

# Papusza / Bronisława Wajs

## Tears of Blood

*A poet's witness account  
of the Nazi genocide of Roma*

Edited by Volha Bartash,  
Tomasz Kamusella & Viktor Shapoval



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Tears of Blood

# Roma History and Culture

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## Foreword

This is already the fourth book in the *Roma History and Culture Book Series* and is particularly important to us. The Series' overarching goal is to incorporate Roma history and culture studies into the mainstream of European and global academia. To achieve this goal, the Series publishes books from a wide range of disciplines that offer innovative, critical, and, above all, reliable insights into the history and culture of the Roma (formerly known as 'Gypsies'), relying on critical rereading and rethinking of historical sources and existing research. This approach marks a turn in the academic studies of Roma history and culture. This research field had been blighted by myths, stereotypes, and misinterpretations all too often in the past, which created severe obstacles to the development of modern academic knowledge as a field in its own right.

In fulfilment of the main objective, the books published in the *Roma History and Culture Series* contribute to making the Roma voices heard and understanding the Roma views. We laid down such an approach already in the publications within the ERC project RomaInterbellum – *Roma Voices in History: A Source Book. Roma Civic Emancipation in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II* (Marushiakova & Popov, 2021), *Roma Writings: Romani Literature and Press in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II* (Roman et al., 2021), and *Roma Portraits in History: Roma Civic Emancipation Elite in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until World War II* (Marushiakova & Popov, 2022) – and found its continuation and development in this Series. It is no coincidence that the first book in its framework was the publication of the hitherto unknown manuscript *History of the Gypsies in Bulgaria and Europe: Roma* by Shakir M. Pashov, the leading figure of the Roma civic emancipation movement in Bulgaria (Marushiakova et al., 2023).

With this publication, the Series aspires to search for and publish lost, unknown or little-known manuscripts of Romani authors, by no means exhausted. The present publication is the best proof of the continuation of this crucial strategic line in the development of the Series. It brings to the readers' attention the authentic full text of the poem *Ratwate jaswa (Tears of Blood)* by the Romani poetess Bronisława Wajs, called Papusza in the Romani language. With this name, she entered the history of Romani literature and remained widely known worldwide. At the centre of the poem is the tragedy of the Roma, who fell victims to or survived (as in the case of Papusza) the persecutions by the German occupiers and by the Ukrainian collaborators in Volhynia.

The poem *Tears of Blood* is also well known and has been published many times, including its translations into various languages. However, when comparing it with the manuscript of the poem, which became only recently available, it turns out that the original text is several times longer and quite different from the version known worldwide. To make the poem available in its entirety, it was necessary to transcribe the original, written in the Romani language, and translate the text into English directly from the original (and not from its poetic translation into Polish, as was the case before). Due to the specifics of the genre, it was necessary to work with the manuscript by a specialist with unique skills who has an excellent command of the specific dialect of the Romani language used by the author and, along with that, is well acquainted with the cultural and historical realities of the era.

Attracting additional specialists was necessary for a better presentation and understanding of the poem *Tears of Blood*. Therefore, the book, with the publication of the poem itself, also includes articles aimed at illuminating not only the biography of the author but also the historical context of the creation of the poem as well as its significance for the development of Romani literature. All this was necessary because although the importance of Papusza's poetry is well known and repeatedly researched, several myths and legends, unverified facts, assumptions and more or less controversial interpretations are still widespread. Of course, it is naive to expect that with this book, all research problems related to Papusza's biography and work will be solved, but at least from now on, new research will be placed on a solid basis – the authentic, original text of the author herself.

