev. Harvey Porter, D.D., Professor in the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, for some years studied the Gypsies there for me, many of his students assisting him. On May the 14th, 1900, he wrote: 'The word *Rum* or *Rāmī*, by which you think they call themselves, is the word used in Arabic for 'Modern Greek,' and comes from 'Rome'; since, when the Arabs came in contact with the Greeks, the Roman Empire still existed in the East. The word can have no significance as indicating the origin of the Gypsies.' He also states that Syrian Gypsies do not apply this word to themselves so far as he can learn.

should be sure that the Gypsy word *Romané* was simply 'Romans.' We must, however, consider all the facts and conditions which environ the word.

That the Gypsies had ample opportunities for picking up the word *Rom*, if they did not bring it with them, is evident from the fact that their language has a large number of Greek words, and must therefore have been subjected for a long time to the influence of a Greek community.¹ This, however, does not necessarily mean Greece; indeed, probably not, but rather the whole Byzantine empire, not only in Europe, but in much of Asia Minor, which contained millions of Greeks. The whole district of Byzantine influence in Asia was rich, and likely to favour the presence of people like the Gypsies. Such considerations have not been generally, if at all, taken into consideration. Long before the Christian era this territory had a large Greek-speaking population, particularly on the coasts. Gypsy could as well have been subjected to Greek influences here as in Europe.

When the Gypsies first came to these regions history does not tell us. We can only judge and infer. If it be true that the Gypsy word *Rom* is the same as, and came from, *Romani*, 'Romans,' such a fact would perhaps tend to show a greater antiquity for them in Byzantine Asia than has been supposed.

And this is the view which occurs at once to those on the spot. They say that *Rom* is a word used in European Turkey for the Greeks there now, and during many centuries for all the inhabitants of that district. 'The Gypsies were there too, and naturally applied the same name to themselves. Why go to India for the word?' they ask. I have never been able to give an answer which satisfied any of them.² One English officer took a

¹ It is to be noticed that in the Constitution of Catalonia, 1512 A.D., Gypsies are mentioned as 'Bohemians and fools, styled Bohemians, Greeks, and Egyptians' (*J.G.L.S.*, Old Series, i. 37). Bataillard also says that in 1512 some Gypsies alleged they were Greeks.

² The Rev. J. Henry House, D.D., an American Missionary in Salonika, suggested in a letter of August the 19th, 1901, that 'the name "Rome" (*Röm*), which they give themselves, would indicate that they thought they were of Roman origin.' The Rev. Lewis Bond, American Missionary in Monastir, wrote on October the 8th, 1901, 'The Gypsies here call themselves *Rome* pronounced *Röm*. My opinion is this *Röm* is the same as *Room*, which is the word always used by the Turks for a Christian subject. The Turks call Greeks *Room*, and in making out a travelling *Teskere* for any Christian he is entitled as a *Room*, that is, as a Greek Orthodox. Even Protestants are thus entered.' The Rev. Robert Thomson, an American Missionary in Samokov, Bulgaria, wrote to me on August the 24th, 1901, that 'the Gypsies of Bulgaria and Rumelia call themselves *Rümü*, or *Römi*, an abbreviation of *Romani*, which is just "Romans."' That 'they call the Turks

facetious view of my insistence that the Gypsies brought *Rām* with them from their original home. He told me, and also wrote that he felt confident, that if I considered the matter enough I should find that word had exactly the same origin as the Arabic *ḍik Rāmī* (a turkey).

A possible connection between the Gypsy *Rom* and Rome has of course, been entertained not infrequently.¹ Whiter suggested it; and Borrow evidently regarded it as possible. In the introduction to his *Zincali* he says, indeed, 'there is no reason for supposing that the word Roma or Rommany is derived from the Arabic word which signifies Greece or Grecians, as some people not much acquainted with the language of the race in question have imagined.' But in the introduction to *Lavengro* he maintains that 'The meaning of Romany Chals is lads of Rome or Rama; Romany signifying that which belongs to Rama or Rome:' and he frequently translated Gypsy *Romano* by 'Roman.' Groome quoted Lucretia Boswell, who regarded *Romani* as equivalent to 'Roman woman,' and Crofton asked, 'Does *Rómani* signify Roumanian?'²

Are there any Indian words from which our word *Rom* could be descended? A few suggestions have been made, and much has been written on this question. Childers's Pali Dictionary gives words similar in form whose meaning might be supposed to be appropriate, for instance, *Ramano*, 'pleasing,' 'charming,' *Ramanī*, 'a woman.' And when we find also so many clear Gypsy words,—*chirus*, time; *choro*, thief; *chapo*, child; *baro*, great; *aggi*, fire; *akki*, eye; *angaro*, charcoal; *attha*, eight (Gyp. *ota*); *taruno*, young (Gyp. *tarno*); *tulo*, fat; *tikno*, sharp, small; *daso*, slave (Gyp. *Das*, Dacian Slave); *divaso*, day; *dukkho*, painful; *duro*,

Horahāi, or *Orhāi*, from Orhan, the first of the Turks to pass into Europe.' Orhan (1326-1359) gained a footing in Europe by the taking of Gallipuli and other fortresses on the coast. This use of *Orhāi* may be significant of the early presence of Gypsies there. These letters sufficiently illustrate the views of many people living in the Orient, who have written and told me the same thing. They are familiar with the East, its people, its history, its languages. They hear the word used in conversation every day, as a term applied to millions of people there now, or formerly there.

¹ For various discussions of the word see Pott, i. pp. 35-43; MacRitchie, *Gypsies of India*, Note N, pp. 91-108; Paspati, pp. 19-21; and Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*, p. 56. Some extraordinary speculations will be found in Lucas, *The Yetholm History of the Gypsies*, pp. 66-8. Kelso, 1882. The last author, in his article 'Petty Romany' (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. viii. pp. 579-80, October 1880), argues that they picked up the name in Rumania.

² *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Old Series, i. 50.

far; *duve*, *doi*, two; *eva*, just (Gyp. *ava*); *gajo*, elephant; *gulo*, sugar; *kalo*, black; and very many others; it seems at first as if Gypsy were Pali. For Pali was a common spoken dialect of the people long before the Christian era. We find a word, moreover, similar to *Luli*, and very appropriate for one class of Persian Gypsies and the Kabul Luli. A careful study shows, however, that Gypsy never could have originated from Pali. Phonetics and so many things settle the contrary.

I have had interesting discussions with several learned Hindu Pandits about the words *Rom*, *Rum*, *Romanī*, *Dom*, *Dum*, *Doms*, etc. None could suggest any parallel word in Sanskrit, nor in any Hindu dialect, except possibly *Rāmana*, 'a lovely man,' and *Rāmanī*, 'a charming woman,'—evidently the same idea as Paspatis's conjecture, Skr. *Rāma*, 'beautiful,' which was rejected with an emphatic ! by Ascoli. I have been unable to find any probable word myself except perhaps *Dom*, *Dum*, and, what is phonetically the same, *Rom*,—the exact word used by Gypsies for themselves in Europe or Armenia. To whom are they applied in India? The Pandits knew the *Dom* well, but did not believe the Gypsy word *Rōm* came from them, and they gave as their reason that although there are *Doms* nearly all over India, they are of different kinds.

That the word *Dom* does not indicate in India any well-defined race is shown by Crooke,¹ who describes many different varieties among the 298,923 enumerated in the census of 1891. Some have Gypsy-like habits, occupations, and modes of life, but not more Gypsy-like than those of many other Indian nomads. Some are the very dregs of impurity, the Helots of all, shameless vagrants, eaters of carrion, beggars and thieves: but others are fairly respectable farmers and artisans. Their face is of a low type, and they are generally described as Dravidians, although sometimes they are supposed to be remnants of the aboriginal Mongolo-Negroides;² and those between Gandaki and Gilgit are a mixed tribe of Thibetans and Hindus.³ Some are priests of evil spirits and preserve the pure demonism of the aborigines, and in some districts

¹ Crooke, *The North-West Provinces of India*, 1897. *Passim*.

² Caldwell, quoted by Crooke, *loc. cit.*, p. 498; Drew, *The Jummo*, p. 56. London, 1875; Pischel, 'Heimath der Zigeuner,' *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. 36, p. 353 (Sept. 1883), and *J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii., 312-3; Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindu Koosh*, p. 39; Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, pp. 256-8, Paris, 1896.

³ Franz von Schwartz, *Die Sindhuth*, p. 210, 1894.

they admit outcasts and so increase. In one district, Baltistan, the Chîns call themselves *Rom*.¹

Moreover, the title *Dom* is quite unlike the Gypsy *Rom* in that it is one of which the bearer is not and could not be proud. Mr. H. H. Risley wrote to me that it 'is probably a tribal name, of the same type as *Kol*, *Ho*, etc., meaning "man." But in Pashtō, as Dr. Grierson informs me, it is used for 'a native of India who is a professional singer and reciter,' and a Moslem belonging to Āṭēk eight miles west of Peshawur, asserts that in the Punjab it signifies 'comedian,' 'a man to make fun,' and that they are of different races in different districts, but have the same trade or profession.

The contrast between *Doms* and Gypsies is very striking. The Gypsies are the same race, the same *Romané*, everywhere they are found, and are so recognised in different countries by everybody who meets them; and they all have the same secret *Romani chib*. But the *Dum* of India are not all the same. There are several kinds of *Dum* widely differing in life, habits, customs, personal appearance, and language. There is no one secret *Dum* tongue. Where the Gypsies wander there are no other castes similar in character and life. In India there are many other nomad tribes and castes, not *Dums* or so called, but certainly as Gypsy-like. Indeed some are more Gypsy-like than most, if not all, *Dums*. Nobody in India uses *Dum* as a word for Gypsies, or the nomad Gypsy-like classes.²

To sum up, we have the fact that the Byzantines before the Christian era called themselves *Rom*, and that the Oriental word for the Latin 'Romani,' *Rūm*, was and is applied to them, and to the modern Greeks, by all western Orientals even the Afghans. The Greeks to-day, everywhere except in Greece, apply the same name to themselves.

The Romans were proud to be Romans.³ A Roman citizen felt himself the equal of Kings. The Byzantines, with equal pride, claimed to be Romans. So do the European Gypsies. The African

¹ Ujfalvy, *loc. cit.*, p. 313. Drew also mentions a caste called *Rom* in a village in Dardistan. He could not identify it with any other, and did not meet the name elsewhere.

² Under the word 'Gypsy' in Hindi dictionaries are found *kanjar*, *khāna-ba-dōsh*, *naṅnī* (fem.), *ṭhagnī* (fem.). Shakespeare, p. 2308, gives 'Gypsy, *khāna-ba-dōsh* (dakh) *gurḡurī-wālā*; p. 975, *خانہ بدوش khāna-ba-dōsh*, a traveller, a pilgrim, a gipsy, rover, sojourner (house on the shoulder).' The word *khāna-ba-dōsh* is perhaps the Hindu word which would best translate our word Gypsy, and the one most commonly used for all Gypsy-like nomads. *Dūm* is not so used.

³ Cf. Acts xvi. 37-8.

and Asiatic Gypsies do not use the word *Rom*. Between Europe and India there is a wide expanse of territory full of Gypsies, practically none of whom call themselves *Rom*. Despised by everybody, and despising everybody in turn, the Gypsies of Europe still proudly call themselves *Rum*. Very likely it is simply the native pride which most people feel for their race. But negroes and many other races and peoples do not exhibit such a racial self-satisfaction, and certainly the Dom of India is not proud of his title. The meanings and uses of the words *Rom* and *Dom* are as different as the races which bear them.

On the other hand, the language of the European Gypsies has plainly been affected greatly by Greek, in some district where Greek was spoken, whether in the European or Asiatic portion of Byzant, one or both; and they are to-day most numerous in that part of Byzant which now is European Turkey. It would have been difficult for them to avoid picking up the word *Rom* during their long sojourn in this district, and they use it in the sense which would be expected were this the case.

GLI ZINGARI NEL MODENESE

Di A. G. SPINELLI

Premessa

LA società promotrice di questo giornale ha diretto, a 400 delle più grandi biblioteche di Europa, ed in conseguenza anche all'Estense di Modena, un volumetto dal titolo *A Gypsy Bibliography*, frutto di ricerche vastissime condotte dal dottor George F. Black, edito con molta eleganza in bianco, a larghi margini, e con questo mezzo molto pratico, ha chiesto la cooperazione delle colte persone le quali indubbiamente intenderanno il valore di una indagine scientifica tanto estesa quanto importante e per giunta avvolta nell'incertezza quando si risale alle sue origini.

Il bibliotecario dell'Estense, sapendo che mi ero occupato dell'argomento,¹ mi propose di assumere l'incarico di scorrere detta

¹ Gli Zingari mi hanno sempre interessato, e sorvolando alle qualità negative che li accompagnano, fui compreso di ammirazione per i caratteri etnografici, per le strane singolarità del loro temperamento, che tenacemente conservarono attraverso i secoli e le persecuzioni atrocissime peregrinando pel mondo.

E questa stessa ammirazione mi condusse a raccogliere dati sul martirio, ultra millenario, eroicamente sostenuto per la loro fede dal popolo ebreo, e mi consigliò a

bibliografia e di apporvi le giunte, che egli manderebbe prima del prossimo luglio, a New York allo stesso Sig. Dott. Black, che si propone di curare l'edizione definitiva, con le giunte che indubbiamente gli arriveranno da ogni parte.

Accettai la piacevole offerta, ed ora mentre aduno le poche note bibliografiche a me note da aggiungere al ricco saggio di Liverpool, ho pensato di dare un po' di forma, di ordinare e pubblicare le notizie che da tempo avevo adunate (mentre attendevo ad altri studi per gli archivi e biblioteche nostre), sul popolo nomade, la di cui storia è buia perchè gli Zingari, spregianti pressochè tutto ciò che sa di civiltà, non la scrissero e chi tentò di conoscerla e fissarla, troppo spesso dovè urtare contro difficoltà veramente enormi e notissime, che qui sarebbe ozioso voler ridire.

Manifestai il concetto di questo lavoro al segretario della Gypsy Lore Society, il quale non solo si compiacque di approvarlo, ma volle offrirmi di stamparlo nel loro giornale. Non mi nascosi che l'offerta era troppo superiore all'importanza della cosa, nulladimeno accettai con animo grato.

Ora premetto che la cronologia mi guiderà nell'ordinamento delle mie schede, che raccolsi non perchè io mirassi a condurre questa ricerca, ma perchè l'argomento mi interessava e le notizie che mi si presentavano durante le mie indagini, spettanti unicamente al modenese, risultavano con qualche nesso.

Per questo io confido che ne possano uscire particolarità le quali forse ad alcuno sembreranno di nessun conto, ma credo che se unite ad altre in buon numero ed avvicinate logicamente, non potranno più risultare inutili e forse daranno la conferma o la negazione di punti oscuri al ricercatore delle cose zingaresche; e per questo saranno accette benchè manchi a queste povere pagine l'appoggio di una qualsiasi erudizione e di carattere scientifico. *Sutor ne ultra crepidam.*

Secolo XV

È notissima la prima comparsa degli Zingari in Italia, fissata da una cronaca pubblicata dal Muratori.¹

Il 18 luglio 1422 essi giunsero a Bologna dall' Ungheria, condotti da un Duca Andrea 'dell' Egitto minore,' che lui e il suo

scrivere *Del ghetto e degli israeliti in Modena*, nel giornale *Il Panaro della Domenica* del 4 e 11 giugno 1893, articoli poi interrotti avendo il giornale stesso, per ragioni politiche, sospesa la rubrica fino allora riservata alla parte letteraria e storica, proprio con l' 11 giugno di quell'anno.

¹ *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. xviii. col. 611.

popolo, avendo rinnegato la fede peregrinavano in penitenza. Esibirono a loro tutela patenti Imperiali, mostrarono pure di aver molto denaro, predicevano la sorte, facevano molti furti, dicevano e commettevano giunterie e perciò provocarono pubbliche rappresaglie e una grida che li costrinse a lasciar la città dopo quindici giorni di sosta, avviandosi verso Roma per la via Emilia.

Passò dunque la banda per le Romagne, ma dovè certamente lasciare qualche sbandato a ponente della città che trovò tornaconto a fermarsi nell' Emilia, perchè non si spiegherebbe altrimenti la nota del *Catasto Censuario di Carpi*¹ compilata nel 1448 che porta un Nicolò Zingaro il quale possedeva sei biolche di terra e case, accanto a Carpi, ai Sozzi.

Sicuramente non tutti, fin da allora, questi nomadi marciavano agglomerati in bande fortissime come quella del Duca Andrea, perchè venti anni dopo un *Registro di spese*² del Duca di Ferrara Borso d' Este relativo all' anno 1469, 4 febbraio, si trova scritto ' et per Sua Signoria in done ad uno Cingano che sonava una citola [cìtara ?] denanzi a Sua Signoria L. 0, 6.' Fin d' allora la musica accompagnava il popolo vagante.

Queste sono constatazioni di fatti slegati che si allacciano però a condizioni generali sugli Zingari e li caratterizzano di già con una di quelle fisionomie che furono da loro inseparabili per sempre.

Ma da fatti minimi passando ai grandi riguardanti il famoso movimento etnografico che versò in Europa questo popolo, due documenti di valore ho potuto raccogliere.

Nel Tomo 1° degli *Atti spettanti agli Arcipreti di Carpi* uniti dall' Abate Paolo Guàitoli, trovasi registrata una ' *Littera Passus pro Cingalis,*' in data 147...

La comitiva, dice il documento, era condotta dal Nobile Conte Michele dell' Egitto minore, che si fermava in Carpi per alcuni giorni e poi intendeva recarsi in altre terre, che non sono indicate. Onde favorirlo, il Signore di Carpi, pregava con essa i suoi amici di accogliere lui e la sua comitiva di cavalli e di fanti e gli uomini e le donne che vagavano peregrinando con lui in penitenza, permettendo ad essi di liberamente passare e stare nelle loro terre ed anche di intromettersi fra loro ove sorgesse qualche litigio.

La presente escursione del sedicente Duca Michele, che forse veniva da Roma, è segnata negli itinerari del Colocci, ma con

¹ Archivio Municipale di Carpi, c. 301 v.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, c. 60 v.

un'altra percorrenza, che nella valle del Po è fissata più a settentrione. Sarebbe stato ad ogni modo interessante di conoscere, per quali ragioni il principe di Carpi Marco Pio, concedeva questa sosta nel suo dominio ai nomadi; cioè se questa fosse stata accordata perchè si trovasse impotente a far rispettare un suo divieto, o se fosse stabilito in seguito a trattative corse; giacchè pare ragionevole il credere che qualche negozio o convenzione fosse stata conclusa almeno verbalmente fra loro, se dopo un soggiorno di cui è ignota la durata, il Principe rilasciava una lettera di passo, la quale dava col nome suo conosciutissimo, un credito al vagante che non si potrebbe giustificare. Forse ciò era stato dettato al Pio dal bisogno di scongiurare un danno maggiore al suo dominio? Forse perchè il soggiorno venisse ben compensato? O perchè il 'Conte' fosse munito, di una patente Imperiale o Pontificia che ponesse in evidenza il suo pellegrinaggio, come presentavano allora tanti condottieri di Zingari? Così sarebbe tutto spiegato, ma in tal caso le patenti sarebbero anche state ricordate nella lettera di passo.

Tutto qui è buio, e il silenzio dei cronisti modenesi e reggiani sul passaggio del Conte Michele sorprende e lascia alla fantasia immaginare disparatissime riflessioni, onde spiegare il motivo per cui sia rimasta ignorata la via tenuta da questa truppa di Zingari, comparsa a Carpi senza che se ne trovino vestigie altrove; almeno per quanto consta a me. Conviene però riflettere che furono tante le arsioni e i saccheggi con cui l'Italia scontò la colpa di avere incivilito il mondo, che è gran mercè sian rimasti i documenti trascritti dall'Abbate Guàitoli, a conservarci una memoria, la quale essendo importante per la storia zingaresca, la inserisco qui *ad litteram*:

Excerpta ex ms. Ioannis Lazari de Sigismundis Carpensis a Secretis Marci Pii.¹

LITTERA PASSUS PRO CINGALIS, 147...

Marcus Pius, etc. Cum vir nobilis Comes Michael de Egypto minori paten-
tium ostensor steterit allogiatus cum ejus comitiva aliquibus diebus in hac nostra
terra Carpi, et in presentiarum alio transferre se intendat, requisitioni sue annuere
volentes harumstrarum sic Illustrissimos quoscumque Principes et dominos
tam ecclesiasticos quam seculares, nec non presentes fratres Capitaneos, Potestates,
Vicarios, Offitiales, et amicos nostros ex corde rogamus quatenus Comitum

¹ Spinelli, A. G., *Catalogo sommario dell' Archivio Guàitoli per la Storia Car-pense*. Carpi, Rossi, 1897, pag. 126, n. 230, 'Atti degli Arcipreti della chiesa di Carpi.' Questo documento è nel suddetto ms. nella carta 15 prima dell' ultima pag. del vol. I.º di questi atti.

Michaelem cum ejus comitiva tam equestrem quam pedestrem utriusque sexus sic vagantem, et in Penitentiam sic peregrinantem cum omnibus et singulis bonis suis cujusvis maneriei sint per omnes eorum terras, portus, passus, pontes, et loca, libere et absque solutione alicujus datii, pedatii, fundi navis et bolletarum, ire, transire et morari permittant, ac sibi vellint Pio Opere providere de alogiamientis juxta solitum, quodque casu aliquo inter ipsos Egyptianos diferentia aliqua, vel quando oriri contingat medio assistere velint, et pro viribus operari eos omnes concordēs reddere, ac eis providere velint de guidis choortis et salvis conductis, ubi opus fuerit, et duxerit requirendum, quod nobis gratissimum, et ad singularem complacentiam adscribemus. In quorum . . .

Notai in principio di questo capitolo come uno Zingaro avesse stabilito dimora e possedesse terre nel Carpigiano fino dal 1448, ed ora non lascierò inosservato che il nome di *Cingaro* fosse già, poco dopo, entrato nell'uso, o per stabilire l'origine di una persona che si nominava, o perchè fosse veramente tale; ma qui mi giova l'osservazione per indicare che uno designato con questo nome, fin dagli ultimi anni del sec. xv., occupava l'opera sua in ufficio che esigeva nomina sovrana.

Infatti l'8 gennaio 1484, il Duca di Ferrara Ercole I°. accordava a Pietro Giovanni detto *Cingaro*, di porre una nave nel fiume Secchia fra il Modenese e il Reggiano all'altezza di Toano e Montefiorino, e di esercitarvi il passo.¹

Queste sono notizie di scarso valore viste così isolate, ma non rimarranno tali quando si pensi che potranno essere coordinate ad altre che anche sole rivestano il carattere di importanza assoluta. Come sarebbe un'altra *lettera di passo* concessa dal predetto Marco Pio il 28 maggio 1485 al 'Conte' Giovanni del Piccolo Egitto, che colla sua banda arrivava in Carpi nelle medesime condizioni presentate nel 147... dall'altro Conte, ottenendo gli stessi favori, come le stesse condizioni di fatto che accompagnavano il Conte Michele, cioè di un completo silenzio su di lui da parte degli storici nostri.

Perciò trascrivo anche questa *Littera passus*, rogata al medesimo notaio dell'antecedente.

LITTERA PASSUS, 1485.

Marcus Pius, etc. Cum nobis vir Ioannes Comes de Egypto parvo patentium ostensor peterit allodiatum cum ejus comitiva aliquibus diebus in Castro nostro Carpi in presentiarumque alio se transferre intendit cui petitioni annuere volentes, harum nostrarum serie Illmōs quoscumque Principes et Dominos tam Ecclesiasticos quam seculares Excellentiasque Dominationes, et comunitates, nec non Magnificos Dominos, patres, fratres, Capitaneos, Vicarios, Potestates et Officiales spectabilesque et Nobiles Amicos et benevolos omnes nostros ex corde rogamus, Officialibus et subditis nostris quibuscumque stricte percipiendo mandamus quate-

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Reg. Duc. di Ercole I°*. T. V°. n°. 8.

nus prenomiatum Comitum Ioannem tam equestrem quam pedestrem cum tota ejus comitiva utriusque sexus sic vagantem et in penitentiam ibi invictam, ut asserit, peregrinantem cum carriagiis et bonis suis cujuscunque conditionis aut manerie existant per quascunque eorum Civitates, terras, Castra et loca, passus, portas et pontes ire, transire, morari, pernoctare et redire permittant libere absque ulla solutione datii, pedaggi, fundi navis, vel gabelle, eidem providendo de guidis, cohortibus, libero transitu et securo, salvi conductu semel et pluries quotiens duxerit ipse requirendi omni penitus molestia et arrestatione cessante, providentes eidem de alogiamenis juxta eorum consuetudinem. Et que si aliquo casu inter ipsos Egyptiacos differentia aliqua seu quando oriri contingerit, pro viribus operentur eos concordare fieri, quod nobis pergratum erit. Et que seipse comes Ioannes aut aliquis de ejus comitiva damnum aliquod subditis nostris, aut possessionibus et proprietatibus nostris inferret, presentes nostre patentes littera nequaquam sibi valeant, nec ejus prodesse possint nec ipsis ullo pacto serventur, ad nostri beneplacitum valiture.

Datum Carpi sub impressione sigilli nostri magni. In fidem omnium premisorum. Die xxviii. Maj. 1485. Inditione III.¹

Per ultimo aggiungerò che in un libro di appunti fiscali dei primi anni della signoria di Alberto Pio in Carpi (fine sec. xv.), si legge una condanna contro Giovan Maria da Bràndola, perchè aveva dato molte ferite, in Carpi stessa, ad un *Cingaro*;² il che proverebbe che anche gli Zingari erano allora ritenuti esseri del genere umano, e tutelati dalla giustizia comune, sentimento di carità che in pratica si dimenticò troppo spesso di poi.

E chiuderò la narrazione di quanto mi è noto riguardare gli Zingari, tra noi, nella seconda metà del sec. xv. primo della loro comparsa in Italia e nel Modenese; non ometterò di riflettere che leggi statutarie che li riguardassero, non ne ho trovato; forse perchè non esisteva la cosa da colpire per comune salvaguardia essendo la loro una dimora fra noi di transitu; benchè sia molto inverosimile che alla presenza di Zingari non andassero congiunti, malefizi, e non si opponessero subito gride a pubblica difesa, come avvenne a Bologna; e lo Zingaro nemmeno è ricordato nell'altra grida contro i delinquenti dello Stato, pubblicata a Ferrara il 22 febbraio 1457, che riguardava anche Modena e Reggio.

Comunque fosse è ben sicuro che statuti di Modena e del modenese, i quali abbiano disposizioni riguardanti gli Zingari, fino a tutto il sec. xv., non ne ho trovato. Dico ciò che mi è risultato e non azzardo possibilità, perchè si tratta di uno studio che attende informazioni certe da ogni parte onde potere stabilmente affermarsi.

Sarebbe stato, nel modenese, ricordo di questo primo passaggio di Zingari, l'importazione di una specie di columbi, ora perduta,

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Reg. Duc. di Ercole I°*, c. 10-10.

² *Arch. Guàitoli*, cit. filza 107, num. 6.

della quale dice Carlo Malmusi ¹ ' Questa razza più non esiste, è tradizione che fosse introdotta dai Zingari d' Ungheria nel secolo xv., donde furono detti Zingarini e Zinganini.'

Secolo XVI

Lettere corse nel 1507, fra Angelo Villa Capitano di Modena, il Duca Alfonso 1°. d' Este e il Cardinale Ippolito, suo fratello, ci provano che gli Zingari erano assunti dagli Estensi a prestar l' opera loro ove giovasse. Era ciò tenuto per fatto normale, non essendo ancora gli Zingari nel Modenese, fuor dalla legge. Trovo che il 7 agosto di quell' anno il Capitano suddetto informava la corte che manderebbe a Ferrara il *Cingaro* ' cavalcatore di vaglia' che essendo ' un gran furfante' era in prigione e perciò lo instradava incatenato ai piedi.² Tre mesi dopo, la scuderia ducale sentiva ancora il bisogno di avere questo Zingaro, ed il Villa rimandandolo avvertiva che lo toglieva ancora di prigione, ove era detenuto per avere insultato i suoi balestrieri.³

Poco dopo rilevasi nei registri ducali del 1511 ⁴ che si sono pagate L. 10, 13, 8, per fatture e robe somministrate alla fabbrica della Bastia di Zanolio al ' cingaro magnano.' Nota che la Lira marchesana equivaleva a circa 20,00 delle nostre.

Finora pubblici manifesti contro gli Zingari non ne trovai e perciò non meraviglia se prestassero l' opera loro agli Estensi. Ma presto, anche nel Modenese, vengono editti ad indicare gli Zingari come dannosi e incompatibili colla vita civile, a perciò furono banditi.

È necessario riflettere che i passaggi delle grandi carovane, che ho notato nella seconda metà del sec. xv., dovettero, per forza dell' indole loro, lasciar molti sbandati che formarono lungo il loro percorso gruppi autonomi, i quali furono rafforzati da coloro, e non eran pochi, che in ogni tempo e paese vagavano nomadi. Su questi il fatto sorprendente, nuovo, delle forti bande condotte dai sedicenti Conti Michele e Giovanni, deve aver esercitato una decisa attrazione che costituì fra noi, e forse anche altrove, una popolazione girovaga, composta di indigeni che uniti a famiglie di Zingari veri, vivevano ex lege a carico del paese. Così ebbe vita

¹ *Dei Trigianieri* [Addestratori di colombi al volo], *cenni storici*, Modena 1851, Moneti e Pelloni, in-16°, pp. 34. Estr. dall' *Indicatore Modenese*, An. I., Ni. 5 e 6.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Rettori all' anno*.

³ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Famiglia Villa*.

⁴ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Cassa segreta vecchia*, N. 55.

la massa ibrida, amorfa che si mantiene tuttodi, avendo se non ragione di essere, almeno tanta forza di elementi vitali, da resistere e perpetuarsi, fra una campagna sociale che non li vuole distrutti, soltanto perchè ha sperato da cinque secoli, e spera ancora di ridurli tutti a fissa dimora civile.

Ed è l'8 aprile 1524, che il Comune di Modena ordina 'quod expellantur Cingani quare multum damnificantur et ad sacco-mannum vadunt.' Ma il Podestà mitigò la misura, forse di rappresentanza chiesta dal Comune, perchè seguono queste parole: 'Illus. Potestas Mutinae dixit quod expellantur.'¹

Questa disposizione, che seguiva di circa quattro anni, l'altra bandita in Germania allo stesso effetto, a sua volta viene ribadita da altra del Comune di Modena la quale conferma che i danni inflitti al paese dagli Zingari dovevano essere molto gravi, perchè leggesi nei *Partiti Comunali* del 26 aprile 1527 che i Conservatori 'commiserunt notificari capitaneo plate ut curet cum effectu ut Cingani seu Egyptiaci se disedant extra agro mutinense, alias operabunt quod milites existentes in civitate eos depopulabuntur.'²

Convieni credere che queste gravi misure riguardassero soltanto gli Zingari nomadi, non quelli che erano diventati cittadini fissandosi nel comune, ed a questa supposizione darebbe appoggio una deliberazione del Consiglio Comunale del Finale, il quale radunatosi nel 1527 nel 'salotto delle balle' aveva tra i convocati Bartolomeo cingano.³

I bandi che miravano a far sloggiare gli Zingari dal paese non dovevano proprio restare *sine effectu* immediato. Se ne saranno andati, perchè la rassegnazione contro il più forte è un carattere spiccato degli Zingari, ma poi saranno anche ritornati, perchè in terra c' erano anch' essi e doveva pure la terra alimentarli. E poi è probabile che qualche servizio rendessero a lor volta a chi avrebbe dovuto far osservare i bandi che li espellevano: e quando il 28 di agosto 1533 Alberto Pio tolse Novi al Duca di Ferrara, furono Zingari che accampavano sulle fosse di quel castello che ne recarono l'avviso a Giacomo Altoviti Governatore di Modena, che li mandò subito l'avviso per staffetta al Duca di Ferrara con un *cito cito* che diceva tutta l'importanza della notizia ricevuta.⁴

Intanto in Germania, come ho notato, erano usciti bandi contro

¹ Arch. Com. di Modena, *Partiti Comunali* all' anno.

² *Ibid.*

³ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Cass. segreta vecchia*, N. 120.

⁴ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Lett. di G. Altoviti*.

gli Zingari, che furono tosto imitati anche in Italia di egual tenore e ferocia, colla differenza che qui uscivano con qualche ritardo. O perchè le enormità commesse da questi sfortunati senza patria non fossero rivoltanti come oltremonte, o perchè i governi qui fossero più umani, o più avveduti e se ne sapessero guardare.

Un ventennio più tardi, cioè il 5 dicembre 1541 trovo a Modena nuovi reclami contro loro.¹ In quel giorno Giovanni Codebò, uno dei conservatori, domandava in Consiglio che fosse provveduto a misure che tutelassero i cittadini dagli Zingari che abitavano in Modena e vi commettevano in gran numero ogni specie di furti. Franca il notare che essi rubavano, è vero, ma anche prendevan parte alle feste della città e Luigi Maini, nel suo scritto *Le corse al pallio in Modena* ci informa² che il 24 giugno del 1542 essi tenevano la gara con i loro cavalli, e tale partecipazione per parte di banditi sembra una anormalità che spunta l'acutezza alle espulsioni e dà ad esse un carattere assai blando.

L'ordine di espulsione provocato dal Codebò non ottenne quindi l'esito voluto, e trovo che fu ripubblicato l'anno seguente il 7 di luglio 1542, e Tommasino Lancilotto ai 14 dello stesso mese scriveva.³ 'Molti Cingani sono nel modenese et al presente nel borgo di Saliceta [accanto alla città] fanno grandissimo danno e ognuno grida e nessuno provvede perchè, perchè. . . .' Questa sospensione, che esattamente figura nel testo ms. dice chiaro che il cronista si trovava imbarazzato a dirne i motivi pei quali non si provvedeva allo sfratto dei Zingari, che sarebbe stato utile a me e ad altri sapere.

Le cose rimanevano tali anche nell'anno seguente e perciò fu rinnovato il bando per l'espulsione del rapace ospite dalla città, forse con egual risultato, essendo impossibile alla città stessa di liberarsi da quella servitù dannosa ed odiosa, la quale non poteva essere tolta se non colla violenta soppressione e con una carneficina superiore ad ogni follia barbarica. Qualunque tentativo di porre un argine a queste invasioni riusciva inefficace, malgrado che in qualcuno dei nostri statuti si cominciassero dai giuristi ad introdurre anche pene corporali.

Lo studiosissimo delle cose nostre, Dottore e Cavaliere Ferdinando Jacòli, mi indica una rubrica degli *Statuta et ordinamenta terrae Turricellae* nel Frignano, ossia di Pavullo,⁴ dove si tenevano

¹ Arch. Com., *Partiti Comunali*.

² *Le corse al Pallio in Modena, Cenni storici*, Ivi 1853, Cappelli in 8° p. 20.

³ De Bianchi Thomasino detto Lancilotto, *Cronaca di Modena all'anno*.

⁴ Statuti editi poi a Modena del Soliani, nel 1785.

mercati e fiere di importanza massima alla vita economica della montagna modenese, in aperto mercato; e dico aperto perchè altrove nel modenese il punto ove si mercanteggiava era cintato come a Bruino nel Mirandolano dove si teneva l'antichissima fiera di Modena. Il Prof. Jacòli mi indicò la rubrica 23 di quegli Statuti, in data 1° gennaio 1547, riguardanti i *Cingari*, che suona così. Era proibito alloggiarli sotto pena di Lire 5 estesa anche agli albergatori, 'e per ciascheduna compagnia di Cingari che li alloggiasse da una sera in su sia condannato in Lire 10 per ogni giorno.' Questa notizia ha importanza per me, essendo la prima in materia di Zingari che trovo negli statuti modenesi.

Le grida seguivano dunque alle grida, ma non ottenevano alcun frutto. Di queste io citerò soltanto quelle che contengono qualche particolarità che io non avessi notato nelle antecedenti.¹

Il 19 maggio 1548 una grida tratta di Zingari, venuti da un po' di tempo ad abitare il dominio del Duca di Ferrara, ed intima loro il bando entro tre giorni, perchè rei di frodi, inganni e truffe, minacciando corda agli uomini e frusta alle donne.²

Che la legislazione generale (allora riassunta in queste grida) considerasse gli Zingari come malfattori di professione molto tardi, si potrebbe ritenere come provato, se risultasse esatto, come lo fu a me, che il nome di Zingaro compare stampato per la prima volta solo in questa grida. Ma la sostanza nulla variava, prima saranno stati compresi nei nomi generici di tristi, malfattori, vagabondi, ladri, banditi, stregoni, furfanti . . . sinonimi nel linguaggio penale d'allora, non saprei se nelle sotigliezze dell'attuale; ma, ripeto, il crisma fosco che li colpiva rimaneva inesorabilmente lo stesso.

Un'altra grida fu lanciata contro di essi il 17 maggio 1548, e la ricorda Tommasino che ho già citato e forse citerò ancora. Per essa ai Cingani non potevano valere le patenti cui si negava qualunque autenticità, e li colpiva con minaccia di corda e di svaligiamento, e questo rigore perchè 'potrieno menare qualche trattato [accordo] e non se ne intende il suo parlare,' e si espellevano perchè i contadini potessero venire ai lavori della fortezza di Modena che allora si costruiva, senza tema che le case loro fossero saccheggiate.

La vita degli Zingari non avendo nulla di normale, era sempre

¹ Ometto le citazioni archiviali delle singole gride, perchè sono cronologicamente conservate in riparti del R. Arch. di Stato in Modena.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Canc. Duc. Gride MSS.*

accompagnata dalle minacce della società, che non riconoscono se non perchè ci vivono in mezzo per insidiarla, mentre che essa compie, come ha sempre compiuto, un lavoro continuo per difendersi da loro.

Ma consoliamoci per onore del nostro nome, questa difesa tra noi, fu mai sì barbara ed inumana come altrove. Pur tanto era forza armarsi di tutto ciò che i tempi e l'indole nostra davano in mano alle città, ai reggenti dei comuni rurali, per tener lontano lo Zingaro quando come un nemico sempre vigile, tenace ed affamato, entrava nei confini, e perciò valersi di nuove grida, di nuove sanzioni per cacciarlo.

Il Comune di Modena si valse ancora di questo mezzo, il 1° luglio 1550, per espellerli dalla città e dal distretto che era allora vasto pressochè quanto la provincia. E così, pare, che per un decennio stessero lontani, giacchè non si trovano nuovi bandi in proposito, per quanto io conosco. E giova credere che guai forti per causa di questi molestissimi ospiti, su noi non abbiano gravato allora.

Ma poi troviamo che nulla era mutato, perchè il 16 luglio 1560 i Conservatori del Comune si dolgono col Duca e chiedono provvedimenti contro una compagnia 'di Cingani che si trova nei luochi delli signori feudatari del ducato di Modena e fanno latrocini, e depredamenti,' ed avendone imprigionati tre domandano la loro espulsione secondo le gride.

Ciò avrà avuto sicuramente luogo, è ovvio il crederlo, ma in proposito par facile notare, e non sarà presunzione maligna ed arbitraria il pensare, che questo asilo dato alle bande dei Zingari dai feudatari, si effettuasse in corrisponsione o di denaro, o di altri servizi, che resi da uomini di simile natura, senza scrupoli, ben si può immaginare di quale enormità fossero.

Per due lustri non ho trovato notizie sull' argomento, ma i partiti comunali del modenese, quando si entra nella seconda metà del secolo XVI., mostrano che la nostra provincia non era menomamente salva dal flagello delle bande girovaghe, perchè il 24 luglio 1561 Alfonso Naselli in consiglio 'espose ai signori conservatori che i Cingani si trovavano al presente nel modenese là attorno da S. Martino di Secchia e alla Pioppa et facevano dei grandissimi malanni dando anche occasione alle brigate di qualche scandalo.' Noi non abbiamo una serie ordinata dei processi del secolo XVI. e nemmeno dei seguenti e perciò non è facile rilevare come la giustizia avesse il suo corso e i particolari delle

condanne inflitte ma certamente quando essa riusciva ad avere nelle mani qualche Zingaro era energica e i Podestà comandavano assai facilmente il capestro.

E come poteva essere altrimenti se le bande degli Zingari assalivano nelle compagne case isolate, e grassavano sulle vie uomini inermi? Pur tanto non tutti erano degni di forza, e fra noi nel 1562 Mastro Giacomo Zingaro, eseguiva lavori da fabbro ferraio nel Castello di Modena ai tempi in cui era massaro Antonio Montecatini;¹ e Carlo Egitiaco, naturalmente Zingaro, ottiene di poter dimorare nel modenese colla sua compagnia, al patto che se facesse danno sarebbe punito a norma delle grida che sopprimevano.

E che proprio non fossero sempre così dannosi i passaggi fra noi di questa razza, generalmente abbruttita, e che si confondessero le violenze loro con le comuni dell'indole del tempo, pare doversi ammettere, quando sappiasi che il Comune di Modena² si rivolgeva, il 1° febbraio 1563, al Governatore perchè cacciasse gli Zingari dal distretto, e come nella lettera relativa, i conservatori non domandavano applicazioni di pene quali erano comminate nelle grida, ma usassero la frase 'che quegli Zingari se ne andassero con Dio' il che porterebbe a pensare, o che non vi fosse motivo di chiedere rigore di pene eccessive, o che si temessero le rappresaglie di quei liberi vaganti.

D'altra parte il bisogno di non vivere sempre collo spauracchio del capestro, e quello di soggiornare tra noi *da buoni cristiani*, come dicevasi allora, adattandosi alla vita socievole, risulterebbe sentito da quest'altra nota dei nostri Partiti Comunali del 1° luglio 1563, ove si narra che 'Francesco Cingano entrato in consiglio pregò i signori che fossero contenti di fargli fare per mano dei suoi cancellieri una fede dei suoi buoni portamenti mentre egli è stato nel modenese, intendendo ora di andarsene nel ferrarese. Forse questo Francesco era lo stesso che col titolo di capitano otteneva dal Duca Alfonso II. l'11 agosto seguente di potersi stabilire nello Stato, 'attesochè si porterà modestissimamente e non darà causa ad alcuno di dolersi di lui.'³

Una seconda lettera testimoniale dei suoi buoni portamenti domandò Francesco al Comune di Modena il 21 gennaio 1564 e licenza di permanere nel paese, che gli fu accordata. Questa

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Cassa Segreta Vecchia*, 929.

² Arch. Com. di Modena, *Partiti*.

³ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Reg. Dec.*, cit. 202 v.

licenza però il Comune non volle fosse rispettata dipoi, quando chiese deroga da tutte le concessioni date, allorché bandì l'espulsione de' Zingari nel 1574. Nella richiesta lo Zingaro viene detto ancora Capitano forse perchè soldato di ventura che seppe guadagnarsi il grado durante le guerre di quel battagliero Estense. È noto come molti Zingari, a guisa di corvi, seguissero gli eserciti di quei tempi, e Alfonso II. desse sovente a questi facoltà di stabilirsi nello Stato; il 29 maggio 1564 l'accordava per lui e per la famiglia a un Conte figlio di Spadazino.¹

L'anno seguente una banda di Zingari traversata la Romagna, fra le ostilità delle popolazioni, era entrata negli Stati Estensi, e in causa 'delle frodi inganni e infamie che commettevano' un bando loro fissava il termine di tre giorni ad uscire dallo stato sotto pena della corda, della frusta, della perdita dei bagagli, delle armi e dei cavalli.² Altre prove si rinvencono in questi anni a dimostrare Zingari stanziati nel modenese. Ercole Pio Signore di Sassuolo rispondendo il 21 settembre 1567, a Cesare Gonzaga, che mandava in traccia di una sua cavalla statagli rubata e riteneva da Zingari, rispondeva che nel suo stato di questi non ve ne erano 'eccetto uno che è qui, sono già più di quattro anni, tiene casa sua propria nella terra, nè attende a simili pratiche.'³

Bramava pure di poter abitare in Modena un Giovanni Zingaro, fabbro ferraio; ma questi son fatti isolati e se mostrano una tendenza evolutiva verso la civiltà, non scemano il tristo nome a questi vagabondi i quali buttavano lo sgomento dovunque fosse loro possibile di riuscire ad esercitare rapina a man salva.

Il 4 gennaio 1569 Gian Battista Gozo, Podestà di Guiglia, scriveva al Duca che egli aveva fatto impiccare lo Zingaro che già teneva in prigione 'con ordine che fosse lasciato così sulle forche per esempio de' suoi compagni che minacciavano, per quanto intende, voler venir per dispetto ad abbruciare il paese.'⁴ Gli Zingari rintanati colà negli anfratti dei Sassi delle Rocche de' Malatigni, è facile intendere, come si ridessero del Podestà di Guiglia, e come poco curassero per durezza naturale di sentimento le sue minaccie ed esecuzioni e scorrazzassero i monti più sicuri che non lo fossero in aperta pianura.

Il Governatore del Frignano li perseguitava da Sestola con

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Reg. Dec.* cit. 202 v.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Grude*, filza i.

³ Bibl. Estense, *Autografi Campori*.

⁴ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Rettori*.

quest' altra grida uscita il 24 agosto 1570, che qui trascrivo, perchè entrò nel corpo degli statuti locali:—

‘Oltre l'altre previsionì fatte intorno a Cingari, quali per esser gente scandalosa non intende per modo alcuno praticchino in questa Provincia di Frignano, per questa sua nuova determinatione ordina, comanda, et bandisce sotto pena della Galera tutti li Cingari grandi et piccoli, che si troveranno essere, o nello avvenire verranno nel Frignano, concedendo et comandando a ciascuno, che possi senza pena fargli prigionì, svaligiarli et darli nelle mani alla ragione, che guadagneranno quel tutto che si troveranno. Et in oltre, se in mercato o fiera saranno trovati, o ivi vicini in giorno di fiera, o di mercato haveranno subito tre strappate di corda, et saranno ancor per ogni minimo furto puniti in quella maggior pena che comporterà la giustitia; et le donne oltre che saranno svaligate saranno ancora frustate, se verranno in detta Provincia o sue pertinentie. Comandando ad ognuno che non li debba dar ricetto, nè vivere, nè aiuto, nè favore di sorte alcuna sotto la stessa pena et quella maggiore che parerà a S. Ecc.¹ . . . Die 24 Augusti 1570 Publicatum fuit suprascriptum Proclama in foro Padulli, etc.’

Queste sanzioni non valsero sicuramente ad allontanare un male, che altri mali rendevano incurabile, benchè entrasse in linea una nuova penalità che io non trovai ancora; quella che minacciava la galera, forse perchè eransi trovate impotenti la corda, la frusta ecc.

Per raccogliere altri dati sulla dimora e naturalizzazione degli Zingari nel modenese, noterò come trovisi registrata fra le spese fatte da Ippolito Rocca Massaro ducale di Modena nel 1570, quella pagata a Galatino Zingaro per ristauri fatti nel castello della città in attesa di un Farnese di Parma.

E serve anche all'argomento il notare che Silvio Bertolaja podestà del Finale, il 2 giugno 1572, informava il Duca come fossero comparsi nel mercato del mercoledì due Zingari, l'uno di 18 e l'altro di 14 anni, e tosto ad uno fosse levata la borsa e ad un altro il fazzoletto con 50 bolognini. Egli li fece porre in prigione ma non fu trovato ad essi alcun indizio del furto; gli venne però detto che avevano con loro una Cingana, *vestita alla nostrana*, alla quale potevano aver passato gli oggetti. Anche qui l'abito non faceva il monaco e gli Zingari indossavano il costume del paese dove si trovavano.

¹ Dal volume manoscritto ‘Registro delle Gride, Ordini e Provisioni per l' Ufficio di Sestola e Provincia del Frignano,’ a 17 v.

Nel 1572 si ha una grida di Ferrante Estense-Tassoni governatore di Modena, che proibisce il passo agli Zingari ed a tutti i vagabondi onde sottrarre il modenese dalla peste; la qual grida però non impedì il fatto loro ad essi e nemmeno al male di grassare il paese.

Altre pene minacciò due anni dopo Ereole Contrari, signore di Montefestino,¹ con una grida per liberarsi di una banda di Zingari, che eran scappati dal ferrarese in seguito ad una grida del 10 maggio 1574 e cercavano terre che li tenesse e non la trovavano qui; giacchè anche Modena aveva supplicato il Duca 'a voler conceder che il Governatore possa, (dice il testo), far caciare i Zingari dalla città e distretto suo per le ruberie grandissime che fanno a questo paese sicchè tutto il dì se ne odano rumore, gridi e querele di molti.' La supplica aggiunge, che ciò sia accordato nonostante il privilegio concesso da S. E. ad un capitano Francesco Cingano per poter stare andare e abitare in questa città e suo distretto. Le molestie e i danni dagli recati Zingari dovevano esser ben forti se un privilegio del Sovrano si chiedeva non fosse mantenuto.

Passan gli anni e vediamo che anche ad un ordine ducale, in fatto di Zingari, non si voleva obbedire. Nel 1586 il Duca voleva che fosse consegnato al Governatore di Modena un Zingaro chiamato Orazio caduto nelle mani degli Ufficiali di Guiglia, e ne scriveva al marchese Ereole Aldrovandi feudatario del luogo, il quale vi si rifiutò.² Il carteggio è troncato ma si può credere che questa ripulsa avesse causa fiscale.

Un altro fatto, sebbene un po' confuso, interessa i rapporti che correvano tra gli Zingari e gli abitanti dei luoghi da essi percorsi, certo per ritornarvi. Don Orazio Ferrari curato di S. Martino di Secchia il 6 marzo 1586, in Carpi, depone alla presenza del Canonico Bartolomeo Grillenzoni Vicario dell' Arciprete, intorno a fatti che si riferivano all' anno precedente, cioè al 15 febbraio 1585, nel qual giorno, dice' egli 'venne alla Campagnola sul modenese messer Lauro Grillenzoni per parlare con certi Zingari che erano colà. Ivi trovò Alessandro, proprio padre, che lo condusse a dimorare in casa sua, ove udì i discorsi fatti da Lauro suddetto e i Zingari nonchè tra questi ed alcuni della Bastia ivi convenuti. Lauro aveva un credito coi Zingari i quali gli rilasciarono una carta scritta da Lodovico Molza.'³

¹ Bibl. Estense MSS. Campori, 7, 2, 17. ² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Guiglia*.

³ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Carteggio Governatori*.

Le deduzioni che escono da questo racconto sono molte, ma a me preme di rilevare che qui si trattava di Zingari italianizzati o italiani veri, ai quali fu sempre grande rifugio il bosco del Lovoletto oggi detto della Saliceta.

Prima di ultimare la narrazione di ciò che riguarda il secolo XVI. dirò, che nel 1578 Antonio Trombato barbiere (chirurgo) denunciava al Podestà del Finale di aver curato di una ferita Alessandro Cingano che l'aveva riportata da Santo Duntino pure Zingaro;¹ e come Ercole Zingaro fosse fra i birri esecutori a San Felice,² e grida per l'espulsione di essi fossero pubblicate nel 1588, ed un'altra nel 1598 registra lo Spaccini nella sua cronaca di Modena.³

Entrerebbe pure nel nostro argomento il ricercare minutamente se la legislatura ecclesiastica abbia considerato lo Zingaro in questi tempi, ma nel 400 e nel 500 non appare, nemmeno dopo il Consiglio di Trento nei Sinodi diocesani di Modena e di Nonantola, e l'occuparsi di essi spetterà al seguente secolo con una armonia assoluta colle leggi civili.

(Continuazione nel prossimo numero.)

THE GYPSIES OF MODON AND THE 'WYNE OF ROMENEY'

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

IT is a mistake to suppose that sackcloth and ashes were the lot of the mediæval pilgrim: featherbeds form part of the kit advised by a fifteenth century Baedeker,⁴ and Boorde's travel-song—

Nos vagabunduli,
Laeti, jocunduli,
Tara, tantara, taino!
Bibimus libere,
Canimus lepide,
Tara, tantara, taino!

would have been no inappropriate motto for many of them. Consequently few of those whose travels are recorded passed by the town of Modon in the Peloponnese, lying in the course from Venice to Jaffa, without mentioning the Rumney wine which grew

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Finale*, fil. 4.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *S. Felice*, fil. 2.

³ Spaccini, G. B., *Cronaca di Modena*.

⁴ Cf. Duff's edition of the fifteenth-century *Information for Pilgrims*, London, 1893, p. xiii.

there, though they do not all linger over it with the longing regret with which the 'Odcombian Legge-stretcher' dilates on the wine and the women of Venice. Rumney is on his list of wines commended, without special praise. 'Some of these wines are singular good, as their Liatico, which is a very cordiall and generose liquor; their Romania, their Muscadine, and their Lagryme di Christo, which is so toothsome and delectable to the taste, that a certaine stranger being newly come to the citie, and tasting of this pleasant wine, was so affected therewith, that I heard he uttered this speech out of a passionate humour: O Domine Domine, cur non lachrymasti in regionibus nostris? that is, O Lord O Lord, why hast thou not distilled these kinde of teares into our countries?'¹ But Rumney was not of native Venetian growth: it came from Modon in the Peloponnese, a seaport then under the suzerainty of Venice.² Niccolò Frescobaldi, who visited the town on the 19th of September 1384, describes it as 'a fair fortress and well walled in the land of Romania,' and mentions the vintage which he calls in the plural *le Romanie*, the point which struck him most being that there was no old wine to be had. The wine was, he explains, so rich that when making it the casks had to be smeared inside with resin to prevent it from going mouldy.³ 'At the Venetian town of Modon in Greece grows the Romenye,' says Porner:⁴ William Wey, one of the earliest of the English pilgrims, bears his testimony to 'a wine called Rumney,'⁵ and Sir Richard Guildford⁶ to 'moche

¹ Coryat's *Crudities*, London, 1611, p. 288, or Glasgow, 1905, i. 424-5.

² Later pilgrims speak of it as in the hands of the Turks, e.g. *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, ed. by Sir H. Ellis, Camden Society, 1851, p. 12, 'It was but late Uenycyans, but nowe the Turke hath it.' So too Torkington, *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell*, ed. by W. J. Loftie, London, [1884], pp. 18-19. Guildford travelled in 1506; Torkington in 1517. The Venetians lost Modon in 1500.

³ *Viaggio di Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi Fiorentino in Egitto e in Terra Santa*, Roma, 1818, p. 72. 'Ed a dì 19. del detto mese di Settembre giugnemo a Modona. Il quale è bello castello, e bene murato, ed è nelle parti di Romania. . . . E quivi giugnemo di vendemia, dove non trovando niuno vino vecchio, e le Romanie nuove che fanno imbrattano tutta la botte drento di ragia a modo d'intonico, e se così non facessero per la grassezza del vino, tutto diventerebbe verminoso e guasto.' The Honorary Secretary informs me from personal experience that wine-casks are still smeared with resin in the Morea, and that in consequence much of the wine tastes like varnish.

⁴ 'To modon der Venedier dar wesset de romenye in Greken,' quoted in Conrady, *Vier rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1882, p. 99, note 122. Porner travelled in 1418.

⁵ William Wey's *Itinerarium* of his second voyage in 1462 (MS. Bodl. 565, fol. 58^r) 'xxvii^o die Junii venim^o ad ad (sic!) Motin ubi crescit vini vocatū Rumney.'

⁶ *Pylgrymage*, p. 12. He is copied by Torkington.

Romney and Malvesey.' In the anonymous *Information for Pilgrims*, published about 1498 by Wynkyn de Worde,¹ we read that Modon 'is a grete yle & a plenteuo⁹. It is .III. C. myles from Corphu. And there growyth wyne of Romeney': and a similar German work² lays stress on the size of the grapes which grew there, though it does not mention the wine by name.

But it was not for its wine alone that Modon was famous. As Hopf and Wiener have shown, it was the headquarters of the Greek Gypsies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Frescobaldi³ mentions a number of *Romiti* outside the walls of the city, whom he thought to be penitents doing penance for their sins; but the testimony of subsequent travellers proves that they were Gypsies and that, though their sins were plenty, their penitence was but small. Experience had taught the later visitors wisdom, since the band of Gypsy 'penitents' who visited western Europe in 1417 had opened people's eyes to the meaning of their pilgrim guise. But Frescobaldi lived before that invasion, and it is interesting to find that they conveyed to his mind the impression which they took much pains to force on the rest of Europe later. Perhaps it was their acquaintance with pilgrims at such places as Modon which led them to adopt that guise.

Pilgrims were not the only persons with whom they were confused. One German travel-book writes of them as fugitive Albanese;⁴ though the author identifies them with the wanderers who 'come to Germany and are called Egyptians.' Like others he condemns them as beggars who gain a livelihood by betraying Christians to Turks. Modon he describes as 'one of the chief towns of Romania'; and he mentions the 'Romenie

¹ Duff's ed. sig. c. iii^r.

² *Der Pilgerführer des Miltenberger Handschriftenbandes*, Conrady, p. 48. 'Item Madinj est ciuitas regni monea [=Morea]. Ibidem crescut botri habentes vuas in quantitate capitis hominis.' The MS. was written in the fifteenth century.

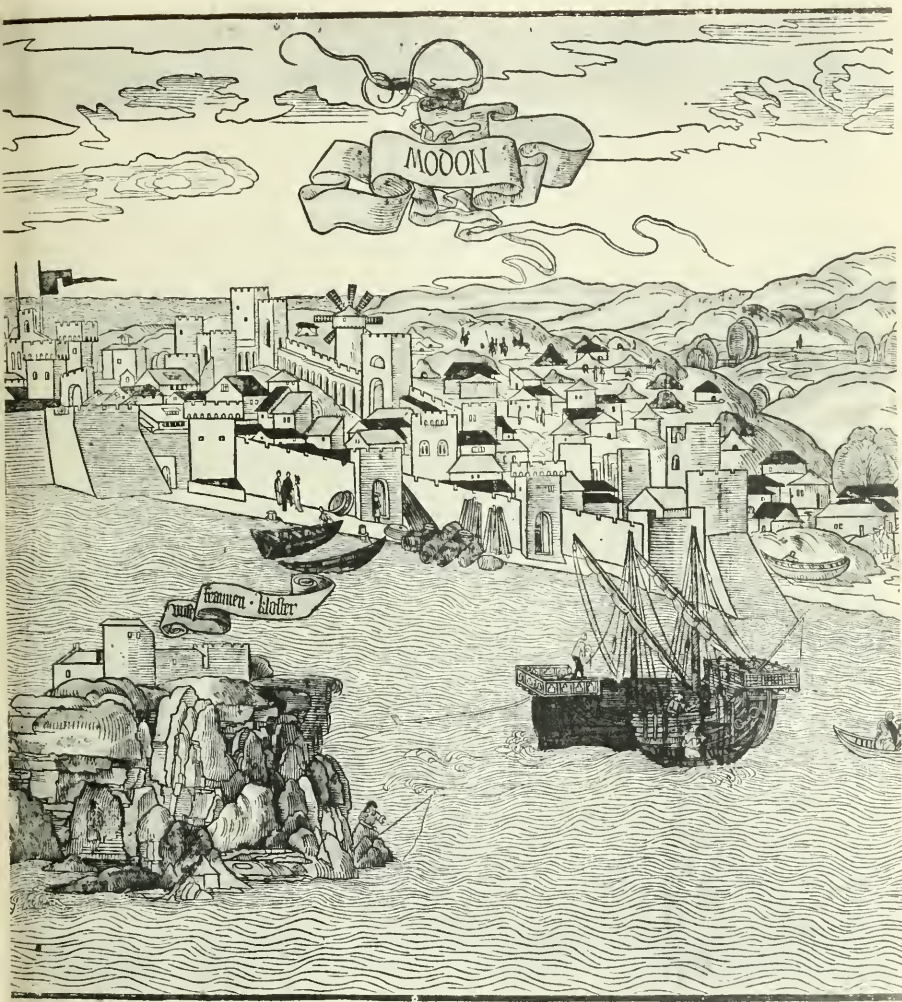
³ P. 73. 'Dirimpetto al porto di Modona si è un grandissimo poggio, il quale si chiama il poggio della Sapienza. . . . Ha nel poggio della Sapienza molti Romiti a fare penitenza de' loro peccati.' He seems to have made a mistake about the name, as Guildford says. 'There is a lytell yle also before Modona, called Sapiencia' (p. 12), and according to a note by Conrady on a passage in the *Niederrheinische Pilgerschrift* (p. 173), where it is mentioned as lying south of Modon, it was one of the three islands anciently called Oenussae.

⁴ *Niederrheinische Pilgerschrift* in Conrady, p. 99. 'Van desen lande [Modon] compt de romenie daer vaste by, als vors [cruen] is; mar moeden is eyn houftstat van romenien; vnd bleuen daer des soendaechs alden dach. Item buten modon wanen vele versochte lude, die albanese heiten vnd hueden sich vnd coment in duytche lande daer heyden aber egyptiers vnd hebben anders nicht, wan sy vp den turck aber heimelich van den kristen connen gerouen.' The book was probably written about the middle of the fifteenth century.

which grows hard by.' Even here, however, they are identified with the Gypsies; and other travellers are unanimous in the identification. Indeed Harff's description, which will be quoted later, is sufficient alone to settle their identity. We are therefore very fortunate in having not only several descriptions, but at least one picture of the colony. Bernhard von Breydenbach journeyed to Jerusalem in 1483, and found outside Modon 'the Gippenn who are called Gypsies,' whom he condemns as 'nothing but spies and thieves, who claim to come from Egypt when they are in Germany; but it is all a lie, as you yourselves well know. . . . At Modon grows the genuine Romanie and nowhere else in the world.'¹ But Breydenbach did not travel alone; he took with him Eberhard Retüwich as his draughtsman, to illustrate the book in which he described his travels, and it is to the latter's pencil that we owe a large plate of Modon with the Gypsy quarter behind it. Such pictures are of course always suspicious, as the artist may have drawn them from memory; but if the huge five-foot picture of Venice, the only one which I can judge from personal observation, can be taken as a criterion for the accuracy of the rest, the Modon plate ought to be a tolerably good likeness. In it we see a fortified town with a long jetty running out so as to form one side of a harbour; and behind the town a hill, which is doubtless Frescobaldi's *Poggio della Sapienza*, and the Mount Gyppe of other accounts. At the foot of the hill, just outside the town walls, are a number of huts of various shapes and sizes. Some of them might be intended for tents, but probably they are all huts, as Harff speaks only of 'reed-covered huts,' and Breydenbach in his *Peregrinatio* calls them *tuguria*. He there gives the number at 'about three hundred in which dwell certain poor folk like Ethiopians, black and unshapely,' adding the information that they were called Saracens in Germany, and claimed falsely to come from Egypt. In reality they were natives of Gyppe, near Modon, and spies and traitors.² He does not state

¹ *Reiseinstruction* in Röhricht u. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 135. 'Und ussvennick der selbenn staidt do woynenn die gippenn, die mann neut die zoiguner, itell verretter und dibe und sprechenn, sy koment usser Egiptenn landt, wann sy inn dutze lant komenn, und ist allers erlogenn, als er [ir] selber woill vernemenn werdent . . . Zu Modoyñ wechst der rechte romanie und in der welt niergent mer.'

² *Peregrinatio*, Mainz, 1486, fol. 18^r. 'Nam ibidem aliud nō habetur vinū nisi malmasetum. Sūt quoq; plurima ante ipam ciuitatē tuguria numero quasi trecenta in quibus pauperes quidā instar ethiopū nigri et difformes habitant quos nēs dū nostras veniūt in terras vulgato vocabulo sarracenos appellam⁹ qui se falso asserūt ex egipto esse que tamen p longissimos ab loco illo distat tractus sed reuera sunt de gippe terra quadā illi loco vicina. traditores ut cōmuniter et proditores xp̄iano ʔ.'



MODON IN THE MOREA

WITH GYPSY SETTLEMENT

(Drawn in 1483 by Eberhard Reüwich for Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio,' Mainz, 1486)

explicitly that the mountain behind Modon was called Gyppe, but many other travellers do. Alexander Pfalzgraf bei Rhein (1495), for instance, after rather strangely expressing surprise at the number of Greeks and Jews he saw in the Greek town Modon, continues: 'Near Modon lies a hill called Gype, and there are about two hundred little houses or huts inhabited by the Egyptians called Heathen. Some people call this hill and its appurtenances Little Egypt.'¹

Much doubt has been thrown on the names Gyppe and Little Egypt, and the latter, from which some of the early fifteenth-century invaders of western Europe claimed to come, has been sought far and wide. But there seems no reasonable doubt that the pilgrims are correct in their account, and that the two names were temporarily applied to the camping-place of the colony of Gypsies behind Modon. The name Little Egypt is sufficiently paralleled by the 'Little Jewry' of some English towns; and the mistake of those who have sought for it elsewhere has lain in supposing that it contained the clue to the legend of Egyptian origin, whereas the name was merely derived from that legend.

Certainly, even if Modon is Little Egypt, that is no reason for asserting with Grünemberg² that all Gypsies had 'their origin thence, and their home there.' He visited Modon in 1486, and not only bears witness to the Gypsies, but like Breydenbach gives a picture of Modon. The illustration in the MS. of his travels at Gotha is stated by Röhricht and Meisner to show the Gypsy quarter consisting of about three hundred 'Häuser aus Rohr'; but, unfortunately, information kindly supplied me by the librarian, Dr. Ehwald, proves that it is only too like Breydenbach's plate, being in fact nothing more than a copy of it. The plate in the other surviving MS. of Grünemberg, now at Karlsruhe, shows the town from another side, and is useless for our purposes, since it excludes the Gypsy quarter. Grünemberg also mentions the

¹ In Feyrabend's *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Landts*, Franckfort, 1584, p. 37. 'Modon ist ein fast starcke Stadt/nicht sehr hübsch/ist ein Bistumb/vnd sind zu Modon viel Jüden vnd Griechen/vnd wenig Christen leut/vnd neben Modon ligt ein Berg genant Gype/vnd seind wol bey 200. kleine Heußlin/oder Hütten/da ligen die Egyptianer genant Heyden/vvnd etlich leut heissen dieselben Berg mit jhrer zugehörde/klein Egypten.'

² MS. St. Peter, pap. 32, in the Grossherzogliche Hof- und Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe, foll. 17^v-18^r. 'Morea ist gar ain Edle Insel, dar In habend al Ziginer oder Haiden In Vnsern landen gehaisen Irn Vrsprung vñ sind alda da haim . . . Item ze modon wachst der Romanÿger, der ist also stark, d; meteim zwen tail wassers darunder sin müß, es möcht Inn sust oñ schadñ niemans geniessen, vor sterk.'

Romany wine, stating that it was so strong that it had to be mixed with twice its volume of water before it could be drunk. And considering the mass of evidence accumulated for the existence both of the Romany wine and the Romanichels at Modon, it is very tempting to connect the two, especially when one finds that the same wine existed at Nauplion where, as Hopf has proved, there was a Gypsy colony at least as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, and in Crete, where Philipp van Hagen in his *Hodoporika* (1528)¹ states 'many Jews and Gypsies dwell among the Christians.' Peter Fassbender, whose pilgrimage was undertaken in 1492, bears witness to the existence of the wine both at Modon and in Crete, though he elects to call it Malvasia Romany. He adds that it is a cheap wine, but, as we learned also from Frescobaldi, will not keep for more than a year.² Now Johann Graf zu Solms (1483) states that the only wine of Modon is Malvasia:³ and several other pilgrims mention Malvasia in Crete, but none, so far as I can find, except Fassbender, mention Rumney; so that apparently the two names were occasionally confused. In any case the wines were probably closely alike, as one originated in and took its name from Napoli di Malvasia or Monembasia, and the other from Napoli di Romania, the modern Nauplion, both in the Peloponnese. Napoli di Romania was so called because it was situated in the land which at that time bore the name Romania, a name which once embraced the whole Byzantine Empire, but had come to be confined roughly to modern Greece. Whether the Gypsies too took their name from the old Byzantine designation or not is a moot point; but though the Gypsies of Corfu early became agriculturists, their presence in the special wine-growing districts can only be regarded as a

¹ In Conrady, p. 241, 'fil juden vnd ziginer wonen do vnder den cristen.' The Cretan Gypsies do not appear to have improved since Symon Simeonis saw them. Hagen continues, 'Ich hab do gesehen wie ellentlich daz folck do halber nacket gen von wiben vnd kinden sunderlich; hand kein schu an, kein girtel vmb vnd hencken die wiber ire brist blosz harusz on scham. Der mertel sind heszlich, ligen vff der erden wie daz tie, hand kein bet, weder hey noch stro ist nit do, daz man druff ligen kan; man zerhackt ir stro als vnnnd gibts irem fie zessen.'

[There saw I how pitifully the folk go half naked, especially the women and children; they are neither shod nor girt, and the women shamelessly expose their breasts. Most of them are ugly, and they lie on the ground like cattle, having no beds, for there is neither hay nor straw there that they can lie upon; they chop up their straw in order to give it to their beasts to eat.]

² In Röhricht u. Meisner, p. 251. 'Da weyst koestlyche Malvesyer Romani und ist goitz kouffs wyn und frucht, want idt enhelt sich nyet boven eyn jair.'

³ In Feyrabend's *Reyßbuch*, p. 54^v, 'Man schenket kein andern Wein zu Modon denn Malvasier.'

coincidence. Perhaps, indeed, the existence of the wine drew them thither; but on the evidence of the travellers who mention them, there is nothing to connect them with the production or the sale of it; which indeed was quite as well. They are thirsty souls that dwell in tents, and not over energetic. Had they had a hand in its making, there would probably have been little to export; whereas there must have been a considerable export trade in it. 'Romeneý' and 'Malvesey' are mentioned together in an English document of 1418,¹ 'rumney and malmesyne' in the *Squire of Low Degre* (circ. 1475), and in 1531-2 Henry VIII. passed a law regarding the price of 'malmeseis Romaneis sakes' and 'other swete wyne.' The name attained such celebrity that there was even a 'vinum hispanense romenye.' Possibly it is through the latter that two of the rarest of Burgundies bear the names Romanée St. Vivant and Romanée Conti.²

Whether the use of Romanie in the sense of 'brandy' or 'rum' among the Tinklers is in any way connected with its use as a word for Greek wine, or whether it is rather derived from the old cant term 'rum booze' for any good drink, it would be idle to discuss.³ But what this large colony of Gypsies did at Modon, if they were not connected with what was apparently its chief industry, is more worth consideration. The simplest explanation would be that they were drawn thither by the knowledge of the frequent visits of pilgrims, on whose credulity they hoped to impose. Where the carcass is, there will the birds be gathered together; and the Gypsies are very carrion-crows for scenting out an opening for their many arts, as visitors to the sands of Blackpool have good reason to know. But, if it was so, the pilgrims carefully conceal the fact. Fassbender says that 'they live in great poverty, and practise nothing but smithcraft, which they perform

¹ J. Delpit, *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, tome i. p. 225. Other early authorities are J. Russell's *Boke of Nurture* (circ. 1450), who calls the wine 'rompney,' 'romney modoun,' and 'Rompney of Modoñ' (Early Eng. Text Soc., xxxii., London, 1868, pp. 124-5). In his note (p. 205) the editor quotes Henderson's *Ancient and Modern Wines* for the spellings Romenay, Rumney, Romaine or Romagnia. In Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruyng* (dated MCCCCXIII !) it is also called 'romney modon' as well as 'romney'; while Andrew Boorde in his *Breuyary* (Early Eng. Text Soc., Extra Ser. 9, London, 1869, p. 75) appears to distinguish between Romney and Romaniske wyne: but what the difference was is not known.

² Cf. C. Redding, *A History and Description of Modern Wines*, 3rd ed. London, 1860, p. 120.

³ Cf. MacRitchie, *Gypsies of India*. London, 1886, p. 96-7, footnote.

in a strange manner of their own,'¹ and the only two pilgrims who give a description of the colony at any length speak of them too as mainly smiths. Their description of the Gypsies' method of working is worth quoting for comparison with Lencheraud's notes on the Gypsy smiths of Zante, which has been cited by Wiener. Harff's account, which refers to the years 1496-9, is the fullest:—

'*Item* we went out to the outskirts, where dwell many poor, black, naked people called Suyginer in little huts covered with reeds, about a hundred households, whom, when they travel in these lands, we call heathen from Egypt. This people practises there all kinds of trades, such as shoemaking and cobbling, and also smithcraft, which was very strange to see, as the worker's anvil stood on the ground and he sat by it like a tailor in this country. By him sat his wife also on the ground and span. Between the two lay the fire. By it were placed two small leather sacks like bagpipes, which were half buried in the earth by the fire,² so that the woman, as she sat and span, now and again lifted one sack from the ground and then put it down again. That gave the fire air through the ground so that he could work. *Item* this people is from a land called Gyppe which lies about forty miles³ from the city of Modon. This district was taken by the Turkish king within the last sixty years,⁴ and some of the gentry and counts would not submit to the king and fled to our country, to Rome to our Holy Father the Pope seeking consolation and assistance from him. Wherefore he gave them introductory letters to the Roman Emperor and all princes of the realm, asking them to further them on their way and assist them, since they were expelled for Christ's sake. They showed the letters to all princes, and none would assist them. So they perished in misery leaving the letters to their servants and children, who still to this day abide in these lands and claim to be from Little Egypt. But this is false, since their elders were natives of the land of Gyppe, called Suginien, which lies not half way from here at Köln to Egypt. Wherefore these wanderers are knaves and spyers-out of the land. . . . *Item* in this country grows no other wine but Romennije, which is very strong and good.'⁵

¹ Röhricht u. Meisner, p. 251. 'Item vur der stat an den muyren wonnent vyll heyden, dye gelich pleigent [gleich (?) pflegen] in unnsse landt zo komen, und vernympt man nyet, wae sy me [mehr] woynnen, dan dae, und leben in groissem armoeyt und sy doynt anders nyet, dan smeden, dae van haynt sy eyn sunderlich wonderlich manyere.'

² These half-buried bellows are either the prototype or perhaps the exact facsimile of those still used by the Gypsies of Belgium; cf. the description and illustration by Van Elwen (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 139, 140). For Gypsy smiths working in a sitting position cf. Pennell's picture in the *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 293.

³ Harff puts Gyppe further from Modon than most travellers; but, as Bataillard (*État de la Question*, Paris, 1877, p. 14) says, it is uncertain whether he means German miles or Greek miles, which are much shorter.

⁴ Hopf denies this statement. But perhaps Harff is referring to the reduction of the Peloponnese to a tributary vassal state by Turakhan, the vizier of Murad II., in 1423, or the devastation of the Morea by Turkish troops in 1458.

⁵ *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, edited by Dr. E. von Groote, Köln 1860, pp. 67-68. 'Item voert gyngen wir vur die vurstat, dae wonen vil armer swartzter nakedicher lude in kleynen huser mit rijet gedeckt, wael vmb trynt hondert huysgesyns, Suyginer genant, die wir hie noemen heyden vss Egipten, die in desen landen vmb tzeynt. dit volck drijft dae allerlye ambocht as schoemaichen schoelappen ind ouch smeden, dat gar selsen was zo seyne, as sijn anveltz off der erden stundt, dae by he sass as eyn snijder in desen landen. dae

Dietrich von Schachten, who visited Modon in 1491, writes:—

Item at Modon outside the city on the hill by the wall there are many miserable little huts, where the Gypsies, so-called in Germany, dwell, very poor people and generally all smiths. They sit down on the ground for their work and have a pit made in the earth in which they keep the fire and if the man or woman has a pair of bellows in his hand, they are quite contented, and blow with the bellows, a miserably poor thing that is beyond description: and make a great number of nails and very well.¹

The pilgrims' evidence then proves nothing except that they were smiths, cobblers, and spies, and, though it is unsatisfactory in supplying no reason for their choice of Modon as a place of settlement, it is at least good evidence that we have real Gypsies to deal with. Smithcraft is universal among them; and according to the Montenegrin legend² they have dealt in nails since the crucifixion; cobbling the Gypsies of Kronstadt³ still practise seated in the market-place: and spies they have always been held to be. Indeed, their habits and trades, their vices and virtues, their appearance and nature, are immutable so far back as we can trace them; and we may be sure that the Modon colony could no more resist the temptation of *dukking* the pilgrims than any modern *dai*. It is therefore probable that the pilgrims were a little unwilling to confess

bij sass sijn huysfrawe ouch off der erden ind span. so laich tusschen yen beyden dat fuyr. dae bij waren gemaicht tzeweyn kleyn lederen secke wie an eyner sack-pijffen, die half in der erden bij dem fuyre gemaicht waeren, soe as dan die vrawe sas ind span, so hoef sijn bij wijlen eynen sack van der erden off ind steys yen dan weder neder. dat gaeff durch die erde dem fuyre wynt, dae bij he smeden moechte. item dit volck sijnt visser eyne lande Gyppe genant, dat vmbtrynt veirtich mijlie van der stat Modon licht, wylche lantschafft der turcsche keyser in seesztich jaeren gewonnen hait, soe dat sich etzliche heren ind grauen vnder den turcschen keyser neyt geuen en wolden ind sijnt geflouwen in vnse lant zo Rome nae vnsem geystlichen vader dem payse, troyst ind bijstant van yeme begerende, durch dat he inne forderynghs briue gaeff an den roemschen keyser ind an alle fursten des rijchs, dat sij yen geleyde ind bijstendich weulden sijn, wie sij vmb des cristen gelouues wyllen verdreuen weren, hant sij die briue allen fursten getzount, nyemantz in bijgestanden ist. sij sijnt in der elleynde gestoruen, die briue yeren dieneren ind kynderen voert oeuere gelaissen, die noch huden disdaiches in desen landen vmb tzeynt ind noemen sich van kleynem Egyptten, dat geloegen ist, want yere alderen vss der lantschafft Gyppe geboeren waeren, Suginin genant, dat nyet off haluem wege van hyne zo Colne in Egypten en licht. dar vmb sijnt dese vmb tzeyner bouuen ind verspeyr der lande . . . item in deser lantschafft weyst geyn ander wijnd dan Romennije die gar stark ind guet is.'

¹ Röhrich und Meisner, p. 180. 'Item zu Modan fur der Stadt am Berge zurück ann der Riengmaur, da hatt es viel kleiner elender häusslein nieder, da wohnenn Ziegienner ihnnen, die mann nennt also ihnn deutschenn landtenn, fast arm Volk undt gewönnlichenn alle schmiert, sietzenn nieder auff der Erdenn ann ihrer Arbeit undt habenn eine grubenn ihnn die Erdenn gemacht, da sie das feur haltenn, undt hatt der Mann oder die fraw ein pfar blaassbelge ihnn der handt, siendt gantze heude undt endtpfähntt also die lufft in die blaassbelge, das elendeste undt armbste dieng, das nichtt darvon zuschreibenn ist, undt machenn fast viel nagel undt gutte Arbeit.'

² Cf. Groome, *Gypsy Folk Tales*, London 1899, p. xxvii.

³ Wislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, Hamburg, 1890, p. 202.

their follies, and that it was their presence and the chance of turning an honest, semi-honest, or frankly dishonest penny out of them, which mainly attracted the Gypsies to Modon. For it was not only at Modon that they were found, but at several other important pilgrim stations as well. At Nauplion the Venetian governor renewed their privileges in 1494: in Crete Symon Simeonis¹ found them as early as the fourteenth century; and there is evidence of their presence at Jaffa. Herzog Heinrich von Sachsen and his fellow-pilgrims were imprisoned in a khan and only freed by liberal bribery, and the Gypsies were credited with having betrayed the duke, who was travelling incognito, to the Turks.² Thirty years earlier Graf Eberhard von Würtemberg had a similar experience, from which he did not escape so easily. But whether his took place at Jaffa is not certain; it may have been further inland, since Steffan von Gumpenberg (1449-50) claims to have met Gypsies by the Sea of Galilee: 'When we had ridden about eight miles we came to a deserted inn, lying on a flowing stream; and there came a whole host of Gypsies, carrying their houses on camels, and having all their cattle with them; and the oxen and cows carried their goods and children.'³ If this is really a description of a band of Syrian Gypsies, then they must in the fifteenth century have been in very comfortable circumstances, as they owned camels and cattle. But it is possible that he confused Gypsies with Arabs, like Felix Schmid (1483) in his *Evagatorium*.⁴ There he tells us in one passage that the desert of Syria and Arabia is peopled by Zigari, and in another that these Zigari are identical with the Zigineri 'who in our day have traversed Europe with their wives and children, and are not permitted to enter towns since they are expert thieves.' He adds that he had questioned one who admitted that he was a Chaldaean and spoke Chaldee, which he quotes as proof positive of the falsity of their claim to Egyptian origin.⁵ Yet in the first passage he admits that some held the

¹ *Itineraria*, ed. J. Nasmith, Cambridge, 1778, p. 17.

² Röhricht und Meisner, p. 519.

³ Feyrabend's *Reyßbuch*, p. 242v. 'Da wir wol bey acht meilen geritten / da kamen wir zu einer wusten Herberg / die lag an einem fliessenden Bach / da kamen der Zigeuner ein gantztes Heer / vnnnd führeten jhre Häuser auff Kamelen / vnnnd alles Vieh mit jn / vnnnd die Ochsen vnd Küh trugen Haußrath vnnnd Kinder.'

⁴ Vol. II. p. 398-400. Stuttgart, 1843-9.

⁵ *Evagatorium*, vol. II. p. 472. 'Ex hac regione, ut supra Fol. 25 dictum est, Zigari populi, quos nos Zigineros nominamus, exierunt, qui aetate nostra cum liberis et uxoribus Europam omnem pervagantur et, cum fures subtilissimi sunt, in oppida ingredi non permittuntur. Hos Veneti ab omni suo excluserunt regno, tum propter furta, tum etiam propter explorationem, [de] qua suspecti habentur. Eodem

dwellers in the desert, and among them presumably the Zigari, to be genuinely of Egyptian origin, being the descendants of the Egyptian thieves expelled according to Diodorus Siculus by King Ætisanes from Egypt.

But in defence of those particular Gypsies it may be noted that Steffan von Gumpenberg had previously made acquaintance with wild Arabs in Bethleheim, and did not call them Gypsies but Heathen: 'On Thursday, while we were hearing mass by the manger, there came heathen into the churches with their wives and children; they were black, bearded, and shaggy, and looked like the Devil. And they behaved so abominably towards us that the brethren thought they would never see us again. They were some of the wild heathen and wanted to return to the desert.'¹ It would

modo dominus Eberhardus de Wurtemberg, dux, eos ingredi suum dominium non permittit, quia eorum dolos in propria persona expertus est adversitates passus in terra sancta, proditus Sarracenis ab eis. Ut autem humanius a fidelibus tractentur, mentiendo dicunt, se esse de superiori Aegyptio et in poenitentiam agendam emissos, pro eo, quod beatam Virginem cum puero Jesu et Joseph nolebant hospitio suscipere, quando fugerunt in Aegyptum. Quod fictitium est. Sic etiam fingunt se Christianos et baptizantur et rebaptizantur et derisores sacramentorum sunt. Nos eorum quendam sciscitati fuimus, qua ex patria esset? Respondit, se Chaldaeum cum omnibus, linguaque chaldaea semper eos uti consuevisse.' The statement about the Venetians is strange considering that Modon was a Venetian possession. Both this statement and the passage about the conversation with a Gypsy who claimed to be of Chaldaean origin are, like many of the statements of the early historians, plagiarisms. I am much indebted to Mr. Ehrenborg for pointing out to me an earlier author who tells the same tale in almost identical words, Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis (=Giacomo Filippo Foresti) in his *Supplementum Chronicarum* (Venetia, 1483), lib. iv. p. 55: 'Ex hac regione [Chaldaea] Zigari populi exierunt qui etate nostra cum liberis & vxoribus Europam omnem peruagantur. Et cum fures subtilissimi sint in oppidis permanere: nisi tantum tres dies permittuntur. Hos Veneti ab omni suo excludunt regno: tum propter furta: tum etiam propter explorationem: qua suspecti habentur. Nos ipse quendam sciscitati fuimus: qua ex patria essent. Qui respondit se caldeum cum omnibus esse: linguaque caldea eos uti semper consuevisse.' Now Foresti wrote in 1483 and Fabri in 1484. Besides, Fabri in the earlier passage (pp. 399-400), referring to the Gypsies, quotes his authority. There, speaking of the desert Arabs, he says: 'Si quando autem praedam invenire non possunt, furtis vitam sustentare quaerunt, cujus gratia suum deserunt desertum, et non solum orientis regiones pervagantur, sed in extremas occidentis partes se diffundunt, ubi nescio qua causa non Arabes nec Chaldaei, sed Zigari vocantur, quos vulgus noster vocat Ziginer, qui primo orti e Chaldaea, ut dicitur primo Phys. in supplemento Chron. l. iv., in eius conterminam Arabiam desertam descendunt et inde per regiones diffunduntur.'

As no author whose name begins with 'Phys.' appears to have written a chronicle or a supplement thereto, there is little doubt that those mystic letters hide a reference to Foresti. Probably some abbreviation of Philippus has been misread by the editor of Fabri.

¹ Feyrabend, p. 241. 'Am Donnerstag da wir Mess gehort hetten bey der Krippen / da kamen Heyden in die Kirchen mit Weib vnd Kinder / die waren schwartz bärtig / zottig / vnd sahen wie der Teuffel / vñ theten so scheußlich gegen vns / daß die Brüder meynten / sie hetten vns nie mehr gesehen / waren der wilden Heyden / die wolten wider in die Wüsten.'

seem as though there must have been some difference in the appearance of the two bands to account for the difference of denomination, since *Heiden* is clearly not used here as synonymous with Gypsies.

Schmid's, or rather Foresti's, assertion that the Gypsies are Chaldaeans is directly at variance with the views of the other pilgrims who, as we have seen, in most cases regard them as natives of the Peloponnese. The *Niederrheinische Pilgerschrift's* confusion of them with the Albanese, supported by the mention of the two together at Modon by Hans Werli,¹ is of more interest, as it was doubtless the basis of Hopf's theory that the Gypsies emigrated from Wallachia and Rumania to Greece with the fugitive Albanese about the middle of the fourteenth century. But, though the theory is attractive, there are several weak points in it. By Hopf's own showing there were *homines Vageniti*, who after his careful investigation can hardly be denied to be Gypsies, in Epirus before 1346, since in that year Catherine of Valois extended the privilege of adopting new Gypsy vassals to the feudal lords in Corfu. And Symon Simeonis' Cretan Gypsies, who in spite of Hopf's doubts may be reasonably claimed as such, must in all probability have passed through Greece. Besides, his theory leaves little time for the adoption of the many Greek loan-words in the Gypsy language, seeing that the great movement into western Europe began in 1417; though that difficulty may be got over, if we accept Sinclair's theory that the Gypsies learned their Greek not in Greece, but in Asia Minor. Certainly Hopf would seem to be wrong in arguing that it was those who remained behind in Wallachia who sent out the 1417 band, since one of their leaders was Andrew, count of Little Egypt, which was in all probability Modon itself.

Hopf's argument, like most of the theories about the comings and goings of the Gypsies, is based on the supposition that their movements are influenced by external historical events. But surely such a supposition is quite unnecessary and indeed erroneous as a general rule, though instances may be found to support it. For example, it seems as though the conquest of Modon by the Turks in 1500 caused most of the Gypsies there to desert their

¹ In Feyrabend's *Reyßbuch*, p. 125^v: 'Es wohnen auch da viel Zigeuner / vñ vil vertriebner Albaniesiger / gar elend arm Volck / die haben vmb die Statt gehauset.' Other foreigners were there too, according to Walther (1482): 'In eadem civitate vidimus Grecos, Zigineros, Mauros, paganos et Christianos' (*Itinerarium*, herausgegeben von M. Sollweck, Stuttgart, 1892, p. 82).

quarters, since Tschudi¹ in 1519 found only thirty houses left. Probably the decrease in trade owing to the cessation of pilgrim-traffic largely accounted for their departure. But even before the actual advent of the Turks, there must have been a considerable migration, since the colony had decreased from three hundred huts to one hundred between the visit of Breydenbach in 1483 and that of Harff in 1496-9. That such large numbers could pass unmentioned shows that the chroniclers' and historians' notices of Gypsy migrations did not by any means embrace all the large movements which took place. The adventures of these particular nomads are quite unrecorded; but it is not perhaps too rash to recognise our Modon friends in the 'Bohemians and fools styled Bohemians, Greeks, and Egyptians' of the Constitution of Catalonia (A.D. 1512), and the Greek-speaking Spanish Gypsies who were seen in 1540. If they were mere descendants of the 1417 band they would hardly have kept up their Greek for a hundred years. Most probably the early invaders of Spain were a mixed band, consisting partly of descendants of the 1417 band, reinforced by later arrivals from Modon, since some of those spoken to in 1540 knew Greek and others did not.² Again no great historical event heralded the extensive movement of Gypsies which took place all over western Europe in 1907; and this certainly suggests a doubt as to whether any cataclysm need have preceded their arrival in Greece, or anywhere else. And surely one would not expect it. Gorgio politics, save when aimed directly at himself, have little or nothing to do with the Gypsy; and to changes of dynasty he is as impervious as the Vicar of Bray. But to the Wanderlust he bows his head; and the Wanderlust is irresponsible. The man who would sit calmly through an earthquake will shoulder his pack in feverish haste and stride out towards the blue hills, when

'He must go—go—go—away from here
On the other side the world he's overdue :
'Send your road is clear before you when the old
Spring fret comes o'er you
And the Red Gods call for you !'

¹ *Reysz und Bilgerfahrt*, S. Gallen, 1606, p. 68.

² Borrow, *The Zinçali*, 1841, ii. 110-111.

REVIEW

Gipsies of the New Forest and other Tales. By HENRY E. J. GIBBINS. Bournemouth, Lymington, etc., W. Mate and Sons, Ltd., 1909. Pp. 126, 36 Illustrations. 2s. 6d. net, or 2s. 10d. post free.

The New Forest is no longer a Gypsy paradise where an abundance of food and firewood can be had for the taking, and smuggled liquor almost for the asking. Fortunate thieves who have already stolen half its area are diligent to curtail the privileges of the less fortunate, squadrons of trippers infest its glades throughout the summer months, its deer have been destroyed by Act of Parliament, and its wild inhabitants are being compelled to quit a manner of life which the Gájo has made illegal. But the Gájo has not thought fit to provide for them an honest means of livelihood which they can adopt without violence to their instincts. And so the Gypsies have decayed, and Mr. H. E. J. Gibbins in his little book has to retell the old sad story of the misery which results when an unsuitable form of civilisation is thrust upon natures unfitted to receive it. Their numbers are not one-fourth part of what they were ten or twelve years ago, and their racial purity is lost. The tent-dwelling Stanleys and Lees have vanished, and the most common 'Gypsy' surnames are now Barnes, Blake, Cooper, Doe, Green, Lakey, Miles, Pateman, Pearce, Peters, Rose, Sherrard, Sherred, Sherwin, Sherwood, Stone, Wareham, Wells and White, to which might be added James and Penfold. 'Even the language of the Rommany has quite died out;' according to Mr. Gibbins, 'it is absolutely unknown to any of them now;' and, 'they do not appear to pick up any folk-lore or legends of other parts or people they meet with worthy of remark.' But we think he is mistaken, and that these statements indicate nothing more than that the author has failed to win the complete confidence of his Gypsies.

Very harmless are the 'New Forest Royalty.' They are abjectly poor, yet vice and immorality are as far from their camps as is religion. 'Emotional but not intellectual'—such is Mr. Gibbins' description—amenable to kindness, affectionate, 'civil and polite, most inoffensive, and never known to commit crimes of robbery or violence.'—'A little poaching in the Forest and pilfering are their worst offences.'

One Gypsy characteristic they have retained—the one of all others which, under the circumstances, they could best do without. 'Privations, afflictions, discomfort, and extreme poverty, wet, cold or hunger, sickness and distress, all seem as nothing to them; but FREEDOM, absolute freedom, with semi-starvation, is EVERYTHING.' And so they refuse regular work on the farms, desert the cottages in which philanthropists have placed them, spurn the offers of the emigration agent, and cling blindly to a forest which no longer affords the means of subsistence nor even a market for their clothes-pegs and fortune-telling.

And if we doubt whether Mr. Gibbins' cure—compulsory house-dwelling—is likely to prove efficacious to mend the ills of people whose restless instincts have survived every other racial trait, we can at least thank him for a picture of Gypsy decadence drawn with some sympathetic insight into Gypsy character, and with much humour and common-sense. As proof whereof we quote in conclusion the following anecdote:—'Colonel —, whose name was well known in the Forest years ago, was very strong in his ideas of orthodox marriages with these nomads, and to further his views in this direction would gladly give a gold wedding ring to any Gypsy girl he thought was shortly to be "spliced," and many were the tricks played upon his credulity. Several girls had two rings each, and one—more artful, perhaps, than the rest—made her boast that she had secured three from him, and yet was not married, nor likely to be.'

NOTES AND QUERIES

i.—THE BOSWELLS: TWO GYPSY KINGS

Here are two traces of the so-called 'royal' tribe. The first is to be found in Mr. John Potter Briscoe's *Gleanings from God's Acre*. From it we learn that in Jelston Churchyard, Notts, lies buried old Dan Boswell, the head of a well-known party of Gypsies. His epitaph is:—

'I've lodged in many a town,
I've travelled many a year,
But Death at length has brought me down
To my last lodging here.'

The second item is to be found in that odd miscellany of Southey's to which he gave the name of *The Doctor*. Like a large part of that remarkable book, it is a quotation, and forms the note to p. 679 in the edition of 1848:—

'The Parish of Rossington in the union and soke of Doncaster was for many generations the seat of the Fossard and Manley families. In the reign of Henry VII., it was granted by that monarch to the corporation of Doncaster.

'The following extract is from Mr. John Wainwright's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and Conisbro*.

"Connected with the history of this village, is a singular and curious specimen of Egyptian manners, as practised by the itinerant gypsies of the British Empire. In a letter, which we had the pleasure of receiving from the Rev. James Stoven, D.D., the worthy and learned rector of this place, it is remarked, that about one hundred and twenty years ago, the gypsies commenced here a curious custom which they practised once in almost every year, occasioned by the interment, in the churchyard of this place, (of) one of their principal leaders, Mr. Charles Bosville, on the 30th June 1708 or 9. 'Having, from a boy, been much acquainted with the village, I have often heard of their (the gypsies) abode here, and with them Mr. James Bosville, their king, under whose authority they conducted themselves with great propriety and decorum, never committing the least theft or offence. They generally slept in the farmer's barns, who, at those periods, considered their property to be more safely protected than in their absence. Mr. Charles Bosville (but how related to the king does not appear) was much beloved in this neighbourhood, having a knowledge of medicine, was very attentive to the sick, well bred in manners, and comely in person. After his death, the gypsies for many years came to visit his tomb, and poured upon it hot ale; but by degrees they deserted the place.'—(These circumstances must yet hang on their remembrance; as, only a year ago, 1821, an ill-drest set of them encamped in our lanes calling themselves Boswell's.)—These words in the parentheses came within my own knowledge."

'It is added in a note—"Boswell's Gang, is an appellation very generally applied to a collection of beggars, or other idle itinerants, which are often seen encamped in groups in the lanes and ditches of this part of England."

'In quoting this,' says Southey, 'I by no means assent to the statement that Gypsies are Egyptians.—They are of Hindostanee origin.'

I have verified Southey's quotation. It will be found at p. 137 of a large quarto of which the full title is *Yorkshire: An Historical and Topographical Introduction to a Knowledge of the Ancient State of the Wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill, with ample account of Doncaster and Conisborough*. . . . By John Wainwright. . . . Sheffield: John Blackwell, 1829. It is now a somewhat rare book. We are so accustomed to think of Boswell as a Gypsy surname that it is worth while noting that the Bosvilles were an ancient Yorkshire family of whom Wainwright has several notices (cf. pp. 90, 219). Their arms—*Arg.*, five fusils in

fess *gu.*, in chief three heads erased *sa.*—are stated to be on the south high window of Conisborough church. Southey's only omission is a reference to Miller's *History of Doncaster*, which I have also verified. Miller in describing the churchyard of Rossington says: 'On the right hand side of the choir was a stone, the two ends of which are now remaining where was interred the body of James Bosvill, the King of the Gipsies, who died Jan. 30, 1708. It is remarkable that his is the first name mentioned in the present parish register of deaths, etc. For a number of years it was the custom of Gypsies, from the south, to visit his tomb annually, and there perform some of their accustomed rites, one of which was to pour a flaggon of ale on the grave.'—*History of Doncaster*, by Edward Miller, (Doncaster, [1804], p. 237.)¹

It is satisfactory to find that on the history of the Gypsies Southey held the true faith.
WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

2.—GYPSIES IN CORFU AND THE MOREA

In *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, by William Miller, M.A., London, John Murray, 1908, there are several interesting references to the Greek Gypsies of the later Middle Ages. These are as follows:—

It is stated that when, in the year 1386, Venice acquired Corfu,—the feudal system continued to form the basis of Corfiote society, and became the bulwark of Venetian rule. The new masters of the island confirmed the Angevin barons in their fiefs, but created few more. . . . By far the most interesting of the fiefs was that of the 'Αθίγγανοι or gypsies, who were about a hundred [? families] in number, and were subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the baron upon whom their fief had been bestowed—"an office," as Marmora says, "of not a little gain and of very great honour." Their feudal lord could inflict on them any punishment short of death—a privilege denied to all his peers; they were his men and not those of the Government, which could not compel them to serve in the galleys or render the usual feudal services of the other peasants. They had their own military commander, similar to the *drungarius* of the gypsies at Nauplia, and every May-day they marched, under his leadership, to the sounds of drums and fifes, bearing aloft their baron's banner, and carrying a May-pole decked with flowers, to the square in front of the house where the great man lived. There they set up their pole and sang a curious song in honour of their lord, who provided them with refreshment, and on the morrow received from them their dues. [The author states in a footnote that "the words of the Gypsy song are quoted in the 'Ὀδηγὸς τῆς Κερκύρας (ed. 1902)."] It is probably the *Papa-rouda* described by Professor Kopernicki in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 70-71, sung by Gypsy children to-day in Rumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, on the advent of spring; but a fuller examination of this detail is necessary.] Originally granted to the family of Abitabuli, whose name perhaps came from the *habitacula*, or encampments of these vagrants, and then held by the house of Goth, the fief of the gypsies was conferred in 1540 [being at that time vacant], after the great siege of Corfu, upon Antónios Eparchos, a versatile genius, at once poet, Hellenist, and soldier, as compensation for his losses and as the reward of his talents. By a curious anomaly, the jurisdiction of the gypsy baron extended over the peasants of the continental dependencies of Corfu. It is therefore possible that the serfs called *vaginiti*, whom we found under the Angevins [the lords of Corfu of the house of Anjou], and who emigrated from the mainland, and paid a registration fee on their arrival, were gypsies.²

¹ Hunter in his *History of South Yorkshire* calls him Charles Bosvile. See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, ii. 190, and Groome, *In Gypsy Tents*, p. 110.

The foregoing extract (*op. cit.*, pp. 538-540) gives us another illustration of the fact that Gypsy nobles were not, as a rule, of Gypsy blood. And yet this distinction seems to have been only recognised in a partial degree. When Antónios Eparchos was made *Giudice e Capitano delli Acingani*, the Venetians who appointed him to that post quite understood his position. Nevertheless, if he and a party of his vassals visited Western Europe, he would be referred to in municipal records as 'Antony, a count or earl of Little Egypt,' apparently without any hint of racial difference between him and his followers. It is interesting, further, to note that Marmora, whose *Historia di Corfù* was published in 1672, speaks of the Gypsy barony as 'an office of not a little gain and of very great honour.'

On a previous page of his book (p. 522), Mr. Miller had already referred to the Corfù Gypsies, in these words:—'According to some authorities, it was during this reign [the reign of Philip II. of Taranto, 1364-73] that the fief of the gypsies was first created. At any rate, the gypsies, of whom we have seen traces in other parts of Greece, where the various "Gyphókasta" still preserve their name, seem to have crossed over to Corfù from the mainland during the Angevin domination. These may have been the oft-mentioned "men from Vagenetia" in Epiros, who first found refuge at the courts of the Corfiote barons in the reigns of Charles II. and of Philip I. of Taranto,'—from 1285 to 1331.

With reference to the Morea, Mr. Miller states (p. 461) that 'a band of gypsies had been encamped at Nauplia as far back as the end of the fourteenth century under a chief, or *drugarius*, to whom special privileges were granted. He also quotes (at p. 383) the statement made by the Byzantine satirist Mázaris, in a pamphlet written in the year 1416. 'Mázaris tells us that there are in the peninsula seven races, "Lacedæmonians, Italians, Peloponnesians, Slavonians, Illyrians, Egyptians, and Jews, and among them are not a few half-castes." These are precisely the races which we should have expected to find there,' observes Mr. Miller. . . . 'The "Egyptians" are the gypsies, whose name, like that of the Jews, is still preserved in the various "Gyphókasta" and "Ebraiókasta" of Greece.' This statement by Mázaris was first pointed out by Carl Hopf (*Die Einwanderung der Zigeuner*, Gotha, 1870, p. 12), and was commented upon by Paul Bataillard in *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 268-269.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

3.—GYPSIES AS INN-SIGNS

The following extract may be worth reading among the Notes and Queries of our *Journal*:—

'The Gipsies Tent occurs at Hagley, Stourbridge; the Gipsy Queen at High-bury and other places; and the Queen of the Gipsies was the sign of the so-called gipsy house near Norwood. The queen alluded to was Margaret Finch, who died at the great age of 109 years; Norwood was her residence during the last years of her life, and there she told fortunes to the credulous. She was buried October 24, 1760, in a deep square box, as from her constant habit of sitting with her chin resting on her knees, her muscles had become so contracted that she could not at last alter her position. This woman, when a girl of seventeen, may have been one of the dusky gang pretty Mrs. Pepys and her companions went to consult, August 11, 1668, which her lord duly chronicled in the evening: "This afternoon my wife and Mercer and Deb went with Pelling to see the gypsies at Lambeth, and have their fortunes told, but what they did I did not enquire." A granddaughter of Margaret Finch, also a so-styled queen, was living in an adjoining cottage in the year 1800.'—*The History of Signboards*, Larwood and Hotten, seventh edition, p. 508. London: Chatto and Windus.

JOHN MYERS.

4.—ONE OF THE AFICION

'I like not when a 'oman has a great peard.'

Mistress Anne Page of world-wide fame was 'pretty virginity' ere she was married; and then two of her three would-be spouses found she had turned into a 'great lubberly boy.' She had, however, a less-known, but no less ingenious, half-namesake, Bet Page, who started life as a lubberly boy, and later contrived to develop virginity. The registers of the parish of Streatham record his or her death in the following words according to Lysons: ¹ 'Russel, buried April 14, 1772. N.B.—This person was always known under the guise or habit of a woman, and answered to the name of Elizabeth, as registered in this parish, Nov. 21, 1669, but at death proved to be a man.' Lysons' curiosity was piqued by this notice, and he collected information about the mysterious person, which proves among other things that he (or she) had some dealings with Bampfylde Moore Carew, and possibly with Gypsies. 'The various adventures of his life, had they been collected by a contemporary, would have formed a volume as entertaining as those of the celebrated Bampfylde Moore Carew, whom he accompanied in many of his rambles, and from whom probably he first took the hint of disguising his sex to answer some temporary purpose. Upon examining the parish register, I find that John Russel had three daughters, and two sons; William, born in 1668, and Thomas, in 1672; there is little doubt therefore that the person here recorded was one of the two; and that when he assumed the female dress, he assumed also the name of his sister Elizabeth, who probably either died in her infancy,² or settled in some remote part of the country; under this name, in the year 1770, he applied for a certificate of his baptism. He attached himself at an early period of life to the gypsies, and being of a rambling disposition visited most parts of the continent as a stroller or vagabond. When advanced in years he settled at Chipsted in Kent, where he kept a large shop. Sometimes he travelled the country with goods, in the character of a married woman, having changed his *maiden* name for that of his husband who carried the pack, and to his death was his reputed *widow*, being known by the familiar appellation of Bet Page. In the course of his travels he attached himself much to itinerant physicians, learned their nostrums, and practised their art. His long experience gained him the character of a most infallible *doctress*, to which profession he added that of an astrologer, and practised both with great profit; yet such was his extravagance, that he died worth six shillings only. It was a common custom with him to spend whatever he had in his pocket at an alehouse, where he usually treated his companions. About twelve months before his death he came to reside at his native place. His extraordinary age procured him the notice of many of the most respectable families in the neighbourhood, particularly that of Mr. Thrale, in whose kitchen he was frequently entertained. Dr. Johnson, who found him a shrewd sensible person, with a good memory, was very fond of conversing with him. His faculties indeed were so little impaired by age, that a few days before he died, he had planned another ramble, in which his landlord's son was to have accompanied him. His death was very sudden: the surprise of the neighbours may be well imagined, upon finding that the person, who, as long as the memory of any one then living could reach, had been always esteemed and reputed to be a woman, was discovered to be a man; and the wonder was the greater as he had lived much among women, and had frequently been his landlady's bedfellow when an unexpected lodger came to the house. Among other precautions, to prevent the discovery of his sex, he constantly wore a cloth tied under his chin; and his neighbours not having the penetration of Sir Hugh Evans, who spied Falstaff's beard through

¹ *The Environs of London*, i. 489 (London, 1792).

² If so, the rest of the village would surely have known the fact.

his muffler, the motive was unsuspected. After his death a large pair of nippers was found in his pocket, with which, it is supposed, he endeavoured to remove by degrees all tokens of manhood from his face. It may be observed that, supposing him to be the younger son of John Russel, he would have been 100 years of age; if we suppose him to have been the elder, his age would have been 104. He himself used to aver that he was 108. He had a mixture of the habits and employments of both sexes; for though he would drink hard with men, whose company indeed he chiefly affected, yet he was an excellent *sempstress*, and celebrated for making a good shirt. There was a wildness and eccentricity in his general conduct which frequently bordered on insanity; and, at least, we may fairly conclude, to use a favourite expression of Antony Wood the Oxford biographer, that he had "a rambling head and a crazy pate."

What is more to the point is that he had a rambling body: but whether it actually rambled with the Gypsies is not so certain. The mention of Bampfyld Moore Carew is no good credential. His knowledge of simples might have counted more in his favour, if it were not combined with astrology, which is hardly a Gypsy science. But, at any rate, he had the true vagrant spirit; and his amiable way of spending his evenings and his pence would have won him a hearty enough welcome in the tents of Egypt.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

5.—LA VIE GÉNÉREUSE

In the dearth of information which prevails about the French Gypsies, even a suspicious source is worth drawing on, especially if it can claim antiquity. Suspicion as to the extent of his knowledge of Gypsies must, I fear, attach to Maistre Pechon de Ruby ('The Leary Kid'), who in his little work *La vie générale des Mercelots, Gueux et Boesmiens*, first published in 1596,¹ lays claim to experiences similar to those of the author of *The English Rogue*, or Bampfyld Moore Carew; but he has at least the merit which those authors lack, of distinguishing between mumpers and Gypsies. He left home, he tells us, 'Ayant l'age de neuf à dix ans, craignant que mon pere me donnast le fouet pour quelque faute commise, comme aduient à gens de cest aage,' and joined a travelling mercer. When his companion fell ill, he attached himself to other 'Pechons, Blesches, and Coesmelotiers hurez,' and in their company assisted at a beggar's parliament near Fontenay le Comte, at which the king of the beggars—*le grand Coesre*—delivered an harangue in 'langage Blesquien,' which is duly reported. Tiring of their company after a while he joined a party of Gypsies, whose manner of life he proceeds to describe:—

'Lors ie quitay mes gueux, & allay trouuer vn Capitaine d'Egyptiens qui estoit dans le fauxbourg de Nantes, qui auoit vne belle troupe d'Egyptiens ou Boismiens, & me donnay à luy: Il me receut à bras ouuerts, promettant m'apprendre du bien, donc ie fus tres-joyeux il me nomma à fourette.'²

Maximes des Boismiens.

'QVand ils veulent partir du lieu où ils ont logé, ils s'achement to⁷ à l'opposite, & font demie lieuë au contraire, puis se jettent en leur chemin: Ils ont des meilleures cartes & les plus seures, dans lesquelles sont representees toutes les villes & villages, riuieres maisons de Gentils hommes & autres, & s'entrent—donnent vn rendez vous de dix iours en dix iours, à vingt lieuës du lieu d'ou ils sont partis.

¹ There was an edition at Lyons in 1596, reprinted at Paris in 1612 and 1618. My quotations are taken from an undated—but early—reprint 'Iouste la copie Imprimee à Lyon' in the Bodleian Library.

² This mysterious phrase, on which the vocabulary at the end of the book throws no light, is perhaps a misprint, as Techener's reprint of the 1618 ed. (Par. 1839) reads 'il me nomma Fourette.'

'Le Capitaine baille aux pl' vieux chacun trois ou quatre mesnageres à conduire, prennent leur trauserse, & se trouuerent au rendez vous : Et ce qui reste de bien montez & armez, il les enuoye avec un bon Almanach, où sont toutes les foires du monde, changeans d'accoustremens de cheuaux.

Forme de logement.

'Quand ils logēt en quelque bourgade, c'est tousiours avec la permission des Seigneurs du pays, ou des plus apparens des lieux : Leur departement est en quelque grange, ou logis inhabité.

'Là le Capitaine leur donne quartier, & à chacun mesnage en son coing à part.

'Ils prennent fort peu aupres du lieu où ils sont logez, mais au prochaines paroisses, ils font rage de desrober & crocheter les fermetures, & s'ils y trouuent quelque sōme d'argent, ils donnēt l'aduertissement au Capitaine & s'essoignēt promptement à dix lieües de là. Ils font la fausse monnoye, & la mettent avec industrie : Ils iouēt à toutes sortes de ieux, il achettent toutes sortes de cheuaux quelque vice qu'ils ayent, pourueu q'ils mettent de leur argent.

'Quand ils prennent des viures ils baillent gages de bon argent pour la premiere fois, sur la defiance que l'on a d'eux, mais quand ils sont prests à desloger ils prennēt encor quelque chose, dont ils baillent pour gaige quelque fausse piece, & retirent de bon argent & adieu.

'Au temps de la moisson ils trouuent les portes fermees, & avec leurs crochets ils ouurent tout, & desrobent linges, manteaux, poisles argent & tout autre meuble : & de tout rendent compte à leur Capitaine qui y prend son droict : De tout ce qu'ils gagnent au ieu ils rēdent aussi compte, fors ce qu'ils gagnent à dire la bonne aduventure.

'Ils hardent font heureusement, & couurent fort bien le vice d'vn cheual.

'Quand ils sçauent quelque bon marchand qui passe pays, ils se desguisent & l'attrapent, & font ordinairement cela pres de quelque Noblesse. faignans d'y faire leur retraits, puis changent d'accoustremens, & font ferrer leurs cheuaux à rebours, & couurent les fers de fustes, craignans qu'on les entende marcher.'

Then he recounts a robbery executed by Captain Charles's band at a wedding at Moulins ; and describes how, in the retreat from the fight which ensued, the astute captain made so heartrending a display of the few wounded Gypsies as to turn the wrath of the soldiery sent after them on the pursuing countrymen rather than the pursued.

He ends with a marriage song of the beggars, which I quote, not for its intelligibility—judging from the little which is intelligible, further intelligibility would be highly undesirable—but as a specimen of the 'langage Blesquien' contained in the vocabulary which is appended to the book.

'LE DAUUVAGE BIANTE à l'Anticle, au rivage huré & violante la hurette, & pelant la mille au Coesre, C'est le mariage des gueux & gueuzes quand ils vont espouzer à la Messe, & comme ils disent ceste chanson en ceremonie.

HAuriuage trutage,
Gourt à biart à noz is,
Lime gourne riuage
Son yue forcera le bis.
Ne le fouque aux Coesmes
Ny hurez Gagouz à tris
Fouque aux gourt Coesres
Qui le riueront fermis.'

In the vocabulary I fail to find any Romany words ; but again it is to the author's credit that he does not try to pass it off as Gypsy ; and, even if he had no actual dealings with the Gypsies themselves, his remarks have some value, as they no doubt represent either personal knowledge or at least the received ideas about Gypsies prevalent among the class which would have the best opportunities of observing them and mixing with them.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

6.—SPELMAN ON GYPSIES

Egyptiani, & rectius per Æ diphthong.] Erronum impostorumq; genus nequissimum; in Continente ortum sed & Britanias nostras, vt Europam reliquam peruolans. Italis, *Ciani* & *Cingari*; Germanis, *Zunginer*, vulgo *Tartari* & *Gentiles* quibusdam *Saraceni*: nostratibus, *Ægyptii* & *Gypsies* nuncupati. Apparere (vt mihi Author est Munsterus) primùm in Germania, An. gra. 1417, nigredine deformes, excoeti sole, immundi veste, & vsu rerum omnium fœdi. Furtis in primis dediti, præsertim fœminæ, quæ viris inde victum perhibent, Ducem, Comites, Milites, inter se honorant, veste præstantes. Venaticos canes pro more Nobilium alunt, sed vbi venentur, nisi furtim non habent. Equos sæpe mutant, maior tamen pars graditur pedibus. Fœminæ cum stratis & parulis, iumento inuehuntur. Literas circumferunt Sigismundi Regis, & aliorum Principum, vt innoxius illis permittatur transitus. Ferunt ipsi ex iniuncta sibi pœnitentiâ, mundum peragrantes circumire, atque è minori Ægypto primùm migrasse. Sed fabellæ hæc, vt notat Munsterus, apud quem plura vide Geograph. lib. 3. ca. 5. Oriuntur quippe & in nostra, & in omni regione, spurci huiusmodi nebulones, qui sui similes in gymnasium sceleris adsciscentes; vultum, cultum, moresque supradictos sibi inducunt. Linguam (vt exotici magis videantur) fictitiâ blaterant: provinciasq; vicatim peruagantes, augurijs et furtis, imposturis et technarum millibus plebeculam rodunt et illudunt, linguâ hanc Germani *Rotwelch*, quasi *rubrum Wallicum*, id est *barbarismum*; Angli *Canting* nuncupât. Puer vidi numerosam istorum multitudinem, licet capitale iam tum esset (Statutis 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. ca. 4. & 7. Eliz. c. 10) per spacium mensis in hac versari conditione. Exinde sensim disparuere.

Sir Henry Spelman, *Archæologus. In modum Glossarii*, p. 239. fol. London: John Beale, 1626. E. GORDON DUFF.

7.—GYPSY PRAYERS

The Gypsies have found many a friend among the clergy, but none more devoted than the Rev. Charles L. Marson of Hambridge Parsonage, near Taunton, author of *The English Jerusalem*, an historical guide to Glastonbury, and an enthusiastic collector of folk-songs. He has been kind enough to send the following Gypsy prayers, but was unfortunately unable to get other verses, including pre-reformation invocations of saints, which a Gypsy boy repeated to a friend of his.

*Prayers taught by Mrs. Patience Davis, a pure Romany woman,
to her grandson.*

Little children is so wise,
Speak the truth and tell no lies,
Liars' portion is to dwell
For ever in the like of burnin' Hell. (lake)

Little bird of Sparidise (Paradise)
Do the work of Jesu Chrise.
Go by sea, go by lan',
Go by Goddes holy han'.

God make me a branch and flower,
May the Lord send us all a happy hour.

Lay me down upon my side,
And if I die before I wake,
I trust in God my soul to take.

8.—VARIOUS REFERENCES

Professor E. Hoffmann-Krayer has with the greatest kindness collected and sent to the Gypsy Lore Society the following references to Gypsies. Most are new; but a few which have already been quoted elsewhere are nevertheless reprinted here, because it is convenient to have easily accessible copies of such important documents.

a. Aus dem 'Landtgebott' des Herzogs Maximilian in Bayern. München, 1611.
Nr. 2. 'Bestimmung und satzung der straffen wider die abschewliche verbündnus und gemeinschaft mit dem bösen feindt, zauberey, hexerey und aberglauben. . . .'

'VII. artuel. Der oder die jenige, welche nicht in ernst, sonder allein aus fürwitz, schimpfweisz [scherzweise] und kurtzweil halben (wie es sich etwan zu zeiten begibt) zigeuner, wahrsager, zauberer und andere fragen, jhnen die hände bieten, darein sehen, und wahrsagen lassen, . . . sollen ein gautzes monat in der gefecknus mit wasser und brodt abgestrafft . . . werden.' (Nach Fr. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, II. [München, 1855], S. 288.)

b. Aus Bartholomæus Anhorn, *Magiologiæ*. Basel, 1674.

S. 230. 'Dieses eytele vnd aberwizige Warsagen aus den Linien der Händen / treiben sonderbar [besonders] die so genennte Heyden / Egyptier oder Zigeuner / welche erst vmb das Jahr Christi 1417. zu erst in Teutschland gesehen worden / ein schwarzes von der Sonnen verbrenntes Volk / vnflätig vnd vnsauber / wie in der Kleidung / also auch in allem jhrem übrigen Thun vnd Lassen : Sie verlassen sich fürnemlich auf das stählen vnd Wahrsagen. Von dieses losen Gsindlins Vrsprung / Ankunfft / Leben / Bschaffenheit / vnd Keiserlichen Gebotten sie zu gedulden / schreibet weitlenfig *Albertus Cranzius* in seiner *Saxonia libro II. cap. 2. pag. m. 779. 780. Auentinus, libro 7. Annal. Bav. Camerarius in medit. Histor. part. I. c. 17. pag. m. 95. 96. vnd Part. 2. c. 75. pag. m. 296. Majolus Dier. Canic. tom. 3. Colloq. 2. pag. m. 708. 709. Bartholomæus Kekermannus Disput. 33. Curs. Philos. pag. m. 917. &c.'*

S. 399. 'Der Zigeuneren Feuerkunst / welche in den Schewren [Scheunen] / Städlen [Ställen] / küblen vnd Gelten [Holzgefässen] / bey Hew vnd Stroh / Feuer anzünden / welche doch nichts als die zubrennen angelegte Materi [Material] verbrennen ; wird von jhnen der sonderbaren natürlichen Kraft einer Feuer-Wurzel zugeschrieben / deren sie jährlich eine zinliche Quantitet vnd Viele / ausz klein Egypten / da solche auf einem hohen Berg wachsen sollen / zuempfehen sich rühmen. Wer aber alle Vmbständ recht erwigt / kan leichtlich sehen / dasz mehr Zauberey vnd Tenfelskunst / als natürliche Wirkung einer selbsgewachsenen Wurzel mit vnderlauffe.'

c. Aus Eduard Osenbrüggen, *Das Alamannische Strafrecht*. Schaffhausen, 1860.

S. 208. 'Im Jahr 1571 wurde in Graubünden eine Verordnung gegen dieses braune Volk gegeben, nach welcher sie alle sollten gefangen genommen und auf die Galeeren verkauft werden ; noch im Jahre 1765 wurden sie, wenn die Nachricht wahr ist, für vogelfrei erklärt und dem, der einen bewaffneten Zigeuner erlegen würde, noch 10 Kronen versprochen.'¹

d. In dem Luzerner Fastnachtsspiel *Der Kluge Knecht* aus dem Ende des xv. Jahrhunderts wird ein Zigeuner durch den Bauern Ruedi um die Zukunft gefragt. (s. F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, II. [Karlsruhe, 1846]. S. 381 et sqq.).

¹ Lehmann, *Patriotisches Magazin für Bündten*, Bern, 1790, S. 271.

e. Aus David von Moos, *Astronomisch-politisch-historisch- und kirchlicher Kalender für Zürich*, Bd. III. Zürich, 1777. S. 124.

‘Ao. 1418 came ein grosser Haufe Zigeuner,¹ deren Anzahl sich auf 4000. oder nach anderen, auf 14000. belaufen, auf Zürich, und sollen sich 6. Tage lang auf dem Schützenplatz gelageret haben. Sie gaben sich aus für Christen, welche aus Egypten gekommen, denen diese Reise zu Abbüssung ihrer Sünden auferlegt worden: Sie zehrten aus eigenem Gelt, und beobachteten gute Ordnung.

‘Der gelehrte Wagenseil will, die ersten Zigeuner seyen aus Teutschland gebürtige Juden gewesen, nachdem die Christen das jüdische Geschlecht auszureuten sich entschlossen, sich in die Wälder und Einöden verstekt; nach Verfließung mehr als eines Jahrhunderts aber, als fast ganz Teutschland durch die Hussische Unruhe verwirret ware, hervor gekrochen: weil man nun nicht gewusst, wie man sie nennen sollte, seyen sie vom herumziehen Zigeuner genennt worden; sie haben sich aber nie für Christen ausgegeben; wol aber habe sich allerley Lumpengesind aus den Christen an sie gehänget.

‘Von der Zigeuner Ankunft und Ursprung, sagt der berühmte Herr Ludolf, ist gar nichts gewüsses zu melden. Was sie von sich selbst erzählen, ist lauter Fabelwerk; dann, ob sie gleich an Gestalt und Haaren den Tartaren, oder Egyptiern nicht ungleich sehen, so ist doch ihre Sprache² keiner von beyden gleich: Es finden sich auch Worte derselben in keiner andern noch zur Zeit bekannten Sprache; ob man gleich deren über 80. zählen kann: Woraus zu schliessen, dasz sie kein zusammengelaufenes Gesind, Europäischer Nation, welche etwaum eine eigene Sprache unter sich gemachet, sondern gar ein eigen Volk sind.’

f. Aus F. X. Bronner, *Der Kanton Aargau*. St. Gallen und Bern, 1844. S. 426.