This issue – the need for a new, comprehensive critical reading of the original primary sources for Roma history, culture and literature – is fundamental to us. Here, we come to a striking curiosity, which reflects the contemporary state of Romani Studies and has no analogue (or at least none that we know of) in social sciences and humanities. It is that nowadays (unlike in the past), the knowledge and use of the Romani language are not considered necessary in Romani Studies. We cannot imagine that there can be a specialist in the field of, e.g., Arabic Studies, who does not speak Arabic, or in German Studies, who does not know the German language, etc. In Romani Studies, however, this is accepted as something completely normal, even among researchers of Romani literature (*sic!*). Against this background, we allow ourselves a pun: Why is it necessary to search for the authentic “Roma voices” in history if they cannot be heard and understood above all?

We especially want to emphasize the role of Jerzy Ficowski, who is often called the “discoverer” of Papusza, and she, in her correspondence with him, calls him *sownakuno* (golden) and *pshaloro* (little brother). From our experience, we know how difficult it is to discover, support and motivate a talented author, especially when they come from an environment that does not have a tradition of high appreciation of written literary work (as in the case of Papusza). It would not be an exaggeration to say that thanks to Ficowski Papusza became a renowned Romani poet, and this should not be forgotten. The question about the relationship between Roma authors and non-Roma authors and supporters continues to be relevant even today, and the case of Papusza clearly shows that the best form of this relationship is close cooperation between the two sides. We firmly adhere to this guiding principle, and we are sure that Bronisława Wajs-Papusza will be one of the many Romani authors to be published as part of the *Roma History and Culture Series*.

Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov and Sofiya Zahova  
(Series Editors)



# Preface

*Tomasz Kamusella*

The volume is a result of a series of serendipitous accidents. Unfortunately, to this day no Roma<sup>1</sup> national institution founded and led by Roma has been established for taking care of Roma cultural and literary heritage (with the partial exception of the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture, founded in 2017). The precarity of this situation is signaled by the fact that the manuscripts of the world's best-known Roma and Romani-language writer, Papusza (Bronisława Wajs), are stored in the Zbigniew Herbert Regional and Municipal Public Library in Gorzów Wielkopolski, Poland (*Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Zbigniewa Herberta w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim*). One would think that such material of a global rank should be better secured and made more readily available to researchers, for instance, in Poland's Central Archive of Modern Records (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*) or in the country's main institution responsible for preserving and researching Poland's literature, that is, the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature (*Muzeum Literatury im. Adama Mickiewicza*), both located in Warsaw.

Tomek (Tomasz Kamusella), as a student during his time at the University of Silesia (*Uniwersytet Śląski*) in Katowice, chanced upon a collection of Papusza's poems (1990). Specializing in English philology that stoked his interest in translation, he wondered about the Romani originals of the poems. It was a certain leap of faith, given that at the time in the freshly postcommunist country, the stereotype continued unabated that the Roma had no language of their own. That they constituted Karl Marx's lumpenproletariat, or the lowest stratum of the working class. Yet, Tomek found fragments of Papusza's poems in Romani, as cited in Jerzy Ficowski's monograph on Roma in Poland (Ficowski 1986 [1965]).

After graduating from the Prague campus of Central European University in 1994, two years later, his master's degree in European studies allowed Tomek to become a Regional Governor's Advisor on European Integration (*Pełnomocnik Wojewody Opolskiego ds. Integracji Europejskiej*) in the Opole Region. He was nominated as the first-ever advisor of this kind in Poland. Meanwhile, a wave

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<sup>1</sup> I use the adjective 'Roma' to refer to all aspects of Roma life and culture, irrespective of language. In contrast, I reserve the adjective 'Romani' for referring to the Romani language and these aspects of Roma life and culture that are pursued through the medium of Romani. Hence, in my usage 'Romani' equates 'Romani-language.'

of Roma arrivals to Britain swelled. They came from Central Europe's postcommunist countries seeking political asylum in the United Kingdom. As a result, the country's diplomatic corps embarked on fact-finding missions across the region. In 1997, they also visited Opole and held a meeting under the regional governor's auspices. Tomek interpreted for officials from the British Know How Fund. It was clear that the meetings and discussions were designed in such a manner, so as to lead to a desired conclusion. The intended conclusion was that Roma refugees were economic migrants, not genuine asylum seekers who suffered customary discrimination in Poland. Yet, it was easily discernible to anyone with a cursory knowledge of the country and Central Europe that Roma lost out most during the systemic transition, which followed the fall of communism. They were always the first to be fired and the last to be employed, just because they were Roma. It was pure racism, as readily visible in anti-Roma graffiti that began to brand Roma in Polish as *czarni* ('blacks'). What is more, the freedom of speech that followed the ending of communist censorship allowed for widespread expression of antigypsyism (antiromism, antitsiganism) in public. Unsurprisingly, no Roma representatives were invited to the Opole meeting with the British delegates. Roma stories might derail the mission's overall goal. After all it was just to rubberstamp the default denial of political asylum to any Roma arrivals from Poland.

Sadly, at one of the follow-up meetings the idea of a Romani language course for Opole Region's civil servants was voiced. Representatives of the police became enthusiastic about this idea. Why? Because knowing Romani would enable them, in these policemen's own words, 'to better nail Roma criminals.' It was shocking to realize that the silent acceptance of antigypsyism was the default *modus operandi* of the Polish civil service. The British delegation was pleased. Troubled by what Tomek saw, the following year, in 1998, he attended the course 'Plight of the Gypsies' at the Summer University, organized by Central European University in Budapest. At that time, Tomek's conviction coalesced that as in the case of antisemitism, antigypsyism could be curbed – at least a bit – by making Roma history part and parcel of the mainstream of European historiography, like already happened in the case of Jewish history.

At the turn of the 21st century, Tomek established a cooperation link with Poland's premiere journal on matters ethnic, *Sprawy Narodowościowe* (Nationalities Affairs). This interwar periodical had been revived in 1992, following the end of communism. (Officially, in communist Poland, there were no ethnic minorities worth of any note, so such a 'bourgeois-nationalist' journal was not needed.) In 1998 the anthropologist and researcher of popular culture Wojciech J. Burszta became the journal's editor. He hoped to make *Sprawy Narodowościowe* into a learned journal that would become noticeable

to European and global scholars. Tomek proposed that to this end the periodical should include a section for relevant articles in English in order to attract contributors from all over the world. (Interestingly, in 2021, *Sprawy Narodowościowe* switched to publishing exclusively in English.) As a result, the journal was inundated with submissions, which Tomek sorted *pro public bono*, and corresponded with the authors. Eventually, it was decided that the periodical had no space enough to publish all the contributions in a timely fashion. Instead, a two-volume collection of these contributions was brought out (Burszta, Kamusella and Wojciechowski 2005–2006).

The world's leading Romani studies specialists in the current period, Elena Marushiakova (Елена Марушиакова) and Vesselin Popov (Веселин Попов), contributed a ground-breaking essay to this volume, titled 'The Roma – a Nation without a State?' (Marushiakova and Popov 2005). As a result, since the early 2000s, Tomek has been in correspondence with the scholarly couple on Roma issues and other research matters. Upon becoming a researcher at the University of St Andrews in 2011, four years later, Tomek invited Elena for a Leverhulme Visiting Professorship at this university. This year-long sojourn helped Elena and Vesselin access the relevant British archives and libraries, and establish contacts with fellow scholars across Britain and Ireland. The visiting professorship facilitated their successful application for an ERC (European Research Council) Advanced Grant for the project 'Roma Interbellum: Roma Civic Emancipation Between the Two World Wars' (2016–2023). In this manner, the University of St Andrews was also made into a Romani studies center of a global stature.