‘Ein alter Rest der einst zahlreichen Zigeuner pflanzte sich noch immer auf abgelegenen Weilern fort. Im Winter suchten solche Landfahrer einen nämlichen Aufenthalt in Dörfern, wo sie früher bekannt waren, und brachten ihre Nahrung durch Betteln in etwas entfernten Gegenden zusammen. Am Ende Märzens verliessen sie, wie die Fliegen, ihre Schlupfwinkel und traten ihre Wanderung an. Sie zogen von einem Wallfahrtsorte zum andern, sammelten in den Dörfern Lebensmittel: Brod, Erdäpfel, Mehl, Anken [Butter], Milch. Wenn der Bettel ergiebig ausfiel, waren die Weiber zuweilen, z. B. auf dem Flügelberge, so muthwillig, dass sie an ihren Lagerplätzen Zweige der Haseln in die Pfanne bogen und Küchlein daran bucken, die sie aufschnellen liessen, so dass die Landleute, welche die hangenden Küchlein fanden, sie entweder für Zauberspeise hielten oder den Muthwillen der Prasser erriethen. So gewöhnten sie sich und ihre Kinder an ein lockeres, zuweilen lustiges, Leben, konnten aber doch mancherlei Verfolgungen nicht entgehen.’

g. *Chronik der Stadt Zürich*. Hrg. v. Joh. Dierauer (*Quellen zur Schweizergeschichte*, Bd. XVIII. Basel, 1900). S. 183.

‘A. d. 1418 jār, an dem hindresten tag ougsten, kamen in dis land vil swarzer lüt, baid frowen und ouch man und kind. Und do si komen gen Baden, do tailten si sich von ainander und ffr ir ain tail über den berg, und kam ouch ir etwe vil her gen Zürich. Und kam mit inen 2 herzogen und 2 ritter, und laiten sich die selben lüt für das tor an den Platz zß des Bamsers wisen. Und sait man, das selb volk das wār von dem klainen Egyptenland.

¹ Homines nigredine informes, excocti Sole, immundi veste, & usu rerum omnium foedi, furtis imprimis intenti, praesertim foeminae ejus gentis, nam viris ex furtis foeminarum victus est. Colluvies hominum mirabilis, omnium perita linguarum [Krantz].

² In dem Buch, betitelt: *Mithridates Gessneri*, findet sich ein kurzes Wörterbuch aus der Zigeunersprache zusammengehangen [not in the 1555 but in the 1610 edition].

Var. 1: 'In dem 18. jar, an sant Frenen aubent [31. August], do kament zñ unser stadt Zurich ein söllich wunderlich volk, das hie ze land nie mer als vil gesechen ward, und leitent sich vor der statt uf den Platz und lagent da unz [bis] an dem sechsten tag bi der Lindnag [Limmatfluss]. Und warent schwarz an hut und an har und aten kristenlichen tauf ir nūw geboren kinden und mitbegrepten [Begräbnissen] und sprachend sich [si ?] ouch, si werind von dem kleinen Egipten und hettint si die Türgen vertriben und müstind . . . us faren. Etlich sprachent, si werint von Ih. . . Der war wol 40 tusent (!) mit ir herzogen und ir herschaft und trügent gold und silber und arni kleider.

Var. 2: 'Im 19. (!) jar an sant Frenen aubent kam für unser statt Zürich ein wunderlichs volke, das vormals nie me gesechen wart, und lagen vor der statt uf dem Platz bi der Lint magt, und lagen da 6 tage. Und das waren swarz lüt mit hut und hār und taten christenliche ding. Si sprachent, si werint von dem kleinen Egipten und werent vertriben von dem Thürgken und müösten also wol 7 jar varen in den landen. Und etliche die sprachent, si werint von Igritz. Und dero warent wol 40 mit iren herzogen und herschaften. Und die trügent gold und silber und trügent aber arme schlächte kleider, und stalent den lüten, was inen werden mochte, man müst vor inen goumen [hüten] in den hüsren.'

h. Conrad Justinger, *Berner-Chronik*. Hrsg. v. G. Studer. Bern, 1871. S. 286.

'1419 (!). In dem vorgenanten jare kamen gen basel, gen zürich, gen berne, gen solottorn wol zweyhundert getoufter heiden; warent von egyptenlant, ungeschaffen, swartz, ellend lüte mit wiben und kinden, und lagen vor den stetten uf dem velde, untz [bis] daz si fürbaz kamen, won si bi den lüten unlidentlich warent von stelens wegen, won [denn] si stalen waz inen werden mocht. Sy hatten under inen hertzogen und grafen, die warent etzwaz erzüget mit guten silbern gürtel und warent ze ross. Die andern warent arm ungeraten lüte und wandloten von einem lande in daz ander und hatten dez römschen küniges gleitzbriefe bi inen.'

i. *Die älteste deutsche Chronik von Colmar*. Herausgegeben v. August Bernoulli. Colmar, 1888. S. 24.

In dem jore do man zalt 1418 jor, an sant Laurencien tag [10. August], do koment gen Colmer wol 30 Heiden mit wip und kinden. Darnoch, do die enweg koment, do komen über dreie tage darnoch wol hundert Heiden, man und wip und kint. Und warent ungeschaffen swarze lüte, und truogent silberni vingerlin [Ringe] in den oren, daz man solte sehen, wele [welche] edel weren, und sprochent, sū werent von Egipten. Und truogent die frouwen unwege hoczen [hässliche Lumpen] an, als werent es kuterer [Decken]; und hiengent an als ungesintten [?], und noment sich an, sū könden den lüten in den henden sehen, was in zuo handen solte gon, und stulent den lüten ir gelt us den seckelen, und was in werden möhte, das was verloren. Und do sū enweg koment, do kam der gröste sterbat [Epidemie] zuo Colmar, daz do sturbent me wenne 20 menschen; und was der sterbat nüt allein zuo Colmar: er was ouch in allen landen, daz wol das drütteil der welte umb und umb abgieng.'

9.—STAINING COUNTERFEIT EGYPTIANS

A Briefe Description of the whole World. 6th edition. London, 1624.

Sig. L2^v: 'Although this Country of *Ægypt* doth stand in the selfe same Climate that *Mauritania* doth, yet the inhabitants there are not black, but rather dun, or tawnie. Of which colour *Cleopatra* was obserued to be; who by intisement, so won the loue of *Julius Cæsar* and *Antonie*: And of that colour doe those runnagats (by deuises make themselues to be) who goe vp and down the world vnder the name of *Ægyptians*, being indeed, but counterfeites and the refuse or rascality of many nations.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.



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I.—A NEW WORLD GYPSY CAMP¹

By WILLIAM MACLEOD

ON the 15th of August 1908 the Boston papers heralded the advent of a band of Brazilian Gypsies about three hundred strong. They were reported as being ignorant of Romani, speaking only Portuguese and broken English. They presumably came from Chicago, where they worked as copper-smiths during the winter, and first attracted public notice through the Board of Health, which warned them to leave their camp because of its insanitary location, and also took charge of a starving, neglected baby, from all indications the child of some unfortunate *Gáji*.

Later, we gathered that they were really from south-eastern Europe, principally Russia and Servia, and a few from Spain; that most of them had lived in Brazil; that some of them came to this country by way of Mexico; that while the majority of the band had been in the United States for several years, some had just arrived;² that some were American born, and not Romané, but that their common language was Romani not Portuguese. This

¹ The illustration opposite, procured through the kindness of Dr. James A. Spalding, is by the *Boston Herald* photographer, and appeared in that paper on August 18, 1908. It was called 'I don't want no picture taken,' and the half-hidden girl is Rosa Steve, the thirteen-year-old bride.

² The *Boston Journal* on August 20, 1908, reported that Steve John carried papers showing that he was naturalized at Cleveland in 1904, when he was described as a native of Brazil. He owned house-property in Chicago.

was found partly by Mr. A. T. Sinclair's investigations, partly by studying their dress, language, coins, etc., and (least reliable of all) by their own statements. They were peculiarly secretive, and the slightest questioning was apt to arouse suspicions that the inquirer belonged to the police.

They were encamped in an unsettled part of West Roxbury, a suburb of Boston, in a clearing amid thinly wooded hills. As one approached the camp from the road there was a sharp rise, on the top of which was an ellipse formed of tents and carts placed alternately. Both tents and carts were of every possible character. From this group one could look down upon another ellipse of similar tents and carts in the hollow, about a hundred yards away.

When I went out to the camp one Saturday morning I knew nothing about them, except what I had read in the newspapers, so that I had no idea whether they were real Romané or not. Hardly had I caught a glimpse of the tents when two girls came down the hill to intercept me, and thus get the first chance to fleece the 'innocent youth.' They opened with 'What time is it?' 'You give me a match?' And when the latter was produced, the prettier of the two, a finely-featured, gazelle-like creature of eighteen or thereabouts, insisted on telling my fortune.

'Do you know how to tell fortunes? I thought only Gypsies told fortunes.'

'Me tell you fortune.'

'What! are you a Gypsy?'

'No, me no Gypsy, me Catholic,' showing a little silver cross she had about her neck.

'Oh, well then, I don't care to have my fortune told unless you're a Gypsy.'

'Oh, yes, me Gypsy, me Romany.'

'Well, do you speak Romani?'

'Yes, you see,' taking my hand and counting off my fingers, '*Yek, du, trin, štor, panš, šo, eſta, oxa, nua, deš,*' as she pronounced them.

That was better than any of my American-Gypsy friends could do, so I knew that they were surely real Romané. I therefore let her tell my fortune. Her procedure was very simple. She made me hold the coin in my hand, and then with one of her hands on my wrist she made crosses on my forehead, repeating at the same time, 'Go away bad luck, go away bad friends; come good luck, come good friends,' with a few easily forgotten predictions about

a dark lady and such usual patter. By this time we had attracted the attention of a younger girl, who seemed disgusted at the artless method employed by the other. She finally rushed in, seized me by the wrist, and dragged me away from the rest, insisting on showing me, willy-nilly, the proper art of fortune-telling. Her art, I confess, was astounding.

'Take all you' money in you' pocket.' I took a few coppers. 'No, not good luck; silver give you good luck.' After one or two trials I managed to satisfy her idea of the right amount of silver to give good luck. I may mention in passing that she was clothed in a single-piece dress alone, and that it was not sufficient to cover her decently. She took my hand, placed it against her body and held it firmly there with both hands; then with half-closed lids she looked at me dreamily, and swaying to and fro, half chanted, 'Good luck come to you; you travel in one week; you pretty man; nice girls like you; me like you. . . .' 'Here,' I said, drawing away, 'this isn't a Romany fortune; I don't care for that sort of thing.' She then took my hand and started to count my fingers again, but I said, 'Oh, there's no need of that; I know your *yek, dui*, etc.' Her eyes widened, she took a step nearer, and exclaimed, '*Tu Rom?*' My non-committal answer and red hair did not seem to reassure her, for she commenced, 'You know what *būl* is—*minč?*' Something betrayed me, for she cried, 'Where you learn that langwidge?'

'Why, I've always spoken it' (poet's license).

'Who learn you?'

'*Mro papus.*' (O, shade of the presiding elder of the Free Kirk!)

'Now me tell you real Romany fortune.'

Again she pressed my hand against her body, and saying, 'Now, you say like me,' she began to repeat what sounded like a combination of strange forgotten Romani and utterly unintelligible gibberish, which I tried to copy. At each phrase she leaned nearer to me, and as I repeated it after her, she would press my hand closer to her, and give a convulsive movement, as in the *danse du ventre*. At the last words, with her face almost against mine, her eyes rolling wildly, and with a more prolonged convulsion and shiver, she leaned against me and whispered in my ear. I jumped about six feet. But it was doubtless just another case of the sensuous appeal, as with the Spanish dancers, and no indication that the Gypsy maidens are less moral than they used to be.

With some difficulty I extricated myself from this embarrassing position, for the other Romany girls were interested spectators all the time, and started up the hill to the first group of tents and wagons, pursued by ragged urehins who spied me coming. The girls shouted continuously, 'Tell you' fortune,' while the boys begged for 'five cent.' They did not scruple to grab at my hands and my coat, and one little girl tried to swing along with me, using my necktie as a support. At last I shook them off, except the necktie-swinger, whom I deposited in the lap of one of the old crones who were sitting around a small open fire. About twenty women, ranging from seventeen to seventy years of age, all smoking (the older ones pipes, the younger cigarettes) were in this circle. The varied cries of 'Five cent,' 'Tell fortune,' 'Tabac,' 'Moneys,' finally resulted in a grand chorus of 'Tabac' when they saw me lighting a cigarillo, and the taking of the box from my pocket was like the starting pistol-shot for a hundred yards dash.

For their sakes I carefully protected the little cigars from injury while I was pushed, pulled, and pivotted about by forty not over-clean hands. Some sort of order was restored, and out of deference to old age I was about to hand one to the most wrinkled dame, when their eagerness could no longer be restrained, and the scrimmage began again. At last I was able to pass them round until almost all were provided for, and then, my supply ostensibly failing, they left me, and once more squatted contentedly by the fire.

Now comes the wrinkled dame, followed by the necktie-swinger, leads me out of sight of the rest of the smokers and shows me her cigarillo, which had become broken in the *mêlée*.

'Me nice old lady, you give me nice smoke, see!'

'But I've given away all I had.'

'No, you have 'nother box here,' pointing to my back pocket. This was the time for my eyes to widen, as I thought to keep hidden a box of cigarettes to help me to collect my thoughts on the way home.

There may have been method in the scrimmage after all, because this same old woman was also aware, as I discovered later, that I had some pennies in a little pocket inside my side coat-pocket. Moreover, the young charmer, who so artfully told my fortune on the road below, knew that I had some bills in my trouser's pockets, and showed no scruples against telling me that

she had felt them there, when I told her that I had all my money in my hand.

As a reward for their diligence, I gave the old lady and the necktie-slinger each a cigarette; and, to compare older methods with new, invited the dame to tell my fortune. Instead she made me the willing victim of the usual handkerchief-trick. She swore 'By God I give you back the money in your hand, an' when I swear by God I tell true. I nice old lady. Now I tie the money in the handkerchief, and in two, t'ree day you have lots of money,'—at the same time slipping the money in her waist-band. But new methods led to exactly the same *finale* as the old, for when I allowed her to take the pennies, she offered me a *Romani pîreni*!

I left her then, and started down the hill towards the second group of about fifty tents and wagons, where all the men of the camp were gathered round a large open fire and three beer-kegs at the end of the oval. I passed a diminutive 'Carmen' sitting in the bushes before a bright tin pail, alternately licking her dirty hands and pressing down her already glossy, well-plastered black hair, pausing every now and then to cock her bird-like head on one side or the other to admire the progress of her toilet. Half way down I met Pedro, the merriest, handsomest, brightest *Romano čavo* that ever wore rags. 'Hello,' said I. 'Hello,' said he, grinning. '*Kušto bāk*,' said I. '*Tu Rom?*' said he, his black eyes snapping. 'Almost,' said I. 'You know this?' '*Bal*,' said I. 'And this?' '*Nāk*,' and so on, till I forgot the Romani for cap. '*Stādji*,' said Pedro. 'Oh, *stādi, stādi, stādi*; surely, I remember now!' 'Hee, hee! *Stadi, stadi, stadi*,' he mimicked, doubling up in glee, '*No, stādji*.' 'All right, *stādji* let it be.' And he continued his catechism till he was convinced that I was a true Rom, though a queer one. He became my escort, and exhibited me as a strange find.

Whenever we met any one, he would point at me and yell, '*San Rom*.' '*Nai Gájo*,' they'd say. '*Nai, Rom: au adai*,' he would answer. Then he would plant himself squarely in front of me, and pointing out the things, watch their astonished faces as I named them correctly in Romani.

Every time we came to 'cap,' and I said '*stādji*,' he just beamed with delight. Then he took me to Steve John, the leader of the gang, and after I had recited my lesson to Pedro, the chief shook hands with me, and asked, '*Kai bešes tu? Katár áves tu?*'

When he was convinced that I was a Romanichal he led me towards the beer-kegs, saying, '*Au adai, mora, piav livina.*' Suiting his actions to his words he took a courtesy-drink, rinsed the cup with the beer-foam, and refilling it, passed it to me with a Romany salutation which I did not understand. Then he drank to me as one who had, as Pedro remarked, *lollo bal* but *kato dzil*.

They were getting ready for a wedding which was to take place on the next three days, and some of them were already in a wedding mood, which, however, exhibited itself not in brawling, but in a stately grandiloquent manner of talking, and an excessive politeness. When I asked if the groom was there, his mother shouted '*Loyala, kai san Loyala,*' but failed to produce him. On asking for the bride, they said that Poppa was not to be seen again till the wedding.

By the men I was not troubled with begging, and when I passed the cigarettes to the older among them there was no scramble, or teasing for more. They talked a great deal among themselves in Romani, but there was little of their rapid conversation that I could understand. It was only when they spoke directly to me that they were intelligible, as then they spoke slowly, and were very patient in repeating their sentences.

One Gypsy, much taller than the average, and wearing a Russian sheepskin cap, told me that he had been in this country only a few months, having come direct from Russia. Later, this man, under the name of Gregory Raduslavitch, was arrested for abducting from Russia Irene Babruva, who claimed to be a Russian, not a Gypsy. Early in October he was tried and sentenced to serve eighteen months in the House of Correction. The jury believed the girl's story that she had been brought to America against her will, and had been cruelly treated by the Gypsies, and were so moved by her sad tale and by her unusual beauty, that they presented her with a purse of thirty-nine dollars which, in addition to the legal witness fees of forty dollars awarded by the Court, would supply her with comforts on the trip back to Russia. Since then Mr. A. T. Sinclair has investigated the case, and is convinced that the girl was the wife of Gregory's son, is a true *Romani çai*, was anxious to return to Russia, was of a 'flighty' disposition, and invented the story in order to get a free passage to Russia. She must be a veritable *çovexani* to outwit so completely her own people.

Some of the names given in the newspapers were:—for two of

the other chiefs, Leath Ristig and Emil Mitchell; for girls, Bersie Stanner, Rosa Megg or Steve, Poppa Pettegie, or Princess Sara; for boys, Charles Bubble, Damitro Kaslo, or Prince John Mitchell, who was the one that was called Loyala by those in the camp.

Most of the men were dressed in ordinary clothes, which were comparatively free from patches or tatters. Many of them wore knee-boots. The women had dresses made of cheap cloth with large light-coloured patterns of pink or red flowers, and usually a gay sash and kerchief. As necklaces, and fastened in their braids, were gold coins, mostly Brazilian.

When I left the hollow where the men were, I climbed the hill to the first oval, and was greeted with '*Au adai mora*' by a young matron seated on a pile of clothing in one of the wagons. With her were four children, besides a baby at the breast, all of whom she said were hers, and yet she seemed not a day over twenty-two years old. She said she wished that she had not so many, and startled me by suggesting that I should buy one of them. She said her husband had gone to New York to bring on about fifty newly-arrived Russian Gypsies, who were still there in quarantine.

An American child, about thirteen years old, called Wallier Mary, was a member of this family, and must have been with the Gypsies since she was very young. She spoke Romani like the rest of the band; and her English, though without foreign accent, was ungrammatical in the same respects as was the English the Gypsies used. She volunteered the information that she knew an American song, and after some urging, perpetrated this:—

'R. I. Romany Rai
H. A. R. spells Harrigan,'

the melody of which had a haunting suggestion of an old music-hall ditty. When I asked for a Romani song, she began to sway from side to side, clapped her hands, and sang a queer, sweet melody in the quick Romany measure.

One of the other children had the hiccough, and when I asked her what was the matter, she said after a pause it was '*sigo dzil*.' I resist the temptation to add a new word to the Romani vocabulary:—'*zigozil*, "hiccough" (probably onomatopœic).'

In the next tent Pedro was taking lessons on the accordion, but I am sorry to say that he was trying to play one of our popular songs of the slightest character, and not a *Romani gili*. I started down the hill to the road again, and turning back, yelled '*Stădi*.'

The play stopped, and Pedro sprang up and shouted back 'Ho! *stadi, stadi, stadi, nui, nui—stādji.*'

At the bottom of the hill was the ever present, persistent, begging necktie-swinger, so in desperation I gave her a dime, and left her standing there showering me with '*Kušto bāk!*'¹

I was exceedingly sorry that I was unable to see the camp again, and especially so to miss the wedding ceremony.² The papers described it as a 'great orgy, ending in a general fight which required the aid of the police to subdue.' The ceremony itself was simply carrying a gaily-coloured handkerchief, a remnant of the '*diklo,*' before the bride as she marched up to the groom, who put his hand on her shoulder without speaking, and thereby became married.

The band left Boston a few days after I saw them,³ were ordered out of every city and town they came to, until finally at Providence they took the boat for New York, where I lost track of their movements.

II.—GLI ZINGARI NEL MODENESE

Del Fù A. G. SPINELLI

(*Continuazione dalla pagina 57*)

Secolo XVII

IL governo del Duca Cesare che fu tanto debole contro il Papa che lo spogliava di Ferrara e di Comacchio, ebbe invece un feroce ardimento per sbarazzare dagli Zingari il suo dominio. Ignoro la

¹ *Kušto.* The Gypsies used *lavo* invariably, except that some of the younger ones understood *kušto* when I used it, and, whether from former experience or in imitation of my speech, thereafter used *kušto* when addressing me.

² The Gypsies made such a 'show' of the wedding that a suspicion arose that the ceremony was a bogus one designed to attract to the camp visitors from whom small payments were exacted at every step. 'It's just a big advertisement' declared one pressman to the *Boston Herald* reporter, 'By George, I bet they do this in every town.' Charges were made for admission to the field, for the privilege of remaining there after admission, for fortune-telling, for taking photographs, for pointing out (generally falsely) the young couple, and even the bridegroom when addressed replied, 'I talk for twenty-five cent.' The boys offered, for a consideration, to reserve good places at the spectacle and explain the ritual, but when their patrons arrived they only grinned and scampered off to join the fun.

³ They displayed ingenuity in their efforts to remain at West Roxbury after the Board of Health had ordered them to leave the district, alleging that there had been a robbery, and demanding leave to stay for another week in order to search for the stolen property.

data precisa di una grida la quale tra le solite minacce, diffide e pene per coloro di essi che fossero sorpresi in terra del ducato, vuole 'che anche per gli Zingari che fossero trovati lungo le strade e non dessero danno ad alcun, debbasi dare la campana a martello, seguirli, svaligiarli e costringere alla fuga quando non si potessero imprigionare';¹ è anche previsto il caso che essi opponessero resistenza colle armi, allora si era autorizzati ad ucciderli.

Delitti enormi dovevano pesare sugli Zingari, ma le pene minacciate non lo erano minori, ed oggi sembrano assolutamente prive di un senso di giustizia, e dettate invece da uno spirito di rappresaglia e di vendetta. Così era il sentimento della legislazione in quei tempi religiosissimi! Ma quasi in compenso, gli Zingari non ispiravano soltanto ripugnanza, in tutti, perchè ovunque il popolo nonchè i letterati-poeti e gli artisti, specialmente i pittori, trovarono qualche cosa che colpiva la loro immaginazione in quella vita raudagia e perseguitata, e lo Spaccini cronista modenese, descrivendo una mascherata che animò la città il 4 gennaio 1600 narra che vi preser parte 'otto Cingane bene adornate che andavano dagando la buona ventura.'

Accennai ad una grida feroce di Cesare d'Este che se, forse, avrà allontanato per un momento le bande, non estirpò il furto zingaresco che da oltre un secolo era indigeno e si confondeva furbescamente coi malfattori locali. Il Conte Brusantini notissimo Governatore di Sassuolo, in una sua lettera del 31 ottobre 1600 al Segretario Ducale Laderchi, parla di cavalli rubati colà e condotti nel modenese e dice che sa di un Francesco Moreni che ne comprò diversi da Zingari, ma che poi gli furono rubati dai venditori stessi.²

Circa le bande, che scorazzavano le borgate, il Comune di Modena il 2 novembre 1601 presentava doglianza al Duca pei molti danni che causavano attorno ad un casello del Ponte Alto, non lungi dalla città, chiedendo che fossero costretti a levarsi dal paese;³ e il 21 giugno 1603 sappiamo da un rapporto del Podestà Flaminio Puglia, che ai Molini Nuovi accanto a Modena, era sostata una compagnia di Zingari, e che egli ne aveva fatto arrestare 17 di essi, fra uomini e donne con bambini lattanti.⁴ Il capo della comitiva era Francesco Galantino e li conduceva dal Bresciano, ove, strada facendo, aveva rubato agli Orci Vecchi due

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Gride*.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Sassuolo* f. 1.

³ Arch. Municipale di Modena, *Partiti cons.*

⁴ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Rettori* f. 4.

cavalle ad Antonio Crescini che li aveva inseguiti e raggiunti poi ai detti Molini. Il Podestà nota che per avere contravvenuto alle grida le donne dovevano essere punite di frusta e gli uomini colla galera; osservazione che proverebbe non essere le sanzioni penali applicate *illico et immediate*, ma invece dopo un secondo esame.

Nel 1605 si avrebbe, infatti, un'altra prova di questa tolleranza nell'applicare il rigore delle grida; perchè il 21 di febbraio si lesse ai Conservatori del Comune di Modena, un memoriale contro alcuni Zingari annidati da molti mesi nel Bosco della Saliceta, in Camposanto e ville finitime. Essi 'rubano e danneggiano il paese e fu ordinato al Sindaco generale che procuri col sig. Imola et ancora con Sua Altezza, se sarà necessario, che siano scacciati.'¹ Nulla di più si chiedeva alla giustizia pei danni; forse l'indigenza loro non lusingava la speranza di poter avere un compenso, mentre la naturale dolcezza dei costumi non esigeva pene inutili.

In quest'anno 1605, cade un'altra notizia la quale conferma nella certezza che questi Zingari vaganti per i nostri paesi, se non erano tutti indigeni lo erano almeno in gran parte e per nome.

Il Capitano Ferrante Forni, di chiara famiglia modenese che possedeva vastissime terre di attorno al Lovoleto o Saliceta in Camposanto, si dolse che certi Zingari si fossero nascosti colà in un bosco dei suoi pupilli. Mandati gli esecutori trovarono uno di essi chiamato Rodomonte Bianco con moglie e quattro figli e lo catturarono. Esaminato confessò che due giorni prima era arrivato da una devozione dalla Madonna di Reggio, e che per la pioggia si era fermato nel modenese, ove ben sapeva non poter restare. In seguito all'esame si venne a scoprire che il Rodomonte, malgrado la sua devozione, aveva subito la corda sulla piazza di Modena per furti, e perciò Vincenzo Arlotti,² magistrato che inquisiva, opinava che gli si potrebbero infliggere altri tre strappi di corda poi rilasciarlo. Anche qui si passava per altro giudizio, altre approvazioni, prima di colpire lo Zingaro con esecuzioni immediate che pare fossero ammesse soltanto nei casi di flagranza. È forza riconoscere che si usava loro un trattamento da uomini e non da bestie, come avveniva in Germania ed altrove, e siccome ciò che si praticava in Modena era sempre osservato nei luoghi dei feudatari, così piace ritenere che eguale umanità sarà stata legge nelle terre loro; e lo Statuto di Vignola, pubblicato da Gregorio Boncompagni

¹ Arch. Munic. di Modena, *Partiti Comunali*.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Rettori*, fil. 4.

nel 1616 che comminava galera agli uomini e frusta alle donne, sarà stato applicato *cum grano salis*: come per motivi facilmente intuibili, al rigore, alla durezza degli statuti e dei bandi erano spesso compagne eccezioni che li distruggevano o mitigavano. Nei decreti dell' anno se ne legge infatti uno rilasciato al Capitano Francesco Almorò Zingaro, in cui gli si dà permesso di dimorare colla sua famiglia, per un mese, nel territorio del Finale, ' purchè non diano molestie e fastidio nè facciano contratti nè baratti di sorta veruna di cavalli.'¹

Questa proibizione contrasta però col fatto che essi erano ammessi a correre al pallio a Modena, e lo saranno stati dovunque.

Ometto cose di minor conto, e come lo Stato desse salvandotti a Zingari per riuscire a catturarne altri di loro che erano famosi delinquenti, e come nell' agosto del 1618 si frustasse, nel mercato di Pazzano, una Zingara perchè dirigeva un manipolo di ragazzi che rapinavano attorno a Monfestino.

Bande di Zingari si fermavano, con una consuetudine che merita attenzione, sui confini di Ferrara con Finale, e ve ne erano nel maggio 1620. Un giorno, essendo lontani gli uomini, alcuni mascalzoni finalesi guidati da un certo Annibale Parmesano, detto il 'dottorino' sorpresero in un fienile le zingare Giulia, Imperia e Celidonia e violentemente ne abusarono. La cosa fece rumore e giunse fino agli orecchi del Cardinale Legato di Ferrara, che assunte le parti delle Zingare, diede la caccia al finalese condottiero di quella vile impresa. Mi è ignoto come continuassero le ricerche del prelado e a qual fine giungessero, ma so che gli Zingari ricoverati sul confine assalirono allora e saccheggiarono, per 200 lire, la casa di Domenico Battocchi al Canal Bianco.²

Il Podestà del Finale dava parte a Modena, sulla fine del detto mese e condannava Alberto Lusenti 'per aver dato percosse ad una Zingara' ed Ottavio Raschini perchè aveva menato le mani su Zingari e Francesco Sedazzari fu imprigionato il 3 novembre 1620 'per aver fatto certo insulto ad una Zingara e cacciatele le mani contro offendendola con un pugnale.' Forse conviene credere che questi non fossero Zingari ma cittadini noti e viventi in comitiva con una banda di veri Zingari ultramontani.

E sul modo con cui si eseguiva la legge su di essi, fa menzione la podesteria di San Felice che pare avesse a capo persona cruda. Il 10 marzo 1622 il Governatore di Modena comanda a quel

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Decreti*.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Rettori Finale*.

Podestà di 'liberare senza spesa tre donne Cingare essendochè vennero da Lui per riavere una scrittura sua e che stanno di stanza su quel di S. Felice'¹ e il giorno 11 seguente si rilascia a Modena un salvacondotto a Giulia e Maria Sforza Cingare abitanti pur esse su quel di S. Felice, e forse le stesse già ricordate, 'perchè possano andare a Montecchio, a prender robe spettanti ad una figlia di Giulia e di Sforza Trombetta,' e il 1° ottobre 1622, si concede a Giulia, Maria ed Eleonora Zingare pure di S. Felice, di poter passare per Modena e suo distretto così nell' andare che nel tornare da Reggio e da Montecchio a S. Felice per riportarvi robe dell' eredità del suddetto Sforza.² Questi eran Zingari sedentari.

L' Inquisizione si occupava spesso degli Zingari, ed io di questo punto d' osservazione che è molto importante, purtroppo non ho potuto occuparmene *ex professo*, perchè questa mia ricrea era fatica da potersi esaurire da un giovane, non da chi numera 66 anni. Pure siccome ha tratto a stregherie in cui le Zingare avevano ed hanno larga nomea, ricorderò come il 6 maggio 1623 comparisse davanti all' Inquisitore di Modena Pietro Gaspari del Finale e deponesse come 'essendo in luoco denominato il Dosso ove faceva legare il frumento, vi venne a spigolare una Cingana chiamata Giulia che sta sempre su quel del Finale e gli disse che Madonna Alessandra, moglie di Giovanni Nicolò Romei suo parente, lo voleva far *guastare* e che andasse riguardato che non gli *levassero la pedega*,' cioè l'impronta che il piede lascia nel camminare, la quale allora si credeva servisse a sortilegi. Questa Giulia era figlia di Antonio Mori di S. Felice e vedova di un Orazio Zingaro che abitava al Finale nella Via dei Frati. Erano dunque Zingari locali.³

E indigeni erano egualmente quelli che costituivano la banda condotta da un Santo Campana chiamato *il Cingano Bolognese* ladro famoso arrestato il 19 giugno alla Pioppa di Sorbara.

Pure in quest' anno si legge nella corrispondenza fra il Duca Cesare e il Cardinale Alessandro suo fratello (30 settembre del 1623): 'Si trovano in Carpi due Zingani i quali si ha qualche intentione che abbiano narrato ad un nominato Magnanino, che essi furono con uno che aveva la barba longa in questi giardini per offendervi'; perciò ha ordinato a Carpi che li mandino a

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Partimento*, 1°.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Decreti dell' anno*.

³ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Atti Inquisizione*, all' anno.

Modena. Si può immaginare che qualche cosa di brutale ne avrà seguito.

Passando al 1624 trovo negli *Atti della Inquisizione* di Modena un cenno che tocca al matrimonio fra gli Zingari, che ben si sa non professare religione alcuna, e questo bisogno da essi sia soltanto provato per opportunità; come ben si sa che non hanno alcun bisogno di ammettere l'esistenza di Dio, idea che si introdusse fra loro colla lunga percorrenza in paesi civili. Questo accenno è importante in materia, perchè data ad un tribunale severissimo come quello dell' Inquisizione. Al quale, il 15 maggio dell' anno predetto D. Iacopo Galliani Rettore di S. Maria di Tolè dichiarava di non aver uniti in matrimonio due Zingari di nome Laura e Donnino. E non è da meravigliare perchè le sanzioni del Consiglio di Trento non erano ancora imposte rigorosamente.

Ma più minuti particolari sul matrimonio degli Zingari, si rilevano da altre dichiarazioni. Gabrielle Paolucci di Sillano depone davanti al rettore della Pieve di Castello in Garfagnana di aver 'incontrato Laura che andava vagando colà, ma era moglie di Donnino Zingaro, sopra ricordato, e chiestole perchè non stesse con suo marito che la cercava, rispose: perchè aveva un altro uomo che era un birro in una pattuglia che sopragiunse. La donna pareva gravida, era figlia di Zingari di Tolè ed abitava a Modena e suo marito, che era birro, si chiamava Santino.' Laura portata alle prigioni dell' Inquisizione (il tribunale giudicava anche in materia di matrimoni) disse che si era maritata l' anno prima, in presenza di due Zingari di Tolè i quali furono ammazzati, e il marito le fu imposto a forza da suo fratello: disse inoltre 'che il marito le dava delle botte e il di lei fratello glielo tolse, volendo dire che divise l' unione e perciò vagava così con un altro uomo.'

Questa donna che non aveva più di 20 anni, aggiungeva che 'tra gli Zingari non vi era altro matrimonio senonchè mio marito mi ha tolto così e mio fratello me li ha dato.' Essendole contestata qualche deposizione, ribattè 'io non dissi mi ha sposata, ma mi ha tolto nella chiesa di Tolè, giurando alla presenza di mio barba e di mio fratello e di altre persone di non abbandonarmi mai. Vi era presente il rettore di Tolè il quale dette il giuramento sopra un libro che non dovessimo mai abbandonarci. Vi sono altre donne in Tolè che fanno come faccio io,' e conviene credere che fra girovaghi sarà stato così pressochè dappertutto.¹ Deduzioni

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Atti Inquisizione*.

importanti, da questa deposizione, ne trarrà lo studio delle credenze religiose tra gli Zingari. Nell' anno seguente ai 27 di agosto 1625, per furti e fattucchiere furono querelate Imperia e Maria Zingare, da Francesco Mussato di Nirano davanti al governatore di Sassuolo conte Alfonso Malaguzzi.¹ Le cose rubate erano 'una collana d'oro e molte velette da naso,' che furon poi trovate a Monteforco sulla Rassenna, in mano di Lodovico suocero di Imperia e di Signorino, birbante famigerato, che ritroveremo di nuovo subito, ma passando dalle montagne sulle rive del Secchia, a levante del Panaro, pure fra i monti, ove oltre a furti e violenze ladresche troveremo superstizioni sortilegi e ribalderie affini.

A Savigno, Don Bartolomeo rettore del luogo, udì per bocca di Madonna Fiora Zagnoni, che Signorino 'aveva una calamita cosita nel gipponc, che Maddalena di Mariano da Sassone, pure di Savigno, amante di Signorino teneva una calamita battezzata, e che la Maddalena stessa era stata menata via dagli Zingari perchè Signorino gli aveva cosita della calamita nella vesta che quando l'aveva indosso le bisognava andare dove era esso Zingaro.' Correva voce, inoltre, che Signorino si chiamasse Ercole Pallavicino e che sul suo conto dicesse: 'La mia patria io non la sio essendo Cingaro, sono nato però nella Rocca di Guìa e sono stato battezzato da Don Giovanni a Guìa, io non sio la mia età, il mio esercizio è di Cingaro e di sbirro, ho praticato in diversi paesi di qua e di là dai monti, perchè noi altri poveri Cingani sempre siamo in viaggio e tutti ci voglion male.'²

È ben contornato il ritratto di questo Zingaro volontario, ma tra poco altre notizie completeranno la triste figura.

Don Alessandro Micheli, prete di Savigno, raccontava infatti come una sera andando a veglia per giuocare, si incontrasse con Signorino che gli propose di insegnargli un segreto per farsi voler bene dalle donne, e soggiungesse che avendo veduto nella chiesa di S. Biagio la pila dell'acqua santa fuori dalla porta per la quale entrava il popolo, egli aveva il modo di insegnargli il segreto. E così andarono insieme alla chiesa. Quivi Signorino levò il pugnale e fece un circolo nel pavimento sotto la pila, poi sfondò il ghiaccio dell'acqua santa, cavò fuori dalla bisaccia uno scaitolno ' involto e coperto tutto attorno di capelli di donna ' lo pose in mezzo a quel circolo, vi mise un anello sopra e buttò tutto nell'acqua santa

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Sassuolo*, filza 14.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Anno 1625*, filza 3.

mormorando alcune parole delle quali il prete non intese che *noliter* e *politer*. Presagli poi la mano destra la tuffò nell'acqua, ponendogli la sinistra sopra gli occhi e ordinandogli che pescasse lo scatolino ripetendo: 'opera e fa quello che vuole e comanda Signorino.' Dipoi gli diede di quei capelli, sparò due archibugiate e prese la via. Al prete, andato a letto e addormentatosi, fu strappata la coperta, e terrorizzato si raccomandò a Dio recitando il 'Te lucis ante terminum,'¹ ma insistendo il fenomeno bruciò i capelli avuti da Signorino e potè riprendere il sonno.

Queste giunterie che vengono detti sortilegi, sono nei processi dell'Inquisizione, nell'Archivio di Stato a Modena e io le ho desunte come frettolosamente ho saputo e potuto.

Abbandoniamo i sortilegi e rientriamo ad occuparci del furto inseparabile dallo Zingaro.

Il 24 maggio 1627 il Podestà di Monfestino, Annibale Matarrelli, avvertiva il Duca che 'li Cingani in conventicola di 16 e più, armati, non tanto per loro natura quanto per sdegno di aver io posto in berlina alcune donne trovate in questa podesteria contro le grida marchionali, si sono dati a saccheggiare questa giurisdizione e per loro asilo si servono di un luogo detto Degagna da dove di notte escono a depredare questo povero paese,'² e domandava forza per cacciarli.

Ma il cacciarli non era sempre possibile, per quanto assai di rado opponessero resistenza colle armi, non potendosi ricorrere a mezzi estremi, se non in caso di resistenza. A prova si può citare il caso avvenuto al Finale sui primi del marzo 1628.³

Quel Governatore volle liberare il paese da una loro banda e ne diede ordine al bargello, ma questi non potè eseguirlo perchè i soldati della milizia si rifiutarono di aiutarlo quando non venisse concesso il permesso di ammazzare i Zingari. Il permesso fu chiesto al Duca, ma per quanto fosse accordato, era sempre superfluo perchè gli Zingari non sfidavano il pericolo, ma cercavano, come cercarono sempre, di mettersi in salvo senza resistere: sarebbe una prova di coraggio inutile data la maniera del viver loro.

Nei *Partiti Comunali* di Modena del 1627 trovo il 3 gennaio, un nome che ritengo non sia da omettere perchè forse riguarda un personaggio celebre. Cornelio Malvasia di Bologna,

¹ *Hymnus ad Completorium.*

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Vignola, Podestà di Monfestino.*

³ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Partimento 1°.*

aveva ucciso anni prima, davanti all'osteria della Campana in Modena, un tale G. Francesco Cappelli sbirro Zingano, perchè tra altro gli aveva rubato un cavallo a Panzano. Il Malvasia domandò grazia al Duca avendo ottenuta la remissione dell'omicidio dai parenti dell'ucciso. Questo Malvasia sarebbe il Conte Cornelio che fu poi Senatore di Bologna, Generale ed Astronomo ed ebbe il merito di innalzare due Osservatori a Modena ed a Panzano nel secolo di Galileo.

E ritornando ai birri citerò un Ludovico Vecchi *dell'origine dei Cigani* che aveva un figlio a Rubiera pure birro e domandava licenza di fissarsi nello Stato nel 1625; nonchè la cacciata di Galeazzo Cingano avvenuta per opera del governatore di Rubiera nel gennaio 1626 per le sue ribalderie e per aver puntato una pistola al petto di un frate francescano.¹

Nel 1630, durante la peste, una forte banda di Zingari tutti nativi della provincia trovò largo e facile campo ai suoi istinti rapaci, e tra essi vi ricomparve alla testa il noto Ercole Pallavicino. Proveniente da Pescia si riversò nel modenese ove trovava favore in un Giovan Nicola Borghi che abitava alle Grotte di Monchio, feudo dei Molza. Questi briganti entravano nelle case, murate perchè rimaste vuote pei morti dalla peste, vi toglievano tutto, e saccheggiavano pei monti di Saltino rovinando, tagliando, assassinando, senza che alcuno ardisse parlare per le minaccia di morte che lanciavano. Essi erano i seguenti:

Tommaso d'anni 15, nato a Guia.

Lodovico di 17, a Messano.

Giovanno di 18, a Marano.

Lucia di anni 7, nata alla torre di Gorzano.

Degna di 2, di Garfagnana nei boschi.

Diamanta di 4 e Antonia di 9 anni nata a Bologna.

Poi vi erano:

La sorella di Signorino, Leandra.

Certa Iacoma moglie di Cesare.

Maddalena da Montetortore che stava con Signorino, di anni 30.

Una figlia di Cesare nata a Montecchio per nome Maria, e infine

Un'altra ragazza di 14 anni nativa del Finale.

Questi Zingari modenesi¹ che sono dati dal Conte Valdrighi in un suo scritto sulla peste bubbonica a Formigine² ci offrono la prova evidente della formazione di una banda di malfattori senza che alla sua costituzione fosse abbisognata la presenza di un solo Zingaro autentico per aumentare col suo temuto nome il valore produttivo della masnada. La quale inseguita dai soldati della milizia pei monti di Prignano e Santa Julia fu tutto presa il 31 gennaio 1631 e chiusa nella rocca del Pigneto.

Zingari, di questa natura, sbandati nel territorio di Sassuolo ne rimanevano ancora, e quel governatore, conte Ippolito Estense Tassoni il 7 giugno 1631 lamentava ancora che . . . 'il male fosse cagionato piuttosto da ricettatori e dai fautori loro, che sono stati un Paolo dalla Campagna del territorio di Monchio, un Martino Rossello bandito di Gombola abitante a Dignatico, giurisdizione di Saltino e Virgilio Dallara pure di Saltino. Questi erano coloro che fattisi Zingari assai più dei veri, insegnavano i luoghi, li assicuravano e poi svaligiavano le case, come quella di Don Vincenzo Dallara rettore di Saltino e l'osteria della Volta. Bisogna credere che una compagnia così numerosa, che dal settembre fino adesso, è vissuta così grassamente, abbia consumato molta roba e abbia ammazzato gran quantità di castrati, pecore, capre, e anche buona parte vendutane. Qua, sempre si è detto che, il male del contagio che principiò a Saltino, vi fosse portato da questi Zingari, come quelli che rubando nel paese dove era l'infezione ve lo portassero seco . . . Questi Zingari imprigionati non hanno modo di mantenersi da loro, sono ora alle spese della Camera in ragione di bolognini 10 per testa.'

La narrazione è abbastanza importante, ma lo diviene anche di più in una lettera seguente nella quale il governatore osserva che questa banda era ben armata, si era difesa a fucilate dalla milizia e dai birri nel lucchese, nel fiorentino e nel bolognese, il che ciò non poté aver luogo nel modenese, perchè non ebbe tempo di farlo, quando fu sorpresa.

Le birbanterie della masnada di Signorino sono estesamente

¹ Non ho dati sicuri per stabilire che matrimoni siansi contratti da noi tra nazionali e veri Zingari. Restano soltanto fatti fisionomicamente eloquenti a testimoniare che unioni avvennero, certo *ex lege*, ma a me preme e constato il fatto, e cito tra altri, non rari, questi che ho potuto fotografare: una donna a Camurana, accanto alla Mirandola, altra a Montegibbio nelle colline di Sassuolo, e un professore di Liceo. Tutti presentano stupefatti tipi di razza zingaresca sotto il sole di Modena.

² Valdrighi, *Contagio di pestilenza bubbonica in Formigine durante il sec. XVII* (1630-31). Modena, 1897, Soc. Tip., in 8°, p. 351.

narrate in una lettera del 25 di gennaio di quest' anno, dello stesso governatore Tassoni ai Fattori Generali, che riassumo perchè molti dati di valore riescono utili a far risaltare le gesta di questi furfanti che mantennero il terrore nel paese, malgrade i bandi, gli statuti le forche, le fruste, le galere. . . .

‘ Il Commissario si era trasferito al Pigneto dove si trovano gli Zingari, ed esso avendoli esaminati per scoprire i furti, non meno che i delitti commessi, i complici e i ricettatori, seppe che erano nello Stato dall' ultimo di maggio e venivano da Pescia pel Lucchese, ove all' osteria di Rocca Pelago fu loro tolta [ossia: *data*] fede di sanità. Erano in 15 e andarono a Miceno e vi soggiornarono quaranta giorni con licenza di quel Podestà Orazio Manzieri, passarono a Saltino mangiando e bevendo con molti particolari [*abitanti*] e poi ritornarono a Miceno assicurati dal Capitano Andrea Venturelli che come la prima, come la seconda volta, ottenne dal Podestà la licenza di fermarsi. Passarono poi a Monchio giurisdizione di Rancidoro e vi si fermarono finchè furono presi, benchè avessero licenza [*di soggiornarvi*]. Quivi è fama che commettessero molti furti e avessero fautori, fra i quali Giovanni Beccamonti e uno detto Tamburlano, quali entravano nelle case appestate e desolate dal contagio rubando tutto e si godevano allegramente il furto. Il Commissario si inoltrò a Moncerato per prendere informazioni e gli si presentò Paolo Telleri querelandosi che l' anno antecedente gli Zingari, e tra essi Cesare Signorino, avevano ammazzato Giovanni Rossignoli di Monte Forco, nel Comune di Monfestino, ducato di Sora, e che un altro omicidio avevano compiuto a Sestolo al molino di Magnavacca seppellendo il morto in riva allo Scoltenna.’ Si davano testimoni e si ripeteva che rubavano sulla via i mercanti diretti alla fiera di Pavullo. ‘ Questi si trovarono, altresì, di concerto alla morte di Antonio Baldaccini bandito, la testa di cui fu portata a Monfestino. Vivevano di rapina, erano tutti banditi e sapevano di dover essere impiccati; all' osteria della Volta di Saltino si fermarono perchè non vi trovarono che tre putti, essendo tutti morti di contagio.’

Il Governatore, narrata ai Fattori Generali tutta questa sequela di fatti, ognuno dei quali avrebbe meritato la forca, mestamente rifletteva: ‘ e perchè si trovano molte difficoltà in scacciare dallo Stato questi Zingari avendo cinque figliuolini seco, perchè nello Stato confinante ove entreranno saranno presi e ammazzati, per non aver fede di sanità e come sospetti di contagio, se ne replica una parola alle Sig. Loro Ill^{me} a ciò restino servite

di avvisare il modo più facile e se si devono mandare verso Modena o altrove.’¹

Alla pietà del Governatore di Sassuolo ho cercato di vedere se corresse una consonanza colle parole della religione; ma trovai che non avevano altra idealità, e che non si elevavano sulle sanzioni delle leggi civili. Nelle costituzioni diocesane del 1637 queste poche parole li riguardano e dicono che carità cristiana non esisteva per loro. ‘I Cingari vagabonda gente e data ad ogni empietà, se non vivranno cristianamente, quando lo si possa, siano respinti dalla diocesi.’²

Al disgusto che sollevano queste narrazioni di tristezze affliggenti il nostro paese, mentre era flagellato da altre sciagure che lo spopolavano, seguono alcuni anni che degli Zingari non si trovano notizie, astrazione fatta dalle solite gride intese più a intimorire o da far sembrare anormale ciò che era quotidiano. Ma quando arriviamo al 1657 troviamo, per la prima volta, un documento che rialza lo spirito dalla solita persecuzione e dalla continua minaccia del capestro, esso è finalmente un atto di clemenza.

Fra le lettere di Jacopo Spaccini che fu Segretario dei Duchi Alfonso IV° e Francesco I°, e del Cardinale Alessandro, stampate a Bologna nel 57, evvene una che essendo insolita in tanta brutalità di giustizia umana qui la trascivo. È senza data, e la do qui nella sua forma gentile:

‘Al signor Governatore di Brescello.—Le Zingare che l’altro giorno raccomandai in nome della Signora Principessa Giulia, mia sorella, e mio ancora, se ne sono tornate qui riferendo che poco abbian loro giovate le nostre intercessioni. Non ho potuto credere perchè ho moltissime prove che V. S. è solito di commettere piuttosto eccesso che difetto nel soddisfare alle nostre domande . . . tuttavia ho stimato bene di venire a questo nuovo ricordo, il quale mostrerà tanto meglio il desiderio nostro che dette povere donne restino consolate e l’obbligo suo di consolarle in cosa per sé stessa giusta e per la promessa di V. S. necessaria.’³

Non so a nome di quale dei due Sovrani fosse stesa questa lettera, ma se spettasse a Francesco I°, ben mostrerebbe come la mente che si rese celebre nelle storie militari e in quella delle belle arti italiane sentisse umanamente la sua missione sovrana.

¹ Tutte queste notizie sono nell’ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Sassuolo*, fil. 14.

² *Constitutiones et decreta in Synodo Mutinæ*, 1635, Cassiani, pag. 7.

³ *Lettere del Sig. Giacomo Spaccini [dedicate] all’ Ill^{mo} Sig. Conte Lelio Roverella*. In Bologna, 1657, per Giac. Monti, in-16°, p. 87.

Ma passato questo caso, per me unico di clemenza, nel quale l'animo di sfuggita si è riposato, continuo la narrazione sempre tristissima.

Compare, circa nel 1660, uno Zingaro nazionale, Giovanni Bianchi, cremonese, capitano di Zingari che domanda, 'di poter abitare tre giorni per ogni luogo dello Stato con sette uomini e donne e famiglie con le loro armi.' Questa richiesta che si risolveva in una autorizzazione perpetua di scorazzare il modenese e agli abitanti di fargli le spese, *per fas aut per nefas* gli venne accordato per 15 giorni in tutto. Ciò non gli impedì di continuare a lungo la sua vita randagia e già vecchissimo guidava ancora una compagnia di Cingani del Monferrato, ed ebbe a ridomandare nel 1693 un' altra licenza di sosta nel modenese, 'promettendo di vivere da buoni cristiani e di non molestare alcuno.'¹ Il governo però, questa volta, non fidandosi di chi non poteva vivere che di furto, non accordò.

Una lettera di Guglielmo Botti, Podestà di Brescello, del 28 dicembre 1564 ci presenta una informazione, assai interessante, sui modi violenti coi quali, sotto l'influenza delle gride, i contadini si buttavano adosso agli Zingari.

'Alla fine di Giugno, in campo Rainero, nella giurisdizione di Brescello, vennero certi Cingari e quivi si fermarono coi loro bagagli. Mentre appiccavano li fuochi sopraggiunsero molti di Castelnovo armati di spade, picche et archibugi, che subito corsero adosso alli prefati Cingani, che se non si fossero rifugiati in quel di Reggio, e salvati in una osteria, avrebbero anco ricevuto delle ferite, ma li svaligiarono assai robe di rame, una tazza d'argento e un cavallo di pelamo rosso, con le quali robe si tornarono a Castelnovo.'²

E giacchè siamo a Brescello noterò che una grida ivi pubblicata, il 1° ottobre di quest' anno, vietava in causa di difesa dalla peste, 'di alloggiare i questuari, furfanti, mendicanti, forestieri, canta in banco, herbolatti, bagatellieri, commedianti et cingani.' Curioso accostamento di nomi.

Che risse tra gli Zingari dovessero sovente destarsene, lo dice il tenore della loro vita e la *Littera Passus* fin dalle prime pagine di questo scialbo scritto, ma io non ho trovato fin ora denuncia di un fatto positivo che esca dall' ambito di pure risse. Ma adesso riscontro che nel 2 agosto 1677 il Massaro del Cavezzo informava

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Particolari al nome*.

² Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Brescello Ufficiali*.

il Giudice di Modena, che 'i Cingani erano venuti fra loro a contesa in quelle campagne, si eran sparati contro e che sulla strada uno era rimasto morto.'¹

Che avranno fatto di quel misero corpo il parroco e il massaro? Lo avranno sicuramente abbandonato ai corvi e ai lupi, obbedendo ai criteri che allora stabilivano i sinodi diocesani. Difatti in quello dell' Abbazia di Nonantola, nella cui giurisdizione è posto il Cavezzo, in rapporto ai Zingari leggesi al Capo II, *De Haereticis, de Haeresi suspectis Iudeis, Sortilegis, aliisque damnatis artibus incumbentibus*.

'Ægyptii, vulgo Cingari nuncupati per nostram Dioecesim ultra tres dies vagari non possint, et interim nostri Vicarii Generales et Foranei curent ne hoc vagum et fallax hominum genus Sortilegii operam tribuat, et ne vanis divinationibus rudes personas seducat; Parochi quoque sollicite inquirent an Ecclesiae Catholicae praecepta, ritus et instituta observent, cibisque vescantur vetitis, et delinquentes ad nos illico deferant, graviter puniendos juxta Canones et Pontificias Sanctiones; si viri cum foeminis fuerint, ab illis postulentur litterae testimoniales de contracto matrimonio in faciem Ecclesiae, nec non de suscepto Baptismo, quas si non habeant authenticas, et legitimas, illico expellantur. Si quis vero ex eis interim diem suum clauserit extremum, nisi constet de fide, suscepti Baptismi, seu de Communione in Paschate, seu de alio signo vitae Christianae, sepultura Ecclesiastica privetur.'²

Ripeto: Le crudesse di queste disposizioni ecclesiastiche erano all' unisono con le leggi civili, in tutta la loro manifestazione di violenze continuate contro uno stato di fatto dannosissimo, generale, che solo disposizioni comuni ovunque prese, avrebbero potuto sanare o mitigare, dato che ciò fosse possibile. Una di queste manifestazioni della legge civile, sullo scorcio del sec. XVII. (è del 1690) si ha dagli *ordini, provvisioni e gride* pel Marchionato di Guiglia del Marchese Raimondo Montecuccoli. Il capitolo 23, virtualmente copiato dalle grida di Modena, suona testualmente così 'Si proibisce a tutti i Cingani il potere in qualsivoglia modo habitare nè fermarsi nelle Giurisdittioni di S. S. Ill^{ma}, se non quando portava il bisogno di transitare, sotto pena rispetto alli maschi di tre tratti di corda in pubblico, e rispetto alle femmine,

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Giud.*

² *Sinodus diocesana Augustae Abbatiae S. Sylvestri de Nonantula . . . ab E^{mo} a Re^o Doño Iacobo . . . Card. De Angelis ejusdem Abbatiae Abbate ac perpetuo Commendatario, celebrata in Cathedrali Eccl. S. Sylvestri die 8 sept. 1688,—Bononiae 1691, Petrus Maria de Monti.—in f^o. pag. 4.*

d'esser frustate, e chi li ricettasse senza licenza incorrerà in pena di scudi 10 per ogni volta che contrafaranno.'

Eran già due secoli che la legge continuava ad imporre agli Zingari quel moto continuo, cui essendo già istintivo, finì per maggiormente pervertirli e renderli inconciliabili colla vita civile.

Secolo XVIII.

Per le risultanze dei fatti esposti nei due capitoli precedenti, gli Zingari che gravavano sul modenese non erano più tali da forse due secoli, ma sibbene indigeni in grande maggioranza, oppure italiani di colonie d'altre provincie vaganti per le nostre regioni. Tra questa accozzaglia ibrida è probabile vi fosse ancora qualche Zingaro autentico, ma senza che di esso, a preferenza degli altri, sian rimasti fatti caratteristici per determinare l'origine di razza asiatica o slava soltanto. Restava il crisma comune del vagabondaggio, del ladrocinio, della divinazione: ma tali elementi non sono sufficienti a precisare etnologicamente le bande infestanti con saltuaria costanza il modenese, le quali non erano più di Zingari originari, ma si appropriavano di quelli il costume nomade, gli usi malvagi e lo storico nome eccettato dal popolo nostro che così li chiamava tutti indistintamente.

Comunque fosse ciò, esso non mi interessa, perchè non ricerco memorie dei ladri e dei banditi che turbarono per secoli il modenese, ma bensì quelle soltanto che si riferiscono al vero popolo errante, che apparve fra noi nel secolo xv. Purtroppo ricorderò qui alcune schede che sull'argomento mi fu dato raccogliere; sono fila sottili di una grande trama dalla quale potrebbero aver luce studi generali.

Nel 1714 è segnalata al Governatore di Modena una compagnia di quaranta Zingari che si era fissata fra Mirandola e San Felice, alla Galleazza. Essa impressionava molto perchè assai forte e molestava non solo dando la caccia al pollame, ma rubando quanto poteva afferrare. I contadini alto gridavano reclamando difesa, ma, ciò che era grave, si è che qualcuno vi pareva interessato a quei furti nei luoghi stessi, impedendo che si desse colla campana l'allarme. Si mandarono birri infatti, ma probabilmente quando le ruberie erano finite e gli Zingari avevan passato il confine.¹

Il Mirandolano e il Finalese nella loro parte valliva, allora paludosa, ma solcata da grandi strade, era battuta dalle bande dei nomadi, e ne è rimasto il ricordo dal nome di certe case dette

¹ Arch. di Stato in Modena, *Partimenti*.

ancora la *Zingara*, la *Zingaretta*, poste ad 8 km. al nord del Finale, notate in una carta dell' anno 1711 spettante all' Archivio di Stato modenese.

Francesco Ignazio Papotti negli *Annali Della Mirandola*,¹ scrive che nel 1740 'una lega di birbanti assassinava i viandanti e assaliva le case nella campagna di Mirandola onde teneva tutti in agitazione. Si subornò poi che fosse una truppa di Zingari capitanata da Luciana Bianchi e spalleggiata da alcuni caporioni che tenevano agitato il paese.' Ne seguì un fatto che assai di raro si verificava, come pure nuova era la particolarità che una banda fosse capitanata da una donna; 'il popolo di S. Martino in Spino si mise in armi, prese Olimpia figlia di Luciana e fu giustiziata alla Mirandola; gli altri lasciarono il paese.'²

Questa esecuzione prova che le grida esistevano ancora e se non risultano applicate con inumana frequenza, è il risultato dei tempi mutati e perchè gli Zingari non erano più quel flagello che reclamasse provvedimenti immediati da parte dei Governi. Questo lo direbbe anche il silenzio che su di essi mantiene l' alta e serena voce di Lodovico Antonio Muratori, il quale appunto scrivendo sulla *Pubblica Felicità*,³ che deve essere cura speciale di un buon Principe, non avrebbe certamente ommesso, fra i tanti mali cui esso deve porre rimedio, gli Zingari, qualora avessero tuttora costituito una piaga palpitante di quei tempi. Essi non erano scomparsi, ma si eran fatti più rari, la legislazione degli Stati Slavo-tedeschi aveva tentato di fissarli al suolo e di conseguenza il male, per noi, non era più così acuto come prima, nè la frequenza minacciosa.

Frattanto usciva da Modena, nel 1755,⁴ il primo codice penale, diciamo così, di Francesco III°, il quale eliminò tutte le sanzioni spietate della giustizia punitiva, e perciò anche quelle che toccavano gli Zingari e lo stesso nome di Zingaro si cercherebbe invano in esso. Queste disposizioni saggiamente informate furono poi incluse nell' altro codice⁵ delle leggi pubblicate nel 1771. Ma pur troppo tale legge, che era dello Stato, non venne applicata anche alla montagna, e negli *Statuti e Privilegi* di Pavullo e Torricella, stampati nel 1785, trovansi ancora sanzioni penali per gli Zingari.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 232.

² Ricorderò che Cesare Cantù nel suo scritto: *L'abate Parini e la Lombardia*, (Milano, 1854, Gnocchi, in-8°) p. 129 riporta una grida del 7 sett. 1739 che proibisce il giuoco della *Cingarella Indovina*.

³ Lucca, 1749.

⁴ *Provvisori-gride, decreti da osservarsi negli Stati di S. A. S.*

⁵ *Codice delle leggi e costituzioni per gli Stati di S. A. S.*—Modena, Soc. Tip., 1771.

Il cui triste nome sempre li accompagnò, giacchè essi rimasero inerti e insofferenti d'ogni legge anche quando esse vennero a loro per elevarli a dignità di uomini. Ripeterò qui, a tale riguardo, un brano che tolgo dalle *Memorie Storiche della terra di Guiglia*¹ scritto inedito del sacerdote Anselmo Ginotti, circa del 1796, che al Capo XXI 'Pregiudizi popolari' così si esprime circa gli Zingari:

'Agli Zingari, dal basso popolo si presta assai fede. Costoro altro non sono che ladri e ingannatori nati credo nella Valachia.' Cita poi il Muratori e dopo aver ricordato bandi usciti in Guiglia contro di essi nel 1623 e nel 1696 colle solite minacce di corda, frusta e impiccagioni, conchiude: 'ma con poco frutto, mentre fino ad oggi questi birboni fanno le loro scorrerie e il peggio si è che trovano degli sciocchi che li circondano e porgon loro le palme per esser strologati. . . .'

Non trovo più notizie sul mio tema, ma coll' invasione del 1796 (spiace dirlo) nel modenese, il triste compito dello Zingaro pare lo assumessero i francesi. Le gesta loro (argomento d'altre ricerche) durante il passaggio per la montagna modenese del corpo di Macdonald, segnano una triste pagina di saccheggi e di violenze, che continuarono anche nel secolo seguente e alle quali non poterono mancare come pregiari gli Zingari.

Secolo XIX

Più ci accostiamo ai tempi che volgono, più si fanno rari i dati sui quali fondare considerazioni intorno agli Zingari, perchè col progredire della civiltà diminuirono di numero e fors' anche di rozzezza, e le leggi di polizia li obbligarono bensì ad un moto continuo, ma non li irritavano più.

Ma questi dati, siano pur rari, come si afferrano? Statistiche di confine e di costa, le quali chiariscano e guidino alla ricerca del vero Zingaro, che è nomade per fato, non ve ne sono, od io non le ho saputo trovarle, anche perchè queste avvolgono la fattispecie Zingaro, nella enorme folla dei vagabondi, dei mendicanti e peggio, mentre da altra parte accresce il buio la stampa politica che ha tanta importanza nella vita contemporanea. Essa non se ne occupa, se non in quanto ciò che riguarda le carovane dei Zingari, dessero motivo di interessare la pubblica quiete o contravvengano

¹ MS. della Estense di Modena. A Guiglia, per chi sale la strada che viene dal Panaro, trovasi presso Lavachiello la *Cà de' Zingari*, che su queste colline abbiamo tante volte trovati. A Spilamberto nel 1621, ed anche prima, esisteva un'ubicazione, presso la chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli, riconosciuta volgarmente sotto il titolo di *Guasto dei Zingari*, denominazione scomparsa in tempi non lontani.

alle leggi in modo clamoroso, e questa non è tendenza che sia nell' indole dello Zingaro.

Mancandomi dunque questi appoggi importantissimi, ho cercato di raccogliere notizie in proposito da persone che potessero essere in grado di possederne *de visu*. Ma non trovai molta accoglienza, purtutto, qualche risposta ottenni. Il signor Cav. Alessandro Rebusci, Dottore chimico, dimorante al Cavezzo, ricco Comune del Modenese, così rispondeva ad una mia, il 24 marzo di quest' anno.

'Zingari ?

'Io non ti posso dire che poche cose. Dalla gente credula si diceva ai tempi della mia fanciullezza, che erano ladri capaci delle più nere azioni, ed appunto rubavano ragazzi. Io credo che ciò non fosse che una fiaba: ho visto qualche volta di passaggio di questi che si dicevano Zingari che facevano i calderai, avevano carri coperti e nell' interno donne e bambini luridi straccioni, per solito in comitive di tre o quattro carri, a cui avevano attaccati buonissimi cavalli. Erano ubbidienti al capo e qualche volta questi era una donna, il quale capo non partiva dalla tenda che con un lungo bastone segnale del comando. Erano tipi magri, asciutti, dagli occhi neri, vivaci, capelli corvini abbondanti, eran rissosi. Credevo fossero Italiani e venissero dal Friuli. Ora però che ci penso, è facile fossero Dalmati e forse anche Montenegrini.'

A proposito di informatori, mi piace notare, che il M.R. Sig. Don Alfonso Pigioli, Priore di Montegibbio, ottantenne, scendeva apposta a Modena per esprimermi il suo interessamento pel mio studio. Mi narrò alcune cosucce relative ai Zingari e concludeva che la religione e il governo doveva interessarsi per spegnere tale abbiezione. Questo interessamento del modesto vecchio ottuagenario compensa l'indifferenza d'altri.

Pel nostro argomento ha qualche importanza il seguente brano della relazione di un viaggio sull' Appennino Modenese, fatto da Galdino Gardini, il quale nel 1851,¹ salendo a S. Pellegrino incontrò alcuni ruderi 'e il piano erboso che li circonda era occupato da gente la più nuova; chi distendeva par terra un candido drappo e poneavi sopra in assetto semplice imbandigione, chi dopo il cibo cantava, chi stava sdraiato sotto un albero, come stanco da fatica. Gente sana e vigorosa al vederla, di vestito bianco e uniforme, con un far disinvolto ed altero. Al nostro approssimarsi udimmo un fischio dopo il quale tutti si alzarono in piedi. La guida li salutò

¹ Galdino Gardini: *Rimembranze di un Viaggio all' Alpe di S. Pellegrino e al Monte Orientale o Cimone*. . . . Bologna, 1852, tip. alla Volpe in-16°, pag. 24.

con rispetto levandosi il cappello e passando oltre. Interrogata poscia la guida da noi che gente fosse e come la si trovasse, disse, è un drappello di Zingari, e buon per voi che siete capitati nell' ora del mangiare, poichè in altro tempo avreste dovuto senza dubbio pagare tributo d' alcun danaro a l' arte industriosa che essi hanno di trarne ai viandanti colle loro profezie e coi loro incantesimi.'

Viene a proposito un ricordo zingaresco in questi monti.

Poco lungi da qui, sul confine bolognese, è Monte Acuto dell' Alpi i cui abitanti hanno bisogno di intraprendere lunghi viaggi in cerca dei luoghi ove esercitare le loro professioni o per far provviste, e siccome prima di partire si uniscono in grosse carovane e poi si avviano, così i vicini dei circostanti paesi hanno dato loro il nome di Zingari. Agli abitanti di Monte Acuto non resterebbe che a scegliere per stemma del loro Comune, la *curetola* o *motacilla* alba, allegro uccelletto che si crede predica l' arrivo dei Zingari svolazzando vivace e leggero al sole lungo le grandi vie. Sulle quali, ai nostri dì, abbronziva uno Zingaro eletto di cui ebbe la ventura che mi si favorissero dati per le mie ricerche; dati rari e assai importanti, che io trascrivo in questi fogli con animo riconoscente verso chi me li comunicò, lieto di poter concorrere a render tributo di lode ad un Zingaro benemerito, la memoria del quale sicuramente si perderebbe.

Modena, 30 aprile 1909.

Preg^{mo}. Sig. Cav. Spinelli,—Notizie bibliografiche sugli Zingari io non ne ho. Ma, se può farle piacere e tornarle utile, avrei da offrirle uno Zingaro autentico, un tipo interessante e non volgare della grande famiglia dei nomadi, una vera e propria *personalità* zingaresca.

Ecco. *In illo tempore*, (s' invecchia! e la locuzione biblica, dovendo riandare i ricordi del mio passato remoto, non mi pare fuor di proposito), *in illo tempore*, e cioè una grossa ventina d' anni sono (1889), conobbi l' uomo alla biblioteca estense di Modena, ove io ero venuto da poco, da Roma. Si chiamava Sigismondo Caccini: ma nome e cognome, celati fra le pieghe del sudicio passaporto, non dovevano servire che alla molesta e cavillosa curiosità delle questure internazionali. Egli si firmava su le schede di biblioteca col suo nome Zingaresco di *Ui Falusci*, che in quella lingua significa: 'Nuovo Paese,' e voleva che lo chiamassimo sempre così; e io e Isnardo Astolfi, che era il suo più valido aiuto nell' ardua ricerca di quanto l' Estense possedeva di storia e di

letteratura Zingaresca, lo accontentavamo anche in questa bizzarria, con tutto il piacere. Naturalmente non era un frequentatore della Biblioteca. Faceva le sue apparizioni a larghi intervalli, arrivando con una valigetta di tela unta e lacerata ove erano . . . i manoscritti del suo lessico italo-zingaresco e qualche lurido cencio. La valigetta, per ragioni . . . diremo così, di prudenza, noi gliela facevamo lasciare sempre nel vestibolo; perchè avevamo il fondato sospetto che potesse essere, oltre che l'arca della sapienza filologica del suo proprietario, anche una specie di succursale dell'arca di Noè, per i piccoli insetti. Si tratteneva a Modena per alcuni giorni e nel frattempo restava in Biblioteca dalle 9 alle 5 di ciascun giorno, tutto l'orario, consultando grammatiche, confrontando vocabolari, meditando su libri di storia, di archeologia, e via dicendo. E la colazione? . . . Un'abitudine da gran signori e da stomachini delicati! Una raffinatezza di questa povera razza frolla! . . . Che bisogno c'era di colazione, di pranzo, di cena, di questo convenzionale frazionamento della nutrizione regolata col cronometro, in nome dell'igiene? Miserie . . . da ricchi! . . . Egli, *Ui Falusci*, era arrivato a volte a Modena, in Biblioteca, alla mattina alle 9 precise, dopo un giorno e una notte di marcia forzata e di più forzato digiuno, senza il più piccolo segno di sofferenza sul volto abbronzato e fiero; dominato, sorretto, spronato solo da un pensiero, solo da una aspirazione: potere finalmente consultare i libri di cui aveva sentito di lontano, tra i bagordi di una fiera villereccia, la mancanza e la necessità. E quando io, dopo i primi saluti e le prime domande, porgendogli alcuni soldi che egli accettava con un bellissimo gesto di dignitosa e disinvolta noncuranza, lo pregavo di andare a sdigiunarsi, egli, il fortissimo uomo, usciva infatti di Biblioteca; ma per ritornarvi dopo 5 minuti . . . bello, pettinato, sbarbato, incipriato, coi baffi tirati in su e con una grande aria di soddisfazione e di benessere. I soldi erano finiti dal barbiere!— 'Ma . . . e mangiare?'—chiedevo io; e lui:—'C'è tempo, c'è sempre tempo. Oggi troverò qualche carovana che mi darà la minestra; oppure farò fuori di una porta qualche gioco di prestigio o qualche capriola, e così mangerò. Ora avevo solo bisogno di ripulirmi.'—Strana illusione, invero! poichè, per ripulirsi a dovere, non gli sarebbe forse bastata una settimana di permanenza nelle celle della sterilizzatrice comunale! . . .

Del resto, era un uomo garbato e di maniere quasi signorili. Parlava adagio, con voce limpida e dolce, accompagnando il suo dire con una mimica espressiva ma non mai sguaiata. Era magro,

alto, arso dal sole, coi capelli e i baffi color dell'ebano; gli occhi pure erano nerissimi e pieni di arguta vivacità: solo, di quando in quando, avevano degli strani baleni, dei fuggevoli lampi selvaggi, che tradivano l'uomo della macchia e della ventura.

Ui Falusci era un solitario. Non aveva mai voluto far parte di *carovane*, viaggiava sempre solo, non aveva parenti, non aveva e non avrebbe mai tollerato padroni o legami di sorta. Ci diceva che gli studi suoi erano tutti destinati al Marchese Adriano Colocci, di cui ci mostrava le lettere che conservava con orgoglio e con compiacenza.

Nel 1896 io lasciai Modena per Lucca. Passarono alcuni anni; e un giorno mi vidi capitare in Biblioteca, proprio a Lucca, il *fedele amico* che Astolfi mi mandava da Modena. Stette in Lucca un solo giorno; si fece radere, pettinare, impomatare come il solito coi pochi soldi che io gli diedi: poi sparì, e da allora non lo vidi mai più.

Sarà vivo? sarà morto? sarà . . . ? ma! chi lo sa . . .

E ho finito. Ora pregiatissimo Cav. Spinelli, accolga il mio amichevole saluto e m'abbia pel suo—Dev^{mo}.

AUGUSTO BOSELLI.

Una donna gentile ha pure voluto cooperare al mio intento con questa interessante graziosa lettera.

Carpi, 11 luglio 1909.

Egregio amico,—Corrispondo alla di lei richiesta come meglio so e posso riguardo alla sosta degli Zingari a Carpi.

Or sono due anni, l'alba tiepida di un bel giorno di maggio sorprese nella nostra cittadina nuovi ospiti. Era una carovana di Zingari che aveva posto le tende a levante della città, e precisamente nell'area delle demolite mura, di fronte al molino Sacerdoti. L'avvenimento sollevò grande curiosità negli abitanti, che a gruppi si recarono a vedere gli strani individui.

L'accampamento era formato da tre lunghi cariaggi, disposti in semicircolo, e coperti da larghe tele cerate. Interessanti i componenti la tribù che stranamente somigliavano alle razze nomadi dell'Arabia.

Erano circa una ventina tra uomini, donne e fanciulli; i primi tipi fortissimi dall'alta statura, dal largo petto, avevano i capelli neri, folti e cresputi come pure la barba; la pelle color di rame sfolgoranti gli occhi, energiche e risolte le linee del volto.¹

¹ Il capo della carovana era Cristo Giorgio di Trifone di Corfù, e fu in Carpi nel maggio 1907.

Le loro vesti attiravano in modo speciale la curiosità. Lunghi giubboni di grosso panno con artistici e grossi bottoni d'argento in forma di frutti e larghi calzoni di velluto bleu stretti con uose, nell'alta calzatura di cuoio.

Le donne di color olivastro, coi ricciuti e folti capelli foggiate a trecce scendenti sulle spalle; belli avevano gli occhi dai riflessi verdastri. Di altezza media vestivano con corsetti e sottanelle di colore e stoffa indefinibile causa il lungo uso; tutte sudicie.

Gli uomini, sotto una larga tenda cerata, lavoravano il rame, dimostrando nel loro mestiere grande precisione ed abilità; delle donne parte accudiva all'allestimento dei cibi, parte sedute in terra lavorando la maglia ed aggiustando abiti cantavano canzoni. Questi canti avevano una cadenza strana, monotona, malinconica, e ricordavano gli incantatori egiziani.

Sudici e cenciosi i fanciulli che ruzzavano con diletto nella polvere, mandando grida gutturali e parole in un dialetto incomprendibile a noi.

Cominciava già Carpi a vedere con indifferenza gli Zingari quando di nuovo la generale curiosità fu eccitata dalla strana cerimonia che ebbe luogo in questa tribù.

Due giovani fidanzati, giunti al termine dei loro voti si univano in matrimonio. Per l'occasione l'accampamento fu trasformato, sgombrato dalle fucine e dagli arnesi del loro mestiere, il terreno appianato, battuto e bagnato. Furono tese delle lunghe corde attorno ai carriaggi sulle quali furono stesi ricchi tappeti a colori vivacissimi a disegno orientale. Nelle prime ore della notte furono accese parecchie torcie a vento ed a questa luce tremolante e fumigginosa un rabbino, giunto appositamente da ignoto paese, abbigliato con ricchi indumenti sacerdotali unì in matrimonio i due giovani.

Celebrati gli sponsali, tutti gli Zingari che per la circostanza avevano indossato ricchi abiti, formarono circolo e tenendosi per le mani cominciarono a danzare, danze che assunsero un carattere assolutamente strano, fantastico, vorticoso accompagnate dal suono di tamburelli e da canto.

Terminato la cerimonia fra abbracci e baci tutti si portarono ad un caffè libando a più non posso birra e liquori tanto da ridursi un po' alticci. Ritornati all'accampamento nuove danze e canto; poi salutarono i novelli sposi sulla soglia della felicità.

Era desiderio di Piero¹ conservare ricordo dell' accampamento e del recinto nuziale, ma sfortunatamente quando la mattina dopo egli si recò sul luogo colla sua *Kodak*, gli Zingari eran tutti partiti coi loro carriaggi, colla loro sudicia prole, col loro amore, accompagnati dal destino misterioso ed infallibile dello Zingaro che par non possa fermare a lungo il nomade e randagio istinto suo.

Ecco quanto io so a proposito della sosta a Carpi degli Zingari due anni or sono allorchè una tiepida alba di maggio li sorprese nostri ospiti.

Gradisca egregio Cavaliere ed Amico i miei cordiali e distinti saluti.—Con affetto sua,
EMILIA FORESTI,
nata Pederzòli.

Alcuno forse meraviglierà che io non mi fermi sugli Zingari odierni, prima di chiudere la narrazione; ma qui più forte che mai, si fa sentire il bisogno di cognizioni da scienziato, che io non ho, e poi anche più forte il bisogno di precisare a quali razze appartengano i manipoli dei nomadi, che su carri e *pedibus*, solcano la regione; cioè se debbono ritenersi Zingari per razza o non piuttosto nomadi spettanti a stirpi diverse coi caratteri negativi comuni ad essi ed allarmanti la pubblica quiete. A porre un argine, a sorvegliare questi varchi umani, provvedono le disposizioni politiche e di pubblica sicurezza, che furono compendiate dal dott. Sebastiano Tringali,² in apposito volume. Io dunque lascio l'argomento, perchè mi mancano i materiali pratici per dirne con persuasione di essere nel vero.

Conclusione

Con *Ui Fulusci* e col *matrimonio zingaresco* brillantemente finisce questa scialba e sconnessa narrazione; non potendo io, per incompetenza, rilevare i caratteri scientifici coi quali i dotti considerano e studiano gli Zingari, sottraendoli così all' empirico, al romanziere, che va in caccia di lettori e ne fa un oggetto di ricerche a sensazioni e non di indagini storico-filosofiche ed etnografiche.

¹ Il Cav. Pietro Foresti suo marito, Regio Ispettore dei Monumenti e Scavi, raccogliitore d'arte notissimo ed intelligente, che già mi invogliò a stendere memorie sull' arte del truciolo, che in Carpi fiorisce e sulla musica in questa ridente cittadina.

² *Dizionario politico e di pubblica sicurezza*: Milano, 1903, Tip. Poligrafica, in-8, gr. pp. 1054.

Che se io nel compilare queste notizie avessi tenuto un metodo troppo elementare, ma se poi risultasse utile a chi si occupa della materia, e potesse consigliare e confortare lo studio tendente a procurare l'acceleramento della scomparsa degli Zingari nel grembo della società, allora la mia non sarà certamente considerata come fatica perduta.

La quale fatica se ora vede la luce per le stampe lo si deve, come ho detto, all' on. *Gypsy Lore Society*, ma ancora al Capitano avv. Cesare Cesari, del 36° Fanteria, il quale mi coadiuvò, durante le indisposizioni che mi affliggono, in modo tanto intelligente quanto colmo di fine abnegazione, cosichè se oggi essa viene alla luce lo si deve anche a lui. E mi è doveroso altresì rivolgere un grato pensiero, ai miei colleghi nella Estense, Signori Isnardo Astolfi ed Augusto Boselli, per la preziosa e paziente assistenza prestatami nelle investigazioni bibliografiche le quali sono l'anima di queste indagini.

III.—SWEDISH TSIGANOLOGUES

By HARALD EHRENBORG

- Olavus Petri: *Svensk Krönika* [written about 1534], ed. by G. E. Klemming. Stockholm, 1860.
- Johan Messenius: *Scandia Illustrata* [written 1620-1624], ed. by Peringskiöld. Stockholm, 1700.
- Erik Palmköld: *Kronologiskt Register, 1219-1685*, manuscript. [1685].
- Johan Hadorph: *Björköa Rätten* [Some Mediæval Laws and Statutes]. Stockholm, 1687.
- Samuel P. Björckman: *Dissertatio Academica de Cingaris*. Upsala, 1730.
- Lars Georg Rabenius: *Observationes Historiam Zigeunorum Illustrantes*. Upsala, 1791.
- Djôs Per Andersson: *Glossary*, manuscript, 1849 (Life of—, *En Liflömds Be-traktelser*. Upsala, 1849).
- Eilert Sundt: *Berättning om Fante-eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge* (1850), 2nd. ed. Christiania, 1852.
- A. Th. Lysander: 'Zigenare,' in *Nu*, monthly review, ed. by Johan Grönstedt. Stockholm, May, 1875.
- A. G. Ahlqvist: 'Anteckningar om svenska Zigenare under 16^{de} Seklet,' in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*. Stockholm, 3 Juni 1876.
- Arthur Thesleff: *Zigenare*, Nordiska Museets Förlag. Stockholm, 1904.
- Viktor Rydberg: *Singalla, a mediæval legend*. London: Walter Scott. 1904.

THE first-recorded Swedish *Romano Rai* was Samuel P. Björckman, who was born in 1704, ordained in 1730, became assistant-rector of the city of Wexiö in 1735, rector of Karlstorp in 1740, and died in 1747. He chose the Gypsies for the subject

of the degree-thesis which he 'publicæ ventilationi modeste sistit' at Upsala during the forenoon of May 30, 1730. His *Dissertatio Academica de Cingaribus*, printed at Upsala in the same year, is a tract of great rarity, and shows very complete knowledge of previous writings on the same subject. What gives it peculiar interest is, however, that Björckman took the trouble to confirm Scaliger's vocabulary¹ by visiting a Gypsy, Jakob Helsing, who was then in prison, and made some slight changes in the words, of which he reprinted the following forty-seven:—

Achan vel jaka [V. Achan]	. . . . .	oculus
Bal . . . . .	. . . . .	capillus
Bar . . . . .	. . . . .	lapis
Being [V. Beinck]	. . . . .	Diabolus
Buchos . . . . .	. . . . .	liber
Chiro l. cheron [V. Cheron]	. . . . .	caput
Chiral . . . . .	. . . . .	caseus
Chor . . . . .	. . . . .	{ Barba hic ch. pronuntiandum ut Hispanice
Churi [V. Chouui]	. . . . .	culter. [V. ch. Hispanicum.]
Dade . . . . .	. . . . .	Pater.
Dajo [V. Daio]	. . . . .	Mater.
Deuel . . . . .	. . . . .	Deus. [V. Cælum, Deus.]
Erani . . . . .	. . . . .	nobilis matrona
For . . . . .	. . . . .	{ penna; [V. Penna, Calamus scrip- torius.]
Foros . . . . .	. . . . .	{ urbs φορός vulgare idioma Græ- corum.
Gad . . . . .	. . . . .	camisia.
Gagi . . . . .	. . . . .	mulier.
Hanro . . . . .	. . . . .	ensis. H. fortis aspiratio.
Harmi . . . . .	. . . . .	thorax. [V. h. fortis aspiratio.]
Juket [V. Iuket]	. . . . .	canis.
Kan . . . . .	. . . . .	auris.
Kangheri . . . . .	. . . . .	ecclesia.
Kradi . . . . .	. . . . .	Rex. [V. Bohemicum est.]
Loue . . . . .	. . . . .	argentum.
Manosch . . . . .	. . . . .	vir.
Manro [V. Manron].	. . . . .	panis.
Moi . . . . .	. . . . .	os, oris. [V. Os, oris, στόμα.]
Mol . . . . .	. . . . .	vinum.
Mucia . . . . .	. . . . .	brachium.
Nak . . . . .	. . . . .	nasus.
Nay . . . . .	. . . . .	unguis.
Panin . . . . .	. . . . .	aqua.
Piassa . . . . .	. . . . .	nos bibimus.
Piela . . . . .	. . . . .	ille bibit.
Piava [V. Piaua]	. . . . .	ego bibo.
Piessakan [Piessa kan]	. . . . .	vos bibitis.
Rai . . . . .	. . . . .	nobilis.

¹ Published in Vulcanius, *De Literis et Lingua Getarum*, 1597.

Sonakai	aurum.
Thouchan [V. Thuochan]	vestis.
Troupos	corpus.
Vast	manus.
Vodros	lectus.
Xai	filia.
Xauca [V. Xauea]	{ filius X pronuntiandum est ut Hispanice.
Yago	ignis.
Yangustri	annulus.
Yanre	ova.

‘Quæ omnia, Cingarus, nomine Jacobus Helsing, carceri jam inclusus Upsaliensi, vera esse, professus est: quippe qui ante hebdomadam, vel quod excurrit, in præsentia testium, quos tum adduxi, Svetice a me interrogatus, quo nomine pater; quo mater; quo denique ignis, etc., lingua ipsi propria veniret? confestim & in instanti, ad interrogationem successive à me factam, singula protulit supra hæc allata vocabula, quæ adserente *Vulcanio*, Nubiani esse idiomatis, creduntur.

Scarcely less rare and even more interesting is the second Swedish contribution to Gypsy literature. It is also an academical dissertation submitted at Upsala on June 8, 1791, by Laurentius G. Rabenius (1771-1846; *Prof. Juris* at Upsala, 1807, *nobil.* 1834) then in his twentieth year, and was printed as a small quarto of fourteen pages with the title *Observationes Historiam Zigueunorum Illustrantes*. In it Rabenius gives an admirably succinct account of Swedish Gypsy legislation, and criticises Grellmann’s Suder theory, arguing that though the Gypsies and Suders may be of the same tribe yet they have been separate since the early days of the human race. The document on which this theory was founded, and on which he based his conjecture that the Gypsies entered Sweden in the thirteenth century in consequence of Tartar successes in Russia, is an edict of King Birger dated ‘Anno Domini M.CCC.III. III. Idus martii.’¹

This statute orders certain masterless men, *clientes & cursores ac garciones vagos dictos sculuara*,² mainly foreigners, who had disturbed Sweden with murders, robberies, and thefts, to take

¹ The full text is given by Rabenius, and was reprinted from his tract by Colocci. See *Gli Zingari*, Torino, 1889, pp. 42-3, footnote. The whole law is quoted also by Gråberg von Hemsö in an essay on the first appearance of the Gypsies in Europe, which was published in the *Memoirs* of the Turin Academy (1813, xxi. append.).

² Rabenius explains *garciones* in a footnote: ‘*Garciones*, Ganeones, nebulones, homines nihili, quos vulgo Mauvais Garçons appellamus, vid. *Du Fresne* ad voc.’ *Sculuara* has not to my knowledge been explained etymologically. Good authorities see no connection between this word and *Zigenare* or *secani*, nor with *skojare* (cheat),

service within a month or suffer the loss of their property, scourging of their bodies, and mutilation of their ears. It has been taken by others besides Rabenius as evidence that Gypsies were present in northern Europe at a very early date; and it is therefore worth while to consider the reasons which led him to assume that it was directed against the Gypsies.

The edict itself makes no mention of *Tartare* or Gypsies, but in Hadorph's¹ collection of statutes from the time of Magnus Ladulås to that of Gustavus I. (*Biärköa Rätten, . . . Konunga Stadgar*, Stockholm, 1687) Rabenius found, together with the full text of the edict, a rubric which, he admitted, was probably more recent than the statute itself, but which he thought interpreted its meaning correctly,—‘*Rubrum hujus statuti . . . recentius ipso statuto videtur, comprobatur tamen, anno 1687, quando typis mandabatur, fuisse opinionem vulgarem in illo de Zigueunis seu Tartaris agi.*’ This rubric refers directly to Gypsies and reads as follows:—

‘*Birgeri Regis Statutum de Relegatione Vagorum Garcionum (Tartare och fremmande Landzstrykare) sub pœna amissionis rerum omnium quas habuerint & corporis flagellatione, auriumque mutilatione, &c. Dat. Anno MCCCIII. 3. Idus Martii.*’

There can be no doubt about the genuineness of the statute, although the original was burned with the Royal Castle at Stockholm in 1697. But Hadorph's rubric is not original. The four Swedish words within brackets are not in old Swedish, but in modern Swedish; and the addition was probably made some 350 years after the statute was written.²

which, moreover, is applicable to all sorts of cheating dealers. The edict shows plainly enough that *Sculuara* means disbanded, masterless, serving-men ‘mainly foreigners,’ and therefore not *all* of foreign nationality. *Sculuara*, as the text of the edict points out, seems to be the latinized form of a Swedish word then commonly known. It should be read *skul-vara*, which is, no doubt, the genitive plural of *skul-var*, agreeing with ‘*Garcionum vagorum, etc.*’ and meaning ‘skulking-men.’ (Nom. Sing., *skul-var*; Nom. Pl., *skul-varar*; Gen. Pl., *skul-vara*.) *Skul* or *Scul*, probably from O. Swed. *Skul*, ‘hiding place,’ and related to O. Swed. *Skuld*, *Skiöld*, ‘shield,’ and to Engl. *skulk*; Dan. *Skulke*, ‘save one's self’; Swed. *Skolka*, ‘play the truant’; Icl. *Skolli*, ‘the sculker,’ ‘the fox’ (‘the Fiend’). *Var* or *ver* = Lat. *vir*, as in *Romvare*, *Heofonvare*, *vergild*, etc. I appeal to our eminent veteran *Lavengro* Professor Esaias Tegnér to approve or disprove this conjecture:—to be noticed by him would be an honour, even if the notice were a correction. *Clients*, *cursor*, and *garcio* are, in mediæval Latin, all *military* servants.

¹ Johan Hadorph, 1630-1683, Secretary to the Record Office, 1669, held in addition a leading position in the Antiquarian Office from 1666, and finally became Director of the Antiquarian College, 1692.

² Compare A. G. Ahlqvist, ‘Anteckningar om svenska zigenare under 16^{de} seklet’ in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, Stockholm, 3 Juni 1876, p. 222.

In all probability Hadorph was not to blame for this mistaken identification, but rather his senior contemporary Erik Palmköld (1608-86), who wrote a most careful 'Chronological Register 1219-1685,' comprising a great number of documents which were lost in the conflagration of 1697. In this record, in his own clear hand, stands a sentence which may be translated literally¹:— 'Concerning *Tartare* [margin]—1303. King Birger's edict about Tartare and other foreigners who without passport or letters tramp about the country and practise all sorts of insolentia, that they depart from the country. Dat. 3 Idus Martij 1303.' This Palmköld was a child of his time, when Swedes were somewhat intoxicated with their own importance, acquired in the first half of the seventeenth century. Hadorph stands almost alone in recording documents and facts soberly. Leading thinkers and antiquarians of the period tried to prove that Sweden was the cradle of nations and Swedish the mother of tongues. Antedating on the most slender warranty was epidemic like a disease; and Palmköld, or perhaps some earlier scholar, seems to have thought it worth while to claim that Sweden possessed Gypsies a century before the date generally accepted for their first appearance in western Europe.

That the claim to this questionable honour was ill-founded has been shown by Professor A. Th. Lysander of Lund University in his admirable essay on the Gypsies.² 'Who these *garçons* were is hard to say, but, in the royal statute, the whole connection gives them the appearance of being escaped or dismissed servants. In that case they were probably for the most part Danes and Germans who had been brought into the country. The Gypsies have a native horror of taking service. Moreover Birger's edict mentions male persons exclusively: there is not a word to be read in it about women. But gangs of Gypsies without wives and children are unthinkable.'

The accepted date for the first appearance of Gypsies in Sweden is 1512. Dr. Arthur Thesleff quotes³ from *Stockholms Stads tänkeböcker* [notebooks for memorable events] for that year: 'The *Tattere* came here, into the town, who were said to be of

¹ Erik Palmköld: *Kronologiskt Register, 1219-1685*, MS. :—'Om Tartare. 1303 Kon. Birgers bref om Tartare och andre fremmande som uthan pass och bevijs stryka kring Landet och öfva allehanda insolentier att dhe wika af Landet. Dat. 3 Idus Martij 1303. Orig. F.O. pag. 2.'

² See his 'Zigenarne' in *Nu, Månadsskrift utgifven af Johan Grönstedt*, Stockholm, May 1875, p. 231.

³ Arthur Thesleff, *Zigenare*, Nordiska museets Förlag, Stockholm, 1904, pag. 11.

Klene Egijfti land.' Their 'chief was named Herr Antonius, a count with his countess.' They were lodged in the guild house of St. Laurentius.

The bearing of this contemporary evidence is further illustrated by Olavus Petri (1493-1552) who, as secretary of the town of Stockholm, 1524-1531, actually wrote the continuation of those notebooks from 1524 to 1529. Some time between 1530 and 1540 he wrote our first reliable Swedish history,¹ which is the 'first original literary work in new Swedish,' and takes, in the opinion of modern historians and authorities upon literature, a foremost rank for accuracy, sobriety, and style. In it he states (p. 305): 'In the same year that Herr Steen became regent [1512], a part of that people who fare about from one country to another, whom we call Tartare, came here into this country, and to Stockholm; formerly they had never been here.'²

As to the appellation *Tartare* or *Tatare* it came undoubtedly from North Germany into the Scandinavian countries, and it is probably not older than the invasion of the Gypsies into western Europe. Hermann Corner says in his chronicle, almost contemporary with the invasion, that they were 'in appearance exceedingly ugly and black as tartars, they called themselves *secani*' (. . . forma turpissimi, nigri ut Tartari, Secanos se nuncupantes). Rufus, who wrote his chronicle probably a few years later, goes so far as to say that the strangers actually 'came from Tartary' (desse quemen ute tartarien).

We have, moreover, a corroborating statement by Messenius (1579-1636 or 7) a reliable historian and one of the most learned Swedes of his day, professor at Upsala and thereafter archivist in the capital, but imprisoned from 1616 to 1635 on the charge of treasonable converse with papists. During his confinement he wrote, between the years 1620 and 1624, a history³ in which the following account is given of the invasion. It is apparently a copy and paraphrase from Olavus Petri, who mentions the vain prediction without connecting it with the Gypsies.

'Anno MDXII . . . Itaque Steno Sture, XXIII Julii die,

¹ *Olai Petri Srenska Krönika*, ed. by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1860. It existed only in numerous manuscripts until 1818.

² 'Samma år her Steen var höffnützman worden, kom en part aff thet folket som fara omkring ifrå thet ena landet til thet andra, them man kallar Tatare, hijt i landet, och til Stocholm, förra hadhe the aldrigh her varit.'

³ Johannes Messenius, *Scandia Illustrata seu Chronologia de rebus Scandiar . . . a mundi Cataclysmo, usque annum Chr. MDCXII*, Stockholm (Peringskiöld) 1700, p. 72.

habenas Regni adeptus, Ordines in acropoli magnifico excipit convivio, & deinceps regit prudentissime per sequens septennium. Sub ejus regimine illi Sueciam agyrtæ ac circumforanei primum ingressi Zigani, vulgo Tartari hodierno nuncupati. Quorum vanissimas æmulati vaticinationes Dominicani, Stocholmiæ, principio Septembris, ex suggesto urbis prædicunt submersionem, die horâque designatis. Undè his imminentibus, plurimi civium ad montes & insulas secedunt finitimas, & tempore citra periculum aliquod civitatis evoluta, cum pudore redeunt, pseudovatibus indignantes.'

Messenius makes no mention of the 1303 edict which was as accessible, and probably as well known, to him as to Palmsköld and Hadorph. Messenius is known to have worked from a vast material of original documents and copies which he was allowed to have with him while a prisoner.

Among other Swedish writings on the Gypsies the essays of Lysander and Ahlqvist, to which I have already referred, need only be mentioned, since they contain no original observations, and the pastoral letter of Archbishop Laurentius Petri (1573) is well known. But it would be wrong to omit Djôs Per Andersson, the compiler of our first vocabulary, though he will here find himself in somewhat unaccustomed society. He was a well-known and dangerous criminal master-thief and prison-breaker, executed at last in 1849 for murdering a warder at Upsala. He was not a Gypsy, but in his repeated incarcerations he had learnt Romani, and used it for purposes other than philological, as the following words, addressed to his clergyman during his last moments, show: ¹—

'I might mention that my fellow-sufferers are already conceiving a language called *Tänke språket* (Thought-language) which will set at naught even the soundless walls of the prison-cells. The rigorous silence which, according to the Auburn system, is observed while prisoners work together, is no guarantee against their being able to communicate with one another under the very eyes of the warder. Besides the copious and developed tongue called Romani, a mere glance, a gesture, is enough to make the prisoners understood among themselves: and I am convinced that, whatsoever human ingenuity can devise to prevent this com-

¹ *En Lifvömds Beträktelser . . . jemte en kort teckning öfver Djôs Per Andersson (Dal-Pelles) sista dager.* [An account of the last days of Djôs Per Andersson], Upsala, 1849.

munication between the prisoners, there is a counteracting force in the human mind striving to elude the endeavours of vigilance, and that in the end it will succeed.'

On the same page the author of the pamphlet has added a note: 'The convict has made a lexicon of this [the Romani] language. According to what the prisoner has stated to me, he received, on account of this act of treason against his fellows, and in their name, a sanguinary retribution from another convict.' Sundt used this glossary¹ and, in his vocabulary, Andersson's words are marked *And.*, but where the original manuscript now is I have been unable to discover. There are good reasons for believing that the vocabulary was taken down by the eminent scholar C. F. Bergstedt, a member of the staff of Upsala University, and well versed in Sanskrit.

A most reliable authority upon Swedish Gypsies is Dr. Arthur Thesleff, well known to serious students of Gypsy Philology and Lore. He rejects Sundt's conclusion that the Gypsies entered Sweden via Russia and Finland, and states that there is reason to think that they came from Scotland.² 'For centuries the Gypsies continued roaming about in Sweden, molesting the population. By degrees most of them transmigrated into Norway and Finland. Finland received her Gypsies from Sweden. The Gypsies who are at present still to be found in Sweden have been denationalised to a great extent. Of the old-time *Tattare* there are still remnants, for instance in Halland. . . . But the main Gypsy tribe of Sweden has by no means died out, nor has it been absorbed into the population; it continues to exist, vigorous and numerous—in Finland. . . . From Scandinavia the Gypsies of Finland took their family names. Out of 110 families 101 have Swedish patronymies. . . . From linguistic evidence one might call the Gypsies of Finland Swedish not Finnish. The loan words in their language show their former migrations. There are in the Finnish Gypsy dialect loan words which have been adopted in the north of Sweden, as well as others from the middle and south of Sweden, and we may go further and trace in the language their earlier wanderings, by the presence of Danish, Low German, Slavonic, Greek, and Armenian elements. The sojourn of the Gypsies in Sweden did not pass without leaving traces behind it. In the

¹ Eilert Sundt, *Beretning om Fante-eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge*, Andet Oplag, Christiania, 1852, p. 364 et seqq.

² *Zigenare*, p. 13 et seqq.

slang of Swedish thieves, for instance, there are numerous Gypsy words, which have in that way penetrated into the language of the street boys.'

In conclusion, let me draw the attention of British readers to a charming Swedish novel which has been translated into English —Viktor Rydberg's *Singoalla*. He has committed the anachronisms of placing the first appearance of the Gypsies in Sweden as early as the middle of the fourteenth century and connecting them with the introduction of the 'Black Death' into the country; but such sins will be readily overlooked in consideration of the masterly way in which the mediæval spirit has been described.

There are competent students of the subject in Sweden, and I look forward to emendations, corrections, and possibly blame from them for venturing forth on new ground, less well equipped than I wish I were.

IV.—Č UND Ě.

Von JACOB WACKERNAGEL.

MIKLOSICH (*Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner*, ix. 38), lehrt, dass indischem ě im Zigeunerischen ausser *dž* auch *č* entsprechen könne und bringt als Belege *čang* 'Bein': aind. *jānghā-*, — *čib* 'Zunge,' 'Sprache': aind. *jihvā-*, — *čukel* 'Hund': aind. *jakuṭa-*, *jukuṭa-*, — *ič*, *jič* 'gestern': aind. *hyaḥ*, präkr. *hiĵjo*. Von diesen ist *čukel* zu streichen: die herrschende Form, auch in denjenigen Zigeunersprachen, die in den andern angeführten Wörtern *č* haben, ist *jukel*; die Form mit *č* findet sich nur bei solchen, die auch sonst *ĵ* durch *č* ersetzen, wie bei den deutschen und besonders den spanischen Zigeunern. Dagegen ist noch beizufügen *čam* 'Wange,' 'Kinn.' Miklosich (vii. 28) bringt es mit hind. *čābnā* 'kauen' zusammen. Aber richtig führt es bereits Pott (ii. 193) auf aind. *jambha-* 'Gebiss,' 'Kinnbacken' zurück; vgl. lat. *gena*, cymr. *gen* 'Wange,' aind. *hanu-*, gr. *γενυς* 'Kinnbacken,' armen. *cnaut* 'Wange,' 'Kinnbacken.'

Dieses *č* für *ĵ* ist sehr verwunderlich, weil in sehr vielen andern Wörtern anlautendes *ĵ* des Indischen im Zigeunerischen erhalten bleibt und diesem überhaupt derartige Verschiebung der Artikulationsart fremd ist. Das Gemeinsame der vier Wörter mit *č* ist, dass die indischen Grundwörter teils in der folgenden Silbe teils wie bei (*ĵ*)*ič* im Anlaut eine Aspirata bzw. *h* haben, während die

Wörter, in denen *ǰ* erhalten ist, keine solche aufweisen. Nun ist längst bekannt, dass in den europäischen Zigeunersprachen vielfach Verschiebung der Aspiration, namentlich solche auf den Anlaut, stattgefunden hat (Miklosich, *Beiträge*, ii. [1874] 782 ff, 776), z. B. *phuč* 'fragen': präkr. *pucchař*; dass zweitens diese neuen gerade wie die ererbten Aspiraten durchgehend stimmlos sind, z. B. *klabni* 'schwanger': präkr. *gabbhinī*; *thud* 'Milch': präkr. *duddham*; *phand*, 'binden': aind. präkr. *bandh-*; dass endlich für *čh* durchweg *č* eingetreten ist, z. B. *čad* 'vomieren': präkr. *chadd-*; *čin* 'schneiden': präkr. *čhind-*. Demgemäss musste *ǰ*, wenn aspiriert, durch *ǰh—čh* hindurch zu *č* werden, und jenes *č* ist also gesetzmässig.

Leider ist keines der besprochenen Wörter bei den armenischen Zigeunern zu treffen. Sie müssten bei diesen anders aussehen, weil diese zwar an der Stimmlosigkeit sämtlicher Aspiraten, nicht aber an dem Zurückwerfen der Aspiration auf den Anlaut noch an dem Übergang von *čh* in *č* teilnehmen, vgl. arm.-zig. *luth* aus *duth* 'Milch'; *banth* 'binden'; vielleicht auch *gian* 'Gestank' gegenüber europ.-zig. *khan(d)*: aind. *gandha*; sowie *chin* 'schneiden' u. s. w. bei Finck, *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, 87 f. Für europ.-zig. *ič* heisst es in Asien *hič*, *aič*.

V.—A GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE NAWAR OR ZUTT, THE NOMAD SMITHS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, F.S.A.

I CONTRIBUTED a short article on 'The Grammatical Structure of the Nuri Language,' to the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* for January 1908. That article was, however, based on inaccurate and imperfectly understood materials, and short though it was, it contained several errors. The material I had collected at the time I have since revised, and considerably augmented.

The greater part of the following grammar and vocabulary is founded upon an analysis of a collection of anecdotes, related to me by an intelligent young Nuri named Shákir Máhsín; established with his brethren in the well-known settlement of Nawar, a short distance north of the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem. I give them elsewhere in this *Journal* as I noted

them down, making no apology for their incoherence or for their disregard of the unities of time and person, which the reader will easily observe for himself.¹ Some of them are personal reminiscences—and if these appear monotonous, it may be remembered that the life of nomads is itself monotonous.² Others of them are folklore. A few (marked with an asterisk) are stories which I dictated to Shákir, in Arabic, to be translated by him into his own tongue. These were generally chosen or prepared in order to entrap, so to speak, some word or grammatical rule about which I needed information, and they do not in general claim any other merit. It may be as well to remark that, in the same way and for the same reason, some of the illustrative sentences in the grammar and vocabulary were originally given by me, in Arabic, to Shákir. These were often suggested by similar sentences which I found in Paspatis's *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'empire ottoman*, or in Mr. Sampson's Welsh Romani stories in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. It is, therefore, not to be inferred that such sentences indicate the existence of similar sayings or stories among the Nawar.

The stories are here published with the consent of the committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, for which society they were originally collected. The collection has been made in the intervals of other and absorbing work, and I cannot claim that I have exhausted all the language, though probably most of its vocabulary will be found in the stories and glossary.

I. SYMBOLS AND SOUNDS

1. The following are the alphabetic characters here used for the representation of the sounds of the Nuri language:—

ǎ á â b c d ð e ē f g ġ h ħ ĩ ï j k l m n o ô p r s
š t ț ț ũ u ū w y z ź ' °.

¹ Evidently the narrator has a short memory—but possibly the unwonted experience of telling a story sentence by sentence, to allow of its being written down, has disturbed his continuity of thought. Thus, story No. xxviii is obviously a confusion of two marriage-tales, one of them a purchase-transaction of the ordinary kind, the other an elopement: the end of one being fitted, or rather misfitted, to the beginning of the other. This, however, does not impair the value of the stories as specimens of the *language*, which is the principal purpose they are here intended to serve.

² In some points the narrator has probably drawn on his imagination—as, for instance, the frequent murders in which he glories, and the large sums of money with which from time to time he deals. The presence of ghûls in otherwise sober narratives need not arouse undue scepticism: ghûls to these people are as real as hyaenas and jackals, and it is highly probable that the apparition was that of a real creature falsely identified by the person who saw it.

Obs. The order of the Roman alphabet is retained in preference to a strict phonological classification of the sounds, as the former is the more generally convenient. The *hamza* (') is disregarded in assigning a word to its alphabetic order.

2. The vowels and diphthongs are to be pronounced as follows: *ā* as in 'fat': *a* as in 'father': *ā* as *è* in French '*père*,' or *ai* in 'pair': *e* as in 'pen': *ē* as *ai* in 'pain': *i* as in 'pin': *ī* as in 'machine': *o* as in 'pot': *ō* as in 'mote': *ū* as in 'but': *u* as *oo* in 'foot': *ū* as in 'booth': *āi* as *i* in 'pine': *āu* as *ow* in 'power': *ū* as *ya*: *ūi* as *wee*. With regard to the last four symbols, see § 10 (3).

3. After long accented vowels (especially *ī*), a repetition of the same vowel, pronounced short, is frequently heard. Thus *wāšīs*, 'with him,' is often pronounced *wāšīīs* or almost like *wāšīyīs*.

4. Unaccented short vowels, especially when final, are pronounced obscurely, approximating to the neutral sound *ə*. Careful attention is required to distinguish between inflexions differing by an unaccented short vowel, as *lāherdā*, 'he saw,' *lāherdi*, 'she saw,' *lāherde*, 'they saw.'

5. There are distinct traces of a law of vowel assonance, such as regulates the vocalisation of inflexions in Turkish. This is particularly noticeable in the vocalisation of the pronominal suffixes. It also affects the vowels of other inflexions and mutations. Thus, *klárā*, 'a (male) Bedawi,' *kléri*, 'a (female) Bedawi.' This law has, however, become irregular in its application and is falling into disuse.

6. Of the consonants, *b, d, f, h, j, m, n, p, s, t, w, y, z*, are to be pronounced as in English: *g* is always to be pronounced *hard*: *j* has always the English *dj* sound, as in 'June,' not the French *zh* sound as in '*jeune*'; for the latter the symbol *ž* is used.

7. The letter *c* is *always* to be pronounced as *ch* in 'church' (*tch, č*): *š* and *ž* denote *sh* and *zh* respectively.

8. The following sounds as a rule are confined to words borrowed from Arabic, being seldom or never found in native Nuri words: *d, t*, the gingival ط ض (*ḍaḍ, ṭa*), not heard in English, but frequent in the 'brogue' of Ireland: *h, ḥ*, represent the emphatic and guttural ح, ح (*ḥa, ḥa*) of Arabic (*hh, kh*) respectively: *k* is the velar ك (*kaf*): *ṭ* is the ordinary sound of *th* in 'this,' but as in Arabic it frequently passes into a simple *t*: ' is the fricative 'ain, Arabic ع: *ġ* represents the sound of *gh*, Arabic غ (*ġain*).

Obs. Unless expressly stated to the contrary, by 'Arabic' is always to be understood the colloquial of Palestine, not literary Arabic or any other dialect.

9. There are two sounds of *l*, one pronounced much as in English, the other rather farther back in the throat. I have not attempted to differentiate these in writing: so far as I could detect, the difference is not very consistently observed in speaking. The first is heard in *tillä*, 'great': the second in *böl*, 'much,' 'very.' The sound of *r* is always more trilled than in English.

10. The other symbols used in these pages are the following:—

(1) The sign °, to denote an abrupt closure of the glottis, cutting short the preceding vowel, which is always strongly accented (except in the word *áme*°, 'we'). This symbol we shall call by the name of the corresponding Arabic character (*hamza*): and the phonetic process for which it stands we shall term *hamzation*. Occasionally, but rarely, the hamza follows a *consonant* whose sound is capable of prolongation (such as *m*). In this case the syllable is to be accented and the consonantal sound cut short exactly like the vowel in ordinary cases.

(2) An acute accent, indicating the stressed syllables. Unaccented syllables are rapidly pronounced, and are rather apt to be slurred: before the ear gets accustomed to the speech it is not easy to distinguish all of them. As the accent is always implied by the hamza, it is not expressed in writing on hamzated syllables.

(3) Diphthongs are indicated by a curve or circumflex, as in *āi*, *āu*, *ūi*, *ūu*. In other cases of two vowels coming together they are to be pronounced as two syllables.

(4) Unaccented words are either enclitic or proclitic, and it will sometimes be convenient to connect such, by means of a hyphen, with the word upon which they cast their accent.

11. Double letters are to be pronounced double if possible, as in *pārdössän*, 'he took them,' pronounced *pār-dös-sän*. If it be impossible to double them, they are to be emphasized and prolonged: as in *bägānndsi*, 'they broke it.' A double *j* (as in *kājǰǰ*, 'a man not a Nuri,' 'a *Gentile*'—the *gájo* of Gypsies) is pronounced like *jž* (*kāj-ža*).

12. Modifications of pronunciation, such as metathesis, are not uncommon. Thus one frequently hears *prānǎ* for *pnārǎ*, 'white,' while *erhónǎ* and *hrónǎ* are used indifferently for 'there.' One letter or combination is sometimes substituted for another more difficult to pronounce: as in *brári*, *krárǎ*, for *blári*, 'cat,' *klárǎ*, 'Bedawi.' The sound of *š* is very unstable, being liable to pass into *s* or else into *c* (*tch*). Thus *mnéssän* is often heard for *mnéšsän*, 'with them,' as also is *mnéscän*, where there is meta-

thesis as well as the transformation. The reverse corruption appears in the optative of *nāsār*, 'to flee,' in which *nāscan* becomes *nāštān*. I have an interesting example of metathesis in my notes, which illustrates the possibilities of corruption in the language. This is *kárkēk minjī*, 'what business is it of yours?' Evidently this is a modification of *ka kērēk minjī*, literally 'what will you do with it?' The unaccented vowel of the first syllable of the verb has disappeared, in accordance with § 17, and the first two words have then fused into one, and by a transposition of consonants become inextricably united.

13. The treatment of Arabic words, which are freely borrowed to supply deficiencies in the vocabulary, is an important subject. Very often the words are used without modification: but a large number have become naturalised in Nuri, and have submitted to changes adapting them to the genius of the language. Such changes are, in some cases, perhaps 'fossils' of a time when the Nawar had newly arrived among an Arabic-speaking population, and had not acquired a mastery of the latter language. Others may possibly be wilful modifications, introduced for purposes of secrecy. The changes that have been noticed may be thus classified:—

(1) Modifications of difficult or peculiar sounds, either by total loss or by substitution of easier sounds. Thus Arabic *sābh*, 'morning,' is often (not always, and never in speaking Arabic) pronounced *sībā*. Again, though the Nawar can without difficulty pronounce the difficult velar and gingival sounds in Arabic *kāddām*, 'an adze,' they call it in their own speech *kāzmā*, though in speaking Arabic they pronounce the word correctly. In *elgām*, 'a bridle,' which represents the Arabic *ližm*, there is metathesis of the vowel and consonant in the first syllable, and a bold modification of the consonant in the second.

(2) Change of the accent or quantity of a syllable: as in *bārā*, 'outside,' for Arabic *bārrā*: *bāyri*, 'incense,' for Arabic *bāyār*. This modification of accent is specially to be observed in Arabic verbal nouns compounded with the enclitic auxiliary verb *kerār*, 'to make,' 'do.' In the majority of this large class of verbs the accent is on the last syllable of the verbal noun, irrespective of its accent in Arabic: and the vowel of the first syllable as a rule disappears, in accordance with § 17. Thus from Arabic *kéttif*, 'a binding,' is formed *ktíf-kerār*, 'to bind.'

(3) Arabic roots with Nuri inflexions are common: such hybrids are *rāvāhrā*, 'he went,' from *rāvāh*, the Arabic for 'he

went,' with *-rǎ*, the Nuri termination of the third person singular of the preterite: *šǎdǎfrǎ*, 'he came up with,' is similar. In the latter word the *s* should be the Arabic letter *šad*: but I cannot detect a distinction between this letter and the ordinary sibilant *šin* in words adopted into Nuri: the distinction is, therefore, here ignored.

(4) Addition of extra syllables. This is rare, but a few cases may be found, as *bǎrdkǎnkǎt*, 'an orange' (Arabic, *bǎrdkǎn*). Common, however, is the addition of a final *i* to Arabic words and proper names, as *Hǎšǎni* for the common man's name *Ḥasan*.

(5) Neglect of Arabic inflexions. Thus in Arabic *kal* means 'he said,' *kult* means 'I said'; but in Nuri one hears *pǎnji kal*, 'he said,' and *ǎmǎ kal*, 'I said,' although in speaking Arabic the distinction is always correctly observed. This solecism is constantly committed by Europeans whose Arabic is imperfect; it is therefore the more likely that the erroneous form was adopted at an early stage of the intercourse of the Nawar with Arabs, and stereotyped before the correct expression had been learnt.

(6) Inaccurate use of the Arabic pronominal suffixes, although Nuri possesses a system of suffixes of its own. Thus *wǎnni*, which in Arabic means 'and that I,' is often used simply for 'and,' without special reference to the first person. A remarkable case is the word *kullmǎnhum*, which in Arabic¹ means 'all of them.' This word is often used in Nuri in the sense 'every one,' even with the first or second person. Thus, *pǎrdǎ kullmǎnhum mněšmǎn bǎwos*, 'each one of us took his share.' Even *kullmǎn*, which literally means 'each one of —,' is sometimes treated as a separate word, and actually declined as a substantive: thus, in Ex. XII., *min kullmǎnéski*, 'from every one.'

14. The influence of Arabic syntax upon that of Nuri is profound: but this side of the subject belongs to the later sections of the grammar. The extent to which Arabic and Nuri words can be mixed up together is well illustrated by such a sentence as *kǎssnǎ-KER TĪLLI šǎkfǎk min ũHŬ gǎzǎ kmǎšiki*, 'cut a large piece of that fine cloth,' where the words in italics are Arabic, words and inflexions in capitals are Nuri, and the word *gǎzǎ* printed in ordinary type is a corruption of the Turkish *gǎzél*, 'fine,' 'handsome.'

15. On the other hand, though Arabic is so freely used, there

¹ The vowel in the second syllable is in colloquial Arabic *i*, but in Nuri seems always to be pronounced *a*.

are certain words and expressions native to Nuri, used where we should with the greatest confidence have expected Arabic. This is especially the case with geographical and ethnic names, for some of which the Nawar have native equivalents. It is possible that these may have been carried by them from a previous home, and given new applications in their new surroundings. The following names are worthy of special note:—

<i>Tut</i> ,	A Fellah, or peasant agriculturist.
<i>Klárǎ</i> ,	A Bedawi or Arab nomad.
<i>Dōm</i> ,	A Nuri (the latter is the Arabic name only).
<i>Prótkilǎ</i> ,	A Jew.
<i>Ktir</i> ,	A Christian, a monk, or, generally, a European.
<i>Cájǎ</i> ,	Egypt.

Besides these names they have descriptive names for certain large towns and other places. These are

<i>Till-uyǎrǎ erhénǎ</i> ,	The big city here (Jerusalem).
<i>Till-uyǎrǎ erhónǎ</i> ,	The big city there (Damascus).
<i>Till-uyǎrǎ illi tílla-tmáli minj</i> ,	The big city in which is the Sultan (Constantinople).
<i>Pánwák-uyǎrǎ</i> ,	The water-city (Beirut).
<i>Guld-uyǎrǎ</i> ,	The sweet city (Jaffa, referring to the orange-groves surrounding the town).
<i>Gánilǎ-dē illi ǎhǎri</i> ,	The flower-village down there (Jericho).

There are one or two corruptions which are not wholly confined to the Nawar, as *ʿAmmál* for *ʿAmmán*.

16. There are certain sounds that survive in the European dialects of Romani which the Nawar have lost. Such are the explosive aspirates after *t*, *k*, *p* (like the English combinations 'pothook,' 'inkhorn,' 'haphazard'). These are very conspicuous in Mr. Sampson's Welsh Romani stories, but I could not detect a trace of them in Nuri. Again, the nasal sound of *ng* (*ŋ*) is foreign to the language: the collision of *n* and *g*, never very common, is always pronounced like the *ng* in 'finger,' even at the ends of words: as *dfang*, 'a bullet,' pronounced like the similar syllable in 'new-fang-led,' not as English 'fang.'

17. In words of two or more syllables in which the accent is on the second syllable, the vowel of the first often disappears altogether, as in *mǎrĕk*, 'he is dead,' for *mǎrĕk*. When the loss of the vowel produces a difficult combination of consonants, an auxiliary vowel is sometimes prefixed. Thus the same word occasionally is pronounced *imǎrĕk*.

(To be continued.)

VI.—NURI STORIES.

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

I

Áste diésni, baréni. Gäre. Míndéndsän pándäsmä tmálie. Círde tmálie "Káuténi hrési." Círde "Áme° láu káuténi hréni°; gārēn tā-nānānd káumémän." Míndéndsän tmálie, ktíf-kerdēndsän, u nāndéndsän páubāginyētā. Lāherdössän tillā-tmáli. Círda "Mikrán árési átme?" Círde ábúskā "Áme° äminkārā káuméni údēsāsmä, gārēni äbsínkā tā-nānānsän. Lāherdéndmān ehe tmálie tā-lāhānd wāšmān ple. Nī-lāherde° wāšmān. Gārñāurdéndmān ábúrkā, yā tillā-tmáli, u áme° hā agrēr hréni; mítl-mā kerék inkér, u áme° hātētā wēsréni." Círda tillā-tmáli "Kékātā nānāssän árēn?" Kéi círde gōránde? "Hé káuténi." Círda tillā-tmáli "'nhē° káuténi hrēnde°." Wárt-kerdēndsän. Rāwāhre ählisintā. Hārāf-kerde inni "Míndéndmān tmálie u gārñāurdéndmān tillā-tmáliéskā, u tillā-tmáli wárt-kerdōsmān, u míndēn hālēmān u árēn u lāherdērēn, yā káumémän, u hat árēn, u štās wāšmān. Hālli ján dēimintā. Hādóttā, lágiš-kerde wāšmān ūhā-kājje." Mínde hālēsän u áre wāssän dēisintā. Lágiš-kerde bá'dēsānsan. Mārīre tārēn kājje. Áre tmáli, párdéndsän u gäre minjīsän tillā-tmáliéstā. Gá-kerdā tillā-tmáli "Kéki lágiš-kerdēs átme u mārīre tārēn kājje? Pārus árēn u árēn u tāsän inhírīkälāsmä u cnēs ätsúntā tārēn dās wārs."

TRANSLATION

There were two who were brothers. They went. Soldiers took them on the road. The soldiers said 'Ye are thieves.' They said 'We are not thieves; we went to fetch our relatives.' The soldiers took them, bound them, and brought them to the court-house. The governor saw them. He said, 'Whence have you come?' They said to him 'We have relatives in this place, we went to them to fetch them. These soldiers saw us to see [if we had] with us money. They saw none with us. They made us come to thee, O Governor, and here we are before thee: as thou wilt do, do, and we are here sitting.' Said the Governor, 'Why did you bring these men here?' What said the horsemen? 'They are thieves.' Said the Governor, 'They are not thieves.' They loosened them. They went to their people. They told how 'The soldiers took us and made us return to the governor, and the governor loosed us, and we betook ourselves and came and saw you, O our people, and behold we have come, and rise with us. Let us go to our own village. There, those gentiles made a quarrel with us.' They betook themselves and came with them to their village. They quarrelled one with another. Three men were killed. The soldiers came and took them and went with them to the governor. Said the governor, 'Why did you quarrel and three men were slain? Take ye these ones, and those, and put them in the condemned cell, and keep them in prison thirty years.'