On this basis, in 2018, Tomek and Elena successfully applied for the university's KE & Impact Fund grant to organize, in 2019, an outreach event on Papusza's long narrative (epic) poem *Tears of Blood*. Meanwhile, Tomek found out that Ficowski had transcribed, edited and published some Romani originals of Papusza's poems in her first collection that came off the press in 1956, or during the period of the political Thaw that then swept across the Soviet bloc. In this volume, the poem 'Ratfaté jasfá' (*Tears of Blood*) struck Tomek as probably the first-ever written witness account of the Romani genocide (Roma Holocaust, Porajmos, Kali Traš, Samudaripen<sup>2</sup>). The literary and historical importance of this poem is such that it can only be compared with Itzhak Katzenelson's Yiddish-language book in verse *Dos lid funem oysgehargetn*

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2 As in the case of antigypsism – also known as antiromism or antitsiganism – the discussion continues how to refer to the Romani genocide in public discourse, research or Roma activism. As a result, multiple names abound, which was also the case of the Jewish Holocaust in the 1950s.

*yidishn folk* (דאָס ליד פונעם אויסגעהרגעטן יידישן פאָלק), *Song of the Murdered Jewish People* (Katzenelson 1980).

In preparation for the 2019 impact event the Scottish poet of Scots and English verse, Hamish MacDonald, agreed to join the team. Tomek translated into English Ficowski's literal Polish translation of 'Ratfałé jasfá.' Elena and Vesselin checked this English translation against the Romani original. On this basis, Hamish developed a poetic translation of *Tears of Blood* into English and Scots. Hamish, Elena, Vesselin and Tomek met for two days in St Andrews to discuss numerous translation and semantic problems involved. Using Hamish's English version, Rody Gorman translated this poem into Gaelic. Aleksandar Marinov, a member of the Roma Interbellum research team, collated, edited and published a booklet with the event's material, including Papusza's poem in Romani and its translations into English, Scots and Gaelic. Apart from the already mentioned persons, the impact event's speakers also included: Volha Bartash (Вольга Барташ, Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, Regensburg, Germany), Colin Clark (University of the West of Scotland), Bruce Eunson (Scots Co-ordinator, Education Scotland), Valdemar Kalinin (Вальдэмар Калінін, Romani Poet, Bible Translator, Gypsy Council) and Sofiya Zahova (Софія Захова, also a member of the Roma Interbellum research team, University of St Andrews and University of Iceland).

The initial idea was to augment the booklet with the contributors' articles and publish it as a stand-alone volume. A volume of this kind would bring to the world's attention this largely unnoticed witness account of the Romani genocide. Yet, the covid pandemic intervened adversely. Under these exacting circumstances, the prospective editors and contributors had to attend to their own personal, teaching, research, and administrative duties.

Meanwhile, Elena and Tomek continued discussing again the whereabouts of Papusza's manuscript of *Tears of Blood*. It would be ideal to include its facsimile in any prospective volume. Despite the recognition of Papusza as the world's most important Roma poet, so far, the Romani originals of her poems have never been published as a book in its own right. Neither Elena and Vesselin nor their colleagues in the field of Romani studies knew where Papusza's literary estate was archived, or whether her manuscripts survived at all.

Following a two-year-long hiatus, Volha kindly agreed to join the planned volume's editorial team in 2021. She brought along a much-needed boost of enthusiasm and devoted a lot of hard graft to the flagging project. In conversation with the Polish researcher Emilia Kledzik (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland), Volha learned that for long time Papusza's papers were in possession of the Association of Creators and Friends of Gypsy Culture in Gorzów Wielkopolski (*Stowarzyszenie Twórców i Mitośników Kultury Cygańskiej*), and as such they were inaccessible to researchers. In 1996

Jerzy Ficowski sold the poet's manuscripts to the aforementioned Zbigniew Herbert Regional and Municipal Public Library. For this transaction Papusza's friend used the Association of Creators and Lovers of Gypsy Culture (Twórców i Przyjaciół Kultury Cygańskiej) as an intermediary. Yet, until 2020, this association delayed the passing of Papusza's papers to the library in Gorzów Wielkopolski. After World War II, Papusza used to live in this city, which was one of the urban centers where 'nomadic Roma' were 'sedentarized' by persuasion or force.