II

Mında ħälös grēwārómān u gārā. Pëndä tmáliak u gārā wāšs Dōmāntā. Gārā nānār mnēscān plē Dōmānki u indēr tillä-tmaliéškā. Nāsre Dōme. Gārā nāucār ātsūntā, nī-lāherdōssān. Ārā tmaliéškā, cirdā ābūs, “Nāsre Dōme, nī-lāherdōmsān.” Kēi cirdā tillā-tmāli? Īnni bēlōsis tā-'ntēr plén illi ātūstēni. Gārī bāiōs grēwārāski tillā-tmaliéškā. Rōri tillā-tmaliéškā u cirdi “Yā tillā-tmāli, Dōme nāsre, u kēkā bāndār pāiōm? Bizōték, inhe° waš kiyūk. Kōl pāiōm.” Imcirdi tillā-tmaliéski ħāstōs. Kōldōsis tillā-tmāli. Mінде ħälēsān u gāre kūrīāsīntā pānj u bāiōs. Lāherde Dōmān ārinde kūrīāmā. Pārdōssān u nīrdōssān tillā-tmaliéškā. Bāndōssān tillā-tmāli u tīrdā kull-yikā tārān zerd tārān zerd. Pardā mnēscān Dōmānki bēlāl-mā nāsre nīm sū zerd, u mінде ħälēsān u ħōlāre. Āre grēwārās-kūrīāmā u intēndis kull-yikā nīm zerd nīm zerd. Mīndā ħälēsān u gāre kūrīāsīntā.

Our sheikh betook himself and went. A soldier took [him] and went with him to the Nawar. He went to take the money of the Nawar from them and to give it to the governor. The Nawar fled. He went to seek them and did not find them. He came to the governor, said to him, 'The Nawar have fled, I did not see them.' What said the governor? That he imprison him till he give the moneys which he owed. The wife of the sheikh went to the governor. She wept to the governor, and said, 'O Governor, the Nawar have fled, and why have you imprisoned my husband? He is poor, he has nothing. Loose my husband.' She kissed the hand of the governor. The governor loosened him. They betook themselves and went, he and his wife, to their tent. They saw the Nawar coming to the tent. He took them and conducted them to the governor. The governor imprisoned them and each one paid three pounds apiece. He took from them, from the Nawar, in requital for their fleeing, fifty pounds, and they betook themselves, and were loosened. They came into the tent of the sheikh and gave him each one half a pound.¹ They betook themselves and went to their tents.

III

Biddi jān nāucām uyārmā potrémkā. Pārōm mōnā [sic] pārōm ābsun kēli, u jān līkhām kūrīāmīntā. Lāherdōm kūrīāmīnmā inhe° māt. Zīriūte kēlīndi, u bāiōm rīsrīk bōiōs kūrīāmā. Gārōm ābūškā tā-gārniā[r]ānis. Nī-āri wāštm. Lāgiš-kerdōm bōiōssān u kšāldōmis jāri mīn ħāstāski u nīrdōmis kūrīāmīntā. Āre potrés. Kēnuurdōssān mōnā u ħēš u siwīrdi kēlan potréski u wāra-kerdēnsān, u mīndēn ħālēmīn u rāwrdēn. Gārēn ākhū dētā. Āre kājje, nī-māndēndmān ħlāiān. Mīndēn

¹ I have translated *zerd* as 'pound': it denotes a gold piece—generally a French 20 franc piece, which is at present the commonest gold coin in the Turkish Empire.

hălémän, gārîrën uyártä, cirdën grëwâräskä "Täte nî-mändënd-män lîläuan dëinmä. Mîndën hălémän, hat ärën." Wësren[d]-män¹ uyártä, la hrósmän lu ján wälä pâuän, u wësren.

I would go to seek in the market [things] for my children. I buy bread, I buy for them clothes, and we went with them to our tent. I found in our tent there was nobody. The children are playing and my wife was sulking in her father's tent. I went to him to make her come back. She would not come with me. I quarrelled with her father, and dragged the woman from his hand and brought her to our tent. Her children came. She fed them with bread and meat, and sewed the clothes of her children, and we clothed them, and we betook ourselves and departed. We went to yonder village. The Gentiles came, they did not suffer us to pitch. We betook ourselves, we returned to the city, we said to the sheikh, 'The fellahin did not suffer us to pitch in the villages. We betook ourselves, here we have come.' They made us stay in the city, he did not permit us to go or to come, and we stayed.

IV

Gärën ämä u bârôm u zârö, pîtrôm. Kûštöték. Gärën Hîurînäätä tä-aisúcän. Sîtën pândüsmä. Ära ühü kâutâr, pârdä zârës. Rorën äme, ämä u dârus. Gärën, dfin-kerdënis zârës u mändënis, u gärën üdësästä. Sîtën dëäkämä. Äre kâute, pârdë kiyäkëmän u nâsre. Nî-mändä wâsmän kiyäki, u mrä zârö, u mändën min gair kiyäki. Râsrën 'äd üdësäs, lâherdën mäümöm. Râurü mäümöm äminni, lâherdösmän êhällismä. "Kîndä gârëndi kiyäkëran u potrárân?" "Gäre kâutirdëndsän kiyäkän täte, zârës pârdösis kâutâr, wä-ämmä mändën, wa râsrënr." Intösmän kiyäki [sic] u ple, 'ma róäni zârëstä. Mîndën hălémän u ärën min üdësäski. Râwâhrën dësimîntä. Ärë mäümöm wâšimän. Nî-biyäni° pândüski 'äd. Râwâhrën dësimîntä bi-sälâmi.

We went, I and my wife and the boy, my son. He was little. We went to the Hauran to seek a living. We slept on the road. There came a hyaena, took the boy. We wept, I and his mother. We went, buried the boy and left him, and went to yonder place. We slept in a village. There came thieves, took our things and fled. Not a thing remained with us, and the boy was dead, and we remained without anything. We made farther, for yonder place, and saw my uncle. My uncle went with us and saw us in that state. 'Where have your things and your son gone?' 'The fellahin went and stole the things, a hyaena took the boy, but we remained and we have made for thee.' He gave us things and money, but we weep for the boy. We betook ourselves and came from yonder place. We went to our place. My uncle came with us. We have no more fear from the road. We went to our place in peace.

¹ This peculiar transitive use of the verb I have not found elsewhere: but it is probably an error of transcription, not noticed in the haste of writing, for *wësren äme*, 'we stayed.'

V

Gārom Rihyātō. Lāherdōm klarēni pāndāsmā. Mīndēndim, fērēndim, pārde kiyākim u pārde mnēšim tārān zerd. Bāgerde siriōm lū mā lāherdōm kājjēni ārīndi pāndāsmā. Lāherdēndsān klāre, nāsre. Štāldēndōm tate kārāstā, pārdēndōm, nīrdēndōm āhlīmā. Pārdēndōm āhlōm, gārā mīnjīm tmaliēstā. Ktib-kerdā hātāk tillā-tmaliēskā. Pēndā gōrānde [sic] klārānkā; ktib-kerdēndsān u nāndēndsān, u tirdōssān tillā-tmāli elhāsmā. Nānde 'ūd kiyākōm u plen.

I went to Jericho. I saw that there were bedawin on the way. They seized me, beat me, took my things and took from me three pounds. They would have broken my head if I had not seen that there were Gentiles coming on the road. The bedawin saw them and fled. The fellahin lifted me on a donkey, took me, conveyed me to my people. My people took me, and went with me to the *mulir*.¹ He wrote a writing to the governor. He took horsemen for the bedawin; they bound them and brought them, and the governor put them in prison. They returned my things and the moneys.

VI

Ārā barōm ūnkīm. Māngārī bēsūi-kerāmis māūmās-dīri. Māngārdēn mnēšīs lāciā. Cīrdā āminkārā "Nāvis ple." Tīrdēn mīnjī wī zerd. Nīrdāhrā bōiōs indlēris, māngārā mnēšmān tārān dās zerd, āmmā inhē' wāšmān ple. Pārdōsis māūmās-pitr u nāsra mīnjī. Rāsrōsis bōiūs, nī-mīndōsis, āmmā tīrdōm wī zerd barōm-dēriātā bōiūska, u nāndēn dī kālī, u mārdeņsān, u nāndēnsān sal u kēs u kārā bōiūs u dāiūs u bārūs, u ībsātre, tā-'ūd inhē' kiyāk. Mīndā hālos lāci u zārō illi pārdōsis, gārēre. Imēirdā māūmās-siri, u māmyisk hūstōsis siriūs, u wēsre ūnkīsān pānj u bōiūs.

My brother came to me. He wants me to marry him to his uncle's daughter. We asked the girl from him. He said to us, 'Bring the money.' We paid for her twenty pounds. Her father did not wish to give her, he wanted from us thirty pounds, but we had not the money. Her uncle's son took her and ran off with her. Her father followed him and did not catch him, but I offered twenty pounds in the place of my brother to her father, and we brought two goats and slaughtered them and set rice and meat, and her father and mother and brother ate and were satisfied, till nothing more was left. The girl and the boy who took her betook themselves, and returned. He kissed his uncle's head and his wife's mother's hand and head and he and his wife remained with them.

¹ A sub-governor of a district.

VII

Gārēn āmā u nuāmām-pitr. Nāndēn kārāk. Mīndēndmān pāndāsmā saūies kārāski. Fērēndmān, cīrde āmīnkā “Kāūtīrdēs kārās.” Gārūāurdēndmān dētā: fērēndmān u tīrnūurdēndmān kārās ‘imlās, tārān zerd, u pārde mnēšmān kiyākēmān u kārās, u fērēndmān u nīrdēndmān grēwārāstā u cīrde “Ehe kāūtīnēni, pārūssān tillā-tmaliēstā, hālli bēlēsān u lāher mikrēni.” Sāyilkerdā ātsūntā tilla-tmāli. Cīrdēn “Dōme-hrēni, āmē ‘n kāūtēni°.” Cīrdā tillā-tmāli “Ūhā kār, illi mīndēndis wašīran tāte, mikrēni?” Cīrdēn “Ha kārōmani.” Cīrdā tmāli “Yīkba tāte kacīnēni!” “U āmē Dōme-hrēni, ēkāms-saūie nī hrēni°. Āmē Dōme-hrēni, bizōta-hrēni. Pārde mnēšmān tāte tārān zerd u kiyākēmān, u pēnde āmīntā ābare lāmā pārde kiyākēmān u plēmān.” Nādīkerdā tātān tmāli, u pārdā mnēšsān kiyākān u plēn u pārdōssān u tōssān āmīnkārā u cīrdā “Jās mīn hnēn”; u nāsērēn āme.

I and my uncle's son went. We took a donkey. The owners of the donkey seized us on the road. They beat us, and said to us, 'You have stolen the donkey.' They made us return to the village: they beat us and made us pay the price of the donkey, three pounds, and took from us our things and the donkey, and beat us and conveyed us to the sheikh, and said, 'These men are thieves, take them to the governor, let him imprison them and see whence they are.' The governor asked for them.¹ We said 'We are Nawar, we are not thieves.' Said the governor, 'That donkey, which the fellahin took with you, whence is it?' We said, 'It is our donkey.' Said the governor, 'Then are the fellahin liars!' 'And we are Nawar, we are not masters in that business.'² We are Nawar, we are poor. The fellahin took from us three pounds and our things, and brought on us these troubles when they took our things and our money.' The governor called the fellahin, and took from them the things and the money, and took them and gave them to us and said 'Go hence'; and we fled.

VIII

Stīrdā grēwārōmān. Māngerā mnēši zārāk tmālik. Nasrēk zārō, Hāūranimēk. Nānde māūmus, bāndōsis elhāsmā, wēsra das u štar dīs elhāsmā. Yāssāk-kerdā ātūstā tmāli “Nānēk barār-pitrās, wālā wēsēk elhāsmā tāmēlli.” Cīrdā ābuskārā “Inkōlēm, nānansi.” Ārā grēwārā. Kēfil-hrōsis, u kōldōsis elhāski. Rāūrā [sic] mīn hrēna āmā u pānjī u gārēn Hāūrānātā. Cīndā Hāūrānātā. Nāūrēn ātsūntā, lāherdēnsān dēūkāmā. Tēndmān štar zerd; nīrdahre° āūr wāšīmān. Mīndēn hālēmān u gārīrēn mīn ādēsāski. Ārā wāšmān zārō. Intōsmān štar zerd mnēssān tmāliēskā. Mīndēn hālēmān u ārēn. Ārā hrēnā grēwārā, lūgīš-

¹ i.e. inquired, on their behalf, whence were the prisoners.

² i.e. we know nothing about it.

kerdä wäšimän. "Kékä na nändes zärēs wäšrän?" Āmē cirdēn "Nirdahra° äwār wäšimän. Intósmän štar zerd, u hat árēn." Párdä grēwārä štárnä zérdän u gārē, intóssän tmalieskū u cirdä. "Ni läherdē zärēs, u máimus-zärēski elli baniréyā hrénä mándä ūhū dēsāsmā."

Our sheikh arose. A boy was wanted from him as a soldier. The boy had fled, he was in the Hauran. They took his uncle, bound him in prison, he stayed fourteen days in prison. The governor forbade him, 'Bring your brother's son, if not, you will stay in prison for ever.' He said to him, 'If you loosen me, we will bring him.' The sheikh came. He made him surety, and he loosened him from prison. I and he went from here and we came to the Hauran. He crossed to the Hauran. We followed them,¹ we saw them in a village. They gave us four pounds;² they did not wish to come with us. We betook ourselves, and returned from that place. The boy came with us. He gave us four pounds from them for the governor.³ We betook ourselves and came. The sheikh came here, and quarrelled with us. 'Why did you not bring the boy with you?' We said 'He did not wish to come with us. He gave us four pounds, and here we have come.' The sheikh took the four pounds, and went, gave them to the governor and said 'They did not see the boy, and the boy's uncle who was imprisoned here stayed in yonder place.'

IX

Āri lūlyóm min Čájäki. Nāuri āmintä. Ārēn, läherdēnis klārāntä tirdik. Nānde āminkä di bākri. Mārdóssän, u nānde sūli u kérde āminkä. Kārēn. Sābāhtän nāndēn āme di bākri u mārdēnsän ābúskä. Rāurdēn [min]-hnónä. Ārē āhlus u mārdi ābsānkārä bākřāk. Āre māngerde dīris tš-bēsūi-höcer. Bēsūi-kerdi dīris māimus-pitrāska bi-nim sūi zerd. Pārdóssän bedāl-dīriski u gārē. Bēsūi-kerdi pótrus lūlus-dīri. Mīnde hālēsän, rāurde wäšimän. Arēn māimēnkä, nānd' āminkä hēs, u kārēn. Hūl' uyärtä. Párdä di dāwāi u gārē Čájētä tš-kunērsän. Kundóssän u nāndä dīris gēnā u kiyākēs u arč. Mīndä halōs, inta pātrāk bēniskä u jōžāk bāule. Mīnde hālēsän u rāurdēn. Gārēn wāšis Čájētä; läherdi bārūs mrēk erhōnā, u bārus-dīri ādēsāsmā bāšērnī. Māndóssän, rāvāhri dēsāsdānti u āri. Batil-ihre jānd Čájētä u nī-gäre°; wēsre ūhū dēsāsmā.

My maternal aunt came from Egypt. She searched for us. We came, saw her encamped with bedawin. They brought for us two sheep. They slaughtered them and brought rice and prepared for us. We ate. In the morning we brought two sheep and slaughtered them for her. We went from there. Her people came and she slaughtered for them a sheep. They came and desired her daughter to

¹ This change from singular to plural number is an example of the inconsistencies remarked upon in the prefatory note to the 'Grammar.'

² A bribe to leave them behind.

³ Another bribe, to persuade the governor not to follow up the case.

marry her. She married her daughter to her uncle's son for fifty pounds. She took them [*i.e.* the money] instead of her daughter and went. She married her son to his maternal uncle's daughter. They betook themselves, and departed with us. We came to our uncle, he set before us food, and we ate. He went down to the city. He took two camels and went to Egypt to sell them. He sold them and fetched his other daughter and his things and came. He betook himself, gave a veil to his sister and a pair of bracelets. They betook themselves and we departed.¹ We went with her to Egypt: she saw that her brother was dead there, and her brother's daughter married in that place. She left them, went to their place and came. They stopped going to Egypt and went not; they stayed in this place. ¶

X

*Štīrdōm āmā. Gārōm, hūldōm āhār *uyārtā. Pārdōm dāwāūk. Pāndāsmā kšāldōmsi. Āre kājje, mānīndsi kātūiši, gāre pārīndi dāwāī mnēšim. Gārtrōm min pāndāski uyārtā. Diknāurdōmsān kājjās illi pārdom dāwāī mnēšis. Ārdā kājjā "Ūhū dāwāī pārdōsis mnēšim." Tīrdōm āmā tmaliéskā zērdāk tā-kāldōm [?kōldōm] dāwāī min-kājjānki. Mīndōm hālōm, rāwāhrōm, štīrdōm min hnōnā. Kāttrā dāwāī min ūnkīim. Nāwōm ātūstā giš dēsās. Mīndōm hālōm, rāwāhrōm kūrīāmīntā. Kājjāk kal "Kēi dēmi tā-diknāūmir dāwāūr?" "Dēmri tārān zerd." Gārōm wāšis, cārdēndsān kūrīākāmā. Tīrdōm āwūrāski štar zerd illi ūnkīsi dāwāī; u illi ārā 'mākā tārān zerd, u nāndōm dāwāī u gārtrōm kūrīāmīntā. Āri batōm, lāgiš-kerdi wāšīim. "Kēkā 'ntwēye° pēwīndi dāwāīmā? Ārātān swēk, tā-gārā dāwāī. Tīrdēn ātūstā hōt zerd!" Ārdōm āmā "Yā bāīōs, [bāīōm] āhāk el-īhra."*

I arose. I went, I descended down to the city. I took [bought] a camel. I led it on the road. There came Gentiles, thought it was stolen, they were going to take the camel from me. I returned from the road to the city. I showed them the man from whom I had taken the camel. The man said 'He took that camel from me.' I gave the governor a pound so that I released the camel from the men. I betook myself and went. I rose from there. The camel was stolen from me. I searched the whole place for it. I betook myself and went to our tent. A man said 'What wilt thou give me to show thee thy camel?' 'I will give thee three pounds.' I went with him, they had hidden it in a house. I gave four pounds to that man with whom was the camel; and he who went with me three pounds; and I took the camel and returned to our tent. My wife came, quarrelled with me. 'Why do you not put the shackle on the camel? In the night you sleep, so that the camel went. We have paid seven pounds for it!' I said 'Wife, thus it happened.'

XI

Gārēn, Čājētā āmā u bōīōm u dāīōm. Gārtrī [read -rēn] min-hnōn'. Mīštā-'hri dāīōm hnōnā: wēsri tārān mās, pānjī mīštik.

¹ Read probably *rāwārdē*, 'they departed.'

Bōiōm nīrdōsis dēsīmīntū ; mri° erhēnā. Štīrdā bōiōm, rōrā ātūstā, u jūldā pāci kāmēska dāiōmki. Wēsra tārān dīs, u pānjī mrik ānkīmānni. Lāmmā āre kāmēs dīrde kēlān, rōre ; dāwardēnis, wārā-kerāurdēndis kiyākēs. Štīrde min hnōn', hōlde ābūskā mālkdā, mōldēndis. Mīndā hālōs bōiōm, gārīrā Čājēta. Pāndāsmā kājje gāre, mīndsā u fāndsā. Ārā tillū-tmāli ; nī mīndōssān. Nāsre kājje ; gārū Čājēta, wēsra dī wars erhōnā. Bēsāwā-hrā māāmūs-dīri u kēs-kerdā ātūstā, pārdōsis ; ārū āhā dēsāstā. Štīrdā min hnōnā, lāherdēndis bārēs. Mārde ābūskā dī bākrā. Nānde dī bātmā sal, u nānde mōnāk ; tīrde āhār salūskā u kārā. Sābāhtān gārā bōiōm uyārtā ; nāndā ābsūnkā bākrāk, u kerdōsis bēdāl kākūsānki u kāre. Intā bōiōm jūlawīāk barūskā u pārtūlāk u mōzāk, u mīnde hālēsān, rāure. Gāre Pānāk-uyārtā u gārīre min-hnōnā Guld-uyārtā.

We went to Egypt, I and my father and my mother. We returned from there. My mother became sick there : she stayed three months and she was sick. My father conveyed her to our place ; she died here. My father arose, wept over her, and sent after my mother's people. He waited three days, and she was dead with us. When her people came they rent (their) clothes, and wept ; we washed her and they 'let clothe her'¹ in [grave] clothes. They rose from there, dug her a grave, buried her. My father betook himself and returned to Egypt. On the way men came, they seize him and beat him. The governor came ; he did not seize them. The men fled : he went to Egypt, stayed two years there. He married his uncle's daughter and he² prepared food for him, he took it ; he came to this place. He arose from there, his brethren saw him. They slaughtered for him two sheep. They brought two *rotls*³ of rice and brought a loaf ; they put [it] under the rice and he ate. In the morning my father went to the town ; he bought for them a sheep, and prepared it in the place of what had been theirs, and they ate. My father gave a cloak to his brother and a *kumbāz*⁴ and shoes⁵ and they betook themselves and departed. They went to Beirut and returned from there to Jaffa.

XII

Biddi jām āmā kuriāmīntā. Lāhām kēi-hra erhōnā ; Dōme lāgiš-kerdēndi u fēre bādēsān, bāgire sirīēsān. Hūldā grēwārā, nāndā tmāliān. "Kōnā kīldis?" "Lāgiš-kerdā āhāk u āhāk." Pārdōssān tmāli. Hūldā elhāstā minjīsān ; bāiēsān roūndi u potrésān bizōte roūndi. Mīnde hālēsān, tirdōssān tmāli elhāsmā, mānde des dīs elhāsmā. Mīnde hālēsān ; pārdū grēwārā štar zerd, u gārā tmāliēsā tā-derīsān. Nīrdāhra° tmāli : māngāri kull-yikākāski pānj zerd. Gārā grēwārā. Čīrdā "Māngāri tillū-

¹ This archaism is the most concise rendering for the rare causative of *kērār* that I can think of.

² i.e. the uncle.

³ A measure of weight between 5 and 6 lbs.

⁴ A garment reaching to the feet.

⁵ *Lit.*, a shoe.

tmáli kull-mānēski pūnj zerd." *Gārā māndā pūnj zerd kull-yikā.*
Intēndsān tmaliēskā u kōlāre. Mīnde ḥālēsān, rāwāḥre dēsāsāntā
u gārīre.

I would go to our house. I see what happened there ; the Nawar are quarrelling and have beaten one another, their heads have been broken. The sheikh went down, brought soldiers. 'Who began it?' 'That one and that disputed.' The governor took them. He went down to prison with them ; their wives were weeping and their poor children weeping. They betook themselves, the governor put them in prison ; they remained ten days in prison. They betook themselves ; the sheikh took four pounds and went to the governor to give them to him. The governor would not have them ; he demands from every one five pounds. The sheikh went. He said 'The governor demands from every one five pounds.' Each one went and left five pounds. They gave them to the governor and were loosed. They betook themselves, went to their place, and returned.

XIII

Gārēn min hnēn' tā-nānēn bākri [sic]. Nī lāherdēn. Pārdēn
kālie ḥālā Hūrkalānki. Gārīrēn minjīsān. Pārde mnēšmān
kājje des kāli. Fērēndmān tārān dfang. Nāsrēn kāliāmmā
mānde wāšmān. Ārēn dēika, jūzā-kerdēn kājjān pāčsān, nī
rāsrēsān. Gārīrēn, ški-kerdēn dēak māčšta. Cīrde "Āmīnkā
mnēšmān nī-ḥrēndē°, hē gārībne." *Gārēn, nāndēn tillā-tmaliēski*
tārān gōrāndelā. Mīnde ḥālēsān, ḥāwīl-ihā dēātā. Nadi-kerde
grēwārān. "Kē kālies ēkājjānki?"¹ "Āme n' hrēn° elli pārdēnd-
sān, hē min tāni dēsāski, māš min dēsīmīntā." *Pārde grēwārān*
tmālie pārīndšān tillā-tmaliēskā. Mīndā ḥālōs tillā-tmāli. "Kē
kālies ēkājjānki elli pārdēndsān dēōrān?" Cīrde "Āme ḥrēn°."
Cīrdā tmāli "Ātme ḥrēsi." Mīndōssān, bāndōssān. Tīrde tmāli-
ēskā wī zerd u nānde dēsīnā kāliān ; u kōldōsān tmāli u sēllim-
kerdōssān āurūnkā kāliēsān. Ujaldā wāššān štar tmāli.
Lāmmān rāsnāurdōssān nīmīsku pāndāski, mīnde ḥālēsān,
rāwāḥre dēsīntā ; u mīnde ḥālēsān, nāndē uyārīā kāliān u
kundēndsān. Kull-mānēska kūrā bāwōs, des zerd.

We went from here to get sheep. We saw none. We took black goats from the Druzes. We returned with them. Men took from us ten goats. They fired three times at us. We fled with the goats that remained to us. We came to the village, made the men chase after them ; we did not find them. We returned, complained to the people of the village. They said 'They do not belong to us, they are strangers.' We went, we brought from the governor three horsemen. They betook themselves, surrounded the village. They called the sheikhs. 'Where are the goats of these men?' 'We are not those who took them, they are from another place, not

¹ Note in this sentence (i) the singular pronominal suffix referring to a plural word, and (ii) the expression *kājjā* applied to Nawar.

from our place.' The soldiers took the sheikhs, and bring them to the governor. The governor betook himself, 'Where are the goats of these men which your village took?' Said they 'We are not (those who took them).' Said the governor 'You are.' He took them, bound them. They paid the governor twenty pounds and brought ten goats; and the governor loosed them and send their goats to those men. He sent with them four soldiers. When he had conducted them to half the way they ¹ betook themselves and went to their village; and they ² betook themselves and brought to the town the goats and sold them. To every one fell his share, ten pounds.

XIV

Ášte dī bāre, yikák mǎfálík, yikák 'aqlilík. Mǎfálā cirdā baráškā "Štī tā-nāūcan āmínkǎ kāmák." Mǎnde hǎlēsān u gāre. Lāherde émǎǎǎri, kǎliēni minj. Lāherde ġulék-kǎki. Mǎnde hǎlēsān. Mǎndóssān ġāli u sǎkirdi, bāndi kǎpia, ujǎldi mǎfálās kǎliēnsān. Bārōs ġārā wǎšs. Cirda mǎfálā baráškā "Ja, nan āmínkǎ mónā, u āmā mānyāmi kǎliēnkǎ." Mǎndā hǎlōs u ārā bārūs ġulēka. Intōsis mónā u ānā. Ārā wēsřā āhār sǎžřirik. Mǎndā hǎlōs mǎfálā, kǎldā sǎžřētā. Cirdā kǎliēnkǎ, "Mānas barōmkǎ bāvōs." Nī mǎnde 'buskǎrā bāvōs. Hǎldā ābsúnkǎ, mǎrdóssān ġiś. Ārā bārōs ūli 'āqili. "Kékā mardōrān kǎlien? Kǎrōsmān ġāli! Štī tā-nāštān." Mǎnde hǎlēsān, násre. Āri ġāli, lāherdi kǎlien mǎrřirinde. Rōri, sǎwūt-kerdi; ūnkǎl-kerdóssān mǎǎǎrēma u kǎrōssān ġiś. Ārā ārātān mǎfálā, kǎūtīrdā emǎriān u násrā. Rǎwāhrā dēsāstā mǎfálā, u nāndā kǎrāk ābúškā u hǎmil-kerdos sǎndǎk hǎlāwi, u mǎnda hǎlōs, ārā ġulēka u sar kǎneri hǎlāwi. Nirdakrā° kǎneris; ġál-kerdā "Hǎlci sǎndǎkǎmā, hémā." Mǎndi hǎlōs, hǎldi minjī sǎndǎkǎmā. Bāndā ātústā, u pǎrdos hǎrřētā u ġārā. Kerdā āǎi u tirdōs mānjéskǎ āǎik. Mǎndā hǎlōs u ġārira mǎǎrētā, u pǎrdā kiyǎkǎn u zerdān. Mǎndā hǎlōs, rǎwāhrā baráštā. "Sudǎrdōm ġāli, mǎndōm hǎlōm, nāndōm kiyǎkēs u plēs u hat ārōm ābūrǎkǎ; u mǎrdēn kǎliesi u mǎrdēn ġāli!"

There were two brothers, one a fool, one a sage. The foolish one said to his brother, 'Rise, let us seek some work for ourselves.' They betook themselves and went. They saw the cave, that there were goats in it. They saw [that it was] a ghūl's property. They betook themselves. The ghūl took them and shut [them up], she locked the door, she sent the fool with the goats. His brother went with him. Said the fool to his brother, 'Go, bring for us bread and I will stay with the goats.' His brother betook himself, and went to the ghūl. She gave him a loaf and an egg. He came and sat under a tree. The fool betook himself, climbed up the tree. He said to the goats, 'Leave his share for my

¹ The Villagers.

² The Nawar.

brother.' They did not leave his shave for him.¹ He went down to them, and killed them all. His brother who was wise came. 'Why didst thou kill the goats? The ghūl will eat us!² Rise, let us flee.' They betook themselves and fled. The ghūl came, and saw the goats killed. She wept and screamed; she carried them to the cave and ate them all. In the night the fool came, stole the chickens and fled. The fool went to his village and got him a donkey and loaded it with a box of *ḥalāwi*³ and betook himself, he came to the ghūl and began to sell *ḥalāwi*. He would not sell it; he said, 'Go down in the box, eat.' She betook herself, and went down with him into the box. He shut [it] upon her, and took her on the donkey and went. He made a fire and put her in the middle of the fire.⁴ He betook himself and returned to the cave, and took the things and the gold. He betook himself and went to his brother. 'I have burnt the ghūl, I betook myself, I took her things and her money, and here I have come to thee; and we have slaughtered her goats and slain the ghūl!'

XV

Āmā mīndōm ḥālōm, gārōm bōiōmkā. Gārōm tā-lāḥōm wāšīs ple. Nī-tōsim. Gārīrōm, pārdōm bāiōm u gārōm. Gārōm māimūmkā. Cīrdōm, "Māimā, nihe° wāšīr ple? Pārīn āmīnkā ḥārāk u jan wāšīr ādēsāstā. Jan wāšīr wēsāni." Intōsmān dī zerd u gārēn wāšī. Pārdēn ḥārāk, tīrdēn kiyākān ātūstā u gārēn wāšīs, wīnni bōiōm rāsrosāmān. Lāgiš-kerdā māimūmsān. "Kēkātā 'ntēs ple pōtrōm? Injare° wāšīr." Intōs bōiōm dī zērdan māimūmka. Mīndā ḥālōs; 'āwādrēn bōiōm-sā[n]. Dārōm rōri. Mīndēn ḥālēmān. Rāūrdēn uyārtā āmā u bōiōm, pārdā 'mīnkā kiyāki, pārdā bāimke kiyāki gēnā, u pārdā 'mīnkārā ziriātānki kiyāki. Mīndēn ḥālēmān u rāūrdēn. Gārēn bōiōmsān dēsāstā u ārīndmān mīn dēsāski u ḥlūrdēn dēimāmmā.

I betook myself, I went to my father. I went to see money with him [if he had any money]. He gave me none. I returned, took my wife, and went. I went to my uncle. I said, 'Uncle, hast thou no money? We will take us a donkey and we will go with thee to yonder place. We will go to stay with thee.' He gave us two pounds and we went with him. We took a donkey, put the things on it, and went with him, but my father followed us. He quarrelled with my uncle. 'Why did you give money to my son? He will not go with thee.' My father gave two pounds to my uncle. He betook himself; we returned with my father. My mother⁵ wept. We betook ourselves. We departed to the city

¹ As the longer version of this tale explains, the fool threw locust-pods from the tree to the goats, which the latter ate.

² *Lit.* 'has eaten us': This is an Arabic construction, whereby the preterite is used for a future event which is certain to occur.

³ A favourite sweetmeat.

⁴ Note that *burning* is the orthodox treatment to mete out to ghūls. This detail of folk-lore recurs several times in the course of the stories. Note also the enormous appetites of these creatures.

⁵ Read perhaps *bāiōm*, 'my wife.'

I and my father, he got something for ourselves, got something else for my wife, and got something for our¹ children. We betook ourselves and departed. We went with my father to his place, and we come from his place and pitched in our town.

XVI

Áre máumüm-pitre ũnktim. Márdöm äbsúnká káliäk u ħenâurdómsän, u sit' ũnktim dī ärát. Párdéndim wäššisän dīri-désüstä. Râurēn dī ärát. Pándäsmä säbâġtâ râurēn li 'd-dóher.² Mīndēndmān kājjēni³ pándäsmä. Párde mnēšmān plēmān u fērēndmān u párdē kiyākēmān. Bāgārde sirīēmān. Mīndēn ħälēmān, wázārēn. Štīrdēn min ħnōn'. Lāherdēn ħlārēni⁴ pándäsmä ħöldēndi gōrēni.⁴ Tnābrēn ätsúntä. "Ékaj-jēni párdē kiyākēmān u plēmān: räštāssän." Mīnde ħälēsän, räsrēndsän. Mīndēndsän. Nānde kiyākān u nānde plēn u bānde pütēsän u gārnuurdēndsän. Nīrdēndsän grēwārēsānkä. "Átu, yá grēwārä, wārt-ķērdōri äran pāndāmā; mārānd máġtān u pāranūli kiyākēsän; wīnni ħīb-kerēsän u nānānsän tmaliēskä erhōnā." Tmaliēskä párdōssän ħlārä, nīrdōssän tilla-tmaliēskä, bāndōssän u nāndä grēwārēsānkä des ħāvyā, u nāndēsän kātāfne pándäsmä, u tīrdēndsän inhīrikälāsmä. U Štīrde dēikmaġ párdē dī sū zerd; nīrdāhra^o tmāli pārdōssän, ġāir tārān sū zerd. Gārē, nānde tārān sū zerd u ħōlāre. U mārde fēšiki kājjān ũlli windīrde pāndāstā, u šālāġ-ķerde kājjān. U tāwābre ēkāmāstā.

My uncle's sons came to me. I slaughtered for them a goat and fed them, and they slept with me two nights. They took me with them to a distant place. We departed two nights. On the road we walked from morning till noon. Gentiles seized us on the road. They took from us our money and beat us and took our things. They broke our heads. We betook ourselves, we fled. We rose from there. We saw bedawin on the road riding mares. We put ourselves under their protection. 'Those men took our things and our money: follow them.' They betook themselves and followed them. They seized them. They took the things and took the money and bound their arms and made them return. They conducted them to their sheikhs. 'Thou, O sheikh, hast set loose these men on the roads; they kill people and take their things; and we have prevented them and we will bring them to the *mudīr* there.' The bedawin took them to the *mudīr*; he sent

¹ Noteworthy here is the exceptional use of the directive case of the personal pronoun to serve as a possessive.

² The prefixed 'd' is the Arabic article *el*, assimilated to the following initial consonant according to rule.

³ An example of the predicative suffix used as the plural termination in the nominative.

⁴ Ditto, in the accusative.

them to the governor, he bound them and sent to their sheikhs ten horsemen and they brought them bound on the road, and put them in the condemned cell. And the people of the village arose, and took two hundred pounds; the governor would not take them, only three hundred pounds. They went, brought three hundred pounds and they were loosened. And they killed the men who were standing on the road with blows¹ and stripped the men. And they ceased from that work.

* XVII

Zarēs k wālōs dīrgék bōl. Kōldā kārāstā. Nīngrā kār min āhār sāžžārēki. ‘Allāḥrā zarēs wāl sāžžārēmā. Zārō māndā mā-‘ullāka u kār gārā.

The boy's hair was too long. He rode a donkey. The donkey entered under a tree. The boy's hair hung in the tree. The boy remained hung and the donkey went.²

XVIII

Āre ūnktīmān kājjēni tārānēsne. Mārdēn ābsūnkā kāliāk. Kāre, pīre, u sūbāhtān nāndēn ābsūnkā kēš. Mīnde ḥālēsān, gāre āyārtā. Kāūtīrdēndi klārānki dī kār u gōriāk. Mīnde ḥālēsān, nāwīnde ātsūntā sāwīēsān. Ār' ūnktīmān. Cīrde āmīnkā klāre “Nī lāherdēs āmīnkā ēdīānā kārān w' ēgōriā? Dērīni dī zerd. Lāherdēsān kōm pārdōssān?” Āmē jāndēn tārāni kājje ūli ūnktīmānni sitēndi, nī pārde kārān u gōriā gāir pānjān. Cīrdēn klārāntā “Nānās dīyēni zērdān tān-dīknāūrān kōnik ūli pārdōssān.” Nānde dīyēni zērdān klāre u tīrdēndsān āndas-ḥāstāsmā, bōwūmki. Štīrdā bōiōm; nīrdōssān āmā u tīs, u gārēn nāūrēn tārāni kājjāntā, u mīnāūrdeņsān klārānka. Štīrde klāre, mīndēndsān. “Nānās dī kārēmān u gōriōsmān.” Cīrde ābsūnkā tārāni kājje “Nānās tārān zerd tā-nānānsān ābrānkā.” Tēndsān tārāni zērdān klāre u gāre, nānde dī kārān u gōriā. Mīnde ḥālēsān klāre, fēre kājjān, u pārde mnēsān tārāni zērdān. “Ātme” cīrde “kāūtasi kārēmān u pārasī gōriōsmān, u pāras mnēsān tārān zerd gēnā? Twas tārāni zērdān!” Pārdē klārā tārāni zērdān u kārēsān, u mīnde ḥālēsān u rāwāḥre kurīēsānta.

There came three men to us. We slaughtered for them a goat. They ate, drank, and in the morning we set food before them. They betook themselves and went to the city. They steal from the bedawin two donkeys and a mare. Their masters betook themselves, and search for them. They came to us. The

¹ i. e. beat them severely.

² An adaptation of the story of Absalom which I propounded for translation in order to get some words I wished to learn.

bedawin said to us 'Have you not seen those two donkeys and that mare of ours? We will give two pounds. Have you seen the people who took them?' We know that the three men who slept with us—no one but they took the donkeys and the mare. We said to the bedawin, 'Bring the two pounds that we may show who it is that took them.' The bedawin brought two pounds, and they put them in the hand of the old man my father. My father arose; I and he conducted them, and we went, we sought for the three men and caused the bedawin to take them. The bedawin arose, took them. 'Give our two donkeys and our mare.' Said the three men to them 'Give three pounds that we may give you them.' The Arabs gave the three pounds, and they went and brought the two donkeys and the mare. The Arabs betook themselves, beat the men, and took from them the three pounds. 'You,' they said, 'have stolen our donkeys and taken our mare, and you take from us three pounds beside? Pay the three pounds!' The Arabs took the three pounds and their donkeys and betook themselves and departed to their tents.

XIX

Ár' űnkűimǎn kajjiēni. Wēsre űnkűimǎn. Cīnde sǎlēs kuriēminki. Lǎgiš-kerdēn wǎssǎn. Fēri yikák mnēšmǎn. Bǎgiri sīrius. Gǎrǎ tillǎ-tmaliēskǎ grēwǎrómǎn. "Kōnǎski űhǎ lǎgiš?" cīrdǎ tillǎ-tmali grēwǎrómǎnkǎ. Grēwǎrómǎn ǎal "Jūrēni bǎdēsǎmmǎ, bǎgirde sīriōs bǎiminki." Cīrdǎ tillǎ-tmali, "Hē jūrēni! Ārǎri ǎadǎmkǎ űmǎkǎ skǎak jūrēmǎ? Ēhē jūrēni, űhlūsindi bǎdēsǎmmǎ, u ātu ka l'rēk ha ǎmǎsmǎ? Āhǎk kam, kamǎr inhe°. Ātu mǎn ǎlǎur, u ja ǎuriarta." Sītēn ǎrǎtōs. Ārǎ pǎiēsǎn kajjiǎnki, ǎűűtirde ǎǎhryēman u ǎrēmǎn, u fēre nǎrnēmǎnki dī nǎrnǎ. Ūktēndsǎn. Rǎsrēnsǎn nǎrne, mǎndēnsǎn, nīrdēnsǎn ǎjǎjǎn tillǎ-tmaliēskǎ. Cīrdǎ tilla-tmali "Kēi kērdēnd minjǎrǎn?" "Ārīndemǎn ǎrǎtǎn, fēre dī nǎrnǎ mnēšmǎn u ǎűrēndi." "Jas, nǎnǎssǎn lǎhǎmsǎn dīa° nǎrnǎn illi ǎűrēndi." Gǎre nǎnde nǎrnēn, u lǎherdōssǎn tillǎ-tmali, u lǎherdǎ fīrēndi bōl. Mīndǎ ǎlǎlōs tillǎ-tmali, mīndǎ ǎjǎjǎn u tīrdōssǎn ellǎsmǎ, bǎndōssǎn bǎninnēsmǎ u cīndǎ űtsūnta wīs wars. Dī zīriǎti illi fīrēndi, yikák mra u yikák gǎrdǎ mǎndǎ. Pǎrdēn mǎrǎnǎs u gǎrēn űktēnis pǎűbǎginyētǎ. Mīndēn ǎlǎlēmǎn, štǎldēnis, dǎurldēnis u nǎndǎ¹ űbǎskǎrǎ ǎiyǎki, u tīrdǎ¹ űtǎstǎ u ǎldǎ¹ mǎlǎkdǎ u mōldēnis. Mīndēn ǎlǎlēmǎn, rǎwǎhren kuriēmintǎ; ǎjǎjǎ illi mǎrdǎ nǎndēk nīm sǎi zerd, tīrdōssǎn grēwǎrómǎn ǎstōsmǎ. Grēwǎrómǎn cīrdǎ űbǎskǎ "Ja, nan gēnǎ des zerd u ǎru." Mǎrde dī ǎali u nan[de] das bǎtmǎn sǎl u ǎru, u ni 'hǎra° ǎiyǎk.

There came women to us. They stayed with us. They cut the ropes of our

¹ These three verbs should probably be in the first person plural, but the narrator used the third singular by some slip of the tongue.

tents. We quarrelled with them. One [woman] of us was struck. Her head was broken. Our sheikh went to the governor. 'Whence was that quarrel?' said the governor to our sheikh. Our sheikh said 'It was the women one with another, the heads of our wives were broken.' Said the governor, 'They are women! Hast thou come to bring before me a quarrel among women? They are women, they will make peace together, and thou, what hast thou to do with that business? That business is no business of thine. Betake thyself, thou, and go to thy tent.' We slept that night. There came the husbands of the women, and stole our cooking-pots and donkeys, and struck of our people two men. They knocked them down. We men followed them, took them, conducted the Gentiles¹ to the governor. Said the governor, 'What did they do to you?' 'They came to us by night, beat two men of ours, and they are lying prostrate.' 'Go, bring them, let me see the two men who are lying prostrate.' They went and brought the men, and the governor saw them, and he saw that they were badly wounded [*lit.* much struck]. The governor betook himself, took the men and put them in prison bound them in bonds and condemned them to twenty years. The two youths who were struck, one died and one survived [*lit.* remained good]. We took the dead one and went and laid him down in the courthouse. We betook ourselves, bore him, washed him, and got [grave] clothes for him and put them on him and dug a grave and buried him. We betook ourselves, and went to our tents; the man who slew, bringing fifty pounds, put them in the hand of our sheikh. Our sheikh said to him, 'Go, bring other ten pounds, and come.' They slaughtered two goats and set ten *roṭls* of rice and came, and nothing [more] happened.

XX

Gārēn kārūāstā. Lāherdēn Dōmēni hnōnā. Wēsērēn ūnktisān. Pīrēn kīrwi u tīrde āhārēmān ārātān u atnēmān dī cars. Sītēn ūnktisān. Sābāhtān pānjān rāūrde, u āme māndēn erhōna. Ārātān nāndēn kāre' kājjānka, hōt kāvīlā kull kār. Kōldēn ārātān, rāsērēn kūrīān nīm-ārāt. Lāherdēn nīmos Dōmānki sītēnde, nīmōsan wēsērēndē. Lāherdēn tillā-manus wēsērēk. Kērdā āmīnkā kīrwi u gūldī. Pīrēn. Wēsērēn cīnāk wīnni dīs kīldā; štīrdēn, sītēn.

We went to the mosque. We saw that there were Nawar there. We sat with them. We drank coffee and they spread under us by night, and over us, two coverlets. We slept with them. In the morning they departed and we stayed there. By night we fetched donkeys for the 'Gentiles' [for] seven piastres each donkey.² We mounted by night, found the tents at midnight. We saw half the Nawar asleep and half sitting up. We saw the sheikh sitting. He made coffee, bitter and sweet, for us. We drank. We sat a little and the day rose; we rose up and went to lie down [*lit.* we rose, we slept].

XXI

Štīrde min hnōn ārwal hujōti, ningrēndi min hnōnā

¹ Note the distinction of *nārne* for 'men of the Nawar' and *kājje* for 'Gentiles.'

² i.e. acted as donkey-drivers for hire.

pándāsmā Dōmēni wāzrēndi Hīwārānātū. Cīrdā amīnkā kājjāk “Lāherdōm Dōmēni pāndāsmā wāzrēnde, nī ar’ ūnkiīran?” Cīrdēn amē, “nīr’ ūnkiīman.” Šīrde min hnōn, lūlde, site Rihyā[tū], min Rihyāiki site Srīyāti; šīrde klarēni, kilde ātsūntū, fērtūdsān u pārle kiyākēsān u pārle kārēsān, u nī mīndā wēssān wīlā kiyākāk. Jāndi tmālie, āre ātsūntū; sūbāhtān ehe Dōmān nāsrēndi. Bānde hāstēsān pācēsān u bāndēndsān goriēmā¹ u gārūwīrdōssān grēwārōminka. “Ehe Dōme nāsrēndi mnēšīr, yā grēwār?” Šīrdā min hnōn grēwārōmān, tīrdōssān elhāsmā. Mīndā hālōs u māndōssān u tīrdā kull-mānhum mnēscān zērdā zērdā. Pānjān dasēsni, tīrde das zērd. Grēwārā intā tmaliēskā pānjēs, u pānji pārdā pānjēs u kōlāre.

Nawar arose from there the day before yesterday, they enter on the road from there, they escape to the Hauran. A Gentile said to us ‘I saw Nawar fleeing on the road, did they not come to you?’ We said ‘they did not come to us.’ They arose from there, went down, slept at Jericho, from Jericho they slept at the Jordan. Bedawin arose, fell on them, beat them, and took their things and took their asses and not a thing remained with them. Soldiers go, they came to them; in the morning those Nawar fled. They bound their hands behind them, and bound them on mares, and made them return to our sheikh. ‘Are these fleeing Nawar from you, O Sheikh?’ Our sheikh rose from there, he put them in prison. He betook himself and left them, and every one of them paid a pound apiece. They were ten men, they paid ten pounds. The sheikh gave five to the soldier and he took five, and they were loosened.

XXII

Āre ūnkiīmān Dōmēni, grēwārēni. Grēwārōmān mārđ’ ābsūnkārū tīrān bākā u nāndā nīm kāfū sal, nīm kānāwi gir, u kerđ’ ābsūnkā, u kāre u pīre; u nāndā sūbāhtān kīrwiā. Dōme māngārde lāciū bēsūi-kerānis ābsūnkārū. Šīrdā min hnōn bōūs lāciūk, māngārdā minjīs nīm sū zerd, u dī zerd mānūmāskā, u zērdāk hālūskā, u štar zerd kēs; ehe tīrde giš ūhū kāmūs u pārdēndis. Mīnde hālēsān rāurde. Gārēn wāscān Pānāk-uyārtā. Wēsren wāšīsān dī wars. Ehe Dōme nī māngērdēndmān. Kīūtīrdēn lāciū u ārēn minjīs Till-uyārtā Erhēnā. Āre pācēmān. Šīrdā grēwārōmān, tīrdōssān ellhāsmā u bāndōssān. Wārt-kerđā lāciū. Pārde min nīm sū zerdānki² des zerd u gārū. Wārt-kerde lāciū. Mīnde hālōsān, rāwāhre dēsāsāntū.

¹ Probably an error for *goriēmā*.

² An exceptional use of the plural after a numeral.

There came to us Nawar, who were sheikhs. Our sheikh slaughtered for them three sheep and brought half a basket of rice, half a jar of butter, and prepared for them and they ate and drank; and he brought coffee in the morning. The Nawar wanted a girl whom we should marry to them. The father of the girl arose from there, and wanted for her fifty pounds, and two pounds for her paternal uncle and a pound for her maternal uncle, and four pounds [worth of] food: those paid all that amount [*lit.* business] and they took her. They betook themselves and departed. We went with them to Beirut. We stayed with them two years. Those Nawar did not like us. We stole the girl and came with her to Jerusalem. They came behind us. Our sheikh arose, put them in irons and bound them. He loosened the girl. They took from the fifty pounds ten pounds and went. They freed the girl. They betook themselves, and went to their own place.

XXIII

Gārōm min hnēn'. Lāgiš-kerlōm āmā u bāiōm. Mīndōm hālōm, gārōm uyārtā, nāndōm ple, tōmās. Gārōm ūhū dētā kārēmān tā-nānamsān. Kāūtīrēnd. Gārōm pācisān, lāherdōm pārdōssanni dōsārāk, u gārēk minjīsān. Gārīrōm kāriāmīntā, pārdōm tārān nārūā, u gārā. Rāsromus, lāherdōm dīr-īhrū dōsārā. Mīndēnis, gārūāurdēnis dēik mātāškā. Lāherdōssān [read -ōsis] grēwārā. Pārdā mnēši dfāngūs, u pārdōsis. Bāndā kōlēs, iktōsān pācis, u tīrdā pēwīndi pauésimā. Sābāhtān pārdōsis, gārā minjī tmaliéstā. Cīrdā "Ūhū dōsārā kāūtīnnēk, yā tmāli." Cīrdā tmāli "Kēi kāūtīrdā?" Cīrdā grēwārā "Kāūtīrdā kārēs Dōmānki; māndēndūsān min nīmāski pāndāski u nāndēndis āmākārā, u āmā nāndōmis ābārkarā yā tillā-tmāli, wa ātu, kēka kārēk minjīs? Hātētā bēn hāstērki, mītl-mā kārēk inkēr." Ōgrēwārā cīrdā "āmā ha gārōmi." U tmāli tīrdā dōsārūs elhāsmā u māndōsis.

I went from here. I and my wife quarrelled. I betook myself, went to the city, brought money, gave it her. I went to yonder village to bring our asses. They were stolen. I went after them, saw that a negro had taken them and gone with them. I returned to our tents, took three men, and went. I followed him, saw that the negro had gone far. We took him, caused him to return to the people of the village. The sheikh saw him. He took the gun from him and took him. He bound his arms, tied them behind him, and put a shackle on his feet. In the morning he took him, went with him to the governor. He said 'This negro is a thief, O governor.' Said the governor 'What has he stolen?' Said the sheikh 'He has stolen the donkeys of the Nawar; they took him half way and brought him to me and I have brought him to thee, O governor, and thou, what wilt thou do with him? Here he is between thy hands, as thou wilt do, do.' Said the sheikh, 'I have come here.' And the governor put the negro in prison and left him there.

XXIV

Gārā grēwārōmān ōdēsōstā tā-nānār Dōmān. Mīndā hālōs pānjī, kāumēs gārā wašīs nūwīnde; des narnek kōldēnde

ķārāntā. Ġarā uyārtā tā-lāhāndsān. Nī-lāhērdēndsān. Hūide min hnōnā ʔleyintā tā-lā[ha]ndsān. Kūldā pācisān des kājjēk¹ u pūnj tā-mārēndsān pāndāsmā. Rāʔure wāšsān kājje. Štirde min hnōnā. Kūldi pāndāsmā ūhū² sāp. Kājje nāsre u Dōme nāsre. Štirde min hnōnā. Kājje leyikā-kerde “Ingāl-kerna[°] wāšrān yā che Dōme, ātme jas min hnēnā w’āme jāni min hrēna.” Dōme nāsre, rāʔure min hnēna mišwārāk mitl Ġūld-uyārik. Sīte Dōmānkā, lāherdēnsān. “Ātme yā Dōme kēkā nāsreši?” “Āme ġārēn māriāni pāndāsmā, u āme nāʔuani ātrāntā; ġair kūll-yikā tāre das pūnj imhīla tmaliēskā.” Tīrde das pūnj imhīla grēwārāskārā u pārdōssān. Rāwāhrā minjīsān. Tīrdā nīmōsān tmaliēskā u nīmōsān ābūskārā.

Our sheikh went to yonder place to fetch the Nawar. He betook himself, his people went behind him seeking; they were ten men, riding donkeys. He went to the city to see them. He did not see them. He descended from there to yonder cities to see them. Fifteen Gentiles arose behind them to kill them on the road. The Gentiles went with them. They arose from there. A snake rose up in that road. The Gentiles fled, and the Nawar fled. They arose from there. The men swore ‘We will not speak to you, O ye Nawar, you go from *here* and we will go from *here* [*i.e.* you go this way and we will go that].’ The Nawar fled, went from here, a journey like [the same length as] from Jaffa [to here in Jerusalem]. They slept with the Nawar [*i.e.* in our encampment]: we saw them. ‘You, O Nawar, why do you flee?’ ‘We were going to be killed on the way, and we seek for you; each one must give fifteen *majūdis*³ to the governor.’ They gave fifteen *majūdis* to the sheikh and he took them. He went with them. He gave half of them to the governor and half to himself.⁴

XXV

Ārēn Hātilūtā tā-ħādrōcān ‘āidās erhōnā. Sītēn tārān ārāt minjīs. Mīndēn ħālēmān, ġārēn tā-pārān bākrāk. Pārdēn bākrāk u mārdēnis ārātos. Štīrdēn min hnōnā. Kēš-kerdēn u māndā kēš kāħryēmā—u kāħri kājjānkāki: mīndēnis tā-kēš-kerēn minjīs. Ārātān ķāʔutiri u ġāri kēšēsā. Sābāħtān nāʔure ātūstā dāʔōm u bōiōm—nī-lāherdēndis kāħrimānus.⁵ Kāʔutīrik.

¹ The use of the predicative suffix is here quite irregular.

² It is rare for the demonstrative to follow the substantive, as here.

³ A Turkish dollar, worth in Jerusalem 23 piastres (about 3s. 4d.).

⁴ The meaning of this confused story seems to be that the governor had demanded seven and a half dollars per head as an extortion from the sheikh of the Nawar: the sheikh went to look for his people, who were wandering about, and did not find them where he expected them. The matter of the Gentiles and the snake was an irrelevant wayside incident. Ultimately he found his people, and communicated to them the governor’s message, with the slight modification that he doubled the extortion and pocketed the difference.

⁵ It is unusual to find a word with the pronominal suffixes declined other than as a *neuter* substantive.

Inte saūiēškā nīm zerd kāhryāki. Nāūrēn ātūstā, kāhryētū ; āūāri štar dīs, wā āme nāūāni ātūstā. Lāgiš-kerde bōōm u Dōme sāua. "Ātme saknāurdēs āmātū tā-gāri kāhryōs kājjūski : gvir jam tillā-tmaliēškā nānāmis ābrānkārā, ātme sāknāurdēs āmātā." Gārū bōōm tillā-tmaliēškā, nāndōsis Dōmānkū, kal "Ātme yā Dōme sāknāurdēsa kūtēs ēdōmāstā." Lekā-kerde Dōme "Āme°nī-sāknāurde°" Ārā saūiēškā kāhryāk ; kājjū intōs bōōm nīm zerd u štar kicilā.

We came to Hebron to be present at the feast there. We slept three nights in it. We betook ourselves, we went to take a sheep. We took a sheep and slaughtered it that night. We rose from there. We prepared food, and the food remained in the cooking-pot ; and the cooking-pot belonged to Gentiles : we took it in order to prepare food in it. By night it was stolen and went with its food. In the morning my mother and my father searched for it—they did not find our cooking-pot. It was stolen. They had given its owner half a pound for the cooking-pot. We searched for it, for the cooking-pot ; it was gone four days, and we were searching for it. My father and the Nawar quarrelled together. 'You have given assistance against me,¹ so that the cooking-pot of the Gentile is gone ; [nothing will satisfy me] but I will go to the governor and bring him to you ; you have given assistance against me.' My father went to the governor, brought him to the Nawar, he said 'You, O Nawar, have helped a thief against that Nuri.' The Nawar swore 'We have given no assistance.' He came to the owner of the pot ; my father gave the Gentile half a pound and four *besliks*.²

XXVI

Gārēn min hnōna, pārdēn kāliēni u gārēn, mīnd[ēn]sān Cūjētū. Min Cājāki pāndāsmā tātik bōli, rāmlī pāndāsmā : kālīan nīmōs mre pāndāsmā. Štīrdēn min hnōnā, nī lāherdēn pāni. Rāūrēn min dēsīmānki Cājāka, āūāri das pūnj dīs, tā-rās-rēn hrōnā : mīndēn hūlēmān, kūndēn kāliān u gārīrēn dēsīmīntā. Bāgīrēn kāliēmā. Saūiēs kāliānki pārde plēsān bitāmām, u gāre. Kūllmānāškā kāūrā wēšmān tārān zerd tārān zerd. Pārdēn kare, wīs kār, u gārēn Cūjētū. Rās-rēn erkōnā, wēs-rēn āūāri nīm sār ārāt Cūjēma u gārēn min hnōnā gūrbāstā dēsāstā, kūndēn bakīyōs kārānki, rūwāhre wāštmān āūāri, tārān sār zerd. U kōldēn pānūak-dengīzmā. Mīndēn hūlēmān, rūwāhrēn kūrīāmīntā. Štīrdā min hnōnā kūllmānhum, pārdā bāwōs. Mīštā-hrēn pānyīski ādēsāski. Dīyēs mnēšmān mre. Tālyōsmān mīštēni, mēndā kūll-mānhum dī mas, u pānjī mīštēk. Gārdā-hrēn, gārēn āTill-uyārtā u ārēn. Pārdā kūllmānhum tārān sīri gōrēni. Dī āudēk wāšmān. Mre pāndāsmā ; ārēn

¹ i. e. have helped thieves who have stolen from me.

² A coin worth three piastres.

děākākā tā-mōlēnsān. Nī-māndéndmān. Gārēn tāni dēta, nī-māndéndmān. Cīrdēn bādēmāntā "nḥōre° gair mōlē[n]sān dēmma ḥalēmaṭassan." Kōldēn ābsānkā mālākādā' ḥālēmā, mōldēnsān. Ārā ārātān ḥāūtār, kōldā ātsāntā mālākādān, pārdā dīyān āūdān u gārā minjīsān. Rāsreṅsān tā-rāštānsān, pārdos-sānni ḥāūtār u gārēk; nī-lāherdēnis. Nāndēnsān, rāwāḥrēn dēsīmīntā, wā-āmmā ārēn.

We went from there, we took goats and went, we took them to Egypt. From Egypt on the road there was great heat, and sand on the road: half the goats died on the way. We rose from there, we did not see water. We went from our place to Egypt, a journey of fifteen days, till we reached there: we betook ourselves, sold the goats and returned to our place. We lost [*lit.* broke] on the goats. The owners of the goats took their money to the full, and went. To every one of us there fell three pounds apiece. We bought donkeys, twenty donkeys, and went to Egypt. We arrived there, we stayed a space of fifty nights in Egypt, and we went thence to a place in the west. We sold the rest of the donkeys that went the journey with us for three hundred pounds. And we embarked on a ship. We betook ourselves and went to our tents. Each of us rose from there, and took his share. We were sick from the water of that place. Two of us died. The rest of us were sick, each one of us stayed two months, and he was sick. We recovered, we went to Jerusalem [or Damascus], and we came. Each one took three mares. There were two old men with us. They died on the road; we came to a village to bury them. They did not permit us. We went to another village, they did not permit us. We said one to the other 'It is only possible to bury them in some place in the wilderness.'¹ We dug for them a grave in the wilderness, we buried them. By night there came a hyaena, dug the graves upon them, took the two old men and went away with them. We followed to reach them, the hyaena had taken them and gone: we did not see it. We brought them, went to our place, and came.

XXVII

Gārēn jāmiātā tā-mājfūmnān. Pāndāsmā ḥlāre. Kōldēni dāwāūtīntā. Cīnde rāhtus dawāūaki pāndāsmā, u pārdē mnēšmān das pūnj zerd u fēre mānsās šibrīyāk, u fērēndīs dī dfang. Yikāk ārā pawūsmā u yikāk ārā ḥōlūsmā; winni fērōsis cīriā bēn pālēski. Nāsre ḥlāre, mānus kūrēk. Gārīrēn ābūškā, lāherdēnis kūrēk. Štāldēnis dāwāūtā ḥidmā rāsra Tillū-jāmi tā-mājfūmnār. Sītā ārātīyōs. Sābāḥtān mra. Tīrdēnis ḥāwāsmā; ūḥā zārō illi wāšīs pārdā dāwāi u ḥōldōsis u gārīra Māḥmālsān. Mīndā ḥālos, rāwāḥrī āhlīstā. Cīrdē ābūškā "Kā mānus illi gārā wāšīr?" Cīrdā ābsānkā inni mārīrā pāndāstā "u štāldēnis; gārdek; bād mā rāsra kānas sītā ārātōs. Sābāḥtān mra. Dāwārdōmis u nāndom ābūs kiyāki u mōldōmis."

We went to the Mosque [*i.e.* to Mecca] to pray. On the road [were] bedawin.

¹ *Lit.* : in villages with the people of the wilderness.

We were riding camels. They cut the trappings of a camel on the way, and took from us fifteen pounds, and struck a man with a dagger, and fired two shots at him. One came in his foot and one came in his arm; and [some one] struck him with a knife between his shoulders. The bedawin ran off: the man had fallen. We returned to him, saw that he had fallen. We put him on a camel till he reached Mecca to pray. He slept the night. In the morning he died. We put him in the mosque: that boy who was with him took the camel and rode it and returned with the *Maḥmāl*.¹ He betook himself, went to his people. They said to him, 'Where is the man who went with thee?' He said to them that he died on the road, 'and we lifted him: he was alive; after he reached Mecca he slept the night. In the morning he died. I washed him and got for him [grave]clothes and buried him.'

11

XXVIII

Hujóti áre Doméni ůnkřimǎn ársǎ; mángerde láciǎ, grēwǎrǎs điri. Ćirdǎ bóos "Tǎ-pǎůǎnd barés; báres kám-kerende. Árát áwǎndi báres; áůas, mánsǎs." Mángerđēndis: tirdǎ minjís des u štar zerd. Kǎl miš nihra° bóos, mángǎri wǎ zerd. Kēi Ćirdǎ illi mángerđos? "Kúněk mámǎ² ukcéman 'a-šǎn đǎ zerd. Hǎđi đǎnǎ zerdǎn, pǎrésǎn; ihre wi zerd." Tēndis ábůskǎrǎ u pǎrdǎ plen beóos láciǎki u tóssǎn đǎrǎska. Šřirđi đǎůos, inti nǐmósǎn bōwǎska u nǐmósǎn đǎwǎska. Gǎrǎ min hnōnǎ, pǎrdǎ láciǎ pōos u gǎrǎ minjǎ Ćǎjǎk-đésǎstǎ, u đǎůos rōri đirǎstǎ. Ćirdi "Kōn jǎri wǎšřim?" Ámǎ cámi "Jám wǎšřir." Intósim tǎrǎn zerd beđǎl rǎůšřimki, u mǎndēn hǎlemǎn u gǎrēn. Láherđēnsǎn đéǎkǎmǎ Ćǎjǎk-đésǎsmǎ. Mǎrdēn pōos u kǎůitirdēn láciǎ u árēn. Kōldēn dengřzmǎ - pǎnůákǎkmǎ tǎrǎnēmǎn. Mǎndēn hǎlēmǎn, rǎwǎhrēn kůriēmǎntǎ. Fēre láciǎ bóos đǎ tǎrǎn kǎwri. Ćirda ábůskǎ "Kēkǎ jak wǎšřis?" Ćirde abůs "Kšǎldōsim u násrǎ minjim. Gǎrǎ Ćǎjēta, márdōsǎm fēšřiki pǎndǎstǎ."

Now the Nawar came to us yesterday; they wanted a girl, the sheikh's daughter. Said her father '[Wait] till her brothers come: her brothers are at work. At night her brothers will come: Come, [then, and] demand.' They asked for her: they offered for her eighteen pounds. Her father said he did not want it, he asked twenty pounds. What did he who asked for her say? 'Father-in-law, you will sell our beard for two pounds?'³ Here are two pounds, take them: they have become twenty pounds.' He gave it to him and the girl's father took the moneys and gave them to her mother. Her mother rose, gave half of them to her father and half to her mother. The husband went from there, took the girl and went with her to the land of Egypt, and her mother wept for her daughter.⁴ She said 'Who will go with me?' I said 'I will go with thee.'

¹ The sacred carpet.

² Note the rare vocative.

³ A sarcasm, I suppose, but the meaning is obscure.

⁴ From this point onwards the narrator has gone off at a tangent into another story.

She gave me three pounds that I might go with her, and we betook ourselves and went. We saw them in a village in the land of Egypt. We killed her husband, and we stole the girl and came. We mounted a ship, we three. We betook ourselves and departed to our tents. Her father struck the girl two or three [blows of a] stick. He said to her, 'Why didst thou go with him?' She said to him, 'He dragged me and fled with me. He went to Egypt, killed¹ me with blows on the way.'

XXIX

*Ári min hnón min ůnkŕimán mámyčm, ujalđosim uyártŕ.
Tósim imhŕlŕk. "Hána, ja, nan ŕmŕnkŕ uyŕrŕki kŕš-kerán, bŕklŕ
u mási u gir." Nándŕm ŕbsúnkŕ mŕnŕ. Mándŕ wŕšŕim
imhŕlŕski štar kantŕa. Čirdi ŕmákŕ "Nan minjŕsŕn kušŕ min-šan
henŕŕŕn kŕšŕš, u hana, nan đŕana kanŕlŕmŕ đi nŕgi kŕrwi u
nŕgŕyŕk šakr, u mŕn hŕlŕr, đŕŕš, gŕrŕci fŕ-sŕ'a, ŕmŕntŕ mŕhmŕne
wŕsrŕnde carŕsta." Gŕrŕm ŕmŕ fŕ-sŕ'a, u gŕrŕrŕm.*

My wife's mother came from there from among us ; she sent me to the town. She gave me a *majŕli*. 'Take, go, bring us from the town food-stuffs, beans and meat and butter.' I brought to them a loaf. There remained with me from the *majŕli* four piastres. She said to me 'Bring for them firewood to cook the food, and take, bring for two piastres two *ŕkŕyes*² of coffee and one *ŕkŕye* of sugar, and betake thyself, hurry, return in an hour, we have guests, sitting on the bed.' I went in an hour and returned.

(*To be continued.*)

¹ See the similar expression in Ex. xvi.

² A weight, roughly about half a pound.

REVIEWS

Gitanos y Castellanos | *Diccionario* | *Gitano-Español* | y | *Español-Gitano* | Modelos de conjugación de verbos auxiliares y regulares en caló | *Cuentos Gitanos y Castellanos* | *Historia de los gitanos desde su origen hasta nuestros días* | por | Tineo Rebolledo | Barcelona | Casa Editorial Maucci | Mallorca, 166 | Buenos Aires | Maucci Hermanos | Cuyo, 1070 | 1909.

THIS is a reprint of a book published at Granada in 1900, under the title '*A Chipicalli*' (*La lengua Gitana*) etc., the only difference being that the *Cuentos y chascarrillos* of the earlier edition have been replaced by some stories which have not much to do with the Gypsies or their language. A 'History of the Gypsies from their origin to our days,' which only fills some dozen pages, and depends upon the authority of 'Ludolf, Richardson, Grellman, Marsden y otros eruditos filsiólogos,' must, I fear, be pronounced both antiquated and inadequate. As to the Dictionary, it would appear from a comparison of the two books that the author has worked upon the *Vocabulario del Dialecto Gitano* of Jimenez, which he has practically incorporated in his own book. A column chosen at random from the earlier work, and containing thirty words, has been found reproduced in the later one with only the following variations:—*Bale*=*cabello*, becomes *Bal*; *Flachoso*=*cenizoso*, is replaced by *Flachoy*=*ceniciento*, while where J. gives *Ceñidor*=*Yustique*, *Culebra* (i.e. a belt), R. has *Ceñidor*=*Sustiqui*, while translating *yustique* by *cerca* (enclosure), *tapia* (mud-wall). That R. is right in omitting *culebra*, an obviously slang word, will appear from a reference to the *Romances de Germania* of Juan Hidalgo, s.v. Señor Rebolledo has, however, added much of his own, for not only have the 3000 words of the Spanish-Gypsy vocabulary of Jimenez become 9000, but he has also given a Gypsy-Spanish vocabulary which the earlier writer did not. I have noted one word with special interest, because it goes to support the accuracy of Borrow. In chapter ix. of *The Bible in Spain* Antonio talks of the *jara canallis*, and in the vocabulary at the end of *The Zincali* Borrow gives '*Jaracañales*, s. pl. Guards, officers of the revenue: Guardas, carabineros.' In 1896 I failed to find any other authority for this word, but Rebolledo gives '*Juracambraro*=*Recaudador*, *fiel de puertas*,' i.e. a custom-house official. It is difficult to appraise the value of this work, as no hint is given of how it has been compiled, or what authorities have been consulted. It may be added, however, that it agrees pretty closely with such specimens of the Gitano tongue as are given in *The Bible in Spain*.

H. W. GREENE.

Zigeunerverzählungen und Volksdichtungen in Versen. Uebersetzt und eingeleitet von DR. MARCEL ARPAD. (*Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur des In- und Auslandes*, Nr. 2117), Halle a S., Otto Hendel [1909], xii + 84 pp.

THIS little book contains some old friends of students of Whislocki's works, though Dr. Arpad does not mention his predecessor. But there is much that is new in it; and, though the folk-tales are a little disappointing, from their shortness and their ephemeral character, that is compensated by the rather unusual number of ballads as distinct from mere couplets. One of those ballads (*Der Tod als Buhle*, p. 26) is identical with the folk-tale which Groome thought the most suspicious of his collection. But unfortunately the confirmation is no sure evidence of Gypsy origin, as Dr. Arpad admits Gypsy and national songs have often been interchanged. This admission tends to make one look with suspicion on some of the songs as too prettily conceived and too neatly expressed; for example, the *Loblied* on p. 64, which reminds one of Heine. But there is such a thing as being over suspicious. 'Kummer ist der Seele Zahnweh,' says one of the proverbs at the end of the book: and Heine too suffered from 'Zahnweh im Herzen,' and thought of curing it with a leaden stopping and Berthold Schwarz's tooth-powder. Perhaps it is merely the like disease which produces the like effect.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

10.—ALESSANDRO GIUSEPPE SPINELLI

We regret to report that Cavaliere A. G. Spinelli died suddenly on September 10. He was born at Modena on February 15, 1843, the son of the advocate Nicola Spinelli, and of his wife, the Marchesa Eloisa Bellincini-Bagnesi. During his university education he assisted in indexing Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, and thereafter devoted himself specially to studies connected with that great scholar, and particularly to collecting his letters, 4097 of which, including both published and unpublished, he gave to the Marquis Matteo Càmpori for use in the edition which he was preparing. Cavaliere Spinelli fought in the campaigns of 1866 and 1870, and took an active part both in national and local politics. But his life was that of a literary man, and, although he printed 'Frustra Laboravi' at the head of his note-paper, the bibliography of his publications, including more than 300 titles, is eloquent evidence of his versatility and industry. His writings deal with an immense variety of subjects, but generally from an antiquarian, historical, or bibliographical point of view; and he did important work in cataloguing, arranging, or indexing libraries and collections of records, notably the library of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and the archives of the Sola-Busca family in Milan.

His 'Gli Zingari nel Modenese' is probably the most complete account ever published of the Gypsy history of a district, and it is pleasant to record that he took an almost boyish delight in watching its progress through the press, complaining only that his infirmities made the correction of proofs difficult, and excusing any errors that might escape by quoting Aldus Manutius' 'Stampa correcta opus quasi divinum.' Pleasing also that he regarded the hospitality of our journal almost as an international courtesy, and wrote, on the appearance of the July number, 'Mi è giunto questa mane il vostro Giornale che onora la cultura mondiale del vostro Paese. Io vi sono grato di avere ospitato in esso il mio povero scritto, e di aver condotto la cosa in modo che non poteva essere più cortesamente grazioso.' In the same letter he wrote cheerfully that he took courage for the coming winter; but only three days later, on August 26, writing almost impatiently about his *tirages à part*, he described himself as obsessed by the demon of haste, and in constant fear that he would be struck down by apoplexy before they arrived—a fear that was unhappily realized, for they reached Modena the day after his death.

11.—DRAB.

When a unique book fetches a high price at auction, it often ceases to be unique. When the last possessor of a secret divulges his knowledge, a dozen others appear who also knew it. And thus the publication of Mr. John Myers' article 'Drab' has caused Gypsies to 'blow the gaff' in other districts besides South Wales. The revelation of Cornelius Buckland to Mr. E. O. Winstedt indicated that mustard was the poison of his choice. 'You take the middle out of a potato, insert your mustard, and chuck it into the sty. The pig *mouths* it—here Cornelius stuck his head up and rolled his jaws with a slobbering sound to imitate the beast—and, apparently, the job is done at once.' When Mr. T. W. Thompson was dining with the Smiths at an inaccessible camp in Westmorland, Lulu, a boy of seven years, seeing mustard on the table, recited in a loud, sing-song way, as if he were saying something he had learned by heart: 'If you wants to *mor* a *bokenši* make a hole in a *püvengri* and fill it with mustard, and put it into the

pig's sty and the *bálo* will eat it, and choke like that 'n.'—Whereupon he made a horrible gurgling noise in his throat. Guest and hosts alike stared at the innocent child; but,—eloquent testimonial to the confidence which subsists between Mr. Thompson and his Gypsies,—there was no awkward pause, and it was at once explained that this method is used for both sheep and swine.

Mr. Thompson has also secured (whether honestly, I know not) an actual specimen of the mineral—galena—which some of his northern Gypsy friends obtained in Durham and kept concealed in their van, and in the efficacy of which they evidently believed. 'They broke off a piece of the *drab* about as big as your little finger-nail, more or less; then made a hole in a potato or piece of bread and concealed the *drab* in it by covering it up with the stuff they had cut out. This was given to the pig, and soon caused acute pain in the stomach. The pig ran up and down, lay down and got up again, and did not know where to put itself. An hour or two was sufficient to kill it. The flesh was quite good to eat as the poison only affected the stomach.'

A description of the last act of the drama was given to Mr. Thompson by the Shaws of Cambridgeshire:—'Two or three days after, the *monišivis* would go up selling to the house, and they would ax the kind lady if she had an old *múlo kaní* to give them.

"No," she would say.

"Well, have you got a dead sheep or a dead pig, lady?" they would ax.

"We had a pig died a day or two since, but it died so sudden we think it must have got something."

"Oh! that doesn't matter, lady, if you would only give us it. We've had many a one like that, an' it never did us no harm."

"But we buried it day before yesterday."

"Well, we can dig it up again, lady."

"But it won't be fit to eat."

"Yes it will, lady, we likes them like that."

'At last they would get the pig and the men would go and dig it up, and then they would eat it.'

The taste for *múlo mas* is far from extinct. It was Aaron Jakes (Aaron Shaw) who christened the great Gypsy evangelist's father and grandfather 'the Igg-pig Smiths' on account of their fondness for food prepared in this way. Even the great evangelist himself may still hanker secretly after the flesh-pots of Egypt, for the craving is by no means confined to our older Gypsies.

But apparently it is only the veterans, and not all of them, who understand the complete art of pig-poisoning. Mustard is evidently the recognised *drab* of the Buckland pharmacopœia, for, some thirty years ago, Plato Buckland recommended Dr. Ranking to use it in an apple, and declared that the hog would choke itself and die.¹ But it is difficult to believe that so slow a poison as lead would produce the required result in a reasonable time, and galena is quite insoluble in acids as dilute as the gastric juice. Probably, as Mr. Myers suggests, most Gypsies know by hearsay about the *drab*, the manner of its use, the localities of its occurrence, and even the appearance of the ore with which barium carbonate is associated; but have not the all-important knowledge of how to identify barium carbonate itself.

Complete certainty can only be reached by experiment. Will no member of the Gypsy Lore Society prove his devotion to science by testing these claimants

¹ According to Leland's 'Gudlo xxxix' (*The English Gypsies and their Language*, pp. 248-50) the toxicological action of *kris* (!) is different. 'Now, sir, you must know that if you give a pig mustard in an apple, he can't cry out or squeal for his life, and you can carry him away, or throw him on a waggon, and get away, and nobody will know it.'

to pig-killing power on his own, or his neighbour's swine? Mr. Myers has set a noble example by himself taking the risk of tasting a cake made according to Mrs. Herne's recipe and reporting as follows:—'In order to ascertain if a poisonous quantity of water-spar might be administered in cake without detection by the palate, a cake weighing two ounces and containing six grams of the poison was made. With the exception of a very slight grittiness nothing abnormal was noticed on subjecting a portion of the cake to mastication. To prove that the mass was fairly homogeneous the barium in five grams was determined and showed a total content of 4.86 grams of pure barium carbonate. It has been placed on record that 3.8 grams proved fatal to an adult.'

From such experiments it will be well to omit the drastic method suggested by Israel Smith, when hivouacking with Messrs. Thompson, Wellstood, and Winstedt at Stratford this summer. He asserted that he should use an ounce of strychnine: but, as his bruised and knotted hands showed, Israel was a man of action and disposed to be summary in his execution. Moreover veracity was not a foible of his, and perhaps he counted it sufficient to add the indisputable truth that the same quantity would dispose of a horse. Certainly it is hard to believe that any Gypsy, who happened by means best known to himself to come into possession of such an unusual quantity of that unmarketable poison, ever wasted it on a pig: and harder still to credit that a Gypsy not far from Stratford had made a mint of money by *drabing grais* and selling the carcasses.

Lest the reference to a German work for the use of a mysterious poison called *drei* by the Gypsies should create a false impression that the word and the practice were ascribed to German Gypsies, it may perhaps be worth mentioning that the original authority for both is apparently a letter to the *Times* (Feb. 21, 1862), of which the relevant part will be found in Groome's *Kriegspiel* (p. 241). As there stated, the letter was called forth by the prosecution of a Gypsy who was suspected of an attempt at poisoning; but Groome has altered the name of the *gâji* who was accessory to the act. The case is odd and perhaps worth summarizing.

Selina Smith, a young Gypsy woman of twenty years of age, was accused of obtaining money by false pretences from a lady named King, of Wandsworth, and her servants; but, though she was not definitely charged with it, the real grievance against her was that she supplied the lady with a bottle of so-called poison to dispose of her husband. Selina apparently called at the house, complimented the servants on their lucky faces, told their fortunes, prophesying that they were going to marry gentlemen, and, while so doing, got to hear that Mrs. King was not over-devoted to her lord and master. One of the servants, who boasted of a set of names which would have delighted a Gypsy, Priscilla Webber Jennings, admitted having given Selina the straight tip to talk to her mistress about her unhappy life with her husband. Armed with this tip, Selina tackled the lady and prophesied that her husband would die in a month's time. The lady had doubts; but Selina persuaded her that if she would follow her advice it could be managed, and within a year she would be happily married and have a child. Whereupon Mrs. King sent her away with a two-shilling piece and an old dress, and a promise of a pound if she would bring her "something that would do her good."

Selina repaired to her mother on Barnes Common, and returned in a day or two with a powder, which with true Gypsy thrift she mixed in a bottle borrowed from the servants. They supposed it was to kill their master at the end of the month, but did their best to further that laudable object, and promised their mistress not to tell anybody. Selina only asked ten shillings for her mixture, but even that Mrs. King refused to pay until she had tried its efficacy, and after a squabble Selina was hustled out. Outside she fell into the hands of the police summoned by Mr. King, who had had his suspicions aroused by the poisoning of two of his dogs, and had caught scraps of the mysterious conversation between Selina and his wife.

Though she was not indicted for poisoning, the bottle of mixture naturally came into the evidence, and at the first hearing Selina was remanded pending its analysis. But about the analysis there was an unaccountable hitch. The Professor at Guy's Hospital, to whom the stuff was sent, struck for his money before he analysed it; the court said it was too much bother to apply to the proper persons to authorize an analysis, and suggested that Mr. King should get a 'chymical friend' to do it. Mr. King's chymical friend was slow and inefficient; and finally Mr. King appeared, saying that he had examined it himself, and come to the sapient conclusion that a brown liquid was composed of chalk. That strange conclusion and Selina's repeated offers to drink the bottleful satisfied all parties, and the poisoning element was allowed to drop.

An attempt on the part of the police to prove that she had just come out of prison for the same offence, and was wanted in Lincolnshire to answer a similar charge, fell through too, the guilty party being proved to be a relative of hers; and Selina escaped with three months' hard labour and a threat of severer punishment if poison was discovered in the medicine. The servant girls were severely reprimanded; but the worst culprit escaped without even being brought into court as a witness. Yet with characteristic feminine disregard for male chivalry she was apparently discontented. At any rate, a gentleman—we will hope it was her brother—rose and complained that Mrs. King had not been represented, 'that she had a complete answer, and that the whole affair had been a most unpleasant one for her.' Doubtless it is a little annoying for a wife to be prevented from poisoning her husband; but it seems more than a little ungrateful for her and her male friends to grumble because he does not put her in the dock when he discovers her attempts.¹

12.—LEAL AS A GYPSY

Monsieur H. Gaidoz has most kindly sent the following disquisition which is attached to the proverb 'Leale come un Zingaro,' in chapter cxxvii. (p. 240) of a book, *Modi di dire Toscani ricercati nella loro origine* (In Venezia, appresso Simone Occhi, con licenza de' Superiori, e privilegio. MDCCXL. 4to). Although the author did not print his name on the title-page, he has signed the dedication 'Sebastiano Pauli':—

'*Leale come un Zingaro* : ' Dicesi de' Ladri. Alessandro Tassoni ne' suoi pensieri diversi Lib. 8. cap. 3. 'Foroneo, che a' Popoli di Egitto diede Leggi, non proibì loro il latrocinio. Lo scrisse Teodoro, e lo conferma Agellio nell' undecimo Libro. Nè paja cosa nuova, leggendosi parimente, che i Fanciulli Spartani per concessione di Licurgo si esercitavano alle volte a rubare, e quando con destrezza veniva loro fatto, ne riportavano lode. Ora i Zingani, che secondo la comune opinione sono Egiziani, non è da maravigliarsi, se per la continua strettezza in cui vivono, tuttavia conservano l'uso antico rubando, purchè possano, senza scrupolo alcuno. Il Card. Baronio nel 4. Tomo de' suoi Annali, fondato sul 25. libro di Ammiano, ove parlando dell' ignominioso accordo di Giustiniano Imperadore fatto co' Persi, disse: *difficile hoc adeptus; ut nisi Nisibis, & Sangara sine incolis transirent in jura Persarum; a munimentis vero alienandis reverti ad nostra presidia, & romana permitterentur*; si mosse a credere, che quegli abitatori di Sangara, che

¹ The case may be found in the *Times* for February 17, 21, 22, 24, and March 1, 1862, and there is a summary of it in Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 381 and footnote. A Selina Smith, youngest daughter of old Launcelot Smith of Barnstaple, and wife of Charlie Hicks of Plymouth is mentioned in Way's *No. 747* (p. 16); but whether the names in that book are to be taken literally one cannot tell.

allora furono costretti ad abbandonare la Città, lasciandola vota a' Persiani, possano essere quelli stessi, che a' tempi nostri co' nomi di Zingani vanno sparsi pe' l' Mondo. Ma protestando i medesimi Zingani d'essere di Egitto, e venendo essi in alcune Provincie vicino all' Affrica, e particolarmente in Ispagna, con nome di Egiziani chiamansi; e significando di più il Leoni, che in Affrica tuttavia sono chiamati, o *Zingani*, o *Zingari*, e che vivono essi ancora di ruberie, alcuni de' quali abitano tra i Regni di Cano, e Borno, ed altri ne' deserti di Egitto a' confini di Arabia, dove non è possibile mai, che passassero gli abitatori di Sangara, che Sangariti, o Sangareni, e non Zingani dovettero chiamarsi; per questo io non istimo che la prima opinione abbia ad abbandonarsi. Il Valeriani tenne nel suo Libro de' Geroglifici, che i Zingari sieno così detti da *Civile Uccello*, che Noi chiamiamo *Cutrettola*, o *Coditremola*, colla quale gli Antichi significavano la povertà; per essere, come dicono, uccello che non ha nido proprio, e si va negli altrui a ricoverare. Ma l'addurre etimologie latine, e greche ne' nomi Egiziani io l'ho per un

“*Sactare alla Luna.*” Il Volaterrano sente, che i “Zingani fossero discendenti dagli Ussi Popoli Persiani, de' quali scrive Scilace, Scrittore delle cose di Constantinopoli, che essendo venuti sotto l'Imperio di Michele Traulo, si sparsero per l'Europa, e andavano predicando a tutti le cose avvenire. Ma tra gli Ussi, e Zingani vi è un gran divario di nome.” Fin quì il Tassoni. Altri dicono, che *Zingano* viene dal Tedesco *Ziegeuner*, che significa lo stesso, ed è voce originata da *Ziehen*, che vale far viaggio. Vedasi il Covarruvias V. *Cingero*; Samuele Bocarto delle Colonie de' Fenici Lib. 1., Capit. 4., c. 774. Lelio Bisc. *Horæ subsc.* Lib. 20., Capit. 24., Andrea Alciato, *Parerg.*, Lib. 5., Capit. 3. Osservisi di più col Dati presso il Menagio, se Singara, Città della Mesopotamia sul Tigri, ed i Popoli Singareni, possano aver dato nome a sì fatta gente, mutato lo S, in Z: come osservarono essere familiarissimo Ezechiele Spanhemio nel suo dottissimo Libro sopra l'uso delle Medaglie; e l'Abbate Piero Seguinto nella scelta elegantissima delle Medaglie antiche Capit. 4. Si può ancora aggiungere quì ciò che ne dice il lodato Bocarto Lib. 1. Capit. 5. il quale inclina a credere, che la detta Città di Singara sia la stessa, che Sinar, cioè Babilonia: *Sinhar efferetur Singar, si littera ayn mutetur in g, quomodo in Segur, Gaza, & Gomorra. Unde multis persuasum est Sinhar esse Singaran, & Singarenam. Singare urbis in Mesopotamia meminere Plinius, Eutropius, Ptolomæus, Ammianus, Athanasius in Epistola ad solitariam vitam agentes, Geographus Nubiensis Sect. Part. Climat. 4. Singarene regionis, sextus Rufus, & Pomponius Letus. Occurrit & Mons Singeras in Ptolomæo. Singara urbs a Nubiensi describitur ad occidentem oppidi Balad ad Milliare XXVII., & Balad ad Tygrim XX. m. p. Itaque verisimile est ad Singarenam pertinuisse præter Babylonis agrum, omnem oram Tigridis occidentem usque ad Montana Armenie.* Questa Città, qualunque ella fossesi, è celebre per la battaglia fra' Persiani, e Romani al tempo di Costanzo, e Costante Imperadori.

13.—RUSSIAN GYPSIES IN LITHUANIA, JULY 1908

It was towards the end of a very strange stay of three weeks in a charming Russian country house, built on rising ground, surrounded by countless lakes, pine woods, birch trees and solemn storks, who stood fearlessly on one leg watching us, that we made our way on horseback for the last time to the village of Novoalexandrovska, about two hours distant. I had been hitherto disappointed in my search for Gypsies. True it is I had met a whole camp-full on the night of my arrival. That was during a drive of three hours, from the Jewish town of Dunaberg, the nearest station. It was about midnight when a *džukil* rushed out upon us and scared the horses. It never gets dark during fine weather at that

time of the year, and I could clearly see five or six low black tents pitched on the left side of the road under some birches. I would fain have stopped, waked the *Bāro Dār*, and then and there collected material of interest for the Gypsy Lore Society, but my host drew his revolver on guard 'against the scoundrels,' and . . . *que voulez-vous?* I was his guest—and on we drove.

Since then they had not been heard of, and so it was with little hope of seeing them that we set out for the last time, three of us, on *grais* that were more used to pulling a *hintóva* with a *petilo* over their heads than to feeling a rider on their backs. It was on our return from the village, where a *bibóldo* had made us fairly *mato* on *tšilátšo lovína*, that we met them, a large camp-full, strolling about, their hands in their pockets, pipes in their mouths, some with a few ragged horses following them slowly along the highroad to Dunaberg. We were in the near vicinity of the camp, and soon crowds of children poured down upon the road from tents hidden from the gaze of wayfarers behind a grassy hillock, and began to surround our horses, seizing the bridles and begging for money. The usual scene ensued. I made known to them my knowledge of their language. They showed some surprise. We dismounted. Two Gypsy lads had immediately taken charge of our horses, and were leading them up the bank to the camp, while we followed with one who appeared to be a chief. We entered the biggest tent, and a *p'uri dai* insisted upon telling us our fortunes. I had mine told in Romani, '*po-romani*' as they said. Unfortunately I cannot remember the text. It was all delivered at a furious rate, but I gathered that I was to marry '*kotar aménde*.'

The Romani they used seemed fairly pure. I was unable to record any peculiarities. When, however, upon our leaving, wishing to put a stop to the begging, I held up two roubles and called out what first came to my mind: '*Šaréng!*' several repeated after me, '*Dē mende, po-sarénde*.' When we were already on our horses and out again on the highroad we met a crowd of *Romani tšais* returning from Novoalexandrovsk. One of them came up to the horses and, after having listened to a hubbub of voices, cried out to me, '*Katar avés? Dār dživés?*' Then coming nearer to me and resting her arm on my horse's neck: '*Sukár terno rai, ta barvalo*.' (I do not remember whether she oxytonised the last word.) I soon explained to her that I wasn't anything of the sort. But the horses were getting restive: little children were pulling their tails, running in and out underneath them, while the two *terne roma* who had first taken charge of them were endeavouring to soothe them, at the same time examining and feeling them all over. It was time to be off. '*Nu, kudá? Damói?*' asked the *p'uri dai* who had told our fortunes. '*Ava, kère*,' I answered, not wishing her to speak to me in Russian. Whereat she laughed a croaking old laugh: '*Vsjo kamel te vakrel po-romani!*' she said, half to herself; and we left them with a hearty '*Atš Devlesa*,' followed till out of hearing by the oft-repeated God speed, '*Dža Devlesa*.'

They knew all the usual words for cooking utensils, could count as well as any I have ever met, but were not sure whether it was the month of June or July that was coming to its close. They translated the word '*gādžo*' by '*a Pole*.'

BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

14.—A LITTLE SONG

During a tramp in the Province of the Rhine in September 1908, which took the form of a pilgrimage to my old haunts of 1902-3, I was much disappointed in not meeting with any of my old friends of six years gone by. A small detachment of *Posh-Rats*, among whom was a lad of some seventeen years, of remarkable Gypsy beauty, were the only gentlemen of the road it was our fortune to find, and from the *šukar raklo* I got the following song, my pal Raglan Somerset retaining

the air and eventually putting it on paper. The *Raklo* was not a *Posh-Rat*, but he refused to give up his secret, and who he was I know not.

Dzas men - ge friš - ko o jug te kras

ve - la pir - ve - la i rat po drom.

BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

15.—BORROW'S CREED AND PATERNOSTER

The following passage from the Rev. T. W. Norwood's Gypsy note-book, written apparently in October 1858, illustrates how Borrow vacillated in his versions of the creed and paternoster. (See *Lavo-Lil*, 1905, pp. 88-9 and *Zincali*, 1901, pp. 431-2). Similar variations occur in his Spanish-Gypsy renderings. Professor Knapp has contrasted those in *Lucas* (Madrid, 1837), the MS. of *Zincali* (1839), *Zincali* (London, 1841,) Pott. II. 472, Jiminez *Vocabulario* (Sevilla, 1853), *Lucas* (London, 1872), and *Zincali* (London, 1901).

HELEN GROSVENOR.

'I copied the following Gipsy versions of the *Creed* and *Lord's Prayer* from a MS. in the handwriting of Mr. Borrow, which he had given to Mr. Goddard Johnson after he had seen the latter's collection and vocabulary. His handwriting is vastly like Dr. Wright's but not so good: there is a certain feebleness about the stroke: it is large, clear, and thrown backwards.

THE BELIEF

'*Man apasavella drey Mi-doovel Dad soro ruslo, savo kel o pravo tem ta cav ocoi tuley: apasavella drey olescro yek chavo miro aranno sas Christos, lias by midoveleskoe Mulo, beano of wendror of midoveleskoe gairy Mary, kurredo tuley wast of Pokinies Pontius Pilatos, nashko pre rukh, was mored, chived adrey o hev; chal yor tuley o kalo dron to wafedo tan, bengeskoe stariben: o trito devas chal yor opré to tatcho tan Midovels ker: beste know oioi, pre Midovels tacho wast, Dad soro boro: avella canasig to lel shoonaben opré mestipen and meripen: apasavella in Midoveleskoe Mulo, Boro Midoveleskoe Cangri, the midoveleskoe pius of soro tatcho folkly kettenev. soror wafodu penes fordias, soror mulor jongorella; kek merella apopli asorlus. Avali, Tachipen.*

THE PATER NOSTER

'*Miry diry Dad, odoi opré adray tiro tacho tan, midoveleskoe si tiro nav, avel tiro tem, be kel tiro luv acoi drey pov, sar adoí drey charous. Dey mande todevus miry diry moro, ta fordél sau to man pazzorkus atute, sar man fordél sau so wavior mushor pazzorkus amande: ma rigger mun adrey adrey kek dosch: lel man abri sau wafodu: tiro se o tem, tiro or zooclivast, tiro or corauni, knaw ta ever-komi. Avali.'*

16.—ANGLO-ROMANI SONGS

The English Gypsies do not, as a rule, possess Romani songs, and it is therefore the more interesting to find in England verifications of Pischel's statement 'that Norway is not the only country where Gypsies are found who sing old songs, whose words, it is true, they still remember, but whose meaning they can no longer clearly explain.' Mr. T. W. Thompson has obtained from two Norfolk Gypsies, grand-daughters of Ambrose Smith or Reynolds (Jasper Petulengro), the tattered remnants of two of Borrow's songs. The first is Ursula's 'Song of the Broken Chastity' and with regard to it Mr. Thompson says, 'It is rather typical that the Gypsies who dictated it had entirely lost its meaning, although they knew what many of the words meant':—

Romani čai bešing adré the tan.
Pen'd lăki dai: 'Mîri đîrî čai,
Mă rōmer the rai, the gâjo rai,
Kîst'ring astut a pîreno grai.¹
 You *bâri wafadi lubanî,*
Jal avré mîri tan and be *kâmbri* ;
*Šun*² the *wafadi lubanî*
 With *gâjesko rat* to be *kâmbri*.

A translation of Borrow's version has already been published by Dr. John Sampson (Borrow, *The Romany Rye*, London, Methuen and Co., 1903, chap. vii. p. 46): nevertheless the following rendering from one of Mr. Norwood's notebooks, now in the possession of Lady Arthur Grosvenor, may have interest :—

Song of the Broken Chastity

The Gipsy girl to her mother said—
 'My dearest Mammy, I am betray'd.'—
 'And who was he thy faith beguil'd,
 My deary child, my Romany child?'
 'Oh Mammy o' mine, a Gentleman fine,
 Who came on his horse in the sweet moonshine,
 On his bonny good horse to the shadowy glade,
 'Twas he thy Romany child betray'd.'—
 'Away, thou little sot (slut) defil'd ;
 Away from my tent, no more my child !
 Had a Gipsy man entic'd (seduced) thy will,
 Then had I call'd thee daughter still ;
 But now in thy shame and grief begone,
 And the white blood swell thy Gypsy zone.'

Translated, 18th August 1857.

Mr. Thompson's second song is the 'vulgar ditty' which Mr. Petulengro quoted, and Mrs. Petulengro interrupted, on the occasion of their visit of ceremony to the dingle. (*The Romany Rye*, chap. vi.). Knapp prints the whole from Borrow's MSS., and Mr. Thompson's version runs as follows :—

The *čovahānî* and the *čovahāno*,
 The *nav sî lendî* is *Petulengro* ;
Sâ the foki adré the tan,
 Every *yek* of *lendi sî lubanîâ*.

¹ *Pireno grai* they translated as 'swift horse.'

² For *Šun* read *Šan*.

From Lavinia Mr. Thompson obtained also a mysterious fragment which, though even less coherent and intelligible than those already given, looks as though it were the ill-remembered beginning of a more considerable ballad :—

Sō did you *muk* my *čuri* old *dai*
Já with the *rašrai*, *sá adré* the *drum*,
Sá so *kálo* and *čiklo* ?
Naš the *čavis* from the *drum*.
Till the *rašrai* *jás* out of the *drum*.
Garav the *čavis* so *kálo* and *mišto*.

Does it commemorate the visit of some unwelcomely benevolent Crabb or Baird to a camp? Or is the parson playing a less creditable part and eloping incognito 'sá kálo and čiklo' with the old lady? It is hardly possible to guess at the meaning of so corrupt a fragment until a better text can be procured. Even in the case of less corrupt songs, of which several versions have been preserved, it is difficult to arrive at anything like the original form of the song. The variants differ so widely that the Gypsies would appear to have either singularly bad memories, or else a faculty for improvisation which causes them to alter the words wilfully to suit their momentary thoughts. Take, for example, the following three versions of the song printed by Miss Gillington in the first number of the *Journal* (New Series, 1. 64). The nearest to her version is one told by Mrs. Curtis (née Lucy Smith) of Cowley to Mr. Wellstood and Mr. Winstedt in January 1908. It is here printed as a specimen of Romany orthography from a copy which she, or one of her family, wrote down for another *Romano Rai* :—

Mandy went to *puv* some *griys*
all round the *pany* side
up come the *gabmush*
to *lel* *mandy griys*
mandy *deld* him in the *moiy*
todi *todi* *todi* cant *mandy* *cour*.

Here little is changed, though the whole is shortened. But in a far superior version, obtained recently by Mr. Atkinson from Leonard Buckland's wife (née Esther Smith), the offence leading to arrest is theft of hay, not *puving grais* :—

Jal down to the *stāgus*
To *lel* a bit o' *kas*.
Up *veled* the *gavengro*
To *lel* me *opré*.
Keker be *atraš*, *čavi*,
Keker *prāster* away.
Del 'im in the *mui*, *čavi*,
Del 'im in the *pur*.
And *mi dāri* *duvel* *dačen*
He can *kūr* well.

Possibly the very corrupt version which Mr. Thompson obtained from Charlie Webb, who derives his *Romani* from his mother, a Shaw, is intended to combine both offences; but again it is difficult to follow the meaning :—

Mandi 's *jāin* ' to *stariben*
For *lelin* ' a bit o' *košt*.
The *muskrá* 's *prāster* 'd,
Mandi will get *lel'd*.

Mandi 's *jáin*' across a *puv*.
Del him *adör* his *perinob*
 And it 's *s'* help *mi dári dačen*
 I can *kür* well.

Of the end of this song three other versions have been published, one by Groome (*In Gypsy Tents*, p. 50), another by George Smith of Coalville (cf. L. A. Smith, *Through Romany Songland*, 1889, p. 149)—a most unusual aberration for that worthy man,—and a third by Sampson (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 81). In the last instance it was combined with the familiar 'Can you *jas* to *stariben*?' : but, though it may fairly lay claim to share with that *gili* the honour of being the most popular song in the tents of Egypt, Sampson's informant, Alice Gray, can hardly have been right in combining them. The connection is, as Sampson remarks, 'not very obvious,' and the consensus of other versions implies that it was part of a song of *luriben* and *čoriben*, of which the rest is less well remembered. With the same theme deals a *gilimengri*, as he called it, which Cornelius Buckland (*alias* Fenner or Fender) repeated to Mr. Winstedt :—

Dá, dabla, dádi!
Tačikená lač stardi
 For *činin'* alé the *rania košt*
 And *čorin mulo báli*,

and considering the amount of variation which occurs in the last song, this may perhaps be a variant of another of the songs heard by Sampson from Lolly Lally, for the first line of which he claims considerable antiquity :—

Aái-dádi, dá dábelá, dá-dě!
Jal to kaséngri, ai-dádi!
 Or *tuti* 'll be *lino apré*;
Mandi 's been *čöring* some *ghiv*,
 Now *tuti* 'll be *klisn 'd apré*.¹

If so, the 'process of bringing down to date,' which Sampson detects in the rest of his version, has been applied in the first line too by Cornelius. Yet another song of *luriben* was heard by Mr. Atkinson from Esther Buckland :—

When I *jás* a-*čoring*,
 I 'll *já* by my *kukeri*;
 Then there 'll be no rumbling nor grumbling,
 And no one *lel* 'd but my *kukeri*.

But this appears to be quite a modern invention ; and so presumably was the rather unusually rhythmical *vers d'occasion* hummed by Liberty Buckland when Mr. Wellstood visited him at Kingston Blount some weeks ago :—

We shall *lel* some *luva*
 From the *tarno rai*,
Balovas and *yoris*
 From the *tarno rai*.

Another song, the opening of which has a fine swing, was obtained by Messrs.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 83.

Winstedt, Wellstood, and Thompson from Israel Smith at Stratford-on-Avon when they were on the *drom* in their *Romaničal's vardo* this summer :—

It's a *kušti* bright *rāti*,
 We'll *sá jal avrī*,
 We'll *lel* out our *jukels*,
 And *beš* our *raklis avrī*.
 The *rāti*'s very *pīro*;¹
Kušti rāti, mi rakli,
 For we're *jul-in'* a *hoči-in'*.
 I'll *lel pālē* a few *puvengris*,
 And I want you to *lel avrī*
 And *lel* a drop o' *pāni*,
 And *košt* I will bring ;
 Then while the *yog* is burning,
 I'll *lel adrē wudrus*,
 And *suw* you again.

17.—TURKISH GYPSIES IN 1635

'Tels ils étaient il y a plusieurs siècles, tels ils sont aujourd'hui,' said Paul Limours of the Gypsies in an article entitled 'Un Péril errant,' of which the sub-headings were 'Vagabonds,' 'Pillards,' 'Propagateurs d'épidémies,' 'Voleurs,' 'Meurtriers,' 'Empoisonneurs,' 'Insaisissables' and 'Hors la loi' (*Le Matin*, Paris, 4th March 1907). Scarcely less abusive is the account which H. Blount gave of the sedentary Turkish Gypsies in *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, [1635 ?]). Yet one cannot ascribe his prejudice entirely to *Gájo* blindness when one remembers Paspati's verdict: 'Il est vrai que plusieurs Tchinghamiés se sont fixés dans les villages, et même dans la ville de Constantinople ; mais ils se sont abrutis par leurs liaisons avec les étrangers ; faux Chrétiens et faux Musulmans, ils sont aussi pauvres et aussi misérables que leurs frères les Nomades, et infiniment plus adonnés qu'eux, au vol et à la ruse, dans leur commerce avec les gens du pays.'

Pp. 123-4: 'Now there remains a word, or two of the *Zinganaes*: they are right such as our *Gypsies*: I yeeld not to those, who hold them a peculiar cursed stocke: sloath and nastinesse single them out from other men; so as they are the dregs of the people, rather then of severall descent: wallowing in the dirt, and Sunne makes them more swarthy then others; they abound in all cities of *Turkey*, but steale not like ours, for feare of the cruell severitie, they tell fortunes as cheatingly as ours, and enjoy as little; their true use is for sordid offices, as Broomen, Smithes, Coblers, Tinkers, and the like, whereby the naturall *Turke* is reserved for more noble employments: few of them are circuncised, none *Christned*: they weare their rags affectedly, but wander not: their habitation is hovels, and poore houses in the suburbs: contempt secures them, and with that, I leave them:

P. 93: 'Some of them as the *Zinganaes*, doe not so much as pretend too any *God*.'

E. O. WINSTEDT.

18.—STAGE ROMANI

In Stolze's 'Die grosse Unbekannte' one of the characters, though not one of importance, is a *Zigeuner*. His only speech is '*Dibsky, ganfley, strentzky, stibitzki?*' (See *Gedichte in Frankfurter Mundart*, von Friedrich Stolze, 17te Auflage, Frankfurt am Main, 1895, Band I. S. 293.)

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

¹ *Piro* he translated as 'moonlight.'

Wishing You a Happy New Year



THE GYPSY GAUDEAMUS

JOHN SAMPSONESTAR



1. *Ke - sa Pā - as ka - na 'men Tār - ni - ben a - ĩe - la ;*



Pa - la gud - lō Tār - ni - ben, Pa - la šut - lo P'u - ri - ben
(4. *Ī Dā - e - ģī Druk' - ri - ben, Ī Čā - e - ģī Pi - ri - vi - ben*)



Sig ō Čik' men le - la : Sig ō Čik' men le - la.

1. *Kesa Pāas kana 'men*
Tārni ben ačela ;
Pala gudlō Tārni ben,
Pala šutlō P'uriben
Sig ō Čik' men lela.

2. *Kāi ši - lē, te mankedēr*
Lenas Drom te lasa ?
'Rē ĩ rāik' nī P'āv opral,
Pošē tatī Yog tulal,
'Dōi 'dolen dikasa.

3. *Kuši Ōri sī kī 'mē*
'Mārē K'elī mastī ;
'Vela Mosk' rō garades,
Lela sār 'men basaves,
Ar'ī Starī mastī.

4. *Baxt te 'vel t'ā Baxt te 'čel*
Rom'nē Juvīensa,
Ī Dāeņī Druk'riben,
Ī Čāeņī Pirīviben
Peņē Pirīnensa !

5. *Dē 'men, Dubla, 'kāi t'ā 'kōi*
Sō Kālē r'ōdena—
Ī Gājen te xoçavas,
Ī Bālen te drabyeras,
Gren te čōrdē 'vena.

6. *'Men te del mō Dīr Devel*
Lolō Mas t'ā kālō,
Dosta t'ulē Kānīš,
Dosta bārē Šošōā,
Dosta Mulō Bālo !

7. *Beņ te lel Pōkonyī sār,*
Beņ te lel Vešēņrē,
Beņ te lel ō Bičīmos,
Beņ te lel ō Starīmos,
Beņ te lel Gaveņrē !

Copies of this song printed on cardboard are to be obtained at 3d. each, post free, by application to the Gypsy Lore Society, 6 Hope Place, Liverpool.



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I.—JASPER'S FAMILY

THE two groups opposite are parts of photographs taken by the late Mr. Andrew Innes of Dunbar in August 1878 on the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit to the camp at Knockenhair Park (see pp. 172-3, footnote). It is much to be regretted that Jasper himself (Ambrose Smith) is not included, nor is his son Alfred. The first picture represents Sanspirella (who is sitting and holding Dōna Mace), Bidi, and Tommy. In the second Sanspi and Dōna appear again, with Deláia Mace carrying a child, her husband Poley Mace in a silk hat, and Tommy lying down. The originals have been retouched and coloured by hand, and the artist has even been at the pains to add a tripod of picturesquely crooked sticks over the perforated iron fire-basket. But although he has added to the glory of the raiment, he has fortunately not tampered with the faces, nor has he touched the tent and covered cart. These originals were very kindly lent for reproduction by Miss J. J. and Mr. William Innes, in whose possession their father's photographs now are. They have been copied for the Sirdar, General Sir Richard Wingate (who has recently built a house at Knockenhair Park), by Mr. Charles Spence, Station Road, Dunbar, from whom prints may be obtained.

II.—BORROW'S GYPSIES

By THOMAS WILLIAM THOMPSON

THE RELATIONS OF JASPER PETULENGRO.

A. 1. **Ambrose Smith**: son of Constance: transported with his sons Randle, Tommy, and Saunders for stealing harness:
= MIRELLI DRAPER.——
probably bur. at Coggeshall.

B. 1. **Moll Smith**:
= WESTER BOSWELL (*first v.*): no issue.

B. 2. **Honor**:
= FRANK SMITH.——

B. 3. **Phoebe or Fēmi**:
= (1) SAMPSON ROBINSON (*f. of Eros*).
(2) NELI SHAW (*f. of Rabi*).
(3) JIMMY TAYLOR (*f. of Lementēni*).

B. 4. **Rachel**:
= NIXI LOVELL (*a tinker*): (*issue Nixi and Dora*).

B. 5. **Randle**.

B. 6. **Tommy**. } Transported.

B. 7. **Saunders**. }

A. 2. **Fäden John**: son of Constance: brother of Ambrose:
= MIRELLI SMITH: d. Grundisburgh, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

NOTE: Mirelli Smith's mother (also called Mirelli Smith) afterwards married a Chilcot and became the mother of John Chilcot, who married Liti Ruth Lovell (d. 1866, age 78: bur. Birkenhead). Of their children Charles d. 1865, age 58, bur. Birkenhead; Florence became third w. of Wester Boswell, and Union (d. 1883, age 69: bur. Birkenhead) married Charlie Lee (see C. 12).

B. 8. **Ambrose or Amerus Smith (JASPER PETULENGRO)**:
= (1) TRĒLI SMITH, *sist. of Frank Smith* (see B. 2).
= (2) SANSPIRELLA HERNE, *sist. of Bidi, Esau, Richard, Abi, Eli, and Fēmi*, issue of Reynolds H. (*br. of Niabai, Miller, Sophia, etc.*) and Martha Boss, 'Old Peggy.'

B. 9. **Elizabeth**: d. 1883, age 76: bur. Birkenhead:
= ELIJAH BUCKLEY.——

B. 10. **Fäden John**:
= ALICE PENDEN, a London gāji.——

B. 11. **Prudence**: went mad:
= MAT BARKER: no issue.

B. 12. **Láini or Phœbe**: d. Thorpe, Norwich:
= TOM COOPER.——

B. 13. **Lydia or Liti**: d. Yarmouth:
= BŪI BROWN: d. Fakenham, Norfolk: no issue.

- C. 1. **Ada Smith**:
= IZA HERNE, *s. of Isaac*.
- C. 2. **Adolphus**: *d. Blackpool*:
= (1) DELÁIA GRAY: (*issue Mandra*).
= (2) SIBI BOSWELL, *dr. of Josiah Boswell and Betsy Boss*.
- C. 3. **Walter**: *living*:
= TILDA GASKIN:
- C. 4. **Agnes**: *d. Gloucester*: *no issue*.
- C. 5. **Sarah**:
= JOHNNY FRANKLIN: *drowned, 1909*.
- C. 6. **Adelaide**:
= JAMES WHATNELL or WATLAND.
- C. 7. **Lovfina Smith**:
= (1) ŌTI SMITH (C. 13).
= (2) KENZA BOSWELL.
= (3) GEORGE LEE.
- C. 8. **Deláia or Pinki Smith**: *died in U.S.A.*:
= POLEY MACE, *s. of Barney, nephew of Jem*: *in U.S.A.*
- C. 9. **Bidi**: *living in U.S.A.*:
= (1) *a doctor*.
= (2) POLEY MACE.
- C. 10. **Alfred or Olfred Reynolds**: *d. in Belfast Hospital*.
= gáji: *one child*.
- C. 11. **Tommy Reynolds**: *unn.*
- C. 12. **George Smith**: *b. 1833, Mousehold Heath*: *living*: *author of 'Incidents in a Gipsy's Life'*:
= KERLENDÁ LEE, *dr. of Charlie Lee and Union Chilcot, sist. of Sarah, Repriona, Leondra, and Caroline (w. of Noah Young)*.
- C. 13. **Ōti**: *re-chris. William at Bray*: *d. Dublin, c. 1899*:
= LOVFINIA SMITH (C. 7): *d. Norwich*.
- C. 14. **Lavathen**: *d. Glasgow*: *bur. Cathcart*:
= JOHN LEE.
- C. 15. **Bertram Smith**.
- C. 16. **Herbert**.
- C. 17. **Beatrice**.
- C. 18. **Norah**.
- C. 19. **Ambrose**.
- C. 20. **Trénit Cooper**: *d. Norwich*.
- C. 21. **John**: *b. 1832*: *d. 1879*.
= SARAH (gáji): *three children*.
- C. 22. **Lydia**: *burned to death at Lakenham, Norwich, 1908*:
= TOM BROWN, *br. of Búi*: *d. Norfolk*.
- D. 1. **Erica or Walter Herne**. D. 2. **Guster**.
D. 3. **Bertie**.
- D. 4. **Arthur Smith**. D. 5. **Ēros**. } D. 6. **Walter**. D. 7. **Frank**. D. 8. **Adelaide**.
D. 9. **Ada**. D. 10. **Súbi**. D. 11. **Betsy**.
D. 12. **Tilly**.
- D. 13. **Adolphus Smith**. D. 14. **Albert**.
D. 15. **Nathaniel**. D. 16. **Rabi**. D. 17. **Frank**. D. 18. **Leo**. D. 19. **Laura**. D. 20. **Pamela**.
- D. 21. **Algar Franklin**. D. 22. **Arthur**.
D. 23. **Fred**. D. 24. **Willy**.
- D. 25. **Athalia Whatnell** (= **ALGAR BOSWELL**). D. 26. **Ada**. D. 27. **Eli**. D. 28. **Hamelén**. D. 29. **Alice**. D. 30. **Walter**.
D. 31. **Herbert**.
- D. 32. **Katie or Maresko Smith**: *b. 1849*: *living*: *unn.*
- D. 33. **Tommy Lee**: *b. c. 1867*: *living*:
= 'BARLEY' PINFOLD, *niece of Emily and Tilda*: *no issue*.
- D. 34. **Adelaide**: *b. c. 1869*: *living*:
= HENRY GARRATT: *three children*.
- D. 35. **Melbourn Mace**: *b. c. 1879*:
= IDA HATHAWAY.
- D. 36. **Dóna**:
= GUS GRAY, *grands. of Ōseri and Eliza Gray*.
- D. 37. **Others**.
- D. 38. **Midóra Smith**: *b. Plaistow Marsh, London*: *chris. Kirkley, Lowestoft*: *living*.
= gájo: *two children*.
- D. 39. **Alice**: *b. Mousehold Heath*: *chris. Catton, Norwich*: *living*: *unn.*
- D. 40. **Charles Henry**: *b. Sparkbrook, Birmingham, 1864*: *chris. Dewsbury*: *d. 1897*: *bur. Birkenhead*.
= gáji: *no issue*.
- D. 41. **Frederick**: *b. Salismore, Manchester*: *chris. Dewsbury*: *d. Douglas, I. of M., 1889, age 23*: *bur. Birkenhead*.
- D. 42. **Margaret**: *b. and chris. Long Kirkcaldy, Fife*: *dead*.
= ALGAR FRANKLIN (D. 21): *six children*.
- D. 43. **Cecilia**: *b. Hanley*: *chris. Stafford*: *living*.
= gájo: *four children*.
- D. 44. **Ernest**: *b. Weston-super-Mare*: *chris. Stafford*: *dead*.
- D. 45. **Patrick Arthur**: *b. Ballsbridge, Dublin*: *chris. Bray*: *d. in infirmary*.
- D. 46. **Logan Lee**: *b. 1861*: *d. 1873*: *bur. Cathcart*.
- D. 47. **Nathan**: *d. Musselburgh, 1909*.
= ADA WHATNELL (D. 26).
- D. 48. **Johnny Brown**: *living*:
= gáji: *has issue*.
- D. 49. **Kadília**: *living*:
= gájo (now mad): *has issue*.

NORWICH *Musel*, for so the Gypsies call Mousehold Heath, is a large, breezy, gorse-covered common, broken up into innumerable little hills and hollows. Some of the hollows are partially cleared of gorse, and in these, about the middle of the last century, might have been seen the tilted carts and brown tents of the Smiths and Hernes and Boswells and Grays, for Norfolk was then one of the favourite resorts of the Gypsies. The Smiths were a numerous and well-to-do family, descendants of those two old 'daughters of Rome,' Constance and Mirelli. Constance lived to the patriarchal age of one hundred and ten,¹ and invariably washed in a hole dug in the ground, being as primitive in this respect as Grellmann's Hungarian Gypsies.² Mirelli met her death in a strange manner. At a time when she had already grown old and infirm she left home with the object of staying away for a week, after the custom of the old *Romanicāls*,³ in order to win a wager. She collapsed on a stone-heap, however, and was carried to Shipmeadow Workhouse, Halesworth, Suffolk, where she died. Ambrose (A. 1)⁴, the son of Constance, was transported along with his three sons for stealing harness, but it is very improbable that his brother, Fäden John (A. 2), crossed the *báro lun pāni* 'for his country's good,' and it is quite certain that the latter's wife died peaceably in Suffolk, so that Borrow had no

¹ Compare Borrow, *Romano Lavo-Lil* (London, John Murray, 1908), p. 107.

² 'When the woman lyes in . . . the child is brought forth, either in their miserable hut, or, according to circumstances, it may be in the open air, but always easily and fortunately, a woman of the same kind performs the office of midwife. True Gipsey like, for want of some vessel, they dig a hole in the ground, which is filled with cold water, and the newborn child washed in it.'—Raper's *Translation* (1787), p. 46.

³ So says George Smith (C. 12). He has probably omitted some details.

⁴ The numbers within the brackets refer to the preceding pedigree. Every care has been taken to make this as accurate as possible, but errors may have crept in owing to the frequent changes of names amongst the *Romanicāls* who are mentioned in it. Desertions from the Army, the desire to appear unconnected with notorious relatives or to break old associations, and the assuming at any period of their lives of the mother's name instead of the father's, have been the chief causes of this. Some of them have been as troublesome genealogically as a Gypsy whom I recently visited at Southport. His name was Young, he said, but the Youngs were really Hernes; his father was a Brown, but the Browns were really Bakers; and he did not know who the Bakers originally were, except that they were not Bakers. And to make my grievance worse, they will not allow me, in some cases, to print all the names by which they have been known.

'In the Gypsy language the state of being in debt is called *Pazorrhus*, and the Rom who did not seek to extricate himself from that state was deemed infamous, and eventually turned out of the society' (Borrow, *The Zincali*, London, John Murray, 1908, p. 29). I must remain *Pazorrhus* to many kind friends, *Romany Rais* and *Romanicāls* and *gájos*, who have supplied me with information; but I trust that I may not be 'deemed infamous.' Dr. Ranking sent an interesting letter on

grounds for stating that Jasper Petulengro's¹ father and mother were *bičudo pádel*.² Whatever his fate, Fāden John was now dead, and his son, Ambrose (B. 8), was head of the family; a shrewd, but merry, middle-aged man, whose long black locks were still untinged with grey. Years and years before, shortly after the birth of a daughter (C. 7) by Trēli Smith, he had married Sanspirel or Sanspirella Herne,³ the daughter of Reynolds Herne and Martha Boss,⁴ in her day the handsomest Gypsy in England, with her dusky curls enclosing a delicately cut face, fine Roman nose, and eyes 'as big as saucers.' In point of beauty Sanspi would have been better matched had she married Ambrose's brother Fāden (B. 10), who was as big and tall and handsome as Tawno Chikno, than whom he was better off, however, and enjoyed greater success in his 'traffickings in horseflesh,' although he could not compare in this respect with his brother.⁵ Ambrose's sisters were particularly unfortunate. Betsy's husband, Elijah Buckley (B. 9), met with an untimely end through being too fond of the wife of 'Gypsy' Stephens,⁶ a *páš-rat* who at one time kept a dancing booth called the 'Crown and Anchor' in Norwich, and was afterwards landlord of a public house near Epping. Stephens behaved like a low-bred *gájo* throughout the affair. He was bitterly jealous from the first, and eventually he tore a plank from the floor, brutally murdered his rival, bribed the doctors, and escaped the punishment he richly deserved. This was at High Beech, Epping, in the year 1833. Prudence (B. 11) was as fiercely

the punishment of unchastity amongst the Gypsies, and I should especially like to acknowledge the courtesy and kindness of the parish minister of Dunbar, and the skilfully directed energy of Mr. John Myers and the Rev. George Hall, through which I have been able to confirm, and add to, the information already collected from Katie Smith (D. 32), Adelaide Lee (D. 34), Kadília Brown (D. 49), Genti Gray, and many other Gypsies. There are references to Ambrose Smith and his relations in Groome's *In Gipsy Tents*; these have also been used.

¹ Cf. Knapp, *Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow*, vol. i. p. 34.

² Cf. Borrow, *Lavengro* (London, John Murray, 1908), pp. 102, 103, and 164.

³ Compare Borrow's description of Pakomovna in *Lavengro*, p. 108, and *The Romany Rye* (London, John Murray, 1908), p. 32. Consult also Borrow's list of Gypsy names in *The Romany Rye*, p. 46, and Knapp's comment on Sanpriel, on p. 381.

⁴ Martha Boss was presumably the old Mrs. Herne who nearly poisoned Borrow (*Lavengro*, chap. lxxi.).

⁵ Cf. *Lavengro*, chaps. xvi. and xvii. Jem Mace (*Fifty Years a Fighter*, chap. v.), speaking of 'Farden' Smith, says, 'He was known as the King of the Gypsies, and was a regular giant, standing 6 ft. 2 ins. in his stocking feet, and broad in proportion.'

⁶ Morwood, in *Our Gipsies in City, Tent, and Van*, pp. 77-8, mentions the origin of the *páš-rat* family of Stephens.

jealous of her husband as Mikailia, and as bitterly disappointed because she had no children.¹ She eventually went mad, and died in Burntwood Asylum. Phœbe's husband, Tom Cooper (B. 12), was transported, and that through no fault of his own. He accompanied his brother, 'Fighting Jack,'² to a ball, but did not stay very long. During the evening Jack stole a silver snuff-box, and on returning home he unmaliciously put it in his brother's coat-pocket. Unfortunately he had been followed by the police, who watched carefully where the box was deposited, and early next morning, so early that Jack was still asleep, the hated *muskros* appeared at the camp. They were very affable, and offered Tom a pinch of snuff, of which he was uncommonly fond. He pulled out his handkerchief, and out fell the snuff-box. Then, in a flash, he was safely handcuffed, and in spite of Jack's confessions at the trial, he was sentenced to transportation.

It is almost a relief to turn from Ambrose's nearer relations, and their melancholy fate, to one who was not so closely allied, but who was an inseparable friend—Sinfai Herne, commonly called 'the crow,'³ a particular favourite of Borrow's, of whom he was thinking no doubt when he wrote, 'How blank and inanimate is the countenance of the Gypsy man, even when trying to pass off a floundered donkey as a flying dromedary, in comparison with that of the female Romany, peering over the wall of a par-yard at a jolly hog! :—

Sar shan Sinfye?
 Koshto divvus Romany chi!
 So shan tute kairing acoi?'⁴

Passing off floundered donkeys as flying dromedaries was the regular occupation of the Smiths, and this, combined with a little honest horse-dealing, provided them with an easy means of gaining a livelihood. Ambrose and Faden were both dealers of considerable repute, and were familiar figures, not only on Norwich Hill, but also at most of the large horse fairs from Horncastle southwards and westwards. The old Hernes, on the other hand, were nearly all tinkers by trade. The women of both families told fortunes, and, in general, acquired money readily enough by

¹ Cf. *The Romany Rye*, pp. 31 and 58.

² Cf. *Romano Lavo-Lil*, pp. 211-213.

³ Sinfai 'the crow,' *née* Buckland, was the second wife of 'No Name' or Edward Herne, and the mother of Sarah, Eliza, and Milly. She afterwards married Sanspi's uncle, Niabai Herne, and became the mother of Isaac.

⁴ *Romano Lavo-Lil*, p. 175.

defrauding the silly and superstitious *gájos* in some altogether charming and delightful manner. But the Gypsy's life was not one of continuous toil, and Ambrose and his people spent a large amount of time each summer at the fairs and feasts, where the Grays and Shaws—the Gypsy entertainers of East Anglia—seated on raised platforms, and elaborately dressed in long, black coats, brightly coloured plush waistcoats, velvet knee-breeches, and smart top-boots, fiddled for the dancing from early morning until dark, whilst the *tarní čais* in their feast-day attire—turban felt hats with long, amber feathers, gorgeous multi-coloured shawls, red, or blue, or white satin dresses, and black, high-heeled, brogue shoes—collected the money in the tambourines which they occasionally played, and the *pūri dais*, in scarlet cloaks and queer little black bonnets, told the fortunes of the simple country people. Our Gypsies were not present for the purpose of making money, and so they held themselves aloof from the *gájos*, and gathered on the outskirts of the crowd, where they could be seen in knots eagerly discussing the 'affairs of Egypt,' or the doings of the 'bruisers of England.' They loved fighting, and many a famous battle was fought at these village *fêtes*, none more famous perhaps than that between Pirus Gray¹ and Jonathan Brinkley, usually known as 'The Devil Untied,' or 'The Mulo Uncovered.'² True, bruising in England was on the decline, and no longer wore the 'bold and vigorous aspect' that it did when Borrow witnessed the fight between Ned Painter and Tom Oliver,³ but the Gypsies—the most conservative of all people—still regarded a fight as something of national importance. Witness the concourse that gathered

¹ Pirus Gray was the son of Ōseri Gray, and the brother of Jack and Ōseri. He married the Milly Herne mentioned above, and was the father of Isaac Herne's wife. The Rev. George Hall sends the following account of him:—'Wikki Elliot (*née* Gray) tells me that her uncle Pirus was both a good shot and a good fiddler—"by far the best fiddler," she says, "that the *Romaničals* ever had." It seems that Pirus had several tunes of his own composing. In his later days he was a *kērengro* at Louth, and played at local dances, village feasts, and in *kicemas*. When his brother Jack was *bicádo pádel* for *chorin'* a *grai* he inherited his fiddle. He was buried in Louth cemetery.'

In *The Romany Rye* (chap. vii.) mention is made of 'a chal of the name of Pirus, who, besides being a good shot, was celebrated for his skill in playing on the fiddle.' Then later, in the same chapter:—'. . . Pirus was playing on the fiddle a tune of his own composing, to which he has given his own name, Pirus of Rome, and which is much celebrated amongst our people, and from which I have been told that one of the grand gorgio composers, who once heard it, has taken several hints.' And again:—'For though Pirus weighs but ten stone he shall flog a Scotchman of twenty.' The identity seems complete.

² Described in *T.P.'s Weekly*, April 9, 1909.

³ Cf. *Lavengro*, chap. xxvi.

together when Faden Smith fought Jem Mace, then a young man of twenty-one, on Norwich Hill in the early fifties.¹ And who is this stopping into the ring? Can it be the man who years before put on the gloves with Borrow to try and make him feel what a sweet thing it was to be alive?² No; it is some years since Ambrose retired, but the resemblance is remarkable, truly remarkable. It must be his nephew, Ōti (C. 13), now one of the best men in East Anglia, thanks to his early education on that famous patch of sward on Mousehold Heath, where night by night the Gypsies congregated, and those who had grown old and wise in ring-craft instructed the raw but sinewy and eager youngsters. They led a full-blooded life in those days, did the *Romanichals*.

But it was not so much the occupations of the old Norfolk Smiths and Hernes that would excite Borrow's interest as their inner, their secret life—their traditions, language and customs. There are difficulties, but the theory is that the Gypsies reached England as the result of several invasions at widely different times. Most of the English Romanies have no idea how or when they arrived here, or whence they came, but Ambrose Smith's descendants firmly believe that their ancestors all came to England in a boat from Italy at no very distant date. Their language shows no trace of this, for it contains no continental characteristics which would separate it from the dialect of the other English Gypsies. But it was to some of the more or less peculiar customs of their ancestors that my informants appealed as a proof of their recent arrival. The *gájos* they half feared, half despised, and thoroughly hated. They chose the wildest and loneliest camping places, and would never pitch their tents near a house, because they feared and disliked that *gájos* should be continually looking at them. They were so afraid of *mulos* that they would go miles round rather than pass a churchyard, and they would never drink a drop of beer in a public-house if they could recollect that a death had taken place there. The Jack-o'-Lantern, the *mulo mumli*, was a terror to them, and good-natured Faden got up many a night to try and appease the fears of the women folk of the camp. Some things they would not steal, not because the *muslero*, but because the *pūro beng* his *kokeru* protected them; 'Mâ jal adré the *buba puv* to *chor* the *bubas* 'cos the *pūro beng* 'll lel you' was

¹ This is the fight mentioned in chap. v. of Jem Mace's *Fifty Years a Fighter*.

² Cf. *Lavengro*, p. 165.

frequently heard. Fear, too, was the root cause of their unusual manner of disposal of the dead. As a general rule the English Gypsies buried their dead in consecrated ground, large numbers of relatives gathering together at the funeral, but with the old Smiths the death was kept a secret, frequently even from the deceased's relatives, until the body had been secretly buried, fully clothed, but uncoffined, in some ditch or on some lonely heath. Compare this, reader, with that much discussed description of the burial of old Mrs. Herne given in *Lavengro*.¹ 'The body was placed not in a coffin but on a bier, and carried not to a churchyard but to a deep dell close by; and there it was buried beneath a rock, dressed just as I have told you [in a red cloak and big bonnet of black beaver]; and this was done by the bidding of Leonora, who had heard her bebee say that she wished to be buried, not in gorgeous fashion, but like a Roman woman of the old blood, "the kosko puro rati, brother."' The custom has also been mentioned by John E. Cussans,² and the authors of *English-Gipsy Songs*,³ but they, like Borrow, have suggested no reason for it. Burial in a churchyard, however, meant dealings with benighted *gájos*, and the possibility of their mauling the poor dead *Romaničal*, or seeing his naked skin; and these latter, say my informants, were two things that the old Gypsies devoutly dreaded. The dread, which was father of the custom, remained, long after burial in wild and unfrequented places had become almost an impossibility. It is said that when Ambrose's brother-in-law, Búi Brown (B. 13), was dying not so very many years ago, he struggled into his best suit, and expressed the wish that he should be buried in it, doing this because he was afraid that some one else might clothe him in it after he was dead, and perhaps see, handle, or wash his naked body. The custom has never been very prevalent in England during the last two hundred years, as Groome has amply proved,⁴ and the one or two recorded instances all relate to Gypsies who travelled the eastern counties.

Turning from death customs to those which are connected with marriage, it will be found that Borrow's Gypsies were not only wise enough to know that the existence of their race depended largely on the chastity and faithfulness of the women,

¹ P. 434.

² *Notes and Queries*, 15th May 1869.

³ *English-Gipsy Songs*, by Charles G. Leland, E. H. Palmer, and Janet Tuckey (1875), p. 31.

⁴ *In Gipsy Tents* (1881), chap. v.

but also to act up to their knowledge.¹ Wives were chosen amongst the old Hernes in a most careful manner. If one of them was courting a girl, another young man was selected, whose business it was to court her as well. If she gave him the least encouragement, then she was cast aside as useless; if not, there was a general conference of relatives to decide whether she would make a suitable wife. If they decided in her favour, then the young couple were united by taking each other's hands in the presence of the assembled relatives, and vowing to be true to one another. Marriages performed in this way were considered more binding than those which took place in a church. The men frequently treated their wives rather roughly, but the latter, almost without exception, stuck to them through life, and mourned for them when they died. When 'No Name' Herne and Taiso Boswell were killed by lightning at Tetford, near Horncastle, on August 5th, 1831,² their wives went and brought their blankets, and lay beside the dead bodies all night. Unfaithfulness, when it did occur, was punished with great severity. Burying alive was the ancient form of punishment,³ and as recently as 1875, an old Suffolk Gypsy pointed out to Dr. Ranking the place where he had seen a *Romani çai* undergo this punishment.⁴ One old Herne cut off his wife's ears because she had not been true to him, and another made his run naked round a large field

¹ As Kedilia Brown once remarked: 'The owld *Romanicals* was the prudentest people what ever lived.'

² This is the date given by Smart and Crofton (*Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 253), and also in Sylvester Boswell's 'Famaley Memberandum Book' (*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 245), but the Rev. George Hall writes: 'Taiso Boswell and Edward otherwise "No Name" Herne were killed by lightning at Tetford, six miles from Horncastle, on August 5, 1830, at least that is the date given on the tombstone. On the stone Edward's surname was first spelled HERN, but a later hand has cut an A over the E. His age was given as 52, which a correcting hand has altered to 76. The registers of the Parish of Tetford contain no entry of these Gypsy burials. The grave lies near the north-east corner of the chancel. The headstone is in good condition, and bears traces of a recent cleansing from moss and lichen. There is living at Alford in Lincolnshire a Gypsy named Lucy Brown (*née* Smith), age about 100, who remembers the deaths of Taiso Boswell and Edward Herne. "We were camping atop of Tetford Hill, just above Ruckland valley, when the lightning struck the poor fellows. We were on our way to Horncastle Fair. I mind it all, *çai*, as if it had happened yesterday.'" Their wives were Sinfai 'the crow' and Sophia Herne.

³ Borrow mentions this custom in *The Romany Rye*, pp. 66, 67, 71.

⁴ Dr. Ranking kindly sends the following particulars: 'I cannot remember from whom I had the story; but one of the old men told me that the ancient punishment for unchastity was burying alive. He also professed to have himself seen the punishment inflicted when he was a boy; and showed me the spot where he said the grave was. It was a few miles out of Ipswich, near a village the name

every morning. It is very probable that both of these were survivals of Gypsy customs practised on the Continent, where unfaithfulness was punished by gashing, or tying naked to a tree.¹ Any licence that there was was only permitted to the men, who, whatever their faults, were true to one another, and true to their race. This was when the Gypsies in England lived 'right Romanly.'

Meanwhile, I have been paying scanty attention to the worldly history of Ambrose and his *pals*. For some years now they had been in that state at which most Gypsies arrive during the course of their lives—acute dissatisfaction with their present lot, and a strange disinclination, that almost amounted to inability, to remedy it. As early as 1842, on the occasion of a visit to Borrow at Oulton, Ambrose had complained: 'There is no living for the poor people, brother, the chokengres (police) pursue us from place to place, and the gorgios are become either so poor or miserly, that they grudge our cattle a bite of grass by the way-side, and ourselves a yard of ground to light a fire upon.'² Since then times had not improved, and many Gypsies had migrated to the North Country, which, in the fifties and sixties, was a Romany El Dorado. More and more went, and at last the exigencies of trade, and the insatiable *Wandertlust*, compelled Ambrose to say good-bye to his old haunts, and follow them, never to return. In a few years his fallen fortunes were resuscitated. He went to Ireland with his brother, Fäden, who eventually died there, visited the Isle of Man, and then, about 1868, he and his family entered Scotland in company 'wi' thae ither Rōmanies wha' went aboot gie'in the Gipsy balls.'³ They changed their name to Reynolds, the Christian name of Sanspi's father. They were badly 'bitten by that mad puppy they calls gentility,' and became ultra-respectable. 'Eh! but they were mighty fine folk the Reynolds, wi' their braw camps, and

of which I cannot remember; I only know that there was an inn there called the Angel. The spot itself was a place where three roads met. There was a good-sized, triangular piece of grassy ground where they met, and this he said was at one time a favourite camping place; the burial-place was, he asserted, in the middle of this plot.'

¹ Cf. 'Forms and Ceremonies,' by E. O. Winstedt, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. ii. pp. 355, 356.

² *The Zincali*, p. 359.

³ *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 17. These were probably George (C. 12), William (C. 13), and Lavaithen Smith (married to John Lee). See also *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. 282 and 295; and *Incidents in a Gipsy's Life*, by George Smith (Liverpool, 1886).

caravans, and brakes. Freemasons,¹ too, the young men were, and awfu' golf-players. And horses! why, I ken last Hallowe'en Fair, Alfred (C. 10) himsel' had sixteen horses, and that wad be ower twa hundred pound and mair. The *görgies* 'll jeest mak 'em pay, though, where'er they're campit; a guinea a week I think it was at Musselburgh, and hardly a bite o' grass for the puir beasties. And the scavengers wad come to the camps to clean awa' the ashes and siclike, jeest the same as if it was some grand gentleman's house; and I've seen the high-fliers and puir poverty Tinklers come beggin' up to them; ay! and get mair than they'd get fra the haill o' Musselburgh.'² They never crossed the Border again, but wandered leisurely up and down Scotland, respected wherever they went. In 1878 they were camped at Knockenhair Park, situated at the foot of a green rocky hill overlooking the Firth of Forth, and about a mile west from Dunbar. The late Queen was staying at the time at Broxmouth Park with the Dowager Duchess of Roxburghe, and as Ambrose's family had more than once visited Balmoral, and aroused her interest and sympathy, she went over to visit them. 'Eh! mon, there was a perfect ceremony. . . . The papers was jeest full o' the Gipsy queen (that's Poley's wife [C. 8], ye ken) and his gude-mither and her ither dochter. They were a' of them dressed in purple and velvets, and the men in their scarlet coats.'³ Ambrose was now getting an old man, and was not in good health. He was destined never to leave Dunbar again, for although he survived through the summer, the fall of the year carried him away. He died on the 22nd

¹ There is a masonic mark on the stone in Birkenhead cemetery erected in memory of Ambrose's sister, Elizabeth Smith, and her grandsons Frederick and Charles Henry Smith, who were probably among the young men referred to. Other Gypsy Freemasons were Ambrose's brother Fäden (London), Nathan Lee (Belfast), and Kenza Boswell (Scotch).

² *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 17, 18.

³ *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 17. The late Queen herself writes (*More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands*, Smith, Elder & Co., 1884, p. 370) under the date Monday, August 26th: 'At half-past three started with Beatrice, Leopold, and the Duchess in the landau and four, the Duke, Lady Ely, General Ponsonby, and Mr. Yorke going in the second carriage, and Lord Haddington riding the whole way. We drove through the west part of Dunbar, which was very full, and where we were literally pelted with small nosebags, till the carriage was full of them; then for some distance past the village of Belhaven, Knockindale Hill [Knockenhair Park], where were stationed in their best attire the queen of the gipsies, an oldish woman with a yellow handkerchief on her head, and a youngish, very dark, and truly gipsy-like woman in velvet and a red shawl, and another woman. The queen is a thorough gipsy, with a scarlet cloak and a yellow handkerchief around her head.

of October, at the age of seventy-four years, and was buried in Christian fashion in Dunbar cemetery. The Queen sent a sympathetic message to Sanspi, who travelled up to Balmoral, being unable to stay in the place where everything reminded her of Ambrose. During their stay there, Tommy (C. 11), who had been ill for some time, contracted galloping consumption. They tried to reach Dunbar, as he wished to be buried there, but he died on the way, at Dalkeith, on the 28th of May 1879. The body, however, was carried to Dunbar, and he was buried in the same grave as his father. Before most of the mourners left for America, whence none of them have returned, they erected a stone which bears this inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
AMBROSE SMITH, who died 22nd
October 1878, aged 74 years.

Also
THOMAS, his son,
who died 28th May 1879, aged 48 years.¹

'Nearer my Father's House
Where the many mansions be ;
Nearer the Great White Throne,
Nearer the Jasper Sea.

Nearer the bound of life
Where we lay our burdens down ;
Nearer leaving the Cross,
Nearer gaining the crown.

Feel thee near me when my feet
Are slipping over the brink ;
For it may be I'm nearer home,
Nearer now than I think.'²

Such were the Gypsies whom Borrow made his particular friends, both during his early life and after his return from Spain, and some of whom he has immortalized in his books. Very little is known amongst the present-day Gypsies about his

Men in red hunting-coats, all very dark, and all standing on a platform here, bowed and waved their handkerchiefs.' George Smith told Mr. Myers that 'the queen' was Sanspirella, that the 'gipsy-like woman in velvet and a red shawl' was Bidi, and the other woman Deláia. The men were Ambrose, Tommy (C. 11), and Alfred (C. 10). Two large coloured photographs of the camp at the time of the Queen's visit are now in the possession of Mr. Innes of Dunbar, son of the original photographer. The groups consist of Sanspi, Tommy, Bidi, Deláia, Poley Mace, and two children of the Maces.

¹ Compare these dates and ages with *Lavengro*, pp. 34, 103, and 105; and *The Romany Rye*, pp. 28-30.

² These verses occur in a slightly better literary form in 'Nearer Home,' pp. 33, 34 of *The Changed Cross*, New Edition (London, 1886). This book was first published in New York in 1865.

young days; they have only heard by tradition that he led a wild and unsettled life. In later years he frequently went over from Lowestoft to see his old friends on Norwich *Musel*, especially to see Sinfai 'the crow,' or Ambrose. He would come striding up to Sinfai, and greet her in the most cordial tones.

'Mornin', my *kálo chirikel!*'

'Mornin', my *rai!*'

'*Lel a bit o' tuvalo?*'

'*Parako tuti.*'

And then they would sit and discuss 'the old, poor Roman language' for hours. They were great friends, Sinfai and Borrow. Or perhaps he would say to Jasper: 'Come on, brother, let's go on to the *čánga*,' and they would spend nearly the whole day there amongst the horses. He chiefly confined himself to his old friends, and spoke little to the newcomers on the Heath. The Gypsies in those days used also to camp on the marsh near Oulton, and he spent many a long winter's night with them there, singing wild songs which they only half understood, or telling them of the life the Gypsies used to lead years before. They half-feared, half-reverenced this strange giant, who had 'been into every country into the world' as they thought, and as he no doubt liked them to believe. All the Gypsies who remember him speak of his intense, passionate love for their race, and his queer, uncertain temper, which he showed especially in dealing with *gájos*. Before his death he became sulky and morose, and would scarcely speak to a *Romaničal*, and when he did, he was not particularly agreeable. Still, I have never heard a Gypsy say worse of him than that 'he was the biggest old *hukaben* what ever lived.'

III.—GYPSY FORMS AND CEREMONIES

By WILLIAM CROOKE

(See *J. G. L. S., New Series, vol. ii. p. 338 et seqq.*)

THE paper by Mr. E. O. Winstedt, entitled 'Forms and Ceremonies,' is a valuable contribution not only to our knowledge of the Gypsies but to general ethnography and folk-lore. The question naturally arises: Does a study of these materials help to settle the problem of Gypsy origins? For instance, if it be assumed that India was the original home of the race, it might

naturally be expected that a large number of analogies between Gypsy birth, marriage, and death rites, and those of the people of India, could be traced. It is with the object of discussing Mr. Winstedt's paper from this point of view that I venture to offer the following comments upon it.

To begin with birth rites—I suggest that the custom of holding the child over an open fire (p. 340) cannot be regarded as a survival of fire-worship. It seems rather to be connected with the customs of leaping over fires and driving cattle through them, which have been interpreted by Professor J. G. Frazer¹ to be intended 'to secure for man and beast a share of the vital energy of the sun, and, on the other hand, to purge them of all evil influences.' In other words, the object of the rite is cathartic. Thus when disease, owing to the commission of adultery, attacks Negrito children in the Malay Peninsula, the transgressor swings the child through the fire to avert the evil.² The habit of roasting the mother (p. 341) with the intention of destroying the birth pollution is common among the savage Malays and among most of the Indian races; but it is not sufficiently specialised in the East to make it a test of Gypsy origins. Children in Bengal and in most other parts of India are rubbed with mustard oil and laid on a plank in the sun—a treatment which is supposed to make them in later years able to stand the heat of the sun bareheaded, to dry up the juices, and harden the bones.³

In the second fire ceremony, that of the Hungarian Gypsies (p. 340), Mr. Winstedt's summary of the account by Wlislöcki omits some facts which make the rite intelligible. The brandy is mixed with *magical* herbs; *three* drops are sprinkled on the child's bed; *three* pieces of bread are laid out for the goddesses of fate, with an invocation that they will confer beauty and happiness upon the child. When the child is laid on the ground, he tells us that the object is to give it strength; and he adds that while the child is taking the breast, the mother lays it on the ground whenever it thunders, in order that the child may grow and thrive. All this reminds us of the classical legend of Antæus, the wrestler, who was invincible so long as he kept touch with earth. It was probably with a similar object that the Romans laid the child on the ground;⁴ and there are Indian parallels in

¹ *Golden Bough*², iii. 312.

² Skeat-Blagden, *Pagan Races*, ii. 59 f., 15, 20.

³ Lal Behari Day, *Bengal Peasant Life*, p. 40.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 1.

the belief that the student, the parturient mother, and the dying man are protected from the influence of evil spirits by being laid upon the ground.¹ But these customs are not peculiar to India.

The same is the case with the custom of drawing a circle with charcoal dust or snake powder round the child (p. 340). This magic circle forms a part of the birth rites in the Panjab;² but the belief in the efficacy of the circle as a protective against dangerous spirit-influence is very widely distributed; as, for instance, when Meles led the lion which his leman bare him round the walls of Sardis.³ The charcoal, according to Wlislöcki, preserves the child from the Evil Eye, an idea current in India. But this substance is used for the same purpose in Scotland, where a careful mother puts charcoal into the water in which she bathes her baby.⁴ Smearing with charcoal seems sometimes to act as a disguise against the powers of evil, as when the Karens of Burina powder a sick man with charcoal dust.⁵

Wlislöcki, again, states that the snake powder is believed to protect the child against the spirits of disease, an idea possibly based on the widespread belief that the house snake is occupied by the kindly spirits of the ancestral dead.

He also explains the custom of the relatives after the birth rite throwing nuts into the bushes by the statement that the nuts are an offering to God, probably rather to the wood sprites, who are generally supposed to be hostile to, and envious of, new-born babies.

His account also explains the custom of burning a piece of the child's navel-string over the child and under the joined hands of the oldest person present and of the medicine-man. It is a piece of mimetic magic. The string being manipulated in this way is supposed to *bind* the hostile spirits. This is helped out by the widely spread belief of the close connection between the child and its navel-string.⁶

The rite in which women go to the riverside and throw millet seed into the water is possibly intended either as an offering to the water spirits, or, as millet is noted for its productiveness, it is often used in fertility charms; and this may be the object in the

¹ Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 417; Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore* ², i. 27.

² *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxxvii. 225.

³ Herodotus, i. 84.

⁴ Gregor, *Folk-lore of N.E. Scotland*, p. 7; Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, i. 135.

⁵ *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, xxxiv. pt. ii. 204.

⁶ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 31 f.; Skeat-Blagden, *l.c.*, ii. 23.

present case. Water spirits are specially propitiated at childbirth. In Greece it is believed that the Nereids carry off children; hence they are appeased with offerings of milk and honey, a practice which extends as far east as Borneo.¹

We have another set of customs, probably based upon mimetic magic, in the sprinkling of bits of bread, meat, and drops of brandy at the place where the family takes its meals, the intention being to secure that the child has plenty to eat and drink in after life (p. 341).

In Hungary the father of the child lets fall some drops of his own blood on the fire or on the swaddling clothes of the child (p. 341). This is probably intended to establish the mystic bond of the blood covenant between his child and himself. Gypsy thieves in Servia drop their blood into the food of one who they suspect knows of some offence committed by them, the intention being to make him a brother by blood, and therefore incapable of betraying them.²

Passing on to the marriage rites (pp. 341 *et seqq.*) — the exchange of rings is intended to mark the adoption of the bride into the kin of her husband.³ The custom of the chief touching the lips of the pair with wine, spilling a few drops upon their heads, and drinking the remainder himself, is one of the group of customs resembling the Roman *confarreatio*, which imply union of the pair and recognition by the kin, or, as Mr. Crawley suggests,⁴ breaks the sexual taboo against eating together. The vessel or glass is broken (p. 342), either as a device to propitiate the powers of evil, or to prevent others making magical use of the vessel to the injury of those who have drunk from it.⁵

The throwing of fragments of the wedding cake over the spectators, or breaking a cheese or a plate over the heads of the wedded pair, is one of a class of rites, the normal type of which is the throwing of rice or other grain. This is explained by Professor J. G. Frazer⁶ as a device to prevent the soul of the bridegroom or bride taking flight at the dangerous crisis of marriage. Mr. Sidney Hartland⁷ connects the ritual distribution of the cake with the *confarreatio* custom, marking the creation by the common eating

¹ Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 13, v. 20, 159; Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i. 166 n., 353.

² Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 234, quoting *Am. Urquell*, iii. 64.

³ Crawley, *l.c.*, 373 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 366, 383.

⁶ *Golden Bough*², i. 253 f.

⁷ *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 351.

of food of a link between the wedded pair and the members of the kin.

The rite of jumping over the broomstick (p. 343), probably originally the branch of a sacred tree, appears to be intended to promote the fertility of the bride, which is the object of similar rites of which I have elsewhere collected examples.¹ Possibly the Gypsy custom of lifting the bride over the doorstep (p. 344), which is the abode of the kindly spirits of the family, one of whom it is hoped may be incarnated in the newly married woman, may be explained on the same principle.

The rule that the bride is compelled to fetch a pail of water to her husband's tent is possibly, as Mr. Winstedt suggests, a symbol of her wifely subjection, a view corroborated by the Russian custom of the bridegroom inflicting a nominal chastisement upon her.² On the other hand, in some cases it may imply a propitiation of the water spirits. Among some of the southern Slavs, a bride soon after her marriage is conducted with much ceremony to the village well to draw water; she carries in her mouth an old gold coin, which she must spit into the well before she draws the water.³ A similar offering at marriage is made on the river bank by the Dayaks of Sarawak.⁴

The assertion that a dead horse was at one time used by the Scottish Gypsies in their marriage rites (p. 345) is too vague to render it possible to explain with certainty the purport of the rite. It may be suggested that it is connected with the belief that the horse is a source of fertilising energy. In the Indian epic, the Rāmāyana, queen Kauṣalyā touches the stallion in order to acquire fertility, and the king and queen smell the odour of the marrow or fat of a horse with the same intention.⁵

The most remarkable marriage rite described by Mr. Winstedt is what may be called 'the urine covenant' (p. 346). Urine here seems to be regarded as one of the bodily secretions, like blood or saliva, by the mixture of which by both the parties to the marriage a form of mutual covenant is created. I am unable to quote an exact parallel to the custom in this particular form. Possibly an analogy to it may be traced in the Hottentot custom in which the priest discharges his secretion over the bridegroom

¹ *Folk-lore*, xiii. 237 ff.

² Westernmark, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 515 f.

³ Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Süd-Slaven*, 451, quoted by Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 475.

⁴ Ling Roth, *l.c.*, i. 123.

⁵ De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, i. 332.

and bride successively.¹ Here he, as representing the tribe, unites them to it and to each other.

The provenance of the tests of the virginity of the bride (p. 347) is much too extensive to justify it being regarded as a specially Gypsy custom.²

The practice of the Spanish bridegroom hiding himself on the eve of marriage (p. 348) is interesting; but this, again, is not peculiar to the Gypsies. Mr. Crawley³ cites 'various customs by which the young people hide, from vague evil or from each other, passing into various kinds of seclusion, concealment, and veiling; sexual shyness not only in woman but in man being intensified at marriage, and forming a chief feature of the dangerous sexual properties mutually feared.'

The statement (p. 349) that the bridegroom carries a hazel wand through fear of water spirits is one of a group of customs which, according to Professor J. G. Frazer,⁴ explain the danger of looking at the shadow in water, as it is found in the story of Narcissus. The use of the hazel, which is a sacred tree in Germany and other parts of northern Europe, suggests that this part of the custom may have originated in that region.⁵

The case of mock marriage by capture among some of the Turkish Gypsies (p. 350) must be accepted with some caution. The idea that this form of marriage was a stage in the evolution of the institution is now generally rejected.⁶ The mock combats which so often appear in the marriage ritual are probably a means of expelling the evil spirits which menace the safety of the wedded pair.⁷

The right of the bride to choose her husband (p. 351) is, again, not peculiar to Gypsies. Professor Westermarck has collected numerous examples of the assertion of this right from various parts of the world.⁸ The same authority, with perhaps less success, has endeavoured to show that the custom of assigning fixed dates for the marriage rite (p. 351) suggests a human pairing time in primitive ages.⁹

The unseemly performance of the old woman at Gypsy marriages in eastern Europe (p. 352) is a piece of mimetic magic

¹ Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope* (1731), p. 152; cf. Crawley, *l.c.*, 109.

² Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 123 f.

³ *L.c.*, 328.

⁴ *Golden Bough*², i. 293.

⁵ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, ii. 651; Black, *Folk Medicine*, 122, 193.

⁶ Crawley, *l.c.*, 367 ff.

⁷ Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. 267.

⁸ *L.c.*, 215 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 25 ff.

intended to ensure fertility; and this perhaps also explains the habit of girls donning the clothes of the bridegroom.

The smearing of the gate-posts with honey by the bride (p. 353) is also probably a piece of mimetic magic intended to secure the future happiness of the pair.

The ceremonial bathing of the bridegroom (p. 353) is, according to Mr. Crawley,¹ one of the varieties of 'lustration and purification, the meaning of which is to neutralise the mutual dangers of contact.'

The form of modified polyandry, in which the father takes a wife for his infant son and then cohabits with her, is interesting if it really prevails among Servian Gypsies. As Mr. Winstedt points out, perhaps the best example of this custom is found among the Velālahs of Coimbatore (not 'Coimbore'). Mr. Thurston² quotes a similar practice among the Malaialis of the Salem district, who seem to be kinsfolk of the Velālahs. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that a custom prevailing among two rather obscure tribes in southern India was brought with them by the Gypsies, particularly because, as Mr. Winstedt remarks, Professor Westermarek has quoted instances of a similar custom among Russian peasants, Ostyaks, and Ossetes.

The custom of punishing a faithless wife by mutilation of the nose or some other member (p. 356) is common in India.³ But it occurs also in other parts of the world, and cannot be held to be a specially Gypsy custom.

The ceremony, in cases of divorce, of perambulating a horse is really a form of ordeal, and cannot, as Simson suggests, have any connection with the Asvamedha rite in India. In the Vedic age this was a fertility charm; in the Epic period a claim on the part of a rāja to universal sovereignty. In neither case has it any analogy to this form of Gypsy ordeal.

The suggestion of the origin of the custom of burning the effects of the dead, ascribed to a writer in the *Yorkshire Post*, has been made long ago by Professor Tylor⁴ and other anthropologists.

The question of 'soul-catching,' which perhaps accounts for the Gypsy rite in which the services of a white dog are employed, has been exhaustively discussed by Professor J. G. Frazer.⁵

¹ *L.c.*, 325.

² *Ethnographical Notes in S. India*, 49 f.

³ Chevers, *Medical Jurisprudence of India*, 487 ff.

⁴ *Primitive Culture*², i. 485.

⁵ *Golden Bough*², i. 277 ff.; cf. 4th Series, *Notes and Queries*, x. 266 f., for a similar custom among French Gypsies.

The Gypsy explanation of the custom of corpse dismemberment is interesting, but hardly convincing. The custom may primarily have arisen from a desire to keep the skull, with the spirit occupying it, as a relic, as is done by the Australian aborigines and the Andamanese. When it was no longer felt necessary to preserve the skull, dismemberment, accompanied by burial, may have survived. It cannot in this case be connected with the familiar custom of mutilating the corpse to prevent the ghost from 'walking.'

The danger believed to result from an animal jumping over a corpse (p. 363) is not peculiar to Gypsies. The peasantry of northern England did, or do, kill a cat or dog which passes over a corpse; and the same prejudice is felt in other parts of this country, Ireland, China, and the Malay Peninsula.¹

Disposal of the corpse, or of the bones after cremation, in water (p. 364) is, of course, common in India. But it seems very doubtful if it was ever a habit of the Gypsies, or if it was, that they brought it with them from India.

The taboo against naming the dead is common in many parts of the world. Professor Frazer,² who has collected numerous instances, believes that it is ultimately based on the fear of recalling the ghost, 'though the natural unwillingness to revive past sorrows undoubtedly operates also to draw the veil of oblivion over the names of the dead.'

The Gypsy custom, quoted from Schwicker (p. 364, *n.* 3), of leaving holes in the cloth placed over the mouth of the dead, said to be intended to allow the vampire to escape, is more usually explained by the intention to give free egress to the departing soul, the early departure of which to its place of final rest is usually desired by the survivors.³

Fasting for the dead (p. 365) is an almost universal practice, and is probably based upon the intention to purify the body for the reception of the funeral feast, in which the ghost and the spirits of the family dead share with the surviving relatives.⁴

These desultory notes on a very valuable paper, which suggests many interesting problems, are not intended to be in any way a

¹ Henderson, *Folk-lore of the N. Countries*, 59; Brand, *Popular Antiquities* (1849), ii. 322; *Folk-lore*, vii. 151; De Groot, *Religious System of China*, i. 43; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 191, 398.

² *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xv. 73; Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, 142 f.

³ Frazer, *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xv. 64, 83.

⁴ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*², 434.

systematic review of a very wide and difficult subject. What I have attempted to show is that the theory of the Indian origin of the Gypsies does not appear to be supported to any important extent from the rites and customs collected by Mr. Winstedt. With the other evidence from general ethnography or philology I have not attempted to deal. There are analogies from India to some of these customs and beliefs. But in many cases these are not peculiar either to the Gypsies or to the people of India. Even if any substratum of Gypsy custom can eventually be traced to India, it must have been greatly worn down and contaminated by admixture with the beliefs of other lands, Syria, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, and other regions in which the Gypsy race seems to have been for a long period domiciled. The strange variety of custom shown in the different branches of this people is only what might naturally result from their nomadic habits of life and their varied environment. I venture to suggest that a comparison of these beliefs and customs, with those to be found in their later settlements, is more likely to be fruitful than an attempt to trace them to India or the countries bordering upon it.

IV.—A BULGARIAN GYPSY FOLK-TALE

Recorded by BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH

Introduction

I arrived in Constantinople on February 6th, 1909, and lived in the seventh Hell until the spring came, and the two revolutions, and the nomads of Paspatis immortal work pitched their tents along the road to Therapia (*kai, Terabiâte, bešëla o Gadžikanîpë*), and one family of *kamlë gadžë*, and several families of the *Kalb-Čigjjonë*, adopted and fed me. I held discourse but once with the *Katunëggere Romä*, the great prototype of the race, Paspatis nomads. They were encamped above the heights of Arnaout Kjöy, in which village they had been busy all day. I entered the tents at sunset, just as all the *ternë raklë ta ternë čuiä* were collecting round the fire for their evening meal.

The reader will doubtless want to know more of these wanderers of classic speech, these fathers of the race. Alas! I never met another band of nomads during my stay in Turkey; but if Fate is kind, I shall yet return and do some work among them.

I was almost as slow in making the acquaintance of the sedentary Gypsies within Constantinople. I found many who had entirely forgotten Romani, but those who did speak it, *used the language of Paspatis nomads*. Many things must have changed since Paspatis wrote. The small settlement at Kasim Pasha is now a considerable colony. The village is overlooked by a regular mountain of refuse and offal, into the sides of which paths and ledges have been cut. Seated on one

of the latter I twice dined with one who said he was the *Tcheribashi* of the colony. In fact I was on the highway to being elected their *Baró* myself, when *Hē-otkóká!* *Terabjatar aviló jekh phenipé!*, and I migrated to Sofia. In a fortnight I was *amaró Baró* to the large colony of sedentary Gypsies of this capital.

This is by far the largest colony it has yet been my lot to encounter. They are Mohammedans by religion and everything imaginable by trade. The chief occupations of the men are horse-dealing and tinkering. All the town porters (*hammals*) are Gypsies. The women excel in basketmaking. Some years ago there was a large immigration of Rumanian Gypsies to Sofia. They did not succeed in fraternizing with their brethren of the *Dís*, as they call the capital, and nearly all of them returned. They have, however, left their mark upon the dialect. One of the chief reasons why they could not live together was probably the great difference between the two dialects. 'Their language is not at all clear, not at all pure,' said my teacher to me one day, 'they are *laložé!*!' I could not help expressing my surprise at his using this term. 'Yes,' he said, '*laložé*, like the dumb boy you saw in the village yesterday.' There can be no doubt now as to the meaning of *Lálere Sinte*, as used by the Gypsies of the Rhine Province.

It is a little early yet for me to write a detailed account of the Sofia settlement. This I hope to do in time, and at leisure. Meanwhile a *Rom* comes to my *Kher* every Saturday, and my collection of fairy-tales is ever growing, and every new tale seems better than the last. *Thai akaná, o amalá kačétinen péske.*

Symbols Used

Stress is indicated by the acute accent, ellipses by an apostrophe. The English alphabet is used with certain additions, and omitting *c, q, w, and y.*

Consonants:—

The following are pronounced approximately as in English:—*b, d, f, h, k, l, m, n, p, t, z*: *g* as in 'good'; *s* is always voiceless as in 'sit'; the *r* is slightly rolled; and *v* is the voiced labial dental, or, sometimes, bi-labial.

I have written the aspirated consonants *kh, ph, th* and *čh*: they are strongly aspirated stops (like those in Danish or Irish), with a very strong stressed breath off-glide. In the past tenses the sound which has been evolved from the nomads' *d*, by some such process as *d > d' > dj > gj*, is so elusive, being at times almost *dž*, that I have decided to use Paspati's *ghj* everywhere. I hope on some future occasion to give an exact description of this sound.

č is a single sound, a voiceless front-stop, and not the English *ch* in 'chalk'; *š* the *sh* in 'shout'; *ž* the French *j* or the *s* in 'pleasure'; and *dž* is not the English *j* in 'joke,' but the single voiced sound corresponding to the voiceless *č*.

ǰ is the Arabic *ج*: *χ* the voiceless back open consonant, as in Modern Greek, equivalent to *ch* in German 'Ach.'

The sound *ɣ*, as in 'singer,' occurs in Bulgarian Romani only in the combination *ɣɣ* as in English 'finger.'

ɣ represents a sound which is exceedingly difficult to pronounce, and may be described as between an *l* and an *r*. It is mostly derived from an older *nd*, and is perhaps equivalent to the Norwegian 'thick' *l* or 'flap' *r*.

Vowels:—

With the exception of exclamations there are no long vowels in Bulgarian Romani. Consecutive vowels are to be pronounced separately except in the case of *ai*, the only diphthong which occurs. When *i* following *a* is to be pronounced separately the two letters are printed *aï*.

a is a middling short sound as in French 'chat': *e* approximately as in English 'met': *ē* as in German 'geben,' but inclines to *i* at times: *i* approximately equivalent to the French *i* in 'fils': *ı* is the Turkish 'hard' *i*: *j* is the front open consonant as in the *y* in English 'year': *o* is the French short *o* as in 'mot,' but inclines sometimes towards *u* (perhaps mid-back-tense, over-rounded): *u* as in English 'full': *ü* is the Turkish *ü*, and nearly the same as the French *u*: *σ* is the Bulgarian *σ*, approximately Rumanian *â* or *ê*, English *u* in 'but.'

O ČÓRDILENDŽIS

1. *Siné jek thagár, isi-de odolké thagarés trin rakljé thai trin rakljá. Aló rákti te merél. Prokletia mukljás pe éhavéngge: ko kamangél e phenjén, te den len, te na poerinen. Peló o thagár muló. O trin phralá phendé: 'Háti ikálas po jekhé grastés, tha t'íkljovas ovi amé, gurbečelekjéste.'* O tsiknedér phral phenghjás: *'Te prandénas amaré phenjén, tha togái t'íkljovas.'*

2. *Aló e phuredér phenjáke jek ruv. O phuredér phral phenghjás: 'Me na dav la.'* O stréno phral phenghjás: *'Mé-da na dav la.'* O tsiknedér phral phenghjás: *'Phralálan-be, mo dat prokletia mukljás, me nai erínav la.'* O tsiknedér dinjás pe phenjá. *Aló o strenónáke jek méčka. O phuredér phral na dinjás. O stréno phral na dinjás. O tsiknedér (phral) dinjás. E tsiknederé phenjáke aló jek órlos—kai urjál—.* O phuredér phral na dinjás. *O stréno phral na dinjás, o tsiknedér phral dinjás. 'Akaná aló širas (rédos) ha te ukljás po jekhé grastés t'íkljas gurbečelekjéste.'*

3. *O phuredér phral phenghjás: 'Phrálabe, ha t'íkljovas; móžebi mo phral te síkıldinjás.'* Uklístile pe grastén, gelé kai gelé

THE ČÓRDILENDŽIS.

1. There was a king, and that king had three sons and three daughters. The time came for him to die. He left a command to his children: they were to give their sisters in marriage to whomsoever should ask for them, and they were not to refuse them. The king fell dead. The three brothers said: 'Let us each lead out a horse, and we too will go a-wandering.' The youngest brother said: 'Let us marry our sisters, and then we will go.'

2. For the eldest sister there came a wolf. The eldest brother said: 'I will not give her.' The second brother said: 'I too will not give her.' The youngest brother said: 'O Brothers! My father left a command; I will not break it.' The youngest brother gave his sister. For the second sister there came a bear. The eldest brother gave not, the second brother gave not, the youngest brother gave. For the youngest sister there came an eagle,—he who flies. The eldest brother gave not, the second brother gave not, the youngest brother gave. 'Now the time has come for us to mount each of us a horse and to go out a-wandering.'

3. The eldest brother said: 'O Brothers! Let us go; perhaps my [youngest] brother is annoyed.' They mounted their horses, they went and they went until

andé jekhé livádia. Uχtstíle othé, jek dženó inzarél o katúni, (tsidel), jek phral kídel χύχudža kaštore, ta te pijén po jek kavés (kaljardi). Bešté te χan mařó. Aló jek čórdilendžis. Phenghjás: 'Amán, phralálen, mo dat t'ovén mo phral t'ovén. De man e kotór mařó; trin dijés thai trin ratjá na χaljóm.' O phuredér phral phenghjás: 'Me ikístiljom gurbečelekjéste. Anghjóm kití mánge te χav.' O stréno phral, óv-da na dinjás. O tsiknedér phral: 'Phralálan-be! den mo χísés adikarát; me nanái te χav.'

4. Blevélilo. Karakjén nebéti. O phuredér phral thoghjás i mása anglál pes, tharghjás po fenéri pe šeréste, zakačinghjás les (te tsvetinel). Thoghjás i čhuri anglál péste, thoghjás o ketápi anglál péste, četinel-peske. Avél okotár jek χála (gádos). Phenél: 'Uχtí ta vákjer mánge savó si akavká drom, kai našávgjhíljom.' O čhavó vakjerél: 'Mé-da na džanáv akavká drom thai akiká planína saví si. Sar peljóm andár me deiákere mindžátar, me ikístiljom gurbečelekjéste.' O vakjerghjás: 'Uχtí, sikáv mánge, zer kaχáv tut.' O phenghjás: 'Ja χas, ja našti.' Tsidinghjás kárig lés te χal les. Tsidinghjás o kíliči, líljás i men. Lel o dúi kaná, thovél ándi phungjá. Disilo. Geló pe phralénde vszdinjás len; amá na vakjerél kai alí léske χála.

5. Blevélilo. Bešté te χan mařó. Avél okotár o čórdilendžis: 'Amán, phralálen, trin dijés na χalióm mařó, de man adiká-da blel tha te χav.' O phuredér phral na dinjás, o stréno phral na dinjás, o tsíkno phral phenghjás: 'Den adikáablel, mo χísés; me

they came to a meadow. They alighted there, one of them put up the tent, one brother collects bits of half-burnt wood that they may each drink coffee. They sat down to eat their evening meal. A certain Čórdilendžis came. He said: 'Amán, O Brothers! Become my father and my brother! Give me a piece of bread. Three days and three nights I have not eaten.' The eldest brother said: 'I have come out on a journey. I have brought only enough for myself to eat.' The second brother, he too gave not. The youngest brother: 'Give my share to-night, I will not eat.'

4. Evening came. They will keep watch. The eldest brother placed the table before him, he lit the lantern at his head, and hung it up to light him. He placed the knife in front of him, he placed the book in front of him, and he is reading. There comes from yonder a monster. It says: 'Arise, and tell me what is this road, for I have lost my way.' The boy says: 'I too do not know this road and this mountain, what they are. Since I fell from my mother's womb I set out a-wandering.' He [the monster] said: 'Arise, show me, or I will eat you.' He said: 'Either you will eat me, or you will not be able to;' and the monster hurled himself at him, to eat him. The boy drew his knife and cut off the monster's head. He takes the two ears and puts them into his sack. Day broke. He went to his brothers and woke them; but he does not tell them that a monster came to him.

5. Night came. They sat down to eat their evening meal. Yonder comes the Čórdilendžis: 'Amán, Brothers! Three days I have not eaten. Give me also this evening to eat.' The eldest brother gave not, the second brother gave not, the

nandí te χav. O phuredér phral pheghghjás: 'Be-phrála-be, te des adalkés to μαρό, kakerél améγγe beggipé.' O tsiknedér phral pheghghjás: 'O-χόλων-be, kadáv les yek kopedíní (šamár), kabangjaráv o mái léskoro.'

6. Blevélilo. Karakjél nebéti o stréno phral; óvda thoghjás i mása angglál pes, tharghjás po fenéri pe šeréste, zakačingghjás; liljás i čhurí angglál péste, thoghjás o ketápi angglál péste, (o lil), četinel-peske. Avél okotár došeréγγeri χála. Phenél léske: 'Uχtí tha sikáv máγγe akavká drom ta akiká planína, saví si; kai našavghjiljom.' 'Te ĝírímá kírímá! Sar peljóm andár me daiakére mindžáte ik'istiljom gurbečelekjéste. Mé-da na džanáv akavká drom thai akiká planína, saví si, mamúi mánde.' I χála pheghghjás: 'Ja uχtí, vákjer máγγe, ja kaχáv tut.' O čho pheghghjás: 'Ja χas, ja naští.' Tsidinjás adiká kárig les, tsídel o kílčv, lel o dúi šeré. Lel o štar kaná, thovél an pe phungía. Dísilo. Geló paš pe phralén, vždinvjás len, χoratínen-peske.

7. Blevélilo. Bešté te χan μαρό. Hop okothár o čórdilendžis palá aló. O phuredér phral nána dinjás, o stréno phral nána dinjás, o tsíkno phral pheghghjás: 'Phralálan-be, den adikarát, mo χisés; me nandí te χav. Ov ne kaχál.' O phralá phendé: 'Be-phrála-be, tu des adalkés to μαρό, amá kakerél améγγe jek beggipé.' O tsiknedér phral pheghghjás: 'Ai-χólón! kadáv les jek kopedíní, kabangjaráv o mái.'

8. Rátilo. Karakjél nebéti o čhavó. Tharghjás po fenéri, youngest brother said: 'Give also this evening my share; I will not eat.' The eldest brother said: 'O, my Brother! If you give this fellow of your bread, he will do us some devilry.' The youngest brother said: 'Eholla! I will give him a blow, and close his mouth.'

6. Evening came. The second brother will keep watch. He too placed the table before him, lit his lantern at his head, hung it up, put his knife before him, placed the book in front of him, and he is reading. Yonder comes a two-headed monster. It says to him: 'Arise, and show me this road and this mountain, what one it is, for I have lost my way.' 'Te ĝírímí kírímí! Since I fell from my mother's womb I set out a-wandering; I too do not know this road and this mountain, what they are in front of me.' The monster said: 'Either arise and tell me, or I will eat you.' The youth said: 'Either you will eat me, or you will be unable to.' The monster cast himself against him; he draws his knife and cuts off the two heads. He takes the four ears and places them in his sack. Day broke. He went near his brothers, he woke them, they converse together.

7. Evening came. They sat down to eat their evening meal. Behold yonder came the Čórdilendžis once more. The eldest brother gave not, the second brother gave not, the youngest brother said: 'O, Brothers! Give to-night my share. I will not eat. Let him eat.' The brothers said: 'O Brother mine! You intend to give this fellow of your bread, but he will do us some devilry.' The youngest brother said: 'Eholla! I will give him a blow, and close his mouth.'

8. Night came. The boy will keep watch. He lit his lantern, he hung it up

zakaŕinghjas pe ŕereste, thoghjas i masa aŕglal peste, thoghjas i ŕhuri aŕglal peste, thoghjas o ketapi aŕglal peste, ŕetnel-peske. Hop okotar jek xala trineŕerengeri. Pheŕghjas leske: 'Uxti, sika-maŕge akavka drom thai akika planina.' O pheŕghjas: 'Te ĝirimi kirimi! Sar peljom andar me deidkere mindzate me-da ikistiljom gurbecelekjeste. Me-da na dzanav savó si akavka drom, thai akika planina.' I xala pheŕghjas: 'Ja uxti, ja sika-maŕge, ja kaŕav tut.' O ŕho pheŕghjas: 'Ja xas, ja naŕti.' Saldinel (tsidel) kárig les, te xal les. Tsidel o kilivi o ŕho, lel o trin ŕere, lel o ŕov kana, thovel ánde phuŕgia. Sar te tsidel o kilivi, ŕinghjas e fenekeru dori. Peló o fenéri, muló. Akaná mislnel: 'Aj ana-sin! te džav te lav o kibríti, kadzangáljovel mo phral, kaphenel: 'Tsiknedér di-mi-si; dikhljas dar, daránilo, mudarghjas o fenéri.' Œhitjas pe jakhá, mamúi, svetnel jak, liljas o fenéri, tsidinjas kárig i jak te tharel po fenéri.

9. *Restjas jekhe phurja. Pheŕghjas phurjake: 'Phurije, so kerés athé?' I phuri pheŕghjas: 'Áke Sinko, o kaló motínav, o parno mukav.' 'Muk-ta phurije o kaló, motin o parno.' Mukljas i phuri o kaló, motinjas o parno jak jakhása na dikhjól. Phantjas e phurja jekhe kaŕtete, 'Áke phurije, me tut kaphandav dži kai te džav te tharav mo fenéri.' Geló adavka te tharel po fenéri.*

10. *So te dikhel? Saránda-u-jek ŕora pásljon turjal i jag. Odolké jagáte jek kazáni, thai saránda-u-jek kócos, bakré, kerghjon.*

at his head, he placed the table in front of him, he placed the knife in front of him, he placed the book in front of him, he is reading. Behold yonder a three-headed monster. It said to him: 'Arise, show me this road and this mountain.' He said: 'Te ĝirimi kirimi! Since I fell from my mother's womb I have been a-wandering; I too do not know what is this road and this mountain.' The monster said: 'Either arise and show me, or I will eat you.' The boy said: 'Either you will eat me, or you will be unable to.' He hurls himself at him, to eat him; the youth draws the knife, cuts off the three heads, takes the six ears, places them in his sack. In drawing the knife he cut the lantern-rope. The lantern fell, and went out. Now he thinks: 'Dear me! If I go to fetch a match, my brother will wake and he will say "Is it not the little one who has seen something to frighten him, and has become afraid, and extinguished the lantern?"' He cast his eyes around. In front of him a fire is shining. He took the lantern and made his way towards the fire.

9. He came upon an old woman. He said to the old woman: 'O Old Woman! What are you doing here?' The old woman said: 'See, Sinko, I am drawing in the night and spinning out the light.' 'Spin out the night, old woman, and draw in the light.' The old woman spun out the night and drew in the light so that 'one eye could not be seen by the other.' He bound the old woman to a tree. 'There, old woman, I will bind you to a tree while I go and light my lantern.' He went to light his lantern.

10. What does he see? Forty-one thieves are lying around the fire, and on that fire a cauldron, and forty-one rams cooking in it. He lit his lantern, and

Thardjás adavká po fenéri, tsidinjás tha avél; aló kai aló dži epkáš o drom. 'Aj anasînî! mángge si çarami akiká jak.' Del phrudibá, o fenéri mudarél. Geló othé vúzdinjás len saroré. Dikhél les o çorá, 'Allá athé tu so ródes? Athé niko na avél. Tu so muršinján tha alján?' 'Allá mo muršibé áke.' Vúzdel donajéntsa o kazáni katár o sázaki, uçliavél les phujáte, vúzdel les donajéntsa. Thovél les palé ko sázaki. O çorá phendé: 'Ēē! Akaná amé muršá, tú-da murš. Amé marás amén jekhé perikázlanjéngge. Saránda berš našti te las la; akaná tú-da athár, murš, amé-da akatár, murš, akaná kalás la.'

11. *Akaná tsidindé adalká, te džan. Gelé kai gelé dži jekhé zdánia. Akaná o çorá plučén pes: 'Sar kalás la?' 'Sár-li kalás len? Me kavakjeráv. Anéntha mángge saránda ensérja.' Čalaghjás adavká o ensérja sa na-peréd, dži upré. 'Háda! Akaná me k'uçliáv teló; tumé mángge kaphandén jekhé kuštíkása, jek po jek kamukhéna teló.' Mukljé jekhés; čhiŋghjás. Yek po yek e saránda sarorén čhiŋghjás, ašlí i voivóda. Čhinél lá-da.*

12. *Geló adavká, phuterghjás o vudár, dikhél andré. Sovél jek perikázlar. Piljás o paní, çaljás o lukúmi. Ikraladinjás la pe phuredér phraléske. Geló ókolo vudaréste, phuterghjás ki stréno phen, çaljás o lukúmi, piljás o paní, ikraladinjás la pe strenoné phraléske. Geló ki tsiknedér phen, phuterghjás o vudár, dinjás andré, piljás o šerbéti, čumídinjás la maškár o phová, ikraladinjás la péske. Akaná i phuredér phen pheŋghjás: 'Alá tu so ródes*

started to come back; he came and he came until he had covered half the distance, [when he bethought him]: 'Heavens! This fire is unlawful for me!' He blows and extinguishes the lantern. He went back there, and woke them all. The thieves see him. 'What are you looking for here? No one comes here! How were you brave enough to come?' 'Behold my bravery!' And he lifts with his two little fingers the cauldron from the tripod, sets it down on the ground, lifts it with his two little fingers, and places it back on the tripod. The thieves said: 'Heigh! Now we are men, and you are a man. We are fighting to obtain three beautiful girls. For forty years we have been unable to get them. Now you have appeared, a man, and here are we, men; now we will take them.'

11. Now they made ready to go. They went and they went till they came to a large building. Now the thieves ask one another: 'How shall we take them?' 'How shall we take them? I will tell you. Bring me forty nails.' He hammered the nails all into the wall, up to the top. 'Come now! I will descend [inside]; you will bind me with a rope, and let yourselves down one by one.' They let down one; he killed him. One by one he killed the whole forty. Remained the chief. He kills him too.

12. He went, opened the door, looks inside. One of the girls is sleeping. He drank water, ate Turkish delight, and took her for his eldest brother. He went round to [another] door, and opened upon the second sister. He ate Turkish delight, drank water, and took her for his second brother. He went to the youngest sister, opened the door, entered, drank sherbet, kissed her between the

athé? Níko nan' avél; amí te dikhél mī tétka, kaχál tut.' Thai phené o trin phenjá: 'Tu pó-sigo te dikhés t'ikalés amén, sóske kavél amari tétka, zer kaχál tut.' O ého phenghjás: 'Haide, me kadzav te vózdav me phralén, tumé pó-sigo t'urjén tumén, me kaváv.'

13. *Geló adavká, lel pes othár právo ki phurí. I phurí dikhljás les; 'Pó-sigo, Sinkóle, sóske šilálijjom, kameráv.' 'Me tut kaphuteráv, amá tu sa po-χarí te motínes o kaló, te mukés o parnó, hemén motinján pó-sigo o kaló ta muklján o parnó, amá sa po-χarí, te džav; zer te disljarés, káte te džas, karakháv tut, kačhináv tut.'*

14. *Geló paš pe phralén, vózdinjás len: 'Ha phralálen! Kíden o šexjá tha t'ukljás amaré grastén, te džas ekhethané, arakljóm triné phenjén, tha te las len, améngge.' Gelé kai gelé dži ko phenjá. Ukljél o tsiknedér phral, lel e phurederé phenjá, éhivél palál po phuredér phral, lel e strenoné phenjá, éhivél palál po stréno phral, lel pe le džuvljá, (e tsiknederé phenjá,) éhivél palál pes,—tsidindé.*

15. *Gelé kai gelé. Hop okothár o čórdilendžis grabínel e tsiknederéskere džuvljá. O phuredér phral phenghjás: 'Me, di-mi, phrála, phenghjóm túke kai kakerél améngge beŋgipé? Amí tu so phenghján? "E χóla, jek koředíní kadáv les, kabangjaráv o múi." O tsiknedér phenél: 'Háde, phralálen, sastipnása, ha džan tumé, me kerínav napálpale.' Geló adavká paš pe phurederé phenjá.*

eyebrows and took her for himself. Now the eldest sister said: 'What are you looking for here? No one comes here; but if my aunt sees you, she will eat you.' And the three sisters said: 'See that you get us out of here as quickly as possible, for our aunt will come and will eat you.' The boy said: 'Haide! I will go and wake my brothers; dress yourselves as quickly as possible; I will return.'

13. He went and betook himself straightway to the old woman. The old woman saw him. 'Be quick, Sinko, for I am freezing; I shall die.' 'I will untie you, but you are to draw in the night very slowly, and spin out the light, for you were drawing in the night too quickly, and spinning out the light; but do it very gradually, and I will go. Should you make broad daylight come, wherever you go, I will find you and kill you.'

14. He went to his brothers and woke them. 'Ha, Brothers! Collect the things, let us mount our horses and go off together: I have found three sisters, and we will take them for ourselves. They went and they went until they came to the sisters. The youngest brother alighted. He takes the eldest girl, throws her behind his eldest brother; he takes the second girl, throws her behind his second brother; he takes his own maiden, the youngest, and throws her behind himself—and they start afresh.

15. They went and they went. Behold the Čórdilendžis seizes the youngest brother's maiden. The eldest brother said: 'Did I not tell you, Brother, he will do us some devilry? But you, what did you say? "Eholla! I will give him a blow, I will close his mouth."' The youngest brother says: 'Haide, Brothers! May you remain in health! Now go, I am going to turn back.' He went to his eldest sister.

16. *Dikhljás i phen*: 'Tí, phráta! Dínján man ruvéste, kavél akaná te *chal tut*.' Del les jek *koyedini*, kerél les *šuvál*, *čhivél* les *rigáte*. Avél *okothár* o ruv. 'Ūū, *romúje*! *Khandél mángge mas!*' 'E *χólan*, i *romní phenél*. 'Xarí *χus muršú*, tu tu te *dikhés*, *mán-da te χus*.' Akaná *phenél léske*: 'T'avél mo *phuredér phral*, so *kakerés?*' 'Akathár *kaχáv* les, *palál kaχiliáv* les.' 'Amí o *stréno phral?*' 'Léz-da *kaχáv*.' 'Amí o *tsiknedér?*' 'Bašimá-kadár *jeri var!*' ('Me *šeréste than is!*') Del les, *šuvál*, i *phen*, jek *koyedini*, kerél les *manúš*. O ruv: 'Tu, so *ródes tha alján?*' O *čho*: 'Ake *ačoká ačoká*, o *čórdilendžis liljás me džuvljá*.' 'Ēē, *amé marás amén léske i dijés-i rat*; t'arakháv, *kaχáv* les. Tu *kadžás*, te *strenoné phenjáte*, ko *órtos*.'

17. *Geľo othé, dikhljás les i phen, liljás te rovél*. 'Ō *phralábe*, *dínján man orlóste*, *tha t'avévél*, te *klivínel* *tha t'ikálel* te *jakhá*.' Del les jek *koyedini*, i *phen*, kerél les *suw*, *thovél* les *pe bærkésté*. Avél o *órtos*: 'Ūū, *romúje*! *Adám eti kokajór bana*.' I *džuvli*: 'E *χólan*, *χarí klivínján manušen*, tu *alján*, te *dikhés*, *mán-da te klevínes*. Th'avévél mo *phuredér phral*, so *kakerés leske?*' 'Bi-*klivínavas léskere dúi jakhá*, *tha thovávus ándo vastá*.' 'Amí th'avévél mo *stréno phral?*' 'Léskere-da *kerávus adžuká*.' 'Amí t'avévél mo *tsiknedér phral?*' 'Léske si me *šeréste-da than!*' *Dinljás les jek koyedini*, *kerghjás les manušés*. 'Abé, tu, *sar alján?*' 'Ake *čóka čóka*, o *čórdilendžis liljás me džuvljá*.' 'Ēē, tu *lésa ma*

16. His sister saw him: 'Hee Brother! You gave me to a wolf; he will come now and eat you.' She gives him a blow, and turns him into a broom, and throws him on one side. The wolf comes along: 'Oooo Wife! I smell meat!' 'Eholla!' The wife answers, 'you have just been eating men, and the moment you see me you want to eat me too!' Now she says: 'If my eldest brother comes, what will you do to him?' 'First I will eat him, then I will void him.' 'But my second brother?' 'Him too will I eat!' 'But the youngest?' 'Up to my head I have room for him' [i.e. he is always welcome]. She gives the broom a blow and turns it into a man again. The wolf: 'What do you want, that you have come?' The boy: 'Behold it is thus: the Čórdilendžis has taken my maiden.' 'Heigh! We will fight him day and night, and, if I find him, I will eat him. You will now go to your second sister, to the eagle.'

17. He went there. His sister saw him and began to cry. 'O Brother! You gave me to an eagle, and if he comes he will claw and tear out your eyes.' She gives him a blow, and turns him into a needle and pins him to her breast. The eagle comes: 'Oooo, wife! I smell man's flesh.' The girl: 'Eholla! You have just been clawing men, and, the moment you come and see me, you want to tear and claw me also. If my eldest brother comes, what will you do to him?' 'I would tear out his two eyes and place them in your hands.' 'But if my second brother comes?' 'To him I would do the same also.' 'But if my youngest brother comes?' 'For him I have room up to my head!' She gave the needle a blow, and turned it into a man again. 'But you, how have you come?' 'Behold, it is just thus: the Čórdilendžis has taken my wife.' 'Heigh! Don't you have anything to do

thov tut, zerre kakerél tut zían. Me kití urjáv o mándar dúi kakjá pó-but urjál. Me t'arakháv les, bi-klivínavas o dúi jakhá, ta kerávas les koró t'ačhól.'

18. Palé džal dží te tsiknedere phenjáte. Ói-da : 'Īī, phralábe ! Dinján man mečkáte, ta t'aavél, te xal tut.' Del les jek koředíní, kerél les phabái, thovél la ko ráfi. Alí i méčka. 'Oleléi ! muršá khandél mángge.' I řomní phenél : 'E xóla, xarí xas muršá, tha alján, mángés mán-da te xas. Tuavél mo phuredér phral, so bi-kérsas léske?' 'Akathár xávas les, palál xiliávas les.' 'Amí o stréno?' 'Léz-da kařáv, palál kařiliáv.' 'Amí o tsiknedér?' 'Bašimá-kadár jeri var !' Del les jek koředíní i phen, kerél les manúš. I méčka phučél les : 'Amá, tu, sar alján?' 'Áke čóka čóka, o čórdilendžis me džuvljá liljás.' 'Ēē ! amé léske i dijés-i rat marús amén ; t'arakhás-bi, parám-parčá kerásas les. Amí tu džunés-li so kakerés ? Te les tut tukléste grastés, hēē otkotká baré pórtes si. Te des jek xens te grastéske, pó-sigo te nakjés, zerre som phanlilé o pórtes, kačhinén tut e grastésa berabér. Isí othé ki désno rik jek ačšri, isí othé jek gémi ; te otkučines les, te vřzdés te vastá 'no 'pré, tha th' ikerés o gémi, savó gras kaavél, te thovél po šeró, tu léske te zakačines o gémi.'—

19. Dikhél les i džuvlí, kerél láke adavká šerésa, ói-da alí, ukljél ko gras, čhivél la palál pes, lel pe džuvljá. Gelé kai gelé. Xremitínel o gras : 'Ága ága ! Hatúnj gitdi !' Ó-da : 'Kač sa'át ?' 'Beš sa'át !' O čórdilendžis phenél : 'Ko gítsen, altí sa'át !' Ukljél

with him, or he will do you harm. He can fly twice as fast as I can. If I found him I would tear out his two eyes, and make him remain blind.'

18. He then goes to his youngest sister. And she : 'Heee, Brother ! You gave me to a bear, and, if he comes, he will eat you.' She gives him a blow, and turns him into an apple, and places it on the shelf. The bear came : 'Holelay ! I smell men !' The wife says : 'Eholla ! You have just been eating men, and now you come and want to eat me too ! Should my eldest brother come, what would you do to him ?' 'First I would eat him, then I would void him.' 'But the second ?' 'Him too will I eat, and then void.' 'But the youngest ?' 'Up to my head there is room !' The sister gives him a blow, and turns him into a man. The bear asks him : 'But you, how have you come ?' 'It is just thus : the Čórdilendžis has taken my wife.' 'Heigh ! We will fight him day and night. And if we find him, we will break him all in pieces. But you, do you know what you will do ? You will take your horse—see yonder, there are big gates. You will spur on your horse, and pass through as quickly as possible, for as soon as the doors are closed they will kill you together with the horse. There, on the right hand side, there is a stable, and there is there a collar. Take it off its hook, and hold your hands on high, and hold the collar. Whatever horse will come and place his head (through it), on him you will hang the collar.'

19. His maiden sees him ; he makes a sign to her with his head, and she came. He mounts the horse, throws her behind him, takes his maiden. They went and they went. The horse neighs : 'Master, master ! The lady has gone !' And he :

pe grasniá o čórdilendžis, jek víka del láke, thai resél la. 'Sun mánde, me χaljóm to mařó, trin ratjá ačhaghjóm tut bokhaló. Me túke prostínáv. Po ftórno som alján kačhináv tut.' Liljás e džuvljá, igalghjás la palé péske.

20. Geló akaná o čhavó paš i méčka, phenél: 'Me geljóm othé, liljóm me džuvljá, resél men adavká, phenél mángge: "Me χaljóm to mařo, trin ratjá, t'ačhaghjóm tut bokhaló; po ftórno, som avés, kačhináv tut.'" I méčka phenél: 'Ma dža akaná jekhé džuvljáke te χas to šeró!' O phenghjás, o čhavó: 'Me kadžáv, te istérse, ne činél man.' 'Tu kadžás, amá som des andré ándo pórtes, isi jek khuró, te ašti, dolés les. Avér túrtis nanái so te kerés.'

21. Dolghjás adavká, o čho, e khurés, thoghjás i šuvár, ukístilo les, liljás e džuvljá čhitjás palúl pes. Del jek víka e grastéske. Xrimitinel i grasní, e khuréskeri dai: 'Aga aga, lutunj gildi!' 'Kač sa'át?' 'Sa'at māt kálmadi.' 'Brē χolán, saī-mi? (čáčés-li?)' Ukljél o čórdilendžis pe grasnjú. Ha akáte ha okóte te resél len, našti resél. Xrimitinel i grasní pe khuréske. 'Éz, Sinko, χárami kakeráv me túke, mo thud so pilján les, te na tərstnsa tut tha te peravés les, e čhavés, te kerés les parám-parčés!' Šunél o khuró tərstnel pes, kerél les parám-parčés. Lel les o čórdilendžis, kidel o kotorá léskere, thovél ándo χebédes (ándo disádja), lel léskere grastés, čhivél les uprál les, liljás pes o gras právo ki phen, ko órlos.

'What o'clock?' 'Five o'clock.' The Čórdilendžis says: 'Let him go [even if 'twere] six o'clock.' The Čórdilendžis mounts his mare, gives her one shout, and overtakes her [i.e. the lady]. 'Listen to me,' [to the boy]. 'I have eaten of your bread; three nights I caused you to remain hungry. I forgive you. But a second time, as soon as you have come, I will kill you.' He took the girl, carried her back to his home.

20. Now the boy went to the bear and said: 'I went there and took my maiden; the Čórdilendžis overtakes me and says to me: "I ate your bread three nights and caused you to remain hungry. A second time, as soon as you come, I will kill you."' The bear said: 'Do not go now and sacrifice your head for the sake of a girl!' He, the boy, said: 'I shall go, and if he chooses he can kill me.' 'You will go, but as soon as you enter the gates you will find a colt, and, if you can, seize it, otherwise you can do nothing.'

21. The boy seized the colt, he put on the bridle, mounted it, took the girl and threw her behind him. He gives one shout to the horse. The mare [in the stable] neighs, the mother of the colt: 'Master, master! The lady has gone!' 'What time?' 'No time remains!' 'Breholla! Is it true?' The Čórdilendžis mounts his mare. Now here, now there, he tries to overtake them, but cannot overtake them. The mare neighs to her colt: 'Heigh, Sinko! I will impose upon you an obligation. How is it you drank my milk and you do not shake yourself and cause him to fall, the boy, and make mincemeat of him?' The colt hears, shakes itself, makes mince-meat of him. The Čórdilendžis takes him, collects the pieces, places them in his saddle-bags, takes the boy's horse and throws him [the pieces of the boy in the saddle-bags] across the horse, and the horse betakes itself straightway to the sister, to the eagle.

22. *Dikhél les i phen, rovél. Del našibá o órlos, isí jekhé thané zemzén-sujú. Sur te téljol, te grabínel éupi xarí paní, thui del, phugjél pi pakh. Avél othár o órlos, zemzén-sujú rosínel uprál o éhavo. 'Achá,' phenghjás o éhavo, 'amá sutjóm, ah!' 'Lažés sutján, dinjásas buljé te davi o éórdilendžis! Te xas, te piés mángge, kai geljóm thui biljóm zemzén-sujú ta áke áke kai phugljóm mi pakh asál túke!'*

ORADÁ MASÁL, BURADÁ SALÍK!

(Othé paramátsi, athé sastipé!)

22. The sister sees him, and weeps. The eagle starts running [sic]. There is in a certain place some holy water from a well near Mecca. As he stoops to get a little water he knocks and breaks his wing. He returns, sprinkles the water over the boy. 'Acchoo!' said the boy, 'I have been sleeping.' 'Well you have slept indeed! The Čórdilendžis has been cohabiting with your mother! Eat and drink to me, for I went and I took water of life, and see, see how I have broken my wing for the sake of you!'

There is the tale—Here is your health.

NOTES

GENERAL

Miklosich distinguished thirteen dialects of Romani spoken in Europe. Since the discovery of Welsh Romani by Groome and the publication of *Welsh Gypsy Folk-Tales* by Dr. Sampson, it has become necessary to recognise fourteen. Von Sowa rightly considered the language spoken by the Slovak Gypsies as a sub-division of the Moravian-Bohemian dialect, or, perhaps still better, as a cross between this dialect and the Hungarian dialect. The dialect of the Servian Gypsies is not yet sufficiently well known to enable us to proceed to its classification.

Meanwhile the results of my investigation of the dialect spoken by a large colony of sedentary Gypsies inhabiting at present the extreme west end of Sofia, a suburb known as Konjvitsa, would seem to have raised the number of European dialects to fifteen. The dialect of the Sofia Gypsies (I have not yet come across Gypsies living in Philippopolis or other towns and therefore cannot speak of a Bulgarian dialect) is of remarkable purity. There is nothing like the number of loan-words in it that are to be found, for example, in the Rumanian dialect and in its sub-division, the language of the Gypsies of Bukovina. The principle of *Oxi-tonierung* is still predominant, although there are signs of its beginning to give way to another principle, perhaps that of modern Bulgarian. But modern Bulgarian itself is, in this respect, in a period of very marked transition, the new tendency being to bring the tonic accent to the beginning of the word, *vóda* for *vodá*, both being heard.

The Sofia dialect is pre-eminently that of sedentary Gypsies, as defined by Paspati: the *d* of the past tense has evolved itself into *ghj*. (See explanations of the script used, p. 183.) On the other hand, another characteristic of Paspati's Sedentaries is wholly absent: there is no trace whatsoever of the verb *terúra*, the circumlocution with the verb 'to be' and the dative being exclusively used in its stead.

Von Sowa's remark concerning the preservation by the Slovak Gypsies of the ancient aspirated *ph*, *th*, *ch*, where the Turkish prototype dialect has supplanted them in many instances by simple *p*, *t*, *c*, applies also in the case of the Sofia dialect; indeed, they have adopted it where it is doubtful whether it has any right

from a historical point of view: they say *čhavo*, *čhai*. Miklosich was very sceptical about the existence of *ch* in any Romani dialect. I take this opportunity of noting that it invariably occurs in *čhivar*, 'to throw,' *áčhav*, 'to remain,' *i.e.* where the sound in question is generally supposed to correspond to Sanskrit *kś*, *ks*.

In their conjugation of loan-verbs, the Sofia Gypsies take the root of the verb in question, be it of Bulgarian or Turkish origin, and add a stem *-in* from which to proceed to the conjugation of the verb in all its tenses. Examples:—Bulgarian root *mot*, Romani *motinav*, past tense *motinjóm*; Turkish root *üan*, infinitive *inannak*, Romani *üandinav*. I can only explain the presence of the *d* as due to analogy. In the present tense and in those formed from it, the accent is on the stem *in*. In the past it is regular. The Sofia Gypsies do not regularly use a *sar* stem. (See Miklosich, *Mundarten*, x. pp. 90-1, and ii. p. 5.) Only in the past tense, third person singular and plural, is this form usual along with the regular formation: *čudisájlo* along with *čudinilo*. I fancy it is due to Rumanian Romani influence. (See Introduction, p. 183.) Another Rumanian Gypsy form is *ašló*, for *áčiló*, *áčhiló*. In forming the future they use *k* and *ka* in the usual way, but rarely *kam*.

The prepositions differ both in form and use from the corresponding ones of the Turkish Gypsies: *ándo veš* would be, in Paspati's dialect, *andré ko veš*.

At the time of writing, I am in the possession of six tales of considerable length, almost sufficient material, in fact, to enable me to write a grammar of the dialect. Before proceeding to an examination of the above text, I should like to draw attention to the remarkably good state of preservation of the verb, and the frequent use of causative and passive forms, one of which, in any case, appears to have been unknown to Paspati, the form *áčhaváv*, 'to cause to remain.' The passive of the same verb was likewise unknown to him: here it is the only form used to render 'to remain.' Strange to say, the words *rak* and *čupni*, *čukni* are totally unknown to Sofia Gypsies. They use *kaš* and *kamžia* respectively.

A variation of this tale, with some sentences almost identical, is found in Gjorgjevič's *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, p. 92, 'Das Väterliche Vermächtnis.'

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

§ 1. *šiné jek thagár* . . . Cf. Paspati, p. 163. *Barvaló isiné*, 'he is rich.' Miklosich is often too hasty in his desire to correct Paspati. Nearly all my tales begin thus.

§ 1. *odolké thagarés* . . . Of the innumerable forms in use for the demonstrative and adjectival pronouns in Paspati's dialect, and still more in the Rumanian dialect (Mikl., *Mund.*, xi. p. 18), the Sofia Gypsies appear to confine themselves to formations of which *akacka* is the type, feminine *akiká*, plural *akalká*, oblique cases *akalké*. Other forms I have not yet heard.

§ 1. *trín raktjé thai trín raktjá* . . . The *Mouillirung* in this masculine plural was sufficiently strong to warrant the insertion of a *j*, which has, however, no affinity with the *j* in the fem. plur. *raktjá*.

§ 1. *vákti* . . . Arab-Turk., *wakt*.

§ 1. *prokletia* . . . Bulgarian.

§ 1. *poerinen* . . . *Po-* is a Bulgarian verbal prefix, and *erínav* is Modern Greek *επιτίσω* (See Mikl., *Mund.*, x. p. 90, 'Sar-Stämme.') The meaning is originally, in Greek, and in its use further on in this tale, 'to return.' In Paspati's dialect the verb is *jirisarav*, perf. *jirisájlom*. See General Notes above, and compare Von Sova's *Mundart der slovakischen Zigeuner* (Göttingen, 1887), p. 171: '*Irinđas pes pále kře*,' where it is formed in the same way as in Sofia.

§ 1. *háti ikálas* . . . Sometimes *ikalás*. The verb gave me much trouble. There is, however, ample reason for believing it to be none other than a causative of *nikáva*, 'to go out'; *nikavára*, 'to bring out.' For this, the regular so-called 'nomad form' would be *inkaváca*. Modifications of this 'nomad form' are predominant in the dialect in question (cf. below), and such modifications take the form of dropping out the *n*, thus *ikaváca*. Finally, in the Sofia dialect, the first *v* of

causative verbs formed by adding an *a* stem (Mikl., *Mund.*, x. p. 79), which *v* according to Miklosich is 'ein den Hiatus aufhebender Einschub,' often changes into *l*; cf. *bichaláv* for Paspati's *bichaváva*. Thus we have *ikalív*. The older accentuation is, of course, *ikalás*.

§ 1. *tha t'ikljovas* . . . For *inkljovas*, Paspati's *núkllovava*.

§ 2. *stréno* . . . Bulgarian root *sred*, *sr* being pronounced by the people *str*; e.g. *sréda*, 'Thursday,' for *sréda*.

§ 2. *jek órtos* . . . With extraordinary regularity they add *-os* to any foreign word in order to turn it into 'gentle Romany.' There are many examples in the text, and cf. *ponedéltnikos*, Bulgarian *ponedéltnik*, 'Monday.'

§ 2. *ukljás po jekhé grustés* . . . 'To mount.' There are various forms of this verb in the Turkish dialect. See Paspati.

§ 2. *ikljás* . . . Contracted for *ikljovas*, as *ikljós* from *ikljoves*.

§ 3. *uklistile pe grustén* . . . Paspati's sedentary Gypsies would say *uklisté*, his nomads *uklistiné*.

§ 3. *uxístile othé* . . . From *uxljáv*, 'to descend.' The guttural, in the case of Paspati's Gypsies, is voiced.

§ 3. *jek džénó* . . . They strangely enough often use *džené* (plur.) with *jekh*, followed by a plural verb.

§ 3. *bešté te xan maxó* . . . In *bešté*, *phendé*, etc., there is not the slightest trace of the *Mouillirung* which has brought about *phéyghjás*. 'To eat bread' is merely an expression meaning the evening meal, the principal one of the day, about sunset. When I first accepted their invitation 'to eat bread' they gave me stewed meat in a rich broth, with French beans and a lot of *páprika*.

§ 3. *aló jek čórdilendžis* . . . A *čórdilendžis* seems to be a species of bogeyman, who is all-powerful. He presumably appears in this tale in the shape of an old man. I cannot discover the origin of the word. My Gypsy says it is a name, *jek aláv*. As a specimen of rather Borroviaan etymology, yet perhaps after all not very far from the truth, I would point out that *čor* is a thief in Romani and *dilendži* a beggar in Turkish. Gypsies and Greeks add an *s* to the Turkish ending *dži*. The old rascal appears in the tale at first as a beggar. But the explanation is rather lame.

§ 3. *amán, phralálen* . . . Sometimes *amán*. The interjection is common among the Turks, generally repeated twice, without a comma: *amán amán!* The other interjections used in these tales are mostly Bulgarian or variations thereof. *Te ĵirímí kírímí* (see further on) is an exclamation to frighten the monster.

§ 3. *no dat l'ovén, no phral l'ovén* . . . This is the *wáva* of Paspati's Gypsies. I have also heard, in conversation, *l'ovél*, 'be it so.'

§ 3. *e kotór maxó* . . . *E* for *ek*, *jek*.

§ 3. *ngghóm kítí máyge te xav* . . . This construction is worthy of note, as it is, as far as I can ascertain, pure Romany, and not copied from Bulgarian or Turkish. Cf. paragraph 17, *me kítí urjávó mándar dúi kakjá pó-but urjál*, i.e., 'he flies twice as fast as I can.'

§ 4. *tharghjás po fenéri pe šeréste* . . . *Tharív* was heard by Paspati only among the Zaparis. Here it is the regular form for 'to light.'

§ 4. *zakáčngghjás les* . . . 'Hung it up.' Bulgarian *zakáčam*, 'I suspend' (transitive). Regular conjugation from a stem *in* (see general notes, p. 194). In future I shall make no special note of such verbs.

§ 4. *ketápi* . . . Arab-Turk., *kitáb*.

§ 4. *xála* . . . A monster, ogre. Bulgarian *xála*.

§ 4. *gádos* . . . A reptile, monster. Bulg., *gad*.

§ 4. *našávgjhilom* . . . *Našávgjhovava*, 'to be lost,' from *našaváva*, 'to lose,' from *našáva*, 'to run away.'

§ 4. *sar peljóm andár me deúikere mindžítar* . . . One would expect *mindžíte* as below.

§ 4. *uxti, sikáv máyge* . . . *Uxti* imperative of *uxtjáva*, 'to arise.' *Ušté*, from *uštjáva*, is also heard. It is said to be akin to *ukljáva*. *Sikáv*, imperative of causative, *sikaváva*, from *sikáva*, 'to show.' It has lost its causative meaning.

§ 5. *avél okothár o čórdilendžis* . . . The idea of motion from appears to be

ever present to the Gypsy mind. They say also *avél athár*. I take this opportunity of pointing out that the particle *-tar*, so common in other dialects, is unknown in this dialect, or, at least, I have hitherto not met with it.

§ 5. *nandí te xav* . . . *Nandí* is the sonorous but quite usual negative, and means 'no,' 'not,' 'there isn't any,' etc. Bulg., *néma*.

§ 6. *o cho pteghghjás* . . . My *Ĥom* was very proud of this word *cho*, for *čhavó*; it does not occur in their conversation regularly, and was peculiar to Paspati's nomads. In the *paramisi*, the Gypsy pointed out to me, *avél pó-šukar*, i.e. 'it sounds better.'

§ 6. *tsidinjás adiká kárig lēs* . . . i.e. *adiká čála*, fem. of *adovká*.

§ 7. *ov ne kačál* . . . Perhaps it would have been more correct to have written *ov néka čal*, Bulg., *néka*, 'let him (her, us, etc.)' I have not yet heard the pure Romany *me*, from *mek*.

§ 8. *kačzagájovel mo phral* . . . *Džagájovava*, for *džagánjovava*, from *džagaváva*, from *džagáva*.

§ 8. *mudarghjás o fenéri* . . . In Turkish Gypsy the word is *murdaráca*. Loan words in *i* are masculine, cf. *o napoleóni*, *o telefóni* in subsequent tales.

§ 9. *mik-ta phurije* . . . *Ta* is a very frequent particle added to the imperative; it often receives the accent, cf. below, *an-tá mágge*, etc.

§ 10. *saránda-u-jek čorá pašljon turjál i jag* . . . *Pašljovav* I have as yet only heard twice, once here and once in conversation with a *Ĥomni* at two o'clock one morning. In Constantinople it is their regular word for 'to go to bed.' *Turjál* (English and Welsh Gypsy, *trustál*, German Gypsy, *trujál*), of doubtful origin, is one of the words unknown to Paspati's Gypsies.

§ 10. *jagáte* . . . *Jag* and *jak* are often pronounced the same in the nominative. In oblique cases they are invariably distinguished; *jagáte*, but *jakhása*.

§ 10. *saránda-u-jek* . . . *bakré kerghjón* . . . *Kerghjón* for *kérjoven*: *kérjovav* is another true Romani word unknown to Paspati's Gypsies.

§ 10. *epkáš* . . . A transposition not unknown to Rumanian Gypsies, for *jek-paš*. Here it is the rule. They also say *ješkár* for *jek-var*.

§ 10. *del phudibá* . . . This must be a form of accusative, cf. *del našibá*, below. Only in Scandinavian and Finnish Romani is it the regular ending (*-ba*, *-pa*) of abstract nouns.

§ 10. *tu so mursinján tha atján* . . . *Muršinján* is a rare example of verbs that have formed themselves from their own nouns, and they have done so as if the verb were a loan-word, and added the stem *-in*. The abstract noun *muršipé*, however, was known to Paspati.

§ 10. *uxljavél les phujáte* . . . *Uxljaváv*, causative of *uxláv*, 'to descend.'

§ 10. *amé marás amén jekhé perikizlarjénje* . . . I am not sure about the origin of this word. Is *peri* Modern Greek? *Kiz* is Turkish for 'a girl.' *Lar* is Turkish plural. The word appears to be used in the plural (Romani dat. plur.), but to be felt as a collective noun in the singular, with *jekh* before it. The meaning is clear, 'three beautiful girls, sisters.'

§ 10. *saránda berš našú te las la* . . . *La* again shows that the noun is felt to be singular. Note the Romani exaggeration; forty years. What were the beautiful like by then? But so runs the tale: forty years, forty-one thieves, forty nails (cf. below), etc. etc.

§ 10. *akanú tí-du athár, murš, amé-du akathár, murš* . . . Notice *athár* and *akathár*, and cf. above.

§ 11. *sár-li kalás len?* . . . The boy, who has got to do the job, thinks of them as being several, and says *len*. *Li* is the Bulgarian interrogative particle. They not infrequently use the Turkish particle *mi*.

§ 11. *ašti i voivóda* . . . *Voivóda* is always treated as a feminine noun.

§ 12. *dinjás andré* . . . *Dáva* is the regular word for 'to enter.' Cf. Paspati.

§ 13. *zer te disjarás* . . . A good example of a causative verb. *Disjovela*, *disjola*, for day to break, *disjaráva*, 'to cause daylight to come,' and used as a personal verb.

§ 14. *arakljóm triné phenjén* . . . Numbers are always declined as adjectives; cf. *jekhé grastés*, *doné čhavén*, etc.

§ 14. *lel pe le džurľá (e tsiknederé phenjá)* . . . I could not make my Gypsy repeat this. He laughed, and said it was not good Romani. It is Rumanian-Romani (*lel pe le džurľá*), which they affect to despise. (See Introduction, p. 183.) Notice that comparative adjectives in *-er* are declined as any others.

§ 15. *sastipńása* . . . This is the usual form of wishing farewell. They use also *Dńa Devlńesa* and *Tńachos Devlńesa*, the contracted form of the second person singular of the passive form unknown to Paspati of the verb *ańńava*, the *Ań Devlńesa* of most other dialects. Other usual forms of greeting are *Sar kerńes*, literally, 'How do you do?' *Barńjos-li?* 'Are you flourishing?' literally, 'Are you growing big?' (Note the accent, attracted by the particle *-li*); and *Te bńrńjos*, 'May you flourish!'; *Te phńrńjos*, 'May you attain a great age!'

§ 15. *me kerńav napńpale* . . . Here the verb is used in its first meaning of 'to go back,' cf. above, *te na poerńen*.

§ 16. *akathńr kańńav les, palńl kańńľńav les* . . . Here it is possible to translate *akathńr* by 'first,' *palńl* by 'then.' Cf. above.

§ 16. *kerńl les manńń* . . . The accusative would be unusual here: (however, see below). The meaning is *kerńl les tńavel manńń*.

§ 17. *ńa tńavel* . . . For *te avńl*. These conjunctions *ńa* have really no right to their aspiration. (See General Notes, p. 193-4.) But it is just this aspiration that makes one recognise Romani at a distance, before individual words can be distinguished. In one of my tales the reader will find constantly repeated, *Thagńra, the thagńrńńasa*, 'O King, by your Dynasty!' where the aspirates give a most weird effect.

§ 17. *ńi-kńivńaras ľeskere dńi jakńń, ńa thovńvas ńńulo vństń . . .* Deliberate rhyming. Cf. Paspati's '*Te kńau me mńndńakerń dńar, te perńl tumavń dńandńengerń tar!*' *ńi-* is Bulgarian conditional, reduced here to an inconjugable particle, as in Russian. In these and other imperfect tenses used below, my Gypsy showed great pride. They are used rarely in conversation, I infer.

§ 18. *ńo ńi-kńrsas* . . . For *kerńsas*; but, as my Gypsy told me, *kńrsas avńl pń-interesno* (sic!), 'more interesting!'

§ 18. *ńev, otkotkń, barń pńrtes ńi* . . . They most frequently use a Greek plural in *-es* for loan-words. Cf. Paspati.

§ 18. *pń-sigo te nakńjes* . . . The *j* is strong *Mouillurung*. *Nakńv* is the usual word for 'to pass,' transitive and intransitive: participle *nakńl*. It also means 'to come to pass,' 'to happen.' In later Sofia fairy-tales which I hope to publish, the reader will get accustomed to the expression: *nakńl ńo nakńl*; e.g., *nakńl ńo nakńl, ńi rakńl ńiagńńńńs jekńe rakńńs*, 'there happened what happened, and the girl gave birth to a male child.'

§ 18. *ńerńe ńom phńńńľńe o pńrtes* . . . *ńom*, 'as soon as,' from the Bulgarian *ńom*.

§ 18. *e grństńesa berńńer* . . . *Berńńer* is Turkish, for Romany *ekńethanńe*, or *kupńte*.

§ 19. *kerńl ľake adarkń řerńesa* . . . *Kerńar řerńesa* means 'to nod.'

§ 19. *ńrńń ratńń ańagńńńńm tut bokńńal* . . . From *ańńavńra*, 'to cause to remain'; I have not yet heard *ańńavń*, always *ańńjovara*.

§ 19. *ľilńńe e džurľń, ńagńńńńs ľa pńľe pńske* . . . *ńagńńńńs*. See the explanation of *ńkalńs*, p. 194. It seems to me to be the same word.

§ 20. *ńa dńu akńń jekńe džurľńke te ńus to řerń!* . . . *Jekńe džurľńke* is 'for the sake of a girl.' *Te ńus to řerń* is 'to ruin yourself.'

§ 20. *te ństńerńe, ne ńńńńl man* . . . Here *te ństńerńe* refers to the *ńńńńńńńńńńs*. It often has no expressed subject, God, or Fate, being understood. *Te* is Romani, *ństńerńe* is Turkish, imperfect subjunctive of *ństńemek*, 'to wish to.' *Ne ńńńńl man*, is due to Bulgarian influence. Pure Romani would be *me ńńńńl man*.

§ 20. *avńr tńrlńs* . . . 'Any other way or method.' A Turkish word with the usual *s* of the Romani loan-word affixed to an ending pronounced *ń*. The Turks say *dńrlń*.

§ 21. *dolńńńs adarkń* . . . *Dolńńv, dolńs*, etc., is the regular word here for 'to catch,' 'seize.' It may be *ľuv*, 'to take,' with the Bulgarian prefix *do*; thus, *dolńńv*, 'to attain.'

§ 21. *te na tńrsńńsa tut* . . . *Tńrsńńsa* for *tńrsńńńesa*, and the usual *ń* stem for the conjugation of foreign verbs.

§ 21. *tha te peravés les . . . Peravára* is 'to make fall,' from *peráva*.

§ 22. *del našibá . . .* Compare above, *del phudlibá*.

§ 22. *ist jekhé thané zemzen-sujú . . .* 'There is in a certain place some miraculous water.' *Zemzen-sujú* is 'Turkish, 'water from the well of Zemzem,' a well in the court of the Cubical House at Mecca. The first meaning of *zemzem*, an Arabic word, appears to be 'copious,' 'abundant,' or 'a little brackish,' said of water. In these tales *zemzen-sujú* corresponds to the *paí žudó*, i.e. *pané dživdó*, of Rumanian Gypsy folk-tales. *Jekhé thané* is an example of the locative case which is still in constant use in this dialect; cf. *sabatóné*, 'on Saturday,' otherwise *sábatos*.

§ 22. '*ačhú*,' *phęghjás o čharó*, '*amí sujóm!*' . . . In these tales all persons who come to life again say *ačhú!* The Romani reader will bear this in mind on the day of the Resurrection.

§ 22. *dinjásus buljé te daíá o čórdilendžis . . .* This somewhat forcible expression is constantly recurring in their tales. It must not be taken literally, but simply to mean: 'the čórdilendžis has outwitted you all along the line.'

V.—ROMANE GILJÁ

Liné Romendar katár o Románó Gav ándi Dis Sófia

BERNARD GILLIAT-PETALEŃGRESTAR

Akalká giljá linilé kátar o Romá ándi Dis Sófia maškár o máseka Júli thai Avgóstos 1909. I Romani čhib but interésno si, kai sikavél pó-lačes so uló e čhibása kána alí athé Vlačičkane Romá, kai vakjerén pavásko. Jon sas, hič te n' ovél, 'Kalb Tehingjané,' thai, sar phęghjóm avré thanéste, našti bešénas bahtalés Sofiáte čoraxané phralénsa (hič te n' ovél Xristianlár sas), thai sígo sígo gelé-peske. Dži akaná našti džanav, irisájle-li kheréste, bešlé-li avré thanéste. Xarí xarí pánda ačhilé athé, thai, sar mislínav, si lénge urjaipé thai adéti sar e čoraxané Roménde.

I.

Phęggló isóm zandaniáte,
Me čvororé včaripé,
Mi pečéga (balá) buliaribé.
An-to máŃge mo gavaljé,
Te bašaláv džęggló gili,
Te šunen anlár bejlér.

'*Plúter-maŃge vudaroró,*
Balrál liljás mo džumoró?
 'Sóske ariát sutó umaljáte?'
 'Čiv to šeró penlžaráte,
 Te dikláv tut. Tu-li sinján?'

Ki musí isí tsikno čavoró,
Murš, palál láte romoró.
Uštilos, činggarghjás lákre romés;
Zakačęghjás les kašténde.
 'Éla, čavki, xan mas, mas eflína.'

II

JEK SUNÓ

*Ána sunó dikhljóm me pířénde kalé čízmes,
Aštáv-maŋge, Bóg-me, mi makrárdi,
Te džav maŋge, Bóg-me, plainénde, thai do droménde.
Dži kai drom si šudrí řézma. Dži kai řézma terní borí.*

Voi phenél, Dobró ítro, mlad nevésto.

Voi ni avlí borí, avlí říma.

Ko šeró loló gíli . . .

. . . terné borjá paí te pién,

Phuré luludžá te činén.

Te džav-maŋge me kheréste,

. . . kalé kótsos kačínás.

I dai šundás, pe bal řindás ;

O phei šundás, diláili ;

O dad šundás, vó-da diláilo.

Kúrkes, o dúito (phuró stil) Avgóstos, o berš 1909.

III

A boríje tu terníje,

Uxťi máŋge but jaríné,

Te šulavés, Kalí Vígna, mo rustíri.

Gjehghjóm, gjehghjóm, mo dumó dukhál,

Hem o manzín geló, hem mi borí gelí,

Eснаflár.

IV

Thai gelí sas, Mistána, and' o Kúrko,

Thai liljás saránda džorén sa šuvaréntsá :

Thai gelí sas and' o bezestén,

Thai kinghjás saránda kuniá poxtán.

Thai gelí sas, Mistána, and' o kujundžís,

Thai liljás saránda rojá sa rupuné ;

Thai gelí sas, Mistána, paš pe roméste,

Thai pheghjás sas pe roméske :—

'Ma dará, Séjo, ma dará ;

I guruvaní mortjí epkašáli hai bívosko biústardi.'

Avér Nandí,

V

*Thai geló sas ánde baré lomáste,
Thai kinghjás sas čurí kasapúške,
Thai aviló ánde právo kheré,
Thai beštó sas právo kai prágos.*

Hem čuri morélas, hem perigá vardjilas.

‘Aráih, Kóne, te xas mařó.’

‘Me ní-χα mařó.’

‘Kató ni-χás mařó, tu man ka-čingghjarés.’

‘Kas čingghjaryghjóm dží akaná, í tul te čingghjará?’

Thai čulovghjás la, Dáule Begó, deš-u-ču thanénde,

‘Acén, dikhén, Komšular, so kerghjóm la, le Míru.

Trin gruš kilós páres biknár, Komšular,

Burí kisi vortínave.’

Avér Nanáí.

O bíšto (nevó stil) Júli, o berš 1909.

The above songs were taken from the sedentary Sofia Gypsies during the months of July and August 1909. Linguistically they are interesting as showing in a more marked degree than the fairy tales the influence of the invasion, some years ago, of a considerable horde of Rumanian Gypsies, probably sedentary ones, who, as I have elsewhere stated, were unable to live happily with their Mohammedan brethren of Sofia (they were probably Christians), and were not long in leaving. Whether they returned whence they came, or settled elsewhere, I have been unable to discover. Those who remain conform in dress and custom, as far as I can judge, with the bulk of the Mussulman Sofia colony.

The music is a species of Turkish recitative drawl, which I have so far been unable to put on paper.

In the first song, the Gypsy, a prisoner, calls for a *gavaljí* (a species of shepherd's pipe, well known all over S.E. Europe), in order that he may sing to the friends who are visiting him. He then sings: ‘Open the door, the wind has struck my back;’ and she who is inside answers, ‘Why did you sleep last night out in the fields?’ ‘Come to the window, that I may see it is really you.’ On her arm was a male child, and behind her her husband. The singer goes on to say that she arose, slew her husband, hung him on a tree, and called to jackdaws to come and eat meat, cheap meat.

The second song is a weird jumble of a nightmare. A rough translation follows: ‘In my sleep I saw at my feet a black fountain. My God! I arise, seize my staff and wander over mountains and roads, my God!—near the road is a cool fountain, and near the fountain a young bride who hails me as her young betrothed. As I approach, lo! she is a monster. On her head is a red flower . . . young girls are drinking at the fountain, old women are plucking flowers. I will go home . . . and slay a black ram. My mother heard, and tore her hair: my sister heard, and went mad: and my father, too, heard and went mad.’

Notice such forms as *čindás* for Bulgarian Romany *čingghjás*, *diláilo* for *denítáilo*, and *avli* for *ali*—one might have hoped for *ulí*. Further, the *č* often unaspirated.

The third song is as follows : 'O young bride, arise very early to sweep out my smithy, O my Black Grapes ! I have counted, counted, till my back aches ; now see, O my people, my wealth has come, and my bride.'

The fourth song runs thus : 'And she went, Mistana, on a Sunday, and took forty mules all with their bridles ; and she went to the Brocade Mart and bought forty yards of cloth. And she went, Mistana, to the goldsmith and bought forty spoons, all of silver ; and she went, Mistana, to her husband, and said to him : "Fear not, Sejo, fear not ; the leather bag is half full, and the pouch has not been tampered with."'

Biastardi is literally 'untouched,' 'unseized.'

My teacher tells me (I give the information on his authority) that the custom of adding *sas* to the third person singular of the past tense is peculiar to the Gypsies of the Rumanian invasion.

The fifth and last song of this little collection may thus be rendered : 'And he went into the great town, and he bought a slaughtering knife, and he came straight-way home, and sat down by the hearth. He sharpened the knife and at the same time looked over his shoulder : "Come, Koue, to eat bread !" "I will not eat bread." "If you will not, then you wish to slay me." "Whom have I slain till now, that I should slay you ?" And he struck her, Dáde Begó, into twelve pieces. "Come, see, neighbours, what I have done to her, to Míra. Three kilos of groats in money will I buy, neighbours ; I will turn out a great purse."'

VI.—A CONTRIBUTION TO FRENCH GYPSY HISTORY

By FREDERICK CHRISTIAN WELLSTOOD

Although it is to a Frenchman—the Bourgeois de Paris (quoted by Pasquier)¹—that we are indebted for the fullest account of the band of Gypsies who visited western Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century, yet the subsequent history of the Gypsies in France has been more neglected than their history in any other country. Indeed, practically all we know about them is that frequent edicts were passed pronouncing their banishment (*e.g.* in the years 1539, 1561, 1612, 1660, 1682), and the repetition of the laws proves their ineffectiveness. In this respect France did not differ from the rest of Europe ; and, from the quaint account given by Master Pechon de Ruby in 1597,² those Gypsies seem to have led, as one would expect, much the same lives as elsewhere at the time. His account, however, is open to suspicion, as it occurs in a tract devoted chiefly to other native vagrants ; but his statement that the Gypsies travelled in bands of 'trois ou quatre mesnageres' is strikingly confirmed by a rare French pamphlet which records the sentence passed in 1612 on Jean Hierosme, 'soy disant Capitaine de quatre mesnages d'Égyptiens,' and some of his band for the murder of a Gypsy woman.

The names of these offenders are worthy of special mention, as we know so little of the names of French Gypsies. They are :—Captain Jean Hierosme, Antoine Anthoinette, his wife, Roze Raqui, Valeriane Jeanne, Jeanne Bellenas *alias* Baroca, Jeanne Piry 'dite la Gascone,' and the murdered woman—Françoise 'dite la Doudon.'

But one could hardly infer from the pamphlet here reprinted that the circumstances of the case were somewhat unusually romantic ; for, though the main literary use of the Gypsy is to introduce him in the most improbably romantic circumstances, it is but seldom that we find him appearing in such a position in real life. This tract merely states that a murder had been committed on a woman of

¹ *Les Recherches de la France*, Paris, 1596, Lib. iv. ch. 17.

² See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iii. pp. 75-6.

the troop; but, fortunately, there is another and fuller contemporary account preserved by Thuanus in his *Historiarum sui temporis continuatio*.¹ From that we learn that the Captain's wife, Antoine Anthoinette, held stricter views than Pakamovna on the subject of male and female constancy. The murder was apparently due to jealousy on her part, because her husband had paid undue attention to another lady of the same band: accompanied by two other Gypsy women, she decoyed her victim away from the tents, wreaked her vengeance on her in a manner not stated, and then threw the corpse into the Seine.

Thuanus's account is as follows:—

‘Ioannes Hieronymus, qui se ducem cateruæ eorū profitebatur, qui vulgo Ægyptii sen Boemi appellantur, & per Galliam ex vna prouincia in aliam, nullis certis sedibus, vagabantur, quiq; ex inspectione manuum bonam vel aduersam fortunā vnicuiq; prædicebant, ex furtis & rapinis tantum viuentes, hac hyeme in suburbio S. Germani nidulari cœpit, vbi vxor ipsius tanta zelotypia in ipsum incensa est, propterea quod eū alia Ægyptia inuencula rē haberet, vt cum aliis duabus feminis Ægyptiis in caput pellicis conspiraret. itaq; sub specie deambulationis eā interfectā in Sequanam præcipitant. q. cum euulgatum fuisset, tres illæ femine cum Io. Hieronymo & duabus aliis Ægyptiis in abbatia S. Germani captivæ ducuntur. caussa autē cognita, ex quinq; mulieribus Ægyptiis quatuor ad furcā damnantur: quinta cū Hieronymo supplicii spectare iubetur, atq; ille eū vniuersa sua caterua ex territorio & dominio abbatie S. Germani proseribitur. facta appellatione, tres Ægyptiæ, quæ cædē perpetraverant, vii. Kal. Mart. ad pontē S. Michaelis patibulo affixæ fuerunt. de Io. Hieronymo & duabus aliis Ægyptiis, quoniam appellauerant, Senatus huiusmodi sententiam tulit:’

Then follows a word for word translation of the French tract which is here reprinted.

[Title-page] Arrest de la Cour de | Parlement, portant in-
jonction à | toutes personnes foy difans Egy- | ptiens, de fortir hors
le Royaume | de France, dans deux mois apres la | publication du
present Arrest. | [block] | A LYON, | Par NICOLAS IVLLIERON,
Imprimeur | ordinaire du Roy. | M. DC. XII. | *Avec Privilège du
Roy.* |

[p. 2 blank]

[3] Extraict des Registres

de Parlement.

VEV par la Cour le procès criminel fait par le Bailly de saint
Germain des Prez ou son Lieutenant, à la requeste du Procureur
Fiscal audit Bailliage, demandeur à l'ẽcontre de Iean Hierofme, foy
difant Capitaine de quatre mefnages d'Egyptiens, Antoine Anthoi-
[4] nette femme dudit Capitaine Hierofme, Roze Raqui, Valeriane
Ieanne, Ieãne Bellenas autrement Baroca, Ieanne Piry dite la

¹ Francof., 1628, Lib. v. pp. 259-260.

Arrest de la Cour de

14 Parlement, portant injonction à toutes personnes soy disans Egyptiens, de sortir hors le Royaume de France, dans deux mois apres la publication du present Arrest.

24^e fevrier 1612



8

A LYON,

Par NICOLAS IVLLIERON, Imprimeur
ordinaire du Roy.

M. DC. XII.

Avec Privilège du Roy.

Gascone, toutes foy difans Egyptiennes de la troupe dudit Capitaine Hierofme, accufez ladite Roze Raqui, Valeriane Ieâne, & Antoine Anthoinette n'aguieres executees à mort par Arrest d'icelle Cour, & les autres prifonnieres en la Cöciergerie du Palais, appellans de la sentence cötre eux donnee, par laquelle pour reparatiö du [5] meurtre & affafinat commis en la perfonne de Fräçoife dite la Doudon aufsi Egyptienne, ladite Baroca auroit efté condänee avec lefdites Raqui & Valeriane, eftre pendues & efranglees à vne potanee croifee, qui feroit drefsee au bout du pont fainct Michel, lieu de la Iuftice dudit S. Germain des Prez, fes biens acquis & confifquez à qu'il appartiendroit, fur iceux prins la fomme de cinquante liures d'amende enuers le fieur Abbé. A laquelle execu- [6] tion afsifteroit ledit Capitaine Hierofme & Ieanne Piry dite la Gafcone, laquelle auroit efté pareillement condamnee en cinquante liures d'amende, & ledit Capitaine Hierofme en trois cens liures, applicables moitié à la reparation des prifons & auditoire dudit fainct Germain, & encores ledit Capitaine avec fa troupe bannis pour neuf ans des terres & Seigneuries dudit fainct Germain, à eux enioinct garder leur ban fur peine de la hard. Ouy & interrogez [7] par ladite Cour lefdits Capitaine Hierofme, Ieanne Bellenas dite Baroque, & Ieanne Piry fur les caufes d'appel & cas cötenus audit procez, & confrontez à aucuns tefmoins ouys en icelle Cour. Ouy aufsi le Procureur general du Roy en fes conclufions, procez verbal d'executiö de mort defdites Roze Raquy, Valeriane Ieanne, & Antoine Anthoinette du 23. du present mois. TOVT CONSIDERE, Diët a efté que ladite Cour entät que touche les appellations def- [8] dits Capitaine Hierofme, Baroca, & Piry, a mis & met lefdites appellations & sentence pour le regard de ladite Baroca, au neant fans amende, & faifant droiët sur les conclufions dudit Procureur General du Roy, & appel à minima par lui interietté: A mis & met ladiët sentence au neant, & pour les cas contenus audit procez, ladite Cour a banny & bannit lefdits Capitaine Hierofme, Baroca, & Piry, du Royaume de France à perpetuité, leur enioint gar- [9] der leur ban, fur peine où ils fe troueront auoir iceluy enfraint d'eftre pendus & efranglez. Enioint aufsi à tous autres foy difans Egyptiens, fortir du Royaume dans deux mois apres la publication du present Arrest, & où ils s'y treueront apres ledit temps, Ordonne que tant les hommes, femmes que filles, feront razez, & les hommes menez & conduits aux Galeres du Roy, pour y eftre detenus & feruir ledit Seigneur comme [10] forçaires à perpetuité. Fait defenfes à tous Seigneurs hauts Iufticiers & autres de les retirer

en leurs terres & Seigneuries, à peine d'amende arbitraire & privation de leur Justice. Enjoinct aux Substituts du Procureur general du Roy au reffort du Parlement, tenir la main à la publication & execution du present Arrest. Prononcé ausdits Capitaine Hierofine, Bellenas, & Piry, pour ce attaints au guichet desdites prisons, le vingt-hui- [11] ctesime jour de Feburier, mil six cens douze.

Signé,

VOISIN.

[p. 12 blank]

The pamphlet, which is very rare, is printed in duodecimo on six leaves of watermarked paper, and its pages measure $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and Mons. Clugnet informs me that the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a copy not only of this but also of another edition, identical in every way except the imprint, printed at Paris in the same year by Federic Morel.

VII.—A PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

By Lady ARTHUR GROSVENOR.

'In remembrance of Edwin Buckland, aged 75 in 1863, born a peasant at Charlbury in Oxfordshire. He lived in a house and worked till he was 27, and then married a Gipsy woman and wandered. He was a sad Jewish-looking old man, seeming honest and good in a remarkable degree, friendly and communicative, and spoke "deep Romany" with great fluency. He paid me visits at 34 Park Place, when he came rarely to Cheltenham.'

(Inscription on the back of the title of the Rev. T. W. Norwood's annotated copy of Smart and Crofton's *Dialect of the English Gypsies*.)

THE most interesting of the Rev. T. W. Norwood's Gypsy notebooks is one in which he recorded not only additions to his vocabulary but also the circumstances under which the words were collected, short descriptions of his informants, and the miscellaneous information which they gave him. With one exception each successive source was purer than its predecessors, and the volume is thus a *Pilgrim's Progress* from the jargon of house-dwelling half-castes to the inflected Romani which he found at last in the mouth of Edwin Buckland.

I have already described¹ how, as a boy, Mr. Norwood became interested in Gypsies, and in this notebook there is one reminiscence of his Yorkshire home:—'The Bos'ell Gang often camped in

¹ See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 388.

good numbers in the wide reaches of the Brigg Lane, near the High Causey between Camblesforth and Drax, among the line of ponds, and along the old *reine*¹ of oaks, with horses, asses, and tents (not carts), and weird old hags (1840 to 1850, and till the enclosure). There I first saw them and Mordecai B. the fiddler. They were the terror of the village constables and pinders. The place was good for pheasants and hedgehogs.' But he seems to have learned no Romani from them, and though he lectured on Gypsies at Bollington Cross on March 20, 1854, it was not until he went as curate to Cheltenham that he began to collect the language.²

He was unfortunate in the choice of his first teachers, 'the Mustoes of 36 Stanhope Street, Cheltenham, who wander in the summer and speak Romany,'³ and of whom he wrote, 'So far as I can collect from him [Mustoe], these people "hereabouts" are "but half Romany." They intermarry with any other tramps very often. But some keep up their "caste," and won't acknowledge Mustoe a Gipsy. His boy, my protégé, has much of the blood, however, of the Zincalo.' He visited them on December the 8th and 13th, 1856, and on January 21, 1857, and collected nearly two hundred words and phrases. The greater number are Romani, often corrupt, sometimes interesting—for example:—

buléugrics, breeches.

grás, horse. [Paspati, *grast*, *gras*, *gra*.]

hátshi kóotshi, stop a little longer.

kóoter, a £.

mátchlicove, cat.

mawr plúster, don't run away.

mol díevvus, Christmas.

ótshi or *ótchímě*, I said.

pensch kállers, five shillings.

péerdú's, white vagrants.

pópingóru, gamekeeper.

tróopers, breeches.

yak, clock or watch.

But Mustoe, like Flatterer, who was also 'a man black of flesh,'

¹ Mr. H. B. Thorp, who is familiar with the district, informs me that 'the High Causey (causeway) was a high footpath, known locally as a "rampart," running alongside the Brigg Lane, which was, and is, the only highway to Drax. The line of ponds, now enclosed, was a line of "retting" (*i.e.* rotting) ponds along the roadside for steeping flax to rot the husk, which was then beaten or "scutched" from the linen fibre. A "reine" is a narrow belt of wood or spinney, often forming the boundary between estates or townships.' Cf. German *Rain*, 'boundary.'

² Mr. Norwood may also have come into contact with Hernes, for there are two notes in his copy of Smart and Crofton's *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, one of which refers to them as 'descended from King Pharaoh, a never-to-be-forgotten GANG,' and the other describes them as 'formerly a handsome, clean, picturesque gang.'

³ For Musto as a Gypsy surname see F. W. Carew's [A. E. G. Way's] *No. 747*, p. 81, where it is stated that Annabel Musto, 'an out-and-out bad lot,' married Tenny Klism, or Tenant Lock (see p. 71), son of Greenleaf Klism, afterwards leaving him for Jasper Lee, King of the Ratchers. Big Tom Musto is mentioned on p. 120, and Mr. Archibald Constable tells me that travellers of this name are still to be found in Somerset.

guided the pilgrim into a way 'which by degrees turned, and turned him so from the city he desired to go to, that, in little time, he led him within the compass of a net' of cant and slang words: ¹—

bläckie, tin vessel.

blåtshy, coal.

bosh-crees, saddle.

clapper, gate.

crab-shells, shoes. [Grose, 1785.]

dánnuc, cow. [Of *dunaker*, 'cattle-

lifter,' c. 1650.]

faik, play [a fiddle].

fínnif, £5. [Yiddish for *fünf*.]

gátter, rain. [Maginn's *Vidocq Versified*,

1818, *gutter*, 'beer,' 'liquor.']

géstimer, magistrate.

gráft, work.

gránum, barn. [Harman, 1567, *gran-*
num, 'corn.']

half-a-bool, half-a-crown. [*bull's eye*,

B. E., Gent., 1690: *bull*, Vaux,
1812.]

háttam-day, Sunday. [Harman, 1567,

autem, 'church.']

háubleáump, hay-rick.

jigger, door. [Harman, 1567, *gygger*.]

jilt the jigger, shut the door.

káin or *kèn*, house. [Harman, 1567,
ken.]

képhyl, horse. [B. E., Gent., 1690,

keffel: Welsh, *ceffyl*.]

kessig, mare. [Welsh, *caseyg*.]

króker, doctor. [Grose, 1785, *crocus*.]

láypat, fish. [Harman, 1567, *lag*,
'water.']

mill-togs, shirt. [Grose, 1823, *mill-toy* :

Haggart's *Life*, 1821, *milltuig*.]

molson, ass.

mórghen, rabbit. [? *malkin*, *maukin*,
muukin, 'hare' or 'cat.']

mort, daughter. [B. E., Gent., 1690,
'yeoman's daughter.']

plímmer, stone.

póplars, broth. [Dekker, 1608, *poplars*
of yarum, 'milk porridge': Har-
man, 1567, *poppelars*, 'porridge.']

prád, horse. [Potter, 1795.]

scháfel fínnif, bad £5. [Hebrew
scháfél.]

sóoper, clock, watch. [Vance, c. 1866,
supe or *super*.]

spréadum, butter. [Grose, 1785: Vaux,
1812.]

stamp-drawers, stockings. [Haggart's
Life, 1821. Harman, 1567, has

stampes, 'legs,' and *drawers*, 'hosen.']

stretcher, year. [Horsley's *Jottings from*
Jail, 1877, *stretch*.]

tcheev, knife. [R. Head, 1674, *chive*.]

tile, hat. [Haggart's *Life*, 1821: and
Dickens' *Pickwick*, 1837.]

tínglers, onions.

tómpat, parson. [Potter, 1795.]

vígl, town, village. [Harman, 1567,
Romevyle, 'London.']

wédg, silver. [Grose, 1785, *wedge*.]

yírrum, milking a cow. [Harman, 1567,
yarum, 'milk' (noun). See *pop-*
lars.]

From Mustoe Mr. Norwood 'gathered that Gipsies are almost without marriage; living, in that respect, much like beasts—one man with many women, who may be sisters, or aught else. Among his friends, Mustoe knows many such cases; as a man with two women, *sisters*, and each with many children. One of these women called on him this week. He spoke of it as nothing but what was natural enough; and said "not one in a hundred Gipsies is married." Men and women so living often part and meet no more. Thus they herd together like brutes. He said

¹ Mr. Norwood seems to have thought not only that these words were Shelta, but also that Shelta was the same thing as Borrow's 'Germania.' See his letter on 'Tramps' Language in the *Academy* of January 1, 1887 (vol. xxxi. pp. 11-12).

that a "Gipsy Wedding" was held as a great curiosity, and merrily kept. They are generally duly baptized and buried.'

On the same day as his last visit, Mr. Norwood made the acquaintance of Mustoe's nephew, a 'handsome young Gipsy in Worcester Street, named Stephens—old Jenny's grandson. . . . But for old Jenny, Stephens had been a pure Gipsy; as by the other three sides he is so: Jenny was a "house-dweller." He wanders in summer in Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hants, Middlesex, Sussex, etc., has a wife, or woman, and one child. Like Mustoe, he had no furniture in his room at all, and was making clothes-pegs. He looked alarmed when I entered; but became freely communicative. He agrees with Mustoe that Gipsies eat squirrels;¹ and things that in Mustoe's pictorial phraseology "stink aloud." Can read a little.' Mr. Norwood made use of the opportunity to verify part of his vocabulary, and it is noticeable that Stephens did not corroborate any of the cant words.

The next contributor to the glossary was a man named Holland, possibly the very Moses Holland of whom George Smith of Coalville said that he had 'been a Gipsy nearly all his life.'² If so, he may still be found living in a cottage at Orton on the Hill, an old man of about ninety. Whether he is now a Romanichel or a *gájo* I do not know, but Mr. Winstedt, who visited him last summer, elicited the information that his mother was a daughter of Absalom Smith, 'King' of the Gypsies. At all events the Hollands are scarcely so aristocratic a family as a leader-writer in the *Standard* (August 15, 1879) would have us believe—'the Hollands are a Gipsy family almost as old as the Lees or the Stanleys, and a Holland always holds high rank among the "Romany" folk.'³ Mr. Norwood at any rate did not recognize their claim, for he described his new friend as a *peerdu*, and the record of their first meeting is as follows:—'24 July 1857. Returning from calling on the Bishop of Jamaica at Uckington, I chanced upon a family of travellers, not Gypsies, in a lane at Swindon; and, sitting down with them for an hour, learnt from them the following scraps of "Romanys." . . . This

¹ The eating of squirrels was a subject which interested Mr. Norwood, and elsewhere he notes 'At p. 83, vol. i. of *The Romany Rye*, Borrow allows, what in another place he had wrongly denied, viz., that "Gipsies eat squirrels." They have told me that they do.' See *Zincali*, part i. chap. v.; *Romany Rye*, chap. vii.; and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 28. For the origin of the Stephens *pás-rat* family, see Morwood, *Our Gipsies*, p. 77.

² *Gipsy Life*, London, 1880, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

family of chair-bottomers—a man, woman, and boy—seemed clean people and well off; but could not read. The man alone *rokkered Romany.* Moreover, Holland, with most un-Gypsylike candour, at once described the Gypsies' livelihood as '*Drabbing the bawlé (or báwlo), tshuring kas and the gry, and tussering the máso.*'

Mr. Norwood met him again on August 17 of the same year, and wrote, 'I chanced, in the same place, upon the same man Holland, his wife, and *tshavvy*, and *gry*, and *masengro-jukal*. He was but just come, having been absent near a month in several parts of Worcestershire. I had, in my Borrow's two foregoing songs ["Poisoning the Porker," and the "Song of the Broken Chastity"], which were in my pocket, a ready subject of Romany talk.' In spite of this somewhat indelicate conversational opening, Mr. Norwood not only obtained a list of nearly two hundred Gypsy words during his two visits, and a few sentences in broken Romany, but also verified the whole of his older vocabulary and discussed with Holland the words in Borrow's verses.

Most of Holland's words are good Romani, but a few have curious forms or meanings. The following possess some interest:—

<i>átam</i> , church. [Cant. Harman, 1567, <i>audem.</i>]	<i>mas</i> , pl. <i>más-o</i> , sheep.
<i>bístóic</i> , well. [Cf. <i>J. G. L. S.</i> , Old Series, i. 46, <i>bísto.</i>]	<i>óbringsy</i> , devil. [<i>ó beng sas</i> , 'it was the devil.']
<i>clárris</i> , king.	<i>ókř</i> , 'eccc,' look.
<i>doast</i> , damage. [S. & C., <i>doosh.</i>]	<i>pátran</i> , trail, handful of grass.
<i>doust</i> , to milk. [! Paspáti <i>dosháva</i> . Mik. vii. 45.]	<i>pógyerpooamóngrý</i> , plough.
<i>dárralec</i> , garden. [? S. & C.'s <i>dáril</i> , 'gooseberry.']	<i>póshuce</i> , delivered of a child. [S. & C. <i>póshli.</i>]
<i>fóros</i> , fair.	<i>skípsy</i> , basket. [Wright, <i>Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English</i> , <i>skíp</i> , 'basket.']
<i>hárry</i> , wheeled cart. [<i>heroi</i> , 'leg,' 'wheel.']	<i>tówber</i> , lane. [Cant.]
<i>kérrer</i> , boil.	<i>véndi</i> , gut, stomach.
<i>kíster</i> , singing. [But <i>késtríng</i> , 'running,' <i>késter</i> , 'run,' and <i>kíster</i> , 'ride.']	<i>yerr</i> , watch.