Until 1945 Gorzów Wielkopolski was known in German as Landsberg an der Warthe. At the Potsdam Conference, the wartime Allies passed most of the German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line (*deutsche Ostgebiete*) to Poland (except for the northern half of East Prussia, nowadays, Russia's exclave of Kaliningrad). The Polish propaganda lauded them as the 'Recovered Territories' (*Ziemie Odzyskane*) on the rather spurious assumption that they had briefly belonged to medieval Poland six centuries earlier. As a result, the west of postwar Poland, ethnically cleansed of its former German inhabitants, was a tabula rasa, primed for all kinds of socio-economic experiments, including the sedentarization of Roma.

In the framework of her ERC project Roma Interbellum, Elena searched for the manuscript of *Tears of Blood* in various archives across Central and Eastern Europe. She also inquired the Regional and Municipal Public Library's Head (*Dyrektor*) Sławomir Szenwald about Papusza's literary estate. It turned out that among her papers archived in the library, the Romani original of Papusza's *Tears of Blood* is also preserved. Importantly, this manuscript was established to be in the poet's own hand. Subsequently, the library made a scan of this manuscript available to the volume's editorial team.

In 1982, that is, amid the repressive martial law period in communist Poland, Ficowski published his Polish translation of Katzenelson's harrowing work, alongside a facsimile of the Yiddish manuscript (Kacnelson 1982). At 1,560 verses this work is just a bit longer than Papusza's *Tears of Blood*, which is comprised of 1090 verses. Yet, the discovery of the manuscript of *Tears of Blood* confirmed the oft-voiced suspicion that the Romani original is much longer than Ficowski's 1956 version of 300 verses. Not that Ficowski hid the fact but mentioned it only once (Ficowski in Papusza 1956: 153), but remained silent on how much was chucked out, namely, three quarters of the poem. It is hard to know why, given that the volume was published during the political Thaw in the Soviet bloc. Somehow, he did not have to resort to such bowdlerizing in the case of *Song of the Murdered Jewish People*, though politically speaking, the time of its publication was most inopportune. First, in 1981 martial law was imposed on Poland's restive population who in the millions opposed the communist system. This martial law was lifted only in the summer of 1983. Second,

1982 was merely 14 years after the ethnic cleansing of Poland's remaining Jews in 1968. What is more, one also wonders why in the intervening decades, especially in postcommunist Poland, Ficowski did not attempt to publish the full version of *Tears of Blood* before his death in 2006 at the ripe age of 82.

The unexpected discovery of the full-length manuscript of *Tears of Blood* in Papisza's hand necessitated a rethinking of the intended volume and its shape. The decision was made to transcribe the manuscript and use it as the basis for a new translation into English. The problem was that there are few specialists who can read Papisza's Romani phonetic hand rendered in Polish spelling, executed with the use of an imperfectly mastered cursive as employed in interwar Poland's schools. Luckily, Elena, Vesselin and Volha knew the right person to face up to this steep challenge, namely, Viktor Shapoval (Виктор Шаповал) based at Moscow City University (Московский городской университет *Moskovskii gorodskoi universitet*). Viktor was an active collaborator and consultant in the ERC project Roma Interbellum. Volha learned Romani from Viktor's extensive handbook of this language (Shapoval 2007). Even more beneficially for the book project, this handbook focuses on these varieties of Romani in which Papisza and her family group spoke and wrote.

With much enthusiasm for the task at hand, Viktor joined the editorial team in 2022 and swiftly transcribed Papisza's manuscript in the poet's own idiosyncratic Polish spelling. Subsequently, Viktor developed another transcription in the so-called consensual Romani spelling and translated the poem into Russian. In addition, Viktor established the standardized verse numbering and marked Ficowski's much abbreviated version against Papisza's manuscript.