The next Gypsy interview recorded was on July 9, 1858. 'Arthur Blunt and I walked to a place in Elmstone Hardwick, where we saw two "pure" Gypsy boys of the name of "Locke," aged about fourteen and thirteen, of whom the eldest was a "rank" Gypsy with the "glazed eye," and thorough Gypsy dress and manner. Their names were George and Frederick Locke.

. . . *N.B.*—The old grandfather of these boys, one Myrack Locke,¹ is said to speak Gipsy so purely that not one word in twenty is English, and that his own daughter does not understand his speech.' As usual, Mr. Norwood improved the occasion by testing his vocabulary, but he set down from them only eighteen words, of which *éevásřkkóovšs*, 'will you sit down?' and *róopěrellěr*, 'leg,' are worth quoting as puzzles.

In September 1858, Mr. Norwood read a paper 'On the Race and Language of the Gipsies' before the British Association at Leeds, the manuscript of which is now in my possession. It contains, of course, no original work of importance, but there are eloquent passages. 'A Gipsy vocabulary,' he said, 'is a list of the Gipsy's ideas and a clue to the Gipsy's thoughts. I have often learnt from the words that he has taught me traits of his character, which he would have wished to conceal. In this way I have learnt his petty crimes, and private vices, and by what means he procures a livelihood. By observing what words he has not, I can form an opinion as to the extent of his ignorance. He speaks to me out of the abundance of his heart, the words which reveal his most common thoughts.' He concluded with the following appeal, 'I will ask the British Association to consider whether it is worth while to collect and fix the words and forms of this fast perishing language, before the Gipsies become quite extinct in England, which must be at no distant time. The enclosure of commons and tyranny of policemen have done more for this end than the edicts of sovereign princes. And the English Gipsies are melting away before our modern civilisation, like snow before the sun.—I will ask this audience not to persecute them. They are now almost a harmless people, and are never guilty of great crimes; and they endure hardships in winter which it would make you shudder to hear of. They are not a tenth part so bad as the rogues and vagabonds of our own nation.' Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was in the chair, Mr. Cull and Mr. Crawford discussed the paper, and Mr. Norwood was urged to print a grammar, for which Mr. Thomas Wright said he thought the Association would pay.

The grammar was never written, but one result of Mr. Norwood's paper was that Goddard Johnson² sent him as a gift

¹ For 'Myrick Lock,' see Morwood, *Our Gipsies*, London, 1885, pp. 77 and 166; and F. W. Carew's [A. E. G. Way's] *No. 747*, p. 120.

² The following information about Goddard Johnson was collected and has been most kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. W. A. Dutt. Although he lived at

his Norfolk Gypsy collections, and thus preserved from destruction the important vocabularies of Whiter, which have already been published in this journal. Goddard Johnson's own words and phrases were less valuable, and although they are headed 'Vocabulary, sentences, and notes, contributed, almost wholly from oral intercourse, on the 29th of October 1858, by Goddard Johnson, Esq., of East Dereham, in Norfolk,' Mr. Norwood complained that a great number of the words seemed to have been taken from books. He therefore studied the material, copied a large part of it, and restored the original to its author.

The possession of this new material had, however, an unfortunate effect, for Mr. Norwood, who had hitherto collected independently and held himself aloof from books, became anxious to corroborate Goddard Johnson's glossary, and therefore ran the risk of suggesting rare words to his Gypsy friends.¹ His next interview with Gypsies is recorded thus:—'Swindon Drom, 22nd March, 1859. I sat two hours in the tent of a Gipsy, Matthew Cooper, the darkest man that I have seen here, and he corrected Mr. Johnson's glossary as follows.'² And an excellent two hours' work it was, for this heading is followed by a list of no less than five hundred words, including duplicates.

Dereham, where the Johnsons related to Cowper lived, he belonged to a family residing in or near Bury St. Edmunds. A lengthy obituary notice appeared in the *Norwich Mercury* of April 14, 1860, and was partly quoted in the Annual Report of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, on the Committee of which he served for many years, and for which he wrote numerous valuable articles. He was, in his day, one of the best known antiquaries in the county, and almost everything of note that was found was sent to him for his opinion,—it is reported that he often showed his enthusiasm by refusing to return articles which had been sent for his inspection. In his younger days he would travel long distances to see anything in which he was interested, and it is not unlikely that during these journeys he sometimes came in touch with Gypsies, though no mention of his Romani studies is made in the report of the Archaeological Society. He died at East Dereham on April 10, 1860, aged eighty-three.

Mr. Winstedt tells me that he compiled from Norfolk deeds, and printed at Yarmouth in 1845, a pamphlet of fifteen pages called *Illustrations of the . . . history . . . customs . . . expenses . . . of the English people in former times*, and that 'the principal part of the valuable library of Goddard Johnson,' comprising nearly a thousand volumes, was sold by Sotheby on May 17, 1843. No Gypsy books are mentioned in the catalogue.

¹ In order to show that Mr. Norwood avoided this danger with success, such of Goddard Johnson's words as are to be found in the same note-book, and have forms or meanings similar to those in the Coopers' list, are printed within square brackets. A number of words from Leland's *The English Gypsies and their Language*, London, 1873, are also added.

² This Matthew Cooper was possibly—perhaps even probably—the very man who, some ten years later, taught Leland Romani at half-a-crown a lesson. If so, and judging from *The English Gypsies*, p. 49, Mrs. Cooper must have died in 1863. She evidently spoke better Romani than her husband.

The Coopers, for Mrs. Cooper took a share in the task of instruction, used a few inflections, but as a rule the verbs are given in the imperative, and the longest sentences are:—*Tchéeně pěnóv*, but *ádráy gěúm*, 'I said nothing, but in I went,' and *Thínkěsónvā mándjys tchávnyj* was *ádráy ódóí*, 'I thought my boy was in there.'

The following are specimens of their speech:—

- ángótáráh*, *angótérra*, the world. [G. *kérröv* it, boil (thou) it.
J. anglotarah, 'England': Leland, *kéttánáy*, alone.
Eng. Gs., 49, *anglaterra*.] *kindö*, wet.
ázée, heart. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 105-6, *kóosö*, a little.
see.] *kóshnyj* (French *j*), basket.
bávvin (*bivvin*), raw. *krállás*, king. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 50,
bítchilöm, I sent. 243, *k'allis*, *krallis*.]
bítchě, send thou. *krállásée*, queen.
bivljy, rich. *kréüh*, ant. [G. J. *creah*.]
bókrá-tchókköl, sheep-fold. ['cote' = *kurrö*, quart. [G. J. *stor kurry*, 'gal-
'coat' = *čška*.] *lon*.']
bóngö, crooked. [G. J. *bongo*.] *kúshnyě*, basket.
bóngöšy, offences. [? *bongo zī*, 'wicked *lákkö*, greedy.
heart.'] *móoshnyj tchávnyj*, male child.
búgnj (*búggönös*), small-pox. [Leland, *müllinj müktö*, coffin. [Leland, *Eng.*
Eng. Gs., 51, *bugni*.] *Gs.*, 58, *mullo mokto*.]
bürk, breast. *mützě*, skin.
děštö hörjy, eighteen pence. *učähs*, finger-nails.
dikken, to look. *núkkjys kair*, your house.
divyä, crazy. [G. J. *deviai*.] *pápäners*, geese. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*,
dörj, string, stay-lace, navel. [G. J. 239-40, *pappni*.]
dori.] *páträn*, bit of grass for sign. [Leland,
dosh, harm. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 51, 257, *Eng. Gs.*, 180, 230, *patteran*.]
dush, *düsh*.] *pěnóv*, say you.
dúrrälě, garden. *pishüm*, bee. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 106,
érrähs, legs: *vardo's érraws*, cart- 223, 232, *pishom*.]
wheels. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 67, *plóchtähs*, sheets. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*,
herrec.] 219, *plächta*.]
gádlö, shirt. *póbbikö tan*, orchard.
gélánj, guinea-fowl. [Wright, *Dic- poodj*, bridge, stairs. [G. J. *poodga*.
tionary of Obsolete and Provincial Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 50, 67, *purge*,
English, gelany Suffolk dialect.] *purgis*, 'road.']
hüff (č), woman's cap. [G. J. *hoovah*.] *póokěřigónyähs*, guinea-fowls: because
jinělv, cunning. [G. J. *genella dustah*.] they say 'Put me into your
jóovjy tchjy, female child. [G. J. *juve- bag*.]
kenna, 'female.']
júvähs, lice. *pötán*, tinder.
káirdö mass, cooked meat. *póyähs*, feathers. [G. J. *povah*.]
kändö mäš, stinking meat. [Leland, *prastěllä*, [it] runs.
Eng. Gs., 229, *kaun*, *kannelo*.] *prónglě*, fork. [Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New
kánnös, ears. [G. J. *kannau*.] Series, ii. 178.]
kássig, quick. [? *ker sig*.] *säp*, snake. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 230,
kájy (French *j*), silk. [Leland, *Eng. sap*.]
Gs., 228, 258, *káshno*, *kúshni*, *sárlěr*, morning.
'silken.'] *savěllä*, he laughs.
shellö, string, rope, halter.

- shîn*, small. [Crofton, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 47, *shim*, 'small,' 'inferior.' De Rochas, *teino*; Baudrimont, *tino*; Borrow, *chînoró* (Pott, ii. 204), 'small.' For *shîn* = *čîn*, see Mik., vii. 33.]
- shîndě livînô*, small beer. [Cf. *shindo*, 'wet,' in Leland, Palmer and Tuckey's *English-Gipsy Songs*.]
- shâd*, vinegar.
- soom*, smell. [G. J. *soong*. Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 229, *soom*.]
- spouks*, matches. [Cant. Crofton, *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 47, *spôngo*.]
- stógûs*, stack. [S. & C., *stughi*. Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 102, *stoggus*.]
- tallîno tchókkers* or *túnô tchókkěr*, flannel petticoats. [See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 95.]
- tar*, to tear. [? *tarder*, 'pull.']
- táunô ráunŷ*, turkey (from its gait). [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 208, 239, *râni chillico*.]
- tchěllôsé*, whole. [*tchěllô se*, 'it is whole.']
- tchítchě pěnóv*, say nothing.
- tchítchě sáslô*, nothing was.
- tôog, tûg*, trouble. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 214, *toob*, 'amazement.']
- trâshně*, faggot. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 25, *trushnî*, 'faggot,' 'basket.']
- tshăllôkô*, bird. [G. J. *charklar*. Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 19, 175, 203, 213, 218, 227, 231, 255, *chălliko*.]
- tshâmber*, hill.
- înłô*, vexed. [Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 107, 144, 176, 215, 242, 254, 256, *hunnalo*.]
- văllân*, bottle. [G. J. *vallin*, pl. *val-lah*.]
- vártŷ*, to watch.
- vîk*, side.
- věndŷâhs*, bowels.
- yórkô*, rich : *yórkě jûval*, money-making woman. [Cf. Borrow's 'Yocky Shuri' and *yokki jûva*, both in *Lavolil*.]
- yújers* (French *ŷ*), flowers. [G. J. *rushaw*. Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 106, 123, 223, *rooçhers*, *ruchers*, *ruchas*.]
- This was considerably better than anything Mr. Norwood had collected previously, and the quality of the Coopers' words is illustrated by the following list of genitival nouns. The forms are mostly good, but the beginning of the modern tendency to misuse suffixes is seen in the renderings of 'returned transport' (i.e. 'convict'), 'moon,' and 'hops':—
- bávavělsgrô*, broken-winded horse. [G. J. *bevalengro*, 'fan.']
- bearéngro*, ship-man.
- bîsher'd párděl éngřô*, returned transport.
- boshaméngry*, fiddle. [G. J. *boshu mangra*.]
- dândŷbuléngry*, pepper.
- dělámángro*, kicking horse.
- doodâmésgrŷ*, moon. [Roberts, *duldramangru*, 'lantern.']
- drabéngro*, doctor. [G. J. *dravingro*.]
- faréngro*, faggot. [G. J. *cosh faringo*. ? fire-*engro*.]
- îndŷtéméngřô*, Ireland-man. [G. J. *hîngdo*, 'Ireland.']
- jînnâ-méngry*, letter, epistle.
- kăkăvîngřô*, tinker. [G. J. *cacavingra*, 'brewing-copper.']
- kan-éngro*, hare.
- kân-éngřŷ*, ear-rings.
- kěllô mészěr*, dancer.
- kîstěrmángřŷ*, cart, coach. [G. J. *kîsta mangra*.]
- kobbînéngro*, cook.
- kôorô ménegro*, soldier. [G. J. *coro musgro* or *misgro*, 'flail.']
- livvânŷ mészgra*, hops.
- móotâméngřŷ*, tea.
- nokéngřô*, snuff, glandered horse.
- piaméskro*, drink.
- prâstermégro*, policeman : *vardo's prâstermégros*, cart-wheels.
- săkkěrvâmángřŷ*, show.
- stârrâmángřô*, prisoner. [G. J. *staral-misgro*, 'gaoler.' Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 65, *staramangro*, 'prison.']
- tchînnâméngry*, letter, epistle.
- tóvâmésgrô*, washing-tub.
- vardéngro* *wash*, miller.
- văsténgřâs*, gloves, handeuffs.
- yogéngro*, gun-keeper.

The next accessions to the vocabulary were obtained 'From a talk with George Bluett (so he gave his name), a Yorkshire Gipsy, born under Scarbro' Castle, "a real thorough-bred-un" as he looked and described himself—in Stanhope Street, 22nd October 1860.'¹ From him Mr. Norwood 'seemed scarcely to learn . . . any new words; but set down these scraps of talk, as follows.' These scraps of talk throw a little light on the character and history of the man. 'Kooring sent him to Beverley *Stárrápän*'; but he learned his lesson from experience, and declared '*Mandř coms to keep my vástjys to my kókkěró, and then my mōōj's open to sóřv mšsh.*' 'Bluett was thirty-four, a *drabengro* (physician), rat-catcher, dog-stealer, umbrella-mender, scissors-grinder: he named "*drabengro*" in a low whisper. He said his great-grandfather came from Egypt in King Pharaoh's time.' It was inevitable that a man of such lineage and such talents should traffic in magic arts, and it is therefore without surprise that we find him explaining to his reverend pupil that 'The "Key to Agrippy" . . . *pěns tátshöpen.* He says it can be bought in London for thirty-five shillings; and, if he had it, his fortune were made. It can ensure the love of women, and bring back transported persons. It is the only book that tells *tátshöpen*; the rest are *hókkänös.*' Doubtless he explained to the inquisitive *rašai* that he was temporarily in need of a little pecuniary accommodation to enable him to purchase this wealth-producing work: and doubtless the *rašai*, deeply regretting that, at the moment, he was unable to oblige him, suggested an application to some benevolent friend; for at the end of the interview, Bluett remarked, 'regarding his intended visit to Mrs. and Miss Blunt,' 'I can't *jaw* without *tútě dels mandř a bíttě cōrváh* out of *tutj's vást to del* to them *ráwnjajs.*'

'If he says true,' wrote Mr. Norwood, 'there is no "deeper Romany" than his; and I find it quite familiar and intelligible.' But Mr. Vain-confidence did not say true. In fact he occasionally said things that were deliberately false, as when he gave *bébbj* for 'sister,' *pěn* for 'aunt,' *bibengro* for 'brother,' *rášah* for 'gentleman,' *tchöng* for 'arm,' and declared that *Anglotúra* was 'a *lubny* on the *gav.*' Some of his words he admitted to be cant, his Romani was not deep enough to drown a mouse, and, to use his own expression, he '*rokker'd* like a *gry.*'

¹ Simson describes a family of English Gypsy potters named Blewett, from the neighbourhood of Darlington, whom he met at St. Boswell's fair (*History of the Gipsies*, p. 93).

The following may be taken as samples of his vocabulary :—

<i>beshéngry</i> , year.	<i>kútěr</i> , pound [money].
<i>bivolí</i> , rich.	<i>márlj</i> , farthing.
<i>čáphjł</i> , horse.	<i>molson</i> , ass.
<i>čóngree-ry</i> , clergyman.	<i>mül</i> , wine.
<i>darr</i> , to sting.	<i>müsh</i> , umbrella (Cant.).
<i>dárrömengro</i> , snake.	<i>nóm</i> , nine (?).
<i>dóorük</i> , tell fortunes.	<i>octo</i> , eight (?).
<i>dóoshópén</i> , hurt, damage.	<i>páppjén</i> , duck.
<i>gáddö</i> , shirt.	<i>póóvunj</i> , onion.
<i>kérrímüs</i> , doom (doing).	<i>rokéngry</i> , letter.
<i>kessick</i> , mare.	<i>šimmáméskřj</i> , pawn-shop.
<i>krees</i> , saddle.	<i>with</i> , nineteen.

This trafficking with the Yorkshire Gypsy was distinctly a declension from grace, a backsliding, a wandering into By-path Meadow from the strait road which led to Romani undefiled. But our pilgrim quickly set his heart toward the high-way and recovered the path from which he had strayed. The next five pages of his note-book record interviews with Mrs. Cooper, presumably his old friend. '7 November 1860. The *Romani Dy*, Mrs. Cooper *velled* to *mandj's kër* to-*divvus*, to *rokker Romani*, *te lel a curru o' livnő*. *Yoi dell'd mandi covval lávvös akj*.' '13 November 1860. *Yoi velled ápóplí cóvváh sáwłö tã panned cóvyáh tachš lavyřw to mándí*, jolling *dár ávráj kállákó*.' At the end of these lists are some words and phrases 'From Mrs. Cooper in March 1860,' copied perhaps from another note-book.

If it be true that Gypsies always consider their own relations the best surviving professors of the ancient tongue, then Mrs. Cooper must have been born among the Lockes and Smiths,—*Péddlě-éngřös*, 'from *péddlě-éngřö*, a worker in iron,'—for she called them *póóříně Rómáně fólkěně*, 'real Gypsy people,' and described them 'as speaking the best Romany and living in Oxfordshire.' She used correctly a few inflected verbs—*dikóvvě*, *jěnóvvě*, *pěńóvvě*, *rokkeréssa*, *šhěnéssă*, and *dikéllü*—and, not always correctly, a few pronouns: *mándí*, *mansa* (in *šhěnéssă mansa*?¹ 'do you hear me?'), *tákě*, *tútě*, *yoi*, *yov*, *lesti*, *lestö*, *len*, and *léngě*. But her idiom was curiously inconsistent, and she was evidently trying to talk deeper Romani than was her custom. Three times in these vocabularies *nássěr* is recorded for 'find,' yet she gave *nášer'd bök* for 'lost luck.' She seems to have translated the four consecutive numerals which begin with seven by *efta*, *okto*, *nóm*, and *děsh*;

¹ The termination *-sa* may, however, be here nothing more than English 'sir.'

yet she thought *shūv* meant 'twenty.' Her longest sentence was 'Hokki see the *meilors ādré* the *drūm*; *mandi* must *jol pāllēr* 'em; *mandi* can track their *peerōs*, and we could *peer* 'em;' she improvised the following circumlocution for 'umbrella'—*brishnēļō kēr pardel mandi's shērrū*; used such expressions as *jas tūkē*, 'go you away,' and *hātsh a wóngīsh*, 'stop a minute';¹ called her husband's family, the Coopers, '*grjōs kistērméngrōs* (*ίππόδαμοι*)'; and gave an interesting little list of seven place-names: *Bāwłō-tēm*, 'Ham-p-shire'; *Kōshnī-tēm*, 'Bark-shire'; *Lūllī-gāv*, 'Reading' (red-town); *Lūn-gāv*, 'Bristol' (salt-water-town); *Lūndrū* and *Lóndrēs*, 'London'; *Stárrābān-gāv*, 'Gloucester'; *Wéshnō-tēm*, 'Dean Forest.' She also described a wife's duties as *sūvving* and *tóovving*, 'sewing and washing'; and, as was proper, repeated to the *rašai* her nightly prayer:—*Mī decvī Dúvvuléstī, káir šīg shūvēssā mándī*; *dāy mandi zēē ādrāy tútīs tēm*, 'My dear God, make haste, hear me; give me heart (life) in your kingdom.'

Of the words which Mr. Norwood obtained during these interviews, the following are examples:—

<i>ādrāl</i> , along. <i>Sūvving ādrāl</i> the <i>baw</i> , 'sleeping [along the hedge]': also rendered 'to,' 'towards,' 'before'; <i>ādrāl</i> the <i>tarnaw jāvjāv</i> , 'before the little girls.'	<i>kānser</i> , corner. [Leland, <i>Eng. Gs.</i> , 106, <i>kunsus</i> , 'end.']
<i>āpāllō</i> the <i>baw</i> , under the hedge [cf. <i>J. G. L. S.</i> , Old Series, i. 47, <i>pāllōv</i> , <i>pāllōva</i> , 'after,' 'behind.']	<i>lādī</i> , shame.
<i>bēshāméngrj</i> , saddle.	<i>lujēllō</i> , ashamed.
<i>bōshāméngrj</i> , fiddle.	<i>lūllī</i> , farthing.
<i>bārrādēr</i> , more.	<i>mēerī</i> , my.
<i>drāvōn</i> , loud. [Leland, <i>Eng. Gs.</i> , 41, <i>drován</i> , 'loud.']	<i>nūggū</i> , our.
<i>fērrādēr</i> , better.	<i>pāllēr</i> , after.
<i>hókkī</i> , <i>yókkī</i> , see, look [exclamation].	<i>pāndērméngrō</i> , pinder.
<i>hāfer</i> , cap (man's or woman's).	<i>pāndērméngrj</i> , pinfold. [Leland, <i>Eng. Gs.</i> , 66, <i>pāndamum</i> , <i>pāndapenn.</i>]
<i>jāddāfēr</i> , apron. [Leland, <i>Eng. Gs.</i> , 66, <i>jellico.</i>]	<i>pōōrāpēn</i> , <i>pūrrōbēn</i> , funeral.
<i>jīnnāméngrō</i> , postmaster.	<i>rāzļō</i> , strong. [Leland, <i>Eng. Gs.</i> , 245, 246, <i>ruzli</i> , <i>ruzlo</i> : but 29, 31, 177, 243, 254, <i>surrelo.</i>]
<i>jīnnāméngrj</i> , letter.	<i>sāv</i> , laugh.
<i>kānnū šīg</i> , presently (<i>kānāv</i> 'now' and <i>šig</i> 'soon').	<i>sē</i> , is.
<i>kērrōv</i> , do thou (imperative).	<i>shōkáh</i> , <i>shōxáh</i> , gently, gentle.
<i>kókkēl</i> , bone.	<i>spenton</i> , cream. [S. and C., <i>smēnting.</i>]
<i>kommē</i> , more.	<i>sūvvālay</i> , swear. [Leland, <i>Eng. Gs.</i> , 29, <i>sovahalled.</i>]
<i>kóorīnē</i> , blisters.	<i>tātschīnō mūsh</i> , true man.
	<i>tshōng</i> , curtsey.
	<i>vārrāgāws</i> , [? chains].
	<i>yékkērās</i> , once.

At this point despondency seems to have overtaken Mr. Nor-

¹ Cf. Leland, *Eng. Gs.*, 20, 205, *hatch a wongish*; and F. W. Carew [A. E. G. Way], *No. 747*, p. 65, *hatch a rongish*.

wood; Giant Despair held him captive. He realized that the Anglo-Romani vocabulary was small, the grammar lost, and the dialect corrupt. It seemed that he had obtained all that he could reasonably expect from English Gypsies; that nothing further of any importance was likely to be gained by persevering in his search; that his pilgrimage was ended. So he wrote: 'This vocabulary probably contains, up to this point, close upon five hundred *separate* words, more or less, which I have myself collected orally at the tents of the Romany, mostly from the Cooper family, who do not seem to use many more than these,' signed his name, and closed his Gypsy note-book.

Probably the book would never again have been opened, unless to abstract material for use in one of the Gypsy lectures Mr. Norwood occasionally delivered, and he might have continued to wander blindly among the tombs of dead vocabularies, had it not been for a chance meeting 'at "Aunt Sally" on the racecourse at Cheltenham, 15 April 1863.' There, attracted by some words of Romani which he overheard, he made the acquaintance of Edwin Buckland, an 'old Jewish-looking man [who had] lived in a house to 27 Æt.: born at Charlbury in Oxfordshire: no Gypsy blood: ¹ m.[arried].' The interview was *the* event of Mr. Norwood's life, for Buckland spoke an inflected Gypsy dialect immeasurably more perfect than anything he had previously found, the dialect of his dreams, the dialect he had sought vainly for many years. His gratitude was unbounded, and found dignified expression on every opportunity. He dedicated his annotated copy of Smart and Crofton's *Dialect of the English Gypsies* to him, and illustrated it with examples of his conversation:—' *Kékkö kerdüm javrö kövdav 'drü méerü mérripën*: E. B. (A most dear old man!).'—' *Rómädüm Rómáni javäl bööt béshäv ago. Yek Boswellündi. Cómädüm lä misto*, said dear old Edwin Buckland to me at Cheltenham, April 16th, 1863, in my garden in Park Place. He was then seventy-five, a good and sad old man, not born a Gipsy, but speaking Romani very

¹ This statement seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Buckland's assertion, 'I was not a Gipsy all my life.' He may not have lived a Gypsy life in his young days, but the evidence of his baptismal register will convince most people that he was born a Gypsy:—'Edward, son of Edward and Paradise Buckland, Travellers, Aug. 1, 1790.' The Rev. Julius D. Payne, who most obligingly sought out and sent this extract from the Charlbury registers, also tells me that 'the outlying parts of this parish were, and are still, largely of Gypsy origin. Finstock, Leafield, and Ramsden all have migrants of this kind: and Charlbury in a less degree.' Groome (*In Gipsy Tents*, p. 119) mentions a gravestone at Belbroughton, Worcestershire, 'Erected to the memory of Paradise Buckler, who died 5th January 1815, aged 13 years,' and describes her funeral.

deeply and easily. I think of him with great respect and regret.' 'Kekke shúmmäs drü stárräbän drü mē mērrpēn. Poor old Buckland, in 1863.' Among the notes of an interview in the same year he records, 'This poor old man has much fine feeling and right principle—no savage he! It distressed him that I had not saved him old clothes as I promised.' But most touching of all, and most significant testimony of Mr. Norwood's love for the children of Little Egypt and his enthusiasm for their mysterious tongue, is the simple and beautiful entry at the end of his first conversation: 'Thank God for such a measure of good fortune as this was.'

Deep Anglo-Romani is so rare that the whole of Buckland's words and phrases are here reproduced and indexed. His dialect was not as perfect as the Welsh. The pilgrim had not reached the kingdom for which he was bound; but he had entered 'the country of Beulah, whose air was very sweet and pleasant,' 'met with abundance of what he had sought for in all his pilgrimage,' could even 'hear voices from out of the city,' and, drawing nearer, obtain 'yet a more perfect view thereof.' As he wrote himself, Buckland spoke 'by far the purest Gipsy that I have ever heard, as this will prove.'

I. From Edwin Buckland, Æt. 75, not a Gipsy. [15 April 1863.]

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ánnig; a well. | 20. grj jállü drúvön; the horse goes fast. |
| 2. mässúr; a manger (mässóor). | 21. they are rómúde kētness; married together. |
| 3. tóltúlárdéús; a crow. | 22. the dínle gorje dikénnä äjéw; the foolish fellows stare so. |
| 4. kawlö tehírröcló; a blackbird. | 23. ókkü ö grj ochtäs párdel j bāer, draj j pōōv; jöl lēl ö grj ávrée j pōōviártj; look, the horse has jumped over the hedge into the ground; go fetch the horse out of the ground (field). |
| 5. koorómágro; a soldier. } | 24. dínlē fókl jinénnä tchítshē; the fond folks know nothing. |
| 6. kooróméngro; a pugilist. } | 25. grásnj; a mare. |
| [omitted] the sun. | 26. mándi jinóvü; I know. |
| 7. shäl; the moon. | 27. jássä kēttj congrée; you go to church. |
| 8. kätü dívrvö tün; at that place. | 28. kikké shúmmäs Rómánó sör meer mērrbēn; I was not a Gipsy all my life. |
| 9. sar shän pälü; how are you, brother? | 29. kadj poiĵ (Fr. j) níkkäs; a silk neckerchief. |
| 10. míshö döstö pärákáw tut; very well, I thank you. | 30. dívrvö görjü sē náshüöl; that man is hanged. |
| 11. bish; twenty. | 31. j prástērméngry (or grjāw prástēr- |
| 12. dēsh; ten. | |
| 13. pōōrö görjü; 100 (an old man). | |
| 14. Lárvánü tēm; Wales. | |
| 15. dāĵ (da) mōn shōch hórj; give me sixpence. | |
| 16. I used to kērröb bóotj; do work. | |
| 17. kánnä shúmmäs tárnö, I used to jiv . . . kērrástj; when I was young, I used to live in a house. | |
| 18. ádóí véum kállákáw; I came there yesterday. | |
| 19. géum kēttj Lundra, véum páulé; I went to London and came back. | |

- méngrj*) *vënn äpóplí* next *bësh*; the races will come again next year.
32. *pënnähäw*; nuts.
33. *dikdas*; he saw.
34. *kinnö*; tired.
35. *dikdum boot dívvasáv*; I have seen many days.
36. *boot müshäw vënnä mottë kërátë*; many men will be drunk to-night.
37. *sar jivënnä*; how do they live?
38. *dóokódám mán*; I have hurt myself.
39. *doosh*; hurt.
40. *móngömüs*; begging.
41. *lóorömüs*; picking pockets.
42. I shall *dóokóvó mán*; I shall hurt myself.
43. *míshó dikéllá ö tëm: dóostó pobbó cóvó bësh*; the country looks well: plenty of apples this year.
44. I *këk jínáv*; I don't know.
45. *dikënnä së(-i) dinnäláy (-la)*; they look as fools.
46. *jínëssá so se 'soov'*; do you know what is 'needle'?
47. *tchávrö*; a plate.
48. *póssërméngrij*; a fork.
49. *këk pias* (pronounced *pious*); no fun (play).
50. *pässóvvä*; I think.
51. *loor pützjäv*; to pick pockets.
52. *dändj kóshótö öpráy*; bring the stick[s] up.
53. *dívjë mándí dívrvö*; reach me that.
54. *vóvvä kállákó*; I will come to-morrow.
55. *tchóorö*; poor.
56. *äkj shünmüs* last *bësh*; I was here last year.
57. *j prástërméngrij se pardel*; the race is over.
58. *málláv*; tin.
59. *dúrrák*; to tell fortunes.
60. *kóoráké*; Sunday.
61. *kér sig*; make haste.
62. *öpráj se línó*; he is taken up.
63. *këk o póggäd tchitsché*; he has broken nothing.
64. *jínëssá ky*; you know where.
65. *këdán*; done.
66. I shall *vav* to *téerö kër kállákáv*; I shall come to your house to-morrow.
67. *këk díás lís*; he did not strike it.
68. *dël*; to strike.
69. I will *döv lís*; strike it.
70. *wüssërdám të dëüm lís ävrée*; I threw and struck it out (at Aunt Sally).

II. Edwin Buckland apopli, Æt. 75, 16 April 1863.

71. *tshiv öpráy stárdée, shünnö (?) shërrä vellü shívrö*; put your hat on, . . . your head will be cold.
72. *tchiv ö skámmän to bëshöv äcláy*; put the chair to sit down on.
73. *mírsállj*; a table.
74. *bürrädër*; more, greater.
75. *góoränë*; a cow. }
76. *góoränäv*; cows. }
77. *drüvvön tárnö*; very young.
78. *stáwr kárrákáy*; four weeks, a month.
79. *vënd*; winter.
80. *ö kám*; the sun.
81. *door párdil ö bittó gáv*; far beyond the little village (Prestbury).
82. *dívjöö*; cracked [sic], insane.
83. *léski náv*; his name.
84. *këkkö kerdám jávrö kóvó* in my *mërríbën*; I never did such a thing in my life.
85. *këkkö dikdám*; I never saw.
86. *ruvver*; to wear.
87. *ruvveress*; you wear.
88. *póoränée kállávüs*; old things (clothes).
89. *javva (à jol)*; I shall go. Buckland says 'I shall jöv.'
90. *müdevrül lël tüt*; God take care of you.
91. I shan't *vöv kërrj* till *rátë*; I shan't come home till [night].
92. *rómädám Rómänë járväl bóot bëshäv* ago; I married a Gipsy woman many years ago.
93. *yëk Bóswëlländj*; one of the Boswells.
94. *rómädás kërüknee röklée*; he married a house-woman.
95. *cömmáv lü mistó*; I love her well.
96. *lës*, him.
97. *lën*, them.
98. *vëän kätär mándí kánnä rökkërdám dóoj trin läváv*, as soon as you *shünán*, to *shünöv säw pënnóvvä*;

- you came to me when I spoke two or three words, as soon as you heard, to hear what I said.
99. to *vël mücklõ* till *vórvvü pällü lëstï*; to be left till I come after it.
100. *péeröövóvvü lã*; he courts her.
101. *peerénnü kënuëss*; they walk together.
102. *pórröövën*; to exchange.
103. *porrostó*; buried.
104. *kóoshkõ Rómänö rökkërpén*; good Gipsy talk.
105. *rökkërpén, rökkërmüs*; conversation.
106. *Ängötërrä*; England.
107. *lël lïs*; take it.
108. *tcheev ö söllërvädrüs öpráy gráskõ shërrü, te tcheev ý bóshitõ öpráy gráskõ dätmó, may (ma) jóvvü ävrée*; put the bridle on the horse's head, and put the saddle on the horse's back, I will go out.
109. *këkkõ shümmüs drü stárräbän drü my mërrýpën*; I was not in prison in my life.
110. *kánnä véssä këtü tan*; when do you come to the tent?
111. we shall *jássü kálläkö*; we shall go to-morrow.
112. *müstó süttäm*; I slept well.
113. *shülrö divvüs*; cold day.
114. *báväl pädüllüs*; the wind blows about.
115. *kën sig to jän ädrü kër ävrée bish-änéstý*; make haste to go into the house out of the rain.
116. else *kindée ävénna*; else you will get wet (plural).
117. *lökkõ däd tẽ lökký daë (dïc) sis Rómäné*; her father and mother were Gipsies.
118. *lökkõ däd sẽ górvjü, te lökký daë sis Rómäné*; [her father] is [a non-Gypsy, and her mother] is [a Gypsy].
119. *jávrü cöváv*; anything.
120. *ríggërlás páwli te kërrü (l) same tan apópli kë landas (or lussas) away*; carry it back to the same place again where you took it away.
121. *mooklás boot tchávvy pällü lëstï kánnä sis moolée*; she left many children after her when she was dead.
122. *sör därvó sẽ tätschõ kë pändän möngë*; all that is right which you told me.
123. *shülrée vénnü tat (l) ätshän ävrée*; they will be cold if they stand out.
124. *këklý pjáv kek lívvinö*; I never drink any beer.
125. *sörée rváv rüvénnü dállü (?) stárdiäv äjav*; all the gentlemen wear those (round) hats; but
126. *këklý rüvváv lën mái (ma)*; I wear them not.
127. *pënnä dävváv läv äpópli*; (for) *kek jináv mai sav pënnëssä*; [say that word again for] I [do not know what you say].

III. Edwin Buckland called 26 October, 1863.

128. *ókkü, tü píeäpén*; your health (the expression in pledging a health).
129. *sär këdán* this *bávrö hërrýg*; how have you done this great while?
130. *ký gëän, kánnä gëän ävrée?* where did you go, when you went out?
131. *vëssü mänsä*; will you go with me?
132. *shäm to jav to pírröv ävrée*; I am going to walk out.
133. *ävrée shäm to jóvvü*; I am going out.
134. will you *pírrüs mänsä*; will you walk with me?
135. *ký shän* since *díkdäm tüt?* where are you since I saw you?
136. *höchövellü yöv*; he lies.
137. *Ullävengrö gáv*; Leicester.
138. *därvó sẽ tätschõ läv*; that is the right word.
139. *door*; far.
140. *kánnä jássü ävrée*; when do you go out?
141. *boot drämmáv*; a long way.
142. *ký kishütäsü*; where shall you ride?
143. *kóshkino*; wooden.
144. *jav shükár*; go gently.
145. *lay*; take (imperative).
146. *eev*; frost.
147. *ö shäl*; the moon.
148. *ö kám*; the sun.

149. *bōot bishčnó vėllāmén* (to us); we shall have much rain.
 150. *drúvėčn švėll šėš kėrsáwtš, j bávval pódđas mėštó*; it was very cold this morning, the wind blew much.
 151. *švėll šė*; it is cold.
 152. *kėkkó kėrdām jávró čváv drū mėrė mėrėpėn*; I never did such a thing in my life.
 153. *trėn dėšhāv tchávėváv*; (I have) thirty (grand-) children.

IV. Edwin Buckland, 2 June 1864.

154. *mėn*; me.
 155. *mėn* (?); us.
 156. *māj*; I.
 157. *mávřó*; our.
 158. *kóppá*; blanket.
 159. *tš*; and.
 160. *mavřó tšn*; our tent.
 161. *rávřus*; heaven.
 162. *mš dėvėvėl*; my God (*mš* = *mėvró*).
 163. *Hėnditėm*; Ireland (*h* very guttural).
 164. *Hėnditėmėgė gorgėc*; Irishmen (*ch*).
 165. *O Lávřávň tēm*; Wales.
 166. *tállál*; below.
 167. *pállál*; behind.
 168. *pėás*; fun (*pye-as*).
 169. *jėssš*; so as. }
 170. *čjáv*; so. }
 171. *Āngótėrř*; England.
 172. *čšn šhán tš*; who are you ?
 173. *kėk jėnóvčá vút*; I don't know you.
 174. *dávėó šėš tėvró đád*; that is your father.
 175. *jėnóvčá lėš*; I know him.
 176. *šė dėvėvėš*; it is daylight.
 177. *dávřálėštó*; godly.
 178. *kėrdó*; done.
 179. *šan*; you are.
 180. *jassa*; you go.
 181. *comessa*; you like.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

- áčláy*, down : 72.
áčóí, there : 18.
áčrú, in : 115.
drš : 109, 152.
draj, into : 23.
čjáv, so : 22, 125, 170.
čkj, here : 56.
čmėn, to us (in *vėllāmėn*) : 149.
mėn, us : 155.
 [and-, to bring.]
ánlėj (imperative) : 52.
āngótėrř, England : 106.
āngótėrř, 171.
ānnėg, a well : 1.
ápóplė, again : 31.
apopl : 120.
ápópl : 127.
 [átsh-, to stand.]
átshán, they stand : 123.
 [av-, to come, become.]
vóvvá, I shall come : 54, 99.
vav : 66.
vřv : 91.
vėssš, thou comest, or wilt come : 110, 131.
vėllá, it will come or become : 71, 149.
vėl : 99.
ávėnna, you will become : 116.
vėnná, they will become : 36, 123.
vėnn, they will come : 31.
vėvum, I came : 18, 19.
včán, thou camest : 98.
ávřéc, out, out of : 23, 70, 108, 115, 123, 130, 132, 133, 140.
bávřál, wind : 114, 150.
būwř, hedge : 23.
bávřó, great : 129.
bėrrádėr, more, greater : 74.
bėšh, year : 31, 43, 56.
bėšháv, years : 92.
 [besh-, to sit.]
bėšhřv : 72.
bóshřv, saddle : 108.
břsh, twenty : 11.
břshėnó, rain : 149.
břshánėštėj (prepositional) : 115.
břttš, little : 81.
boot, many : 35, 36, 121; rendered 'long' : 141.
bōot, many : 92; much : 149.
bōotėj, work : 16.
bóswėllėndėj, of the Boswells (ablative) : 93.
 [com-, to love.]
čšmmáv, I love : 95.
comessa, thou likest : 181.

- eön*, who : 172.
congré, church : 27.
 [da-, to give, strike.]
döv : 69.
děl : 68.
děúm, I struck : 70.
días, he struck : 67.
dāj (da), give (imperative) : 15.
dād, father : 117, 118.
dād, 174.
daē (die), mother : 117.
daē : 118.
děsh, ten : 12.
trín dëshāv, thirty : 153.
děvvāl, God : 90, 162.
dävülestö, godly : 177.
 [dik-, to see.]
dikellä, it looks : 43.
dikěnnā, they stare : 22.
dikěnnā, they look : 45.
dikdum, I have seen : 35.
dikdám, I saw : 85.
dikdām, I saw : 135.
dikdas, he saw : 33.
 [dínj-, reach.] [Cf. Ješina *dínđ'árav* (man
ovri), ich strecke mich aus.]
dínjě, reach (imperative) : 53.
dinnáláy, fools : 45.
dínlěē, fond : 24.
dínlě, foolish : 22.
dívvas, day : 113 ; daylight : 176.
dívvasáv, days : 35.
dívvjö, insane : 82.
 [dook-, to hurt.]
dóokövó, I shall hurt : 42.
dóoködúm, I have hurt : 38.
door, far : 81, 139.
doosh, hurt : 39.
dóostö, plenty : 43.
dóstö, very : 10.
dóoj trin, two or three : 98.
drämmáv, roads : 141.
drávvoñ, fast : 20 ; very : 77, 150.
dümó, back : 108.
 [dúrrük-, to tell fortunes.]
dúrrük : 59.
dúvvö, that : 8, 30, 53.
düvvó : 122, 138, 174.
ädüvváv (in *pěnnā düvváv lāv*) : 127.
düllö, those : 125.
ee, the (plural article) : (in *sörée rjáv*)
 125.
ř (plural article) : 31, 57, 52 (in *ándř*).
ř (oblique article) : 23, 108.
ř (fem. article) : 150.
eev, frost : 146.
fókl, folks : 24.
gáv, village, town : 81, 137.
góorăně, cow : 75.
góorăněđw, cows : 76.
górjř, man : 13, 30 ; non-Gypsy : 118.
gorjě, fellows : 22.
gorgée, men : 164.
grásnj, mare : 25.
grj, horse : 20, 23.
grj, 23.
gráskö (genitive) : 108.
grjáv, horses : 31.
hěrrjg, while (in *bávřö hěrrjg*, great
 while) : '129 [really 'leg' : cart's
 legs are 'wheels' : whence 'while.']
 [hin-, to care.]
híndř (participle) in *híndřtěm*, Ireland :
 163.
híndřtěmřgě, Irish : 164.
 [hěchö-v-, to lie.]
hěchövdllě, he lies : 136.
hórřj, pence : 15.
 [is-, verb substantive.]
shám, I am : 132, 133.
shán, thou art : 9, 135, 172.
shan, you are : 179.
sě, is (singular) : 30, 118, 122, 138,
 151, 176.
se : 46, 57, 62.
sě (-v), are : 45.
shámnuš, I was : 17, 28, 56, 109.
sis, was : 118, 121.
sřs : 150, 174.
sis, were : 117.
 [ja-, to go.]
jóvvā, I go or shall go : 108, 133.
jovva : 89.
jöv : 89.
jav : 132.
jássā, you go : 27, 140.
jassa : 180.
jállř, it goes : 20.
jöl (for imperative) : 23.
jol : 89.
jássā, we shall go : 111.
jān, you go : 115.
gěum, I went : 19.
gěān, you went : 130.
jav (imperative) : 144.
jássā, so as : 169.
jávřö, such : 84, 152.
jávřā, any : 119.
 [jin-, to know.]
jínóvvř, I know : 173, 175.

- jinóvvā* : 26.
jináw : 44.
jináw : 127.
jinéssā, thou knowest : 46, 64.
jinénnā, they know : 24.
 [jiv-, to live.]
jiv : 17.
jivénnā, they live : 37.
jívā, woman : 92.
kadj, silk : 29.
kállákó, to-morrow : 54, 111.
kállákáw : 66.
kállákáw, yesterday : 18.
kám, sun : 80, 148.
kánnā, when : 17, 98, 110, 121, 130, 140.
kātār, to : 98.
kātā, at : 8.
kētj : 27.
kētj : 19.
kētū : 110.
kawló, black : 4.
ke [= *aka*], this.
kērātē, to-night : 36.
kérsáwló, this morning : 150.
kē, which : 122.
kēk, no, not : 44, 49, 63, 67, 124, 173.
kēk : 127.
kēklj, never : 124.
kēklj, not : 126.
kēkkó, never : 84, 85, 109, 152 ; not : 28.
kér, house : 66, 115.
kérrj (locative) : 91.
kérrāstj (prepositional) : 17.
kérukué, house-dwelling : 94.
 [ker-, to do, make.]
kérrōb : 16.
kérdám, I did : 84.
kérdām : 152.
kédán, you have done : 65, 129.
kér (imperative) : 61.
kēn (imper. plural) : 115.
kérdó, done : 178.
kínūš, tired : 34.
kérrā, ? : 120.
kétnēss, together : 101.
kétnēss : 21.
kéndē, wet (plural) : 116.
 [kisht-, to ride.]
kishtāšā, you shall ride : 142.
 [koo-, to fight.]
koorōmágro, soldier : 5.
koorōménegro, pugilist : 6.
kóorāké, Sunday : 60.
kúrrākáy, weeks : 78.
kóoshkō, good : 104.
kóppā, blanket : 158.
kóshťó (plural), sticks : 52.
kóshkino, wooden : 143.
kšvó, thing : 84.
cōváv : 119, 152.
cōvvō, this : 43.
kálláws, things : 88.
kj, where : 130, 135, 142.
kj : 64.
kē : 120.
la. See *yoi*.
láv, word : 127, 138.
láváv, words : 98.
lávānā tēm, Wales : 14.
lávānō tēm : 165.
 [le-, to take.]
lél, may he take : 90.
lél (for imperative) : 23, 107.
lussas, you took : 120.
landas, you took : 120.
lay (imperative) : 145.
línó, taken : 62.
les. See *yov*.
lívōnō, beer : 124.
 [loor-, to steal.]
loor : 51.
lōorōmāš, picking pockets : 41.
lundra, London : 19.
mai, I : 127.
mái (ma) : 126.
may (ma) : 108.
māj, 156.
mān, me : 38, 42, 154.
mōn, to me : 15.
māndī, to me : 53 ; for nominative : 26.
mēndī (prepositional) : 98.
mōngě, to me : 122.
mānsā, with me : 131, 134.
maurō, our : 160.
máwrō, our : 157.
mēerī, my (oblique case) : 152.
meer : 28.
mū (= *mēerō*) : 162.
mū (in *mādēvvāl*) : 90, 162.
mērrībēn, life : 28, 84.
mērrīpēn : 109, 152.
mšsállj, table : 73.
mšhtō, well : 10.
mšhtó : 43.
mšto : 95.
mštó : 112, 150.

- [*mong-*, to beg.]
móngõmäs, begging : 40.
- [*mook-*, to leave.]
mooklás, she left : 121.
múcklõ, left : 99.
- moolle*, dead (fem.) : 121.
- motté*, drunk (plural) : 36.
- mülláv*, tin : 58.
- müshāw*, men : 36.
- müssár* (*müssóor*), manger : 2 [cf. De Rochas, *Les Parias de France*, p. 296, *Ecurie, Musur*. ?Lat. *mansura* > *masura* > Fr. *masure*, 'ruin,' 'hovel,' 'hut'; Ital. *masseria*, 'casa di lavoratori'; Sp. *maseria*, *masade*. There is also a Spanish word *masera* meaning 'kneading trough.']
- [*nash-*, to hang.]
náshádõ, hanged : 30.
- nāv*, name : 83.
- õ*, the : 23, 43, 72, 80, 81, 108, 147, 148.
o : 165. See also *ee*.
- [*ochter-*, to jump.]
ochtäs, it has jumped : 23.
- õkkü*, look, behold : 23, 128.
- õpráy*, up, on : 52, 71, 108.
- õpráj* : 62.
- pälá*, brother (vocative) : 9.
- pállál*, behind : 167.
- pállä*, after : 99, 121.
- [*parak-*, to thank.]
päräkáv, I thank : 10.
- párdél*, over, beyond : 23, 81.
- pardel* : 57.
- [*päss-*, to think.] [i.e. *patser-*, to believe.]
pässóvvä, I think : 50.
- páulée*, back : 19.
- páwlí* : 120.
- [*pën-*, to say.]
pëñóvvä, I say : 98.
- pëñessä*, thou sayest : 127.
- pändän*, you told : 122.
- pënn* (in *pënnä düvváv lāv*), say (imperative) : 127.
- pënnähāw*, nuts : 32.
- [*péerõv-*, to woo.]
péerõvõvvä, he courts [I am courting] : 100.
- [*pi-*, to drink.]
pjáv, I drink : 124.
- péäpén*, drink : 128.
- pīas* (*pious*), fun : 49.
- pūs* (*pye-us*) : 168.
- [*pīr-*, to walk.]
pīrrõv, I will walk : 132.
- pīrräs*, will you walk : 134.
- pëerënnä*, they walk : 101.
- pobbó*, apples : 43.
- [*pogger-*, to break.]
põggüd [= *põggü'd*], broken : 63.
- poj nikkäs*, neckerchief : 29.
- póorõ*, old : 13.
- póoränée*, old : 88.
- põõv*, field : 23.
- póovíartj* (prepositional), 23.
- [*porrov-*, to bury.]
porrostó, buried : 103.
- [*pórrõv-*, to exchange.]
pórrõvën, to exchange : 102.
- [*posser-*, to prick.]
póssërmëngrj, fork : 48.
- [*praster-*, to run.]
prästërmëngrj, race : 57.
- prästërmëngrj*, races : 31.
- [*puđ-*, blow.]
püdüllüs, it blows : 114.
- póoddas*, it blew : 150.
- pützjäv*, pockets : 51.
- räklée*, woman : 94.
- rárvüs*, heaven : 161.
- rátë*, night : 91.
- kérátë*, to-night : 36.
- [*rigger-*, to carry.]
riggër (imperative) : 120.
- [*rõkker-*, to talk.]
rõkkërdüm, I spoke : 98.
- rõkkërpén*, talk, conversation : 104, 105.
- rõkkërmüs*, conversation : 105.
- rómänó*, a Gypsy : 28.
- rómäné*, a Gypsy woman : 118.
- romané*, Gypsies : 117.
- rómänö*, Gypsy (masc. adj.) : 104.
- rómänë*, Gypsy (fem. adj.) : 92.
- [*rõmer-*, to marry.]
rõmädim, I married : 92.
- rõmädús*, he married : 94.
- rõmädee*, married (plural) : 21.
- [*räv-*, to wear.]
ruvver : 86.
- rävväv*, I wear : 126.
- ruvveress*, you wear : 87.
- rävënnü*, they wear : 125.
- rjáv*, gentlemen : 125.
- sar*, how : 9, 37.
- sär* : 129.
- sávlõ*, morning (in *kërsávlõ*) : 150.
- shërrü*, head : 71, 108.
- shill*, cold : 150.

- shill* : 151.
shilrǔ, cold : 71.
shilrǔ : 113.
shilrǔe (plural) : 123.
shǒch, six : 15.
shǎkár, gently : 144.
shǎl, moon : 7, 147.
shám. See *is*.
 [shun-, to hear.]
shúnǒv : 98.
shúnán, you heard : 98.
shúnǎǒ, ? : 71.
sig, haste (in *kér sig*) : 61.
sig : 115.
skámmǎn, chair : 72.
so, what : 46.
sǎw : 98.
saw : 127.
sǎllǔrvǎhrǎs, bridle : 108.
soov, needle : 46.
sǎr, all : 28, 122, (in *sǎrǔe rǎjúw*)
 125.
 [sov-, to sleep.]
sǎttǔm, I slept : 112.
stǎrdǔe, hat : 71.
stǎrdǔǎǎ, hats : 125.
 [starr-, to confine.]
stǎrrǎbǎn, prison : 109.
stǎwǎr, four : 78.
tǎǎ, and : 159.
tǎ, 70, 117.
te : 108, 118.
tǎllǎl, below : 166.
tǎn, place, tent : 8, 160.
tan : 110, 120.
tǎrnǒ, young : 17, 77.
tat (?), if : 123. [in *tat átshǎn*, read *te átshǎn*.]
tǎtschǒ, right : 122.
tǎtschǒ : 138.
tchǎvǎvǎj, children : 121.
tchǎvǎvǎw, children : 153.
tchǎwǎrǒ, plate : 47.
tchǎrrǒclǒ, bird : 4.
tchǎtshǎe, nothing : 24.
tchǎtsché : 63.
 [tchiv-, to put.]
tehev : 108.
tchiv (imperative) : 72.
tshiv : 71.
tchǒorǒ, poor : 55.
te = English 'to' : 120.
tǎerǒ, thy : 66, 174.
tǎ, thy : 128.
tǎm, country : 14, 43, 163, 164, 165.
to (Eng.), ? for *te*, 'that' : 72, 98, 99, 115,
 132, 133.
tǎllǎlǎrdǔés, crow : 3.
trǎn, three : 153.
trǎn : 98.
trǎn dǎshǎw, thirty : 153.
tǎ, thou : 172.
tǎt, thee : 90, 135, 173.
tut : 10.
ullǎvǎngrǒ gǎv, Leicester : 137.
vǎnd, winter : 79.
 [wǎssǎr-, to throw.]
wǎssǎrdǎm, I threw : 70.
yǎk, one : 93.
 [yoi, she.]
lǎ, her (accusative) : 95, 100.
lǎkkǒ, her (gen. masc.) : 117.
lakkǒ : 118.
lǎkkǎj (gen. fem.) : 117.
lǎkkǎj : 118.
yov, he : 136.
o, he : 63.
lǎs, him : 96.
lǎs, him, it : 69, 175.
lǎs, it : 67, 70, 107.
lǎs (in *rǎggǎrlǎs*) : 120.
lǎskǎ, his : 83.
lǎstǎ (prepositional) : 99, 121.
lǎn, them : 97, 126.

NOTES AND QUERIES

19.—THE REV. JOHN PARKER

The Gypsy Lore Society lost an enthusiastic member by the death, on November the 14th 1909, of the Rev. John Parker, Minister of St. James's Parish Church in Glasgow. He collected Anglo-Romani, the Scottish Tinklers' Cant, and Shelta, and had translated the parable of the Prodigal Son and the Lord's Prayer into the first of these dialects for the use of his Gypsy friends. It is not only in his professional capacity that he will be missed by the Glasgow colony, for he acted as their friend and adviser, and was ever ready to champion their cause by writing letters to the newspapers.

20.—BORROW'S GYPSIES—ADDENDA

During the Christmas vacation I had the good fortune to be able to discuss my article on Borrow's Gypsy friends with such ancient and well-informed *Romaničals* as Īza Herne, Esau Young (Herne), Oscar Boswell, Joshua Gray, and Lūrēni, widow of Kenza Boswell. They confirmed almost all my information, and told me several things which I had not heard before. The following are a few additions which could not be made in the article itself.

Sanspirella Herne, wife of Ambrose Smith (B. 8), went to America after her husband's death. There she fell in with two of her brothers whom she had not seen for fifty years, and travelled with them until her death.

Fāden Smith (B. 10) married Alice Penden, a *bāri rāni* from London, who fell in love with his handsome person. He died in Dublin, where some of his children may still be found. Sarah, the wife of Johnny Cooper (C. 21), was cousin to Alice Penden.

Būi Brown, husband of Lydia Smith (B. 13), and Tom Brown, husband of Lydia Cooper (C. 22), were really Hernes, grandsons of 'owld Dick' Herne. The mother of Poley Mace was their sister.

The children of Poley Mace and Deláia Smith (C. 8) were Dōna (D. 36), Melbourn (D. 35), and two more daughters. Dōna married Gus Gray, a son of Squire Middleton and Emily, daughter of Ōseri Gray and Eliza Herne. The other two girls married Charlie Mitchell the fighter and Eugene Stratton.

It appears that some of the Gypsies who lived in Borrow's day were such excellent 'mare-breakers' that they could live in comfort with two or three wives at the same time. They generally preferred sisters or relatives of some kind. In *Romano Lavo-Lil* there is a long account of Ryley Bosvil and his two wives, Shuri and Lura, but Joshua Gray gave me the names of four — Shūri, Lūi, and Hagi Smith (who were three sisters), and Lucy Boswell the sister of Wester.¹ Charlie Pinfold was also the husband of three sisters at the same time, and, in addition to that, he had children by his own daughters. Nābai Herne lived at the same time with 'Crowy' and her sister Greenleaf ('Kidney'), whilst his father Richard also had two wives at once, by whom he had eleven sons and a large number of daughters.

This Richard Herne ('owld Dick') had a relation called Newcombe, who made laws for the Gypsies, and enforced them. They related to the behaviour of the *Romaničals* amongst themselves, and were known as Newcombe's Laws. What they were exactly I have not been able to ascertain, but they must have been more

¹ See Smart and Crofton, *Dialect of the English Gypsies*, p. 253.

or less complete, as they included a law regulating the behaviour of Gypsies whilst playing cards.

Īza Herne remembered a few lines of a *Romani gili* 'Jal-in' to *Kāngri Kurki Sīla* composed by Borrow, but it did not seem to be of much interest.

T. W. THOMPSON.

21.—W. L. BOWLES AND THE GYPSIES

The writings of William Lisle Bowles are very little read now, and his chief claim to remembrance is that his verses awakened the divine fire in Coleridge. In his *Villager's Verse Book* there is a short description of

The Gipsy's Tent

When now cold winter's snows are fled,
And birds sing blithe again,
Look where the gipsy's tent is spread,
In the green village lane.

Oft by the old park pales, beneath
The branches of the oak,
The watchdog barks, when, in slow wreath,
Curls o'er the woods the smoke.

No home receives the wandering race ;
The panniered ass is nigh,
Which patient bears from place to place
Their infant progeny.

Lo ! houseless o'er the world they stray,
But I at home will dwell,
Where I may read my book and pray,
And hear the Sabbath-bell.

This poem is one of a series designed to be learned by heart by the poor children of his parish, who were gathered on the parsonage lawn by the poet's wife in the summer. A pleasant picture !

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

22.—ONIONS AND EGGS

'There are in this country many faraons, or gypsies, supposed to be real descendants of the antient Egyptians. They are said to resemble the antient Egyptians in their features, in their propensity to melancholy, and in many of their manners and customs : and it is asserted, that the lascivious dances of Isis, the worship of onions, many famous Egyptian superstitions and specifics, and the Egyptian method of hatching eggs by means of dung, are still in use among the female gypsies in Temeswar.' (*A new system of modern geography . . .* by William Guthrie. A new edition. London, 1782, 4to. Chapter on Hungary, pp. 478-9.)

Curious customs certainly ! And I have never heard of them being ascribed to the Gypsies before. With regard to the onions, Juvenal (xv. 9) says the Egyptians were forbidden to eat them, ('Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu'), and they are reported to have been excluded from an Egyptian table. The prohibition, however, seems only to have extended to the priests, who, according to Plutarch (*de Is.* §§ 5 and 8), 'abstained from most kinds of pulse' ; and the

abhorrence felt for onions, according to the same author (§ 8) was confined to members of the sacerdotal order.

There is a description of the Egyptian method of hatching eggs in Wilkinson's *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 245-9.

FREDERICK C. WELLSTOOD.

23.—THE EGYPTIAN LEGEND

The British Consul in Boston, Mr. Blunt, gave me an interesting account of the Gypsies in the Salonika district. He was born in Salonika, and passed seven years of his life there, part of the time as Vice-Consul. He and the Consul were greatly interested in the race, and often studied and talked with them, not only in the city, but also on shooting expeditions, and when travelling about the country. They had a Polish clerk, who made a special study of the Gypsies, and used often to go for four to six weeks at a time to live with them. He had written a large amount of manuscript for a book on the subject which he intended to publish. Unfortunately, the Pole ultimately went off with them, and never returned. Neither he nor his manuscript was ever seen afterwards.

Mr. Blunt had also lived in India, knew Hindustani, and found a great number of Gypsy words he understood. They were like Hindustani. These three gentlemen for years investigated the whole question on the spot where Gypsies are most numerous. Some of their views will be interesting, and should not be brushed aside without consideration.

They thought that just as *Rum-elia* in Turkish signifies 'Rum land,' so it was Gypsy land, the Gypsies having been there so long that they regarded it as their home. Hence they called themselves *Rum*.

The words *Güpti*, *Gübtü*, *Yifti*, *Güpti*, by which Gypsies are designated by others there, are simply 'Copts,' 'Egyptians.' The Gypsies' language, and most of the Gypsies themselves, never came from Egypt. Why they were so-called there, and there only, always puzzled Mr. Blunt. He had read up the history of the region. The only account he could find of Egyptians ever coming there was that of those with the army of Xerxes. According to Herodotus he had an army of over two million fighting men, and as many camp-followers, men and women. They were from Egypt, from the Indus, and from all parts of the immense Persian empire,—settled people and nomads,—just the class to survive as outcasts when left behind by Xerxes in his sudden retreat. Mr. Blunt often used to say when gazing at Mount Athos near him, 'It must be that these beggars are the descendants of the relics, the dregs, the "left overs," of the labourers who were brought to dig that canal, and also of the camp followers of Xerxes' army.' What other explanation can there be for the fact that this particular district has crowds of Gypsies, more than anywhere else in the world? What other explanation is there for the word 'Gypsies'? I was not prepared to admit that his theory was true; but, if true, it would clear up many things not yet explained.

Several other scholarly men living in Persia, Asiatic Turkey, and Egypt, who have carefully considered the Gypsy question, have independently made the same suggestion as to 'left overs' of Persian and other armies. Some suggest that, when the Arabs devastated Persia in the seventh century, many thousands of Gypsies must have been driven into the Byzantine Empire to earn a livelihood. There was no business for them afterwards in Persia. They could no longer earn their bread there by their trades, their arts, and their tricks. Some remained behind, but most of them were practically compelled to leave the country. It is true that large districts, at least, of Persia, from being a rich, luxurious, populous empire, became a wilderness, and deserted ruins.

I do not wish it to be understood that I accede to any of these views or theories, and they cannot now be discussed. They are all, however, entitled to

careful, respectful consideration as the opinions of scholarly men who have studied the matter in the east, live there, and realise many things Europeans never think of. And they all have a bearing on the word *Rām, Rōm*; whether it means 'Roman' or came from some district east of Asia Minor.

It is a fact that the common tradition in Macedonia, Salonika, Albania, and this whole district, is that the Gypsies there came from Egypt. Mr. Blunt, the Rev. Messrs. House, Bond, and Thomson, and many others, so state. I have often been told by Hungarians of south-west Hungary that people there call an indefinite region 'down there' 'Little Egypt,'—'People go down into "Little Egypt" to buy cattle and other animals, and there are crowds of Gypsies there.'

A. T. SINCLAIR.

24.—A HUNGARIAN GYPSY TZIMBAL-PLAYER

A Romany Tzimb-al-player called in April 1909 at my house in Allston (Mass.), U.S.A., to see if I could assist him in securing an engagement. We spent four pleasant hours together, and he was delighted to find some one in Boston who could talk Romani with him. The dialect he spoke was somewhat different from any I had heard, although we found no difficulty in conversing together. I jotted down some words and phrases which may be of interest for comparison with other dialects, and also in settling the derivation of some words. For example, he used *pírí* (Eng. Gyp.) for 'feet.'

He was born in a Gypsy village near Ępěryěš, Hungary, and lived there until sixteen years old, when he came to New York. All the inhabitants of his village were Gypsies, and all the men were musicians. Gypsy was the only language spoken there. He knows a little Hungarian, still less English, and no German. His wife, a non-Gypsy (*gájí*) girl, whom he married here, was a Slovanian, so that he now speaks that language. At home he knew only Gypsy. It is an interesting case of a genuine *Romano gar*, where twenty years ago all were Gypsies who spoke solely the *Romani Chib*, and were musicians. A particularly bright and intelligent man, he was very precise about the exact sound of every letter, and corrected me if I said *Gárjō*, not *Gájō*. 'Kár,' he broke in, 'was like the *ai* in "hair," not *e*,' etc. Some words are plainly Slovanian and Hungarian, but it has seemed to me best to give these, as they, or at least some of them, are used by other Gypsies. His word for 'foot' was *píndrō*, but he knew some Gypsies used *pírō*, *prō*, and Servian Gypsies *píurō*. In New York, where he lived for seventeen years, he met other Gypsy musicians from different sections; and he had references to show that he had performed, 'to their great delight,' before the Astors and other aristocratic families. His list of words for musical instruments is the most complete I have yet seen, but some of these have clearly a non-Gypsy origin.

A few facts about his life are given in phrases which he used. There is an old town, Eperies (pronounced Eperyesh), twenty miles north of Kaschau, and 187 miles north-east from Buda-Pest. Gypsy ideas of locality are often uncertain, and I could not learn from him where his village was situated.¹

Our conversation was carried on in Gypsy, since we had no other language known to us both. I understand Slovanian, but cannot speak it, and Russian he could not understand. He was very anxious to aid me in getting every sound and word exactly correct, because he evidently enjoyed it, and also was anxious for *bíti* ('work'). He varied the accents occasionally, and the forms of words, saying that both forms were used. The local dialects in Syria and Egypt differ even in

¹ The Gypsy settlement at Eperies is mentioned by Grellmann. *Historischer Versuch über die Zigeuner*, Zweyte Auflage, Göttingen, 1787, pp. 56 and 70.

different parts of the same large city (see Meyer's *Arabischer Sprachführer*, p. x.), yet all understand one another. So it is with the Gypsies of south-eastern Europe. From a vocabulary of one district one might suppose it was very different from that of another section. But, as a matter of fact, the *Romane* in the whole region converse easily, as I have often heard them do. They say themselves 'there is no trouble; only a little different.'

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, ETC.

<i>bāgōvā</i> , double bass.	<i>lāvūtārā</i> , musician. pl. <i>lāvūtārī</i> .
<i>būmbārdā</i> , tuba.	<i>pēdlā</i> , pedal.
<i>chōkānōs</i> , tzimbal-hammer. pl. -ī.	<i>pikālā</i> , flute.
<i>dōbā</i> , drum.	<i>pōstōfkā</i> , bridge of violin.
<i>dāmō</i> , violin-back.	<i>tārtōvōs</i> , tail-piece of violin.
<i>gāidā</i> , bagpipe.	<i>trōmbētū</i> , cornet.
<i>gītārā</i> , guitar or mandoline.	<i>tāfkī pikāla</i> , fife.
<i>hārā</i> , violin-string. pl. <i>hārī</i> .	<i>tzimbālmaī</i> , tzimbal.
<i>klārnētā</i> , clarinet.	<i>t-zīterā</i> , zither.
<i>kōlkōs</i> , violin-peg. pl. <i>kōlkī</i> .	<i>vōmōs</i> , fiddle-bow.
<i>lāvātā</i> , violin.	<i>zārā</i> , hairs on bow.
<i>lāvūtākō pēr</i> (<i>pār</i>), belly of violin.	

At his home he had never seen a bagpipe, tambourine, castanets or kobza. He insisted that the czardas was a genuine Gypsy dance.

NUMERALS

<i>yēk</i> , one.	<i>ēnīā</i> , nine.
<i>dāi</i> , two.	<i>dēsh</i> , ten.
<i>drīn</i> , three.	<i>dēsh ū yēk</i> , etc.
<i>shtār</i> , four.	<i>bīsh</i> , twenty.
<i>pānch</i> , five.	<i>bīsh ū yēk</i> , etc.
<i>shōf</i> , six.	<i>trīāndā</i> , thirty.
<i>ēftā</i> , seven.	<i>shtār-vā</i> (or <i>vār</i>) - <i>dēsh</i> , etc.
<i>ōchtō</i> , eight.	<i>shēl</i> , a hundred.

VOCABULARY

<i>ādā</i> , this.	<i>bārō</i> , a stone.
<i>ādāī</i> , here.	<i>bēng</i> , devil.
<i>ākānēk</i> , now.	<i>bī-bāxhtālō</i> , unhappy.
<i>āndrō</i> , egg. pl. <i>āndrē</i> .	<i>bōf</i> , oven.
<i>āngāl</i> , before.	<i>brīshnūt</i> , rain.
<i>āngārā</i> , coals.	<i>brāshlīkōs</i> , vest.
<i>ānggrāshō</i> , finger.	<i>būl</i> , behind.
<i>ārō</i> , flour.	<i>chāmō</i> , cheek.
<i>āsāl</i> , he laughs.	<i>chār</i> , grass.
<i>āsāv</i> , I laugh.	<i>chāvōrī</i> , girl.
<i>āvārdī</i> , or <i>āvā dārdī</i> , come here.	<i>chāvōrō</i> , boy.
<i>bābā</i> , grandmother. (Sl.)	<i>chēkat</i> , forehead.
<i>bāchīs</i> , uncle. (Sl. <i>bāchīk</i> .)	<i>chīb</i> (<i>ō</i>), tongue (the).
<i>bāyāzī</i> , moustache.	<i>chīkā</i> , a sneeze.
<i>bākrō</i> , sheep.	<i>chīkāvāv</i> , I sneeze.
<i>bāl</i> , hair. Pl. <i>bālā</i> .	<i>chīngjērāv</i> , tear.
<i>bālēvās</i> , pork, bacon.	<i>chīrīklō</i> , bird.
<i>bālō</i> , pig.	<i>chīvāv</i> , throw, put.
<i>bār</i> , garden.	<i>chōkānōs</i> , hammer.

- chōr*, beard.
chōrdō, thief.
chōrō, poor, not rich.
chāmā, a kiss.
chāmādāv, I kiss.
chāngyā, saliva.
chāngyādāv, I spit.
chārī, knife,
dāi, mother.
dānd, tooth. Pl. *dāndū*.
dāt, father.
dēl, God.
dīnēlō, fool.
dōrī, rope.
drōm, street.
fōrōs, city.
fūsīllī, stocking.
gājō, fem. *gājī*, a non-Gypsy.
gāv, town.
gērēkōs, coat.
gōrgōrīs, throat.
grāi, horse.
grāsūi, mare.
gārūf, ox.
gārūvūi, cow.
hōlōf, trousers.
hārāv, leg.
χāl, eat.
χārkhōmā, copper.
χāsāv, cough.
χīnāv, evacuate.
īndrāvāv, doze, slumber.
jākēl, dog.
jāvli, woman.
kāχūi, chicken, hen.
kākātōs, rooster.
kālō, black.
kāmāshlī, shoes.
kān, ear.
kānākēs, now.
kānglī, comb.
kās, hay.
kāsh, wood, a stick. Pl. *kāsh*tā.
kēlēl, a dance.
kīkō, bright green.
kīnō, tired.
kōkōlōs, bone, elbow.
kōrō, blind.
kūl, faeces.
kāvā, thing.
lāchīpēn, truth.
lāv, word.
lōpāki, shoulder-blade.
māchō, fish.
mārō, bread.
mūs, meat.
mēk, until. (Hung.)
mēn, neck.
mīrō, *mīrō*, *mī*, my.
mālō, dead.
mālyāv, die.
māmēlī, candle.
māmēlō, candle.
mātēr, urine.
mātērāv, urinate.
nāiyā, finger-nail. Pl. *nāiyē*.
nīnā, aunt. (Sl.)
ōdā, that.
ōdōi, there.
pābē, apple.
pāchāv, I believe.
pāpīn, duck.
pāpīrōs, pepper. (Hung.)
pāpūs, grandfather. (Sl.)
pār, silk.
pārkhōs, mountain, hill. (Sl.)
pārūō, white.
pārō, heavy.
pārānō, beau.
pāshālkā, knee.
pōgērāv, break.
prāchōs, ashes. (Sl. *prāch.*)
pūrt, bridge.
pārām, onion.
pūs, straw.
quīlkā, flower. (Sl.)
rāklī, girl.
rāklō, boy.
rāt, blood.
rātyī, night.
rōvāv, cry.
rāchkā, handle. (Sl.)
rājūō, flower. (Sl.)
rākōnō, dog.
rāp, silver.
sāmārēs, donkey. From Arabic through Turkish or some other language.
sāstō, healthy.
shārgō, blue.
shērō, head.
shāklō, (? *shātō*), sour.
shānkā, ham. (Sl.)
shūt, vinegar.
skāmīn, chair.
slūgārdyīs, soldier. (Sl.)
smārūs, cream. (Sl.)
sōmnākāi, gold.
sōvāv, I sleep.
sōvēl, he sleeps.
strōmās, tree. (Sl.)

sānō, a dream.
sānōjāv, I dream.
sāv, needle.
tāisā, to-morrow.
tīrō, *trō*, *tī*, thy.
tōvāv, I wash.
trāst, iron.
trāstūnō, adj. iron.
tūt, milk.
tzīpā, skin.
vārākāi, somewhere.
vārēkās, anybody.
vārēkō, somebody.

vārēsō, or *vārēsō*, something.
vāst, the hand. Also, the whole arm.
vēsh, wood.
vōlī, shoulder.
vōlnā, wool. (German *Wolle*.)
vūsh, lip. Pl. *vūsh**tā*.
yāg, fire.
yāk, eye. Pl. *yākā*.
yēdnālī, same.
zārā, eyebrows, also hair on arms.
zēlōnā, green. (Sl.)
zīlō, vein or sinew.
zīlō, yellow. (Sl.)

VERBS

mē sōmās, I was.
tū sālās, you were.
ōf (or *ōi*) *sālā* (1), he (she) was.
āmēn sāmās, we were.
tāmēn sāmās, you were.
ōdālā sās, they were.
mē āvā, I will be.
tu āvēhā, you will be.
ōf āvēlā or *ōvlā*, he will be.

āmēn āvāhā, we will be.
tāmēn āvēnā, you will be.
ōdālā āvēnā, they will be.
ōlyōm, I have been.
ōlyāl, you have been.
ōlyā, he has been.
āvlyōm, I have come.
āvlyāl, you have come.
āvlyā, he has come.
āvlē, they have come.

PHRASES

mē bāshāv yēk chārdūshīs. I play a czardas.
mē jānāv tē kēlēl. I know (how) to dance. The infinitive, he declared, always ended in *-ēl* or *-ēn*, never in *-āv* or *-ēs*. Cf. Finck, *Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner* (Marburg, 1903), p. 9; and Gilliat-Smith, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 134.
sāvō nāv 'n ālē kēlēskē? What is the name for that dance?
sō 'n ōdā? What is that?
mē āhālyāvōv ōdā. I understand that.
dē mān tūkrētā dānōs. Give me a little tobacco.
tē gilyāvēl mīshētē. To sing well.
chī (if) *tū jānēs rōmānēs dāmā tē vākērel?* Do you know how to talk Gypsy?
 Any infinitive can end either in *-ēl* or *-ēn*. He said that *dāmādāv = vākērv*.
 So I infer that *dāmā = rāmā = rōmā = 'Gypsy.'* Perhaps *dāmā = Slavice dāmā*, idea, thought.
nānū lāchō. It is not good.
ōf kāmēl rōmānē. He likes Gypsies.
sānō dāklyōm. I dreamed.
kōmū hānjōl māsū (Sl.) *tē hānjāvāv*. When it itches, I must scratch.
ō grāi rāgīnjās lēs chāvōrēs. The horse kicked the boy.
ōlē chāiā. The girls.
vākēr lōkēs. Talk low.
āv sīk. Come quick.
āch dēvēlēhā. Remain with God! (Parting salutation.)
jās dēvēlēhā. Go with God! (Parting salutation.)
lāchō dēvēs (or *jīvēs*). Good day!
dēl ō dēl lāchē tō sārā. God give you good this (early) morning! *sārā = Eng. Gyp. sālā = Turkish and Kurd sālām*, a common word in salutation. I have often heard Kurds pronounce it exactly *sālā(n)*.

láchi rátyi. Good night.

ānglachániko mánušk. An Englishman.

jánšs tē gáwēl? Do you know (how) to read?

čuggédin mángě. Excuse me.

ávóv pátē. I (will) come back.

sávóri vákėrdi (also -c) *rómáněs.* All talked Gypsy.

kári ānd c āngrikō. At home in Hungary.

sávóri lává. All words.

kétsi órá in? What hour is it?

in mēn shákār píránī. I have a pretty lady-love.

mē sōm amėrikáte (or *amėrikátěstē*) *bish bārsh.* I am in America twenty years.

jáněs várėkās kō dīamádēl rómáněs? Do you know anybody who speaks Gypsy?

mē sōm tráundū shōf bārsh. I am thirty-six years (old).

āngal bishē bārshēndē. Twenty years ago.

ávėr bārsh. Another year.

sávóri hāvútári in kėri. All are musicians at home. *in = 'is' = hin = hī = sī* in other dialects. He always used *in* or *in* for *sī*, 'is.'

shívėv sávákhā. I sew with a needle.

kėlāv līlā. I play cards.

shāndyām vārėso. I have heard something.

páchāv chī tū sāl rómánđinō. I ask if you are married.

kétsi chávė in tákė? How many children have you?

in mándē drin chávė, gėk chāi. I have three boys and one girl.

mē sómās vch bōstōnōstē. I was yesterday in Boston.

mē áváš báxítálo tē bāshávēl várėkái. I should be happy to play somewhere.

jánvōv ápp' ē lāvátálo tē tzdēl (draw, scrape). I know (how) to play on the violin.

jáněs ápp' ē tẓimbálmū tē mārēl (strike). Do you know how to play on the tẓimbal?

sō (and sū) vichíněs ódá rómáněs? What do you call that in Gypsy?

kōmpēl tē jāl ávri: ává tēlė sėk. I want (need) to go out: I come down quick.

pėn mángě cháchėpėn, sāl tū róm? Tell me the truth, are you a Gypsy?

kétsi bārsh sāl tū amėrikátátē? How many years are you in America? -*átē* is properly locative, 'in a place': -*estē* 'to a place.'

ályal tá ádá? Were you born here?

mē sōm amėrikánō rómánō rái. I am an American Romano Rai.

nánī róm. I am not a Gypsy.

sávó náv in tákė? What is your name?

stėfán tálcjā (Tuleja). *mē ályōm (ólyōm) epėryėshťátē āngal tráundū ū shōf bārsh.*

Stefan (Ishtwan) Tuleja. I was born in Eperyesht thirty-six years ago.

mī rómni in bōstōnōstē. My wife is in Boston.

óti in slóvānkė gėji. She is a Slovanian non-Gypsy.

pálkėrāv tákė, bārč pálkėrāv. I thank you very much.

A. T. SINCLAIR.

25.—GYPSY EXECUTIONERS

The Gypsies have played a little part in the affairs of Turkey. According to an Armenian paper the three men employed to pull the ropes and kick away the chairs at the public hanging of rebel soldiers last week, were Gypsies; and they each received an English sovereign for their services.

BERNARD GILLIAT-SMITH.

May 8, 1909.

26.—THE POLLUTION OF STREAMS

In the beginning of May last year I went to pay a farewell visit to the family of Smiths who had been for nine months in Kendal. They had already begun

their journey and were encamped four miles out of town in a charming lane called Quakers' Lane, from a Friends' disused burial-place. It was haunted too,—‘There's *mulos* to be seen here of a *rati*. Look at that there horse: he *won't* stay up the lane: they never will, and often they comes down with a gallop.’ And I had a lesson in Gypsy cleanliness, for although there was a clear stream of pure water crossing the lane, I had to walk a good half-mile with one of the lads to another stream for a bucket of water, because, forsooth ‘when we was here three years ago some cousins of ours washed their hands in it with soap, so, of course, since then we haven't been able to drink of it.’

F. STANLEY ATKINSON.

27.—A TESTIMONIAL FOR TINKLERS

In his report for the year 1908, Mr. James Dawson, M.A., M.B., C.M., D.P.H., Medical Officer of Health for the county of Wigtown, makes the following statement:—

‘Special inquiry was also made at the request of the Local Government Board with reference to the following telegram received:—“Gang of tinkers encamped at Sorbie Schoolhouse; two medical men attending; trouble there unknown. Your immediate attention will oblige.” On investigation it was found that a child aged six years had fallen from the caravan, and was suffering from a fractured skull. I found it well cared for, clean, and improving rapidly. The parents were most grateful, and carried out any suggestions I offered as to their surroundings. It was well known what was the matter, and I thought it was nothing short of gross heartlessness that caused such a wire to be sent. Tinklers in their sphere are most attentive and kind to their children, and an object lesson to many others.’

A. M'CORMICK.

28.—DR. WILLIAM DODD AND THE GYPSIES

In Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's excellent book, *A Famous Forgery* (London, 1865). I find no mention of a remarkable incident which belongs—if indeed it ever occurred—to the earlier part of the career of the Rev. William Dodd, who was hung June 27, 1777, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

Dodd who was a ‘man about town’ as well as a clergyman, had forged the signature of Lord Chesterfield, whose tutor he had been, and George III., in one of his many stupid fits refused to pardon him, for no other apparent reason than that every one urged him to save the poor ‘Macaroni Parson’ from the gallows. It is a little curious that in one of Dodd's sermons he argues that ‘the frequency of capital punishment’ is ‘inconsistent with justice, sound policy, and religion.’

William West in his *Fifty Years Recollections of an Old Bookseller* (Cork, 1836, p. 27), makes the following statement:—

‘Several years ago, the Doctor and Mrs. Dodd went on a pleasurable jaunt to Bristol. Whilst they were there, it was usual with them to ride out in the morning for the benefit of the air, in the outskirts of the town. In one of these excursions they met a flock of gypsies who surrounded them, and begged they might lay open to them the future incidents of their lives.

‘Mrs. Dodd was for complying to their humour, not through any reliance upon their predictions, but merely to divert herself with a little harmless merriment. Accordingly she told the Sybil that she might begin her prognostications. The doctor, all this time, heard with silent disapprobation the researches of the old hag, who was trumping up a long string of fortunate events that were to happen to his wife. But when the dame had finished, and was going to proceed with a solution of the Doctor's destiny, he could no longer keep his patience: but in very

severe terms reprehended the insolence of the woman in interrupting him, and annoying his wife with a jargon of ridiculous stories. The gypsies, however, continued to entreat: the Doctor in a tone of anger, persisted in his refusal to hear a word of the pretended disclosure.

'Mrs. Dodd paid the gypsies something; the Doctor having had no consideration, they consequently had no demand upon him. One of the gypsies, when the chaise moved, bawled out, "since you will not give anything, I'll tell you your fortune for nothing. You seem to carry your head very high now, but it will be raised higher yet before you die, for you will be hanged." The Doctor was so far from paying any serious attention to what the woman said, that the same day he related the affair to Sir Richard Temple and his Lady, with whom he dined, in such a vein of ridicule and pleasantry, that it created no small degree of mirth among the company present.'

Apparently the incident did not pass out of his memory, for West also relates that when Dodd and his wife were crossing from Dover to Calais in a storm, he said to Mrs. Angelo and the other passengers, 'You may be assured that no harm will arise; for as *I* am to be hanged, *you* cannot be drowned.'

It is curious that Henry Angelo in his amusing *Reminiscences* has nothing to say, so far as I can ascertain, of the two incidents mentioned by West. From this we may suppose that the bookseller's account was derived from oral information. Assuming its correctness, there is nothing very remarkable in the encounter between Dodd and the Gypsy. It was a method of annoying the *gájo* parson that might readily occur to a Romany prophetess disappointed in her endeavour to extract money. A hundred unfulfilled prognostications go unnoticed, but the one that is realised excites the wonder and attention of the world.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

29.—AN EPITAPH

D'un Cingaro

Estinto giace in questa sepoltura
Un cingaro, che fece professione
D'indóvinar, ma al Regno di Plutone
Non credo che si dica la ventura.

Epitafiù giocosi e varii di Angelo Maria Del Priuli, Dedicati al Molt' Illustré Sig. Alessandro Bonis, In Venetia, et in Bassano, sine anno [Sec. XVII.] in-24, p. 9.

A. G. SPINELLI.

30.—A GYPSY SETTLEMENT IN LORRAINE

Behrenthal is described as a 'village de Pancienne province de Lorraine, situé sur le ruisseau de Zinselbach, . . . arr. de Sarreguemines, à 44 kil. S.-E. de cette ville, canton de Bitche, à 14 kil. S.-E., et à 118 kil. S.-E. de Metz.' After giving a list of its constituent hamlets and farms, and an account of its industries, the *Gazetteer* adds:—

'Depuis très-longtemps ce pays est peuplé de Bohémiens. Sept d'entre eux se sont fixés à Behrenthal, depuis que, poursuivis par les agents forestiers, ils ont renoncé à l'habitude d'errer dans les bois, où ils se construisaient des baraques tantôt sur un point, tantôt sur un autre, et toujours dans les lieux les plus solitaires et les plus sauvages de ces immenses forêts. En 1793, cette contrée étant devenue le théâtre de la guerre, beaucoup de Bohémiens s'en sont éloignés: ils étaient braconniers, se livraient à la mendicité, jouaient de divers instruments dans les auberges, dans les noces et dans les fêtes de village; ils dansaient même

d'une manière fort bizarre, et les femmes disaient la bonne aventure. Ils ne se mariaient point ; mais femmes, enfans, tout était en commun. Leur chef avait sur eux le droit de vie et de mort ; et si un Bohémien était soupçonné d'un crime dans le pays, ils n'attendaient pas que la justice le recherchât ; ils le fusillaient eux-mêmes : aussi jamais aucun d'eux n'a comparu devant les tribunaux. Mais ayant été obligés depuis 1803 de se choisir une demeure stable, le genre de vie de la plupart d'entre eux est entièrement changé. L'un est devenu propriétaire, un autre loue des terres et les cultive ; celui-là s'est fait cordonnier, plusieurs autres colporteurs de verres, de faïence. Les Bohémiens sont agiles, robustes, infatigables ; de grands yeux noirs et vifs animent leur physionomie, dont les traits sont souvent nobles et réguliers ; leur peau est très-basanée, parce que, dès l'âge le plus tendre, ils s'enduisent tout le corps de lard et s'exposent ainsi à l'ardeur du soleil. Les Bohémiens, connus aussi sous le nom d'*Égyptiens*, se nomment, en allemand, *Zigueners*, vagabonds, qui n'ont ni feu ni lieu, et dans le peuple, *Heiden*, païens, infidèles. Ils sont maintenant beaucoup plus nombreux dans le Bas-Rhin que dans le département de la Moselle.'

Statistique historique, industrielle et commerciale du Département de la Moselle, . . . publiée sous les auspices de M. Germain, Préfet de la Moselle, Officier de la Légion-d'Honneur, par Verromais, imprimeur-libraire et lithographe à Metz. Metz, 1844, 8vo. pp. 29-30.

H. GAIDOZ.

31.—FUNERAL LIBATIONS

Old Thorp, whom I met at St. Ives last April, camping near the cross-roads, is only a *poſſ-rat*, but his wife is a real *Romani*—one of the Hedges who travel London side, especially Kent and Essex. And Mrs. Thorp had an uncle who, as she told me, was very fond of a glass of ale, and whenever he had half-a-crown used to go and spend it in drink. This uncle died and was buried ; and at the funeral one of his pals chucked a half-crown into the open grave :—'Here, Jimmy,' he said, 'here's something for a drink on the way. And whenever I come this way, Jimmy my lad, I'll spill some ale on your grave to wet your whistle.' Which promise, Mistress Thorp assured me, he kept religiously.

T. W. THOMPSON.

32.—VISIONS AND DREAMS

A good many years ago one of Thorp's children was ill. He was taking the horse to the field when he saw a little black coffin dancing merrily along the road in front of him. If he stood still, it stood still. If he ran, it ran. Do what he would—shut his eyes, run away—he couldn't get rid of it. All the way to the field, and all the way back, the little black coffin danced merrily in front of him. When he reached the waggon they told him that his little boy had died just after he left.

The Kendal Gypsies tell me that the sign of death in their family is to hear two taps in their sleep, and then a sound like cockle-shells jingling. With the Thorps to dream that they were lousy, or that they saw eggs, presaged bereavement. To dream that their teeth were falling out was a sign of marriage.

T. W. THOMPSON.

33.—SIGNS AND OMENS

Before his marriage Thorp used to be very sceptical about omens, but experience has cured him of his heathenism. If there is one thing that he and his family dread more than another it is to see frog-spawn in a pond. It is the

unluckiest thing in the world. Three weeks before his eldest girl had seen some, and she had never taken a penny since. Two or three years ago he himself had 'the awfullest bad luck imaginable,' merely because he had looked into a pond and seen frog-spawn. At last he had to go back to the same place, walk past the pond without looking, and so break the spell.

The stoat is a pernicious creature. If one runs across the road in front of you, it means bad luck; if it stops to stare at you, it will be something very serious; but if you can kill it, then your bad luck changes to good.

If a robin follows the wagon, it is a sign of death, but by no means kill it or it will be one of your own family who will die. But the 'lonely old crow' is a kindly bird:—

'Lonely old crow—
See some one you know.
Fly to your right—
Sure to be right;
And if you are hawking,
Money afore night.'

T. W. THOMPSON.

34.—GYPSY HEAD-DRESS

In 1644, Boullaye Le Gouz, a Frenchman, traversed a great part of Ireland, and recorded that 'the girls of Ireland, even those living in towns, have for their head-dress only a riband, and if married they have a napkin on the head, in the manner of the Egyptians' (see his *Tour in Ireland*, published in 1837, by T. Crofton Croker; quoted in Wood-Martin's *History of Sligo*, 1603-88, p. 28).

H. T. CROFTON.

35.—ROOTS

Thomasius in his *Dissertatio Philosophica de Cingaris* (1671), § 67, describes the Gypsies as 'incantatores, præcipuè in compescendis magicâ arte ignibus,' and in note 8 (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 78), Professor Hoffmann-Krayer has mentioned their power to kindle fires in the midst of inflammable material without burning anything but what they wished to be burned. This power, according to Anhorn (*Magiologia*, 1674), they attributed to the natural properties of a root which they obtained from the mountains of Little Egypt. Another account of the *Feuerwurtzel* is given by C. B. L. M. V. R. in the first of his *Zwey nützliche Tractätlein* (1664):—

'Sie verstehen sich auch sehr wol auff die Krafft der Kräuter und Wurtzeln / brauchen aber darbey viel Aberglauben / Sonderlich mit ihrer Feuerwurtzel / welche sie an einen besondern Tag frühe vor Auffgang der Sonnen graben / durch einen gülden Ring unter sich ziehen / nachmals in ein besonder darzu gehörig Läplein wickeln / etliche Abergläubische / zauberische Wörter und Segen darüber protzeln / nachmals dieselbe an einen Ort stecken oder graben / und viel wonders damit treiben / welches wegen des gemeinen Pöbels (so oft mehr Lust zu solchen Abergläubischen Sachen) denn zu guten ehrlichen und zulässigen Künsten trägt / sich nicht wol schreiben lasset.'

Possibly among the wonders wrought by the *Feuerwurtzel* was the cure of diseases, for the above sentence is part of a paragraph which describes an ointment against vermin which 'hat gleichwol mancher Soldat und Handwerks Gesell von ihnen erlanget, und ist ihm sehr wol bekommen,' and refers also to Gypsy dentistry.¹ And the Gypsies of the past practised the art of healing even

¹ See also quotation from Minshew, *ante*, pp. 9 10, footnote 8.

on persons of high rank, as the following quotation from Thesleff's *Zigenare* (1904) kindly translated by Mr. Ehrenborg, will prove:—

'The Duchess Elizabeth of Mecklenburg wrote to her brother, King Johan III., that her consort had been ailing in the same way as was the King at that time, when some Gypsies came to the neighbourhood of the castle where the Duke resided. A woman of the gang was permitted to apply her power of healing. She took the roots of white lilies and the suet of a boar, made a mixture of these, and rubbed the duke with it before a fire. The patient was cured. If Johan were willing to try the same remedy, the Duchess offered to send a supply of the root.'

36.—GYPSY SOLDIERS AND SPIES

To Mr. MacRitchie's collection of references to Gypsy soldiers (see *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, iii. 228-32), may be added the following, taken from one of the oldest and rarest tracts on the Gypsies: *Zwey nützliche Tractätlein Das Erste: Wunderliche und wahrhaftige Beschreibung der Cingaren oder Ziegeuner, so man an etlichen Orten, aber unrecht Tatern oder Tartern nennet, deren Ursprung, Herkommen, Leben und Wandel, Vermehrung und Fortpflanzung bisz hieher. . . . Von C. B. L. M. V. R. Gedruckt im Jahr, M. DC. LXIV.* The author's remarks have additional value because they are, at least in part, the result of personal observation.

Sig. A.4r.

Jedoch seynd sie zu zeiten in Kriegen gebraucht worden / als sonderlich Anno 1514. von den Weywoden in Siebenbürgen. Der ihnen auch ein Ländlein so an *Bosnia* und *Bulgaria* gränztzet eingegeben. Aus welchen die Ziegeuner so heutiges Tages in Deutschland umbziehen / mehrentheils bürtig / welches *Cusclio* verursachet / dz er in seinen *Lexico Geographico* geschrieben / als ob sie gänzlich ihren Ursprung daher hetten.

Zu unser Väter Zeiten sind sie von den Printzen von *Conde* in Franckreich vor *Poictiers* gebraucht worden / wie *Thuanus* ein vornehmer Frantzösischer Historicus schreibt: In den vor wenig Jahren geendeten / und über die dreyszig Jahr währenden Deutschen Kriege / so Anno 1648. zum Friede kommen / sind sie (wie männiglich bekant) von den Schweden gebraucht worden / wie ich denn sonderlich unter den Pfulischen Regiment derselben selbst viel gesehen. Achte aber / dass sie nicht wegen ihrer Mannheit und Krieges Erfahrungheit gebraucht worden¹ / sondern vielmehr darumb / weil sie das Warsagen / Zauberey / schwarze Kunst und ander Gauckelwerck ohn schew treiben / auch zum theil darinnen sehr erfahren seyñ / und alles was etwan an heimlichen Orten vor den Soldaten und andern Mausem wol verborgen blieben were / sie durch ihre Kunst erfahren / gefunden und offenbahret worden / denn man sehr viel Exempel weiss / dasz sie in Häusern und auff dem Felde / Schätze funden / so vor vielen Jahren / und weit über Mannes gedenccken verborgen gelegen / also / dasz kein Mensch jemals darvon hören / die Alten gedenccken / zu geschweigen selbst darvon sollte gewusst haben. Zum andern ist auch ohne zweiffel darumb geschehen / weil auff der Welt kaum ein Volck zu finden / das bessere Kundschaftter abgiebt als die Tatern und Ziegeuner.

¹ Military service seems to have been a recognised Gypsy occupation in Sweden. See Rabenius, *Observationes Historiam Zigueunorum Illustrantes*, Upsala, 1791, p. 14: 'In *Litt. Regg. d. 10. Febr. 1773.* interdicatur eorum quoque Zigueunorum, qui militiae nomen dedere, uxoribus et liberis omnis per provincias pervagatio, etiamsi a munere suo militari vacatione ipsi fruereutur patres eorum atque mariti.'

Sig. A.4.v.

Es werde ihnen von den andern so daheim bleiben / Geld nachgeschickt / ist gleichfals erlogen / es wird ihnen zwar Geld nachgeschickt / aber nicht von ihrer Nation so daheim bleiben / sondern von Türkischen Hoff / denn einmal ist gewisz und wahr dasz sie die grösten Landverräther und Kundschafter seyn / daher sie bey dem Türkischen Keyser in grossen Ansehen sind / und hoch gehalten werden / dieweil sie ihm aller Länder und deroselben Herrschafften / auch was sie an einen und andern Ort erkundigen / dem Türcken alles haarklein offenbaren und verkund schafften / und daher wird ihnen auch das Geldt nachgeschickt / und nicht von ihren Volek / wie sie falschlich vorgeben.

Sig. B.1.v.

Und wer wil daran zweiffeln / dasz auch die in abgewichenen 1663. Jahre / in Düringen ümbschweiffende Ziegeuner / so sich über zwey hundert beloffen / sich in viel kleine Häufflein zertheilet / und das Land Creutzweisz durchzogen / es aus keiner andern Ursachen gethan / denn dasz sie von den Türcken darzu bestellet gewesen / auszuspelen / zu erkundigen und zu erfahren / wie es im Heil. Römischen Reich bewandt / Ob die deutschen Fürsten auch Volck in Vorrath / ob sie sich auch etwan in eine Verfassung stellten / damit sie darvon wider Relation thun köndten / welches sie auch schlecht genug bestellet befunden / und derowegen ihren Principalen gute und annehmliche Zeitung bringen können.

The following passage, discovered by Mr. Frederick C. Wellstood in *De Thou's Historiarum Continuatio* (Tom. 4, Francofurti, 1628, p. 260), besides describing the Gypsies as good soldiers, has additional interest since it adds one to the early testimonials to their cleverness in doctoring horses, and gives a development of the story of their Egyptian origin:—

‘Postremis his bellis quidam eorū in Pictonibus & Andibus Principis Contii castra sequebantur. inter eos boni milites erant, q̄ more Arabum vivebant. & pecus secū ducebant. vafri erant impostores, insignes prædones, & subtiles equorum mangones. equum strigosum & macilentū certis herbis, quas norant, & equo vascendas dabant, breui tempore saginabant, & pristino nitore restituabant, quē postea in nundinis vicinorū locorum vendebant: sed emptor intra octidū se deceptum sentiebat, equo ad priorem maciem redacto nec diu superstite. quidā ex illis interrogatus, quando primū in Galliam venissent, respondit, cū reges Gallie, & inter eos S. Ludouicus bellum in Oriente contra infideles gererent, maiores suos, qui Christiani erant, & inter Arabiam & Ægyptum colebant, cū Europæis se coniunxisse, & illis operam suam in bello contra Saracenos nanasse: sed cū tractu temporis Saraceni Gallos & Christianos omnes ex Ægypto profiigassent, maiores suos patriam deserere coactos, permissu regum & Imperatorum in Europa eodem modo, quo in Arabia & Ægypto solebant, hoc est, nullis certis sedibus, vixisse. ceterū eos, qui primū in Galliam appulerint, semper appellatos Ægyptios: sed eos, qui in Dalmatiam descendissent, cū per Mysiam, Hungariam & Boemiam vagati essent, & inde in Galliam venissent, nomine Boemorum insignitos fuisse. Hæc ille, quorum fides esto penes auctorē.’

To this passage Mr. Winstedt has kindly added the following comments:—

‘St. Louis returned from the Crusade in which he took part in 1252; so, if this Gypsy’s word could be trusted, it would be of considerable importance, as bringing evidence of the existence of Gypsies in France before the arrival of the wanderers in 1419 and 1427. But it looks rather as though the statement were due to judicious pumping on the part of some theorist who had constructed a theory to account for the two names by which Gypsies were known in France; and, according to the Bourgeois de Paris, the 1427 band did not come calling themselves “Bohemians,” but natives of “la Basse Egypte.”¹ On the other hand,

¹ Cf. Pasquier, *Les recherches de la France* (Paris, 1596), Lib. iv. ch. 17, p. 213, and *J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, ii. 29. At S. Laurent-lez-Mâcon in 1419 they were under

it is undeniably true that, if there were Gypsies in France before that date, the name Bohemians would not have been applied to them, since it was undoubtedly derived from Sigismund's letter. Also, that there were Gypsies in the Holy Land in the fifteenth century, is proved by the evidence of several pilgrims;¹ and there is no reason why there should not have been some there in the thirteenth too, nor yet why they should not have taken the opportunity of wandering farther west with the returning Crusaders. It is noticeable that the Gypsy or his questioner had an unusual knowledge of the wanderings of the Gypsies in Europe; and there is just a possibility that a tradition of their wanderings, and of their surprise at finding Gypsies already settled in France, may have been handed down to their descendants by the 1427 band. Certainly two centuries had elapsed; but to a race so long-lived as the Gypsies, two centuries means little more than two lifetimes.'

37.—GYPSY SLAVERY IN SPAIN

In Hugo de Celso's *Las leyes de todos los reynos de Castilla*, a sort of legal dictionary published at Valladolid in 1538, there is a short notice of the Gypsies under the word *Egipcianos*, which reads as follows:—

'Egipcianos no anden por estos reynos: y los que fueren salgã dellos o tomen officios, o bivan cõ señores: sopena de cient açotes por la primera vez: y por la segunda vez que le eorten las orejas y esten sesenta dias en cadena: y por la tercera que sean captivos para siempre d'los que los toman. Prematica de sus altezas: dada en Madrid año. [mil] ccccxcix. y ley. ciiii. en las prematicas: la qual fue confirmada y mandada guardar en las cortes que celebraron en toledo: año (mil) dxxv. ley lviii. sin embargo de qualquier cedula que en contrario se diesse: las quales su magestad mando que fuesen obedecidas y no cumplidas.'

TRANSLATION

Egyptians (Gypsies) are not to move about these kingdoms, and those that may be there, are to leave them, or take trades, or live with their over-lords under penalty of a hundred lashes for the first time, and for the second time that their ears be cut off, and that they be chained for sixty days, and for the third time that they remain captive for ever, to them who take them. Decree of their highnesses given in Madrid in the year 1499, and law number 104 in the decrees; confirmed and ordered to be observed in the court which was celebrated in Toledo in the year 1525, law 58, in spite of any clause which may have been given to the contrary, which his majesty commanded to be obeyed, and (have not been) not complied with.

J. STEWART MACLAREN.

38.—BRITISH GYPSY CRIMES, 1908

In the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* for April 1908 (New Series, vol. i. p. 392), a table was printed analysing Gypsy crimes reported during the last nine months of 1907. The comments there made apply equally to the following table, which refers to the whole year 1908, and includes all the 467 charges against 'Gypsies' which a press-cutting agency found and forwarded during the twelve months. Attention may, however, be drawn again to the facts that these statistics are tables of *charges* and not of *convictions*, and that the numbers are sometimes

a 'duke of Little Egypt' (*ib.*, i. 325); at Amiens in 1427 under an 'earl of Little Egypt' (*ib.*, ii. 32). But at Sisteron in 1419 they were called Saracens (*ib.*, i. 327). This latter title, which is fairly commonly applied to them (cf. Bataillard, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, v. 530 *et seqq.*), may have given rise to the Crusader tale, or may possibly have been derived from it.

¹ Cf. *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii. 66.

swelled in a misleading way by the appearance in court of a whole family or gang to answer for what was virtually one offence.

Among remarkable names the following deserve to be recorded:—Letitia-cener Annie Lee, Haddy Loveridge, Oceanic Loveridge, Amica Odell, Goney Robinson, Triante Ryles, Vanto Small, Pizinnia Smith, Mivaniel Smith, and Rabbi Smith.

1. Damaging turf, etc., by camping,	27	
Camping on the highway,	35	
Allowing horses to stray,	74	
Obstructing road, van unattended, etc.,	6	
Making fires within fifty feet of road,	5	
Want of water-supply or sanitary accommodation,	13	
Overcrowding,	4	
		164
2. Furious driving,	1	
Cart or van without lights,	4	
No name on cart or van,	1	
Dog without licence,	6	
Dog at large during prohibited hours,	1	
Hawking without a licence,	2	
Damaging new-made road by driving on it,	4	
		19
3. Poaching,	11	
Taking wood, sticks, etc.,	26	
Taking a little hay, fruit, or potatoes,	7	
Fortune-telling,	3	
Hoaxing with fortune-telling,	12	
Assisting at prize-fight,	6	
Damaging crops by trespassing,	10	
Breaking the lock of a gate,	2	
		77
4. Cruelty to horses,	15	
Begging,	3	
Cruelty to, or neglect of, children,	6	
		24
5. Assaults, vicious,	11	
„ family quarrels,	29	
Drunkenness, simple,	38	
„ with horses,	9	
„ with children,	1	
Obstructing police,	3	
Obscene language,	17	
Using threats,	4	
		112
6. Thefts, value less than ten shillings,	33	
„ value more than ten shillings,	21	
Stealing by ruse (not fortune-telling),	7	
Receiving stolen property,	3	
		64
7. Lunatic at large,	1	
Attempted suicide,	1	
Libel,	2	
Highway robbery (prisoner discharged),	1	
Abducting girl (prisoner discharged),	1	
Criminal assault,	1	
		7
		467



LA BOHEMIENNE.

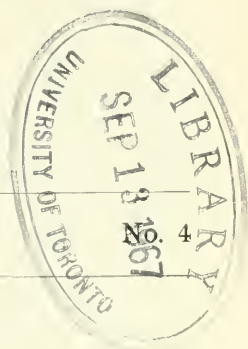
Une des enfants de la Bohême.

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I.—THE GYPSY BLANKET

A TRUE representation of the Gypsy blanket is the last thing one would have expected to find among the works of a painter who worshipped 'une nature peinte, cartonnée, vernie, parfumée, artificielle.' Yet here it is, worn like the Roman toga, as Brodæus observed, and arranged, exactly as the Belgian chronicler described in 1422, in such a way as to hide the sling which supports the child, and leave the hand which *appears* to support it free to 'purloin artfully without its being perceived.' François Boucher (1703-1770), premier painter to Louis xv., was the fashionable artist of his time. According to his own estimate, he made ten thousand drawings and sketches, and produced a thousand studies and pictures,—he painted, as his biographer said, every one, from the Virgin Mary to Madame de Pompadour, whose friend and instructor he had the honour to be, and earned an income, then considered enormous, of 50,000 francs. His renown attracted engravers to Paris from all corners of Europe, and even his slightest sketches were reproduced by the great masters of the day. 'La Bohémienne' was engraved by Demarteau, who, if not the inventor, was at least the most skilful practitioner of 'crayon engraving,' a process which received the approbation of the Académie in 1757, and was designed to imitate the effect of chalk on coarse-grained paper.

II. —LA BELLA CHIAVINA: A FRENCH OR PIEDMONT GYPSY TALE

By ERIC OTTO WINSTEDT

POTT is said to have spoken with Gypsies only once in his life, and readers of Bataillard's works might be inclined to suppose that his personal acquaintance with the living Gypsy was equally restricted, since, so far as I remember, he only once mentions a Gypsy as an authority for a statement. But a hasty glance at the appalling pile of his loose papers, which are now in the Public Free Reference Library at Manchester,¹ convinced me that, though Bataillard's personal research among Gypsies was limited, he was by no means blind to the value or the interest of such work. There are letters from friends in various countries recording their experiences in Gypsy camps, notes of visits paid by himself or friends to Gypsies in Paris, records of an hour he spent when in England in a camp of Stanleys and Lees at Yarmouth; and, what is far more important, there is a whole packet of notes containing his own and his wife's journal of three tours he made in France in 1848-1850, largely in search of Gypsies.

It was on September 21-24, 1848, that he met at Montfaucon the Gypsy Michelet, who gave him the information about the conservation of the *diklo* custom among the Gypsies of France, Switzerland, and Piedmont, which he mentions in his *Gitanos d'Espagne*:² and there are full details of the conversations of which that mention is a summary.

Michelet was a French Gypsy, whose maternal grandfather (*baro ba*) owned the Château de la Tour in the Cévennes and was captain (*hautmano* or *hauppmano*)³ of the Gypsies of that district; and, considering the little that is known about the French Gypsies and their language, it is noticeable that the words for 'grandfather' and for 'captain' are both words unrecorded in any other dialect, save that *ba* is attributed to Persian Gypsies by Newbold.⁴

¹ I have to thank Dr. Axon and his son Mr. E. Axon for their kindness in assisting me in obtaining access to these papers.

² Page 21 of the offprint.

³ = German *Hauptmann*.

⁴ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, xvi. (London, 1854), p. 311, *bá* or *bábúr* = father; from the lists on p. 303 it appears that *bábúr* is also used by the Gypsies of Egypt. Cf. the *bato*, *batu*, *batoro* of the Spanish Gypsies (Miklosich, *Mundarten*, i. 43), the *bato* of the Basque Gypsies (Michel, *Le Pays Basque*, p. 145), the *babo* of Paspati's Asiatic Gypsies, the *báb* of Miss Everest's Syrian Gypsies

Unfortunately, so far as I could see in the limited time at my disposal, there was little other linguistic information of interest in the notes taken from Michelet, except that *ba* was in general use as 'father.' From another party of Gypsies, whom he met at Perpignan, he collected a short vocabulary, as well as notes on the *diklo* and other customs. But as those Gypsies claimed to be Spanish or perhaps Basque Gypsies, and the vocabulary looked uninteresting, I passed it over and proceeded to the notes of his visit to a Gypsy camp at Cannes in 1850.

There I was surprised to find on some loose sheets in his wife's journal, but in Bataillard's handwriting, an entire folk-tale or 'Vieille histoire bohémienne en langue romani que j'ai écrite sous la dictée d'une Bohémienne à Cannes, 27 avril 1850,' as he entitles it. In his notes he explains that he got it from 'la Debarre-Capel,' who, on referring to a list of the Gypsies in the camp, proves to be one Jeanne Jacqueline Barre, born in the second year of the Republic [1793-4], in the department of L'Ain. We are further informed that she was the daughter of Louis Barre of La Fenière in the Dauphiné, the widow of one Larivière and wife of Jean Pierre Capel of Salins in the Jura. She was aided by Dalmas, who is presumably Dalmas or Dinis des Barres or Barri, a young man of about twenty-five, with an appearance which was not characteristically Gypsy. He was at first put down as son of Jeanne; but that entry is crossed out, and he is recorded again on the list. So far, then, there is no hint that these Gypsies were anything but purely French Gypsies, though the proximity of some of the places mentioned to Switzerland makes one suspect that they might also be related to the Swiss Gypsies of whom Michelet had spoken. But one cannot be long in a Gypsy camp without getting a surprise of some kind; and a few pages farther on we learn that they gave Chamisso [? Chivasso], near Turin as their home. Cagne [? Cagnes], where they expected to meet a brother, was their destination; and in his wife's journal they are called Piedmont Gypsies. The solution of the difficulty is no doubt that the French, Swiss, and Piedmont Gypsies were one and the same; and that Michelet was drawing a distinction without a difference when he described their various customs with regard to the *diklo*. And an examination

(*J. G. L. S.*, Old Series, i. 25), and the *baph* of the Bošà (*J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 250). The latter makes it look more like a collateral form of the Hindustani بابا (*bâbâ*) or بَاب (bâp) than a misuse of *bâ*, brother.

of the language of the tale leads to the same conclusion: for while these Gypsies use *ba* and *hauptmano*, which was characteristic of the Michelets' band, the borrowed words are almost all Italian, though one or two are German,¹ while they were fluent enough in French to give Bataillard a translation or rather paraphrase of the tale in that language. Again, the fact that their grandfathers and fathers were born or domiciled in France proves quite conclusively that these Gypsies were no mere wanderers from eastern Europe, but natives of the soil. And if any doubting Thomas should feel disinclined to take a Gypsy's word for his grandfather's home, there is proof positive that the family from which he obtained the tale was a very old French Gypsy family, since Michel de la Barre figures among a gang of Gypsies who visited La Chappe, near Châlons-sur-Marne, on November 7, 1453.²

Besides, the language alone is sufficient to show that they were a distinct family. As idiosyncrasies of their dialect one may mention, besides *ba* and *hauptmano*, the strange use of *Sinte*³ in the sense of a family, when speaking of a Gypsy family, and the extraordinary frequency of the affixed pronouns *-lo*, *-li*, and *-le*. The latter are of course found in practically all dialects in combination with the auxiliary verb (*sî-lo*, etc.). In German Gypsy they seem to be occasionally used with other verbs too,⁴ but only in this tale do they occur with such frequency that they have almost ousted the regular *yov*, *yoi*, *yon*. The affinity of this dialect to others is more difficult to decide. The occasional *h* for *s*, and the words *pero*,⁵ 'family,' *schtilde* and *ningue*⁶ are reminiscent of German Gypsy, *sasere*⁷ of South Italian, the use of *Sinte* and feminines in *-in* instead of *-i*, such as *panin*, *chiurin*,⁸

¹ *Virta* (*Wirthaus*) is the only German word besides *hautmano*, and it occurs also in Kogalnitchan's (*Wirthus*) and Colocci's (*Viertra*) vocabularies. Italian is far more frequently, though rather strangely and ungrammatically, used; e.g. *da* [in *avri da peskri sinti*], *forse, benediciouma, e peu* [= *e poi*], *di, con, le nozze la* [*della*] *bella Kiavina, i mattina* [for *nella mattina*], *feradas* [from *ferrare*]. Probably as the name of the chief character in the tale is Italian in form, the tale was heard from Italians, though I cannot trace a parallel.

² Cf. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1. Sér., v. 530-1.

³ Paspatis has an instance, however, in which *sundi* practically = wife, 'so *ist ni sundi?* qu'y a-t-il, ma femme distinguée?' He takes it for the past participle passive of *šun*; but it seems more probable that his *šundo*, *sundo*, is merely a variant of the mysterious *sinte*.

⁴ Cf. Finck, *Lehrbuch*, § 45 and p. 44, *käter wêla li*; and Gilliat-Smith, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 139, *kerêle-lo*, 137, *kamêle-li*; iii. 198 (Bulg. Gyp.), *irisâjle-li*, *bešlê-li*.

⁵ Cf. Liebich's *bero* and Thesleff's *perhos*.

⁶ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 139, *nîna*; Von Sowa, *Wörterb. des Dialekts der deutschen Zig.*, *nîna* 'auch'; Pott, i. 316.

⁷ Ascoli, p. 138.

⁸ Cf. Liebich's *pânin*; Ascoli, p. 135, *butin*, *panin*; and Pott, i. 113. *Sinte*,

of both. But, on the other hand, the presence of one Rumanian loan-word *pipe-das*,¹ and the use of *le* for the oblique cases of the article, point to some kinship with the Rumanian Gypsies.²

For the tale itself, it is but a poor thing, and obviously ill-remembered, since the Romani and French versions differ considerably. Bataillard states that he tried to get a literal version, —and indeed a few lines of it are written opposite the beginning of the tale,—but he failed, and had to be content with a paraphrase. He also apologises for the incorrectness of his copy, but therein he is rather hard on himself. From the frequent mis-division of words, he was obviously quite unable to follow it while he was taking it down; but still, save in one or two puzzling passages, he seems to have succeeded fairly well in copying it.

Hautmano leskro tchiavo³ ghias pachiolo⁴ telal i eroukeste pache
Hautmaneskro čavo ghias pašiolu telal ye rūkeste paše
 iek haning kate⁵ dium soune i kiavina⁶ vias⁷ lou tougano
yek χaningate. [Dikias?] sōne i Kiavina. 'Vias-lō tūgano,

according to Colocci (*L'origine des bohémiens*, Citta di Castello, 1905, p. 2), is used by Gypsies of Piedmont, Lithuania, Scandinavia, Germany, and Italy.

¹ Cf. Miklosich, *Mundarten*, v. 47, *pipisar*, 'tasten.'

² *Ibid.*, xi. 29, 33; xii. 12.

³ *Bechte* and *O* are erased at the beginning, and *leskro tchiavo* is corrected from *scrotchia*. Probably the narrator gave the beginning in various forms, e.g. *O hautmaneskro čavo ghias*, etc., and *Bešte o Hautmaneskro čavo telal*, etc., and *leskro* may have been part of an explanatory comment.

⁴ *Pachiolo* is doubtless from the passive verb which appears in Turkish Romani as *pāšliovava*. For the loss of the *l* compare Ješina's *pašóvar* and the various forms given by Miklosich, viii. 34.

⁵ Bataillard at first wrote *heingate*, then crossed this out and wrote *haning gate*, and finally altered the *gate* to *kate*. Both *hi*'s are very strangely shaped and may be meant for *k*.

⁶ This phrase is very mysterious, and must be considered in relation to several passages which follow. Here Bataillard at first wrote *dias*, then apparently *dikiasonane li*, and finally *dium soune i*; but from the phrase below, *mri pirani kadekioum soune*, it would seem as though one ought here to read *Dikias soune le kiavina*, *soune* being an addition to the rare locatives (cf. Miklosich, *Mundarten*, xii. 31). *Dium* might in that case be supposed to be a corruption for *Tai ov* or something similar; but again we find below *kadiassoune le kiavina* and *kai dias la soune*, where *dias* looks like an alternative for *dikias*. Parallels for such a form are Borrow's Spanish Gypsy *diar*, 'to see,' which is supported by Pott (ii. 305), and Paspatis's statement that many Turkish Gypsies pronounce the word as though written *dikháva*, and *diháva*, *diáva* (cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vii. pp. 213-4; and Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*, p. 29). Possibly Bataillard crossed out the wrong word and meant the *dikia[s]* to stand and the *dium*, which could only equal *dikiom*, to be erased. Even so the article *i* should be *le*. In the last of the sentences mentioned *dias* could bear its ordinary sense of 'gave'—*kai dias la soune*, 'who gave dreams'—since there are parallels for the use of a redundant *la* in relative sentences in this tale. But it is very difficult to give it that sense in the other sentences: and it seems better to assume that these Gypsies sometimes pronounced the *k* of *dikava* so weakly as to be practically inaudible.

⁷ The *i* of *vias* appears to be crossed out.

nina *χ*alas ninapièles. Le tougendor¹ kadiassoune le kiavina ta
*nina χ*alas nina pièlas, le tūgendar ka diās sōne le Kiavina. Ta
 leskro ba poutchias² lester sohitoute mro tehavo Mro ba dentou-
 leskro ba pūčias lester 'So hi tūti, m'ro čavo?' 'M'ro ba, den tū-
 mari³ benediciouna kamama djia⁴ mangue kamama latchav mri
 mari benediziōna. Kama ma ja mange, kama ma lačav'. m'ri
 pirani kadekioum soune⁵ to ba rouveles ti dai ningue lias pes
 pirani ka dikiūm sōne.' T'o ba rōvelas t'i dai niūne. Lias pes
 apre lias peske koumpeskero grai leskro grai⁶ feradas
 apre, gias [?] peske cōn peskro grai (leskro grai). Feradas
 peskro grai petali roupoune Ghias lo pirdas bout chovtchon⁷
 peskro grai petali rūpāne. Gias-lo, pirdas bāt šov čon
 avri dapeskeri Sinti Forsa⁸ kapirtas vias li⁹ kogav Taisas
 avri da peskri Sinti. Forse ka pirdas, vias-li k'o gav tai sas
 peskri pirani kai diās la soune okoia Akana vias lo kibari-
 peskri pirani kai diās la sōne okoia. Akana vias-lo ki bari
 virta. Poutchias leraster ketena si kek kadrukerina¹⁰ lelister¹¹
 virta. Pūčias le raster ke te na si kek ka drukerena-le leste.
 orai pendas kasilen¹² Pengri bai¹³ filatchin tchenak¹⁴ okoi
 O rai pendas ka si len. 'Pengri ba[r]i filašin čenak okoi.'
 Kaletchia¹⁵ kakinele andrevirta. Penela keiavina penela djas,
 Kale ča ka gine-le andre virta. Penela Kiavina, penela 'Jas,

¹ For *tougendor* Bataillard gives a variant *tougendra*.

² *Poutchias lester* is corrected from *poutheles* (altered to *poucheles*) *lestra*.

³ Plural, addressed to both parents.

⁴ For *kamama djia* Bataillard at first read *kakaman* and *dja*. It might of course stand for *kamara*, not *kama ma*.

⁵ After *soune* 'o dati o' is crossed out.

⁶ This sentence must be badly taken down. *Lias peske* may be a mistake for *gias peske*, or simply a repetition of the preceding *lias pes*; and *leskro grai* was probably given as an alternative or explanation for *peskro grai*.

⁷ *Chov* is corrected from *chon*.

⁸ *Forsa* can hardly be anything but Italian *forse*, though that should mean 'perhaps' rather than 'perchance.'

⁹ A mistake for *vias-lo*. Cf. *has-le Hautmaneskro čavo* below.

¹⁰ *Ketena* was first written *ketenea*. The first three letters of *kadrukerina* have been altered from something which is illegible, and the first *r* from a *k*. The *i* was originally *e*.

¹¹ Or *lelistes*.

¹² *Kahile* is crossed out before *kasilen*.

¹³ *Bai* would seem to stand either for *bari* or for *ba* (uninflected dative) *hi*.

¹⁴ The ending of the word is a little uncertain. It may be either *k* or *le*.

¹⁵ If this is the right interpretation of this mysterious phrase, *tchia* must be an abbreviated Nominative Pl. of *čai*. The *k* of *kale* was originally written *l*. *Kale* might mean 'those': and is deleted after *Kaletchia*.

das moui¹ kate drouk kavvas² kolaras. I kiavina avance
das mūi ka te drūkavas kola ras. I *Kiavina* (avance)
 velali aki donzela Penela kiavina okova tevel tro rom. I
vela-li. Ak'i donzela penela 'Kiavina, okova te vel t'ro rom.' I
 kiavina Penela mre kamle Pral³ tiro rom tevel tiro tevel.
Kiavina penela 'M're kamle pral, tiro rom te vel, tiro te vel.'
 Oke dias⁴ spindjari maske kahas ie sinto 'epeu atchnele
Oke dias [pe]s pindarimaske ka has ye Sinto. E poi aĉne-le
 schotchion⁵ keχan tatepiel⁶ aperle Hautmane Skrepike e peu
šov ĉōn ke χan ta te piel apre[?]le Hautmaneskre pike. E poi
 kerde⁷ o manguipen dikiavina nakamne tedenla akava
kerde o mangipen di Kiavina. Na kamne te den la. Akava
 hautmano skrotcha⁸ leχolignanter⁹ lias tepachiolo pache i
Hautmaneskro ĉa le χoliñantar lias [pes] te pašiolō paše i[e]
 aninghate havias i kiavina avias li kompeskeri donzela talel
χaningate. Avias i Kiavina, avias-li con peskeri donzela ta lel
 panin¹⁰ Pepeskiasles¹¹ kasoveles tai kiavina iastefarte¹²
panin. Pepeskias[?]les ka sovelas, ta i Kiavina gias te farte
 panin apreleste Djangadas les taiov tehindas lakrebal tatchi-
panin apre leste. Jangadas les, ta yov ĉindas lakre bal, ta ĉu-

¹ Dr. Sampson, to whom I am indebted for various suggestions and assistance, informs me that this idiom is found in Welsh Romany too as an old euphemism for fortune-telling (e.g. *Dŷm lā mūi*). ² Or *kavras*.

³ For *mre kamle pral* there seems only a choice of two evils; either to take it as a Vocative addressed to the *donzella*, in the sense of 'comrade'; or as equivalent to *mro kamlo prāl*, and subject of *te vel*.

⁴ *Pes* seems to be required: cf. *dias pes pidjarimaske* below. Here Bataillard wrote *moſt*, and crossed it out, before *maske*.

⁵ The *t* was at first written *r*.

⁶ What the 'captain's shoulders' are doing here I cannot tell, nor yet why *piel* is singular, when *χan* is plural, unless in this dialect, as in German Gypsy, the third person singular was occasionally used as a 'stereotyped neuter form,' cf. Finck, *Lehrbuch*, § 12. and *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 134.

⁷ Apparently this should be *kerdas*. After *kiavina* 'tu' is erased.

⁸ Here *tcha* seems to be a shortened form of *ĉaro*. Cf. *šā* for *ĉāia*, *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, i. 118 and 137.

⁹ *Xolignanter* is corrected from *χouirnanter*. Cf. Miklosich, *Mundarten*, v. 25.

¹⁰ Bataillard at first wrote *panim*, a form which occurs in Pincherle's *I Ghilēn-gheri Ghilia Salomonéskevo*.

¹¹ *Pepeskias* beats me, unless it is a variant of *pipedas*, which occurs below with the meaning 'she felt.' That is evidently the Rumanian word, which is found in Kirilowicz's tales (*pipi*, *pipisar*, 'tasten,' cf. Miklosich, *Mundarten*, v. 47). But here *pepeskias* should mean 'she noticed.'

¹² Cf. Liebich's *ferdawa*, 'werfen' (p. 260), Pott, ii. 394, and Ascoli, p. 133.

midias le, okeiov i kiavina dias les deschevta tchiniben
midias le. Oke yov! I Kiavina dias les deš-efta ěiniben
 koumpeskri tehiurin diasles Diaskaipinkri¹ Sinti dikne
ĉon peskri ĉurin, dias les. Jas ki pengri Sinti. Dikne
 lakresinti dikne kahas lakrebal tehinde kamnedjanen kōn
lakre Sinti, dikne ka has lakre bal ěinde. Kamne janen kōn
 tehinde lakrebal kamenadjanen penavales Okova Haut-
ěinde lakre bal. 'Kamena janen? Penava les. Okova Haut-
 mano tchavo kanchindas mre bal. Okeakava ghias pale
mano ĉavo [sas] kon ěindas m're bal.' Oke akava gias pale
 kaipeskri manousch² Odoi kavirus kaipeskri Sinti. poutchias sar
ki peskri manūš. Odoi ka vias ki peskri Sinti. Pūĉias sar
 ghias kanalias peskri pīrani³ kiavina. oke ghine sasere⁴
gias kana lias peskri pīrani Kiavina. Oke gine sasere
 kouno pero odoi kavne lias i katouna⁵ peskre pēnakeri eridas
ĉon o pero. Odoi k'avene, lias i katūna peskre pēnakeri, eridas
 pes djouvli kanes okeghias kailengheri filatchin Peskri ti⁶ peskri
pes jūrlikanes. Oke gias ki lengeri filušin (peskri ti) peskri
 piragna te kiri epeu kapendas lakri sinti kahas le sa schtilde.⁷
pīrañate kere, e poi ka pendas lakri Sinti ka has-le sa štilde.
 Ta i kiavina kochelas⁸ kakamelas peskri malisouna ke.⁹ Epeu
Ta i Kiavina k'auĉelas ka kamelas peskri malisonaki. E poi

¹ *Pinkri* looks like *pengri*; but there does not seem to be any reason for the plural.

² For *manousch*, 'people,' cf. Paspatis's *ta o manuš penėnas* 'et les hommes (les gens) disaient,' *sarė o manuš* 'tous les hommes'; and *mare manuš tshingerweus Kėtteni* of the *Beytrag zur Rotwėllischen Grammatik*, 1755 (Pott, ii. 481).

³ *Pīrani* is corrected from *pīragna*.

⁴ After *gine*, 'kos' is erased. With *sasere* cf. Ascoli, *Zigeunerisches*, p. 133; and with *pero* Liebich's *bero* and Thesleff's *perhos*.

⁵ *Katouna* is properly a tent, but the Welsh Gypsies use it in the sense of cloth and clothes. This use tends to support Ascoli's derivation of the word from the Arabic قطن (*quṭun*, 'cotton,') rather than De Goeje's from قايٹون (*qaiṭūn*, 'chamber,' 'camp').

⁶ *Peskri ti* (or *li* with a stroke through it) is probably merely a mis-writing of the following *peskri pi-*; but I am not satisfied with my solution of *pīragna te kiri*. Before *pīragna*, 'gia' is erased.

⁷ *Schtilde* was at first written *stilde*.

⁸ *Kochelas* looks rather like the *xoĉ* of the English and Welsh dialects, and 'said' would make excellent sense here, though it would upset the accepted derivation of the Welsh Gypsy word from 'quotha.'

⁹ For the construction of the meaning of this far from blessed word or words I decline to be held responsible. As an alternative to the suggested translation I can only offer 'golden friend,' *sounake* being a depraved form of *sonakune*, for which compare Thesleff's Gypsies' use of *sonako* as an adjective.

ghinele andrivirta katesoven tchidepentekelen antekelen le
gine-le andre virta ka te soven ; čide pen te kelen. Ande kelen-le.

hine kelen ginesoven¹ pipedas andreskolechero pipedas
K'ine kelen, gine soven. Pipedas andre lesko šero. Pipedas

andro chero latchias deschefta tchiniben. Oke dias pes pidjari
andr'o šero, lačias deš-efta činiben. Oke dias pes pindari-

maske kahas le Hōtmano skrotchevo tchavo kahas lakro pirano.
maske ka has-le Hautmaneskro(šero) čavo, ka has lakro pirano.

I matina nikadas lakrogade a pral lakro chero. Takardas.²
I mattina nikadas lakro gad apral lakro šero ta kardas.

Ghias tekerel o manghipen (demande) la bella Khiavina
Gias te kerel o mangipen (demande) [del]la bella Kiavina.

O kela kroba di khiavina dias la leste ou schouker pativ
Oke lakro ba, di Kiavina, dias la leste, o šikar pativ.

kerbelenose la bella khiavina.

Kerde le nozze [del]la bella Kiavina.

A captain's son went to sleep beneath a tree near a fountain, and saw in a dream Chiavina. He became sad, and would not eat nor drink from grief at seeing in a dream Chiavina. And his father asked him, 'What ails you, my son?' 'My father, give your blessing, I wish to go away. I wish to find my love, whom I saw in a dream.' And his father wept and his mother too. He got up, he went [?] with his horse (his horse); he shod his horse with shoes of silver. He went, he wandered much six months away from his Gypsies. By chance, as he wandered, he came to the town where was his love, whom he saw in a dream, that one. Now he came to a great inn. He asked the gentleman, if there are not any who will tell fortunes for him. The gentleman said that there were some. 'Their big castle [is] near there.' Dark girls who went into the inn. Says³ Chiavina, she says: 'Let us go and tell this gentleman's fortune.' Chiavina comes. Behold the

¹ I have translated this sentence as though *ante* were *andre* (cf. Miklosich's *ande*, *Mundarten*, vii. 7), and the end were *K'ine te kelen, gine te soven*; but I do not in the least believe in the translation or in Bataillard's copy.

² Why the lady placed her shirt, supposing she wore such a garment, in so anomalous a position I cannot tell, unless it was a shameless sign of shame. [But as Mr. Gilliat-Smith kindly points out, and as I, who daily pull a shirt over my head, ought to have seen, this need not mean anything stranger than 'she put on her shirt.'] If *Takardas* bears the sense I have given it, she was presumably guilty of a piece of feminine hypocrisy, pretending that she had been unwittingly assaulted in order to force her parents to marry her to the youth. But it is noticeable that Bataillard puts a full stop before it, which indicates that *takardas* should belong to the next sentence. As alternatives I give four equally improbable suggestions which have occurred to, or have been suggested to, me:—(1) *Ta kerdas [les te] gias*—'and she caused him to go,' which would make good sense, but is very indifferent grammar as it stands. (2) *Ta kari dias*, which, besides other objections, is open to an accusation of tardiness. (3) *Tachara des*—'early on the morrow' or 'later in the day'—compare Borrow's Spanish Gypsy *tasarden* 'late,' and Pott, ii. 289. But this requires further support. (4) *Ta kere jas*, 'and she went home.'

³ Or, '(The damsel) says "Chiavina," she says.'

damself says: 'Chiavina, may he be thy husband.' Chiavina says: 'My dear comrade,¹ may he be thy husband, may he be thine.' Behold he gave himself for recognition that he was a Gypsy. And then they abode six months eating and drinking on the captain's shoulders [?]. Then he asked for Chiavina. They did not wish to give her. This captain's son in wrath betook himself to sleep near a well. Chiavina came, she came with her damself to get water. She espied [?] him sleeping; and Chiavina threw water on him. She woke him, and he cut her hair and kissed her. Behold him! Chiavina gave him seventeen cuts with his knife, she gave them to him. She went to her Gypsies. They saw, her Gypsies saw, that her hair had been cut. They wished to know who had cut her hair. 'You wish to know? I will tell it. This captain's son it was who cut my hair.' Behold! He went back to his people. When he came there to his Gypsies, [his father] asked how he fared when he took his sweetheart Chiavina. Behold! They all went with the family. When they arrive there, he took his sister's clothes and dressed himself as a woman. Behold! He went to their castle to his beloved at home [?]: and then he said that all his Gypsies were imprisoned. And Chiavina was waiting and wished him for her sleeping-companion [?]. And then they went into the inn to sleep there. They set themselves to play. Within they play. Tired of playing, they went to sleep. She felt his head. She felt [his] head, and she found seventeen cuts. Behold he gave himself for recognition, that he was the captain's son who was her lover. In the morning she drew her shirt over her head, and cried aloud [?]. He went to ask for the fair Chiavina. Behold her father, Chiavina's father, gave her to him, a delightful honour. They celebrated the marriage of the fair Chiavina.²

ORIGINAL PARAPHRASE.

Le fils d'un Houpmano dormait sous un arbre auprès d'une fontaine. Il lui apparut en rêve une belle jeune fille inconnue qui s'appelait la Chiavina. Ce rêve bailla dans son cœur un tel trouble qu'il ne mangeait plus et ne buvait plus. Voyant leur fils si chagriné le père et la mère s'inquiétèrent. Le père lui dit: Qu'as-tu, mon fils, je te prie de me le dire. Et le jeune homme leur dit son amour, et qu'il devait sept fois ferrer en argent son cheval avant de trouver son amante.² Il a demandé la sainte bénédiction—de son père et de sa mère. Il a marché six mois avant qu'il ait eu de ses nouvelles (de la Chiavina). Au bout de six mois [il] est arrivé vers une ville: il a été vers le grand hôtel (auberge): voilà que (il)³ pendant que le bourgeois lui prépare à manger, le jeune homme il lui demande s'il n'y a pas des disuses de bonne fortune et le monsieur lui répond: Il y en a qui ont leur château ici. Pendant qu'il est à table voilà la Kiavina [qui] arrive avec sa donzelle (sa servante): sa servante lui dit. La kiavina, venez dire (?) la bonne aventure à ce jeune homme. Celui-ci devrait être ton mari, vois quelle jolie personne: et elle répond: non, je n'en voudrais pas; qu'il soit plutôt le tien. Pendant ce temps-là, ils se reconnaissent pour Romnitichel. Il a resté six mois là, faisant manger toute la famille de la jeune personne. Au bout de six mois, il fait la demande de la fille. Les parents n'ont pas voulu la lui donner. Alors le jeune homme de la rage qu'il avait, s'en alla coucher sous un arbre près d'une fontaine. Il était comme moitié endormi et la Kiavina est allé vers la fontaine avec sa servante pour chercher de l'eau; et elle a vu qu'il était endormi là, lui a tiré ses cheveux et jeté de l'eau sur sa figure. Voilà que le jeune homme se réveille: il a pris son couteau et lui a coupé les cheveux (à la Kiavina). Elle alors lui a arraché son couteau et lui a donné 17 coups de couteau dans la tête. Le

¹ Or 'May my dear comrade be thy husband.'

² After this follows another version of the last few lines.

³ It should apparently be crossed out.

jeune homme alors va trouver ses parents. Ceux-ci lui disent : Tu as été pour chercher ta maîtresse et tu ne l'amènes pas (et nous ne savons rien du tout) et il répond : Allons, mes parents, il faut aller toute la famille ensemble. Une fois là, après avoir marché six mois encore, il a caché ses parents dans un[e] hôtel et s'est habillé en fille et disait à tout le monde que ses parents étaient tous malades à l'hôpital. La Chiavina, le voyant arriver, dit, en voyant cette jeune fille affligée, dit : je veux cette jeune fille pour ma camarade. Il répond : Mais je suis logé à l'hôtel, et je veux y coucher, et il l'amène. Au soir ils couchent ensemble. Lui, il dit à la Chiavina : cherche voir un peu dans ma tête pour l'ordonner. Elle trouva les traces des 17 coups de couteau. Est-ce que tu ne te souviens pas quand tu me les a faits?—A présent je suis la tienne, demain vous irez faire la demande. Ils font la demande ; les parents ont consenti ; et il épouse la belle Kiavina.

By a happy coincidence the modern existence of this dialect among French Gypsies has been verified by Mr. Augustus John, who in March took down a short vocabulary from some Gypsies of the Haute-Savoie, as they passed through Martigues. This he has kindly allowed me to print here. As will be seen, it is obviously in the same dialect as the Chiavina tale, though proportionately much fuller of Italian and German loan-words. Especially characteristic are the use of *ba*, father, and the plural article *le* in *le čerginye*, *le būmbūnyī*.

The Romany words are:—

- [*ač-*, stay]: in *ačela na štīlo*, 'he won't keep still'.
 [*av-*, come]: in *vesa te dikes mro ba*, ['you will come to see my father'].
ba, father: in *vesa te dikes mro ba*, ['you will come to see my] father'.
avrin, out: in *le čerginye que si la avrin*, ['the stars which are out', or 'which are there (far) away']. The form in *-n* appears to be peculiar to German Gypsy, cf. Liebich's *wrin*.
balkola, wind: in *i balkola*, 'the wind'.
 [*bink-*, sell]: in *binkavcla*, 'he sells'. [By metathesis for *bikin*].
brišindo, rain: in *na dela brišindo*, 'it rains not'.
čam, cheek.
čergin, star: as pl. *čerginya*, 'stars', and in *kerla šukar rat, si čerginya*, ['it will be a fine night, there are stars']; also *čerginye*, in *le čerginye que si la avrin*, ['the stars which are out'. See s.v. *avrin*].
čik, dirt.
čiro, [weather]: in *šukar čiro kaya rat*, ['fine weather to-night'].
čer, beard.
- [*da-*, give]: in *na dela brišindo*, 'it rains not'.
 [*dik-*, see]: in *vesa te dikes mro ba*, ['you will come to see my father'].
haning, well.
holeb, trousers.
čero, ass.
 [*χa-*, eat]: in *χala-jukel*, opprobrious term, ['he eats dog'].
i, feminine article: in *i balkola*, 'the wind'.
 [*is-*, to be]: *si*, 'they are'; in *na si-le šukar*, ['they are not nice']; *kerla šukar rat, si čerginya*, ['it will be a fine night, there are stars']; and *le čerginye que si la avrin*, ['the stars which are out'. See s.v. *avrin*].
jamūtro, son-in-law: in *leskro jamūtro*, 'son gendre'.
jukel, dog: in *χala-jukel*, opprobrious term, ['he eats dog'].
kaisli, key: in *kaislingeri*, 'coppersmiths', [= 'locksmiths'. *Kaisli* by metathesis for *klaisi*. The form with *s* instead of *d* seems unexampled except in England].
kaliko, to-morrow: also *te vesu kaliko*,

- 'if you come to-morrow'. [Apparently otherwise peculiar to English, Spanish, Livonian, and Finnish Romyany; cf. Pott, ii. 107].
- kangerin*, church. [For the final -n cf. Bischoff and the Waldheim list, and Roberts' *Congling*, Pott, ii. 150].
- kaya*, [this, fem.]: in *šukar čiro kaya rat*, ['fine weather to-night'].
[*ker-*, to do, make]: in *kerla šukar rat, si čerginya*, ['it will be (*lit.* make) a fine night, there are stars'].
- la*. See *le*.
- le*: (1) plural article: *le bambunji*, the dolls: *le čerginye que si la arvin*, ['the stars which are out']. See s.v. *arvin*].
(2) plural affix to verbs, = they: *na si-le šukar*, ['they are not nice'].
- lil*, hook.
- lim*, mucus: in *lim nakeskeri*, 'dirty nosed'.
- mijox*, bad.
- mro*, my: in *vesa te dikes mro ba*, ['you will come to see my father'].
- na*, not: in *na si-le šukar*, ['they are not nice']: *na dela brišindo*, 'it rains not': *ačela na štilo*, 'he won't keep still'.
- nai*, nail.
- nak*, nose: in *lim nakeskeri*, 'dirty nosed'.
- nasáli*, sick.
- [*pač-*, believe]: in *pačen*, 'they believe'.
- rat*, night: in *kerla šukar rat, si čerginya*, ['it will be a fine night, there are stars']; and *šukar čiro kaya rat*, ['fine weather to-night'].
- ruk*, tree.
- sostepeu*, health: as dative *sostepaske*, 'health'! [exclamation].
- šukar*, [nice, fine]: in *na si-le šukar*, ['they are not nice']; *kerla šukar rat, si čerginye*, ['it will be a fine night, there are stars']; and *šukar čiro kaya rat*, ['fine weather to-night'].
- te*: (1) 'in order that': in *vesa te dikes mro ba*, ['you will come to see my father'].
(2) 'if': in *te vesa kaliko*, 'if you come to-morrow'.
- tiraχ*, boot.
- tu*, thou: as accusative in *ringeršava tut*, 'thank you'.
- tušni*, bottle.

Of the loan-words the greater part, as in 'Chiavina,' are German or Italian, while one or two may be French. Certainly German are:—

- knepi*, buttons; [Knöpfe: cf. Finck and Liebhich's *knopis* (Knospe)].
- pussikleti*, cat; [German Buse-Katze, Swiss Busi, Bussi, and Chätzli].
- štibli*, high boots; [Stiefel, or possibly Ital. stivale, pl. -i].
- štilo*, quiet; in *ačela na štilo*, 'he won't keep still'; [still].
- tiše*, table; [Tisch].

Certainly Italian are:—

- bambunji*: in *le bambunji*, 'the dolls': [bambini 'children,' bambole 'dolls'].
- dende*, tents; [tenda, pl. tende].
- ringeršava*: in *ringeršava tut*, 'thank you'; [ringraziare].
- strassi*, rags; [straccio, pl. stracci].
- suc'ro*, sugar; [zuccherò].

Four others have an Italian appearance, though I cannot identify them:—

- ešmielo*, policeman.
- kor'o*, coat; [? It. corio, 'hide'].
- quadrega*, chair; [quadriga is used by Italian poets in the sense of chariot; possibly it is also used dialectically in the sense of a four-legged chair].
- sulietto*, sickle.

¹ Possibly the *lu* in *le čerginye que si la arvin* is a mistake for *le*, since a redundant *le* with relatives occurs in 'Chiavina'; but it may be French or Italian *là*, 'there.'

Several may be French or Italian :—

batoli, boat; [Fr. bateau, It. batello]. *la*; [possibly Fr. or It. 'là,' there, but
divinette, story; [connected with *divinare*, diviner, 'guess' ?]. see *le* above].
que; ['which.' Fr. *que*, or It. *che*].

Finally, there remains one very mysterious word *ambruli*, 'shoes.' Was there some confusion, as it is excellent Romany for 'pears'? Or is it connected with Italian *ambulare*, 'walk,' or with Greek, ἀρβύλη, 'shoe,' changed by metathesis into '*abruli*,' and further corrupted through likeness to the word *ambrol*?

III.—GYPSIES AS FORTUNE-TELLERS AND AS BLACKSMITHS

By LEO WIENER

(Continued from page 17)

IN the year 789 Charlemagne issued at Aix-la-Chapelle a general admonition to the clerical and secular authorities of his realm, which was based chiefly on a collection of canons sent to him by Pope Hadrian in 774. Among the several prohibitions contained in it there is one¹ for which no previous source has been found, and which is of particular interest to our inquiry. It runs as follows :—

'Item ut isti *mangones* et *cotiones*² qui sine omni lege vagabundi vadunt per istam terram, non sinantur vagare et deceptiones hominibus agere, nec isti nudi cum ferro, qui dicunt se data sibi poenitentia ire vagantes: melius videtur, ut si aliquid inconsuetum et capitale crimen commiserint, ut in uno loco permaneant laborantes et servientes et poenitentiam agentes secundum quod sibi canonice inpositum sit.'

Hefele³ thinks that this law was directed against a class of cheats called *mangones* and *cotiones*, who were no longer to

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Leg. Sect. ii. (Alfredus Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Tomus Primus, Hannoverae, 1883), pp. 60, 61; F. Paulus Canciani, *Barbarorum leges antiquae cum notis et glossariis*, vol. iii., Venetiis, 1785, p. 209 et al.

² Other readings are—*cocciones*, *cottiones*, *scottiones*, *Ibid.*

³ *Conciliengeschichte*, 3. Band, 2. Ausgabe, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1877, p. 670: 'Die Betrüger, welche *mangones* (*mengue* bei französ. Dichtern = Betrug) und *cotiones* (*scottiones*?) heissen, sollen nicht mehr frei umherschweifen dürfen; ebenso auch nicht jene Nackten mit Ketten, welche vorgeben, sie müssten zur Busse umherziehen. Haben sie ein schweres Vergehen begangen, so sollen sie an einem Ort bleiben und dort Busse thun.'

wander about freely, and that the naked people with chains, who pretended to wander about for penance' sake, were to stay in one place and there do penance, if they had committed a grievous crime. Into this obviously inexact rendering of the text Hefele was led by Boretius's annotations, in which *mango* is explained as 'deceiver' and *cotio* as 'rascal.'¹ Neither these two writers nor any one after them have taken the trouble to ascertain the precise meanings of those words in the eighth century. To obtain them we must carefully follow up the historical vicissitudes to which they have been subjected from their earliest appearance until recent times, as in the early Middle Ages many words of Latin or Vulgar Latin origin frequently underwent violent changes of significance, and only the cumulative evidence of living speech and of literary references can determine their full connotations for that early period.

Cōciō, *-ōnis*, is a late Latin word² of uncertain origin, and also written *coccio*, *coctio*, *cuctio*, *cotio*, *cogcio*,³ which Gellius says was a vulgar name for the older *arilator*, 'haggler.'⁴ But *arilator* is itself of uncertain origin, and its precise meaning is not known. There are several derivatives of this *cocio*. Quintilian used *cocionor* in the sense of 'haggle,' and for a later date are recorded the derivatives *cociator*, *cocionatura*, *cocionaria*. In the Middle Ages Low Latin *cocio*⁵ is several times given with the Greek translation *μεταβόλος*, *μεταπράτης*, 'huckster,' 'retail dealer'; but these meanings reflect the older semi-classical conception of the word, not its fuller current acceptance in the Romance languages.

In old French *cosson*, *coçon*,⁶ has the meaning of 'itinerant merchant,' as in Bible Guyot⁷ of the beginning of the thirteenth

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 60: '*mangones*=fallaces, deceptores, etiam proxenetarum quoddam genus; *cotiones*=francogall. coquins, vagi homines.'

² Forcellini, *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, T. ii., Prati, 1861, sub *cocio*. Cf. G. Loewe, *Prodromus corporis glossariorum latinorum*, Lipsiae, 1876, p. 285.

³ Georgius Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, vol. iii. pars prior, Lipsiae, 1899, sub *cocio*; and Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, sub *cociones*.

⁴ G. F. Hildebrand (*Glossarium latinum Bibliothecae Parisianae antiquissimum*, Goettingae, 1854, p. 19) shows that it meant as much as 'fortune-teller,' 'sooth-sayer,' but in this interpretation he stands alone.

⁵ Goetz, *l.c.*

⁶ On the irregularity of the French formation see G. Gröber, 'Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter,' in Wölflin's *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, vol. i. (1884), p. 549.

⁷ 'Des Guiot von Provins bis jetzt bekannte Dichtungen,' by Joh. Friedr. Wolfart and San Marte, in San Marte's *Parcivalstudien*, Erstes Heft, Halle, 1861, v. 1246, p. 68.

century: 'Mestre *coçon* et marchéant Sont-il certes et bien errant.' It more particularly meant a horse-trader of some kind:¹ 'Marcheans et vendeurs de chevaus, soient *cossous* ou autres.' It has survived in some localities as the name for a peddler: Swiss-French² *cosson* 'marchand de blé, homme qui va de maison en maison acheter des graines de légumes pour les revendre'; Vosges³ *cosson* 'marchand de volaille, de beurre, d'œufs'; la Meuse⁴ *cousson* 'marchand coquetier.' In Old Provençal *cusso*, *cusco* are given by Raynouard⁵ as equivalent to 'goujat,' 'coquin,' 'vaurien,' but the trade plied by these rogues is not ascertainable from the passages quoted by him. Old Catalan had *cusson*, 'horse-trader,' and this is obviously the same as the Provençal word.⁶ In Italian,⁷ *cozzone* is a 'horse-trader,' 'slave-trader,' 'jockey,' and in the latter sense the form *scozzone*, a derivative of the first, is more popular. The word does not seem to have existed in Spain or Portugal, and has died out to a great extent in France itself, at least in its original form. It occurs in a large number of forms and over a wide territory, but so reduced by popular etymology as to be unrecognisable at first sight. The Provençal *cusso*, which may have been of a wider distribution in adjoining countries, early suggested a derivation from Latin *currere*⁸

¹ An undated quotation in La Curne de Sainte-Palaye's *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage français*, vol. iv., Nort, Paris 1877, sub *cosso*, and in Du Cange sub *corratarius*. Skeat (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, London, 1888-90, pp. 9-12) thinks that this is a misreading for *cosson*, but that is not necessarily so, as the Provençal and Catalan forms show.

² Doyen Bridel, *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande*, Lausanne, 1863, p. 84.

³ N. Haillant, *Dictionnaire phonétique et étymologique*, Epinal, 1885, p. 162: 'Ce mot est d'usage courant, même en franç. du pays. Littré ne le donne pas, il semblerait donc provincial. L'abbé Pétin a le verbe *cossena* aller de maison en maison pour acheter le beurre, les œufs, etc. Hadol m'a donné le féminin *cossen'-rosse*. Le Val d'AJol a aussi le verbe *cossena*, qui sign. en autre promener çà et là. Lambert.' This *cossen'-rosse* is apparently the same as Wallonian *cossoneresse* 'revendeuse de légumes,' in J. Sigart's *Glossaire étymologique montois*, Bruxelles, Paris, 1870.

⁴ H. Labourasse, *Glossaire abrégé du patois de la Meuse*, Arcis-sur-Aube, 1887, p. 218.

⁵ *Lexique roman*, Paris, 1838-44. Emil Levy (*Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1894, sub *cusco*) thinks that *cusco* should read *cusço*.

⁶ Some Catalan dictionaries give the form *cusso*.

⁷ *Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Quinta impressione, sub *cozzone*. Cf. A. Lattes, *Il diritto commerciale nella legislazione statutaria delle città italiane*, Milano, 1884, p. 113, where *cozoni*, *cozones* are given for Bologna and Verona in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁸ This derivation, as the real one, and not due to popular etymology, was first broached by W. Roscher, *Nationalökonomik des Handels und Gewerbfleisses*, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart, 1882, p. 474, note 11, and propounded by A. Horning (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xiii. p. 325), who was criticised in the *Romania* (xviii. p. 629) for adducing what might turn out to be a mere popular etymology.

'to run,' and produced the Latinised form *cursor*.¹ The earliest quotation for this in the sense of 'itinerant merchant,' 'mediator,' is from Aquitaine for the year 1199, though there is a still earlier one, for the year 1067, as an adjective, *cursorius*. A lengthened *cursator* is twice cited in Du Cange, and *cursor publicus* was a kind of auctioneer in Aragon.²

Strangely, the English derivatives of this group represent more closely the forms which we have just found in the south of France and Spain, due, possibly, to that old commercial intercourse which has given a number of Provençal terms to the English language. The *English Dialect Dictionary* records *scorse*, *scoarce*, *scorse*, *scoace*, *scoast*, *scoce*, *scoose*, *scose*, *scousse*, *scuoce*, *sewoce*, 'to barter.' The initial *s* may have been transferred from the *s* of horse, as the commonest compound is *horse-courser*, *horse-scourcer*, and need not be from the Italian *scozzone*. The *Dialect Dictionary* also has *coss*, and, in Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, *coss*, *cose*, *coiss* have the same meaning. Cotgrave gives *barater* 'to scourse,' 'to barter,' and Farmer and Henley³ have *horse-coser*, *-courser* 'horse-dealer.' The earliest quotations in Wülcker⁴ are for the fifteenth century, *mango a cursure*, and *hie mango a cosyr*. But the Oxford *English Dictionary* records fourteenth century *corse*, *course*, 'to exchange,' 'to barter'; *corser*, 'a jobber,' 'a horse-dealer'; *corserie*, 'brokery,' 'jobbery,' 'barter.' To this group unquestionably belongs Harman's⁵ *cursetors*, 'vagabonds.' Similarly the vagabond expression *cozen*, 'to cheat,' and its derivatives *cozener*, *cozenage*, belong here. The oldest forms

¹ For this and the following words see Du Cange. The transition from itinerant merchant to vagabond is so natural a one, especially when the first is already popularly connected with *currere*, that it becomes difficult to ascertain where one ends and the other begins. *Cursorius* is also recorded in the sense of 'depredator,' and from this it is not far to 'pirate,' 'corsair.' It is not impossible that *corsair* should be included in this group. This is made probable not only by such forms as Catalan *cossari* 'corsair,' Servian *gusar*, 'hussar' (see *hussar* in the Oxford *English Dictionary*), but also by *cursor* (in Du Cange) given in a Graeco-Latin gloss. as 'a thief of gold or other stuff.'

² So too, the Spanish *corredor* seems to have been more of an auctioneer than a broker, to judge from the *Siete Partidas*, where there is also an attempt at etymologising which is on a par with that of modern philologists: 'Corredores son llamados aquellos que andan en las almonedas, e venden las cosas, pregonando, quanto es lo que dan por ellas. E porque andan corriendo de la una parte a la otra, mostrando las cosas que venden, por esso son llamados corredores' (Ley xxxiii. tit. xxvi. part 2).

³ *Slang and its Analogues*, vol. iii., London, 1893, sub *horse-capper*.

⁴ *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, cols. 594 and 650.

⁵ *A Caueat of Warening for commen cursetors vulgarely called Vagabondes*, 1567.

coosen, cossen, cussen, coson, couson, etc., at once relate it to French *cosson*, and make it probable that, instead of assuming a southern origin for *scourse* and its group, we have here an independent development from an original French source, rather than two separate sources of borrowing.¹

Popular etymology did not stop at connecting the itinerant merchant with *currere*, 'to run,' but went on to corrupt the word so as to bring it in line with *curator*,² 'imposer of taxes and duties,' *curatura*,³ 'a tax on eatables' in some Italian cities. The confusion was, however, only local, that is, only where *curatura* preceded in the sense of a tax. Elsewhere in Italy and in France the popular derivations from *currere* and *curare* overlapped and produced a number of intermediate forms, in which the relation to either root is frequently lost sight of. Du Cange gives for 'proxeneta, negotiator, broker,' the words *courratarius* (ann. 1243), *corraterius* (1278), *corratarius* (1297), *curritor* (1333), *curaterius* (1355), *corretarius* (1423), *correctarius* (1454). That this negotiator chiefly attended to horse-dealing is obvious from a thirteenth-century quotation which mentions a *corratarius equorum*,⁴ and from a Provençal gloss *corratier*,⁵ 'mango equorum proprie, quod equos manu agat.' A *courratier de chevaux*⁶ is mentioned in Paris in 1313. *Corratagium*,⁷ 'the emoluments of a broker,' is found as early as 1114. In France a large variety of forms is recorded from the thirteenth century on. In Godefroy we find for the occupation of the broker, *correterie*, *coureterie*, *courreterie*, *cortrie*, *corraterie*, *couratrie*, *courratarie*, *coureterie*, and the by

¹ Since writing the above I have found a considerable number of *coossoun* in England at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. In R. R. Sharpe's *Calendar of Letter-books Preserved among the Archives of the City of London*, London, 1899—*Book A*, p. 31, we find a Robert le Marescal, *coosun*, and a note: 'Robert de Kent, who is described in Letter-Book B (fo. 22 b) as "cooson" is styled in Husting Roll 70 (140) "mercator equorum"; and we find Robert le Marescal himself owing money for a horse (fo. 18);' p. 33, Roger Crok, *coosun*; p. 146, Hugh Pope, *coosun*; in *Book B* we find William Priour (p. 5), John de Kent (p. 17), John de Boseworth (p. 31), Robert le Sauser (p. 32) bound to Gilbert Marescal, who in *A* (p. 51) is given as a horse-dealer, Robert, son of John of Kent (pp. 35 and 255), John 'in the Lane,' *coosour* (p. 254); in *Book D*, p. 61, Robert le Ryder, *coosour*.

² Du Cange, sub *curator*.

³ Körting (*Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, 3. Ausg., Padeborn, 1907) accepts Horning's etymology from *currere* for French *courtier*, etc., but assumes an approach to Latin *curare*, 'to take care.'

⁴ Du Cange, sub *corratarius*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Livre de la Taille de Paris en 1313*, p. 81, mentioned in E. de Chambure's *Glossaire du Morvan* (Paris, autun 1878), sub *courandié*.

⁷ Du Cange.

no means rare *coulterie*.¹ In modern French *courtier* still means 'broker,' but the dialectic forms prove more interesting in that they have better preserved the original significance of itinerant peddler. In the centre of France² we have *couratier*, 'a huckster,' 'factor,' 'vagabond'; *courateux*, 'an itinerant charlatan'; *courater*, 'to loaf,' and similar meanings prevail elsewhere.³ In Spain the broker is called *corredor*, in Portugal *corretor*, with a closer reminiscence of *correr*, 'to run.'

It thus appears that the various derivations from *cocio* extend over nearly all the Romance languages, and that the English has borrowed its group of words relating to horse-dealing from one of them. Considering this wide dispersion, one would expect to find the same also in German and Dutch, the nearest neighbours to the French. Unfortunately these words have reached there in such a disguised form that their relationship has heretofore not been suspected by philologists. But the various connotations of the derivatives are identical with those in the Romance languages, and so there can be no doubt as to the correctness of my assumption. We have⁴ German *tauschen*, 'to exchange,' Middle High German *tûschen*, Low German *tûsken*, *tûschen*, Dutch *tuischen*, Middle Dutch *tuyschen*, M.H.G. *tûschen*, *tiuschen*, *teuschen*, 'to joke one,' 'to deceive,' G. *tâuschen*, 'to deceive,' M.L.G. *tuschen*, *tuschen*, 'to jest,' 'deceive,' 'cheat,' D. *tuischen*, 'play at dice,' M.D. *tuyschen*, 'to gamble,' 'play at dice,' M. Flemish *tuyschen*, 'to gamble,' 'deceive,' Flem. *tuischen*, *tûschen*, 'to gamble,' M.H.G. *tiuschaere*, *tiuscher*, 'cheat,' 'deceiver,' D. *tuischer*, M.D. *tuyscher*, 'horse-dealer,' M.F. *tuyscher*, 'gambler,' *peert-tuyscher*, 'horse-dealer,' M.L.G. *tûscher*, *tuschen*, 'cheat,' 'rogue.' Lexer⁵ has observed that all these words are of

¹ Additional old forms in France may be found in *Archives de Bordeaux*, vol. i. (Bordeaux, 1867), p. 542, *corratey*, vol. iv., *offici de corrataria*, p. 351, *correter*; *Archives municipales de Bayonne, Livre des Etablissements*, Bayonne, 1892, p. 319, *corretor*, pp. 68 and 331, *corrateirie*, *corroteirie*, etc.; *Histoire de la ville d'Alais* (Nîmes, 1896), p. 76, *corratarie*; Paul Laurent, *Statuts et coutumes de l'échérinage de Mézières* (Paris, 1889), p. 66, *coulletage*, p. 172, *coultier*; Marcel Planiot, *La très ancienne coutume de Bretagne* (Rennes, 1896), p. 384, *courrataille*.

² Jaubert, *Glossaire du Centre de la France* (Paris, 1864).

³ In Chambure's *Glossaire du Morvan* is given: *courandié*, *-ère* *coureur*, *vagabond*, *vaurien*; Genève, wallon, *couratier* avec le même sens que *courandié* en Morvan; Berry, *courandière* *coureuse*; Normandie, *courandier* *flâneur*; Maine, *couratier* *revendeur*, *courassier* *coureur*. M. A. Eveille, *Glossaire Saintongeais*, Paris (Bordeaux, 1887), has *couratier* *coureur*, *vagabond*, *entremetteur*.

⁴ In the enumeration I follow chiefly J. ten Doorkatt Koolman, *Wörterbuch der ostfriesischen Sprache*, 3. Band (Norden, 1884).

⁵ J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 11. Band (Leipzig, 1890), sub *tauschen*, *tâuschen*.

comparatively late formation, not beyond the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and that they proceed from a Low German *tusken*. We have had a Provençal *cusso*, *cusco*, 'horse-dealer,' etc., and as some such form has given English *coss*, *cosyr*, etc., so it has produced German *tusken*, *tuscher*, etc. The very substitution of *t* for *c*, of which there are several similar cases, stamps the group as a borrowed one. The noun has above all else the meaning 'horse-dealer,' then, as we learn from the verbal forms, 'trader,' 'barterer,' then 'cheat,' absolutely the same as in the Romance group of words.

It thus appears that the fundamental meaning of *cocio* at the beginning of its distribution over the Romance and Germanic fields, approximately in Carolingian times, was that of an itinerant horse-dealer of ill repute. This is made certain by a reference to *cocio* in a letter by Archbishop Hincmar to Charles the Bald: ¹ 'in ipsas villas, in quibus non solum homines caballarii, sed etiam ipsi *cocciones* rapinas faciunt' (in the villages where not only the horsemen but even the very *cocciones* commit ravages). Here the *cocciones* are represented as in some way connected with horses and as a contemptible lot of people who, like the hostile horsemen, commit ravages.

The vicissitudes of the other word, *mango*, have been somewhat different. In Latin ² it meant 'a dealer, monger in slaves or wares, to which he tries to give an appearance of greater value by dressing them out and furbishing them up'; but a passage in Suetonius ³ seems to indicate that it also meant 'a horse-dealer.' It is generally derived from or related to Greek ⁴ *μαγγονεύειν*, 'to enchant,' 'deceive,' 'falsify.' The mediæval Graeco-Latin glosses ⁵ translate *mango* by *σωματέμπορος*, *μεταβόλος ἦτοι μεταπράτης ἀνδραπόδων* 'slave-dealer,' *ἵπποβοσκός*, 'horse-herder,' while a Latin gloss reads *mango*, 'negotiator,' 'trader.' These chiefly reflect the classical acceptations and tell us little of its later significance. In England we have already seen *mango* translated by 'cursure' and 'cosyr,' while another fifteenth-century ⁶ gloss makes it equal to 'horse-mownger,' that is, in every case it is understood to mean 'horse-dealer.' In Du Cange we have one

¹ *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, tome septième, p. 523.

² E. A. Andrews, *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon* (London, 1870).

³ Forcellini, sub *mango*.

⁴ Alois Vaniček, *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Band (Leipzig, 1877), p. 685.

⁵ Goetz, sub *mango*.

⁶ Wülcker, col. 650.

quotation each with the meanings 'simoniacus,' 'praedo,' 'fallax,' which simply give the derogatory sense; one each with the meanings 'famulus,' 'discipulus,' which refer to a later period about the fifteenth century, and, therefore, are unreliable as to their earlier acceptations; and one each for 'carnifex,' 'equiso' (jockey), 'mcreator equorum,' 'intermediator,' or almost identical with *cocio*. We also find in Du Cange a number of derivatives from *mango*—*manganus*, 'seductor,' 'a cheat,' *mangonarius* (from a charter of the year 1155), 'huckster.'

The Germanic people borrowed the word from the Latin at an early time. In Anglo-Saxon *mangian* had the respectable significance of 'to trade,' 'to traffic,' and *mangere* was 'a merchant,' 'trader,' 'dealer.' The Oxford *English Dictionary* records Engl. *monger*, as one who carries on a petty or disreputable traffic, only from the sixteenth century; but earlier quotations in compounds, as *heymonger* (ann. 1297), *mongers of fish* (c. 1400), and still earlier ones from the end of the tenth century, as *fishmonger* and *cheese-monger*,¹ show that the monger had in England always been a dealer in food stuffs or provender, that is, in petty things, and the before-mentioned *horse-mownger* indicates its use for a disreputable trade. One would not expect to find compounds like *house-monger*, *gold-monger*, and one never does. Similarly Old Norse² knew *mangari* in the sense of trafficker of food stuffs, as in *slátr-mangari*, *kjöt-mangari*, 'butcher'; and the use of the verb *manga* with the vile acceptance of 'higgle,' 'chaffer,' 'barter,' keeps the meaning close to Latin *mango*. Old High German³ *mangare*, *mengari*, Old Hessian *menge*, 'petty trader,' German *manger*, 'peddler,' 'petty trader,' *menge*, 'itinerant trader,' 'peddler,' *menger*, 'dealer,' testify to the universal use of the word in meanings closely resembling the Latin.

In the Netherlands the fate of Latin *mango* has been a peculiar one. As in High German, *manger* means 'a trader,' and

¹ Aethelred, 978-1016: 'Qui ad pontem venisset cum uno bato, [ubi] piscis inesset, ipse mango 1 obolum dabat in teloneum . . . smere mangestre, que mangonant in caso et butiro.' In *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Halle, 1876, vol. i. p. 2.

² Vigfusson, in his *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, says: 'As *manga* is used in Kormak, and even in a derived sense, it need not be borrowed from A.S., but may be a genuine Norse word formed from *margr* (many) at a time when the *n* had not as yet changed into *r*.' Similarly Skeat, in *An Etymological Dictionary*, derives it from the same root as 'many,' and says: 'The relationship to the Lat. *mango*, a dealer in slaves, is not clear, but the E. word does not seem to be borrowed from it.' This desire to fall back on Germanic roots has only too often obscured the early historical relations of Northern Europe to Rome and Greece.

³ J. and W. Grimm, sub *manger*, *menger*, *menge*.

the various compounds recorded for it in Dutch and Low German again point to a trader in petty things. Kilian¹ records an old *magger*, 'commutator mercium,' as identical with *mangher*, our 'monger,' but the modern etymologists² wrongly separate this from our group and relate it to *makelare*, 'broker,' which, as we shall soon see, is any way the same as *manger*. When, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, the Netherlands and the Hanseatic towns expanded their commercial relations and evolved the occupation of the broker, the factor, they unquestionably followed the precedent set them in this direction by the commercial centres of the Mediterranean. Here the Italian *corretario*, or a similar form, came out victorious over other words denoting the broker, such as *messeta*, *marosser*, *sensale*, *proseneta*, *cozzone*,³ as is evidenced by its widespread distribution in the other Latin countries and the early appearance of *courtier* in France. That the establishment of brokerage proceeded from Northern Italy is amply proved by the history of the word *broker*. It is first mentioned early in the eleventh century in a chartulary at Monte-Casino⁴ as *abbocatore*, where it has the meaning of 'intermediary.' This Italian word is popularly derived from the verb *abbocarsi*, which, among other meanings, has that of 'parley together,' 'come to an agreement,' and which gives the noun *abbocamento*, 'parley,' 'agreement.'⁵ *Abbocatore* may in Italy never have acquired the definite meaning of 'broker,' but it appears in the fourteenth century as *abocador*, *abrocador*, *abrochador*, as equivalent to *corratey*, 'broker,' in Bordeaux.⁶ It soon succumbed to the more popular *corratey*, and

¹ *Kilianus Auctus*, Amstelodami, 1642.

² E. Verwijs en J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, Vierde deel, 's-Gravenhage, 1899, sub *makelare*.

³ Lattes, *l.c.*

⁴ D. Luigi Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte Cassino*, Roma, 1888, vol. i. (doc. XXIX.), p. 411: 'ego enim erga mecum abendo Supponem Judicem de castra Petra mellaria *abbocatore*m supradicti monasteri. . .'; p. 412: 'tamen ille erga secum abead dictum *abbocadore*m pro parte supradicti monasterij.' Both forms are frequently repeated.

⁵ This is, however, only a popular etymology, as *abbocatore* is identical with *advocator*, *advocatus* (see both in Du Cange), in meaning; in fact, we have a definite statement to this effect in a Neapolitan source (Du Cange, sub *abocator*): 'Qui (tutor) sic dictus, alias datus, secundum vulgarem usum loquendi Neapolis, dicitur Abocator.' The earliest reference to *advocator*, 'a representative of a monastery,' something like the *abbocatore*, in France is for the year 1053, in M. Guérard's *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Victor de Marseille*, vol. i. p. 320.

⁶ *Archives municipales de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1867), tome i. p. 542: 'So es la forme deu sagrament que deben far, cascun an, los corrateys, autremantz apperatz: *abrocadors* de la bille et ciutat de Borden.' This, 'otherwise called the *abrocadors* of the town and city of Bordeaux,' indicates that both terms are identical, and that, at the same time, the latter term may have evolved from an older meaning, 'the

finally disappeared completely there. But it fared better in the north, where for a long time it maintained itself by the side of the more popular French *courtier* and Dutch *makelare*, so that it is not always possible to determine whether a peculiar kind of broker was meant, as has been assumed by some, or whether there existed no material difference. In the thirteenth century we find *abrokeur*, *abrokieres*, *brokieres* frequently in the statutes of St. Omer,¹ and in a statute of the year 1253, of Dieppe,² the office of the *abrocoatores* is clearly described as that of brokers. From these cities in the north of France the word *broker* found its way to England.³ *Cocio* and its derivatives had not taken deep root in the Netherlands, and *tuischer*, 'horse-dealer,' seems to have entered the country at a late period. So, when the necessity arose for creating words for the well-defined occupation of the broker, *manger* suggested itself as the nearest equivalent. A further proof of Italian influence on the Dutch may be found in the derivatives from this stem, *makade*, *makage*, *makelaerdie*, *mekeldie*,⁴

intermediaries, etc.,' just as is the case with the Italian *abbocatore*. In Tome v. p. 300, we find the various writings *abocadors*, *abrocadors*, and on p. 318 *abrochadors*.

¹ A. Giry, *Histoire de la ville Saint-Omer et de ses institutions jusqu'au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1877, p. 502, and often afterwards. *Abrokeur* is the accusative of *abrokieres*, and it is this that has passed over to England. In the *Oxford English Dictionary* there is a long, learned, and absurd derivation of the word from a *broc*, 'at the tap,' as though the broker had evolved from an original tapster. In the first place, the *Registre aux bans municipaux* of Saint-Omer just mentioned, which is of the thirteenth century, speaks of brokers of wheat, as well as of wine, and wheat was not sold at the tap. Then again, the same document mentions a dozen times the selling of wine *a broke*, 'at retail,' not a single time connecting it with the business of the broker. The only reason the broker in St. Omer is connected with the commerce in wine is that it was the chief staple for this port. Cf. the *Calendar of Letter-Books*, A. p. 207, D. pp. 9 and 219, where the oath administered to the brokers will show at a glance how impossible the etymology of the *Oxford English Dictionary* is.

² Th. Bonnin, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, Rouen, 1847, p. 787.

³ The earliest quotation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from the year 1377, whereas it may already be found in the Statutes of the City of London for the year 1285 (*The Statutes of the Realm*, i. p. 103), where it speaks of the riff-raff of the foreign population turning brokers (*abrocours*), hostlers, and inn-keepers; and in the year 1376 the Commons complained of the Lombard brokers (*brokours*) and wished them banished (ii. p. 332). The form *abrokator* is found in 1287 and *abroketor* in 1291 (*The Publications of the Sheldon Society*, vol. xxiii., 1908, pp. 25, 40, 54). It is not necessary to assume that the word reached England through the north of France. Gascony was then an English possession, and the relations with Bordeaux were of the closest.

⁴ Verwijs en Verdam, sub *makelaerdie*: 'Een door analogie gevormden uitgang -dij vindt men ook in *proostdij* en *kanunnikdij* naast *abdij*; voor *makelaardij* kan het voorbeeld geweest zijn *koopvaardij*,' under *makade*, *maeckade*, *makage*, *maeckage*: 'a an het Fra. ontleenden uitgang *ade*, *maskerade*, *bravade*, *canonnade*.' This

which in Middle Dutch denotes the office of the broker, brokerage, broker's commission; and the puzzling endings of which clearly point to their Italian prototype *curtadia*, *curtada*, French *courtage*.¹ It still remains to show that the root *mak*- in all these is identical with the stem in *manger*. In one of the Hanseatic documents² for the year 1477, *manghelaer* is obviously used in the sense of broker—'de coopers, vercoopers, *manghelaers* ende andere.' The editor of the document translates this word as 'small trader,' but that makes no sense here. 'Buyers, sellers, and small traders' is anomalous, whereas 'buyers, sellers, and brokers' is naturally what one would expect, as a third party to a buyer and seller cannot again be a seller, but the intermediary between the two. Besides, the *Middle Dutch Dictionary* does not even record the word *manghelaer*,³ which confirms the assumption that it is but a variation of *makelaer*, 'broker,' and that, therefore, *makelen*, 'to act as a broker,' is the same as *mangelen*, 'to trade,' 'barter,' and the derivation from *maken*, 'to make (*i.e.* a contract),' is but a bit of popular etymology. This is again proved by the rare form *machler* for *makler* in German dialects, which should have been the universal one if the derivation from Dutch *maken*, German *machen*, had been obvious from the start.

In the north of France *makelare*⁴ was adopted from Flanders, but it early became corrupted into *maquerau*, with a derogatory sense, *maquerellerie* being recorded in the sense of keeping a house of ill-repute. In Godefroy are quoted two glosses from the same manuscript, *lenocinium* 'maquerellerie,' *lenocinior* 'vivre de maquerellerie,' which he, under the impression that they are not right, corrects to *macquerellerie*, whereas the form as given in the

explanation of the endings is too forced. There is no valid reason why, if all these words are, as the authors assume, of Germanic origin, the endings in each case should be so queer.

¹ See A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, München und Berlin, 1906, in Index, sub *curatura*. There is also an Italian *corretaggio*.

² *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, X. Band (Leipzig, 1907), p. 375.

³ But in Hexam's *A Copious English [sic!] and Netherduytch Dictionary*, Rotterdam, 1660, we find *mangelaer*, 'an exchanger,' 'a trucker,' 'a swopper,' or nearly in the sense of 'broker.'

⁴ A. Giry, *l.c.* The *Registre aux bans municipaux* seems to be a compilation from various sources and at various times, and thus the indiscriminate use of *abrokieres*, *makelare*, and *courtier* in this document can be easily explained. I can discover no material difference between these words as here used, and I assume that the natural relations of Saint-Omer with Flanders (see Giry, p. 311) since the beginning of the twelfth century has led to the adoption of *makelare*, while its traffic with the Mediterranean (p. 325) led to the adoption of *abrokieres* and *courtier*.

glossary and twice repeated puts it beyond doubt that it is identical with Dutch *makelaarie*, 'the occupation of a broker, go-between.'¹ Far more common in France is *maquignon*, 'broker' (in a bad sense), generally 'horse-dealer,' which is apparently a popular transformation of the Dutch word. There is, however, an older word which points to a similar form, and which, if it be necessary to posit a Vulgar Latin antecedent, comes from *ma[n]g[o]narius* or *ma[n]g[o]nanus*, as a derivative from *mango*, and has preserved an extraordinary and highly interesting meaning for our purpose. Under *magninus*, which, however, is not proved by any quotation, Du Cange gives two French passages where *maignen* is made the equal of *chaudronnier*, 'tinker': 'deux Chaudronniers ou Maignens passans par le pays,' and 'Perrin Lienart apporta au suppliant *Maignen ou chaudronnier* deux poilliers.' Godefroy records the forms *maignan*, *maagnan*, *maignen*, *meignan*, *maignin*, *magnien*, *mengvien*, *mengnein*, *mengnen*, *mengnem*, *mesgnen*, for an itinerant tinker from the thirteenth century on, and a large number of dialectic forms² are recorded with the same or similar meanings. That this group of words is identical with Latin *mango* is proved by two facts: it occurs in German vagabond slang³ as *meng*, 'tinker,' and it is recorded as *mango* in an eleventh-century gloss.⁴ Here we find: 'gallodromi, i.e. *mangones* discurrantes et fraude decipientes,' vagabond *mangones* who deceive people, exactly as in Charlemagne's capitulary, but *gallodromi* cannot be explained in any other way than a corruption of French *calderonnier*, or Low Latin *calderarii*, tinkers.⁵

¹ Cf. Hexam, *makelerye*, 'baulerie, or match-making'; *makelaerster*, 'baud.'

² Godefroy records: 'Dans le canton de Mesvres, on appelle *maignins* les ouvriers de passage qui viennent au printemps raccommoder les souliers, les parapluies, la faïence . . . Neuchâtel, *maquin* drouineur, chaudronnier ambulans . . . Nous disons aussi d'une personne sale ou au teint foncé: "Elle est noire comme un *maquin*." . . . Neuchât., Jura et Suisse rom., Vaud, *maguin* hongreur, Bas-Valais, Vionnaz *magnen*.' In J. Corblet's *Glossaire étymologique et comparatif du patois picard*, Paris, 1857, we find: *magniake*, *magnien*, Lorrain *magniake*, Jurassien *maguia*, Normand *magnan*, all with the meaning 'tinker.'

³ Grimm, sub *menge*: 'Es gehört auch der bettler- und gaunersprache an: *meng*, mit der erklärung *keszler*, P. Gengenbach 369 als rotwelsch.'

⁴ Goetz, sub *gallodromi*.

⁵ Should it turn out that *gallodromi* is a corruption of Gr. *κομδρομοι*, of whom Groome speaks in his *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, pp. xxiv-xxvi, we should still have a reference to Gypsies, for some at least of these, as given by Du Cange, were Gypsies. It is interesting to note that Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (vol. iii., Bonnæ, 1840, p. 225) mentions among the various regiments transferred from one place to another by Leo (ninth century) the 'vicarage of the Komodromos': 'καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Χαρσιανοῦ θέμα μετετέθησαν ταῦτα τὰ βάνδα, ἧτοι ἡ τοῦ Κομοδρόμου τοποτηρησία.'

Thus, summarising the evidence presented to us by the various meanings of *mango* for the period nearest to the time of Charlemagne, we are forced to assume that the *mango* was an itinerant trader, frequently a horse-dealer,¹ but more particularly a tinker in the region of the Rhine, that is in France and Germany, where the word has persisted for nearly ten centuries with that significance. We cannot, therefore, be far from the truth when we assume that Charlemagne's prohibition was directed against a class of vagrant people whose chief occupations were tinkering and horse-trading, and who had a reputation for deceiving. This corroborates the statements in the German Bible paraphrase² of the eleventh century. There we were told that the tinkers, *Kaltschmiede*, roved through the country, cheating people; here the same is told of the *mangones*, for whom we have the often repeated alternative, 'chaudronnier, calderarii (gallodromi).' This tends to strengthen our supposition that the *Kalt* of *Kaltschmiede* is identical with Italian *caldaia*, French *chaudron*, Engl. *cauldron*, and that the Gypsies are meant. There is a still closer coincidence between the Bible paraphrase and the law of Charlemagne, one that may lead to some unexpected discoveries as to the origin of trade in Central Europe during the early Middle Ages. We are told in the paraphrase that the *Kaltschmiede* were never satisfied with the price paid them in any transaction, and that they always asked for something in addition, and the secondary meanings of both *mango* and *cocio* indicate that these people were interested in trading and higgling. The whole philological history of brokerage has shown that it stood in direct relation to horse-dealing and petty trading. In fact, two of the earliest statutes of cities in Italy, at a time when brokerage had not yet evolved full-fledged as an important part of commerce, pile together horse-shoers, horse-traders, and mediators in business transactions.³ While

¹ This is assured by a contemporary gloss, *mango* 'comitator (no doubt a mistake for "commutator") equorum,' in *A late Eighth Century Latin - Anglo - Saxon Glossary*, edited by J. H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1906), p. 4.

² *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iii. No. 1, pp. 13 and 14.

³ In Du Cange, under *messetus*, 'Item quod omnes marescalchi, maroserii sive Messeti dicte Riperie teneantur denunciare seu manifestare dicto emptori omnes et singulas bestias, quas scient esse venditas per aliquam personam in communitate predicta.' *Statuti del Comune di Padova dal secolo xii. all' anno 1285*, Padova, 1873, p. 283: 'De ferratoribus equorum barnfaldis et messetis: Statutum vetus conditum ante millesimum ducentiesimum trigesimum sextum. Nullus ferrator equorum padue et paduani districtus debeat accipere ferratura ultra modum inferius scriptum. . . . Qui equos vendi faciunt seu mediatores equorum habeant tres denarios pro qualibet libra de precio equi venditi. . . . Missetus aliquis non

separate laws are passed for every class of trade, these three are conceived as so nearly allied that they may be treated as one. A fortunate circumstance enables me to trace the brokers of Italy back to their original source. We have found the term *messeta* for broker. It had been suggested that this was derived from Gr. *μεσίτης*, 'intermediary,' which, however, was not recorded in the sense of intermediary in business, but only between men and God, *i.e.* Christ. But *μεσιτεύω*, in the sense of 'to act as a broker,' occurs in an exceedingly interesting document on the trade of Constantinople at the end of the ninth century, lately discovered and published.¹ There was then but one kind of a broker, the horse-trader. He is named *βόθρος*, 'a sink,' and the preamble of the chapter dealing with him² tells us that he is so called because he does away with that which is, that is, he had as bad a reputation then as he has now. A number of *bothroi*, each one marked by a special number, had to attend to the sale of horses not disposed of in the regular way. Knowing all about horses, they had to testify to their real condition, and were fined for being caught at cheating. Of course, the name is but a popular etymology of a word ill understood by the Byzantines. It is Arab *بيطار*, *baiṭār*, 'farrier, blacksmith,' which is found in all the languages affected by Arabic, and occurs in Old Spanish as *albeitar*, 'veterinary surgeon.' The identity with Gr. *βόθρος*, is found in a quotation in Lane's *Arabic Dictionary*, *راية البيطار اشهر من*, 'more commonly known than the sign of the farrier,' where we have a reference to the number worn by each *bothros*. Arab *بيطار* is by Dozy supposed to be derived from Gr. *ἵππίατρος*, 'horse-doctor.' If so, the Byzantines have borrowed the new term from the Arabs, who in all likelihood were the first to employ Gypsies as intermediaries in the horse trade. The discussion of this aspect of brokerage I must reserve for some future time.³

debeat accipere ab aliqua persona. que mutuum accipiat. vel ab aliquo pro ea. a decem libris inferius aliquid.'

¹ Jules Nicole, 'Le livre du préfet ou l'édit de l'empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople,' in *Mémoires de l'Institut National Genevois*. Genève, 1893-1900.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 57-60: 'καὶ μόνῳ τῷ ὀνόματι διασημαίνεται ἡ τῶν βόθρων ἐπιστήμη, μετασκευάζουσι γὰρ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὄν.'

³ I gave as the origin of *broker* the Low Latin *advocator*. Now, in the light of later discoveries of mine, this, too, turns out to be a popular etymology. The ultimate origin of the word is this very *βόθρος* here discussed. Stranger still, English *butcher* is, etymologically the same word. Of this I shall treat in a special monograph.

It now remains for us to prove that the *mangones* and *cociones* of Charlemagne were identical with our Gypsies. There is something wrong in the wording of Charlemagne's prohibition. As it stands, three different classes of people are mentioned, *mangones*, *cociones*, and *nudi cum ferro*, of whom the first two are classed together as mere vagrants and cheats, and the last are mentioned as vagrant pilgrims. It is not clear why they should be classed together in one statement. The confusion is still further increased by a recapitulation¹ of the law in another place, where it says that the *mangones* and *cociones* and *naked people, who go with iron*, should not be permitted to wander about and deceive people: 'Ut *mangones* et *cociones* et *nudi homines* qui cum ferro vadunt non sinantur vagari et deceptiones hominibus agere.' Here the *nudi homines* are no better than the *mangones* and the *cociones*, for they, too, are cheats. Then again, in the collection of laws² by Benedictus Levita, made by him in 845, this law is given as follows:—'Item ut isti *mangones* et isti *cociones*, qui sine omni lege vagabundi vadunt per istam terram, non sinantur vagare et deceptiones hominibus agere; qui *nudi cum ferro* dicunt alicubi datam sibi poenitentiam vagantes discurrunt. Melius enim videtur,' etc. *Qui nudi* is here explanatory to *mangones* et *cociones*, and we have only two kinds of vagrants classed together. The sentence is ungrammatical, and, in the light of Charlemagne's law, should read, 'qui nudi cum ferro dicunt se alicubi sibi data poenitentia vagantes discurrere,' 'and these naked ones with iron say that having somewhere made the vow of penance they are running about as vagabonds.'

That the *mangones*, *cociones*, and *nudi homines* are all one is proved by the epitomised words, *De vagis peregrinis*,³ 'about the vagrant pilgrims,' which are found in some of Charlemagne's instructions, where one would otherwise expect to find the same prohibition. An interesting addition to these epitomised words is found in two manuscripts,⁴ where it says, 'qui propter Deum non vadunt,' so that one may be sure that no real pilgrims were meant. This addition is not a haphazard one, but is justified by Charlemagne's laws, which expressly enjoin the people not to refuse

¹ In *Capitulare missorum item speciale* of, perhaps, the year 802, in *Mon. Ger. His.*, l.c., p. 104.

² *Canciani*, l.c., p. 299.

³ In *Capitulare missorum aquisgranense primum*, of the year 809, in *Mon. Ger. His.*, l.c., p. 150, and in *Capitulare missorum aquisgranense alterum*, of 809, p. 152.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

hospitality to strangers and pilgrims.¹ One-third of the income of churches was to be used for their entertainment,² and foreigners and strangers doing pilgrimages to Rome or to any holy places were under special protection.³ Still more numerous were the laws for the protection of the poor.⁴ Nor did Charlemagne direct this law against traders in general, for they were specifically dealt with,⁵ be they Christians or Jews, and they were free to travel even among the distant Slavs, Avars, and Saxons, so long as they did not sell armour and weapons.

‘Qui sine omni lege vagabundi vadunt per istam terram’ does not refer to any people of civil society, for there are numerous provisions made for all kinds of natives and foreigners. They all come under some law, Salic, Roman, Norman, or whatever other law was recognised by the Franks. No member of the state could be included under the classification ‘sine omni lege,’ that is, bound even to his own horde by no specific law. Thus we are forced to the conclusion that the *mangones* and *cociones* were a foreign people, bound by no law, and that their claim of wandering to holy places was a mere sham. But what are these *nudi cum ferro*, these naked men with iron? We have so far found that the literal interpretation of all the words, without any addition from without, has yielded the simplest and best meaning. This is only natural. Charlemagne, as a writer of laws, did not have recourse to literary and far-fetched connotations of words, but to their every-day, common, well-understood meanings. When Hefele translates *ferrum* by ‘chains,’ we at once ask ourselves whether Charlemagne has anywhere else used this word in its transferred sense. Wherever this word occurs in his laws,⁶ it

¹ In *Capitulare missorum aquisgranense primum*, of the year 809, in *Mon. Ger. His., l.c.*, p. 150, and in *Capitulare missorum aquisgranense alterum*, of 809, p. 96: ‘Precipimusque ut in omni regno nostro neque divitibus neque pauperibus neque peregrinis nemo hospitium denegare deaneat, id est sive peregrinis propter Deum perambulantibus terram sive cuilibet iteranti propter amorem Dei et propter salutem animae suae tectum et focum et aquam illi nemo denegat. Si autem amplius eis aliquid boni facere voluerit, a Deo sibi sciat retributionem optimam, ut ipse dixit: “Qui autem suscepit unum parvulum propter me, me suscepit,” et alibi: “Hospes fui et suscepistis me.”’

² *Ibid.*, p. 106: ‘Et ad ornamentum aeclesiae primam elegant partem, secundam autem ad usum pauperum atque peregrinorum per eorum manus misericorditer cum omni humilitate dispensent, tertiam vero partem semetipsis solis sacerdotes reservent.’

³ *Ibid.*, p. 37: ‘De peregrinis qui propter Deum vadunt, ut eis tolloneos non tollant.’

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 676, where under *pauper* a very large number of references are given.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 667, sub *negotiator*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 631, sub *ferrum*.

means 'iron' and nothing else, while for 'chain' he uses the Latin *catena*.¹ Mabillon² tried to explain this penancing with iron by adducing two or three cases from the seventh century where men, having committed murder on their relatives, took the vow of penance by carrying bonds made of the iron with which the crime had been committed upon their necks and arms until, by a miracle, they burst open. Even assuming that these cases of penancing for parricide are typical, they cannot have occurred in such large numbers as to demand special and oft-repeated legislation. Besides, if this penance was sincere, why should those who did penance wander about and deceive people? Again, Charlemagne strictly forbade criminals of any kind to enter his realm,³ and no law was more strictly enforced, whereas beggars and mendicants⁴ were not permitted to wander about, but had to be taken care of by the communes to which they belonged.

There is nowhere any mention of 'naked men' doing penance with iron, and Canciani⁵ uses this passage as a proof of such a practice, just as Mabillon and others have adduced other cases of penancing with iron in order to prove this passage. Thus the argument loses all validity, and we are obliged to fall back upon the literal interpretation, that naked, that is, ill-dressed, people, carrying about iron or iron wares, were claiming that they were wandering about for penance' sake. We are fortunate to find a passage in a contemporary writer, which shows that the *cociones* wore insufficient apparel, and that, therefore, the *nudi* and the *cociones* were the same. A monk of St. Gallen, in his account of Charlemagne,⁶ tells of an occasion when the emperor, returning from an expedition against the Slavs, was in danger of being done away with by a natural son of his, Pippin. This Pippin met a number of confederates in the Church of St. Peter, and they there took the oath that they would capture and depose Charlemagne. Fearing that some uninitiated person might have been a witness to their conspiracy, they made a thorough search through the

¹ In *Capitulare missorum aquisgranense primum*, of the year 809, in *Mon. Ger. His.*, l.c., p. 150, and in *Capitulare missorum aquisgranense alterum*, of 809, sub *catena*.

² D. Joannis Mabillonii *Praefationes*, Venetiis, 1740, p. 69.

³ *Mon. Ger. His.*, l.c. Tomus 2, 656, sub *malefactor*, p. 651, sub *latro*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 132: 'De mendicis qui per patrias discurrunt volumus, ut unusquisque fidelium nostrorum suum pauperem de beneficio aut de propria familia nutriat, et non permittat alicubi ire mendicando; et ubi tales inventi fuerint, nisi manibus laborent, nullus eis quicquam tribuere praesumat.'

⁵ *L.c.*, p. 209.

⁶ *Mon. Ger. His.*, *Scriptores*, vol. ii. pp. 755-756.

edifice, and they found a priest hidden behind the altar. This priest, in his fright, swore allegiance to their cause, but considering their act an impious one, hurried to the emperor's palace, and, making his way through seven gates, finally arrived at the room where the emperor was sleeping, and knocked at his door. Charlemagne sent the women of his wife's entourage to see who was asking admission at such an unseasonable time. When the women ascertained that it was a vile-looking individual, they burst out laughing and tried to hide themselves in the vestibule. But the sagacious emperor, from whom nothing under the sun could escape, asked the women what the matter was, and who was there at the door. They told him that *an ill-shaven, stupid-looking, crazy coctio, dressed in nothing but a shirt and short breeches*, demanded to be admitted at once.¹ Obviously the priest with his scanty garments and dishevelled appearance was taken by the women for some wild, dirty *coctio*. The complete coincidence of the description of these people with those who more than six centuries later overran Europe is most striking. There is no alternative left but to recognise in them our Gypsies.

This discovery of Gypsies in the time of Charlemagne opens up a new line of investigation which should be vigorously attacked. One of the first tasks should be to determine the origin of the legend about the penance which the Gypsies were doing, a legend that must be older than the eighth century. The Gypsies were even then drawing upon the credulity of Christians, and had resided in Europe before the promulgation of Charlemagne's law against them. They were apparently then thought to have come from some parts unknown, for Levita speaks of their vow of penance having been taken somewhere else (*alicubi*). I believe that even then they were descended from Gypsies living in the Peloponnesus, and that the claim which the later arrivals in the fifteenth century put forth as to their origin from Little Egypt could have been made even in the eighth century, and probably much earlier. Stephen of Byzantium² wrote in the fifth century a dictionary of names of places and nations, and there, after discussing Egypt, he said that there was also another, a Little Egypt: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Αἴγυπτος μικρά*. There is no reference to the precise

¹ *Responsumque accipiens, quia quidam coctio derasus, insulsus et insaniens, linea tantum et femoralibus indutus, se absque mora postulare alloqui.*

² There are a number of editions, but I refer the reader to the large annotated edition of Dindorf, sub *Αἴγυπτος* (Lipsiae, 1825, vol. i. p. 29).

locality he had in mind, but in another place, where he speaks of Elis, he says that it is near Egyptian Olympia. This passage has been a puzzle to commentators, and the only explanation that has been given¹ is that Stephanos connects Elis with Egyptians in some such way as Pausanias in his eighth book refers to the presence of Egyptians in Arcadia. If this be true, then Little Egypt is in all likelihood some locality in the Morea. But there were also Gypsy settlements in the Epirus. In 1204 the Greek possessions were divided among the Emperor, the Venetians, and the Crusaders. To the share of the Venetians fell, among other provinces, the east coast of the Adriatic, from Lacedaemon to Venice. In the enumeration of the lands² ceded to them, we find (vol. i. p. 472) *prouintia Diruchii et Arbani, cum chartoularatis de Glaviniza, de Bagenetia*. Arbani is the modern Albania, and *Bagenetia* is thus indicated as being in its neighbourhood. A footnote gives the variants *Bagenatia*, *Vagnetia*, and quotes from Anna Comnena, 5, 4 (ed. Bonn, T. i. p. 236), *καταλαμβάνει διὰ τῆς Βαγενητίας τὰ Ἰωάννινα*, from Eustathius (*op. cit.*, p. 282,20) *ἐκ ποθεν Βαγεντίας*, from *Chronicon Moreae* (ed. Buchon, v. 7819) *τὰ μέρη τῆς Βαγενητίας, τὰ ἦσαν πρὸς τῆς θαλάσσης*, and several other passages, one from *Le livre de la conquête* (ed. Buchon, pp. 314, 324), where the form *Vagenetie* is given. From all this we conclude that *Vagenetia* was the strip of land opposite Corfu. In the Greek text of the convention, the passage runs as follows (p. 491):—*Τὸ θέμα Δυρράχίου καὶ Ἀλβάνου, σὺν τοῖς χαρτουλαράτοις τῆς τε Γλαβινίτζης καὶ Βαγενητίας*. The next year the Podestà of the Venetians in Romania clearly defined the territorial division thus acquired (pp. 569-570): ‘In nomine domini Dei et saluatoris nostri Ihesu Cristi. Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo quinto, mense Octobris, indictione nona. Constantinopoli. Cum aliquid a principibus terre communiter ordinatur, oportet, ut scripture uinculo anodetur, qua possit ordo rei oportuno tempore manifestius recognosci. Igitur nos Marinus Geno, Venetorum in Romania Potestas eiusdemque Imperij quarte partis et dimidie dominator, cum iudicibus et sapientibus consilij et populi conlaudacione, decreuimus, in scripturis publicis hoc esse corroboratum: videlicet quod in diuisione iam dicte nostre quarte

¹ There are a number of editions, but I refer the reader to the large annotated edition of Dindorf, p. 198, sub Ἠλις: Ἠλις πόλις πρὸς τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ Ὀλυμπία.

² *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, herausgegeben von Dr. G. L. Fr. Tafel und Dr. G. M. Thomas. Wien, 1856.

partis et dimidie eiusdemque Imperij Romanie, que nobis nostroque comuni habere contingebat tempore, quo diuidebamus inter nos Venetos et alios homines, qui uenerant in fidelitate et seruitio domini Venecie Ducis, iam dictam quartam partem et dimidiam totius dicti Imperij—dimisimus comuni Venecie prouinciam Dirrachij cum chartolarato Glauenizi, et prouinciam Vagenecie, et Corfu cum tota eius insula. Hec sunt enim sub Dirrachio, uidelicet Sfinarsa, [cum] chartolarato de Glauenitis, quod chartolaratum potest esse cum tribus uel quatuor casualibus, et Ablona: est catepanikum Vagenetie, et habet unum chartola[r]atum de Gliki cum alijs duabus uillis et duobus agridijs, idem (*id est?*) paruis casualibus. Hec autem omnia suprascripta comuni Venecie dimisimus, ut superius est denotatum, et uolumus, quod suprascriptum comune Venecie plenissimam imperpetuum habeat potestatem ad faciendum de his suprascriptis omnibus, quicquid sibi placuerit, et hec confirmatio carte maneat in sua firmitate.'

What is a *chartolaratum*? The editors of the text are not sure about it. Proceeding from the assumption¹ that Macedonia, Thessaly, and the Epirus were well fitted for the raising of horses (*seminaria equina*), they assume that the *chartolarata* were territories set aside for such a purpose. In another place² they quote a gloss 'quae Constantinopolitani Imperi strategiae erant,' and again assume that *strategiae equorum* were meant. It looks as though they had merely been guessing at the context, but they guessed well. In Ducange we find *χαρτουλάριος*, among other things, with the meaning of 'attendant upon horses.' The *μέγας χαρτουλάριος* was an important dignitary in the immediate service of the Emperor,³ and *χαρτουλάρης* is given as equivalent of

¹ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, herausgegeben von Dr. G. L. Fr. Tafel und Dr. G. M. Thomas. Wien, 1856, p. 267.

² *Ibid.*, p. 472.

³ 'Μέγας χαρτουλάριος, Magnus Chartularius, Dignitas in Aula Constantino-politana, apud Codinum cap. 2, num. 26, & cap. 4, num. 28, ubi ejus vestes describit, munus uero cap. 5, num. 6; quo loco ait Imperatori peregre profecturo Protostratorem postquam Imperator equum conscendit, apprehenso fræno equum ducere usque ad quartam uel quintam palatii partem: postea subeuntem ejus locum chartularium, fræno pariter ducere usque ad portam: idem porro facere cum Imperator ex equo desilire paratus est, adducere enim equum usque ad locum ubi Imperator descendere solet, tum ei succedere Protostratorem: quo absente, ea omnia præstare Magnum Chartularium. Ex quibus conficitur ejus munus circa Imperatoris equile potissimum versatum, proindeque eum esse que Nicetae in Isaacio lib. 3, num. 2. χαρτουλάριος τῶν ἵπποστάθμων dicitur: and de quo Zonaras in Leone Isauro pag. 83, Παῦλον τὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵππων ἐπιστατοῦντα (χαρτουλλάριον ἢ Ῥωμαῖα οἶδε τοῦτον λέγειν φωνῇ) Πατρικίον τιμήσας, &c. Ubi Theophanes an. 2, ejusdem Augusti: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποστέλλει Παῦλον τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ χαρτουλάριον, ex

'equiso, groom.' In the long list of geographical names mentioned in the above quoted documents *chartolarata* are given but three times—once on the Adriatic coast, once in Thessaly, once in Macedonia. Now, we do know that Gypsies in the thirteenth or fourteenth century migrated from Vagenetia to Corfu and were there called *Vageniti homines*. These apparently came from the chartularatum de Gliki in Vagenetia, where, if horses were raised there, they would have naturally been employed. We are fortunate to be able to show that there were also Gypsies in the chartularatum de Glauenitis, near Dyrrhachium, the modern Durazzo, on the Adriatic shore, and that they were known there as Egyptians.

There is a *Life of St. Barbaros the Egyptian*,¹ in Greek and in Bulgarian. St. Barbaros was an Egyptian of black colour. At twenty years of age he lost his parents and joined a piratical band, by which he was chosen leader on account of his bodily strength. At one time he set out to Durazzo on a piratical expedition. A storm broke out, and Barbaros, who was a Christian, began to pray to God, and he vowed that in case of being saved he would devote his life to the service of the Lord. The ship with all its men was lost, but St. Barbaros was saved. With the phantastic episodes in his life we are here not concerned. What is interesting to us is the fact that the Bulgarian author of the *Life* says that there were many Egyptians near Durazzo, and that by means of them St. Barbaros made himself understood to others. In the Greek version St. Barbaros was called an African, but the Bulgarian author transferred the scene to Durazzo, where he knew of the existence of Gypsies who, as Egyptians, were to him real Africans. This was in the fourteenth century. But we have evidence that the Gypsies were known as Egyptians as early as the tenth century.

quibus elicitur Basilium Zizilucem, qui Nicetæ in Manuele lib. 1, num. 1, & lib. 3, num. 1, ejusdem Augusti χαρτουλάριος dicitur hanc obijisse & obtinuisse dignitatem: ut & alterum apud Cinnamum lib. 2, n. 13, & Andronicum Lam-pardam, lib. 6, num. 7, ὃς χαρτουλάριος Βασιλεῖ ἦν. Meminit etiam hujusce dignitatis Georgius Acropolita in Chron. c. 40, ὁ Πετραλίφας ὁ μέγας χαρτουλάριος ὀνομασμένος. Adde c. 45, meminit etiam Metaphrastes in S. Demetrio μεγαλοδοξοτάτου Δουκὸς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ χαρτουλαρίου κύρις Βασιλείου, sub Manuele Commeno Imp. Hinc hodiernis Græcis, χαρτουλάρης, equiso, vel strator dicitur. Romanus Nicephorus in Grammatica MS. ὁ ἐδικόσμας ὁ καρτουλάρης ἐκακόπεσεν ἐτούτην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶρα ἔνε ἄρροστος, noster curator equorum malè cubavit hac nocte, et ideo nunc est ægrotus.²

¹ In the account of his life, and in the conclusions drawn from it, I follow K. Radčenko, "Einige Bemerkungen zur neugefundenen Abschrift des Lebens des heil. Barbar in bulgarischer Uebersetzung," in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. xxii. (1900), pp. 575-594.

Suidas¹ tells in his Dictionary that Vulcan reigned in Egypt at a time when the Egyptians could not count by years. He was considered by them to be a god because he knew the mysteries and was versed in war. It was he who taught the Egyptians to live virtuously with their wives. Having by his mysterious incantations received iron from the air, he taught the people how to make weapons and agricultural implements from them. This transference of Vulcan to Egypt is entirely post-classical. Diodorus Siculus (about the beginning of our era) is the first to mention Vulcan as an Egyptian King² who taught the use of the fire, but it is only in the tenth century that we get the popular story³ of the prophetic and mechanical gifts of Vulcan in Egypt. Either the acquaintance with the Gypsies, who were then known as Egyptians, has led to the attribution of their most prominent art of ironworking to the ancient Egyptians, or else the legend had developed independently out of such beginnings as found in Diodorus Siculus, and then there was nothing more natural than to assume that the Gypsies, who were the best known ironworkers and at the same time given to fortune-telling,⁴ were the very

¹ Sub "Ηφαιστος: 'Ερμού βασιλεύσαντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ θανάτος, "Ηφαιστος παραλαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν, ἡμέρας αχπ', ὡς γίνεσθαι ἔτη τέσσαρα, μῆνας ζ', ἡμέρας ἧ' οὐκ ἤδεισαν γὰρ τότε Αἰγύπτιοι ἑνιαυτοὺς μετρήσαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἡμέρας ἑνιαυτὸν ἔλεγον. ἦν δὲ υυστικός καὶ πολεμικός. διὸ καὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὅστις πολεμῶν ἐπλήρη τὴν πόδα, καὶ γέγονε χωλός. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμον τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις σωφροσύνης· οὐκ ἤδεισαν γὰρ μοναδρεῖν αἱ τούτων γυναῖκες. ὑπὸ δὲ μουσικῆς εὐχῆς τὴν δευλάβην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέξατο. δι' ἧς κατασκεύασεν ἀπὸ σιδήρου ὅπλα πολεμικὰ καὶ γεωργικὰ ἐργαλεῖα· πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ῥοπάλων καὶ λίθων ἐπολέμων.'

² Lib. I. cap. xiii. 3: "Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν φασὶ πρώτων Ἡφαιστον βασιλεύσαι, πυρὸς εὐρετὴν γενόμενον καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ταύτην τυχόντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας. γενομένου γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι κερανοβόλου δένδρου καὶ τῆς πλησίον ἕλης καομένης, προσελθόντα τὸν Ἡφαιστον κατὰ τὴν χειμέριον ὥραν ἡσθῆναι διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τῇ θερμοσίᾳ, λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς αἰετῆς ἕλης ἐπιβάλλειν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διατηροῦντα τὸ πῦρ προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην εὐχρηστίαν.'

³ Told in almost identical words in the *Chronicon Pascale*.

⁴ I have already, in my first article, indicated the close association of the two in the minds of the Byzantine Greeks. I shall give here a few more facts on which I shall elaborate at some future time: In Cyprus *μάντις* means both 'fortune-teller' and 'blacksmith,' *μαντιὰς μυρίζει*, wie ein Schmied riechen, da daselbst *μάντις* sowohl den *χαλκεύς* (=Schmied) als auch den *μάντις* (=Wahrsager) bedeutet. (G. N. Hatzidakis, "Zur Wortbildungslehre des Mittel- und Neugriechischen," in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. II, p. 266). *Χαλκεύς* is not merely smith,—it generally means 'Gypsy': *χαλκιάς, χαρκιάς, σιδεράς, ἀτζίγκανος, fabbro, ferraro* (A. de Somavera, *Tesoro della lingua greca—volgare ed italiana*, Parigi, 1709); in Chios the Gypsy blacksmith is called *χαρτζῆς*: 'Ἐκεῖ *χαρτζῆς* τοὺς ἀπαντᾶ, *χαρτζῆς* μὲ τὰ παιδιὰ του, *χαρτζῆς* μὲ τὴν γυναῖκά του κ' ἡ μαυροφάμηλιά του' (A. Γ. Πασπάτης, *Τὸ Ἰακόν Γλωσσάριον, ἐν Ἀθήναις*, 1888, p. 383-4). I have pointed out the apparently strange coincidence of the appellation *Albanians* for the Gypsies with Albanian *αλβανί*, 'blacksmith who shoes horses.' It is not a mere coincidence: In Croatian we find a similar name for the Gypsies *Alamanni*, which has nothing whatsoever to do with the Germans, but is a further corruption of the word which has produced Albanian *αλβανί*. It is

Egyptians of the mediæval scholars. The latter supposition is the more likely one. Possibly there is a direct relation of this legend in Suidas with the statement of Stephen of Byzantium and of Pausanias. In any case, it indicates the early use of the word *Egyptians* for Gypsies.

Tentatively an answer to the question of the origin of the appellation *Rom* may now be given. Mr. Sinclair has already pointed out¹ that this name is coincident with Christian countries only, with Europe and America, and with Armenia in Asia. This cannot be accidental. From Charlemagne's law we learn, as we already know from the later claims of the Gypsies, that their pretended object in wandering about was to do penance. Thus they hoped to get sympathy from the credulous and remain unmolested. They wished to be the pilgrims, the *romei*, par excellence. In all the European languages there are words derived from *Roma*, 'Rome,' to designate pilgrims who travelled to Rome. Wherever the Gypsies went, they obviously must have spoken of themselves as *romei*, *romarii*, *romerii*, and similarly, according to the corruption of the word in the various languages in Europe, with *Rom* for its root, and they naturally must have prided themselves on being such God-fearing people, hence the appellation easily became an honorific term for themselves. Ultimately, I believe, this *romei* is not derivable from *Roma* but is identical with Greek ἐρημίτης, 'hermit,' which, as we have seen, had assumed a doubtful meaning in Greece.² In Italy it became modified, apparently under the mistaken derivation from *Roma*, into *romiti*,³ which was by Frescobaldi applied to the Gypsies. Once popular etymology connected the hermits and pilgrims with Rome, all the words denoting a pilgrim were so transformed as to bring them in keeping with this new conception. But there are a few Old French forms, such as *remygage*, *remitvage*, for the same as Turkish and Persian نعلبند *nalband* 'smith, farrier, one who shoes a horse,' from Arab. نعل *na'l* 'horseshoe,' and a Persian suffix of agent بند *band*.

¹ *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iii. No. 1, p. 33.

² *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, *l.c.*, p. 5. Most likely the رماڤية *remādīyah* of the tenth to twelfth centuries, whom Quatremère (*Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1837, part ii. pp. 4-6) identifies with the Gypsies (see also P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845, p. 259), are one and the same with these ἐρημίται *romiti*. That there were Gypsies in Africa in the fifteenth century is attested by Leo Africanus (Ramusio, Venetia 1563, vol. i.), who tells of them in Bornu (fol. 79a) and in the desert near Nubia (fol. 80b).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 15.

pilgrimage, which still seem to point to an older derivation from *eremita*, *remita*, 'hermit.' In any case, the Gypsies found it profitable and honourable to call themselves *Rom*, and their provenience from Greece, the *Romaic* country, only strengthened them in their pride.¹

IV.—AFFAIRS OF EGYPT, 1908.²

By HENRY THOMAS CROFTON

The following notes are derived, almost without exception, from a volume of newspaper cuttings formed by the Society's Honorary Secretary, consisting of 297 double-columned folio pages. The notes supplement the Table of Offences by Gypsies, which occurs in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. iii. pp. 239-240.

A perusal of this volume of Gypsy Miscellanea shows how widespread is the popular idea that every one who lives in a van is a Gypsy, although in reality the vast majority of van-dwellers are merely mumpers and show-folk; not even *poš-rats* but, as a *Romaničel* might very well say, 'a lot of *ratvali kek-rats*.'

Very few of the well-known real Gypsy names occur amongst the records which form the basis for the above-mentioned Table of Offences. In these notes only the most interesting of these records have been included.

ENGLAND.

The *Kent Argus* of January 2, 1908, reported a case against George Russell and James Smith of the Gypsy camp at Reading Street [Margate] for allowing horses to stray on the road, and the *Poole Herald*, Dorset, on same date reported a charge against a New Forest Gypsy named Walter White, senior, staying at Heavenly Bottom, Branksome, about a runaway horse: later in January nearly fifty Gypsies were encamped in that celestial region. On January 3, *T. P.'s Weekly* narrated from the *Memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne* how a fellow-officer of her father had his fortune told by a Gypsy woman, and how it was curiously fulfilled, and the *Western Daily Mercury* reported a charge of cutting underwood against Charles Small, a Gypsy, at Kingsteignton; next day the *East Anglian Daily Times* reported a charge against Matilda Lee, a Gypsy hawker of Aveley, for taking without payment some bacon and cakes from a shop.

On January 7 the *Midland Evening News* stated that Jane Smith, a Gypsy, and her son Cornelius, had taken coal from Lodge Hill Colliery.

A. Smith, Gypsy, of Tunbridge, had encamped on the highway, and Charles Lee and John Smith, Gypsies, of Deadwater, had taken firewood (*West Sussex Gazette*, January 9).

The *Oldham Chronicle* of 11th January complained of a Gypsy colony of ten to fifteen vans opposite Oldham Parish Church, and called attention to the case of

¹ With this I must abandon any further research in the history of the Gypsies, even though I have accumulated a number of important notes, some of which I have mentioned here summarily. To do justice to the subject, one would have to ransack the archives and libraries of Europe, but gypsiological studies have not yet attained the dignity where they may count on that financial support which is sometimes vouchsafed to other well-established subjects.

² For 'Affairs of Egypt,' 1892-1906, see *J. G. L. S.*, vol. i. pp. 358-384; for 'Affairs of Egypt,' 1907, see *J. G. L. S.*, vol. ii. pp. 121-141.

the *Attorney General v. Stone*, where an injunction was granted to the Heston and Isleworth Council against a landowner who permitted dwellers in vans and tents to camp on his ground.

On January 16 the *Times of India* quoted from *The Globe* 'A Romani Christmas.' The camp was in a hollow where the vans and a couple of tents were sheltered from the east wind by the rampart of an ancient earthwork on Dead Man's Hill. In the larger tent, which was occupied by a tall slim horse-dealer, his sturdy dark-haired wife and little daughter, Elvira, there were eight other Gypsies, sitting or lounging round the fire, listening to an elderly Romany who stood fiddling. He swayed to and fro to the merry measure of his music for half an hour without pausing, connecting one tune with another by a series of runs, like quickly executed scales. Then Elvira sang a ballad, relating how 'the ship did sail away and never did return,' which the fiddler and the son of a Gypsy boxer agreed was 'a good song well sung.' Elvira's mother next sang 'The Gay Young Squire,' who loved a Gypsy maid 'with long black hair beyond compare,' but she had 'a Gypsy lover true,' and would not marry the squire. The singer said that her mother used to sing it, and that the Gypsy maid was one of the Hernes, and the squire a Yorkshireman.

On January 18 the *Sussex Daily News* reported a charge against William and Fanny Smith, camping in Cocking Lane, near the Downs, for exposing their six children, aged one to thirteen, 'only half-clad, and the ground hard with frost at the time.' The tent had an opening at the top at one end, as an outlet for the smoke, and a blacksmith had given them a bucket to hold the fire. The old woman would not go into the workhouse, whither the children were taken, and the doctor there gave evidence that the eldest girl was an imbecile and thin, but that 'they were all clean and seemed to have enough to eat and to be very happy, as they had always been used to that way of living.'

On January 18 the *Daily Chronicle* stated that a tribe of Kentish Gypsies were travelling through the Midlands with vans, cutting gorse for walking sticks and umbrella handles; and that their children, numbering over twenty, had been forced to go to school, as none of them knew the alphabet.

The same day the *Dudley Herald* reported a charge against Florrie Smith, a Gypsy, living in a van at Lye, and having an infant in her arms, for 'ringing the changes,' and the police explained that, seven years before, she had given valuable help in convicting a burglar who attempted to murder an old lady.

On April 10 the *Bedford Times* reported the conviction of Gypsies named Florence Smith, wife of Sidney Smith, and Clara Odley, who lived with Samuel Smith, for conspiracy to defraud by inducing a purchase of a rug which they alleged was made of bearskin. There was the usual prelude of a large party coming who would give their trade to the victim.

On January 25 the *Bournemouth Directory* contained the tenth annual report of the New Forest Good Samaritan Charity, which claimed to have diminished the number of tent-dwelling Gypsies living in the Forest by more than three-quarters, to have placed in cottages eighteen nomad families, clothed and put to school ninety of their children; eleven boys had joined the militia, and four girls had gone into domestic service.

The *Cleckheaton Guardian*, January 31, had an article on 'Dialect of Gypsies,' with acknowledgment of the work by Smart and Crofton on that subject, but giving various other sentences in corruptly phonetic Romani.

The *Reading Mercury*, February 8, reported a charge against two Gypsy girls, Agnes Lee and Eliza Cooper, for stealing trees, value five shillings, from a field belonging to Broadmoor Asylum, Crowthorne.

At the East Ham Police Court two labourers of no fixed abode were charged with stealing the pony of John Smith, Gypsy (*Morning Advertiser*, February 11).

The *Sussex Daily News*, February 14, reported a case of stealing mangolds against four Gypsies named Ray; it was said that the district of Trotton abounded with Gypsies, and that Pollie, one of the prisoners, had eleven children.

The *Daily News*, February 17, noted that 'Gypsy Cooper' and his wife, of the reputed ages of ninety-three and one hundred and one, lived in a caravan, and cultivated about three acres of land near the Thames between Marlow and Medmenham, Bucks, but the *Daily Mirror* of February 18 called him James Buckland, and said that he and his wife were both eighty years old, and had built a galvanised iron house to live in. A view of them was given, and in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, February 21, another view appeared, showing both van and house, and the old couple. [These cuttings refer to Jabez Buckland.]

The *Evening Standard*, February 26, reported the system practised by a gang of Gypsies in the north of England, based on announcements of a large party coming for a long stay in the neighbourhood, and borrowing money on a deposit of a roll of carpet. A slight variation of this device was reported on April 3 in the *Bradford Telegraph* as having occurred there. (See above, and the heading 'Wales.')

The *Western Gazette* and other newspapers, on February 27, narrated how Britannia Manley [? Stanley], a formidable looking Gypsy woman, told a girl's fortune, which was fulfilled by her master taking her with him, as nurse to his two children, when he ran away from his creditors.

The *Bristol Echo*, March 4, reported a charge against Ellen Davies, aged thirty-nine, a Gypsy, and her son Edward Davies, aged twenty-three, arising out of fortune-telling.

The *Western Daily Mercury*, March 5, reported a charge against Vanto Small, a Gypsy pedlar.

The *Christian Herald*, March 5, contained an illustration from a photograph by F. Wood of Werneth, showing a group of four generations, including 'Gypsy Dawson' and her mother, aged eighty-four, the former having helped the evangelist Frank Penfold, at Oldham. There was also an account of a Gypsy girl having her portrait sketched.

Lloyd's Weekly News, March 8, contained chapter xiv. of Lord George Sanger's life, with views and accounts of 'the great Gypsy fight' with police and showmen at Moulsey Races, and a Gypsy gala at Fairlop Oak.

The *Hampshire Independent*, March 14, reported three cases concerning Gypsies—(1) a quarrel between Caroline Doe and George Sheen, Rosina Wells and Rhoda Wells; (2) damaging trees in the New Forest by Josiah Wells and George Broad; (3) stealing a vermin trap by Walter and Charles Ayres, Gypsy lads.

The *Morning Post* and *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, March 19, stated that, at a meeting of the association of Municipal Corporations, the Mayor of Maidenhead alleged that his town had 'suffered serious financial loss' through Gypsy encampments within the borough boundaries; 'their disgusting indecencies, thieving propensities, and begging importunities constituted a great nuisance to the whole community, and had driven away many prominent residents.' [The conclusion is absolute fiction.—H. T. C.]

The *Herts Advertiser*, March 21, reported a charge at Hemel Hempstead, against Lucas Parker and his niece Margaret Parker, of ill-treating Maria Parker, aged thirteen, sister of Margaret, who had been 'hopping' with her aunt, Selina Parker.

The *Sussex Daily News*, March 25, contained a report of a case against 'Gypsies' named Alice Woolley, George Harber, Henry Cannon, and Ada Headley, in which it was alleged that they kept pieces of tin with different names painted on them, and changed them while their vans were on the road, after leaving a place where they had done anything wrong.

The *Reading Mercury*, March 28, in a case against Cornelius Williams, stated that a witness had counted fifteen lots of Gypsies on Bucklebury Common, and more than a hundred Gypsies had pitched their tents there during the past few weeks.

In *London Opinion*, March 28, J. H. Yoxall stated that in his novel *Smalilou* he had written of 'a pony dizenod with gypsy symbols, the egg and snake and new moon in brass.' A Gypsy driver once told him that they were to keep the devil away.

T. P.'s Weekly, April 3, reviewed *The Diary of a Looker-on*, by C. Lewis Hind, quoting a passage about an eighty-year-old Gypsy named Lovell, who, after spending an evening at a Revivalist meeting, was asked if he and his wife would not go into an almshouse. 'No, no. A man at my age doesn't take risks,' was his reply, and he crossed the common to his tent through the rain and mud.

The same number contained 'A Talk with Gypsy (Latimer) Lee,' by J. C. Bristow-Noble, telling how the Gypsy was found cutting the flesh from the carcase of a ewe that had died when lambing, and how he fed his three lurcher dogs and half a dozen ferrets with it. Lee then gave some of his reminiscences, as he and his daughters Rhona and Sally sat in the van, after a good supper of baked hedgehog, rabbit, turnips, mead, and Gypsy cake. One tale was about his wife's wraith appearing to him the night she died on Newmarket Heath. She was buried at Diss in Norfolk. Another was about seeing a poacher of pheasants in the New Forest being watched by a keeper, and how the poacher clubbed his gun and killed the keeper, but in so doing made the gun go off and killed himself. A third tale was about his horse finding the body of a female tramp and her newly-born child in a snow-drift, close to where his own van had stuck fast. Lastly, he told how Lillah Lee married a rich gorgio at Lancing, near Worthing, in Sussex, and was fixed with the evil eye, had fourteen children in as many years, and died; also how Bowley was cursed for selling his wife to Ben Cooper, and how Lee's uncle Pharaoh was cursed for loving a gorgio maiden, the curse being that his dead grandmother's cold spirit shared his bed with him every night.

The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, April 14, reported a Gypsy camp of six vans and a red dome-shaped tent at Low Gosforth. Some of them had come from Brighton, and they were 'far superior to the German Gypsies who were there in 1906.'

[Tom and Caroline Gray have been at Gosforth for some time now; this probably records their arrival.]

The *Manchester Guardian*, April 15, reported that Daisy Boswell, a Gypsy from the camp at South Shore, Blackpool, had been fined for telling fortunes, having obtained over £2 from a woman at whose house she called offering a rug and doormat for sale. Daisy seized her hand, put sixpence into it, and told her to wish. Then she asked for some of her money, and left with half a sovereign. She returned in a few days with a crystal, and the woman gave her more money, and was allowed to gaze through the crystal, and the accused promised to come back for it, and said she would refund the money, but failed to do so.

The *Leicester Daily Post* reported an affray between Gypsies and two young farmers who interfered with them when turning their horses into a field between Kibworth and Burton Overy.

The *Standard*, April 17, reported that the Blackpool Corporation had decided, by a majority of one, to dispense with the Gypsies who for fifty years had camped at South Shore. The *Lancashire Post*, April 23, contained a protest, saying the Gypsies had lived there over eighty years, and paid rent, rates, taxes, and conformed to the law, and attracted thousands of visitors; the Corporation sought to force the landowners to evict them, by refusing to pass plans for buildings on other parts of the owners' property. The *Blackpool Gazette*, May 2, stated that only members of the Boswell family would be allowed to remain on a corner of the land enclosed by a palisade, and no newcomers would be permitted.

[All the Gypsies have now been moved from the South Shore, Alma Boswell and his family being the last to leave.]

The *Western Daily Mercury*, May 6, reported that at Launceston Dick Lover-

ing was fined for allowing two horses to stray on the road, and Joseph Penfold, Gypsy, was fined for the like offence. He and his wife with six children and two young men had pitched a tent at Pinhoe, and had allowed their six horses to stray.

The *Kent Messenger*, May 9, reported that at the Tonbridge Police Court Abraham Lee was charged with camping on the highway and allowing three horses to stray.

The *Hereford Times*, May 9, reported the death at Aston Ingham of Boaz Locke, a Gypsy, aged ninety.

The *Daily Telegraph*, May 15, reported a charge against Olive Collins, Louisa Smith, and Henry Hares [Ayres?], Gypsies, for camping on a common at Claremont Woods, between Esher and Oxshott, with five or six caravans and as many horses.

At a meeting of the Reigate Rural Council, the sanitary inspector said that the district was again infested with large numbers of Gypsies. As a remedy he suggested that the East Surrey Water Company should persuade their customers not to supply the Gypsies with water (*Surrey Mirror*, May 16).

The *Thanet Times*, May 20, gave a report of a typical case of fortune-telling by cards at Margate, in which Rose Small, an elderly Gypsy widow, with a family of six, was the defendant.

The *West Sussex Gazette*, May 21, reported a charge against four alleged Gypsies for damaging Passfield Common by camping on it with five tents. Their names were James and Thomas Green, Albert Kempster, and John Pearce, and the same newspaper stated that at Cophorne complaints were made of the number of Gypsies in the village, some of whom were alleged to have pulled down fences for firewood.

The *Midland Evening News*, May 22, contained an account of a disturbance at Bilston by Albert and Maria Lock and Joseph Scarett.

The *South Bucks Standard*, May 29, contained a letter complaining of Gypsies camping on commons at Gerrard's Cross, and allowing horses to stray.

The *Western Chronicle*, May 29, stated that Mary Ann Bull, a wizened old Gypsy woman, when summoned by the police for using bad language, shook her fist at the constable, and called him 'a nasty dirty man, to take away her life innocent.'

The *Hampshire Observer*, May 30, reported a charge of assault against Gypsies named Walter Leonard Frankham, aged sixty, basketmaker, and Moses and James Frankham, aged twenty-three and eighteen, at Weston Common, Shalden.

The *Devon Daily Gazette*, May 30, reported a charge of fortune-telling against Elizabeth Marks, a 'Gypsy,' at Holsworthy. She pleaded that she only said 'a few words to make a deal' for the goods she was hawking.

The *Western Morning News*, June 2, stated that an injunction had been granted against Mary White and John Essex for trespassing on Aylesbeare Common, they having camped there for three months.

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, June 2, reported a charge against Richard Elliott, a Gypsy, for poaching, when encamped at Threekingham, near Sleaford; and John Clarke, also a Gypsy, for camping on the highway there. They hurried away with the vans, and 'changed their name-boards, of which they carried a stock.'

The *Daily Mirror*, June 2, contained views of Gypsies encamped on Epsom Downs, and told how the King threw money to be scrambled for by some thirty Gypsy children, who surrounded his carriage and cheered.

The *Saturday Review*, June 6, contained versified translations by Arthur Symons, of seven Slovak Gypsy songs from *Gli Zingari* of the Marquis A. Colocci.

The *Standard* and other newspapers on June 8 contained a report of a fierce

fight amongst fifty or sixty Gypsies at Coulsdon, near Redhill, with thirty-four casualties, but on investigation it was found by the *Croydon Argus* that beyond a Gypsy man and woman having had a quarrel the police knew nothing about it.

The *Liverpool Daily Post*, June 10, reported a charge of assault against George and Noah Boswell at St. Helens.

The *Manchester City News*, June 13, had an article headed 'Gypsies in Lancashire,' by C. Fox-Smith, which was more literary than informing. It mentioned a camp betwixt Bolton and Radcliffe, the occupants of which were perhaps waiting to join 'the horde of Gypsy interlopers, who every New Year make a veritable pandemonium of Bolton's principal square. The van and its dwellers were alike dirty.' It also stated that Bolton and its neighbourhood seemed much favoured by Gypsies, and that in Farnworth was a circuit of showmen, itinerant vendors, basket-makers, chair-sellers, and the like, many of whom, while partaking of Gypsy habits, were not Romany folk at all; here, a year or two ago, members of two leading showman families were married, and the presents included a handsome caravan. Interesting Gypsy types were to be seen at Turton Fair; Gypsy horse-dealers and copers were in strong force there with strings of half-broken colts. 'One may know the real thing by troops of horses, dogs, and sometimes goats with the vans, the true touch of the nomad tribe. If a Gypsy marries an outsider the offender is cast off, like some who lived in a kind of tent near Bradley Fold, Bolton.' Boswell, the Ashton van-dweller, was 'too stationary to be quite genuine,' and had lived there six years, and had set up a hen-run.

The *Daily Telegraph*, June 23, reported a case of fortune-telling by Ellen Lee, aged forty-two, and Ada Gamble, aged forty, at East Ham. The young woman, whose fortune was told, was asked to put some gold on an envelope, and then whatever was inside it would work magic, if left for twenty minutes. The girl rode off on her bicycle, and Lee and Gamble walked away, and were later on found on a tramcar, after the girl had returned and missed her money.

The *Christian*, June 25, gave an account of the life of Miss Alexander of Epsom, who died on April 24, aged eighty-one, and whose funeral was attended by 'many Gypsies, to whom she had, ever since 1858, been one of their best friends when encamped on Epsom Downs.'

The *Morning Post*, June 26, contained a letter, which alleged that the Gypsies round Rochford, Leigh, and Southend, in South-east Essex, were 'a thieving, lazy, poaching, blasphemous lot, and a danger to the public on sanitary grounds.'

The *Cornish Post*, June 27, reported the death of Sarah Orchard, widow, a Gypsy, aged seventy-one, at a camp near Manaton, in South Hill parish, and her burial at Callington, attended by a dozen Gypsy relatives.

The *Daily Dispatch*, June 29, reported a charge of fortune-telling against Sophia Smith, Gypsy, at Nuneaton. The servant had given her a sovereign, a gold ring, and a number of things 'to make the globe work.'

The *Daily Globe*, July 5, stated that at Edmonton 375 Gypsies had been removed, but kept returning, and that one had broken up a notice-board, and said 'it would just boil the kettle for tea.'

The *Graphic*, July 11, had an article by Hugh Aldersey, on the 'Art of Caravanning,' containing a sprinkling of Romani *lars*, and an illustration of a true Gypsy van and its occupants, and advising caravanners to learn Romani, and take a Gypsy with them, 'who will teach you as many tricks of the road in a few weeks' time, as would take you as many years to learn from experience,' and also recommending the Gypsy form of arched round-ended tent above all others.

The *Painton Western Guardian*, July 16, reported the wedding at St. Mary's, Collaton, of Phœbe, daughter of William Stanley, to James, son of Nelson Buckland. Henry Stanley was 'best man,' and little bronze-coloured girls and curly-haired boys were bridesmaids and pages.

The *Hampshire Independent*, July 20, reported a charge against Samson Light,

Gypsy, for stealing at Romsey. The camp was at Green Lane, Millbrook, in the New Forest, where Noel Bowers and John Wright had their vans.

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, July 24, reported a fallacious charge brought by Mivaniel Smith at Retford against her nephew Rabbi Smith, for stealing a horse which her husband had authorised him to take.

The *Yorkshire Evening Post*, July 28, contained an account of a camp of Hernes at Manston, where the vicar, Mr. Malleon, talked Romany to them. The leader (Isaac Herne) was reputed to be about ninety-eight, and it was said that 'his great-granddaughters have children who are married and have families.' One of his grandsons was Harry Boswell, aged sixty. They claimed Norfolk as their home. Another was Samuel Herne. They were the chief attraction at a garden party at the vicarage.

The *Norfolk Chronicle*, August 1, reported a discussion by the Smallburgh Rural Council, about Gypsies camping on Crostwight Common. The chairman said they had always been there. They slept in tents and the open air, and it would be difficult to say they were in an insanitary state. The lady of the manor had fenced the common, and had put up notices against camping, but the Gypsies persuaded the villagers to pull down the fences, and they hung their clothes when washed over the notices.

The *Chester Chronicle*, August 1, reported a charge against Emma Lock, a young married Gypsy, for fortune-telling. She was selling lace, and told the man, aged forty, it was lucky to buy from a Gypsy, so he bought six yards. She then told him to take his handkerchief, and cross it with the biggest piece of silver that he had. She tied a knot in the handkerchief and folded it up, and then they both held it, and pulled while he wished.

The *Bristol Echo*, August 7, reported charges against Gypsies for damaging Felton Common, Long Ashton, by camping on it; their names were John Musty (who had been camping there about three years), William Griggs, Britannia Smith, Emily Hughes, Edward Hughes, Henry Hughes, George Smith, and Phoebe Bowers.

The *West Sussex Gazette*, August 7, reported a trial at Chichester for an assault by a Gypsy named John Willett on a relative named Ellen Willett, and another assault by Ellen's husband Horace on John Willett and his wife Amelia. John Willett was also known as George, and had beaten Ellen with an iron bar.

The *Reading Mercury*, August 8, reported a charge against John Rose, Gypsy, for damaging Bucklebury Common, which was 'visited by Gypsies in shoals.'

The *Hampshire Independent*, August 10, reported a charge by Kate Lee against Mary Willett for an assault, by beating her very badly on the head with a quart mug and her fists.

The *Surrey Times*, August 10, reported that at Woking, Jemima Hearn charged Mary Ann Penfold with threatening to knock her head off. Both were Gypsies, and Penfold said Hearn came and wanted her to fight.

The *Daily Dispatch*, August 13, stated that the colony of Gypsies on Hartlebury Common, Worcestershire, was being broken up, and that an old Gypsy named Pizinnia Smith was summoned at Stourport for not removing. She said she had been there over fifty years, had buried her husband there, and had neither horse nor donkey to remove her things, but her grandson had just come from Hereford to do so. When asked by the magistrate's clerk whence she got her name (which she pronounced with great emphasis on the first i), she said she had it long before his head was as big as a button.

The *Worcester Times*, August 13, reported a charge against James Hodgkiss, jun., a Gypsy. His wife Angelina and his uncle Thomas gave evidence, as well as his father James, sen. The uncle mended umbrellas, and the accused made hammer handles.

The *Medical Press*, August 15, reported the prosecution of a carter for selling

without a licence a patent medicine, the recipe for which he had obtained from Gypsy Sarah.

The *Evesham Journal*, August 15, reported a charge against William Smith, Gypsy, and his brother Nathan gave evidence. William, his daughter, and two men slept in a tent.

The *Lancashire Post*, August 17, reported a charge at Blackpool against Harry Boswell, a Gypsy, who was stone deaf.

The *Western Morning News*, August 19, related how Valley Joles sued William and Henry Stanley, Gypsies, for commission on selling horses. Joles said that the Stanleys were his wife's brothers, that their father was dying, and they were trying to 'injure' his wife out of £100 which her father had promised to her, and that they were 'trying to hang him' by what they said.

Pearson's Weekly, August 20, had an article on 'The Truth about Gypsies,' based on a chat with the evangelist Gypsy Smith, who denied the four charges, that Gypsies kidnap children, are dirty, are immoral, and steal. They needed no more children; his great-uncle had thirty-one, and his father's brother had twenty-four. A young Gypsy was taught to honour and protect his women folk, and their courting was in the day time. They had no marriage ceremony of their own. Most now were married in church; twenty or thirty years ago it was more the custom to pledge themselves simply by promise. Gypsies drank beer, and when there was a spree they liked it in buckets. They drank spirits sparingly. The women were abstemious. They used bad language, and lied to *gájos*, and told fortunes, which was lying. They pilfered, taking a few potatoes, a feed for horses, or underwood for clothes-pegs and baskets, but did not think it was wrong to do so. They considered houses far too cold, compared with a waggon or tent.

The *Isle of Thanet Gazette*, August 22, reported that complaints were made about the Gypsy encampment at Reading Street, St. Peters, and that Jane Smith and three children had been prosecuted for hawking lavender without a licence.

The *North Mail*, August 22, contained three views of Gypsies camping at Dunston.

The *Western Guardian*, August 22, reported the funeral, at Harrington, Somerset, of the 'Gypsy Queen' Hughes, aged sixty-seven, at which forty-five of her tribe attended. She was buried beside her husband, who was buried there ten years previously. On returning to the camp at Priddy, everything belonging to her was burnt, broken, or buried, however valuable.

The *Sussex Daily News*, August 24, reported a charge of drunkenness against Mark and Walter Cooper; and the *Evening Chronicle* of the same date contained similar charges against Hirins, Alfred, and Fred Robinson, at South Shore, Blackpool.

The *Tatler*, August 26, stated that 'some years ago at Osborne,' the present Queen of Spain was told by a Gypsy, who did not know who she was, 'You have great good fortune in store. You will turn from cross towards cross, and make a journey by sea to marry a dark man, and you will rule among rulers, and see violent death, but live through it, and have a son, all before you are twenty.'

The *Wimborne Herald* and *Western Morning News*, August 27, reported a charge against Charlotte Penfold for camping on the highway at Ansty, and charges of drunkenness against Edward Penfold and his wife Britannia, at Bodmin.

The *Essex Weekly News*, August 28, stated that a service had been conducted at the Congregational Chapel, Rivenhall, by Mr., Mrs., and Miss Boswell [Algar, Athalia, and Laura Boswell], 'converted Gypsies.'

The *Cheltenham Examiner*, August 28, reported a very noisy trial of charges made by Norah and Triante Smith against Ada and Triante Ryles, all of them Gypsies camping at Uckington, and the two Triantes were 'old.' They were very vociferous, and glared and shouted at each other. In the end the parties were taken out of Court by different doors.

The *Evening News*, August 28, gave an account of Job Lee, aged eighty-four, a Gypsy in Poplar Workhouse. He stated that he had made 2000 skewers a day, and he and his family could make 400 clothes-pegs in a day, earning twelve shillings a week. He was one of fourteen or fifteen children, all by one mother. They lived in tents, and wintered at Poplar. He had only missed two Derby days since his father first took him to Epsom as a boy.

The *Portsmouth Evening News*, September 1, reported a charge against George Lee and his son Sylvester, Gypsies, of stealing some plums from a garden at Newport. The police said there were fifty-six convictions against the father and five against the son.

The *Star*, September 2, described the wedding at a registry office of Frank Mitchell, a Brazilian Gypsy, aged seventeen, son of the 'King of the Gypsies.' The vans and horses were in Cable Street, St. George's in the East. The bride was a seaman's daughter named Pengelly, and it was said the 'King' had given her £300 as dowry. Pork stuffed with cabbage formed part of the wedding feast.

The *Sussex Daily News*, September 3, reported a charge of stealing fowls against Rosina Mitchell, a Gypsy who was found at Beckley, in a camp consisting of ten tents, three carts, and two vans. Jemima Mitchell gave evidence, and the accused was said to be mother of sixteen children.

The *Bradford Telegraph*, September 3, reported a charge of fortune-telling against Matilda Lee, a widow, aged twenty-four, who hawked lace at Halifax.

The *Isle of Wight Advertiser*, September 15, reported a charge of assault by Minnie Smith on Kate Lee, both being Gypsies.

The *Maidenhead Advertiser*, September 16, described how three roughs had tried to rob three boys of the blackberries they had been picking on Maidenhead Thicket, and how a Gypsy rushed at them and chastised the three roughs, sending the boys away, not only with their berries, but with some more which the roughs had picked for themselves.

The *Stafford Advertiser*, September 19, reported a charge against Gilroy Smith, a young Gypsy, for working a horse in an unfit state.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 19, described the burial of an unnamed Gypsy in an unnamed village churchyard, and the subsequent burning of his van and all its contents.

The *Hampshire Observer*, September 26, reported several charges against Gypsies which were tried at Alton Petty Sessions. Amelia Cooper, Gypsy, was acquitted of a charge of larceny from James Stanley, hawker; Eli Smith was a witness. Amos Wells was fined for leaving a horse and cart unattended, and Charles Lee for furious driving.

The *Daily Mail*, September 30, mentioned that Brough Hill Fair was in progress, and that Gypsies from all parts of England were there. [Many Herons, Boswells, Smiths, etc., may be found there every year.]

The *Surrey Times*, October 3, stated that at Wood Common, Worplesden, Gypsies often encamped, and that at one time there were fifty persons in camp.

The *Saturday Review* of the same date contained two sonnets by Theodore Watts-Dunton from *Idylls of Tent and Caravan*.

The *Lincoln Echo*, October 7, reported a charge against Elias Boswell of taking stakes from a fence at Stow, near Gainsborough.

The *Wimborne Herald*, October 8, reported a charge of poaching against Walter Barnes *alias* Light, and Henry Keats, Gypsies, at Cranborne Common, West Parley.

The *Hereford Times*, October 10, reported a charge against George Smith, Gypsy, for taking part of a fence. Another Gypsy, named Masire [Messiah?] Hoskins, said he was the one who took the sticks, and he was fined one shilling.

The *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, October 10, reported a charge against Elijah Smith, Gypsy, for camping on the highway.

The *Nottingham Express*, October 12, reported charges of drunkenness and assault against Riley Smith, Gypsy hawker.

The *Eastern Daily Press*, October 13, reported the murder of Susan Wilson at Feltwell. She was a Gypsy about seventy-three years old, daughter of old Daddy Gray. She first married a Gypsy named Daniel Wilson, and for her third husband married Charles Wilson, an umbrella mender, who had been married three times. They lived in an old barn in a green lane, but years ago lived in a van.

The *Bournemouth Directory*, October 15, reported a charge of assault brought by James White against Charles Smith, both being Gypsies from a camp at Heavenly Bottom.

The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, October 20, gave a view of the fair ground at Yarm, with two Gypsy vans.

The *Methodist Recorder*, October 22, had a view of a Gypsy van, and of a number of Gypsies, who were cousins of Rodney Smith, the Gypsy Evangelist.

The *Surrey Times*, October 24, reported a charge of drunkenness against Jemima Hearne, a Gypsy, who pleaded for leniency, 'because she had had nine children and twins twice.'

The *Reading Mercury*, October 31, reported a charge against Masey Chapman, a Gypsy hawker, of stealing two £5 notes.

The *Bristol Echo*, November 3, stated that about forty old and young Gypsies, with eight or ten vans and several tents, were encamped in South Liberty Lane, Bedminster.

The *Lancashire Post*, November 7, reported a case in which Noah Young, horse-dealer, and his wife Caroline, were sued by Flossie, wife of Charles Curl, all the parties being from the Gypsy camp at South Shore, Blackpool. Flossie's sister, Maud, wife of Herbert Young, and others gave evidence.

The *West Sussex Gazette*, November 12, reported the acquittal of Edward Ayres, a Gypsy, aged twenty-four, on a charge of robbing a drunken man. A labourer's wife said she heard Ayres say, 'Let's dull him with a *cosh*,' and that she had heard 'a great deal of Gypsy talk, and had a book about it.'

The *East Anglian Daily Times*, November 13, reported the dismissal of a charge of 'telling the tale' against Sarah Stanley and Florence Hooper, Gypsies, for whose appearance on remand two Gypsies had paid one hundred sovereigns into Court. The 'tale' was the usual one of offering a deposit, and buying a few things, and promising future trade by the band, and then the sale of a rug for more than its real value.

A charge against William John Franklin and Goney Robinson, 'two young Gypsies,' of stealing a travelling-basket from a shooting-gallery tent, was dismissed by the Blackpool magistrates, greatly to the annoyance of the chief constable (*Blackpool Gazette*, November 27).

The *Derry Standard*, November 28, reported a charge at Bristol against Patience Lee, 'a typical Gypsy,' of obtaining half-a-crown by 'ringing the changes.' She said she was the mother of eight children, and she had a baby at her breast. She was fifty-two!

The *Smethwick Telephone*, November 28, stated that Susannah Smith, aged fifty, a Gypsy from the Black Patch, was remanded on a charge of receiving stolen goods.

The *Stafford Chronicle*, November 28, reported charges against Gypsies named Cornelius Smith (aged twenty-three), Cornelius Sheriff (twenty-five), and John Sheriff (twenty), of stealing thirty-six rabbit snares.

The *Wimborne Herald*, December 3, reported a charge against John, Job, and Georgina Cooper, Eli Hughes and David Wells, Gypsies, for camping on the highway at Lytchet.

The *Wimborne Herald*, December 10, reported a charge at Wimborne, Dorset, against Nehemiah Cooper and his 'wife,' Harriet White, Gypsies, for neglecting

their five children, Lena, aged nine, Emily, eight, Eli, six, James, four, and Sidney, who was six months old. They had a handtruck, and had encamped on the Downs. Before that they had encamped on Woodcotes Common, and the four elder children were running about outside the tent at ten o'clock at night. They had some bread, sugar, and a candle, but the children were dressed in rags, had no shoes or stockings, and were 'very dirty and verminous.' The woman said her name was Smith. She was found 'sitting on a bank with the children standing round her eating some bread.' Eli had ringworm. Cooper was a travelling chimney-sweep. Nothing was known against either prisoner, but they were sent to prison for a month each, with hard labour. [There was no evidence of any want of kindness, food, or robust health. The facts showed the contrary.—H. T. C.]

The *Daily Telegraph*, December 12, reported an inquest on Fanny Smith, a Gypsy aged eighty-eight, who lived in a caravan and went out hawking, and was found drowned in the river Lea at Edmonton.

The *Bournemouth Directory*, December 17, reported a charge of nuisance against Henry Crutcher, a Gypsy, for overcrowding a van and tents at Highcliff, near Christchurch, Hants. The van was 9 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 6 feet high, containing 270 cubic feet of air space. The tent was 18 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 4 feet high, 'semicircular,' and contained 410 cubic feet; it was really two tents joined together, 'with a hole at the top in the middle to let out the smoke, and an umbrella on the top to keep out the rain'; it was better than the tents usually used by Gypsies; there were two beds in it and a fire between them. Four girls, aged twenty-one to eleven, slept at one end of this long tent, and three boys, aged eighteen to thirteen, at the other end. In the van Crutchley with his wife and baby slept in one bed, and two children in another bed. They all looked healthy, but 'the Local Government Board for Common Lodging Houses required 300 cubic feet for an adult and 150 for a child,' and it was alleged that this was such overcrowding as to be dangerous to their health! Evidence was given that there was plenty of ventilation in both van and tent, and that ten soldiers would sleep in one tent. In spite of this, an order was made to abate the 'nuisance' in two days. [Comment is unnecessary. The Gypsies have lived so since before Shakespeare amused the world with his Dogberry and Justice Shallow, and declared that the Law is an ass.—H. T. C.]

The *Daily News*, December 22, reported an inquest at Derby on a child aged two, who had fallen into a 'dolly tub' and so been drowned. The child was named Lettiacener Annie Lee, and its grandmother said it was a real Gypsy name, which her mother had copied from a gravestone in Bedfordshire.

The *Richmond (Surrey) Herald*, December 25, reported a charge against Eli Baker, Gypsy, for allowing his twelve horses to stray onto the highway at Sheen Park, from some waste ground, where they had been turned out to feed.

The *Blackpool Gazette*, December 11, contained a letter on the subject of a resolution by the Corporation that the Gypsies must be removed from their camp at South Shore. The writer had known 'old Sarah's family' there for over forty years, and stated that her ancestors had settled there in 1810. [Her husband was well known there in the 'fifties' of the last century, but 1810 is hardly correct; 1840 would be nearer the mark, though even that is questionable.—H. T. C.]

The *Blackpool Gazette*, December 25, reported that there were twenty-one sets of tent-dwellers at South Shore; that of these Alma Boswell was born there (in 1855) fifty-three years ago, and had lived there ever since; Noah Young and his wife had been there about forty-five years; Oscar Young and his wife forty-three years; William Townsend and his wife forty years; James Smith and his wife thirty-nine years; Bendigo Lee and his wife thirty-five years; and Noah Townsend was born there thirty-nine years ago, and had lived there ever since. Mrs. Sibby Smith, widow, had been there twenty-four years ago, and the ages of her eight children ranged from twenty-six to twelve years. Ten families paid from £20 to

£25 for their 'pitches,' and 12s. 6d. for the water-supply. The lowest rents were £4, and £2, 12s. for those farthest south. Some went away for the winter. Two were scissor-grinders and ten were hawkers. Mr. and Mrs. Apollis Herrion [? Poley Heron] kept seven cats. 'Most of the tents were very clean and in good order, but only two had dust-bins.'

INVASION.

The *East Anglian Daily Times*, June 5, 1908, stated that a band of Servian Gypsies, consisting of three men, three women, and a number of children, with three caravans, four horses, three bears, and two monkeys, had landed at Freshwater Wharf, near London Bridge, and were making their way through Essex to Edinburgh, passing through Romford to Brentford, where they encamped the first night, and continuing next day to Chelmsford. They could not speak English. Other newspapers added that they wore their picturesque national garb, and numbered seventeen. They produced £150 to the immigration authorities. They were making their way to Wanstead Flats for the Whitsun Fair.

The same newspaper on June 10 stated that the Servians had passed into West Suffolk, and on June 13 that they had reached Bury St. Edmunds and gone on towards Thetford. It was added that one of the families had been several years in America, and subsequently had gone to France, and crossed from Calais to England. According to the *Eastern Evening News* they were going to King's Lynn, and some of them were said to have been travelling round Manchester and Liverpool for more than two years separately, but had now united. The 'Queen' was named 'Bosie.' The children went barefoot, and were scantily clothed. Two of their horses had died, and one of the three vans was dragged along by themselves.

The *Times*, June 17, stated that the Servians had passed into Huntingdonshire, but had been sent back by the police into Cambridgeshire, and were being kept on the move. The *Morning Leader*, June 18, added that the Gypsies 'accepted the situation with nonchalance.'

The *Liverpool Football Echo*, June 20, reported their arrival at King's Lynn and their passage thence into Lincolnshire, and the *Worksop Gazette*, June 20, chronicled their journey through Tuxford and Retford, one of the vans being dragged by a small donkey, with a collar made of a twisted sack, and with rope traces. They were on their way to Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The *Nottingham Daily Express*, June 22, noticed their arrival at Grantham, where they 'gave no trouble,' and passed onwards to Newark.

The *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, June 27, reported that the band had passed through Northallerton, and had been escorted by the police to the northern boundary of Yorkshire at Yarm Bridge, and were making for Scotland, having travelled on the 25th twenty-eight miles, and next day twenty-nine miles. There were four men and four women, and about twelve children, their three vehicles being drawn by four ponies and a donkey. They had three bears and a monkey.

The *Scotsman*, July 3, reported their arrival at Coldstream from Akeld, on their way to Edinburgh.

The *Alnwick Gazette*, July 4, noticed their arrival at Wooler, whence they were moved on by the police.

The *Edinburgh Evening News*, July 6, announced their arrival at Selkirk, where hundreds visited their camp at Deerview. 'They were much better behaved than the German Gypsies,' and were evidently well-to-do.

The *Hawick Advertiser*, July 10, reported that they had camped in the Common Haugh, and that their three bears and two monkeys performed for crowds of delighted children. The Gypsies were very dark skinned, almost brown, and were dressed after the style of their German predecessors, but were not such persistent beggars. They left for Edinburgh.

The *Glasgow Evening Times*, July 16, stated that the party passed through Lanarkshire on their way to Glasgow, that one van bore the inscription 'Peterie Showman Bossie,' and that not one possessed even a smattering of English.

The *Morning Daily Advertiser*, July 3, reported a case against two men and a woman of swarthy appearance, part of a band of 'Macedonian Gypsies.' The interpreter spoke in Russian. Their offence was 'ringing the changes' at Bethnal Green. They said they were on their way to Brazil 'where they had bought land.' They showed occasionally that they understood some English, and kept moaning, and bowed and bent to every word.

WALES.

On January 8, 1908, the *Western Mail*, Cardiff, stated that a young Gypsy named William (otherwise David) Price, aged eighteen, who lived in a van at Pontypridd, and made clothes-pegs, had been drowned. His body was found a week later at Llandaff (*South Wales Daily News*, January 16).

On January 14, the former paper contained a warning against the 'confidence trick,' as played by Gypsies on innkeepers, bakers, and others. They pretended that they were giving up van life and would start roundabouts, and wished to do a large business with the shopkeeper, depositing £10 or £15 against goods which they might require. They took a few goods 'to go on with,' and then asked the shopkeeper to buy some of their few remaining unsold wares, usually rugs, asking 35s. for one worth 12s. 6d., as 'they would be doing such a large business with him.' Next morning they claimed a return of the deposit, as 'the police had ordered them to remove their vans from the neighbourhood immediately.'

On January 15, the same paper contained a warning against 'ringing the changes,' as tried by a Gypsy girl at a public-house.

On February 1, the *North Wales Times* reported the withdrawal of a charge of taking firewood against Joseph Lock, a young Gypsy, who appeared with his wife and children, at Denbigh.

The *Western Mail*, March 26, reported a charge against Manasseh Burton, a Gypsy, at Abergavenny Fair.

The *North Wales Times*, April 3, reported a case in which Florrie Taylor, a Gypsy, accused Benjamin, Kate, and Gertrude Taylor, Gypsies, of assaulting her at Llanrhydd, near Ruthin.

The *Lancashire Post*, May 20, reported a charge at Conway against Solomon Taylor, said to be a Gypsy, of stealing a ring. He wore two pairs of trousers, and on removing one of them the ring dropped on the floor. There were twenty-eight convictions for felony against him, besides minor offences.

The *South Wales Daily Echo*, June 24, reported the failure of a charge against Thomas Lee, a Gypsy, aged thirty-eight, of abducting his sister-in-law, Annie James, who lived with her father and mother in a van on a common near Swansea.

The *South Wales Daily News*, September 19, reported a charge of assault by Rose Mochan on Charlotte Mochan, two Irish Gypsies, who dwelt in tents in summer, and sheltered in winter in houses at Merthyr. Rose was of uncommonly fine stature.

The *Daily Mail*, November 9, reported that at Coed Poeth, near Wrexham, a family of 'Gypsies,' four men and one woman, had come with a shooting gallery, and had offered a pig as a prize for climbing a greasy pole, but failing to produce the pig, had been attacked by the crowd, and, in self-defence, had fired at their assailants. Their names were James Cook, sen. and jun., George Cook and his wife Betsy, and John Cook. They came from Warrington. [They were evidently not Gypsies, but merely 'Show Folk.']

The *Cardiff Times*, November 11, reported that at Brynmawr, Mary Richards, a Gypsy, was charged with stealing some things, including an apron, from a

house, and that a few days later she had worn the apron when she called at the same house, offering to sell boot-laces, and when telling the woman's fortune mentioned that she had recently 'lost money's worth.' The charge was dismissed.

SCOTLAND.

The *Dundee Advertiser* on January 25, 1908, reported a case of assault by George Langlands, 'general dealer,' in which it was asserted that 'one of the Gypsy marriage stipulations is that the women do all the work and keep their husbands, and any money made by the husband is retained for his own use.'

In the *Dundee Courier*, February 11, an account was given of the funeral of Hugh M'Laren, chief of a clan of tinkers frequenting the Sidlaw Hills, aged seventy-five, who was buried at the Eastern Cemetery. A half-tone view was given of three women and five children, two of the children being carried in shawls at their mother's back.

The *Weekly News*, February 15, gave a fuller account, with two other views and a description of his camp at Dronley Wood, where two tents sheltered two families—four adults and about ten children. He came from Argyllshire, but his wife, who died a few years earlier, came from Moray and Nairn. The farmers, and even the policemen, had a good word for them. 'They fecht among themsels, but dinna steal. When they've been a whilie in ae place I gang up, an' move them on.' Hughie and his sons were great pipers.

The *Border Magazine* for March (vol. xiii. No. 147) contained a note from a letter written by Sir Walter Scott, April 16, 1819, about old Kennedy, a tinker, who had been in the army, and who swam for his life at Jedburgh when flying from justice, after killing a man in a fight between the Kennedys and Irvings, arising out of a feud which began forty years before, when the grandfathers of Kennedy and of the man he killed had fought a battle on Hawick Green. Kennedy was saved from the gibbet by the evidence of a doctor, and was sent to Botany Bay for fourteen years. Six of his brethren, and kith and kin without end, were in Court.

The *Galloway Gazette*, March 21, contained a tale called 'Aaron Gow, the Gypsy Blacksmith,' founded on traditions recorded at pages 110-112 of M'Cormick's *Tinkler Gypsies* (2nd edition).

The *Glasgow Herald*, March 30, contained a letter from 'A Pal of the Romany-chals,' animadverting on the Lord Advocate's confusion of Borrow's Roms with Scottish tinkers, and against the Movable Dwellings Bill then before Parliament. The letter pointed out sarcastically that the law, contemplating with equanimity the 'rabbit warrens' of our slums, in which thousands were crowded together amid scenes of vice and debauchery which stagger humanity, must do its best to drive the Gypsy into these dreadful places.

The *Edinburgh Evening News*, April 3, contained a notice of the annual report of the medical officer of health for Airdrie, in which he attributed the cases of cerebro-spinal meningitis to the visit of the German Gypsies, noting that those people came from the home of spotted fever. They landed at Leith, marched to Glasgow through Caldercruix, Plains, Airdrie, and Coatbridge; all those districts suffered, and Glasgow, where they stayed longest, suffered most. Some went north to Dundee, which was also affected, but the disease hardly appeared at all north or south of the places named.

The *Orkney Herald* of April 8 reported at length a lecture on Gypsies delivered by Mr. A. Russell (Member, G. L. S.) before the Orkney Natural History Society, at Stromness.

The *Glasgow Evening Times* on April 14, in a review of S. H. Turner's *History of Local Taxation in Scotland*, noted that the chapter on parochial taxation for poor relief threw much curious light on the early efforts to deal with vagrancy, by

the suppression of 'sorners, cairds, Egyptians, thiggers, and the like.' It also extracted the anecdote of Adam Smith being captured by Gypsies when in his fourth year.

The *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, April 24, stated that Gypsies were much in evidence at Arbroath, and that two with children were charged with being drunk.

The *Stirling Journal*, May 1, reported the burial at Stirling of Mrs. Horne, aged seventy-three, proprietress of shooting galleries, and one of the oldest members of the Gypsy encampment on Springkerse showground. About sixty representatives attended from tribes at Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Alexandria.

The *Glasgow Weekly Mail*, June 13, had a view of 'the Gypsy Palace' at Yetholm.

T.P.'s Weekly, July 10, gave an account of James Macpherson, son of an Invereshie family by a Gypsy mother, and a Highland freebooter, the majority of whose followers were Gypsies. He fell in love with a Gypsy girl, and with one companion joined a band of Egyptians. At a fair at Keith, which he attended with them, he was captured by the Macduff of Braco, and eight days after his trial he played at the foot of the gallows the pibroch known as 'Macpherson's Farewell,' and then offered his violin to any one who would promise to play the same tune at his 'lykewake.' As no one accepted the offer, he broke the violin over his knee, threw the fragments among the crowd, and then flung himself from the gallows tree.

The *Evening News*, August 12, stated that at St. Andrews Fair the Gypsy fortune-tellers did very well, some of the Fifeshire lassies having half-a-crown's worth of fortunes, the offer made to them being a titled husband for every shilling they paid.

The *Scotsman*, September 1, contained a letter from Alexander Kinloch, supporting one from D. M. R., on the inoffensive character of the Gypsies, muggers or tinkers, who used an old lane in East Linton, near Edinburgh, for camping. A gamekeeper said that during twenty-nine years they had never poached on his land, but more than once had told him of pheasant or partridge nests, one of which was within ten yards of their tents.

The *Dundee Weekly News*, September 12, gave a view of a Gypsy basket-makers' camp at Motherwell, consisting of some of the Lee family from Newcastle. The tall swarthy chief wore a crimson plush waistcoat.

The *Scotsman*, December 15, contained a letter stating that the Registers at Dull recorded that 'on April 8, 1749, Donald Stewart, tinker, and Margrat Ferguson both in Moness, Dull paroch, gave their names to be proclaimed in order to marriage—John Stewart and Neill McLean, witnesses.' The writer, John Christie, stated that he had witnessed the baptisms of several children of tinkers, and had been godfather once, and remembered a tinker's wedding at Kenmore Manse in the early 'eighties.'

AMERICA.

The *Weekly Record*, U.S.A., on 31st January 1908, gave a half-tone view of—(1) 'Gypsies in Winter Camp at Manhattan Crossing,' where they had been for several months. They had four tents and two waggons. There were musicians playing mandolin, accordion, and guitar. (2) 'A Gypsy Smith in Brooklyn,' who was an Italian, and whom they called Chief.

The *World*, February 10, gave a view of a Gypsy camp at Decker's Heights, Port Richmond, Staten Island, showing a *biro vardo*, and a portrait of Ellen Eucklin; the camp being that of King Kit Bucklin, reported to be 98 years old, and his wife 78, and they had a son David. There were nine tents, and about thirty persons: the children happy, healthy, and comfortable, though the thermometer 'clung around zero.'

The *New York Herald*, February 20, reported a charge of burglary and stealing 15,000 dollars in cash and jewellery from a tent against Richard, Mitchell, Maloney, and Budd Stanley, aged thirty, twenty-eight, twenty, and fourteen. The money was the dowry of 'Princess' Bessie Stanley, who was to marry a 'Bohemian of the old Romany tribes,' and portraits were given of the four defendants, also of Bessie Stanley, and Queen Pipa, or Papita, Maliva, otherwise Dora Pearse, and of Peter Marion or Martin, aged eight, who saw a great knife slash the tent, and Richard Stanley crawl in and grab the bag of money and hand it to Mitchell Stanley.

The *New Yorker Staats Zeitung*, on January 15, 1908, reported the arrest of Budd Stanley, aged 17, and his brother Malone, aged 20, at the camp of the Stanley tribe in White Plains Avenue, Boston Road, on a charge of stealing things worth 1500 (not 15,000) dollars, from the tent of Queen Dora.

The *New York Sun*, of same date, stated that the Pearses claimed to be Russians born in Mexico, and Gregorio Demetrovitch was their king, and they only spoke Italian and Romany. The Stanleys said they were Austrians, and had been fifteen years in America, trading horses, and in summer camped at Coney Island. Queen Dora had been with her tribe all over Europe, Rumania, Servia, England, and Australia, and she wore three chains composed of coins from wherever she had been. When she married, thirty years before, she had a dowry of 2000 dollars, which she had saved, and every member of the tribe was compelled to add to the pile, till it amounted to 10,000 dollars, kept in one division of the big bag, and gold and silver belts, cups and ornaments, kept in the other division (some of the Stanleys had seen her counting the money the day before the robbery). One of the Gypsies always watched the bag. On the day of the theft Tom Pearse was left on guard, but Levi Stanley induced him to go to the theatre, leaving a woman named Pipa and a boy, Petro Marion, eight years old, in the tent. A *gáji* inveigled Pipa out to tell her fortune, and Petro wandered out, leaving only two babies, one called Maria Louise, asleep in the tent, and when he returned he witnessed the theft, and told the judge, 'If I tell a lie I go to Diabolo, to hell.'

The *Vancouver (British Columbia) Advertiser*, February 21, said the offence occurred in a field at Boston Road, The Bronx, New York, on December 26, when the rival tribes of Stanley and Pearse were camped near each other in order to celebrate a marriage, which would terminate a feud between them.

Other undated cuttings from American Jewish papers gave accounts in Yiddish of the wholesale arrest of thirteen Gypsies for stealing 2500 dollars in cash and 6000 dollars' worth of jewellery belonging to 'Queen' Dora Pearse. The prisoners offered to deposit 45,000 dollars' worth of jewellery as bail but it was refused, so they had to wait in gaol until the Sessions, as they had no 'real estate.' The band had been encamped off White Plains Road, and belonged to 'King' Stanley's tribe. A third tribe was under 'Queen' Bess. They said they made their money by fortune-telling.

Another paper, also in Yiddish, said the prisoners were English Gypsies, and the theft was from some Bohemian Gypsies, one of whom was about to be married.

Another cutting from a Jewish paper stated, in Yiddish, that Richard Stanley, aged thirty, Mitchell Stanley, twenty-eight, Mahoney, twenty, and Budd, fourteen, were accused of stealing 15,000 dollars from the camp of Princess Pipa Shiliva of the Pearse tribe of Gypsies, who were camping near the Stanleys near Boston Post Road on the way to White Plains. They occupied themselves with begging and peddling all kinds of things, and between the two tribes there was always a secret war. The money was stolen on Christmas Eve 1907, from under a mattress in the tent of the Pearse tribe, where it was kept in a satchel, and formed the whole fortune of the tribe. A Gypsy lad gave evidence that he was in the tent, and saw

two of the accused cut open the mattress with a sharp knife, and seize the bag of gold. The Court was crowded with members of both the tribes, dressed in their best clothes and wearing all their ornaments.

The *New York Evening Post*, April 7, reported that the Stanleys were convicted, and the women, in bright-coloured skirts and headgear and black bodices, moaned and wept till driven from the Court-room.

The *Morning Leader*, March 7, stated that application had been filed for the incorporation of 'The National Gypsy Association of America,' which was to control the various bands in the United States. Joe Adams was to be King, John Adams 'Brown Prince,' and Bill Adams 'Treasurer,' the objects of the Association being to encourage greater harmony, more permanency of residence, and better education of the children.

The *Paterson (New Jersey) Call*, May 15, narrated how a woman was beguiled by one of the Gypsies camped about the west end of that city. She parted with two rings and other jewellery worth 230 dollars, which were to lie buried in the woods for three days, in order to secure the owner's fortune. After three days about fifteen tribes in Passaic and Bergen counties were visited and their tents and vans searched, in vain, to find the missing Gypsy, and the money, etc.

The *New York Times*, early in June, reported that 'Gypsy Stanley and his wife' were arrested at Fall River for luring from home a fifteen-year-old boy.

The *New York Times*, July 3, reported the case of a woman, whose husband was an amusement booth runner, who had left his wife and three children, and that the Gypsies had sheltered them, and had been entrusted by the woman with the two elder children, aged five and three.

A Jewish newspaper, published in the United States of America, on July 20 described in Yiddish how a beautiful Gypsy woman told the fortune of an architect in return for his kindness in allowing her to use the telephone in his office, and how she persuaded him first to have his eyes blindfolded with his own handkerchief. When she had finished, she took off the bandage from his eyes, and took herself off very quickly, and when he examined his satchel he missed 113 dollars.

An account was also given in Yiddish how two Gypsy women promised to tell a shoeblack his fortune, if he would give their boots a 'shine'; but after he had done so they declared that his hands were so thick with blacking that they could not read his fortune from them.

The *Boston Herald*, August 18, gave two large half-tone views of Gypsies—(1) making the wedding-dress of Rose, daughter of John Steave the chief; a merry group of five females squatting on the ground with a naked baby beside them and a dog; (2) the baby and its mother, with the bride-elect hiding behind her and saying, 'I don't want no picture taken.'¹ The bridegroom was Charles Bubble, and the band were encamped at West Roxbury. The bride was thirteen and the bridegroom was fifteen, and they were only waiting for a sunny day, when he would lay his hands on her shoulders and swear allegiance to her, and she would be clad in bright robes, and would wear the quaint ornaments which the old women treasured; then there would be dancing and singing, and drinking Gypsy wine from straw-bound bottles.

Emil Restig, one of the chiefs of the camp at Centre Street, West Roxbury, was ordered by the Health Authority to quit within a week, because the camp was insanitary, but he refused unless the landowner refunded the 100 dollars paid for the camping ground.

The *Boston Journal*, August 20, gave portraits of Charlie Bubble, of a woman who gammoned the reporter that she was Rosa Megg the bride, and of a bare-footed Gypsy child carrying part of the wedding feast. It was said that there

¹ See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, iii., frontispiece to No. 2, and pp. 81-88.

were to be three weddings. The camp was in Trap Valley. There were tents and waggons. The women smoked. The bride's hair was smoothed with lard and braided; and she was adorned with necklaces of pearl and gold, and beads of ivory and silver. The wedding dress was crimson and spangled; she wore a red sash and scarlet veil; and a wreath of flowers added to the brilliancy of her appearance. A band with fife, drum, horn, and fiddle playing weird music marched to John Steve's tent, near which was a big waggon with several large beer kegs. After much health toasting and slapping of shoulders, Steve led the procession back, headed by a lad bearing aloft a tree branch, with a cluster of fluttering handkerchiefs, ribbons, and garlands of all colours on it. They danced round Charlie's tent, and then went to the tent where Rosa and her father were waiting. The troth was plighted by the pair, with their hands on each other's shoulders, and then came 'wild sweet music,' and the rest danced round them with tomtoms beating time. Drinking and dancing led to quarrelling, but Steve restored peace with his fist.

The feast included ten pigs, pans of macaroni, bowls of spaghetti, and other viands, washed down with beer.

John Steve was a Brazilian, who was naturalised in 1904. He owned several houses, was domiciled at Chicago, and displayed a big roll of 'greenbacks.'

The *Boston Herald*, August 20, gave three more views—(1) the wedding ceremony; (2) Rose in wedding dress, with other women; (3) the oldest woman, smoking, and sons of Romany saluting her.

The *Boston Post*, August 20, also gave three views—(1) Lily Silva, crown bearer; (2) Rose Megg, with bridal banner; (3) John Mitchell, Frank Bubble, and Harry Demartro, with another banner.

The *Boston Sunday Herald*, August 23, gave more views—(1) Gypsy father taking his son to whip him; (2) girls dressing for the wedding; (3) John Steave and two sons; (4) dancing round the flag; (5) four Gypsy youths; (6) Wallier Mary, an American girl brought up from infancy with Gypsies; (7) Rye tribe waggon, to hold ten. The reporter eloquently described how he was mobbed for money and cigarettes; youngsters clutched his arm, and clung to his clothes in a shrieking ring around him; and fortune-telling, in broken English, was also vividly described. Then, all of a sudden, all the men able to stand (after much beer drinking) began punching each other or kicking the dogs, and every baby in the camp began to howl, but the women went on chopping wood and building up the fires for the night. At the feast, men, women, and children scooped fistfuls of mush from platters, and crammed them into their mouths.

A Boston newspaper, August 24, stated that there had been a wedding on the Sunday between Poppa Pettegie, otherwise 'Princess Sara,' aged fourteen, and Damitro Kaslo, otherwise 'Prince John Mitchell,' and that during the uproar Irena Feudar, a fifteen-year-old Gypsy girl, had escaped, and been found by the police, to whom she had said that she had been stolen by Servian Gypsies from her home in Russia; but she gave so many inconsistent versions that the police regarded it as a ruse for prolonging the stay of the tribe where they were, and this view was strengthened by a rumour of the murder of a policeman near the camp, and of a robbery there.

The *Hoboken Observer* reported that the North Bergen Township Committee had received complaints about forty families of Brazilian, Russian, and Hungarian Gypsies under King Joseph, and had ordered them to quit their camp on the race-track grounds.

A newspaper from St. John's, Nova Scotia, September 18, reported that an English Gypsy, named Bridget Quigley (!), had been arrested for fortune-telling at Newbury, New York, where she went into a house to sell lace, 'stolen from Windsor Castle,' and made passes which hypnotised the woman, while the 'Gypsy' took furs, a gold locket, seventeen dollars, and two sofa pillows.

The Hoboken (New Jersey) newspaper in October reported that 'Princess' Sara Maria of the Gypsy camp at Guttenberg race-track, who was fourteen, had been hypnotised by her uncle Tom, who had joined the tribe six months before with his wife and three children, and that under the hypnotic influence she had shown him where a thousand dollars were hidden in a trunk which he made her open, and that he then ran off with her and the money. He was thought to have hidden the money on 'his brother's estate,' on the outskirts of Baltimore.

A New York paper in December described how a Gypsy woman named Sena Olena told a cobbler's fortune at The Bronx. She sat by a fire in a cauldron and stirred it. It turned yellow, pink, and then green. She said it meant much money for him. Next she blew into a fish-globe of water, and it bubbled. That meant a great fortune, but the spirits demanded how much money he had. The cobbler confessed to having sixty dollars. 'Then tie it in your handkerchief, place it next your heart, and put your hands in the globe, and keep them there till I return.' When he got tired of waiting, he examined his money and found that twenty dollars had disappeared, so he caused her arrest.

CROATIA.

The *Morning Leader* and other newspapers, on February 26, stated that peasants were charged with poisoning nineteen Gypsies near Tompokevac by giving them part of a cow poisoned with arsenic, and that in a neighbouring district sixteen other Gypsies had been killed by eating hares, which peasants had poisoned and laid on the snow, where the Gypsies found them.

FRANCE.

In January, at Arles-sur-Tech, near Carcassonne, two 'gitanas,' who hawked needles and thread, persuaded a woman to draw cards, and asserted that a large sum was hidden in her house, and that, to find the spot, it was necessary to consult the infernal spirits, which would cost twenty francs, and that after receiving fourteen francs fifty centimes they left, saying they would return in three days to point out where the treasure lay.

The *Evening Standard* on January 24 reported that in a Gypsy's van a gendarme had found a valuable painting by Vandyk that had been taken from a church at Courtrai in December 1907.

The *Star* on February 4 referred to the case of the Gypsy band camping at Mont St. Martin, whither they had been brought by the Belgian gendarmes in October, and for four months had been watched by French and Belgian gendarmes and maintained by the Mont St. Martin municipality at a considerable cost. The family was composed of eight persons. According to the *Daily Express*, February 14, they had been expelled from the village of Aubange. Their van was said to be stationed along the actual frontier line. On the 7th and 8th of April several newspapers reported that the Gypsies had sold their horses and caravans, and had decamped one night. It was believed that they had gone to Luxemburg.

The *Morning Advertiser*, February 27, stated that Gypsy camps at Boulogne-sur-Seine and Pontin had been found to contain several deserters from the army, and that others were criminals.

The *South Wales Echo*, March 28, told how Jean Marie Renard (which is a common Gypsy name in France), who was fifteen, and was an errand boy at a Lyons bank, fell in love with Elvira Gonzales, a Gypsy, who persuaded him to forge a cheque for 50,000 francs (£2000). This he cashed, and after spending £80 in travelling necessaries, he handed the rest to the gitana, who ran off with it.

The *World of Travel* for April, p. 101, contained a half-tone view of a French Gypsy caravan, consisting of a hand-cart, in which a Gypsy and his wife lived.

The *Daily Chronicle* and other newspapers, April 22, reported that at Wissons,

near Corbeil, twenty-one miles south of Paris, about fifty Gypsies encamped, and on being refused money or food maltreated the inhabitants, and tried to set fire to the houses. They drove the gendarmes into the Communal Town Hall, and besieged it, until reinforcements came from Longjumeau, when about forty were arrested, and the remainder escaped to the woods.

The *Daily Express*, May 7, and *Morning Advertiser*, May 8, reported the arrest at Châlons-sur-Marne of forty sham cripples, mostly of Spanish origin, who were travelling in twelve Gypsy caravans, under the leadership of a Spaniard named Rubio y Alvares, thirty-five years old, who supplied the device for simulating deformities. Over £60 was found in Rubio's van, with evidence that he had sent £400 to correspondents.

The *Porcupine*, May 16, in 'Paris Chat,' told how a Gypsy woman called on a lady doctor begging her to come and see her sick daughter in a caravan near Porte Champeret, just outside the fortifications. She asked for a pot of pomade, for, she said, 'It is our custom to anoint the body of the sufferer, and afterwards to place to her feet some serpents, such as these that I carry in this basket.' She handed over a bank note for one hundred francs, bidding the doctress to deduct her fee out of it, and then while change was being counted out, she emptied her basket of serpents on to the floor. The doctress screamed and fled. The Gypsy picked up the purse and some things from the sideboard, and then secured her snakes, and departed, and the police were unable to find her.

The *Daily Telegraph*, August 15, told how a Gypsy woman, who lived in a hut on waste ground outside Paris, called on an Austrian actress in Paris, and persuaded her to be blindfolded while her fortune was told. It was a wonderful fortune, but after the Gypsy's departure the actress's jewels were missed, and were at last found in the Gypsy's hut, with many others.

The *Morning Daily Advertiser*, August 21, narrated how a Gypsy woman named Mercedes, from Perpignan, told fortunes at Paris, but declined to return jewellery and money which were handed to her to hold whilst the cards were consulted.

The *Morning Advertiser*, September 12, stated that, at Berck-Plage, the police arrested a pretended Moorish 'woman,' who proved to be a Spanish Gypsy named Philip Fernandez, eighteen years old.

The *Matin*, December 27, contained an article on the projected legislation, which would require nomads to have identity cards, and to have them checked at each stopping-place. Outside the Choisy gate, near the fortifications, three Gypsy vans were found by the reporter. One old woman held out her hand, begging in Polish, 'Chamô, chamô, chamô.' A Gypsy man was found, who could speak French, and the proposed laws were explained to him. He replied: 'But I can't read and I can't write, and I don't know how old I am, nor where I was born, and I don't remember the names of the places where my children were born, nor their ages exactly. We don't bother ourselves about such things, and if they put a number on the van we'll take it off. We had better go somewhere else if that happens.'

The *Christian*, December 31, contained an article headed 'Among French Gypsies,' by S. H. Anderson, telling of the illness and consequent blindness of an old French Gypsy named Renée, who attended the Paris Caravan Mission when camping near Paris, and died near the Marché aux Puces, when 'a lighted candle, stuck to a plate, near the head of the bed, and a sprig of box, in a saucer of water, near the foot, were the only visible tokens of religious superstition.'

GERMANY.

On January 11, 1908, the *Birmingham Daily Post* contained an article on 'Germany's Treatment of Gypsies.' It was taken from the *New York Tribune*, and stated that the laws and police regulations of Prussia had now been extended

to all the States of the Confederation, that at the instance of the Kaiser an organised war was being instituted against these wandering tribes, and that magistrates and police, urban and rural, had explicit directions for a campaign against the Gypsies. The Kaiser's attitude was decidedly popular, for the bands of Gypsies 'in a number of instances, in every year,' stole and kidnapped children, and Tziganes were adepts at espionage.

The *Daily Express*, March 19, announced that the Countess Vilma Festetics and her Gypsy musician husband Nyary were engaged at £60 a week to appear every evening at the Café Splendid in Berlin, when Nyary with his wife by his side was to conduct the Hungarian Gypsy band from seven in the evening till two in the morning.

The *New York American*, April 3, repeated this, embellishing the article with a large portrait of the Countess and a small one of Nyary.

HUNGARY.

The *New York Evening Post*, July 25, 1908, in the news from Budapest, stated that a majority of the crimes in Hungary—murders, kidnapping, and robberies—are committed by Gypsies, and that the perpetrators are seldom apprehended. A long list of murders and other outrages recently committed by nomad Gypsy bands at Puszta and elsewhere in Hungary had again brought up the subject of controlling the Gypsies, of whom there were 50,000.

The *Globe*, August 25, 1908, gave an account of an attack by Gypsies on an isolated farm on the Hungarian 'puzta,' where they had been refused food and money. It was close to a railway, and a train was stopped when the firing was heard, and the passengers drove off and captured most of the Gypsies with their vans and belongings. Many were wounded, but nobody was killed in the fight.

The *Sphere*, September 12, gave a page of eleven views of 'The Gypsies of Europe and their Work,' with a statement that there were 90,000 Gypsies in Hungary, where the men and women Gypsies were employed as labourers for building, street paving, and the like : five of the views showed women working on buildings or paving ; two were of women carrying bundles of straw ; one repairing bedding ; one a band ferrying over the Danube ; the two largest views were (1) a woman and six children, apparently tinkers, three having hammers ; (2) two women at Bucharest.

ITALY.

Ars et Labor, December 1908 (63rd year No. 12 : an illustrated monthly review of music), contained (pp. 930-4) an account of a visit to a Gypsy camp outside one of the gates of Rome. It was headed 'Gli Zingari a Roma,' and was accompanied by nine views from photographs :—(1) Gypsy's wife and her little daughter ; (2) the chief's wife and her little sons ; (3) interior of a Gypsy tent ; (4) the chief, aged Gypsy woman, and little Gypsies ; (5) huts of country Gypsies ; (6) a girl ; (7) a Roman Gypsy ; (8) the chief's daughter ; (9) the chief's daughter and the eldest Gypsy woman. The reporter found it hard to understand them, as they mixed up French, Slavonic, English, Arabic, and Italian. The chief asked the reporter if he was 'polisiemann,' and when he found he represented a newspaper, very politely asked him into his tent, which was something like a bell-shaped military tent, but bigger, and as well furnished as many houses. He said they had been in Europe, parts of America, and Asia, and when he was a boy he had been in Africa. They went on foot there, they separated, and rejoined from time to time, and he was once put into prison for several days, and the voyage by sea disturbed them most. He had succeeded his father as chief. It was an hereditary office. They were wishful to work, and once had a small circus of horses. They were farriers and veterinaries, fortune-tellers, and iron-workers ;

one was a shoemaker, and another a tailor. All earnings were handed to the chief, who divided the funds for the wants of the band. When he was a child they were a large band, but some had died, and some had been fallen in love with and been married, and had left the wandering life. Tea was served from a large samovar. 'È il nostro saluto, signore, un povero saluto ma sincero.' The reporter had hardly left the tent before he was mobbed by the children, crying, 'Soldo, soldo, soldo.' The chief was a tall man, wearing a long loose coat with many large buttons on it. His wife was very stout.

PALESTINE.

The January 1908 *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* contained 'A Sketch of the Grammatical Structure of the Nuri Language,' by R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., pp. 64-70.¹

In the same *Statement* was an account by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer of a foundation-sacrifice myth told by a Gypsy girl.

The Annual Report of the same society in December stated that at Gezer, near a shrine, there was an artificial cave called the rock hollow of the Zutt or Gypsies, and the Rev. G. E. White, in an account of 'Survivals of Primitive Beliefs,' instanced the death of a Gypsy girl, which her father attributed to her disappointed suitor having 'read' over a flowing fountain at which she drank. 'The water clove to her breast-bone, and she sickened and died,' in spite of prayers over her by a Christian priest and a Mohammedan imam.

POLAND.

A New York paper, in Yiddish, stated that Petre-kow is the centre for all the Gypsies that live in Poland under a leader (*ataman*) named Kaminski, who is selected by the government to be their governor. Kaminski is very rich, and lives like a *bâro rai*. All disputes between Gypsies in Poland are referred to him, and every Gypsy marriage requires his sanction. In a recent case the *ataman* decreed the payment of 3000 roubles by the bridegroom's father to the bride's father, on account of the bride's celebrated beauty. The marriage took place in the Schtart Wald, where the dancing and drinking were kept up for three days. The religious ceremony took place in Lodz, where the Gypsies have 'a lovely cloister.' When the Gypsies were about to disperse the *ataman* declared that some one had robbed him of 200 roubles, and had robbed the lucky father, who had sold his daughter so dearly, of the 3000 roubles paid for her. Suspicion of the robbery fell on a Gypsy, who was caught in Lodz in possession of all the money.

RUSSIA.

The *Daily Star*, September 18, 1908, said that Tolstoy in his early manhood associated with Gypsies, and that a vivid account of the Russian Gypsy choirs was given by him in *Two Hussars*, in Constable's Sevastopol Edition of Tolstoy's works.

SILESIA.

The *Daily Star* and other newspapers, on July 31, contained an account, sent from Vienna, of a quarrel between two bands of Gypsies at Friedeck, Silesia. It began between two members of the bands. One shot the other. The rest joined in with knives, daggers, and revolvers. Two more were killed, and several were wounded. The rest then adjourned to an inn, where the conflict began afresh, and six more were killed, five were mortally wounded, and of the whole thirty-four only one was unhurt. The wounded included several women and children. Two

¹ See *J. G. L. S.*, New Series, vol. iii. pp. 120-148.

of the men were drowned in trying to cross the river Ostrovitz, to escape arrest. Stolen goods, including some valuable jewels, were found in the waggons.

SPAIN.

The *Boston Sunday Herald*, July 5, 1908, had an article by Mrs. Wyman, of Boston, on the dances of the Spanish Gypsies, with five illustrations. At Granada she visited Juan Amaya, chief of the Granada tribe.

The *Petit Bleu*, December 21, stated that three Gypsies, who had killed two 'gardes civils,' had been executed at Cordova, and two other Gypsies at Seville had been condemned to death, for killing in a train two 'gardes civils,' who were taking them to prison.

SWITZERLAND.

At Geneva, on February 15, 1908, a programme was issued for the 'Ninth International Geographical Congress,' to be held July 27 to August 6. The section for anthropology and ethnography was to be addressed on the subject of Gypsies by the Marquis A. Colocci, of Catania; by Commander Guido Cora of Rome; and by Dr. Eug. Pittard of Geneva.

The *Morning Leader* (also the *Star*), on April 10, reported the arrest of a Gypsy band in the forest of Qängetsholz, near Bulach, in Canton Zurich. They were alleged to have roamed through the forests of Germany and Switzerland, and to have become a terror in the land, on account of their robberies. Their leader was Emil Haussman, who came from Würtemberg, and he made a desperate struggle to escape.

The *Standard*, May 26, stated that on the northern and eastern frontiers of Switzerland, and on the southern frontier of Germany, several Gypsy bands from Bohemia, Silesia, and Hungary had been lately driven across the frontiers.

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 p. 126)

II. THE ARTICLE

18. **T**HERE are two articles in Nuri, the indefinite, and what may be termed the emphatic or superdefinite article. The *absence* of either article in the singular number implies the ordinary definite article: as the indefinite article is used only in the singular, it is impossible in the plural to express the distinction between definite and indefinite substantives.

19. The indefinite article is *-k*, *-ak*, or *-ik*, suffixed to the substantive—the first when the substantive ends in a vowel, the others when it ends in a consonant. Thus, *jári*, 'the woman': *járik*, 'a woman.'

Obs. I. An *i* is sometimes appended to the indefinite article. This appears to

be quite arbitrary, not depending on euphony, gender, or any other grammatical distinction. Thus, *cónāk* or *cónūki*, 'a boy.'

Obs. II. The indefinite article is sometimes 'piled up,' so to speak, superfluously: thus, *ďstǎ yikáki tmálik*, which literally means 'there was . . . a one . . . a soldier.'

20. The superdefinite article is *á-*, *ó-*, *é-*, or sometimes *áú*, prefixed to the substantive, which it usually robs of its accent, and of the quantity of its long vowels. Thus the word *jári* with this article is pronounced *ějári*, almost rhyming with English 'plagiary.'

Obs. The superdefinite article is properly a contraction of the proclitic demonstrative *ǎhǎ*, *ihí*, *che*, 'that,' 'those.' The distinctions of gender and number, which still survive in a measure between the various forms of the demonstrative, have disappeared in the article.

21. The superdefinite article may be regarded as the equivalent of the English 'the very,' or of 'the' when printed in italics, as in such a sentence as 'he saw *the* house,' meaning the important or specially interesting house. But it is often used superfluously, having so completely lost its demonstrative or emphatic sense that it must be translated by the indefinite article. Thus, in Ex. LXXX in the accompanying collection of stories, *láherďǎ éjǎzǎli* means no more than 'he saw a gazelle.'

Obs. It is of course *possible* that in this example the sense is 'he saw the gazelle with which this story is concerned,' but such an explanation is probably too subtle.

22. The Arabic article *el-* is sometimes borrowed, but rarely for use with native Nuri words, being almost confined to substantives and adjectives taken from Arabic. It is most commonly used with adjectives which define and limit the substantives to which they are attached: as *gál-kerďi baráskǎ el-mǎfálǎ*, 'she said to her brother—the foolish one.' On the other hand, the native articles are freely used with Arabic substantives. The rules for the assimilation of the *l* of the Arabic article with liquids, dentals, and sibilants—the so-called 'solar letters'—are followed as in Arabic.

Obs. The use of the Arabic article is sometimes curiously extended beyond its legitimate Arabic use. Thus it is possible to prefix it to the relative pronoun: *áúďi náúuri gásǎstǎ mǎn-šǎn el-illi mištǎ hōri*, 'the old woman is searching for a herb for the sake of the (person) who is sick.' In the remarkable passage in Ex. x, *ya báwǎm, áhǎk el-ihrǎ*, 'wife, thus was the (thing which) happened,' it appears to be prefixed to a verb; but perhaps *el* is here a contraction of the relative pronoun *illi*.

III. SUBSTANTIVES

[*N.B.*—The rules and the paradigms of Substantives and Verbs given in this grammar have all been deduced from an analysis of the examples collected and printed below. A certain number of exceptional and anomalous forms will be discovered by the careful reader: these, so far as possible, are noticed in the footnotes to the examples, or else in the Vocabulary.]

23. Substantives can be divided into three classes, according to the termination of their nominative case. The first class contains those that end in *-i*, the second those that end in *-ă* or *-ô*, the third class those ending in a consonant.

Obs. Substantives of the third class are frequently transferred to the first by the addition of a superfluous *-i* to the nominative. This seems to be purely arbitrary. Thus *mânăs*, 'a man,' is often pronounced *mânăsi*. This superfluous *-i* is almost always added to the nominative case of Arabic proper names, whether of persons or of places, as *Hăsăni*, 'Hasan.' It is also very often added to Arabic common nouns, as in *wăsîhî*, Arabic *wăsîb*, 'dirt.'

24. There are three genders, *masculine*, *feminine*, and *neuter*. The last is now all but obsolete, being recognisable only by the form of the accusative singular. As a general rule, nouns of the first class appear to be *feminine*, those of the second *masculine*, but there are many exceptions. There is no general rule for determining the gender of substantives of the third class, each of which must be considered separately. But in no case is the determination of the gender of a substantive easy, unless its sense involve some natural distinction of sex.

25. There are two numbers, *singular* and *plural*. Faint traces are not wanting of the former existence of a *dual*, but this is almost wholly obsolete.

26. There are nine cases, distinguished by suffixes, which in general are added to the accusative form of the noun. The distinctions of meaning between the several cases are breaking down, the machinery of declension being too complicated for this simple folk. The ambiguities that necessarily result are often evaded by the use of prepositions, borrowed from Arabic.

27. The nine cases, which we shall now consider each in its turn, will here be given the following names:—*Nominative*, *Vocative*, *Accusative*, *Dative*, *Locative*, *Instrumental*, *Associative*, *Directive*, *Ablative*.

28. The NOMINATIVE SINGULAR, as we have seen, ends in *-i*, *-ă*, *-ô*, or in a consonant. Any consonant may terminate a noun of the third class, as the following examples will show:—

<i>jib</i> , tongue.	<i>ag</i> , fire.	<i>dōm</i> , a Nuri.	<i>ātōs</i> , flour.
<i>cenc</i> , side.	<i>āurāḡ</i> , sickle.	<i>bēn</i> , a sister.	<i>ārāt</i> , night.
<i>dād</i> , grandmother.	<i>cókmāk</i> , tinder.	<i>sāp</i> , a snake.	<i>dirš</i> , a furrow.
<i>dif</i> , tobacco.	<i>cal</i> , a well.	<i>bar</i> , a brother.	<i>hrēz</i> , a cock.

Some of these may have originally ended in a vowel, as they often assume an *-i* at the end of the nominative singular. There occasionally is a difference of meaning implied with the presence or absence of this vowel, as in *ag*, 'fire,' *agi* also meaning 'fire,' but sometimes 'hell.' But as a rule there is no such distinction: *piáz* and *piázi* both mean 'onion' indifferently.

29. Very common are pairs of words ending in *-ǎ* and in *-i* respectively, which form the masculine and feminine complement of each other, thus—

<i>cónǎ</i> , a boy.	<i>cóni</i> , a girl.
<i>dōsárǎ</i> , a negro.	<i>dōsári</i> , a negress.

Sometimes, though rarely, there are similar groups not depending on sex or gender distinctions: as *mǎklǎ*, 'a sandfly'; *mǎkli*, 'a housefly.'

30. There are a few substantives with exceptional terminations. Thus *ple*, 'money,' ends in *e*. *Li*^o, 'iron,' and *su*^o, 'a needle,' are always pronounced with a hamza, which disappears in the oblique cases. Some monosyllabic words denoting the nearer relationships, and a very few others, end in diphthongs: such are *bōi*, 'father'; *dāi*, 'mother'; *bāi*, 'wife'; *pōi*, 'husband.' Of other words ending in a diphthong, the commonest, perhaps, is *dāwāi*, 'camel.'

Obs. Great care has to be observed, in compiling a vocabulary from the mouth of a Nuri, to distinguish between simple and compound nouns. (The latter are nouns with the various adventitious suffixes, such as the indefinite article, the pronominal suffixes, etc.). If a Nuri be asked, for example, to give the word for 'horse,' he will be more likely than not to say *yēḡrōm*, which means 'MY horse,' or *yēḡrōr*, 'THY horse,' or *yēḡrāk*, 'A horse,' or *yēḡrēk*, 'IT IS A horse,' instead of the simple *yēḡir*. He may even say *yēḡrās nān*, which means 'FETCH THE horse.' Shákir told me that the word for 'jaw' is *dōndēr-déri*, which obviously means 'the place of THY teeth': in the vocabulary I have accordingly changed this to *dōndān-déri*, which is what analogy shows the simple noun to be. In the Asiatic vocabulary in Paspati's *Tchingliánés* (pp. 118-125) the words *kharik*, 'bone,' and *masak*, 'month,' should not have the affixed *-k*, which is the indefinite article.

31. The NOMINATIVE PLURAL ends in a short and unaccented *-e*. Thus, *kājǎ*, 'Gentile'; Plural, *kājje*: *lāci*, 'girl'; Plural, *lācie* (trisyllable).

Obs. I. A few substantives form their plural irregularly: the commonest of these is *zárō*, 'boy'; plural, *zírūte*.

Obs. II. In conversation there is often confusion between the true plural, in -e, and the predicative plural suffix -éni, which will be more fully described in §§ 76 *et seqq.* Thus, instead of *lācie*, 'girls,' one may often hear *lāciéni*, which properly means 'THEY ARE girls.' Similarly, *zériāténi*, *mánséni* are often substituted for *zériāte*, 'boys,' and *mánūse*, 'men.' A Nuri, if asked for the word for 'brother,' will be almost certain to say *barōmi* (properly 'MY brother'). If asked for the plural, he will likewise say *baréni*, literally 'THEY ARE brothers.'

32. The VOCATIVE SINGULAR is almost obsolete; and of a VOCATIVE PLURAL I have found no trace at all. The native vocative survives, apparently, only in words denoting close relationships: as *bōā*, 'O father'; *māūmā*, 'O uncle.' Elsewhere the Arabic vocative, which is formed by prefixing *ya* to the nominative, has completely taken its place. Sometimes the superdefinite article (with a prefixed *h* for euphony) is interjected after the *ya*: as in *fumnésis*, *ya hémāti*, 'Beat him, O people!'

33. The ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR terminates in -ā in the first class of substantives, and in -(ā)s in the second and third classes. The ACCUSATIVE PLURAL always ends in -n: in the first class the termination is -ēn, in the second and third -ān.

34. As in most Aryan languages, neuter substantives have no accusative form different from the nominative. This is now the only criterion for distinguishing neuter nouns. But even here they appear to be in process of assimilation to the masculine or feminine declension, and to be developing analogous accusative forms.

35. *The accusative case, singular and plural, is the stem to which the suffixes of the other oblique cases are appended.*

36. The DATIVE case properly denotes 'that to which a thing is given'; but the locative and directive are often used in the same sense. Its distinguishing suffix is -tā, added to the accusative singular or plural, in accordance with the last section. Thus we have—

Nom. Sing.	Acc. Sing.	Dat. Sing.	Acc. Plur.	Dat. Plur.
<i>mánūs</i> (man)	<i>mánsūs</i>	<i>mánsūtā</i>	<i>mánsān</i>	<i>mánsāntā</i>
<i>lāci</i> (girl)	<i>lāciā</i>	<i>lāciātā</i>	<i>lāciēn</i>	<i>lāciēntā</i>
<i>cónā</i> (boy)	<i>cónās</i>	<i>cónāstā</i>	<i>cónān</i>	<i>cónāntā</i>

Obs. The following examples illustrate the irregular use of the dative where the sense would require other cases:—

For the LOCATIVE: *tirdōm wī zerd barōm-dériātā*, 'I paid 20 pounds in the place of my brother.' [Properly *dériāmā*.]

For the DIRECTIVE: *nāndēnsān pāūbāginyētā*, 'they brought them to the court-house.' [It seems that the directive of this word, which would be of unwieldy length, is never used]: *Hālli jan dēimintā* [for *dēiminkārā*], 'let us go to our village.'

For the ABLATIVE: *hē māš min dēsimintā* [for *dēsiminki*], 'they are not from our place'; *sābāhtā rāūrēn li-ḡ dōher*, 'we walked from morning till noon.'

37. The LOCATIVE and INSTRUMENTAL cases differ in meaning only, and not in external form. For convenience we shall always speak of this form as the *Locative*, unless its instrumental significance be in question. The characteristic termination is *-mā*, added to the accusative in the same way as that illustrated in the last section. In the plural, however, the *n* of the accusative termination is always assimilated to the *m* of the case-ending, so that *nm* becomes *mm*. The two *m*'s are pronounced double, according to rule, and the resulting emphasis produces a disturbance of accent. The locative of the words given as examples in the last section are thus—Singular, *mānsāsmā*, *lāciāmā*, *cōnāsmā*; Plural, *mānsāmmā*, *lāciāmmā*, *cōnāmmā*. As a rule the locative and instrumental cases, the uses of which are sufficiently expressed by their names, trespass less on the province of other cases than do the dative and directive; but they are not wholly immune from the prevailing confusion.

38. The ASSOCIATIVE is dropping out of use, its place being taken by prepositions. Its use is to express 'an object or person, or group of objects or persons, with or among which the subject of the sentence is.' Its characteristic termination is *-sānni*, sometimes abbreviated to *-sān* (unaccented). Thus the associative singular of *mānūs* is *mānsāssānni* (pronounce the double consonants as double) or *mānsāssān*, and so for the other words used above as examples. In certain expressions the associative gives place to the locative. Thus the regular expression for 'in the army' is *tmaliēmā*, not *tmaliēnsānni*, 'with the soldiers,' which we might have expected.

39. The DIRECTIVE case denotes 'something towards which a person or thing is moving, or some one to whom a person is speaking.' It is thus a locative of motion, as the *-mā* case is a locative of rest. It is not unnatural that this case should be confused and interchanged, as it frequently is, with the dative, to which it evidently approximates in meaning. Its characteristic is *-kārā*, sometimes abbreviated to *-kā* (unaccented). Thus, the directive singular of *mānūs* is *mānsāskārā*, or sometimes *mānsāškā*. (The

difference of accentuation in the longer and shorter forms of the associative and directive cases is noteworthy).

40. The ABLATIVE ends in *-k* or *-ki* indifferently, as *mánsăšk* or *mánsăški*, etc. Properly this case denotes 'the thing or place from which something else is taken.' It is also used in a causative sense, denoting that something takes place 'from' or 'because of' something else.

Obs. A peculiar feature of this causative use of the ablative case is, that it is almost always expressed in the plural, even when the substantive denotes a feeling or emotion incapable of plurality: as *răzări bişwăînk*, 'he trembled from fear' (*lit.* from fears, *i.e.* from fearfulnesses or sensations of fear, not from several objects of fear): *mră îbkărăînkî*, 'he died from hunger' (*lit.* 'from hungers').

41. The most important use of the ablative, however, is the filling of the place of a genitive, which, as in other Romani dialects, is entirely wanting. When the ablative is used for this purpose, it almost always precedes the substantive on which it depends, and the pronominal suffix suitable to the context is added to the name of the thing possessed. Thus, 'the door of the house' is *kúriăk kăpiûs*. Here *kúri* is 'house': being a noun of the first class, its accusative singular is *kúriă*, and hence the ablative is *kúriăk*. Again, *kăpi* is 'door': *-ûs* is the third person singular pronominal suffix, so that *kăpiûs* means 'its door.'

42. The second of two words in genitive relationship, thus expressed, tends in speaking to become an enclitic, the two words being rapidly pronounced as one: thus, *kúriăk-kăpiûs*.

43. There are sometimes irregularities or divergences in the expression of the genitive. Among these may be mentioned:—

(1) The omission of the pronominal suffix, as in *lăciăk sîri*, 'the girl's head.' This is not very common.

(2) The omission of the ablative characteristic *-k*, thus reducing the word to the form of the accusative, from which, however, it must be carefully distinguished. Thus we find *kărăs 'îmlûs* for *kărăšk 'îmlûs*, 'the price of the donkey.' This becomes the more confusing if, as sometimes happens, the pronominal suffix be dropped at the same time: Thus I have heard *zîriătăn sîrie*, 'which is meant for *zîriătănk sîriêsăn*, 'the boys' heads.' (The plural pronominal suffix is *-săn*). There are certain combinations that have assumed a specific meaning: in these this abbreviated construction is especially common. Thus *dôndăn-mási*, 'the flesh of the teeth,' 'the gums,' and *Háyăis-sîkă*, 'God's voice,' 'thunder.'

(3) The expression of genitive relation by the Persian formula, namely, the insertion of *-i-* between the two substantives, both in the nominative case, the dependent coming first. Thus *kāpi-i-kūri*, 'the door of the house.' This, in its pure form, is an uncommon construction in Nuri; but a contamination of the Persian and the true Nuri construction is not infrequent. Thus I have heard *siriūs-i-mānsāsk* for 'the man's head,' evidently a combination of *siri-i-mānus* and the regular *mānsāski siriūs*. Similar is *mōzā-i-pāumki*, 'the shoe of my foot.' The Nawar are, of course, incapable of analysing the grammatical constructions of their language, and (as we have seen already) are prone to give complex forms when a simple form is required, as they are unable to distinguish the one from the other.

44. An important series of derivative substantives, which denote things that belong or appertain to something else, is formed by affixing *kāki*, 'a possession,' to the ablative of the possessing thing or person. In such cases the *k* of the ablative always disappears, and the affixed element is always enclitic. Thus *wā*, 'air,' ablative singular, *wāšsk*; *wāšškāki*, 'a thing pertaining to air'—a word used for either 'a window' or 'a winnowing-fork' (!). The ablative plural is more frequently used in this connection: *ktīr*, 'a Christian,' ablative plural, *ktīrānk*; *ktīrānkāki*, 'a thing pertaining to Christians,' *i.e.* 'a church.' *Kāli*, 'a goat,' ablative plural (irregular), *kāliānk*; *kāliānkāki*, 'a thing pertaining to goats,' *i.e.* 'a cave' in which goats are penned.

45. Adjectives denoting 'fulness' are in most other inflexional languages followed by the genitive or ablative of the name of the thing or substance filling. In Nuri, however, the noun is put in the *nominative*. This is one of many cases in which the syntax of colloquial Arabic has influenced that of the tongue of the Nawar. Thus we have *kānāwāšk bārdik zērđi*, 'a jar which is full of gold' (exactly analogous to the Arabic *zir mālān dhāhāb*): *tilli-ḥākārā bārdik gānlā*, 'a garden which is full of flowers.' This construction is used even when the adjective is not expressed: as *gōnik ple* 'a purse (full) of money.' On the other hand, in an expression next to impossible for a stranger to pronounce, *kōtkāk kīrwiāsk*, 'a cup of coffee,' it is clear that the second word is in the ablative, not the nominative with the indefinite article, as the latter would be unsuitable for the sense of the word *kīrwi* ('coffee')

46. In the following paradigms of declension the statements of the preceding paragraphs are summarised.

CLASS I. SUBSTANTIVES IN *i*

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
	<i>béli</i> , a friend	<i>cóni</i> , a girl	<i>páni</i> , water
SINGULAR			
Nom.	<i>béli</i>	<i>cóni</i>	<i>páni</i>
Voc.	<i>ya béli</i>	<i>ya cóni</i>	<i>ya páni</i>
Acc.	<i>béliä</i>	<i>cóniä</i>	<i>páni</i> (sometimes <i>pániä</i>)
Dat.	<i>béliätä</i>	<i>cóniätä</i>	<i>pániätä</i> (or <i>pániätä</i> , and so for the other cases).
Loc.	<i>béliämä</i>	<i>cóniämä</i>	<i>pániämä</i>
Assoc.	<i>béliäsänni</i>	<i>cóniäsänni</i>	<i>pániäsänni</i>
Direc.	<i>béliäkärä</i>	<i>cóniäkärä</i>	<i>pániäkärä</i>
Abl.	<i>béliäk</i>	<i>cóniäk</i>	<i>pániäk</i>
PLURAL			
Nom.	<i>bélie</i>	<i>cónie</i>	<i>pánie</i>
Voc.	<i>ya bélie</i>	<i>ya cónie</i>	<i>ya pánie</i>
Acc.	<i>bélién</i>	<i>cónién</i>	<i>panién</i>
Dat.	<i>béliéntä</i>	<i>cóniéntä</i>	<i>paniéntä</i>
Loc.	<i>béliémmä</i>	<i>cóniémmä</i>	<i>paniémmä</i>
Assoc.	<i>béliēnsänni</i>	<i>cóniēnsänni</i>	<i>paniēnsänni</i>
Direc.	<i>béliēnkärä</i>	<i>cóniēnkärä</i>	<i>paniēnkärä</i>
Abl.	<i>béliénk</i>	<i>cóniénk</i>	<i>paniénk</i>

CLASS II. SUBSTANTIVES IN *a, ö*

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Nom.	<i>cónä</i> , a boy	<i>cöne</i>
Voc.	<i>ya cónä</i>	<i>ya cöne</i>
Acc.	<i>cónäs</i>	<i>cönän</i>
Dat.	<i>cónästä</i>	<i>cönäntä</i>
Loc.	<i>cönäsmä</i>	<i>cönämmä</i>
Assoc.	<i>cönässänni</i>	<i>cönäsänni</i>
Direc.	<i>cönäskärä</i>	<i>cönänkärä</i>
Abl.	<i>cönäsk</i>	<i>cönänk</i>

CLASS III. SUBSTANTIVES ENDING IN A CONSONANT

	Masc. and Fem.	Neuter.
	<i>mánüs</i> , a man	<i>ag</i> , fire
Nom.	<i>mánüs</i>	<i>ag</i>
Voc.	<i>ya mánüs</i>	<i>ya ag</i>
Acc.	<i>mánsäs</i>	<i>ag</i>
Dat.	<i>mánsüstä</i>	<i>ágtä</i>
Loc.	<i>mánsäsmä</i>	<i>ágmä</i>
Assoc.	<i>mánsässänni</i>	<i>agsänni</i>
Direc.	<i>mánsäskärä</i>	<i>agikärä</i>
Abl.	<i>mánsäsk</i>	<i>ágik</i>

PLURAL

Nom.	<i>mánuse</i>	<i>áge</i>
Voc.	<i>ya mánuse</i>	<i>ya áge</i>
Acc.	<i>mánsän</i>	<i>ágän</i>
Dat.	<i>mánsüntä</i>	<i>ágäntä</i>
Loc.	<i>mansámmä</i>	<i>agámmä</i>
Assoc.	<i>mansänsánni</i>	<i>agänsánni</i>
Direc.	<i>mansänkärä</i>	<i>agänkärä</i>
Abl.	<i>mánsänk</i>	<i>ágänk</i>

Obs. I. It must not be forgotten that the associative, directive, and ablative have the alternative endings *-sän*, *-kä*, and *-ki* respectively.

Obs. II. I have not found any neuter nouns of the second class. There is no difference in the declension of masculine and feminine nouns.

47. The following are specimens of irregular declension :—

SINGULAR

Nom.	<i>zárö, a boy</i>	<i>jári, a woman</i>	<i>li°, iron</i>	<i>Cájä, Egypt</i>
Acc.	<i>zarés</i>	<i>jári</i>	<i>elhás</i>	<i>Cájä</i>
Dat.	<i>zaréstä</i>	<i>jáärtä</i>	<i>elhástä</i>	<i>Cájétä</i>
Loc.	<i>zarésmä</i>	<i>jäärmä</i>	<i>elhásmä</i>	<i>Cájémä</i>
Assoc.	<i>zarésánni</i>	<i>jäärsánni</i>	<i>elhassánni</i>	...
Direc.	<i>zaréskärä</i>	<i>jäärkärä</i>	<i>elhashkärä</i>	<i>Cájäkärä</i>
Abl.	<i>zarésk</i>	<i>jäärk</i>	<i>elhashk</i>	<i>Cájäk</i>

PLURAL

Nom.	<i>ziräte</i>	<i>järe</i>	<i>lihe</i>	...
Acc.	<i>zirätän</i>	<i>jürén</i>	<i>elháyän</i>	...
Dat.	<i>zirätántä</i>	<i>jüréntä</i>	<i>elhántä</i>	...
Loc.	<i>zirätämmä</i>	<i>jürémmä</i>	<i>elhámmä</i>	...
Assoc.	<i>zirätänsánni</i>	<i>jürénsánni</i>	<i>elhansánni</i>	...
Direc.	<i>zirätänkärä</i>	<i>jürénkärä</i>	<i>elhankärä</i>	...
Abl.	<i>zirätánk</i>	<i>jüránki</i>	<i>elhánk</i>	...

Obs. For *jári* in the nominative we often find *jäär* as an alternative. This is perhaps the original form. The locative singular of *li°* (*elhásmä*) is the technical expression for 'in prison.' The original form of this word is *lihi*, which survives in Ex. LXIX.

48. Compound substantives—those to which the pronominal suffixes are attached—are declined as though they were simple substantives of the third class. Substantives with the indefinite article are similarly declined, but of course in the singular number only. It must be carefully noted, that in declension *compound substantives are normally neuter in form*, whatever the gender of the simple substantive may be: that is to say, the accusative singular is identical with the nominative. Like most of the rules of accident, however, this is not strictly observed in

conversation. The following condensed paradigms sufficiently illustrate the declension of compound substantives: the other forms can easily be deduced from those given.

SINGULAR

Simple Subst. With Indef. Art. With 1st Sing. Suff. With 2nd Plur. Suff.

Nom.	<i>mónǎ</i> , loaf	<i>mónǎk</i> , a loaf	<i>mónǎm</i> , my loaf	<i>mónǎrǎn</i> , your loaf
Acc.	<i>mónǎs</i>	<i>mónǎk</i>	<i>mónǎm</i>	<i>mónǎrǎn</i>
Dat.	<i>mónǎstǎ</i>	<i>mónǎktǎ</i>	<i>mónǎmtǎ</i>	<i>monǎrǎntǎ</i>
Abl.	<i>mónǎsk</i>	<i>mónǎkǎk</i>	<i>mónǎmǎk</i> (or -ǎmki)	<i>monǎrǎnk</i>

PLURAL

Nom.	<i>móne</i>	...	<i>moném</i>	<i>moněrǎn</i>
Acc.	<i>mónǎn</i>	...	<i>moném</i>	<i>moněrǎn</i>
Dat.	<i>mónǎntǎ</i>	...	<i>monémntǎ</i>	<i>moněrǎntǎ</i>
Abl.	<i>monǎnki</i>	...	<i>monémki</i>	<i>moněrǎnki</i>

Obs. I. The long *-ē* before the pronominal suffix in the plural is almost invariable: this is the more noticeable, as otherwise there is a great irregularity in the vocalisation of the pronominal suffixes. (The common expression, *mǎnde hǎlēsǎn* ['they betook themselves'], often appears as *mǎnde hǎlēsǎn*).

Obs. II. In the locative plural the *n* of the termination of the plural suffixes assimilates with the *m* of the case-ending, thus *moněrǎmmǎ*, etc. As in the locative plural of simple substantives, this assimilation disturbs the accent.

Obs. III. In the plural, the accusative termination merges with the plural suffixes.

Obs. IV. The preservation of the neuter declension in the plural is found nowhere in the language, except in compound substantives with the singular pronominal suffixes. There is a practical reason for this; as an Acc. Plur. **monémǎn* ('our loaves') would be indistinguishable in form from a Nom. Plur. *monémǎn* ('our loaves').

IV. ADJECTIVES

49. Adjectives vary in respect of gender and number only, being otherwise indeclinable. The terminations are, Singular, masc. and neut. *-ǎ*, fem. *-i*; Plural, all genders *-e*. The latter is not often used, the singular forms being usually substituted.

50. The range of inflexional variation in adjectives is thus as shown in the following table:—

Masc. Sing. *kǎštótǎ zǎrō*, the little boy.

Fem. Sing. *kǎštóti lǎci*, the little girl.

Masc. Plur. *kǎštóte* (more often *kǎštótǎ*) *zǎriǎte*, little boys.

Fem. Plur. *kǎštóte* (more often *kǎštóti*) *lǎcie*, little girls.

51. As the foregoing examples illustrate, the adjective as a rule precedes its substantive.

52. There is no native form for the comparison of adjectives. This is most commonly expressed by the use of Arabic formulæ, as *ahsān min* ('better than'), *ḵādd* or *ḵādd mā* ('as much as'), *akṭār min* ('greater than'), and the like. The Arabic *min* is generally used for the particle 'than' after comparatives, though the Nuri equivalent *mnēš* is not uncommon. The comparison of adjectives cannot be expressed in pure Nuri except by the use of the intensive adverb *bōl*, 'much, very.' The following is a good example of the way in which a Nuri would express comparison—*Lāci jāneri Ṭāṭwāri gūzēl, bārōs jāneri gūzēl bōl, bōḥsān jāneri ḵādd ʾili kuriāmēni giš*, 'the girl knows Arabic well, her brother knows it better, and their father knows it best of all in the house' (*lit.*, 'as much as all that are in the house').

Obs. *Kuriāmēni* in this sentence is the locative singular with the predicative suffix.

53. The predicative form of the adjective cannot be described till we have given particulars regarding the predicative suffix, in the chapter on the verb. This form is very commonly used to take the place of the missing oblique cases of the adjective, though the simple form is also common: as in *ḵāštōtā zirāttānkā dāwāḥēni*, 'the little boys have camels' (*lit.*, 'to the little boys there are camels').

54. There are very few, if any, adverbs that are not of the same form as the corresponding adjectives, or that cannot be used as adjectives without change.

V. NUMERALS

55. The Nuri language possesses cardinal numerals, but draws on Arabic for ordinal and fractional expressions. The following are the cardinal numbers:—

1. *yikā, yikāk.*
2. *dī, dīs, diēs, diēsni.*
3. *tārān, tārānēs.*
4. *štar, štarēs.*
5. *pūnj, pūnjās.*
6. *šaš, šāsās, tārān-wā-tārān.*
7. *hōt, hōtīs, štar-wā-tārān.*
8. *štar-wā-štar.*
9. *štar-wā-štar-wā-yikāk, štar-wā-pūnj.*
10. *das, des.*
11. *das-wā-yikāk.*
-
18. *das-wā-štar-wā-štar.*

19. *wīs-ilǎ-yikák.*
 20. *wīs, wīstǎne.*
 21. *wīs-u-yikák.*

 29. *wīs-u-štar-u-štar-wǎ-yikák.*
 30. *tǎrǎn das, wǎt (?).*
 40. *štar das, dī wīs.*
 50. *nīm sǎ.*
 60. *šǎš das, tǎrǎn wīs, dī wǎt (?).*
 70. *hōt das.*
 80. *štar-wǎ-štár das, štar wīs.*
 90. *sǎ-ilǎ-dǎs.*
 91. *sǎ-ilǎ-štar-u-štar-u-yikák.*
 92. *sǎ-ilǎ-štar-u-štár.*

 95. *sǎ-ilǎ-pǎnj.*

 99. *sǎ-ilǎ-yikák.*
 100. *sǎ.*
 200. *dī sǎ.*
 900. *štar-u-štar-u-yikák sǎ.*
 1000. *das sǎ, tilli sǎ.*

Obs. I. As a rule the form *yikák* is used in preference to *yiká*. The added *k* is evidently the indefinite article. This sometime becomes *yikáki*, in accordance with § 19, *Obs. I.*

Obs. II. The longer forms of the numerals from 2 to 7, and the form *wīstǎne* for 20, are as a rule used in *counting*, and the shorter forms in the enumeration of specific objects: *tǎrǎnǎs, štarǎs, pǎnjás*, 'three, four, five': but *tǎrǎn blári*, 'three cats': *štar kǎri*, 'four tents': *pǎnj jǎri*, 'five women.' Numerals are regularly constructed with the singular number, as in these examples. In *ǎšte dī báre* ('there were two brothers'), *Ex. xiv*, *báre* is best to be explained as a relic of a dual. The predicative suffix of the plural number is sometimes used for a simple plural after numerals, as will be explained in the section of the verb.

Obs. III. As in other Romani dialects, simple forms for 8, 9, do not exist in Nuri. One of my informants knew only the compound forms for 6 and 7 that have been given in the foregoing table. This, it need not be pointed out, is probably reminiscent of a practice of counting on the fingers of one hand. But the late Herr Josef Miklasiewicz, sometime Consular Agent for Britain and Austria in Safed, Palestine, obtained a short vocabulary from Nawar in (I believe) the Hauran. I have a copy of this vocabulary, and find in it the first twelve numerals given thus—

<i>yeki</i>	<i>shtar</i>	<i>haut</i>	<i>desch</i>
<i>didí</i>	<i>penez</i>	<i>HOSCHIT</i>	<i>deschyeke</i>
<i>tron</i>	<i>shesh</i>	<i>NAH</i>	<i>deschdidí</i>

which agrees with the *haisht* and *néya* or *nu*, given by Paspati (*Tchinghianés*, p. 79) for the Asiatic equivalents of these numerals.

Obs. IV. It will be observed that 19, and 90 to 99, are expressed by subtraction from the following *ten*. This method of formation, so far as I know, is not found in any other dialect of Romani, not even in the Asiatic dialect described by Paspati. The use of the Arabic conjunctions, *wǎ* or its short form *u*, 'and=plus,' and *ilǎ*, 'but=minus,' will be noticed.

Obs. V. The expression *wät*, for 'thirty,' must be indicated as doubtful. I got *dī wät* for 'sixty' from Muḥammad Ḥusain (or in the native formula *Māḥāmmād Ḥūsānūs-pītr*), a relative of my chief teacher Shākīr. Muḥammad corrected himself immediately to *tārān wīs*, so that the other expression may be a mere ghost-word. Shākīr had a very low opinion of his kinsman's knowledge of the language, and several times expressed himself very forcibly with regard to sentences I had obtained from him. 'Saving your presence, master,' he said on one occasion, 'my cousin Muḥammad is a liar and a [unprintable epithet], and you must never believe a word he says.'

56. The only native FRACTIONAL numeral is *nīm*, 'half.' Arabic supplies the rest, with occasional phonetic modifications. Thus, *rūb'ā*, 'quarter,' loses its 'ain, and becomes *rūbā*.

57. DISTRIBUTIVE numerals are expressed as in Arabic, by doubling the cardinal: thus *tārān tārān* means 'three apiece,' 'three by three.'

58. FREQUENTATIVE numerals are expressed by the Arabic *ḥāterā*, or *kūš*, both meaning 'occasion.' Thus *tārān ḥāterā*, *tārān kūš*, 'thrice.'

59. There are traces of an obsolescent declension of the numerals in some phrases. Thus *ātme tārāne*, 'you three,' has a nominative plural form. There is an accusative plural in *-nā* to be found sometimes: as *pārdā grēwārā štārnā zērdān*, 'the sheikh took the four pounds': *nānde dēsīnā kālīān*, 'they brought the ten goats.' It is to be noted that this form is constructed with the plural number.

VI. PRONOUNS

60. PERSONAL Pronouns have no distinction of gender, even in the third person singular. Properly speaking, they are indeclinable, except, to a certain extent, in the first person singular: the place of the oblique cases is taken by certain special forms, or else by suffixes, appended to substantives, verbs, or prepositions. The following is a table of the personal pronouns, with the expressions that supply their oblique cases.

SINGULAR

	1st Person.	2nd Person.	3rd Person.
Nom.	<i>āmā</i>	<i>ātu</i>	<i>pānjī</i>
Acc.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-s</i>
Gen.	<i>-m</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-s</i>
Dat.	<i>āmātā</i>	<i>ātūrtā</i>	<i>ātūstā</i>
Loc.	<i>āmāmā (or ūnkīm)</i>	<i>ūnkīr</i>	<i>ūnkīs</i>
Assoc.	<i>wāšīm</i>	<i>wāšīr</i>	<i>wāšīs</i>
Dirac.	<i>āmākārā</i>	<i>ābūrkārā</i>	<i>ābūškārā</i>
Abl.	<i>mnēšīm</i>	<i>mnēšīr</i>	<i>mnēšīs</i>

PLURAL

Nom.	<i>āme, āme°</i>	<i>ātme</i>	<i>pānjān</i>
Acc.	<i>-mān</i>	<i>-rān</i>	<i>-sān</i>
Gen.	<i>-mān</i>	<i>-rān</i>	<i>-sān</i>
Dat.	<i>āmīntā</i>	<i>ātrāntā</i>	<i>ātsāntā</i>
Loc.	<i>ānkīmānni</i>	<i>ānkirānni</i>	<i>ānkīsānni</i>
Assoc.	<i>wāšīmān</i>	<i>wāšīrān</i>	<i>wāšīsān</i>
Dirac.	<i>āmīnkārā</i>	<i>ābrānkārā</i>	<i>ābsānkārā</i>
Abl.	<i>mnēsmān</i>	<i>mnēsrān</i>	<i>mnēsāsān, mnēsān</i>

Obs. I. The locative is often used in an associative sense: *pa āmāmā*, 'come with me.'

Obs. II. There are a few variant forms. The abbreviated form of the directive (*āmākā*, etc.) is common. In the third person singular and plural there is a yet shorter form of the directive, and also of the dative, sometimes to be found: namely, *ābūs, ātūs, ābsūn, ātsūn*. The final *-ni* of the locative plural is often omitted, in which case the vowel of the pronominal suffix is shortened. In Ex. 14 will be found an example of the very rare true associative of the first personal pronoun: *rāūrā māūmōm āmīnni* (a contraction for *āmīnsānni*), 'my uncle went with us.'

61. The pronominal suffixes, *-m, -r, -s, -mān, -rān, -sān*, are appended to *verbs* to denote the accusative of the personal pronouns; to *substantives* to denote the genitive (the only trace of a genitive construction in the language); and to *prepositions* to denote other relationships. Thus to *pācī*, 'behind,' as *pācīm, pācīr*, etc.; to *minj*, 'in,' as *minjīm, minjīr*, etc. The inflexions denoting the personal subjects of the verbs are similar, as will be seen in the following chapter, though not absolutely identical.

62. The pronominal suffixes are also occasionally added to *numerals*, in such sentences as *tīrānēmān jāni āme°*, 'we three will go.' Analogous is *gištānēmān*, 'all of us.'

63. The vocalisation of the pronominal suffixes is all but completely arbitrary. We have already seen (§ 48, *Obs. I.*) that they are pronounced with *ē* when they are affixed to a substantive in the plural number. Otherwise there appears to be no fixed rule, and the first personal suffix (for instance) is pronounced *-im, -mī, -om, -ōm, -ōmī, -um, -ūm, -ūmī*; and similarly for the rest. The plural suffixes are pronounced *-mān*, or *-mīn*, etc.: the dative plural *ātsāntā* often appears in the examples as *ātsūntā*. Perhaps, as has already been suggested, this confusion is due to a now broken-down law of vowel assonance, whereby the dominating vowel of a word regulated that of the appended suffixes.

Obs. I. When the suffixes are appended to a verb in one of the negative tenses, the vowel follows the consonant, and is hamzated. Thus *lāherdōsim*, 'he saw me': *lāherdōsme°*, 'he did not see me.' Occasionally, but rarely, the vowel

and consonant are inverted in other examples, if it should chance that the pronunciation is thereby made easier.

Obs. II. An otiose syllable *-ni*, disturbing the natural accent of the word and the quantity of the vowel in the suffix, is sometimes affixed to the plural suffixes: as *pardössänni*, for *pardössän*, 'he took them.' Possibly this was originally for additional emphasis, but the emphatic sense has disappeared.

Obs. III. The pronominal suffixes are often used in the accusative pleonastically, *i.e.* even though the object itself is named: as in *ḫātīrdéndsän kiḡākän tâte, zārēs pardōsis ḫātār*, literally 'the fellahin stole them—the things, the hyaena took him—the boy.'

64. The usual expression for 'we' is *āme*, with or without hamzation; but there is another way of expressing this pronoun, used when the speaker wishes to discriminate between its two possible senses. For 'we' may mean either 'I and thou,' excluding *him*, or else 'I and he,' excluding *thee*. This distinction is expressed in Nuri by the formula *āmā wā-tt*, the appropriate pronoun being affixed to the last word. Thus—

āmā wā-tt, I and thou—excluding *him* or *them*
āmā wā-tt-rān, I and ye—excluding *him* or *them*
āmā wā-tt-s, I and he—excluding *thee* or *you*
āmā wā-tt-sän, I and they—excluding *thee* or *you*

A good example of this use is contained in the sentence *āūāmi ūnktrān, gāl-kerāni āmā wā-tt*, 'I will go among you [pl.] and thou and I [excluding thy companions] will converse.'

Obs. I. This formula is never used with any other pronoun than *āmā*. In all other combinations the ordinary personal pronouns are employed: as *ātu wā pānjī* (not *tis*), 'thou and he': *pānjī wā pānjī*, 'he and he' (or she), 'they two.' Even *ātu wā āmā*, 'thou and I,' and *āme wā pānjān*, 'we and they.'

Obs. II. These expressions for 'we' are sometimes constructed with the third person singular of the verb, as in Ex. xviii, *āmā wā-tt-s nīrdōssän*, 'I and he conducted them.'

Obs. III. The syllable *tī-* is in itself meaningless. It is not improbably etymologically identical with the *at-* prefix of the dative case of the pronouns. Perhaps the original expression was *āmā wā ātt*, the initial *ā* being absorbed by the preceding conjunction. The word *tīr* is often pronounced *tīir*, in accordance with § 3.

65. There are no POSSESSIVE pronouns in Nuri, their place being supplied by the pronominal suffixes. In Ex. xv there is an unusual case of the use of the *directive* as a possessive. Compare also *nī lāherdēs āmīnkā ēdiānā ḫārān*, 'have you not seen those two donkeys of ours?' (Ex. xviii.)

66. Neither are there any REFLEXIVE pronouns, their place being supplied by the pronominal suffixes attached to the Arabic word *ḫal*, 'state,' 'condition': as in the very common expression *mīndōm ḫālōm*, 'I betook myself.' With the Arabic preposition

min, hal with the suffixes means 'by oneself': as *min hálom*, 'by myself.' Both these constructions are purely Arabic.

67. The DEMONSTRATIVE pronouns are as follows:—

Masc. *áhě, áhě*; Fem. *ihí*; Plur. *ehe*, this (proclitic).

All genders and numbers *áhák*, that.

„ „ *áhák*, that yonder.

These various forms are, however, confused in use: the distinction of gender and number in the first is much neglected: thus in Ex. 1 we find *áhě kájje*, 'those Gentiles.' *Ůhě* is often used indifferently for 'this' and 'that,' even when two things are contrasted: as in *áhě hóri, áhě 'nhöre°*, 'this is possible, that impossible.' In like manner *áhák* and *áhák* are often confused.

Obs. I. All the demonstratives are indeclinable.

Obs. II. We have already seen (§ 20, Obs.) that the superdefinite article is a contraction of the demonstrative pronoun.

68. There are other demonstrative expressions as *ha*, 'this,' 'lo,' 'behold,' 'here he is': *hádóttě*, 'see,' 'behold': *hătětě*, 'here (is).' Others may be found in the vocabulary. They are partly pronominal, partly adverbial in their use.

69. There are three DETERMINATIVE pronouns, *árě* or *áurě*, *áusě*, *áusóste*. The first two of these mean indifferently 'this one,' 'that one,' the third is plural, 'those ones.' They are declined with the ordinary case-terminations of substantives.

Obs. 'This one and that' is expressed in Nuri by *árě wě árě*. Such duplication of pronouns is a characteristic of the language: compare *pánji wě pánji* (§ 64, Obs. I.), *áhě . . . áhě* (§ 67).

70. There is no native RELATIVE pronoun, the colloquial Arabic *illi* taking its place. In Arabic this pronoun, when the *object* of the relative clause, must be followed by the pronominal suffix proper to the substantive referred to. The same peculiar Semitic usage is often, though not always, adopted in Nuri. This is illustrated by the following parallel renderings of the sentence, 'where is the loaf which you brought?'

Arabic, *wēn er-rāǧif illi žibt-Ū.*

Nuri, *ka móně illi ländár-ŮS.*

English, where (is) the loaf which you brought IT.

But in such a sentence as *kéik áhě illi piěsi, amě jändóme°*, 'what is that which you are drinking, I do not know it?' the pronominal suffix is omitted. This would be incorrect in Arabic, but is quite regular in Nuri.

71. As will be seen more fully in the following chapter, the predicative suffix often takes the place of the relative pronoun; probably this is the true native method of expression. Often the relative is not expressed at all, as in *lāherdēssān ḥōm pardōssān*, 'have you seen them, the people (who) took them?'

72. The numeral *yíkā*, *yikák*, supplies the place of the INDEFINITE pronoun 'one,' 'a certain one,' 'somebody.' It is probably declined as a substantive, though I have found no certain examples: compare, however, *min kúll-yikákáski*, 'from every one' (EX. XII).

73. The RECIPROCAL pronouns are expressed by the Arabic *ba'd*, or the Nuri *ḡalbā*, with the plural pronominal suffixes appended: thus *ba'démān*, 'each one of us': *ḡalbāwārān*, 'each one of you'—did something mutually. The compounds of *ba'd* are declined like compound substantives: thus we have dative *ba'dēsāntā*, associative *ba'dēsānsān*.

74. The INTERROGATIVE pronouns are *ka*, *kē*: the latter is often pronounced *kēi*. The former is indeclinable, but the latter undergoes a variety of inflexions. It may take the indefinite article without change of meaning, as *kēik nāmār*, 'what is your name?' The locative, *kēmā*, supplies the place of 'where?' The directive, *kēkā*, the dative with indefinite article *kēkātā*, and the ablative *kēki* are all used for 'why?' For 'whither?' another particle, *krénā*, is used.

VII. VERBS

75. Reference has several times in the preceding sections been made to the PREDICATIVE SUFFIX. Before discussing the Nuri verb, this important and peculiar feature of the language must be described.

76. The forms of the predicative suffix are—Masc. *-ék*, Fem. *-ik*, Plur. *-ēni*. The Neut. Sing. is the same as the Masc. The feminine suffix is unaccented, and does not disturb the accentuation of the word to which it is appended: the masculine and plural suffixes are always strongly accented, and absorb the accent of the word to which they are attached.

77. When appended to *adjectives*, as is most commonly the case, the predicative suffix turns them from qualifications to predications, as is implied by the name we have given it. Thus *kūštōtā zārō*, 'the little boy': but *zārō kūštōték*, 'the boy is little.' Similarly *lāci kūštōtik*, 'the girl is little': *ziriāte [lācie] kūštōtēni*, 'the boys [girls] are little.'

78. These suffixes are very often used with the relative *illi*, to supply the place of the missing oblique cases of the adjective: as *lāciäk siri illi küštötik*, literally 'from the girl—the head—which—is little,' used for 'the little girl's head.' Here the relative and predicative suffix together make the ablative of the adjective. So *fěmä ziriätän illi küštötěni*, 'beat the little boys,' gives an accusative plural constructed in the same way: *indě zārěskä illi küštöték mōnäk*, 'give a loaf to the little boy,' shows a similar directive case—incidentally illustrating the common use of the directive for the dative.

79. Attached to *substantives*, these suffixes qualify the subject of the sentence; as *āšte dīs barěni*, 'there were two [who] were brothers.' This should not be translated 'there were two brothers,' the Nuri for which is *āšte dī bāre*. Here notice not only the different forms of the substantive, but also of the numeral; *dīs* being substantival, *dī* adjectival. Again, *ṭōli žēbimmék* means 'the handkerchief is in my pocket.' In *žēbimmék* we have quite a remarkable instance of polysynthesis. *žēb* is Arabic for 'pocket,' turned by addition of *-i* to a Nuri substantive: the first *m* is the pronominal suffix: the second *m* is the locative case-ending: the *ék* is the predicative suffix.

Obs. I. It must, however, be noticed that the predicative suffix is often loosely used as a mere plural case-ending. Hence, beside its legitimate use, we have such expressions as *ḡāutěni hrěsi* in Ex. I, for 'ye are thieves.' This is a confusion of the two possible correct expressions *ḡāute hrěsi* or *ātme ḡāutěni*.

Obs. II. The feminine predicative suffix resembles the indefinite article in form, but the sense generally is sufficient to distinguish them. Thus in *ḡānāvčāk bārdik zēndi*, 'a jar (which) is full of gold,' the *-āk* at the end of the first word is evidently the article, the *-ik* in the second word the feminine predicative suffix. The case-endings always precede the predicative suffix, but follow the article.

Obs. III. An abbreviated form of the plural predicative suffix, *-nā* or *-ne*, is sometimes found. Thus *hē ḡārībne*, 'they are strangers,' in Ex. XIII; *kātāfne*, 'they are bound,' Ex. XVI; *tārānēsne*, 'they are three,' Ex. XVI. So also *bōlnā 'āsīs*, 'great are his crimes.'

80. The example in the last section, *Obs. II.*, well illustrates the important use of the predicative suffix as a substitute for the relative pronoun. As already mentioned (§ 71), this is not improbably the original native form of the relative.

81. The predicative suffix is also attached to *verbal* stems to form participles, with a variety of meanings that can best be illustrated by examples.

Āmä wēsrom hrōnā, pānji ārēk, läherdōsme°, u āmä läherdōmse°, sāđāfrā wāštīm ḡājletā, 'I was sitting there, he, coming

did not see me, and I did not see him, he came on me by chance.'

Bóĩōr jǎndék gǎrǎ-jári, 'your father knows [*lit.*, is the one knowing] that he is about to go.'

Sǎbáhtǎn ārōsmǎn cōnǎk lǎherdék Dōmēni kǎũǎsmǎ, 'in the morning there came to us a boy who had seen [*lit.*, having been the person seeing] Nawar in the mosque.'

Ílli kǎwrék bēnǎsǎn mǎrvrék, 'he who fell between them was killed' [*lit.*, the person who was the one falling between them was the one being killed].

Obs. In the third example *Dōmēni* is an example of the loose use of the predicative suffix as a simple plural case-ending: in this instance accusative.

82. The predicative suffix is independent of PERSON: *ǎme*, *ǎtme*, *pǎnjǎn wēsreǎni*, 'we, you, they are sitting.'

83. The predicative suffix is *now* independent also of TIME: in the following examples it is used in the past, present, and future:—

Mihcári min hũjǎti dũ-hrék, the candle has been lighted since yesterday.

Mihcári dũ-hrék, the candle is lighted.

Mihcári dũ-hrék ũrǎti, the candle will be lighted to-morrow.

84. There is, however, an obsolescent *past* predicative suffix; some examples of its use will be found in the stories. The terminations are—Masc. and Neut. *-éyǎ*, Fem. *-íyǎ*, Plur. *-énǎ*. Thus *bǎnvréyǎ*, 'who was bound': *zǎvō hrēnéyǎ hũjǎti*, 'the boy was here yesterday'; *ehe hrēnéǎ hũjǎti*, 'these were here yesterday.'

Obs. The past predicative suffix is uniform in its accentuation, the feminine being treated like the other forms.

(To be continued).

REVIEWS

Die Zigeuner nach Geschichte, Religion und Sitte. Von FRIEDRICH WILHELM BREPohl. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1909. Pp. 14.

At first sight one is disposed to condemn this pamphlet as utterly worthless and slipshod; and the fact that the substance of it has already appeared in two different periodicals,¹ without revision of obvious and flagrant mistakes, hardly tends to palliate the author's offences. When at the third attempt an author is still incapable of distinguishing between a well-known writer on the German Gypsies and a still more famous beef-extractor, when he frequently quotes Wlislöcki's works and persistently spells his name 'Wliskoki,' when he refers to 'Ave-Lallement' as an authority and 'Gypsi Smith' as an instance of Gypsy education, it is needless to add that his work cannot claim sufficient carefulness or erudition to be of any use to those who are acquainted with the Gypsies or the literature about them. But in a country where a proposal is just being made to resort to mediæval tortures in dealing with the Gypsies, and to brand them as well as confiscating their vans and horses, one may be thankful for any voice crying from the wilderness. Brepohl's circulation of extracts from Liebich and Wlislöcki tending to prove the inoffensiveness of the Gypsies, and to awaken some human feeling for them, is therefore well timed and well intended, though it may be carelessly executed. And since he evidently does not lack enthusiasm, there is hope of improvement.

Himself, he seems to be one of those who bow down before the fetish education, especially religious education; and he shows that when a recent attempt was made at instituting a Gypsy school at Pankota, the Gypsies were not unwilling to send their children. However, as he advocates leaving the children among their friends, when their education is finished, instead of driving them into factories, there is little harm in the suggestion. Whether there is much good in it is to my mind more doubtful. Brepohl thinks they might missionize their relatives, and quotes Gypsi Smith as an instance to the point—rather unfortunately, seeing that Rodney has admitted his almost total lack of success among his brethren. One may doubt, too, if the educational effect would be much greater than the religious. At Banbury fair recently I fell in with an amiable *pošrat*, who assured me, with all appearance of sincerity, that he had been to school and won prizes: yet simultaneously he applied to me to read a printed notice for him. He did not even take the trouble to add any explanation of the seeming inconsistency: apparently he regarded it as quite the natural thing to forget all that school had taught him: and certainly he is not alone in taking that view of the subject. Since there are people in the world to whom education means nothing and life everything, why cannot dead-alive educationalists leave them in peace?

Lasset Gelehrte sich zanken und streiten,
 Streng und bedächtigt die Lehrer auch sein!
 Alle die Weisesten aller der Zeiten
 Lächeln und winken und stimmen mit ein:
 Thöricht, auf Besserung der Thoren zu harren!
 Kinder der Klugheit, o habet die Narren
 Eben zum Narren auch, wie sich's gehört!

But keep your eyes open in a bargain with that fool if he happens to be a Gypsy.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

¹ *Glauben und Wissen*, vi. Jahrgang, Heft 11 (Nov. 1908), pp. 418-428; *Religion und Geisteskultur*, iii., 4 Hft.

Aus dem Winterleben der Wanderzigeuner. Ethnologische Studie von FR. WILH. BREPOHL. Seegefeld, Verlag 'Das Havelland,' 1910. Pp. 16.

To those who try to read between the lines and learn something of an author from his books, Brepohl offers an interesting puzzle. From the pamphlet reviewed above one could only infer that he was the veriest beginner in the study of Gypsy lore; and now he comes before us claiming 'intimate association' with Gypsies of Croatia, Servia, and the Banat, as well as independent knowledge of German Gypsy customs. Certainly he has lost no time in the interval between the two pamphlets, as the second is immeasurably superior to the first: and he has chosen a useful province of Gypsy lore in verifying Wislocki's details. It is exceedingly interesting to find support for the statement that a husband is counted to his wife's tribe and not to his own, and for the various ceremonies performed during the winter months. Brepohl's Gypsies apparently still preserve the custom of burning a puppet and strewing its ashes in their huts or caves before settling in them; they still perform the marriage of the trees at Christmas, and even retain some memory of the gruesome resurrection work on Christmas eve, for which some of their ancestors suffered death in the eighteenth century, though they now deny the practice of the custom and attribute it to other Gypsies. Doubtless this is a custom they would deny even if they do practise it now; but here and there one derives an impression that Brepohl is perhaps too fond of tackling a Gypsy camp, Wislocki in hand, and wrestling with them until they render some account of what he finds there written. Still, it is always easier to mistrust folklore collectors than to collect folklore: and one should be thankful for an energetic collector and let him choose his own methods. But I do not think it would detract from the interest of his work in the eyes of the general public, and it would certainly assist Gypsy-lorists, if Brepohl were to define a little more clearly the nationality of the 'Wandering Gypsies' from whom he derived his facts. Generally he speaks of them as German Gypsies; but at the beginning he states that many of these German Gypsies winter in Galicia, Bukovina, and Austria. Surely, if so, they cannot strictly be termed German Gypsies at all, since it is more usual to assign a person to the locality where he spends the settled part of his existence than to that in which he wanders. No one else hints that the regular national German Gypsies spend their winter outside the country, and it would therefore seem as though Brepohl's friends were the *Lálere Sinte*, who were counted foreigners by Gilliat-Smith's German Gypsies. Possibly the customs which Brepohl does not assign to any particular Gypsies apply to Gypsies of all the provinces mentioned; but one would feel surer if the fact were clearly stated.

His readers will be comforted to find that in this pamphlet Brepohl's spelling of proper names has considerably improved; but 'Gjorgjevic' and 'Gipsy' show traces of the old Adam.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

39.—PERSIAN JATS

In connection with Pischel's statement that 'some of the Jats still live to-day by camel-rearing, travel far into Persia and to Damascus, where they are still called *Zutt*, and can be easily distinguished from the Gypsies, who are called *Nawar*' (*J.G.L.S.*, New Series, ii. 304), the following note by *Khan Bahadur Ahmed Din Khan* will have interest:—

'The Jats referred to are a tribe of the Beluchis, and have no connection whatever with the Gypsies, and are not menials like them. They are mostly to be found in Indian Beluchistan. These Jats are specialists in treating camels, horses, and other animals; they act also as brokers for the purchase of these animals, as they are the people supposed to know the best points about them. In Sistan the Persians call "Jats" such people as are engaged in menial professions, such as barbers, bleeders, etc., and these men are generally of the Gypsy stock. It is difficult to say whether the Jats of Beluchistan are enterprising enough to travel as far as Damascus. Perhaps a branch of them settled in Persia do this, but I am not sure of this, and cannot ascertain here. No one knows anything here about the Nawar.'

I have never myself heard of their tracking across Persia to Damascus, but I have lately heard that there are a good many stray Indians in Asia Minor. About the Nawar I know nothing.

There is no doubt that the Jats live by camel-rearing. Indeed they are specialists in treating animals: and they also act as brokers.

As to their 'travelling far into Persia,' I should much like to know the authority for this statement. I can only say that, during the seventeen years I have spent in Persia, I have never heard of or met Jats: and *Khan Bahadur Ahmed Din Khan* also doubts the fact of their being so enterprising. As I have served almost entirely in South-east, Eastern and North-eastern Persia, I think that I should have known if Jats were acting as stated. At the same time, this is merely my opinion and I give it for what it is worth: and it will be interesting to know on what the statement rests.

P. M. SYKES.

40.—DEFILEMENT BY A DOG'S TONGUE

I had been taking tea with the Smiths, and after the meal Lavinia handed a plate of potatoes to Starkey to give to the dogs. Starkey began fooling about as usual, so she shouted out: 'Mind what yous is doing, *Bâri Shêro*; yous is a regular monkey yous is—a ring-tailed one, a proper one. Mind that dog there doesn't touch that plate with its dirty snout.' Then turning to me, she added: 'We never lets a dog lick off'n a plate; that would make it *moxadi*, and honfit for Christians to heat off'n.'

T. W. THOMPSON.

41.—PIŠOTA.

I met a family of Russian *Xarkari* last year in France who used bellows of a form exactly described by Arnold von Harff (1496-9) quoted by Groome in his Introduction to *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, viz.: an iron tube about two feet long laid just under the surface of the ground, conducted the air to the charcoal fire placed in a shallow pit, the air being blown through by means of two leather bags provided with valves and handles, worked with both hands. When at work the woman seated on the ground would hold the copper on the anvil, consisting of a heavy iron bar standing upright, shifting the vessel regularly after each beat of the hammer wielded by her *Rom*. These Gypsies would remain idle for days, and then one morning apply themselves to work with a furious and unceasing energy until nightfall.

GUSTAVUS JANIK.

INDEX

By ALEXANDER RUSSELL

(*ft. note*) = Footnote. G. = Gypsy. Gs. = Gypsies.

- There are important sub-alphabets under 'Cures, G.', 'Folk-Tales, Incidents of, Names, G. Christian,' 'Names, G. Surnames,' 'Names, G. Tribal or Race,' 'Newspapers,' 'Notes and Queries,' 'Nuri Stories, Incidents of,' 'Occupations, G.,' 'Superstitions, G.'
- A borije tu ternije* (song), 199.
- A Chipicalli (Lu Lengua Gitana)*, Rebolledo's, (rev.), by H. W. Greene, 149.
- Aâ-dâdi, dâ dâbelâ, dâ-dê!* (song), 159.
- ABITABULI, holders of G. fief, 72.
- Accent on pronouns in Welsh Romani, 17 (*ft. note*).
- Acigani (Acingani). See 'Αθίγγανοι.
- Acrobats, Gs. as, 12.
- Acts, decrees, and laws against Gs., (ref.) 9, 66, 77, 114, 201, 253.
- Adjectives in Nuri Romani, 308-9.
- AETISANES, King, expels thieves from Egypt, 67.
- Affairs of Egypt*, 1908, by H. T. Crofton, 276-98.
- Africa, Gs. in, 275 (*ft. note*).
- Age, great, attained by Gs., 73, 164.
- AHLQVIST, A. G., Swedish antiquary, 111, 117.
- AHMED Din Khan, *Khan Bahadur*, (quot.) 320.
- Alamanni, G. race-name, 274 (*ft. note*).
- Albanians, G. race-name, 6, 59, 68, 274 (*ft. note*).
- Alessandro Giuseppe Spinelli*, (note), 150.
- ALEXANDER Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, traveler, 5; (quot.) 61.
- Alphabet, Bulgarian G., 183-4; Nuri, 121-3.
- Alps, some natives of, called Gs., 106.
- Ambruli*, 'shoes,' derivation of, 253.
- America, Gs. in, 81-8, 290-4.
- Ana suâ dikhljôm me pirênde kalê cîzmes* (song), 199.
- Ancient and Modern Wines*. See HENDERSON.
- ANDERSSON, Djôs Per, compiler of first Swedish-G. vocabulary, (quot.), 117-8.
- ANDREW, Duke of Little Egypt, 43.
- ANDREWS, E. A.: *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon*, (ref.) 259 (*ft. note*).
- ANGELO, Henry, *Reminiscences*, (ref.) 234.
- Anglo-Romani Songs*, (note), 157-60.
- ANHORN, Bartholomæus, *Magiologia*, (quot.) 78, (ref.) 236.
- Annales Bojorum*, Aventinus,' (ref.) 78.
- ANTAEUS, legend of, 175.
- ANTÓNIOS Eparchos, head of fief of 'Αθίγγανοι, 72-3.
- Apennines, G. camp in the, 105.
- Arabic element in Nuri dialect, 124-6.
- Archaeologus in modum Glossariû*. See Spelman.
- Archives de Bayonne*, (ref.) 258 (*ft. note*).
- Archives de Bordeaux*, (ref.) 258 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 261-2 (*ft. note*).
- Arnaout Kjôy, Gs. at, 182.
- ARPAD, Marcel, *Zigeunererzählungen*, (rev.), 149.
- Arrest de la Cour de Parlement*, 1612, 202-4.
- Article in Nuri Romani, The, 298-9.
- As I passed by a willow-tree*, (song), 20.
- ASCOLI, Graziadio Isaia, 40; *Zigeunerisches*, (refs.) 39 (*ft. note*), 245 [(*ft. note*), 247 (*ft. note*), 248 (*ft. note*)].
- Asinkar. See 'Αθίγγανοι.
- Assault on G. women punished, 91.
- 'Αθίγγανοι, derivation of, 15, 16; fief of, 72.
- ATKINSON, F. Stanley, 158, 159; *The Pollution of Streams*, (note), 232-3.
- Atti spettanti agli Arcipreti di Carpi* [Deeds relating to the Abbots of Carpi], (quot.) 44.
- Aus dem Winterlebender Wanderzigeuner*, Brepohl's, (rev.), 319.
- Aventinus* (Thurnmayr von Abensburg), 7; *Annales Bojorum*, (ref.) 78.
- AXON, Dr. W. E. A., 242 (*ft. note*); *The Boswells: Two G. Kings*, (note), 71-2; *Stage Romani*, (note), 160; *W. L. Boules and the Gs.*, (note), 226; *Dr. William Dodd and the Gs.*, (note), 233-4.
- AXON, E., 242 (*ft. note*).
- BACON, Roger, *Opus Majus*, (quot.) 13.
- Bacon fat, a G. medicine, 27.
- Bailiffs, G., 57, 93.
- Balkan peninsula, G. smiths in, 6.
- BALSAMON, (ref.) 5 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 15, 16.
- Baptism, G., 80, 94; church law about, in Italy, 101.

- Barium carbonate, a *drab* for pigs, 151.
 BARTOLOMEO, a G. member of Council at Finale, 49.
 Basketmakers, (fs. as, 183, 280, 281.
 BATAILLARD, Paul, 38 (*ft. note*), 64 (*ft. note*); *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, (ref.) 239 (*ft. note*); *Gitanos d'Espagne*, (ref.) 242; papers of, (refs.) 242, 243, 245 (*and ft. notes*), 246 (*ft. note*), 247 (*ft. note*).
 BAUDRIMONT, Alexandre Edouard, (ref.) 212.
 Bavarian laws against Gs., 78.
 Bear-leaders, G., 6, 287.
 Beggars, G., 59, 155, 295.
 Belgian Chronicler, 1422, 241.
Bella Chiavina, La: A French or Piedmont G. Tale, by E. O. Winstedt, 242-53.
 Bellows, G., 64 (*and ft. note*), 65, 320.
 BELOT, *Arab. French Dictionary*, (quot.) 35 (*ft. note*); *French-Arabic Dictionary*, (quot.) 37 (*ft. note*).
Bengal Peasant Life. See Day.
 Berenthal, Gs. at, 234-5.
Beretning om Fante-eller. See Sundt.
 BERGSTEDT, C. F., transcriber of Andersson's vocabulary, 118.
Berner-Cronik, Justinger's, (quot.) 80.
 BERNOULLI, August, *Die älteste deutsche Chronik von Colmar*, (quot.) 80.
 BIANCO, Noe, *Viaggio*, (quot.) 12.
 Bibliography of Swedish Writers on Gs., 111.
Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes. See Bataillard.
 BIDDULPH, Major, *Tribes of Hindu Kooch*, (ref.) 40 (*ft. note*).
 BIRGER, King of Sweden, edict of, 113-5.
 Birth-rites of Gs. compared with those of other tribes, 175-7.
 BJÖRCKMAN, S. P., first recorded Swedish *Romano Rai*, 111-3; his *Dissertatio Academica de Cingaris*, 112.
 BLACK, *Folk-Medicine*, (ref.) 179 (*ft. note*).
 Blackpool, Gs. at, 279.
 Blacksmiths, Gs. of 1417 not mentioned as, 5. *See Smiths.*
 Bleeding, G. cure for, 29.
 BLOUNT, H., *A Voyage into the Levant*, (quot.) 160.
 BLUNT, Mr., Student of Gs., 227.
 Boatman called *Cingaro* (1484), 46.
 Bohemians (Boemi, Boisiens), G. race-name, 69, 75, 202, 234.
 Bologna, Gs. at, 8; in 1422 for 15 days, 43.
 BOND, Rev. Lewis, (quot.) 38 (*ft. note*).
 BONNIN, Th., *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, (ref.) 262 (*ft. note*).
Book of Kernynge. See De Worde.
Book of Nurture. See Russell.
 BOORDE, Andrew, (quot.) 57, 63 (*ft. note*).
 BORETIUS, 254.
 BORROW, George, (refs.) 212, 245 (*ft. note*), 249 (*ft. note*); *Lavengro*, (quot.) 39; (refs.) 165 (*ft. note*), 167 (*ft. note*), 168 (*ft. note*); (quot.) 169, 173 (*ft. note*); *Lavo-lil*, (refs.) 156, 164 (*ft. note*), 166 (*ft. note*), 212; *Lucas* (ref.) 156; *Romany Rye*, (refs.) 31, 157, 165 (*ft. note*), 166 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 167 (*ft. note*), (refs.) 170 (*ft. note*), 173 (*ft. note*), 207 (*ft. note*); *The Bible in Spain*, (ref.) 149; *Zincali*, (quot.) 39, (refs.) 69 (*ft. notes*), 149, 156, (quot.) 164 (*ft. note*), 171, (ref.) 207 (*ft. note*).
Borrow's Creed and Paternoster, (note), 156.
Borrow's Gs.: The Relations of Jasper Petulengro, by Thomas William Thompson, 162-74.
Borrow's Gs., Addenda, (note), 225-6.
 BOSELLI, Augusto: letter to Spinelli, (quot.) 106-8.
 Boston, Gs. in, 81-2, 292-3.
 BOSVILLE, Charles, G. ceremonies at tomb of, 71-2.
 Boswell's gang, 71.
Boswells, The: Two G. Kings, (note), 71-2.
βόβπος, derivation of, 266.
 BOUCHER, François (1703-70), painter to Louis XV., 241; his *La Bohémienne*, 241.
 BOWLES, W. L., *The G.'s Tent*, (quot.) 226; *Villager's Verse Book*, (ref.) 226.
Bowles, W. L., and the Gs., (note), 226.
 Boy thieves led by a woman, 91.
 BRAND, John, *Popular Antiquities*, (quot.) 22 (*ft. note*), 25 (*ft. note*), (ref.) 181 (*ft. note*).
 Brazilian Gs., 81, 293.
 Bread in horse's collar, G. superstition about, 22.
 Breaking a spell, G. method of, 236.
 BREITENBACH. *See Breydenbach.*
 BREPOHL, F. W., *Aus dem Winterleben der Wanderzigeuner*, (rev.), 319; *Die Zigeuner nach Geschichte, Religion, und Sitte*, (rev.), 318.
Breyary, Boorde's, (ref.) 63 (*ft. note*).
 BREYDENBACH, Bernhard von, traveller, 5; *Peregrinatio ad Terram Sanctam*, (refs.) 5 (*ft. note*), 60 (*and ft. notes*), 69.
 BRIDEL, Doyen, *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande*, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
 BRISCOE, John Potter, *Gleanings from God's Acre*, (quot.) 71.
 BRISTOW-NOBLE, J. C., *A Talk with G. (Latimer) Lee*, (ref.) 279.
British G. Crimes, 1908, (note), 239-40.
 BRODAEUS, 241.
Broken Chastity, The Song of the, 157, (ref.) 208.
 Broken nails, G. superstition about 22.
 BRONNER, F. X., *Der Kanton Aargau*, (quot.) 79.
 Broom, a G. medicine, 29.
 Broomen, G., 160.
 Broom-makers, G., 6.
 Brown paper smeared with fat, a G. medicine, 29.
 Buckbean, a G. medicine, 29.

- Bulgarian G. Folk-Tale, O Čordilendzis*, recorded by Bernard Gilliat-Smith, 182-98.
- Burial: Christian, refused to Gs., 101; in the wilds, 169.
- Burials, G., 173, 283, 289.
- Burning a puppet, G. superstition about, 319; burning pins and salt, G. superstition about, 23.
- BURTON, Sir Richard, 36 (*and ft. note*), 37.
- Butter, fairy, G. superstition about, 25.
- Č and Ĵ, by Jacob Wackernagel, 119-20.
- CACCINI, Sigismondo, or Uyfalussi, 106-8.
- Cakes hung on hazel twigs by Gs., 79.
- Calderarii, G. race-name, 264.
- Calendar of Letter-Books of London*. See Sharpe.
- Čam, derivation of, 119.
- CAMERARIUS, Philip, *Meditationes Historicae*, (ref.) 78.
- CAMERON, *Egypt. - Arab. - Eng. Dict.*, (quot.) 35 (*ft. note*).
- Camomile, a G. medicine, 29.
- Camp-followers, G., 54.
- CANGIANI, (refs.) 253, (*ft. note*), 267 (*ft. note*).
- Canting, 77.
- CAREW, Bampfylde Moore, 74, 75.
- CAREW, F. W. [= A. E. G. Way], *No. 747*, (refs.) 153 (*ft. note*), 205 (*ft. note*), 209 (*ft. note*), 215 (*ft. note*).
- Cart, empty, G. superstition about, 22.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*. See Guérard.
- CASSEL, P., *Ahasuerus* (ref.) 10 (*ft. note*).
- Catalonia, Constitution of, 69.
- Catasto censuario di Carpi* (1448), (ref.) 44.
- Caveat of Warening for comen cursetors vulgarely called Vagabondes, A.* See Harman.
- Celtic Folklore*. See Rhys.
- Certificates of good behaviour given to Gs. at Modena, 53.
- CERVANTES, Miguel de, *Jitanilla*, (ref.) 10.
- Chair-bottomers, G., 208.
- CHAMBURE, *Glossaire du Morvan*, (ref.) 257 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 258 (*ft. note*).
- Charlemagne's edict against *mangones et cotiones*, (quot.) 253, (refs.) 267, 268, 275.
- Chartolaratum*, meaning of, 272 (*and ft. note*).
- Chest troubles, G. cure for, 29.
- CHEVERS, *Medical Jurisprudence of India*, (ref.) 150 (*ft. note*).
- CHILDERS, *Pali Dictionary*, (ref.) 39.
- Chimney-sweeps, G., 6, 286.
- Chinganeh, G. race-name, 36.
- Christmas Eve and After*, by Thomas William Thompson, 19-33.
- Christmas superstitions, G., 21, 319.
- Chronicon, Corner's*, (quot.) 8 (*ft. note*), 116.
- Chronicon Helveticum*. See Tschudi.
- Chronicon Moreae*, (ref.) 271.
- Chronik der Stadt Zürich*, (quot.) 79-80.
- Church denunciation of Gs., 99, 101.
- Ciani, G. race-name, 77.
- CINGANO BOLOGNESE, leader of a G. band, 92.
- Cingarella Indovina*, prohibited play, 103 (*ft. note*).
- Cingari, G. race-name, 77.
- CINGARO, Pietre Giovanni called, 46.
- Clothes-peg makers, G., 70, 207, 284.
- CLUGNET, Léon, 204.
- Cobblers, G., 64, 65, 160, 297.
- Cock-eyed sweep, G. superstition about, 23.
- Cockle-shells jingling, an omen of death, 235.
- Coffin, G. superstition about, 235.
- Cold, G. cures for, 29.
- Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*. See Delpit.
- Colmar, arrival of Gs. at, 80; oldest German chronicle of, 80.
- COLOCCI, Marquis, 298; *Gli Zingari*, (refs.) 9 (*ft. note*), 244 (*ft. note*), 280; *L'origine des Bohémiens*, (ref.) 245 (*ft. note*).
- COMMENA, Anna, (quot.) 271.
- Conciliengeschichte*. See Hefele.
- CONRADY, *Fier rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, (quot.) 58 (*ft. note*).
- CONSTABLE, Archibald, 205 (*ft. note*).
- Constantinople, Gs. at, 160, 182.
- CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS, (quot.) 264 (*ft. note*).
- Consumption, G. cure for, 27.
- Contribution to French G. History, A*, by Frederick Christian Wellstood, 201-4.
- Copper-smiths, G., 81, 105, 109.
- Copts, G. race-name, 227.
- CORA, Guido, 298.
- CORBLET, J., *Glossaire étymologique et comparatif du patois picard*, (ref.) 264 (*ft. note*).
- Čordilendzis, derivation of, 195.
- Čordilendzis, O., Bulgarian G. Folk Tale, 182-98.
- Corfu, Gs. in, 72; Gs. of, at Carpi, 108.
- CORNER, *Chronicon*, (quot.) 8 (*ft. note*), 116.
- Corpus glossariorum latinorum*. See Goetz.
- Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, (quot.) 11 (*ft. note*).
- CORYAT: *Crudities*, (quot.) 58. (ref.) 58 (*ft. note*).
- Cosmographia*. See Münster.
- Costume, G., 87, 109, 167, 236, 241; in 1572, 55.
- COTGRAVE, (quot.) 256.
- Cotio, derivation and meaning of, 254-9.
- Čorahani and the čorahāno, *The*, (song), 157.
- CRAWFURD, Mr., 209.
- CRAWLEY: *Mystic Rose*, (ref.) 177 (*ft. note*), 179 (*ft. note*), 180 (*ft. note*).
- Crete, Gs. in, described by Symon Simeonis, 11, (refs.) 62 (*ft. note*), 68.

- Croatia, Gs. in, 294.
- CROFTON, H. T.: 39, 212; *Affairs of Egypt*, 1908, 276-98; *G. Head-Dress*, (note), 236. *See also* Smart.
- Cronaca di Modena*. *See* Lancilotto and Spaccini.
- CROOKE, William: *G. Forms and Ceremonies*, 174-82; *The North-West Provinces of India*, (ref.) 40 (*ft. note*).
- Croup, G. cure for, 27.
- Crow, G. superstition about, 22, 236.
- Crucifixion, Legend of, 65.
- Cruelties*. *See* Coryat.
- Crusaders and Gs., 238 (*and ft. note*).
- CRUSIUS, 16.
- ČUBRANOVIĆ: *Jegjupka*, 9.
- CULL, Mr., 209.
- Cures, G.—
- Bacon fat for croup, 27.
 - Broom for dropsy, 29.
 - Brown paper covered with fat of cow's kidneys and snuff for cold or sore throat, 29.
 - Buckbean, camomile and wormwood for the kidneys, 29.
 - Camomile. *See* Buckbean.
 - Dormice for whooping cough, 27.
 - Elderberry flowers for chest trouble, 29.
 - Fried mice for whooping cough, 27.
 - Frog, live, to remove phlegm, 31.
 - Hedgehog fat for earache, 28.
 - Hedgehogs, 27-8.
 - Honey, sugar, and watercress for whooping cough, 27.
 - Lemon, linseed, and 'spanish' (liquorice) to fatten, 28.
 - Meat, raw, for warts, 30.
 - Mice, fried, for whooping cough, 27.
 - 'Mouse's ears' for cold, 29.
 - Plantain leaf, heated, to stop bleeding, 29.
 - Poppy heads, camomile, sage, and thyme for toothache, 30.
 - Potato water for warts, 30.
 - Ragweed ointment for wounds and swellings, 29.
 - Raspberry and strawberry leaves for women after confinement, 30.
 - Rum, beef marrow, and lard as pomade, 28.
 - Snails for consumption, 27.
 - Squirrels for fever, 28.
 - String, burning knotted, for warts, 30.
 - Tormentil for pains in kidneys and swellings in legs, 30.
 - Watercress, sugar, and honey for whooping cough, 27.
 - Wormwood. *See* Buckbean.
- CUSELIUS: *Lexicon Geographicum*, (ref.) 237.
- CUSSANS, John E., writer on Gs. in *Notes and Queries*, (ref.) 169 (*and ft. note*).
- Dá, dabra, dádi!* (song), 159.
- DALIMIL: *Bohemian Chronicle*, (quot.) 13.
- Dancers, G., 6.
- DAWSON, James, (quot.) 233.
- DAY, Lal Behari: *Bengal Peasant Life*, (ref.) 175 (*ft. note*).
- DE CELSO: *Las leyes de todos los reynos de Castilla*, (quot.) 239.
- DE GOEJE: 16, 36, 37, 248 (*ft. note*); character of, 1; death of, 1; his *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Zigeuners*, 1; his interest in G.L.S., 4; his *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, 2, (refs.) 7 (*ft. note*), 34 (*ft. note*); his view of Gs. passing through Arabia, 3; his view that Zott are Gs., 2; his work in G. lore, 1-4; Pischel and Miklosich's criticism of, 2.
- DE GROOT: *Religious System of China*, (ref.) 181 (*ft. note*).
- DE GUBERNATIS: *Zoological Mythology*, (ref.) 178 (*ft. note*).
- De Itinere Terre Sancte*. *See* Sudheim.
- DE ROCHAS, (ref.) 212.
- DE THOU: *Historiarum Continuatio*, (quot.) 202, (ref.) 237, (quot.) 238.
- DE WOUDE, Wynkyn: *Boke of Keruyng*, (ref.) 63 (*ft. note*).
- Death, omens of, 235, 236.
- Defilement by a Dog's Tongue*, (note), 320.
- Dei Triganieri, cuni storici*, (ref.) 48 (*ft. note*).
- DEKKER, (ref.) 206.
- DELPIT, J., *Collection générale des documents français* (ref.) 63 (*ft. note*).
- DEMARTEAU, engraver of *La Bohémienne*, 241.
- Dentists, G., 236.
- Deutsche Pilgerfahrten*. *See* Röhricht.
- Deutsche Pilgerreisen*. *See* Röhricht.
- Devil, symbols to keep away, 279.
- Dialect of the English Gs*. *See* Smart and Crofton.
- Dialect, Romani, of Sofia, 193; of Syria, 120-6, 298-317.
- Diary of a Looker-on, The, Hind's*, (ref.) 279.
- Diccionario Gitano-Español y Español-Gitano*, Rebollo's, (rev.), 149.
- Dictionaries, Glossaries, and Lexicons:—
- Arabic:
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Dinlō I Bakaransa, O, Welsh G. folk-tale, 17-9.

DIODORUS SICULUS, (ref.) 67, (quot.) 274 (*ft. note*).

Diritto commerciale nella legislazione, II. See Lattes.

Dissertatio Academica de Cingaris. See Björckinan.

Dissertatio Philosophica de Cingaris. See Thomasius.

Divorce ceremony, G., 93, (1624), 180.

- DIXON, Misses M. and N., 21 (*ft. note*).
Dizionario politico e di pubblica sicurezza, (ref.) 110 (*ft. note*).
Doctor, The. See Southey.
 Dodd, Dr. William, and the *Gs.*, (note), 233-4.
 Dog-stealer, G., 213.
Dolir, 'to catch,' derivation of, 197.
 Doims, G. race name, 33, 37, 40-1.
 Donkey-drivers, G., 141.
 DOORKATT KOOLMAN: *Wörterbuch*, (ref.) 258 (*ft. note*).
 Dormice, a G. medicine, 27.
 Douma (Duma), winter haunt of *Gs.*, 37.
 Dozy, P. A.: *Dictionnaire détaillé des vêtements chez les Arabes*, (ref.) 275 (*ft. note*).
 Drab (note), 150-3.
Drabengros, G., 213.
 Dreams, G., superstitions about, 235.
 DREW: *The Jummoo*, (ref.) 40 (*ft. note*).
 Dropsy, G. cure for, 29.
 DU CANGE 16: *Glossarium*, (refs.) 254 (*ft. note*), 255 (*ft. note*), 256 (*and ft. note*), 257 (*and ft. note*), 259, 260, (quot.) 261 (*ft. note*), (ref.) 264, (quot.) 265 (*ft. note*), 272-3 (*ft. note*).
 DUFF, E. Gordon: *Spelman on Gs.*, (note), 77.
 Dukes, G., 4, 8, 14, 44, 45, 46, 48, 68, 116, 202, 203.
 Dukes of Little Egypt, 4, 44, 45, 46, 48.
 Düringen, G. visit to in 1663, 238.
 DUTT, W. A., 209 (*ft. note*).
Dzas menge frisko, (song), 156.
 EARACHE, G. cure for, 28.
Early History of Mankind. See Tylor.
 EBERHARD von Württemberg, Graf, 66.
 Efts, G. superstition about, 23.
Egyptian Legend, The, (note), 227-8.
 Egyptians (Gibti, Gipti, Gupti, Yiiti), G. race name, 9, 38 (*ft. note*), 59, 61, 73, 77, 227, 235, 273, 275.
 EURENBORG, Harald: *Swedish Tsiganologues*, 111-9.
Einwanderung der Zigeuner, Die. See Hopf.
 Elderberry flowers, a G. medicine, 29.
 Empty cart, G. superstition about, 22.
 England, *Gs.* in, 276-88.
English Dialect Dictionary, (ref.) 256.
English Gs. and their Language. See Leland.
English G. Songs. See Leland.
Environs of London. See Lysons.
 Eperies (Hungary), *Gs.* at, 228.
 Epidemic, connection of *Gs.* with, 80, 289. See also Plague.
 Epirus = Little Egypt, 7.
Epitafi gloriosi e varii, (quot.) 234.
Epitaph, An, (note), 234.
 Epitaphs of *Gs.*, 71, 173, 216 (*ft. note*), 234.
Ethnographical Notes in S. India. See Thurston.
Études sur les Tchinghian's. See Paspati.
 Etymologies, General—
 ἄθιγγανοί, 16; βόθρος, 266; *cotio*, (various forms), 254-9; *gallodromi*, 264 (*and ft. note*); *Kaltschmiede*, 14, 265; *manojo*, 259-64; *Mandopolos*, 12; *Sculnara*, 114 (*ft. note*).
 Etymologies, Romani—
ambruli, 'shoes,' 253; *cam*, 119; *cordilendzis*, 'bogey-man,' 195; *dolir*, 'to catch,' 197; *gidos*, 'a monster,' 195; *handuk* (*handako*, *khandaq*), 3; *hupisís*, 'shouted,' 17 (*ft. note*); *ikilas*, 'lead out,' 194; *katouna*, 'tent,' 248 (*ft. note*); *keradís*, 'was boiling,' 18 (*ft. note*); *ketipi*, 'a book,' 195; *naš-arghjiliom*, 195; *neka*, 'let him,' 196; *periki-larjéjge*, 196; *poerinen*, 'to return,' 194; *ponednikos*, 'Monday,' 195; *Rom*, *Rum*, 33-42, 275-6; *χala* 'a monster,' 195.
 EUSTATHIUS, (ref.) 271.
Evagatorium. See Schmid.
 EVEILLE, M. A. *Glossaire Saintongais*, (ref.) 258 (*ft. note*).
 EVEREST, Miss: list of Syrian G. words, (ref.) 242 (*ft. note*).
 Evil eye, G. superstition about, 297.
 Execution of G. woman, 103.
Executioners, G., (note), 232.
 Executioners, G., 232.
 Expulsion of *Gs.* by peasants, 100; from Modena (1524), 49, 50, 52-3.
 Eye. See Evil.
 FABRI, (quot.) 67 (*ft. note*).
 Fairs, *Gs.* forbidden at, 55.
 Fairy butter, G. superstition about, 25 pipes, G. superstition about, 24.
 False *Gs.* in Italy, 97, 102.
Famous Forgery, A. See Fitzgerald.
 Faraons, G. race name, 226.
 FARMER and Henley: *Slang and its Analogues*, (ref.) 256 (*ft. note*),
 Farrier, G., 296.
 FASSBENDER, Peter, at Modon in 1492, 62; (quot.) 63-4, 64 (*ft. note*).
Fastnachtspiele, (ref.) 9 (*ft. note*).
 Fattening, G. recipe for, 28.
 Ferrara, Duke of, his gifts to *Gs.* in 1469, 44.
 Festivals, *Gs.* take part in, 6, 11, 50 72.
Feuervurtzel. See Fire-root.
 Fever, G. cure for, 28, 281.
 Fiddlers, G., 167.
Fifty Years a Fighter. See Mace.
Fifty Years' Recollections of an Old Bookseller. See West.
 Finch, Margaret, G. Queen, her burial, 73.
 FINCK, F. N. 3, *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, (refs.) 120; *Lehrbuch*, (refs.) 231, 244 (*ft. note*), 247 (*ft. note*).
 Finland, *Gs.* in, 118.
 FIRDUSI, 34.
 Fire-root, 78, 236.
 FITZGERALD, Percy: *A Famous Forgery*, (ref.) 233.
Folk-Lore of N.E. Scotland. See Gregor.
Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties. See Henderson.
 Folk-Medicine. See Black.

- Folk-Tale, A Bulgarian G., 182-98; a French G., 242-53; a Welsh Romani, 17-9.
- Folk-Tales, Incidents of—*See also* Nuri Stories—Incidents of.
- Apple, boy changed into, 191.
- Bear gives advice, 192; marries girl, 184.
- Beauties, sleeping, 188.
- Boy hailed as a hero by thieves, 188; lifts cauldron with two fingers, 188; slain and restored to life, 192, 193; slays forty-one thieves, 188; transformed and retransformed, 190, 191; wakes thieves, 188.
- Broom, boy changed into, 190.
- Brother, eldest, 184, 185; foolish, 17; second, 184, 185; youngest, 184, 185, 186, 189.
- Brothers, drowning one's, 18; three, 17, 184, 189.
- Cauldron, lifted with two fingers, 188; on a fire, 187.
- Collar, magic, 191.
- Colt, slays boy, 192; swift, 192.
- Damsel seen in a dream, 249.
- Damsel's hair cut, 250.
- Dark girls, 249.
- Daughters, three, 184.
- Death of king, 184.
- Drinking water, 188.
- Eagle, breaks his wing, 193; brings water from well of Zemzem, 193; marries girl, 184.
- Eating Turkish delight, 188.
- Fire, 187.
- Foolish brother, 17.
- Fortune-telling, 249.
- Forty-one rams, 187; thieves, 187.
- Heaven, going to, in a sack, 17, 18.
- Horse, magic, 191.
- Horse-shoes of silver, 249.
- Inn, great, 249.
- King dies, 184.
- Ladder of nails, 188.
- Lantern, blown out, 188; goes out, 187.
- Light, spinning of, 187, 189.
- Lover, disguised as a woman, 250; slashed with a knife, 250; water thrown on sleeping, 250.
- Maidens, three, 188; married by brothers, 189.
- Marriage of girl and bear, 184; girl and eagle, 184; girl and wolf, 184; three sisters to three youths, 189.
- Meadow, camping in, 185.
- Monster asking the way, 185, 186, 187; comes by night, 185, 186, 187; ears of, put in a sack, 185, 186, 187; one-headed, 185; slain, 185, 186, 187; three-headed, 187; two-headed, 186.
- Nails, ladder of, 188.
- Needle, boy transformed into, 190.
- Old woman bound to a tree, 187; drawing in the night and spinning out the light, 187, 189.
- Folk-Tales, G., incidents of—*continued*.
- Rams, forty-one, a-cooking, 187.
- Sack, going to Heaven in a, 17, 18; monster's ears in, 185, 186, 187.
- Sheep from the sea, 18.
- Silver horse-shoes, 249.
- Sisters, three, 184.
- Sleeping beauties, 188; lover, 250; near a well, 250; under a tree, 249.
- Sons, three, 17, 184.
- Three beauties, 188; brothers, 17, 184; sisters, 184.
- Transformations:
- Apple into boy, 191.
- Boy into apple, 190; broom, 190; needle, 190.
- Broom into boy, 190.
- Needle into boy, 190.
- Turkish delight, eating, 188.
- Wall scaled, 188.
- Water, drinking, 188; from well of Zemzem, 193; thrown on sleeping lover, 250.
- Wolf marries girl, 184.
- Woman, old, 187, 189.
- Youngest brother, adventures of, 186-93; consents to sisters' marriages, 184; gives help to Cordilenzis, 185.
- Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, (ref.) 13 (*ft.note*).
- Footprint used for witchcraft, 92, 94.
- FORCELLINI, *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, (refs.) 254 (*ft.note*), 259 (*ft.note*).
- FORESTI, 67 (*ft.note*), 68.
- FORESTI, Emilia, letter to Spinelli, (quot.) 108-10.
- Forms of Greeting, G., 197, 231.
- Fortress of Modena repaired by Gs., 55.
- Fortune-tellers, G., 9, 10, 15, 70, 78-80, 82-5, 89, 155, 233-4, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 289, 290, 295, 296.
- FOX-SMITH, C., *Gs. in Lancashire*, (ref.) 281.
- France, (Gs. in, 201-4, 234-5, 242-5, 251, 294-5.
- FRAZER, Prof. J. G.: *Golden Bough*, (refs.) 175 (*ft.note*), 177 (*ft.note*), 179 (*ft.note*), 180 (*ft.note*); in *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, (ref.) 181 (*ft.note*); *Pausanias*, (refs.) 177 (*ft.note*), 178 (*ft.note*), 179 (*ft.note*).
- Freedom, G. love of, 70.
- FRESCOBALDI, 62, 275; *Viaggio di Lionardo in Egitto e in Terra Santa*, (quot.) 5 (*ft.note*), 58 (*ft.note*), (ref.) 59 (*ft.note*).
- Friedeck (Silesia), Gs. at, 297.
- Frog, G. superstition about, 23; used to remove phlegm, 31.
- Frog-spawn, G. superstition about, 235-6.
- Funeral Libations*, (note), 235.
- Gados*, derivation of, 195.
- GAIDOZ, Henri, 153, *A. G. Settlement in Lorraine*, (note), 234-5.
- Galena*, a drab for pigs, 151.

- Gallodromi*, derivation of, 264 (*and ft. note*).
- GARDINI, Galdino, *Rimembranze di un Viaggio all' Alpe*, (ref.) 105 (*ft. note*).
- Gavalji, 'shepherd's pipe,' 200.
- Gay Young Squire, *The*, (song), (ref.) 277.
- Gedichte in Frankfurten Mundart*. See Stolze.
- GELLIUS, 254.
- Genesis und Exodus nach der Milstäter Handschrift*. See Diemer.
- Germany, Gs. in, 295-6.
- GESNER, Conrad, *Mithridates*, (ref.) 79 (*ft. note*).
- Ghüléngheri Ghília Salomunéskeró. See Pincherle.
- Ghosts, 279; G. fear of, 168.
- Ghüls, 121 (*ft. note*).
- GILLIAT-SMITH, Bernard: (refs.) 231, 244 (*ft. note*), 249 (*ft. note*), 319; *Russian Gs. in Lithuania, July 1908*, (note), 154-5; *A Little Song*, (note), 155-6; *A Bulgarian G. Folk-Tale*, 182-98; *Romane Giljí*, 198-201; *G. Executioners*, (note), 232.
- GILLINGTON, Miss, (ref.) 158.
- GIRY, A, *Histoire de la ville Saint-Omer*, (refs.) 262 (*ft. note*), 263 (*ft. note*).
- Gitano, 149.
- Gitanos d' Espagne*. See Bataillard.
- Gitanos y Castellanos*, (rev.), 149.
- GIULIA, Princess, intercedes for G. women, 99.
- GIORGEVIĆ, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, (ref.) 194.
- Gleaners, G., 92.
- Gleanings from God's Acre*. See Briscoe.
- GODEFROY, (quot.) 264 (*ft. note*).
- GOETZ, Georgius, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, (refs.) 254 (*ft. note*), 259 (*ft. note*).
- Golden Bough, The*. See Frazer.
- Good Friday, G. superstition about, 21.
- Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine, A*, by R. A. Stewart Macalister, 120-6, 298-317.
- Greek loan-words in Romani probably from Greek-speaking Asia, 38, 68.
- Greeks, G. race name, 38 (*ft. note*), 68 (*ft. note*).
- GREENE, H. W., review of Rebolledo's *Diccionario Gitano-Español y Español Gitano*, 149.
- GREGOR, *Folk-Lore of N.E. Scotland*, (ref.) 176 (*ft. note*).
- GRELLMANN, 149; criticised by Rabenius, 113; *Historischer Versuch*, (ref.) 228 (*ft. note*).
- GRIERSON, G. A., 41.
- Grimm*. See Hunt.
- GRIMM, *Teutonic Mythology*, (ref.) 179 (*ft. note*).
- GRIMM, J. and W., *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, (refs.) 258 (*ft. note*) 260 (*ft. note*), 264 (*ft. note*).
- GROOME, F. H.: 39, *G. Folk-Tales*, (refs.) 17, 65 (*ft. note*), 171 (*ft. note*), 264 (*ft. note*), 320; his discovery of Welsh Romani, 193; *In G. Tents*, (refs.) 23 (*ft. note*), 72 (*ft. note*), 153 (*ft. note*), 159, 165 (*ft. note*), 169 (*ft. note*), 171 (*ft. note*), 172 (*ft. note*), 216 (*ft. note*); *Kriegspiel*, (ref.) 152.
- GROSE, (ref.) 206.
- GROSVENOR, Lady Arthur, 157; *Borrow's Creed and Paternoster*, (note), 156; *A Pilgrim's Progress*, 204-24.
- GRÜNEMBERG, Konrad, His drawing of Modon, 5, 61 (*and ft. note*).
- GUÉRARD, M., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Victor de Marseille*, (ref.) 261 (*ft. note*).
- GUTHRIE, W., *A new system of Modern Geography*. (quot.) 226.
- Gyppe, 6, 60-1.
- G. Blanket, The*, 241.
- G. Executioners*, (note), 232.
- G. Folk-Tales*. See Groome.
- G. Forms and Ceremonies*, by W. Crooke, 174-82.
- G. Head-Dress*, (note), 236.
- G. Prayers*, (note), 77.
- G. Settlement in Lorraine, A*, (note), 234-5.
- G. Slavery in Spain*, (note), 239.
- G. Soldiers and Spies*, (note), 237-9.
- Gs. as Fortune-Tellers and as Blacksmiths*, by Leo Weiner, 4-17; 253-76.
- Gs. as Inn-Signs*, (note), 73.
- Gs. in Corfu and the Morea*, (note), 72-3.
- Gs. of India*. See MacRitchie.
- Gs. of Modon and the 'Wjine of Romoney'*, by E. O. Winstedt, 57-69.
- Gs. of the New Forest and other Tales*, Gibbins', (rev.), 70.
- Gypsyries at—Arnaout Kjöy, 182; Behrenthal, 234-5; Blackpool, 279; Boston (U.S.A.), 81-8, 292-3; Constantinople, 160, 182; Eperyes (Hungary), 228; Friedeck (Silesia), 297; Jerusalem, 120; Kasim Pasha, 182; Kendal, 19, 232; Kronstadt, 65; Modena, 43-57, 88-111; Modon, 5, 59-62, 65; Nauplion, 62, 66; Norwich, 164; Novalexandrovsk, 154-5; Petre-kow, 297; Puszta, 296; Zante, 6. In—Corfu, 72; Crete, 11; Morea, 72; New Forest, 70; Salonika, 227; Sofia, 183.
- HADORPH, Swedish antiquary, 114-5; his *Biärkåa Rätten*, (quot.) 114.
- HADRIAN, Pope, 253.
- HAGEN, Philipp van, *Hodopörika*, (quot.) 62 (*and ft. note*).
- HAGGART, *Life*, (ref.) 206.
- HAILLANT, N., *Dictionnaire phonétique et étymologique*, (quot.) 255 (*ft. note*).
- Hair, female, used in witchcraft, 94.
- Half-bloods, origin of G., 48-9.
- HALL, Rev. George, 165 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 167 (*ft. note*).
- Hammer-shaft makers, G., 282.
- Handuk (handako, khandaq)*, derivation of, 3.
- Hanging of a G., 54.
- Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, (quot.) 260 (*ft. note*), 263 (*ft. note*).

- HARFF, Arnold von, traveller, 5, 6, 60, (quot.) 64 (*and ft. note*), 65 (*ft. note*), 320.
- HARMAN, *A Cavalat*; (refs.), 206, 208, 256 (*ft. note*).
- HARTLAND, *Legend of Perseus*, (refs.) 176 (*ft. note*), 177 (*ft. note*).
- HAWKERS, G., 22, 277, 278, 279, 280, 283, 284, 285.
- Hazel-bushes, cakes hung on, 79.
- HEAD, R., (1674), (ref.) 206.
- Heathen, G. race-name, 6, 61.
- Hedgehog, a G. food and medicine, 27-8; laughing, G. superstition about, 23.
- HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, (refs.) 253 (*ft. note*), 254.
- Heimath der Zigeuner*. See Pischel.
- HENDERSON, *Ancient and Modern Wines*, (ref.) 63 (*ft. note*).
- HENDERSON, *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, (ref.) 181 (*ft. note*).
- HERNE, Mrs., her recipe tested, 152.
- HERODOTUS, (refs.) 176 (*ft. note*), 227.
- HESSELS, J. H., *A late Eighteenth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, (ref.) 265 (*ft. note*).
- HEXAM, *A Copious English and Netherduytsch Dictionary*, (refs.) 263 (*ft. note*), 264 (*ft. note*).
- HIDALGO, Juan, *Romances de Germania*, (ref.) 149.
- HILDEBRAND, G. F., *Glossarium latinum Bibliothecae Parisianae antiquissimum*, (ref.) 254 (*ft. note*).
- HINCMAR, Archbishop, his letter to Charles the Bald, (quot.) 259.
- HIND, C. Lewis, *The Diary of a Looker-on*, (ref.) 279.
- Historia di Corfu*. See Marmora.
- History of the Gs*. See Simson.
- HOFFMANN-KRAYER, Prof. E., *Various References*, (note), 78-80.
- Homines vageniti*=Gs., 68.
- Honey, a G. medicine, 27.
- HOPF, (refs.) 64 (*ft. note*), 68: *Die Einwanderung der Zigeuner*, (ref.) 73.
- Horse saddled before bridled, G. superstition about, 23.
- Horsedealers, G., 166, 183, 277, 280, 283; forbidden, 91.
- Horse-doctoring, 31-3.
- Horse-doctors, G., 238, 296.
- Horses owned by Gs., 46, 47, 50, 54, 116, 166, 183, 277, 280, 283; stolen again by G. sellers, 89.
- HORSLEY, *Jottings from Jail*, (ref.) 206.
- HOUSE, Rev. J. Henry, (quot.) 38 (*ft. note*).
- Housebreaking by Gs., 51, 91.
- Houses called G., 103, 104 (*ft. note*).
- Hungarian G. Tzimbal Player*, A, by A. T. Sinclair (note), 228-32.
- Hungary, Gs. in, 228, 296.
- HUNT, Margaret, *Grimm*, (ref.) 17.
- HUNTER, *History of South Yorkshire*, (ref.) 72 (*ft. note*).
- Hūpisās*, derivation of, 17 (*ft. note*).
- Hymnus ad Completorium*, (ref.) 95 (*ft. note*).
- IGRITZ, professed home of Gs. in 1418, 80.
- Ikālas*, derivation of, 194.
- Imperative in Bulgarian Romani, 195; of verbs in -ar, 18 (*ft. note*).
- In G. Tents*. See Groome.
- Incidents in a G.'s Life*. See Smith.
- Infidelity, punishment of among Gs., 170-1.
- KNES, Andrew, photos Gs., 161.
- KNES, Miss T. T., 161.
- KNES, William, 161.
- Inn-keepers fined for lodging Gs., 51.
- Inquisition and Gs., 92.
- Invasions, G., from Italy, into England, 168; of Servian Gs., 287-8.
- Iron-workers, G., 296.
- It's a kušti bright rāti*, (song), 160.
- Italian words in Romani, 244, 252, absence of, in English dialect, 168.
- Italy, Gs. in, 43-57, 88-111, 296-7; first appearance of Gs. in, 43.
- Itinerarium*. See Symon Simeonis and Wey.
- Ǟ in Sanskrit becomes Romani č, 119-20.
- JACKSON, Prof. A. W. Williams, *Zo-roaster*, (ref.) 34 (*ft. note*).
- Jaffa, Gs. at, 66.
- Jal down to the stagus*, (song), 158.
- Jal-in to Kangri Kurki Sāla*, (song), (ref.) 226.
- JAMIESON, *Scottish Dictionary*, (ref.), 226.
- JANIK, Gustavus, [*psend.* A. E. John], *Pišota*, (note), 320.
- Jasper Family*, 161.
- JAUBERT, *Glossaire du Centre de la France* (ref.), 258 (*ft. note*).
- Jegjupka*, 9.
- Jerusalem, Gs. at, 120.
- JEŠINA, J., (ref.) 221.
- JIMENEZ, *Vocabulario del Dialecto Gitano*, (refs.) 149, 156.
- Jinganeh, G. race-name, 37.
- JOANNES CAMENIATA, 12.
- JOHAN III., King, 237.
- JOHANN, Graf zu Solms, 62, (quot.) 62 (*ft. note*).
- JOHN, Augustus, 251. *Pišota* (note), 320.
- JOHN, 'Count of Little Egypt,' 46-7.
- JOHNSON, Goddard, friend of Borrow, 156; *Illustrations . . . of the English People*, 209 (*and ft. note*), 210 (*ft. note*).
- JOHNSON, Dr., 74.
- Jottings from Jail*. See Horsley.
- Jugglers, G., 10.
- Jummoo, The*. See Drew.
- JUSTI, Prof. Ferdinand, (quot.) 33-4.
- JUSTINGER, Conrad: *Berner Chronik*, (quot.) 80.
- JUVENAL, (quot.) 226.
- Kaltschmiede*, G. race name, 14, 265; derivation of, 14.
- Kasim Pasha, Gs. at, 182.
- Katouna* 'tent,' derivation of, 248 (*ft. note*).
- KEKERMANNUS, Bartholomaeus, (ref.) 78.
- Kendal, Gs. at, 19, 232.
- Keradas*, derivation of, 18 (*ft. note*).

- Kessler, 14.
Kesslertage, 'smith diets,' 14.
Ketipi, 'a book,' derivation of, 195.
Key to Agrippy, 213.
 Kidnappers, G., 296.
 Kidney trouble, G. cure for, 29, 30.
Kilianus Auctus, (ref.) 261 (*ft.note*).
 KIRILOWICZ, 247 (*ft.note*).
Kluge Knecht, *Der*, xv. Century play, (ref.) 78.
 KLUYVER, A.: *Michael-Jan De Goeje*, 1-4.
 KNAPP, Prof. W. I., 156, 157; *Life of Borrow*, (ref.) 165 (*ft.note*).
 KOGALNITCHAN, 244 (*ft.note*).
 KOLBEN: *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, (ref.) 179 (*ft.note*).
 KOPERNICKI, Prof., 72.
 KÖRTINO: *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, (ref.) 257 (*ft.note*).
 KRANTZ, Albertus: *Saronia*, (quot.) 8 (*ft.note*), (ref.) 78, (quot.) 79 (*ft.note*).
Kriegspiel. See *Groome*.
 Kronstadt, Gs. at, 65.
- LABOURASSE, H.: *Glossaire abrégé du patois de la Meuse*, (ref.) 255 (*ft.note*).
 Labourers, G., 296.
Lalere Sinte, 244 (*ft.note*), 319.
Laloré 'dumb,' 183.
 LANCIOTTO, Tommasino, *Cronaca di Modena*, (quot.), 50.
 LANE: *Arabic English Dictionary*, (ref.) 266.
 Language, unreliable evidence in ethnology, 33.
 LARWOOD, and HOTTEN: *The History of Signboards*, (quot.) 73.
Latins in the Levant, *The*. See *Miller*.
 LATTES, A.: *Il diritto commerciale nella legislazione* (refs.) 255 (*ft.note*), 261 (*ft.note*).
 LAURENT, Paul: *Statuts et coutumes de l'échevinage de Mézières*, (ref.) 258 (*ft.note*).
 Law against Gs. See *Acts*.
 LE GOUZ: *Tour in Ireland*, (quot.) 236.
 LE HUEN, traveller, 5.
Leal as a G., (note), 153-4.
 Leeches, G., 10 (*ft.note*), 237.
 Legend about nails of crucifixion, 65; seven years' wandering of Gs., 7.
Legend of Perseus. See *Hartland*.
 LEHMANN: *Patriotisches Magazin*, (ref.) 78 (*ft.note*).
Lehrbuch des Dialekts der Deutschen Zigeuner. See *Finck*.
 LELAND, C. G.: *The English Gs. and their Language*, (refs.) 151 (*ft.note*) 210 (*ft.note*), 211, 212, 215 (*and ft.note*).
 LELAND, Palmer, and TUCKEY: *English-G. Songs*, (refs.), 169 (*and ft.note*), 212.
 Lemon, a G. medicine, 28.
 LENCHERAUD, 6, 64.
Lengua Gitana, La. See *Gitanos y Castellanos*.
 LEO AFRICANUS, (ref.) 275 (*ft.note*).
 LEO DIACONUS *apud Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 11 (*ft.note*).
- LEO ISAURICUS, 272 (*ft.note*).
 LEVITA, Benedictus, his collection of laws, (quot.) 267, 270.
 LEWENKLAW, Hans von, *Neuwe Chronica Türkischer nation*, (ref.), 6 (*ft.note*).
 LEXER, 258.
 Licence for a G. to remain in district, 56, 91, 100.
 LIEBICH, *Die Zigeuner*, 244 (*ft.note*), (refs.) 247 (*ft.note*), 248 (*ft.note*), 251, 318.
Life of St. Barbaros the Egyptian, (ref.) 273.
 Lily-roots, a G. medicine, 237.
 LIMOURS, Paul: *Un Péril errant*, (ref.) 160.
 Linseed, a G. medicine, 28.
 Little Egypt, 7, 228.
Little Song, A, (note), 155-6.
Livre de la Taille de Paris en 1313, (ref.) 257 (*ft.note*).
 Loadstone, baptized, used for witchcraft, 94.
 Loan-words in Romani dialects, 38, 118, 124, 193, 244, 251, 252.
 Lodging forbidden to Gs., 51.
 LOEWE, G.: *Prodromus corporis glossariorum latinorum*, (ref.) 254 (*ft.note*).
 Lom, G. race-name, 33, 37.
Lonely old crow, (song), 236.
 LOPE de Vega, (ref.) 9 (*ft.note*).
 Love-spell, 94.
 LUCAS, Joseph, *Petty Romany*, (ref.) 39 (*ft.note*); *The Yetholm History of the Gs.*, (ref.) 39 (*ft.note*).
Lucas. See *Borrow*.
 LUDOLF, Job, 149; on G. origin, 79.
 LYSANDER, Prof. A. Th.: *Zigenarne*, (quot.) 115.
 LYSONS: *The Environs of London*, (quot.) 74.
- MABILLONIUS, D. J.: *Praefationes*, (ref.) 269 (*ft.note*).
 MACALISTER, R. A. Stewart: *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of the Nubar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine*, 120-6, 298-317; *Nuri Stories*, 127-148.
 McCORMICK, A.: *A Testimonial for Tinklers*, (note), 233.
 MACE, Jem: *Fifty years a Fighter*, (refs.) 165 (*ft.note*), 168 (*ft.note*).
 MACLAREN, J. S.: *G. Slavery in Spain*, (note), 239.
 MACLEOD, W.: *A New World G. Camp*, 81-8.
 MACRITCHIE, D. (refs.) 4, 237, 290; *Gs. in Corfu and the Morea*, (note), 72-3; *Gs. of India*, (refs.) 39 (*ft.note*), 63 (*ft.note*).
 Magic fire, 78, 236.
 MAGINN: *Vidocq Versified*, (ref.) 206.
Magiologia. See *Anhorn*.
 Maidenhead, Mayor of, on Gs., 278.
 MAIOLUS, (ref.) 78.
Malay Magic. See *Skeat*.
Mandl's jän to stariben, (song), 158-9.
 Mandopolos, G. race name, 10, 12; derivation of, 12.

- Mandy went to puv some griys*, (song), 158.
Mango, derivation and meaning of, 259-64.
 Markets, Gs. forbidden at, 55.
 MARMORA, *Historia di Corfu*, (quot.), 72, 73.
 Marriage, G. in 1624, 93; between Gs. and Italians, 97 (*ft.note*); of Gs., church law about, 101; at Carpi in 1907, 109; custom among the Hernes, 170; rites of Gs. compared with those of other tribes, 177.
 Marriages, G., 88, 206-7, 281, 283, 284, 290, 292-3, 297.
 MARSON, Rev. Charles L., friend of Gs., 77.
 MARTIN del Rio, (quot.) 11 (*ft.note*).
 Maypole celebrations by Gs. of Corfu, 72.
 MAZARIS, Byzantine satirist, 12, (quot.) 73.
 Meat, raw, a G. cure for warts, 30.
 Mecklenburg, Elizabeth, Duchess of, 237.
 Medicine practised by Gs., 236-7. *See also* Leeches.
 Medicines used by Gs. *See* Cures.
 MEHEMET, Sultan, Gs. in circumcision procession of son of, 6.
 MEISNER. *See* Röhricht.
 MELES and the lion, 176.
Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes. *See* De Goeje.
Memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne, (ref.) 276.
 MÉNIGLAISE, G., *Voyage de Georges Lencheraud*, (ref.) 5 (*ft.note*), (quot.) 6 (*ft.note*).
 Meningitis attributed to German Gs., 289.
 Messengers in war, Gs. as, 49. *See also* Spies.
 MESSENIUS, Johannes, *Scandia Illustrata*, (quot.) 116-7.
 Metathesis in Nuri dialect, 123.
 Mexico, Gs. pass thro', 81.
 MEYER, *Conv. Dict. Arab. Germ.*, (quot.) 35 (*ft.note*); *Arabischer Sprachführer*, (ref.) 229.
 Mice, fried, a G. medicine, 27.
 MICHAEL, Count, 44-5.
Michael-Jan De Goeje, by A. Kluyver, 1-4.
 MICHEL, *Le Pays Basque*, (ref.) 242 (*ft.note*).
Middle Dutch Dictionary, (ref.) 263.
 MIKLASIEWICZ, Josef, collects Romani vocabulary in the Hauran, 310.
 MIKLOSICH, 2, 3, 15, *Beiträge*, (refs.) 120, 194, 195, 249 (*ft.note*); *Ueber die Mundarten*, 2, (refs.) 15 (*ft.note*), 119, 193, 194, 208, 212, 242 (*ft.note*), 245 (*ft.note*); 247 (*ft.note*).
 MILLER, *History of Doncaster*, (quot.) 72.
 MILLER, *Latins in the Lerant, The: A History of Frankish Greece*, (quot.) 72-3.
 MINSHEU, John, *Dictionary*, (quot.) 9-10 (*ft.note*), 236 (*ft.note*).
Mithridates. *See* Gesner.
 Modena, Gs. in, 43-57, 88-111.
 Modon, a G. haunt, 5, 57-69.
 MONE, F. G., *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, (ref.) 78.
 Monkey-leaders, G., 287.
 MOOS, David von, *Astronomisch Kalender für Zürich*, (quot.) 79.
More Leaves. *See* Victoria.
 MORWOOD, *Our Gs.*, (refs.) 165 (*ft.note*), 207 (*ft.note*).
 Mousehold Heath, a G. haunt, 164, 168.
 'Mouse's ears,' a G. medicine, 29.
 MÜNSTER, *Cosmographia*, (ref.) 8 (*ft.note*), 77.
 MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, (quot.) 8 (*ft.note*), (ref.) 43, 150.
 Musical instruments, Romani names of, 229.
 Musicians, G., 6, 44, 87, 228.
 Mustard, a G. poison for pigs, 150-1.
 MYERS, J., 151, 165 (*ft.note*); *Drab*, (ref.) 150; *Gs. as Lun-Signs*, (note), 73.
Mystic Rose. *See* Crawley.
 NAILS OF CRUCIFIXION, 65.
 Name, change of among Gs., 164 (*ft.note*), 171.
 Names, geographical and ethnic in Nuri dialect, 126; Romani, of musical instruments, 229; of places, 215.
 Names, G., Christian:—
 AARON, 151, 289.
 ABI, 162.
 ABRAHAM, 280.
 ABSALOM, 207.
 ADA, 163, 278, 281, 283.
 ADELAIDE, 28 (*ft.note*), 163, 165 (*ft.note*).
 ADOLPHUS, 163.
 AGNES, 163, 277.
 ALBERT, 163, 280.
 ALESSANDRA, 92.
 ALESSANDRO, 56, 57.
 ALFRED, 161, 163, 172, 283.
 ALGAR, 163, 283.
 ALICE, 159, 163, 278.
 ALMA, 279, 286.
 AMROSE, 157, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 171, 172, 173, 174.
 AMELIA, 282, 284.
 AMICA, 240.
 AMOS, 284.
 ANDREW, 'Duke,' 4, 43, 44.
 ANGELINA, 282.
 ANN, 282.
 ANNABEL, 205 (*ft.note*).
 ANNIE, 240, 286, 288.
 ANTOINE, 201, 202, 203.
 ANTONIO, 149.
 ANTONIUS, Herr (G. chief), 116.
 ARTHUR, 163.
 ATHALIA, 163, 283.
 BARLEY, 163.
 BARNEY, 163.
 BARTOLOMEO, 49.
 BEATRICE, 163.
 BEN, 279.
 BENDIGO, 286.

Names, G. : Christian—*continued*.

BENJAMIN, 288.
 BERTIE, 163.
 BERTRAM, 163.
 BESSIE, 87, 291.
 BETSY, 163, 165.
 BIDI, 161, 162, 163.
 BILL, 292.
 BOAZ, 280.
 BRIDGET, 293.
 BRITANNIA, 282, 283.
 BRITANNIA, 278.
 BUDD, 291.
 BUI, 162, 169, 225.
 CAPPELLI, Francisco, 96.
 CARLO, 53.
 CAROLINE, 163, 278, 279, 285
 CECILIA, 163.
 CELIDONIA, 91.
 CHARLES, 71, 72 (*ft. note*), 87, 158,
 162, 276, 278, 285, 292.
 CHARLES, 'Captain,' 76.
 CHARLES HENRY, 163, 172 (*ft. note*).
 CHARLIE, 153 (*ft. note*), 162, 225, 276.
 CHARLOTTE, 283, 288.
 CLARA, 277.
 CONSTANCE, 162, 164.
 CORNELIUS, 150, 159, 276, 285.
 CROWY, 225.
 DADDY, 285.
 DADE, 200, 201.
 DAISY, 279.
 DAMITRO, 87, 293.
 DAN, 71.
 DANIEL, 285.
 DAVID, 285, 290.
 DEGNA, 96.
 DELAIA, 161, 163, 173 (*ft. note*), 225.
 DIAMANTA, 96.
 DICK, 225, 279.
 DONA, 161, 163, 225.
 DONALD, 290.
 DONNINO, 93.
 DORA (Maliva), 291.
 EDWARD, 166 (*ft. note*), 170 (*and ft. note*), 216 (*ft. note*), 278, 282, 283,
 285.
 EDWIN, 204, 216 (*and ft. note*), 217,
 218, 219, 220.
 ELEONORA, 92.
 ELI, 162, 163, 284, 285, 286.
 ELIAS, 284.
 ELIJAH, 162, 165, 284.
 ELIZA, 163, 166 (*ft. note*), 225, 277,
 282.
 ELIZABETH, 162, 172 (*ft. note*), 280.
 ELLEN, 278, 281, 290.
 ELVIRA, 277, 294.
 EMIL, 87, 292, 298.
 EMILY, 125, 163, 282, 286.
 EMMA, 282.
 ERICA, 163.
 ERIOLE, 57, 94, 96.
 ERNEST, 163.
 EROS, 163.
 ESAU, 162, 225.
 ESTHER, 158, 159.
 FADEN JOHN, 162, 164, 166.
 FANNY, 277, 286.
 FEMI, 162.

Names, G. : Christian—*continued*.

FENNIMORE, 27.
 FLORENCE, 162, 277, 285.
 FLORRIE, 288.
 FLOSSIE, 285.
 FRANCESCO, 53, 56, 89, 91.
 FRANÇOISE ('La Doudon'), 201, 202.
 FRANK, 162, 163, 278, 284, 293.
 FRED, 163, 283.
 FREDERICK, 163, 172 (*ft. note*), 208.
 FREEDA, 20, 25.
 GALLEAZZO, 96.
 GENTI, 165 (*ft. note*).
 GEORGE, 163, 164 (*ft. note*), 171 (*ft. note*), 173 (*ft. note*), 208, 213, 276,
 278, 281, 282, 284.
 GEORGINA, 285.
 GERTRUDE, 288.
 GIACOMO, 53.
 GILROY, 284.
 GIORGIO, 108 (*ft. note*).
 GIOVAN MARJA, 47.
 GIOVANNI, 'Comte,' 46, 54.
 GIOVANNI, 106.
 GIOVANNI NICOLO, 92.
 GIOVANNO, 96.
 GIULIA, 91, 92.
 GONEY, 240, 285.
 GREENLEAF, 205 (*ft. note*), 225.
 GREGORIO, 291.
 GREGORY, 86.
 GUS, 163, 225.
 GUSTER, 163.
 HADDY, 240.
 HAGI, 225.
 HAMELEN, 163.
 HARRIET, 285.
 HARRY, 282, 283, 284.
 HENRY, 163, 172 (*ft. note*), 278, 280,
 281, 282, 283, 286, 293.
 HERBERT, 163, 285.
 HIRINS, 283.
 HONOR, 162.
 HORACE, 282.
 HUBERT, 20.
 HUGH, 289.
 IMPERIA, 91, 94.
 IRENA, 293.
 IRENE, 86.
 ISAAC, 25, 32, 166 (*ft. note*), 167
 (*ft. note*), 282.
 ISRAEL, 152, 160.
 IZA, 163, 225, 226.
 JABEZ, 278.
 JACK, 166, 167 (*ft. note*).
 JACOMA, 96.
 JAKOB, 112, 113.
 JAMES, 71, 72, 163, 276, 280, 281,
 282, 284, 285, 286, 290.
 JANE, 276, 283.
 JASPER, 205 (*ft. note*).
 JEAN [John], 201, 202, 203, 204.
 JEAN MARIE, 294.
 JEAN PIERRE, 243.
 JEANNE, 201, 202, 203, 204.
 JEANNE-JACQUELINE, 243.
 JEM, 163, 165, 168.
 JEMIMA, 282, 284, 285.
 JENNY, 205 (*ft. note*), 207.
 JIMMY, 22, 162, 235.

Names, G. : Christian—*continued*.

JOANNES, 'count' of Little Egypt, 46.
 JOB, 284, 285.
 JOHN, 81 (*ft. note*), 85, 86, 87, 162, 163, 164, 165 (*and ft. note*), 166, 168, 225, 276, 277, 280, 282, 285, 290, 292, 293.
 JOHN LEE, 171 (*ft. note*).
 JOHNNY, 163, 225.
 JOSEPH, 280, 288; 'King,' 293.
 JOSHUA, 225.
 JOSIAH, 163, 278.
 JUAN, 298.
 KADILIA, 163, 165, (*ft. note*), 179 (*ft. note*).
 KATE, 282, 284, 288.
 KATIE, 163, 165 (*ft. note*).
 KENZA, 163, 172 (*ft. note*), 225.
 KERLENDIA, 163.
 KIT, 'King,' 290.
 LAINI (Phoebe), 162.
 LATIMER, 279.
 LAUNCELOT, 153 (*ft. note*).
 LAURA, 93, 163, 283.
 LAVINIA, 19, 21, 23, 24 (*and ft. note*), 25, 26, 27, 30, 158, 320.
 LEANDRA, 96.
 LEATH, 87.
 LENA, 286.
 LEO, 163.
 LEONARD, 159.
 LEONDRÁ, 163.
 LETTIACENETER ANNIE, 240, 286.
 LEVI, 291.
 LIBERTY, 159.
 LILLAH, 279.
 LILY, 293.
 LITI RUTH, 162.
 LOGAN, 163.
 LOLLY LALLY, 159.
 LOUIS, 243.
 LOUISA, 280.
 LOUISE MARIE, 291.
 LOVINIA, 163.
 LOYALA, 86.
 LUCAS, 278.
 LUCIA, 96.
 LUCRETIA, 39.
 LUCY, 21, 27, 225.
 LUDOVICO, 94, 96.
 LUI, 225.
 LULU, 20, 25, 26, 150.
 LURENI, 225.
 LYDIA (Liti), 162, 163, 225.
 MADDALENA, 96.
 MAHONEY, 291.
 MALIVA, 291.
 MALONEY, 291.
 MANNASSEH, 280.
 MARESKO, 163, 165 (*ft. note*).
 MARGARET, 73, 163, 278.
 MARGRAT, 290.
 MARIA, 92, 96, 94, 280; 'Princess Sara,' 294.
 MARK, 283.
 MARTHA, 165 (*and ft. note*), 167, 169.
 MARY, 280, 282, 288.
 MARY ANN, 280, 282.
 MASEY, 285.

Names, G. : Christian—*continued*.

MASIRE, 284.
 MASTRO, 53.
 MAT, 162.
 MATILDA, 276, 284.
 MATTHEW, 17, 210 (*and ft. note*), 212, 215, 216.
 MAUD, 284.
 MEERA, 19, 23, 24 (*ft. note*).
 MELBOURNE, 163, 225.
 MERCEDES, 295.
 MICHAEL, 'Duke,' 4, 44, 45, 46, 48.
 MICHEL, 246.
 MIDORA, 163.
 MIKAILIA, 166.
 MILLER, 162.
 MILLY, 166 (*ft. note*), 167 (*ft. note*).
 MINNIE, 284.
 MIRA, 200, 201.
 MIRELLI, 162, 164.
 MISTANA, 199, 201.
 MITCHELL, 291.
 MIVANIEL, 240, 282.
 MOLL, 162.
 MORDECAI, 205.
 MOSES, 207, 208, 280.
 MUHAMMAD, 311.
 MYRACK (Myrick), 209 (*and ft. note*).
 NATHAN, 163, 172 (*ft. note*), 283.
 NATHANIEL, 163.
 NEHEMIAH, 285.
 NEILL, 290.
 NELL, 162.
 NELSON, 281.
 NEWCOMBE, 225.
 NIABAI, 162, 166 (*ft. note*), 225.
 NICOLO, 44.
 NINI, 162.
 NOAH, 163, 281, 285, 286.
 NOEL, 282.
 NORAH, 163, 283, 285, 286.
 NORNAS, 20, 26.
 OCEANIC, 290.
 OLIMPIA, 103.
 OLIVE, 280.
 ORAZIO, 56, 92.
 OSCAR, 225, 286.
 OSERI, 163, 167 (*ft. note*), 225.
 OTI, 163, 168.
 PAKOMOVNA, 165, 202.
 PAMELA, 163.
 PAPITA or Pipa, 'Queen,' 291.
 PARADICE, 216 (*ft. note*).
 PATIENCE, 77, 285.
 PATRICK ARTHUR, 163.
 PEDRO, 85, 87, 88.
 PETERIE, 288.
 PETRO, 291.
 PHARAOH, 279.
 PHILIP, 295.
 PHOEBE, 162, 166, 281, 282.
 PINKI, 163.
 PIRAMUS, 167 (*and ft. note*).
 PIZINNIA, 240, 282.
 PLATO, 151.
 POLEY, 161, 163, 172, 173 (*ft. note*), 225, 287.
 POLLIE, 278.
 POPPA, 86, 87, 293.
 PRUDENCE, 162, 165.

Names, G. : Christian—*continued*.

RABBI, 240, 282.
 RABI, 163.
 RACHEL, 162.
 RANDLE, 162.
 RENÉE, 295.
 REPRIONA, 163.
 REYNOLDS, 162, 165.
 RHODA, 278.
 RIIONA, 279.
 RICHARD, 162, 225, 280, 291.
 RILEY, 285.
 RODOMONTE, 90.
 RODNEY, 21, 285.
 ROSA, 87, 292, 293.
 ROSE, 70, 81 (*ft. note*), 87, 280, 288, 292, 293.
 ROSINA, 278, 284.
 ROZE, 201, 202, 203.
 RYLEY, 225.
 SALLY, 279.
 SAMPSON, 162.
 SAMSON, 281.
 SAMUEL, 277, 282.
 SANSPIRELLA, 161, 162, 165 (*and ft. note*), 225.
 SANTINO, 93.
 SARAH, 163, 166 (*ft. note*), 281, 282, 285.
 SAUNDERS, 162.
 SEJO, 199, 201.
 SELINA, 152, 153 (*and ft. note*), 278.
 SENA, 294.
 SHAKIR, 120, 121.
 SHANDRES, 19, 20, 23.
 SHURI, 225.
 SIBBY, 286.
 SIBI, 163.
 SIDNEY, 277, 286.
 SIGNORINO, 94, 96, 97.
 SINFAL, 166.
 SINKO, 187, 189, 192.
 SOLOMON, 25, 288.
 SOPHIA, 162, 170 (*ft. note*), 281.
 STARKEY, 20, 23, 31, 32, 320.
 SUBL, 163.
 SUSAN, 285.
 SUSANNAH, 285.
 TAISO, 170 (*and ft. note*).
 TENANT, 205.
 THOMAS, 282, 288 ; 'Duke,' 4.
 TILDA, 163.
 TILLY, 163.
 TOM, 162, 163, 166, 225, 279, 291.
 TOMMASS, 96.
 TOMMY, 161, 162, 163, 173 (*and ft. note*).
 TRELLI, 162, 165.
 TRENIT, 163.
 TRIANTE, 240, 283.
 TROMBETTA, 92.
 UNION, 162.
 URSULA, 157.
 VALERIANA, 201, 202, 203.
 VALLEY, 283.
 VANTO, 240, 278.
 VECCHI, Ludovico, 96.
 VENSA, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31.
 VENSALENA, 20.

Names, G. : Christian—*continued*.

WALTER, 163, 276, 278, 283, 284 ; Leonard, 280.
 'WESTER, 162.
 WIKKI, 167 (*ft. note*).
 WILLIAM, 168, 171 (*ft. note*), 277, 281, 282, 283, 286.
 WILLIAM DAVID, 288 ; John, 285.
 WILLY, 163.

Names, G. : Surnames—

ADAMS, Bill, 292.
 ADAMS, Joe, 292.
 ADAMS, John, 'Brown Prince,' 292.
 ALMORO, Francesco, 91.
 AMAYA, Juan, Spanish G. chief, 298.
 ANTHOINETTE, Antoine, 201, 202, 203.
 AYRES, Charles, 278.
 AYRES, Edward, 285.
 AYRES, Walter, 278.
 BABRUA, Irene, 86.
 BAKER, 164 (*ft. note*).
 BAKER, Eli, 286.
 BARKER, Mat, 162.
 BARNES, 70.
 BARNES, Walter, 284.
 BARRE, Jeanne Jacqueline, 243.
 BARRE, Louis, 243.
 BARRE, Michel de la, 246.
 BEGO, Dade, 200, 201.
 BELLENAS, Jeanne (Baroca), 201, 202.
 BIANCHI, Giovanni, 100.
 BIANCO, Rodomonte, 90.
 BLAKE, 70.
 BLEWETT, 213 (*ft. note*).
 BLUETT, George, 213.
 BOSIE, 287.
 BOSS, Betsy, 163.
 BOSS, Martha, ('old Peggy'), 165 (*and ft. note*), 167, 169.
 BOSSIE, Peterie Showman, 288.
 BOSVIL, Hagi (*née* Smith), 225.
 BOSVIL, Lui (*née* Smith), 225.
 BOSVIL, Ryley (*née* Smith), 225.
 BOSVIL, Shuri (*née* Smith), 225.
 BOSVILLE, Charles, 72 (*ft. note*).
 BOSVILLE, Charles, 71.
 BOSVILLE, James, 71, 72.
 BOSWELL, 19, 71, 164, 204, 279, 284.
 BOSWELL, Algar, 283.
 BOSWELL, Alma, 279, 286.
 BOSWELL, Athalia, 283.
 BOSWELL, Daisy, 279.
 BOSWELL, Dan, 71.
 BOSWELL, Elias, 284.
 BOSWELL, George, 281.
 BOSWELL, Harry, 282, 283.
 BOSWELL, Josiah, 163.
 BOSWELL, Kenza, 163, 172 (*ft. note*), 225.
 BOSWELL, Laura, 283.
 BOSWELL, Lucretia, 39.
 BOSWELL, Lucy, 225.
 BOSWELL, Lureni, 225.
 BOSWELL, Noah, 281.
 BOSWELL, Oscar, 225.
 BOSWELL, Sibi, 163.
 BOSWELL, Taiso, 170 (*and ft. note*).

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued*.

BOSWELL, Wester, 162.
 BOWERS, Noel, 282.
 BOWERS, Phoebe, 282.
 BOWLEY, 279.
 BRANDOLA, Giovan Maria de, 47.
 BROAD, George, 278.
 BROWN, 164 (*ft. note*).
 BROWN, Bui, 162, 169, 225.
 BROWN, Johnny, 163.
 BROWN, Kadilia, 163, 165 (*ft. note*), 179 (*ft. note*).
 BROWN, Tom, 163, 225.
 BUBBLE, Charles, 87, 292.
 BUBBLE, Frank, 293.
 BUCKLAND, Cornelius, 150, 159.
 BUCKLAND, Edward, 216 (*ft. note*).
 BUCKLAND, Edwin, 204, 216 (*and ft. note*), 217, 218, 219, 220.
 BUCKLAND, Jabez, 278.
 BUCKLAND, James, 281.
 BUCKLAND, Leonard, 159.
 BUCKLAND, Liberty, 159.
 BUCKLAND, Mordecai, 205.
 BUCKLAND, Nelson, 281.
 BUCKLAND, Paradiée, 216 (*ft. note*).
 BUCKLAND, Plato, 151.
 BUCKLEY, Betsy, 165.
 BUCKLEY, Elijah, 162, 165.
 BUCKLIN, David, 290.
 BUCKLIN, Ellen, 290.
 BUCKLIN, King Kit, 290.
 BULL, Mary Ann, 280.
 BURTON, Manasseh, 288.
 CANNON, Henry, 278.
 CAPEL, Jean Pierre, 243.
 CESARE, Signorino, 98.
 CHAPMAN, Masey, 285.
 CHILCOT, Charles, 162.
 CHILCOT, Florence, 162.
 CHILCOT, John, 162.
 CHILCOT, Liti Ruth, 162.
 CHILCOT, Union, 162.
 CLARKE, John, 280.
 COLLINS, Olive, 280.
 COOPER, 70.
 COOPER, Amelia, 284.
 COOPER, Ben, 279.
 COOPER, Eli, 286.
 COOPER, Eliza, 277.
 COOPER, Emily, 286.
 COOPER, Georgina, 285.
 COOPER, Jack ('Fighting Jack'), 166.
 COOPER, James, 286.
 COOPER, Job, 285.
 COOPER, John, 163, 285.
 COOPER, Johnny, 225.
 COOPER, Lena, 286.
 COOPER, Lydia, 163.
 COOPER, Matthew, 210 (*and ft. note*), 212, 215, 216.
 COOPER, Mark, 283.
 COOPER, Mrs., 210 (*ft. note*), 211, 212, 214, 215, 216.
 COOPER, Nehemiah, 285.
 COOPER, Phoebe, 166.
 COOPER, Sidney, 286.
 COOPER, Tom, 162, 166.
 COOPER, Trenit, 163.

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued*.

COOPER, Walter, 283.
 CRISTO, Giorgio, 108 (*ft. note*).
 CRUTCHER, Henry, 286.
 CURL, Charles, 285.
 CURL, Flossie, 285.
 CURTIS, Mrs. (née Lucy Smith), 158.
 DALMAS (des Barri), 243.
 DAVIES, Edward, 278.
 DAVIES, Ellen, 278.
 DAVIS, Patience, 77.
 DAWSON, 278.
 DEMARTRO, Harry, 293.
 DEMETROVITCH, Gregorio, 291.
 DIDDLES, 20.
 DOE, 70.
 DOE, Caroline, 278.
 DRAPER, Mirelli, 162.
 ELLIOT, Wikki (née Gray), 167 (*ft. note*).
 ELLIOTT, Richard, 280.
 ESSEX, John, 280.
 FERNANDEZ, Philip, 295.
 FEUDAR, Irena, 293.
 FEERGUSON, Margrat, (tinker), 290.
 FINCH, Margaret, 73.
 FRANKHAM, James, 280.
 FRANKHAM, Moses, 280.
 FRANKHAM, Walter, Leonard, 280.
 FRANKLIN, Algar, 163.
 FRANKLIN, Arthur, 163.
 FRANKLIN, Fred., 163.
 FRANKLIN, Johnny, 163.
 FRANKLIN, William John, 285.
 FRANKLIN, Willy, 163.
 GALANTINO, Francesco, 89.
 GALATINO, 55.
 GAMBLE, Ada, 281.
 GARRATT, Henry, 163.
 GASKIN, Tilda, 163.
 GIACOMO, Mastro, 53.
 GONZALES, Elvira, 294.
 GOW, Aaron, 289.
 GRAY, 22, 164, 167.
 GRAY, Alice, 159.
 GRAY, Caroline, 279.
 GRAY, Daddy, 285.
 GRAY, Deláia, 163.
 GRAY, Eliza, 163.
 GRAY, Emily, 125.
 GRAY, Genti, 165 (*ft. note*).
 GRAY, Gus, 163, 225.
 GRAY, Jack, 167 (*ft. note*).
 GRAY, Joshua, 225.
 GRAY, Oseri, 163, 167 (*ft. note*), 225.
 GRAY, Pirusus, 167 (*and ft. note*).
 GRAY, Tom.
 GREEN, 70.
 GREEN, James, 280.
 GREEN, Thomas, 280.
 GRIGGS, William, 282.
 HARBER, George, 278.
 HARES, Henry, 280.
 HAUSMANN, Emil, 298.
 HEADLEY, Ada, 278.
 HEARN, Jemima, 282.
 HEARNE, Jemima, 285.
 HEDGE, Jimmy, 235.
 HEDGE, (Mrs. Thorp), 235.
 HELSING, Jakob, 112, 113.

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued*.
 HERNE, 19, 164 (*and ft. note*), 166,
 168, 170, 205, 277, 290.
 HERNE, Abi, 162.
 HERNE, Bertie, 163.
 HERNE, Bidi, 162.
 HERNE, Crowy, 225.
 HERNE, 'owld Dick,' 225.
 HERNE, Edward ('No name'), 166
 (*ft. note*), 170 (*and ft. note*).
 HERNE, Eli, 162.
 HERNE, Eliza, 166 (*ft. note*), 225.
 HERNE, Erica or Walter, 163.
 HERNE, Esau, 162.
 HERNE, Femi, 162.
 HERNE, Greenleaf, 225.
 HERNE, Guster, 163.
 HERNE, Isaac, 166 (*ft. note*), 167 (*ft.*
note), 282.
 HERNE, Iza, 163, 225, 226.
 HERNE, Miller, 162.
 HERNE, Milly, 166 (*ft. note*), 167
 (*ft. note*).
 HERNE, Mrs. 152, 169.
 HERNE, Newcombe (lawgiver), 225.
 HERNE, Niabai, 162, 166 (*ft. note*), 225.
 HERNE, Reynolds, 162, 165.
 HERNE, Richard, 162, 225.
 HERNE, Samuel, 282.
 HERNE, Sanspirella, 162, 165 (*and*
ft. note), 225.
 HERNE, Sarah, 166 (*ft. note*).
 HERNE, Sinfai (née Buckland), 166.
 HERNE, Sophia, 162, 170 (*ft. note*).
 HERON, 284.
 HERON, Isaac, 32.
 HERON, Poley, 287.
 HICKS, Charlie, 153 (*ft. note*).
 HIEKOSME, Captain Jean, 201, 202,
 203, 204.
 HODGKISS, Angelina, 282.
 HODGKISS, James, 282.
 HODGKISS, Thomas, 282.
 HOLLAND, Moses, 297, 208.
 HOOPER, Florence, 285.
 HOSKINS, Masire, 284.
 HUGHES, Edward, 282.
 HUGHES, Eli, 285.
 HUGHES, Emily, 282.
 HUGHES, Henry, 282.
 HUGHES, Queen, 283.
 HUSAIN, Muhammad, 311.
 JAMES, Annie, 288.
 JEANNE, Valeriana, 201, 202, 203.
 JOLIS, Valley, 283.
 KAMINSKI, 297.
 KASLO, Damitro, Prince John Mit-
 chell, 87, 293.
 KEATS, Harry, 284.
 KEMPSTER, Albert, 280.
 KENNEDY, old (tinker), 289.
 KLISM, Greenleaf, 205 (*ft. note*).
 KLISM, Jenny, 205 (*ft. note*).
 KONE, 200, 201.
 LAKEY, 70.
 LARIVIERE, 243.
 LEE, 25, 26, 70, 207, 242, 290.
 LEE, Abraham, 280.
 LEE, Adelaide, 28 (*ft. note*), 163, 165
 (*ft. note*).

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued*.
 LEE, Agnes, 277.
 LEE, Bendigo, 286.
 LEE, Caroline, 163.
 LEE, Charles, 276.
 LEE, Charlie, 162.
 LEE, Ellen, 281.
 LEE, George, 163, 284.
 LEE, Jasper, 205 (*ft. note*).
 LEE, Job, 284.
 LEE, John, 163.
 LEE, Kate, 282, 284.
 LEE, Kerlenda, 163.
 LEE, Latimer, 279.
 LEE, Lettiacener Annie, 240, 286.
 LEE, Leondra, 163.
 LEE, Lillah, 279.
 LEE, Logan, 163.
 LEE, Matilda, 276, 284.
 LEE, Nathan, 163, 172 (*ft. note*).
 LEE, Patience, 285.
 LEE, Repriona, 163.
 LEE, Rhona, 279.
 LEE, Sally, 279.
 LEE, Sarah, 163.
 LEE, Sylvester, 284.
 LEE, Thomas, 288.
 LEE, Tommy, 163.
 LIGHT, Samson, 281.
 LOCK, Albert, 280.
 LOCK, Emma, 282.
 LOCK, Joseph, 288.
 LOCK, Maria, 280.
 LOCK, Tenant, 205.
 LOCKE, 214.
 LOCKE, Boaz, 280.
 LOCKE, Frederick, 208.
 LOCKE, George, 208.
 LOCKE, Myrack (Myrick), 209 (*and*
ft. note).
 LOVELL, 19, 279.
 LOVELL, Niki (tinker), 162.
 LOVERIDGE, Haddy, 240.
 LOVERIDGE, Oceanic, 240.
 LOVERING, Dick, 279.
 MACE, Barney, 163.
 MACE, Deläia, 161, 173 (*ft. note*),
 225.
 MACE, Dona, 161, 163, 225.
 MACE, Jem, 163, 165, 168.
 MACE, Melbourne, 163, 225.
 MACE, Poley, 161, 163, 172, 173
 (*ft. note*), 225.
 M'LABEN, Hugh (tinker), 289.
 M'LEAN, Neill, 290.
 MACPHERSON, James, 290.
 MANLEY, Britannia, 278.
 MARION, Petro, (Peter Martin), 291.
 MARKS, Elizabeth, 280.
 MEGG, Rosa (or Steve), 87, 292, 293.
 MICHELET, 242.
 MILES, 70.
 MITCHELL, Emil, G. chief, 87.
 MITCHELL, Frank, 284.
 MITCHELL, Jemima, 284.
 MITCHELL, John, 293.
 MITCHELL, Rosina, 284.
 MOCHAN, Charlotte, 288.
 MOCHAN, Rose, 288.
 MOHSIN, Shakir, 120, 121.

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued.*

MORI, Antonio, 92.
 MUSTO, Annabel, 205 (*ft. note*).
 MUSTOE, 205, 206, 207.
 MUSTY, John, 282.
 NYARY, 296.
 ODELL, Amica, 240.
 ODLEY, Clara, 277.
 OLERIA, Sena, 294.
 ORAZIO, 56.
 ORCHARD, Sarah, 281.
 PALLAVICINO, Ercole, 94, 96.
 PARKER, Lucas, 278.
 PARKER, Margaret, 278.
 PARKER, Maria, 278.
 PARKER, Selina, 278.
 PATEMAN, 70.
 PEARCE, 70.
 PEARCE, John, 280.
 PEARSE, Dora (Maliva), 291.
 PEARSE, Tom, 291.
 PENFOLD, Britannia, 283.
 PENFOLD, Charlotte, 283.
 PENFOLD, Edward, 283.
 PENFOLD, Frank, 278.
 PENFOLD, Joseph, 280.
 PENFOLD, Mary Ann, 282.
 PETERS, 70.
 PETTEGIE, Poppa, 'Princess Sara,'
 87, 293.
 PIETRO, Giovanni, called *Cingaro*,
 46.
 PINFOLD, Barley, 163.
 PINFOLD, Charlie, 225.
 PINFOLD, Emily, 163.
 PINFOLD, Tilda, 163.
 PIRY, Jeanne, 201, 202, 203, 204.
 PRICE, William David, 288.
 QUIGLEY, Bridget, 293.
 RADUSLAVITCH, Gregory, 86.
 RAQUI, Roze, 201, 202, 203.
 RAY, 278.
 RAY, Pollie, 278.
 RENARD, Jean Marie, 294.
 RESTIG, Emil, 292.
 REYNOLDS, 171.
 REYNOLDS, Alfred, 163.
 REYNOLDS, Tommy, 163.
 RICHARDS, Mary, 288.
 RISTIG, Leath, G. chief, 87.
 ROBINSON, Alfred, 283.
 ROBINSON, Fred, 283.
 ROBINSON, Goney, 240, 285.
 ROBINSON, Hirins, 283.
 ROBINSON, Sampson, 162.
 ROMEI, Giovanni Nicolo, 92.
 ROMEI, Madonna Alessandra, 92.
 ROSE, John, 282.
 RUSSELL, George, 276.
 RYLES, Ada, 283.
 RYLES, Triante, 240, 283.
 SCARETT, Joseph, 280.
 SFORZA, Giulia, 92.
 SFORZA, Maria, 92.
 SFORZA, Trombetta, 92.
 SHAW, 151, 158, 167.
 SHAW, Aaron ('Aaron Jakes'),
 151.
 SHAW, Fennimore (Finny), 27.
 SHAW, Lucy, 27.

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued.*

SHAW, Neli, 162.
 SHAW, Rodney, 21.
 SHEEN, George, 278.
 SHERIFF, Cornelius, 285.
 SHERIFF, John, 285.
 SHERRARD, 70.
 SHERRER, 70.
 SHERWIN, 70.
 SHERWOOD, 70.
 SHILIVA, Princess Pipa, 291.
 SILVA, Lily, 293.
 SMALL, Charles, 276.
 SMALL, Rose, 280.
 SMALL, Vanto, 240, 278.
 SMITH, 150, 164, 166, 168, 169, 214,
 232, 284.
 SMITH, A., 276.
 SMITH, Absalom, 207.
 SMITH, Ada, 163.
 SMITH, Adelaide, 163.
 SMITH, Adolphus, 163.
 SMITH, Agnes, 163.
 SMITH, Albert, 163.
 SMITH, Alfred, 161, 172.
 SMITH, Alice, 163.
 SMITH, Ambrose, 157, 161, 163, 164,
 165, 172, 173.
 SMITH, Arthur, 163.
 SMITH, Beatrice, 163.
 SMITH, Bertram, 163.
 SMITH, Betsy, 163.
 SMITH, Bidi, 161, 163.
 SMITH, Britannia, 282.
 SMITH, Cecilia, 163.
 SMITH, Charles, 285.
 SMITH, Charles Henry, 163, 172
 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Constance, 162, 164.
 SMITH, Cornelius, 276, 285.
 SMITH, Delaia or Pinki, 163.
 SMITH, Eli, 284.
 SMITH, Elijah, 284.
 SMITH, Elizabeth, 162, 172 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Ernest, 163.
 SMITH, Eros, 163.
 SMITH, Esther, 158, 159.
 SMITH, Faden John, 162, 164, 165
 (*and ft. note*), 166, 168, 225.
 SMITH, Fanny, 277, 286.
 SMITH, Florence, 277.
 SMITH, Frank, 162, 163.
 SMITH, Frederick, 163, 172 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, 'G.', 283.
 SMITH, George, 163, 164 (*ft. note*),
 171 (*ft. note*), 173 (*ft. note*), 282,
 284.
 SMITH, Gilroy, 284.
 SMITH, Herbert, 163.
 SMITH, Honor, 162.
 SMITH, Israel, 152, 160.
 SMITH, James, 276, 286.
 SMITH, Jane, 276, 283.
 SMITH, John, 276, 277.
 SMITH, John Lee, 171 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Katie (Maresko), 163, 165
 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Laina (Phoebe), 162.
 SMITH, Lancelot, 153 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Laura, 163.

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued.*

SMITH, Lavaithen, 163, 171 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, Leo, 163.
 SMITH, Louisa, 280.
 SMITH, Lovinia, 163.
 SMITH, Lulu, 150.
 SMITH, Lydia (Liti), 162, 225.
 SMITH, Margaret, 163.
 SMITH, Midora, 163.
 SMITH, Minnie, 284.
 SMITH, Mirelli, 162, 164.
 SMITH, Mivaniel, 240, 282
 SMITH, Moll, 162.
 SMITH, Nathan, 283.
 SMITH, Nathaniel, 163.
 SMITH, Norah, 163, 283.
 SMITH, Oti, 163, 168.
 SMITH, Pamela, 163.
 SMITH, Patrick Arthur, 163.
 SMITH, Phoebe or Femi, 162.
 SMITH, Pizinnia, 240, 282.
 SMITH, Prudence, 162, 165.
 SMITH, Rabbi, 240, 282.
 SMITH, Rabi, 163.
 SMITH, Rachel, 162.
 SMITH, Randle, 162.
 SMITH, Riley, 285.
 SMITH, Rodacy, 285.
 SMITH, Samuel, 277.
 SMITH, Sanspirella, 161.
 SMITH, Sarah, 163.
 SMITH, Saunders, 162.
 SMITH, Selina, 152, 153 (*and ft. note*).
 SMITH, Sibby, 286.
 SMITH, Sidney, 277.
 SMITH, Sophia, 281.
 SMITH, Subi, 163.
 SMITH, Susannah, 285.
 SMITH, Tilly, 163.
 SMITH, Tommy, 162.
 SMITH, Treli, 162, 165.
 SMITH, Trianti, 283.
 SMITH, Walter, 163.
 SMITH, William, 168, 171 (*ft. note*),
 277, 283.
 STANLEY, 70, 207, 242.
 STANLEY, Princess Bessie, 291.
 STANLEY, Budd, 291.
 STANLEY, G., 292.
 STANLEY, Henry, 281, 283.
 STANLEY, James, 284.
 STANLEY, Levi, 291.
 STANLEY, Mahoney, 291.
 STANLEY, Maloney, 291.
 STANLEY, Mitchell, 291.
 STANLEY, Phoebe, 281.
 STANLEY, Richard, 291.
 STANLEY, Sarah, 285.
 STANLEY, William, 281, 283.
 STANNER, Bessie, 87.
 STEAVE (Steve), John, 81 (*ft. note*),
 85, 86, 292, 293.
 STEAVE (Steve), Rose, 81 (*ft. note*),
 87, 292, 293.
 STEPHENS, 207 (*and ft. note*).
 STEPHENS, G., 165.
 STEWART, Donald (tinker), 290.
 STEWART, John, 290.
 STONE, 70.
 TAYLOR, Benjamin, 288.

Names, G. : Surnames—*continued.*

TAYLOR, Florrie, 288.
 TAYLOR, Gertrude, 288.
 TAYLOR, Jimmy, 162.
 TAYLOR, Kate, 288.
 TAYLOR, Solomon, 288.
 THORP, old, 235.
 TOWNSEND, Noah, 286.
 TOWNSEND, William, 286.
 WAREHAM, 70.
 WEBB, Charles, 158.
 WELLS, 70.
 WELLS, Amos, 284.
 WELLS, David, 285.
 WELLS, Josiah, 278.
 WELLS, Rhoda, 278.
 WELLS, Rosina, 278.
 WELSH, 21.
 WHATNELL, Ada, 163.
 WHATNELL, Alice, 163.
 WHATNELL, Athalia, 163.
 WHATNELL, Eli, 163.
 WHATNELL, Hamelen, 163.
 WHATNELL, Herbert, 163.
 WHATNELL, James, 163.
 WHATNELL, Walter, 163.
 WHITE, 70.
 WHITE, Harriet, 285.
 WHITE, James, 285.
 WHITE, Mary, 280.
 WHITE, Walter, 276.
 WILLETT, Amelia, 282.
 WILLETT, Ellen, 282.
 WILLETT, Horace, 282.
 WILLETT, John (George), 282.
 WILLETT, Mary, 282.
 WILSON, Charles, 285.
 WILSON, Daniel, 285.
 WILSON, Susan, 285.
 WOOD, Matthew, 17.
 WOOLLEY, Alice, 278.
 WRIGHT, John, 282.
 YOUNG, 164 (*ft. note*).
 YOUNG, Caroline, 285.
 YOUNG, Esau, 225.
 YOUNG, Herbert, 285.
 YOUNG, Mand, 285.
 YOUNG, Noah, 163, 285, 286.
 YOUNG, Oscar, 286.
 Names, G. : Tribal or Race—
 Acigani (Acingani). See 'Abiγγavou.
 Alamanni, 274 (*ft. note*).
 Albanians, 6, 59, 68, 274 (*ft. note*).
 Asinkar. See 'Abiγγavou.
 'Abiγγavou (Acigani, Acingani, Asin-
 kar, Atsinkan, ἀτσίγκανος), 15, 16,
 72.
 Bohemians (Boismiens), 38 (*ft. note*),
 69, 75, 234.
 Calderari, 264.
 Chinganeh, 36.
 Ciani, 77.
 Cingari, 77.
 Copts, 227.
 Dom (Dunn), 33, 37.
 Egyptians (Gibti, Gipti, Gupti,
 Yipti), 6, 38 (*ft. note*), 59, 61, 73,
 77, 227, 235, 273, 275.
 Faraons, 226.
 Gentiles, 77.

- Names, G. : Race or Tribal—*continued.*
- Greeks, 38 (*ft. note*), 68 (*ft. note*).
 Heathen, 6, 61, 67.
Homines vageniti, 68, 273.
 Jinganeh, 37.
 Kaltschmiede, 14, 265.
 Kurbar, 37.
 Lälere Sinte, 319.
 Lom, 33, 37.
 Mandopolos, 10, 12.
 Nawar (Nuri), 36, 317, 320.
Nudi cum ferro, 253, 267.
 Rom (Rum), 33, 36, 276.
 Romei, (Romarii, Romerii), 275.
 Rumeh, 37.
 Rumeli, 36.
 Saracens (Saraceni), 6, 60, 77, 239
 (*ft. note*).
 Secani, 116.
 Suyginer, 64.
 Tartari, (Tartare, Tattare), 77, 114,
 115, 116, 117, 118.
 Xarkari, 320.
 Zigari, 66, 67.
 Zigeuner, 235.
 Zigineri, 66, 68 (*ft. note*).
 Zunginer, 77.
 Zott (Djat, Jat), 2, 4, 16, 320.
- NARCISSUS, legend of, 179.
Nas'arhji'iom, derivation of, 195.
 National G. Association of America,
 The, 292.
Nationalökonomik des Handels. See
 Roscher.
Natives of Sarawak. See Roth Ling.
 Nauplion, G. colony at, 62, 66.
 Nawar (Nuri), G. race name, 36, 317,
 320.
Néka, derivation of, 196.
New English Dictionary, (refs.), 256 (*and*
ft. note), 262 (*ft. note*).
 New Forest, Gs. in, 70.
New System of Modern Geography, A,
 See Guthrie.
New World G. Camp, A, by William
 MacLeod, 81-8.
 NEWBOLD, Captain, 36, 37, 242.
 Newspapers quoted or referred to—
Academy, 206 (*ft. note*).
Abwick Gazette, 287.
Archiv für neuere Sprachen, 4 (*ft.*
note).
Archiv für slavische Philologie, 273
 (*ft. note*).
Ars et Labor, 296.
Bedford Times, 277.
Birmingham Daily Post, 295.
Blackpool Gazette, 279, 285, 286.
Border Magazine, 289.
 (a)¹ *Boston Herald*, 81 (*ft. note*), 88 (*ft.*
note), 292, 293.
 (a) *Boston Journal*, 81 (*ft. note*), 292.
 (a) *Boston Post*, 293.
 (a) *Boston Sunday Herald*, 293, 298.
Bournemouth Directory, 277, 285,
 286.
Bradford Telegraph, 278, 284.
Bristol Echo, 278, 282, 285.
Cardiff Times, 288.
- ¹ (a) prefixed denotes 'American.
- Newspapers—*continued.*
- Cheltenham Examiner*, 283.
Chester Chronicle, 282.
Christian, 281, 295.
Christian Herald, 278.
Cleckheaton Guardian, 277.
Cornish Post, 281.
Croydon Argus, 281.
Daily Chronicle, 277, 294.
Daily Dispatch, 281, 282.
Daily Express, 295, 296.
Daily Globe, 281.
Daily Mail, 284, 288.
Daily Mirror, 278, 280.
Daily News, 278, 286.
Daily Star, 297.
Daily Telegraph, 280, 281, 286, 295.
Derry Standard, 285.
Devon Daily Gazette, 280.
Dudley Herald, 277.
Dumdee Advertiser, 289.
Dumdee Courier, 289.
Dumdee Evening Telegraph, 290.
Dumdee Weekly News, 289, 290.
East Anglian Daily Times, 276,
 285, 287.
Eastern Daily Press, 285.
Eastern Evening News, 287.
Edinburgh Evening News, 287, 289.
Essex Weekly News, 283.
Evening News, 284, 290.
Evening Standard, 278, 294.
Evesham Journal, 283.
Folk-Lore, 178 (*ft. note*).
Folk-Lore Record, 17.
Galloway Gazette, 289.
Glasgow Evening News, 288.
Glasgow Evening Times, 289.
Glasgow Herald, 289.
Glasgow Weekly Mail, 290.
Globe, 277, 296.
Graphic, 281.
Hampshire Independent, 278, 281,
 282.
Hampshire Observer, 280, 284.
Havick Advertiser, 287.
Hereford Times, 280, 284.
Herts Advertiser, 278.
 (a) *Hoboken Observer*, 293, 294.
Isle of Thanet Gazette, 283.
Isle of Wight Advertiser, 284.
 (a) *Journal American Oriental Society*,
 245 (*ft. note*).
Journal Anthropological Institute,
 181 (*ft. note*).
Journal Asiatic Society, 176 (*ft. note*),
 242 (*ft. note*).
J. G. L. S. New Series, 3 (*ft. note*),
 12 (*ft. note*), 40 (*ft. note*), 64 (*ft.*
note), 158, 171 (*ft. note*), 174, 201
 (*ft. note*), 231, 239, 243 (*ft. note*),
 244 (*ft. note*), 247 (*ft. note*), 265
 (*ft. note*), 275 (*ft. note*), 276 (*ft.*
note), 320.
J. G. L. S. Old Series, 4 (*ft. note*), 12
 (*ft. note*), 39 (*ft. note*), 64 (*ft. note*),
 72, 73, 159, 170 (*ft. note*).
Kent Argus, 276.
Kent Messenger, 280.
Lancashire Post, 279, 283, 285, 288.

Newspapers—*continued*.

- Leicester Daily Post*, 279.
Lincoln Echo, 284.
Liverpool Daily Post, 281.
Liverpool Football Echo, 287.
Lloyd's Weekly News, 278.
London Opinion, 279.
Maidenhead Advertiser, 284.
Manchester City News, 281.
Manchester Guardian, 279.
Matin, 160, 295.
Medical Press, 282.
Methodist Recorder, 285.
Midland Evening News, 276, 280.
Morning Daily Advertiser, 277, 288, 294, 295.
Morning Leader, 287, 292, 294, 298.
Morning Post, 278, 281.
 (a) *New York American*, 296.
 (a) *New York Evening Post*, 292, 296.
 (a) *New York Herald*, 291.
 (a) *New York Sun*, 291.
 (a) *New York Times*, 292.
 (a) *New York Tribune*, 295.
 (a) *New Yorker Staats Zeitung*, 291.
Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 279, 285.
Nineteenth Century, 39 (*ft. note*).
Norfolk Chronicle, 282.
North Mail, 283.
North Wales Times, 288.
North-Eastern Daily Gazette, 287.
Norwich Mercury, 210 (*ft. note*).
Notes and Queries, 169 (*ft. note*), 180 (*ft. note*).
Nottingham Express, 285, 287.
Ny Illustrerad Tidning, 114 (*ft. note*).
Oldham Chronicle, 276.
Orkney Herald, 289.
Paignton Western Guardian, 281.
Pall Mall Gazette, 284.
 (a) *Paterson, (New Jersey) Call*, 292.
Pearson's Weekly, 283.
Petit Bleu, 298.
Poole Herald, 276.
Porcupine, 295.
Portsmouth Evening News, 284.
Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 120, 297.
Reading Mercury, 277, 278, 282.
Richmond (Surrey) Herald, 286.
Saturday Review, 280, 284.
Scotsman, 287, 290.
Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 278, 280, 282.
Shrewsbury Chronicle, 278, 284.
Smethwick Telephone, 285.
South Bucks Standard, 280.
South Wales Daily Echo, 288, 294.
South Wales Daily News, 288.
Sphere, 296.
Stafford Advertiser, 284.
Stafford Chronicle, 285.
Standard, 207 (*ft. note*), 279, 280, 298.
Star, 284, 294, 298.
Stirling Journal, 290.
Surrey Mirror, 280.

Newspapers—*continued*.

- Surrey Times*, 282, 284, 285.
Sussex Daily News, 277, 278, 283, 284.
T. P.'s Weekly, 167 (*ft. note*), 276, 279, 290.
Taller, 283.
Thames Times, 280.
Times, 153 (*ft. note*), 287.
Times of India, 277.
Vancouver Advertiser, 291.
 (a) *Weekly Record*, 290.
West Sussex Gazette, 276, 280, 282, 285.
Western Chronicle, 280.
Western Daily Mercury, 276, 278, 279.
Western Gazette, 278.
Western Guardian, 283.
Western Mail, 288.
Western Morning News, 280, 283.
Wimborne Herald, 283, 284, 285.
Worcester Times, 282.
Workshop Gazette, 287.
World, 290.
World of Travel, 294.
Yorkshire Evening Post, 282.
Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 10 (*ft. note*).
 NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, 12.
 NICCOLO Zingaro, owner of lands (1448), 44.
 NICOLE, Jules: *Le livre du préfet*, (ref.) 266 (*ft. note*).
Niederrheinische Pilgerschrift, (quot.) 59 (*ft. note*).
North-west Provinces of India. See Crooke.
 Norwich, Gs. at, 164.
 NORWOOD, Rev. T. W., (quot.) 156, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 216; *On the Race and Language of the Gs.*, (ref.) 209.
 Notes and Queries—
Alessandro Giuseppe Spinelli, 150.
Anglo-Romani Songs, 157-60.
Borrow's Creed and Paternoster, 156.
Borrow's Gs.—*Addenda*, 225-6.
Boswells, The: Two G. Kings, 71-2.
Bowles, W. L., and the Gs., 226.
British G. Crimes, 1908, 239-40.
Defilement by a Dog's Tongue, 320.
Dodd, Dr. William and the Gs., 233-4.
Drab, 150-3.
Egyptian Legend, The, 227-8.
Epitaph, An, 234.
Executioners, G., 232.
Funeral Libations, 235.
G. Head-Dress, 236.
G. Prayers, 77.
G. Settlement in Lorraine, A., 234-5.
G. Slavery in Spain, 239.
G. Soldiers and Spies, 237-9.
Gs. as Inn-Signs, 73.
Gs. in Corfu and the Morca, 72-3.
Hungarian G. Tzimbali-Player, A., 228-32.
Leal as a G., 153-4.

Notes and Queries :—*continued.*

- Little Song, A*, 155-6.
One of the Aficion, 74-5.
Onions and Eggs, 226-7.
Parker, Rev. John, 225.
Persian Jats, 320.
Pisota, 320.
Pollution of Streams, The, 232-3.
Roots, 236-7.
Signs and Omens, 235-6.
Spelman on Gs., 77.
Stage Romani, 160.
Staining Counterfeit Egyptians, 80.
Testimonial for Tinklers, A, 233.
Turkish Gs. in 1635, 160.
Various References, 78-80.
Vie Gènereuse, La, 75-6.
Visions and Dreams, 235.
- Novoalexandrovsk, Gs. at, 154-5.
Nudi cum ferro, synonym for Gs., 253, 267.
No. 747. See Carew.
 Numerals, in Hungarian Romani, 229 ;
 in Nuri dialect, 309-11.
 Nuri. *See* Nawar.
Nuri Stories, collected by R. A. Stewart
 Macalister, 127-48.
 Nuri Stories, Incidents of—
 Arabs rescue their property, 140.
 Arrest by soldiers, 127.
 Bedawin assist Nawar, 138 ; rob
 Nuri, 130, 142, 147.
 Beirut, journey to, 134, 143.
 Boy slain by hyaena, 129 ; to serve
 as soldier, 132.
 Brother, foolish, 136 ; wise, 136.
 Brothers, two, 127, 136.
 Burial, Nuri, 134, 141, 146, 147.
 Burning a ghül, 137.
 Camel redeemed for seven pounds,
 133 ; stolen, 133.
 Camels, trade in, 146.
 Cave of ghül, 137.
 Chickens stolen by fool, 137.
 Cloak, gift of, 134.
 Cooking-pot stolen and re-stolen,
 145.
 Donkey, stolen, 131, 139.
 Donkey-drivers, Nawar, 141.
 Donkeys, trade in, 146.
 Dowries, 130, 133, 143, 147.
 Druzes, goats from, 135.
 Egypt, journey to, 133, 134, 146,
 148 ; from, 132.
 Feast, marriage, 130 ; of mutton and
 rice, 132, 143.
 Fine of five pounds, 135.
 Fool steals chickens, 137.
 Foolish brother, 17.
 Four pounds in lieu of soldier boy,
 132.
 Gentiles attack Nawar by night,
 141 ; oppose Nawar, 129 ; rob
 Nawar, 135.
 Ghül's cave with goats in it, 136.
 Gift of cloak, *humbaz*, and shoes,
 134.
 Goats, from Druzes, 135 : of ghül
 slain, 137 ; stolen and recovered,
 135-6 ; trade in, 146.

Nuri Stories :—*continued.*

- Governor despoils Nawar, 128, 144 ;
 befriends Nawar, 131.
Halawi sold to a ghül, 137.
 Hebron, journey to, 145.
 Hyaena slays boy, 129.
 Hyaenas rob a grave, 146.
 Imprisonment for twenty years, 141 ;
 for thirty years, 127.
 Jaffa, journey to, 134.
 Jericho, journey from, 142 ; journey
 to, 130.
 Loaf and egg, 136.
 Mecca, journey to, 146.
 Negro thief, 143.
 Quarrel, among Nawar, 135 ; with
 wife, 143.
 Quarrelling women, 141.
 Prisoners released for £10, 142 ; for
 £300, 139.
 Runaway wife, 129.
 Theft, of wife, 143, 148 ; of two
 donkeys and a mare, 139.
 Trading with goats, donkeys, and
 camels, 146.
- Oath, taken at G. marriage, 93.
*Observationes Historiarum Ziguemorum
 illustrantes. See* Rabenius.
 Occupations, G.—
 Acrobats, 12.
 Basketmakers, 183, 280, 281.
 Bearleaders, 6, 287.
 Beggars, 57, 155, 295.
 Boatman (1484), 46.
 'Broomen,' 160.
 Broom-makers, 6.
 Camp-followers, 54.
 Chair-bottomers, 208.
 Chimney-sweeps, 6, 286.
 Clothes-peg-makers, 70, 207, 284.
 Cobblers, 64, 65, 160, 297.
 Copper-smiths, 81, 105, 109.
 Dancers, 6.
 Dentists, 236.
 Dog-stealer, 213.
 Donkey-drivers, 141.
Drabengro, 213.
 Executioners, 232.
 Farriers, 296.
 Fiddlers, 167.
 Fortune-tellers, 9, 10, 15, 70, 78-80,
 82-5, 89, 155, 233-4, 280, 281,
 282, 283, 284, 289, 290, 295, 296.
 Cleaners, 92.
 Hammer-shaft-maker, 282.
 Hawkers, 22, 277, 278, 279, 280,
 283, 284, 285.
 Horse-dealers, 166, 183, 277, 280,
 283.
 Horse-doctors, 238, 296.
 Horse-thieves, 89, 96.
 Iron-workers, 296.
 Jugglers, 10.
 Kidnappers, 296.
 Labourers, 296.
 Lecches, 10 (*fl. note*), 236-7.
 Messengers in war, 49.
 Monkey-leaders, 287.
 Musicians, 6, 37, 44 (1469), 87, 228.

Occupations, G. :—*continued.*

- Palmists, 78, 80. *See* Fortune-tellers.
- Pipers, 289.
- Poisoners, 151-2.
- Porters, 183.
- Rat-catcher, 213.
- Scissors-grinder, 213.
- Shoemakers. *See* Cobblers.
- Showmen, 37.
- Skewer-makers, 284.
- Smiths, 6, 10, 14, 48, 53, 54, 64, 65, 120, 160.
- Snake-charmers, 15.
- Soldiers, 54, 237-9.
- Spies, 49, 60, 64, 65, 237-9, 296.
- Strolling Vagabonds, 10.
- Tailor, 297.
- Thieves, 8, 10, 60, 66, 91, 166, 213, 293.
- Umbrella-menders, 213, 282, 285.
- Ventriloquists, 15.
- Vets. *See* Horse-doctors.
- Œuvres d'Estienne, Les.* *See* Pasquier.
- OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, (ref.) 176 (*ft. note*).
- Oldest Diarie.* *See* Torkington.
- Omens of death, G., 235.
- One of the Aficion*, (note), 74-5.
- Onions and Eggs*, (note), 226-7.
- Opus Majus.* *See* Bacon.
- Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas.* *See* Westermarck.
- Origin of Gs., theories about, 227.
- Origine des Bohémiens.* *See* Colocci.
- OSENBRÜGGEN, Eduard, *Das alamanische Strafrecht*, (quot.) 78.
- Our Gs.* *See* Morwood.
- Pagan Races.* *See* Skeat-Blagden.
- PAGE, Bet. *alias* Russel, 74.
- Palestine, Gs. in, 297.
- Pali and Romani, common elements of, 39-40.
- Palmistry, 78, 80. *See* Fortune-tellers.
- PALMSKÖLD, Erik, Swedish antiquary, (quot.) 115 (*and ft. note*).
- Papa-rounda*, G. spring-song, 72.
- Parcivalstudien.* *See* San Marte.
- Paris, Gs. at, 8.
- Parker, Rev. John*, (note), 225.
- PASPATI, A. G., 40, 182, 193, 194, 195, 196, 208, 242 (*ft. note*), 244 (*ft. note*), 245 (*ft. note*), 248 (*ft. note*); *Études sur les Tchighianés*, (ref.) 121; *To Chiakon Glossarion*, (quot.) 274 (*ft. note*).
- PASQUIER, *Les Œuvres d'Estienne*, (quot.) 8 (*ft. note*): *Les recherches de la France*, (refs.) 201 (*ft. note*), 238 (*ft. note*).
- Passports, G., 45, 46.
- PAULI, Sebastiano, *Modi di dire Toscani ricercati nella loro origine*, (quot.) 153-4.
- PAUSANIAS, (ref.) 271.
- Pausanias.* *See* Frazer.
- PAYNE, Rev. J. D., (quot.) 216 (*ft. note*).
- Pays Basque, Le.* *See* Michel.
- PECHON de Ruby, *La vie généreuse des Mercelots, Gueux, et Boesmiens*, (quot.) 75, (ref.) 201.
- Penitents, Gs. confused with, 5, 59.
- PENNEL, J., 64 (*ft. note*).
- PEPYS, (quot.) 73.
- Peregrinatio ad Terram Sanctam.* *See* Breidenbach.
- Perikizlarjégye*, derivation of, 196.
- Pévil Errant, Un*, (ref.) 160.
- Persian-English Dictionary.* *See* Steingass.
- Persian Jats*, (note), 320.
- Pestilence. *See* Plague.
- PETRARIS, *New Greek-German Dictionary*, (quot.) 36 (*ft. note*).
- Petre-kow, Gs. at, 297.
- PETRI, Archbishop Laurentius, 117.
- PETRI, Olavus, *Svenska Kronika*, (quot.) 116.
- Petty Romany.* *See* Lucas.
- Phangló isom zandaniute*, (song), 198.
- Phlegm, live frog used to remove, 31.
- Phonetic relations of Romani and Sanskrit, 119-20.
- Pickpockets, G. in 1572, 55.
- Pictures and Photographs of Gs. referred to or described, 81 (*ft. note*), 161, 241, 278, 290, 292, 293, 296.
- Pigeons, a species of, introduced into Italy by Gs., 47-8.
- Pilgerführer des Miltenberger Handschriftenbandes*, (quot.) 59 (*ft. note*).
- Pilgrim's Progress, A*, by Lady Arthur Grosvenor, 201-24.
- PINCHERLE, I Ghiléngheri Ghilia Salomunéskevo, (ref.) 247 (*ft. note*).
- Pins in toad, G. superstition about, 23.
- Pipers, G., 289.
- PISCHEL, 2, 3; *Beiträge*, (ref.) 3; *Heimath der Zigeuner*, (ref.) 40 (*ft. note*).
- Piskota*, (note), 320.
- PITTARD, Eugène, 298.
- Place names, G., 126, 215.
- Plague, carried by Gs., 56, 80, 100, 289; an opportunity for G. theft, 96, 98.
- PLANIOT, Marcel, *La très ancienne coutume de Bretagne*, (ref.) 258 (*ft. note*).
- Plantain leaf, heated, a G. medicine, 29.
- PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, (refs.) 27 (*ft. note*), 175 (*ft. note*).
- PLUTARCH, *De Iside*, (quot.) 226.
- Podestà, Venetian, (quot.) 271-2.
- Poerinen* 'to return,' derivation of, 194.
- Poisoners, G., 151-2.
- Poisoning the Porker*, (song), 208.
- Poland, Gs. in, 297.
- Pollution of Streams, The*, by F. S. Atkinson, (note), 232-3.
- Polygamy among Gs., 225.
- Pomade G., recipe for, 28.
- Ponednikos* 'Monday,' derivation of, 195.
- Poppy heads, a G. medicine, 30.
- Popular Antiquities.* *See* Brand.
- POBNER, (quot.) 58.
- PORTER, Rev. Harvey, (quot.) 37 (*ft. note*).
- Porters, G., 183.
- Potato water, a G. cure for warts, 30.
- POTT, A. F., (refs.) 39 (*ft. note*), 119, 212, 242, 244 (*ft. note*), 245 (*ft. note*), 248 (*ft. note*), 249 (*ft. note*), 252 (*ft. note*).

- POTTER, (ref.) 206.
 Poultry stealing by Gs., 102.
Present State of the Cape of Good Hope.
 See Kolben.
 Priest visits Gs., 56.
Primitive Culture. See Tylor.
*Prodromus corporis glossariorum latino-
 rum.* See Loewe.
 Pronouns, affixed, in Romani, 244; in
 Nuri dialect, 311-5.
 Protection of Gs. by feudal authorities, 52.
Publications of the Sheldon Society, The,
 (ref.) 262 (*ft. note*).
 Punishment for Gs. 55; for wounding a
 G., 47; see also Acts.
 Puszta, Gs. at, 296.
Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde,
The, (quot.) 58 (*ft. note*).
- Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mam-
 louks de l'Égypte,* (ref.) 275 (*ft. note*).
 Queens, G., 73, 172, 291.
 QUINTILIAN, 254.
- R., C. B. L. M. V. *Zwey nützliche
 Tractätlein,* (quot.) 236, 237-8.
- RABENIUS, Laurentius G., Swedish
Romano Rai, 113; criticizes Grell-
 mann, 113; *Observationes Historiam
 Zigeunorum Illustrantes,* 113, (ref.)
 237 (*ft. note*).
- RADČENKO, K., (ref.) 273 (*ft. note*).
 Ragweed ointment, a G. medicine, 29.
 RANKING, Dr., 151, 164, (quot.) 170
 (*ft. note*).
- Raspberry leaves, a G. medicine, 30.
 Rat-catcher, G., 213.
 RAWLINSON, Sir Henry, 209.
 RAYNOUARD : *Lexique roman,* (ref.) 255
 (*ft. note*).
- REBOLLEDO, Tineo : *Gitanos y Castel-
 lanos: Diccionario Gitano-Español
 y Español-Gitano,* (rev.), 149.
Recherches de la France, Les. See
 Pasquier.
*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la
 France,* (ref.) 259 (*ft. note*).
- REDDING, C. : *A History and Descrip-
 tion of Modern Wine,* (ref.), 63 (*ft. note*).
Regestrum Visitationum. See Bonnin.
 REIS, Sidi Ali : *Travels and Adventures,*
 (quot.) 35.
Religion des Veda, (ref.) 176 (*ft. note*).
Religion of the Semites. See Robertson
 Smith.
Religion und Geisteskultur, (ref.) 318
 (*ft. note*).
- Religious Service attended by Gs., 90.
Religious System of China. See De
 Groot.
Reminiscences. See Angelo.
 REŪWICH, Eberhard, his picture of
 Modon, 60.
 Reviews of :
 ARPAD'S *Zigenererzählungen und
 Volksdichtungen in Versen* by E.
 O. Winstedt, 149.
 BREPOHL'S *Aus dem Winterleben der
 Wanderszigeuner* by E. O. Win-
 stedt, 319.
- BREPOHL'S *Die Zigeuner nach Ge-
 schichte, Religion und Sitte* by E.
 O. Winstedt, 318.
 GIBBENS'S *Gs. of the New Forest and
 other Tales,* 70.
 REBOLLEDO'S *Gitanos y Castellanos*
 by H. W. Greene, 149.
Reysz und Bilgerfahrt zum Heyligen Grab.
 See Tschudi.
Reyszbuch desz heyiligen Lands, (ref.) 5
 (*ft. note*).
- RHŪS, Sir John : *Celtic Folklore,* (quot.)
 22 (*ft. note*), 24 (*ft. note*).
- RICHARDSON, 149.
 Rings worn in ears by early Gs., 80.
 RISLEY, H. H., 41.
 ROBERTS, Samuel, 212.
 ROBERTSON-SMITH : *Religion of the Sem-
 ites,* (ref.) 181 (*ft. note*).
- Robin a sign of death, 236.
 ROGERS : *Social Life in Scotland,* (ref.)
 176 (*ft. note*).
- ROGERS, Consul E. T., 37.
 Roguery, G. imprisoned for, in 1507, 48.
 RÖHRICHT and Meisner : *Deutsche Pil-
 gerfahrten nach dem heiligen Lande,*
 (ref.) 5 (*ft. note*), 60 (*ft. note*).
- Rom (*Rum*), derivation of, 33-42, 275-6.
 Rom (*Rum, Rumeh, Rumeli*) = G., 33,
 36, 37, 276.
Romances de Germania. See Hidalgo.
Romani cai beşing adre the tan, (song),
 157.
 Romani words worth noting—
Baro ba 'grandfather,' 242; *Bias-
 tardi* 'untouched,' 201; *Bawlo-
 tem* 'Hampshire,' 215; *Cúja*
 'Egypt,' 126; *disljaráva* 'to cause
 daylight to come,' 196; 'doi-kái'
 'where,' 18 (*ft. note*); *Dom* 'a
 Nuri,' 126; *eevasikóorus* 'will you
 sit down?' 209; *ganila-de illi
 ahari* 'the flower-village down
 there' (Jericho) 126; *Guld-ulyára*
 'the sweet city' (Jaffa), 126;
hautmano (hauymanó), 'captain,'
 242; *Jaracambraro,* 'a custom-
 house-official,' 149; *Klárá,* 'a
 Bedawi,' 126; *Koshni-tem* 'Bark-
 shire,' 215; *Kiir* 'a Christian,'
 126; *Lüllí-gáv,* 'Reading,' 215;
Lundra (Londres) 'London,' 215;
Lun-gáv Bristol, 215; *nanúí,*
 'no,' 196; *Pániuk-nyará* 'the
 water city' (Beirut), 126; *púsljo-
 rav* 'to go to bed,' 196; *ppeskiás,*
 247 (*ft. note*); *Prótkíla* 'a Jew,'
 126; *roopereller* 'leg,' 209; *Star-
 raban-gáv* 'Gloucester,' 215;
sundi 'wife,' 244 (*ft. note*); *Tat*
 'a fellow,' 126; *thardv* 'to light,'
 195; *Till-nyára erhéná* 'the big
 city here' (Jerusalem), 126; *Till-
 nyára erhóná* 'the big city there'
 (Damascus), 126; *Till-nyára illi
 tilla-tmáli minj* 'the big city in
 which is the Sultan' (Constantiu-
 ople), 126.
Romania, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
 Romanic. See Rumney.

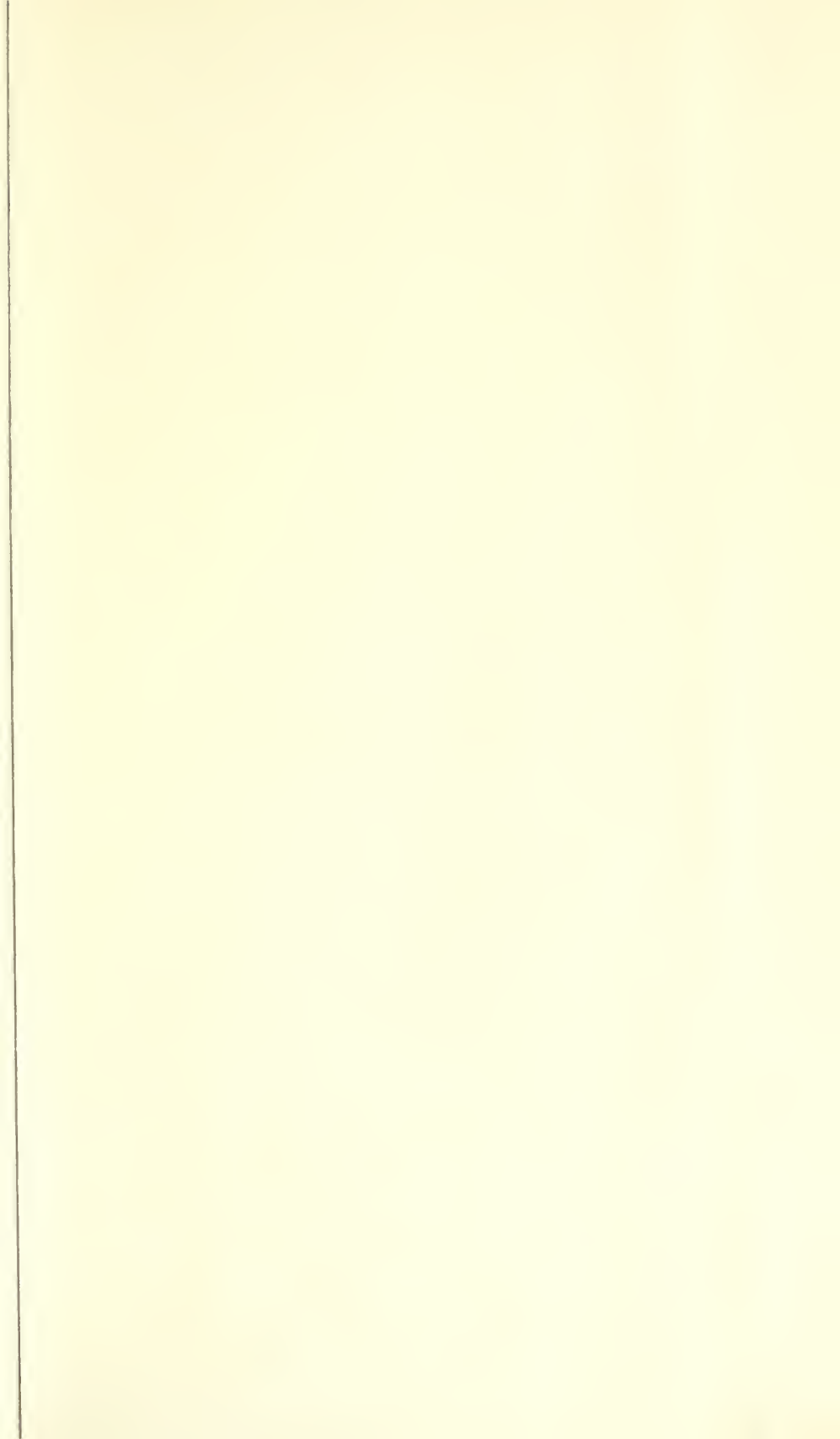
- Romei (romarii, romerii), 275.
 Romenie. *See* Rumney.
 Roots, (note), 236-7.
 ROSCHER, W.: *Nationalökonomik des Handels*, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
 ROSEN: *Colloquial Persian Grammar*, (quot.) 35 (*ft. note*).
 ROTH LING: *Natives of Sarawak*, (refs.) 177 (*ft. note*), 178 (*ft. note*).
 Rotwelch, 77.
 Rum, a G. pomade ingredient, 28.
 Rumanian Gs. attempt to settle in Sofia, 198.
 Rumney (Romanie, Romenie), 58, 59, 60, 63.
 RUSSEL alias Bet Page, 74.
 RUSSELL, J.: *Boke of Nurture*, (ref.) 63 (*ft. note*).
 Russia, Gs. in, 297.
 Russian Gs. in Boston, 81, 87.
 RUŽICKA-OSTOJČ: *Turkish-German Dictionary*, (quot.) 36 (*ft. note*).
 RYDBERG, Viktor: *Singoalla*, a G. novel, 119.
- SACHSEN, Herzog Heinrich von, 66.
 SAINTE-PALAYE: *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage français*, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
 Salonika, Gs., in, 227.
 SAMPSON, Dr. John, 3, 157, 159, 193, 247 (*ft. note*); *Welsh G. Folk-tales No. 9. O Dinilo I Bakarënsa*, 17-9.
 SAN MARTE: *Parcialstudien*, (ref.) 254 (*ft. note*).
 Sanskrit, its phonetic relations with Romani, 119-20.
 Saraceni, G. race name, 7 (*ft. note*), 77.
 Saracens, G. race name, 6, 60, 239 (*ft. note*).
 Saxonica. *See* Krantz.
 SCALIGER: his G. vocabulary tested by Björckman, 112.
 SCHLACHTEN, Dietrich von., (quot.) 65.
 SCHAUBE, A.: *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker*, (ref.) 263 (*ft. note*).
 SCHMID, Felix, 68; *Eragatorium*, (quot.) 66-7 (*ft. note*).
 Scholar G., a, 106-8.
 Schooling and Gs., 318.
Schweytzer Chronik. *See* Stumpf.
 SCHWICKER (ref.) 181.
 Scissors-grinder, G., 213.
Scotlia Illustrata. *See* Messenius.
 Scotland, Gs. in, 289-90.
 SCOTT, Sir Walter, 289.
Scottish Dictionary. *See* Jamieson.
Scriptoresrerumitalicarum. *See* Muratori.
Seuluara, derivation of, 114 (*ft. note*).
 Secani = Gs., 116.
 Sedentary Gs. in 1469, 44; in 1586, 56.
 Settlements, G., forbidden by law, 102; from among great nomad bands, 48, *See also* Gypsies.
 SHAKESPEARE: *Hindustani Dictionary*, (quot.) 35 (*ft. note*), 41 (*ft. note*).
 SHARPE, R. R.: *Calendar of Letter-books preserved among the Archives of the City of London*, (quot.) 257 (*ft. note*), 262 (*ft. note*).
- Shoemakers, G. *See* Cobblers.
 Showmen, G., 37.
Siete Partidas, (quot.) 256 (*ft. note*).
 SIGART, J.: *Glossaire étymologique montois*, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
Signs and Omens. By T. W. Thompson, (note), 235-6.
 Silesia, Gs. in, 297-8.
 SIMSON: 180; *History of the Gs.*, (ref.) 213 (*ft. note*).
 SINCLAIR, A. T., 68; *The word 'Rom,' 33-42; The Egyptian legend*, (note), 227-8; *A Hungarian G. Tzimbald-Player*, (note), 228-32.
 Singara, town in Mesopotamia, connection with name Zingara, 153-4.
Singoalla. *See* Rydberg.
 SKEAT, *Malay Magic*, (ref.) 181 (*ft. note*).
 SKEAT, *An Etymological Dictionary*, (quot.) 260 (*ft. note*); *Transactions of the Philological Society*, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
 SKEAT-BLAGDEN, *Pagan Races*, (refs.) 175 (*ft. note*), 176 (*ft. note*).
 Skewer-makers, G., 284.
Slang and its Analogues. *See* Farmer.
 SMART, Bath, and Crofton, H. T., *Dialect of the English Gs.*, (refs.), 170 (*ft. note*), 204, 205 (*ft. note*), 208, 215, 216, 225 (*ft. note*), 277.
 SMITH, G., *Incidents in a G.'s Life*, (refs.) 171 (*ft. note*), 207 (*ft. note*).
 SMITH, L. A., *Through Romany Songland*, (ref.) 159.
 Smiths, G., 6, 10, 14, 48, 53, 54, 64, 65, 120, 160.
 Snails, a G. medicine, 27.
 Snake charmers, G., 15.
Sō did you muk my çuri old dai, (song), 158.
Social Life in Scotland. *See* Rogers.
 Sofia, Gs. at, 183; Romani dialect of, 193; attempted settlement of Rumanian Gs. in, 198.
 Soldiers, G., 54, 237-9.
 SOMAYERA, A. da, *Tesoro della lingua itahana e greca-volgare*, 16 (*ft. note*), 274 (*ft. note*).
 SOMERSET, Raglan, 155.
 Songs—
A borije tu ternije, 199.
Aai-dadi, da dibela, da-de!, 159.
Anu suno dihljóm me pirénde kalé çizmes, 199.
As I passed by a willow tree, 20-1.
Broken Chastity, 157, 208.
Çovahâni and the çovahâno, *The*, 157.
Dâ, dubla, dâdi, 159.
Džas meuje friško, 156.
Gay Young Squire, The, (ref.) 277.
It's a kušti bright rûti, 160.
Jal down to the stâgus, 158.
Jal-in to Kângri Kurki Sâla (ref.) 226.
Lonely old crow, 236.
Mandi's ja'in to stariben, 158-9.
Mandy went to pur some griys, 158.
Phangló isóm zandaniâte, 198.

Songs—continued.

- Poisoning the Porker*, 208.
Romani cai besing adrè the tan, 157.
Sò did you muk my çuri old dai, 158.
Thai geli sas, Mistàna, anl' o Kúrko, 199.
Thai gelo sas únde barè lomúste, 200.
Tod als Buhle, Der, (ref.), 149.
We shall lel some luwa, 159.
When I jás a-çoring, 159.
- SOPHOCLES, E. A.: *Dictionary of Roman and Byzantine Greek*, (ref.) 34 (*ft. note*).
- SOUTHEY, R.: *The Doctor*, (quot.) 71.
- SPACCINI, G. B.: *Cronaca di Modena*, 57 (*ft. note*).
- Spain, Gs. in, 298.
- Spanish Gs., Greek-speaking, 69.
- Spelman on Gs.*, by E. G. Duff, (note), 77.
- SPELMAN, Sir Henry, *Archæologus in modum Glossarii*, (quot.) 77.
- SPENCE, Charles, photographer, 161.
- Spies, G., 49, 60, 64, 65, 237-9, 296.
- SPINELLI, A. G.: *Gli Zingari nel Modenese*, 42-57, 88-111; biographical note, 150; *An Epitaph*, (note), 234.
- Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, *Die*. See Finck.
- Squire of Low Degre*, (ref.) 63.
- Squirrels, eating of, by Gs., 207 (*and ft. note*); used as medicine, 28.
- Staff, official, of G. band, 105.
- Stage Romani*, by W. E. A. Axon, (note), 160.
- Staining Counterfeit Egyptians*, by E. O. Winstedt, (note), 80.
- Statistique du Département de la Moselle*, (quot.) 234-5.
- Statuti del Comune di Padova del secolo xii*, (quot.) 265 (*ft. note*).
- Statuts et coutumes de l'échevinage de Mézières*, (ref.) 258 (*ft. note*).
- STEFFAN von Gumpenberg, (quot.) 66, 67.
- STEINGASS, *Persian-English Dictionary*, (quot.) 34 (*ft. note*).
- STEPHANUS, 12.
- STEPHEN of Byzantium, (refs.) 270 (*ft. note*), 271 (*ft. note*).
- Stoat, G. superstition about, 23, 236.
- Stockholms Stads tänkeböcker*, (quot.) 115-6.
- STOLZE, Friedrich, *Gedichte in Frankfurter Mundart*, (ref.) 160.
- Storia della badia di Monte Cassino*. See Tosti.
- STOVEN, Rev. James, letter of, (quot.), 71.
- String, burning knotted, a G. cure for warts, 30.
- Strolling vagabonds, G., 101, 235.
- Strychnine known to a G., 152.
- STUDER, G., his edition of Justinger's chronicle, 80.
- STUMPF, H. J., *Schweytzer Chronik*, (quot.) 8 (*ft. note*).
- Substantives in Nuri dialect, 300-8.
- SUDHEIM, Ludolphus de, *De Itinere Terre Sancte*, (quot.) 7 (*ft. note*).
- SUETONIUS, (ref.) 259.
- Sugar, a G. medicine, 27.
- Suginien, home of Gs., 64.
- SUIDAS, (quot.) 274 (*ft. note*).
- SUNDT, Eilert, *Beretning om Fante-eller Landstryggerfolket i Norge* (ref.) 118 (*and ft. note*).
- Supernatural manifestation after a spell, 95.
- Superstitions, G.—
 Bread in horse's collar, 22.
 Breaking a spell, 236.
 Broken nails to keep off *mulos*, 22.
 Burning a puppet and strewing ashes in new huts or caves, 319.
 Burning pins and salt and wishing, 23.
 Butter, fairy, 25.
 Cart, empty, seeing, 22.
 Christmas, marriage of trees at, 319.
 Christmas Eve, men and animals forced to kneel on, 21.
 Cock-eyed sweep, 23.
 Cockle-shells jingling, omen of death, 235.
 Coffin, seeing a, 235.
 Crow, 'lonely old,' 236; seeing a, 22.
 Death, robin a sign of, 236.
 Devil, symbols to keep away, 279.
 Dreams of eggs, 235; of lice, 235; of teeth falling out, 235.
 Efts, 23.
 Evil eye, 297.
 Fairy, butter, 25; pipes, 24.
 Frog, 23.
 Frog-spawn, 235-6.
 Hedgehog, laughing, 23.
 Horse saddled before bridled, 23.
 Pins in toad, 23.
 Pipes, fairy, 24.
 Robin a sign of death, 236.
 Stoat, 23, 236.
 Sweep, cock-eyed, 23; to kick a, 22.
 Wheat in pocket, 23.
- Suyginer = Gs., 64.
- Svenska Kronika*. See Petri.
- Sweden, Gs. in from 1512, 115; G. soldiers in, 237 (*and ft. note*).
- Swedish Tsiganologies*. By Harald Ehrenborg, 111-9.
- Sweep, cock-eyed, G. superstition about, 23; kicking a, G. superstition about, 22.
- Swellings, G. cure for, 29, 30.
- Switzerland, Gs. in, 79-80, 298.
- SYKES, P. M.: *Persian Jats*, (note), 320.
- SYMON SIMEONIS, 68; *Itinerarium*, (quot.) 11, (ref.) 66 (*ft. note*).
- SYMONS, Arthur, 280.
- Syria, Romani dialect of, 120-6, 298-317.
- TABARI, 34.
- TAFEL, Dr. G. L. Fr. and Dr. G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, (refs.) 271 (*and ft. note*), 272 (*ft. note*).

- Tailor, G., 297.
 Tartari (Tartare, Tattare)=Gs., 77, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.
Testimonial for Tinklers, A, by A. M'Cormick, (note), 233.
Teutonic Mythology. See Grimm.
Thai gelé sas, Mistina, and' o Kúrko, (song), 199.
Thai geló sas ánde baré lomúste, (song), 200.
 Terapia, Gs. near, 182.
 THESLEFF, Dr. Arthur, 115-6, 118, 244 (*ft. note*), 248 (*ft. note*); *Zigenare*, (quot.) 115-6, 118-9, 237.
 Thieves, G., 8, 10, 60, 66, 91, 166, 213, 293.
 THOMAS. See Tafel.
 THOMASIVS, *Dissertatio Philosophica de Cingaris*, (ref.) 236.
 THOMPSON, T. W., 150, 151, 152, 157, 158, 160; *Christmas Eve and After*, 19-33; *Borrow's Gs.*, 162-74; *Borrow's Gs.—Addenda*, (note), 225-6; *Funeral Libations*, (note) 235; *Visions and Dreams*, (note), 235; *Signs and Omens*, (note) 235-6; *Defilement by a Dog's Tongue*, (note), 320.
 THOMSON, Rev. Robert, (quot.) 38 (*ft. note*).
 THORP, H. B., 205 (*ft. note*).
 THIRALE, patron of Bet Page, 74.
Three Kings of Cologne, 12.
 Throat, sore, G. cure for, 29.
Through Romany Songland. See Smith.
 THUANUS. See De Thou.
 THURSTON, *Ethnographical Notes in S. India*, (ref.) 180 (*ft. note*).
 Tinkers, G., 160, 183, 320.
 Τὸ χιὰρνὸν Ἰλωσσάριον. See Paspatis.
Toil als Buhle, Der, (ref.) 149.
 TOLSTOY, Count Leo, *Two Hussars*, 297.
 Toothache, G. cure for, 30.
Topography of Thebes. See Wilkinson.
 TORKINGTON, *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell*, 58 (*ft. note*).
 Tormentil, a G. medicine, 30.
 TOSTI, Dr. Luigi, *Storia della badia di Monte Cassino*, (quot.) 261 (*ft. note*).
Totius latinitatis lexicon. See Forcellini.
Tour in Ireland. See Le Gouz.
 TRAUICH, *Handsch. Strassburger Chronik*, (quot.) 7 (*ft. note*).
Travels and Adventures. See Rejs.
 Treasure, G. art of discovering, 237.
 TSCHUDI, 5, 69; *Reys und Bilgerfahrt* (ref.) 5 (*ft. note*); *Chronicon Helveticum*, (quot.) 7 (*ft. note*).
Turkish Gs. in 1635, by E. O. Winstedt, (note), 160.
Turkish-French Dictionary. See Yousouf.
 Turks use Gs. as spics, 238.
 TURNER, *History of Local Taxation in Scotland*, (ref.) 289-90.
Two Hussars. See Tolstoy.
 TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*, (ref.) 180 (*ft. note*); *Early History of Mankind*, (ref.) 181 (*ft. note*).
 Types, G., among Italians, 97 (*ft. note*).
 χάλια, derivation of, 195.
 χαλκός=G. 274 (*ft. n.*), derivation of, 195.
 Xarkari, G. race-name, 320.
Ueber die Mundarten. See Miklosich.
 UJFALVY, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Indou-Kouch*, (refs.) 40 (*ft. note*), 41 (*ft. note*).
 Umbrella-menders, G., 213, 282, 285.
 Urine covenant, 178.
 UYFALUSSI, a Scholar G., 106-8.
 VAILLANT, 12.
 VALDRIGHI, *Contagio di pestilenza bubonica*, (ref.) 97 (*ft. note*).
 VAN ELWEN, 64 (*ft. note*).
 VANCE, (ref.) 206.
 VANICEK, Alois, *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, (ref.) 259 (*ft. note*).
Various References, by Prof. Hoffmann-Krayer, (note), 78-80.
 VAUX, (ref.) 206.
 Ventriloquists, G., 15.
 Verbs, causative, 194, 195, 196, 197; in Nuri dialect, 315-7.
 VERWIJS, E. and J. Verdam, *Middel-nederlandsch Woordenboek*, (ref.) 261 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 262 (*ft. note*).
 Veterinary knowledge of Gs., 31-3, 238.
Viaggio, Bianco's, (quot.) 12.
Viaggio (di Leonardo) in Egitto e in Terra Santa. See Frescobaldi.
 VICTORIA: Queen, visit to Knockenhair Park, 161, 172-3 (*ft. note*); *More Leaves*, (quot.) 172-3 (*ft. note*).
Vidocq Versified. See Maginn.
Vie Générale des Mercelots. See Pechon de Ruby.
Vie Générale, La, by E. O. Winstedt, (note), 75-6.
Vier rheinische Palaestina Pilgerschriften. See Conrady.
 VIGFUSSON, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, (quot.) 260 (*ft. note*).
Visions and Dreams, by T. W. Thompson, (note), 235.
 Vocabularies: Anglo-Romani, 205, 206, 208, 211-2, 214, 215, 217-24; French-Romani, 251-3; Hungarian-Romani, 229-32; Swedish-Romani, 112-3.
Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca, (ref.) 255 (*ft. note*).
Vocabulario del Dialecto Jitano. See Jimenez.
Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke. See Wlislöcki.
 VON BREYDENBACH. See Breydenbach.
 VON SCHWARTZ, Franz, *Die Sindfluth*, (ref.) 40 (*ft. note*).
 VON SOWA, 193; *Mundart*, (ref.) 194; *Wörterbuch*, (ref.) 244.
 Vowel assonance in Nuri dialect, 122.
Voyage de Georges Leucheraud. See Méniglaize.
Voyage into the Levant, A. See Blount.
 VULCANIUS, *De Literis et Lingua Getarum*, (ref.), 112, 113.
 WACKERNAGEL, Jacob, *Ü und J*, 119-20.
 WAGENSEIL, Johann Christoph, his theory of the Jewish origin of Gs., 79.

- Wagtail, the G. bird, 106.
- WAINWRIGHT, John: *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and Conisbro*, (quot.) 71.
- Wales, Gs. in, 288.
- Wallachia, supposed home of Italian Gs., 104.
- WALLIER, Mary, non-G, with Gs., 87.
- Wandering Jew, legend of, connected with Gs., 10 (*and ft. note*).
- Wanderings of Gs. in Europe in 1417, 4.
- Warts, G. cures for, 30.
- Waterress, a G. medicine, 27.
- WAY, A. E. G., No. 747. See Carew.
- We shall let some lura*, (song), 159.
- WELLSTOOD, Frederick Christian: 152, 158, 159, 160, 238; *A Contribution to French G. History*, 201-4; *Onions and Eggs*, (note), 226-7.
- Welsh G. Folk-Tales*, Collected by John Sampson. No. 9. *O Dinilo I Bakarensa*, 17-9.
- Werke for Householders*, A, (quot.) 22 (*ft. note*).
- WERLI, Hans, (quot.) 68 (*ft. note*).
- WEST, William, *Fifty Years' Recollections of an Old Bookseller*, (quot.) 233-4.
- WESTERMARCK, 180; *History of Human Marriage*, (ref.) 179 (*ft. note*); *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, (ref.) 178 (*ft. note*).
- WEX, William, *Itinerarium*, (quot.) 58 (*ft. note*).
- Wheat in pocket, G. superstition about, 23.
- When I jás a coring*, (song), 159.
- Whipping of G. woman, 91.
- WHITER, W., 39, 210.
- Whooping-cough, G. cures for, 27.
- WIED, Karl: *Turkish Grammar*, (quot.) 36 (*ft. note*).
- WIENER, Leo, 64; *Gs. as Fortune-tellers and as Blacksmiths*, 4-17, 253-76.
- WILKINSON, *Topography of Thebes*, (ref.) 227.
- WINSTEDT, Eric Otto: 150, 152, 158, 159, 160, 171 (*ft. note*), 174, 175, 178, 182, 207, 210 (*ft. note*), (quot.) 238-9; *The Gs. of Modon and the 'Wynne of Romney'*, 57-69; *One of the Aficion*, (note), 74-5; *La Vie Génèreuse*, (note), 75-6; *Staining Counterfeit Egyptians*, (note), 80; rev. of Arpad's *Zigeunererzählungen*, 149; *Turkish Gs. in 1635*, (note), 160; *La Bella Chiavina: A French or Piedmont G. Tale*, 242-53; rev. of Brepohl's *Die Zigeuner*, 318; rev. of Brepohl's *Aus dem Winterleben der Wanderrigeuner*, 319.
- WITCHCRAFT, 92, 94.
- WLISLOCKI, Heinrich von, 175, 176, 318, 319; *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, (ref.) 65 (*ft. note*).
- WÖLFELIN: *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, (ref.) 254 (*ft. note*).
- WOLLASTON: *English-Persian Dictionary* (quot.) 34 (*ft. note*).
- Woman leader of boy thieves, 91.
- Women: in confinement, G. medicines for, 30; leaders of G. band, 103.
- WOOD-MARTIN, *History of Sligo*, (ref.) 236.
- Word 'Rom,' *The*, by A. T. Sinclair, 33-42.
- WORDE. See De Worde.
- Wormwood, a G. medicine, 29.
- Wounded G. treated by surgeon, 57.
- Wounds, G. cure for, 29.
- WRIGHT: *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*, (refs.) 208, 211.
- WRIGHT, Thomas, 209.
- WÜLCKER, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabulary*, (refs.) 256 (*ft. note*), 259 (*ft. note*).
- Yetholm History of the Gs.*, *The*. See Lucas.
- YOUSSEUF, *Turkish-French Dictionary*, (quot.) 36 (*ft. note*).
- YOXALL, Sir J. H.: *Smalilou*, (ref.) 279.
- ZANTE, G. smiths at, 6, 64.
- Zigari, G. race name, 66, 67.
- Zigenare*. See Thesleff.
- Zigenarne*. See Lysander.
- Zigeuner, G. race name, 235.
- Zigeuner in Serbien, Die*. See Gjorgjevič.
- Zigeuner nach Geschichte*. See Brepohl.
- Zigeunererzählungen*. See Arpad.
- Zigineri, G. race name, 66, 68 (*ft. note*).
- Zingara, Zingaretta, name of house, 103, 104 (*ft. note*).
- Zingaresche*, 9.
- Zingari, Gli*. See Colocci.
- Zingari nel Modense, Gli*, by A. G. Spinelli, 42-57, 88-111.
- Zinginer, G. race name, 77.
- ZONARAS, 16, (quot.) 272 (*ft. note*).
- Zoological Mythology*. See De Gubernatis.
- Zott (Djat, Jat), *The*, 2, 4, 16, 320; rock hollow of, 297. See also Nawar.
- Zürich, arrival of Gs. at, 79-80.
- Zwey nützliche Tractätlein*. See R., C. B. L. M. V.









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