Drawing on Viktor's Russian translation, Tomek developed an English philological translation of the poem. Viktor, Sofiya, Elena and Vesselin checked this philological translation against the Romani original. In turn, regularly consulting with Elena and Viktor, Hamish worked out an English poetic translation of the entire poem. Meanwhile, Viktor developed section titles for making the poem more intelligible to the uninitiated reader. He also translated *Tears of Blood* into Polish and Ukrainian, whereas Emilia improved this Polish translation. Likewise, Hamish translated the full poem into Scots. Hopefully, after the publication of this volume, some venturing publishers may bring out these Polish, Russian, Scots and Ukrainian translations as books in their own right. Should the hope be realized, I am sure Rody Gorman, or a colleague of his, may also develop a Gaelic translation of the complete poem of *Tears of Blood*. Furthermore, given the fact that Sofiya now is Director of the Vigdís International Centre at the School of Humanities, University of Iceland, a good chance is that the poem will be translated also into Icelandic. As a result, European and world literature will regain a masterpiece of the sadly half-forgotten and even disregarded Romani belles lettres.

The editors aspire that this critical edition of *Tears of Blood* may serve as a versatile springboard for translating this important poem into further languages. The rarely realized difficulty is that the socio-cultural and historical context of multilingual Roma and Romani-language culture and literature is hardly known and appreciated outside Roma communities themselves. As a result, assumptions drawn on the basis of German, Polish, French or another European national literature are typically inadequate or even plainly wrong when applied to the analysis of Roma and Romani literature. First of all, until recently Roma and Romani-language literature was mostly an oral phenomenon. This is true of most of Papusza's own oeuvre. Her manuscripts are an afterthought and rather imperfect records of orally composed and performed poetry, that is, songs. The genuine Romani original of *Tears of Blood* is *not* the poem's manuscript but Papusza's sung performance of it for a group of Roma listeners. Unfortunately, to our knowledge, there is no recording of Papusza performing *Tears of Blood*.

Thanks to his research background, Viktor is acutely aware of this predominantly oral character of Roma literature and of ways in which it is (or was) composed and performed. In his contribution to the volume, Viktor explains in detail this often-misunderstood context of Romani culture and literature. Furthermore, in close rapport with his chapter, Viktor provides a wealth of explicatory notes on the poem itself. Crucially, as an editor, Viktor took the responsibility for coordinating all the versions of *Tears of Blood* offered in this book. We trust that this effort will permit future translators of this poem to read and interpret it as Papusza intended. Furthermore, Tomek translated the Russian original of Viktor's chapter into English and streamlined the English prose of Viktor's commentaries on *Tears of Blood*.

In the Introduction, Volha showcases *Tears of Blood* as a historical document – and more exactly, a witness account or a survivor testimony – that sheds much light on the Romani genocide in Volhynia and elsewhere across Eastern Europe. In turn, Emilia focuses on the life of Papusza with much attention paid to the official and rather stereotypical making of her into a poet in communist Poland. In her chapter Sofiya reflects on the functioning of Papusza's poetry in Roma literature as created, read and sung across the world.

And last but not least, Mikhail Tyaglyy (Михайло Тяглий, also Mykhailo Tiahlyi), Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies (Український центр вивчення Голокосту *Ukrayins'kyi tsentr vyvchennia Holokostu*), Kyiv, provides the historical context of the Romani genocide as it was carried out in what today is the borderland that straddles the adjacent areas of Belarus, Poland and Ukraine. This is the area where Papusza, her family and fellow Roma sought refuge in the extensive forests from roaming *Einsatzgruppen* (nazi special

task forces) under the order to kill each single Rom and Jew they encounter. Another danger Papusza and her Roma community faced was the mutual ethnic cleansing of Poles and Ukrainians that reached its acme in 1943. Whenever their extended family group happened to meet a military detachment, they had to be wary of what they said about which ethnic group in the region not to fall foul of the soldiers' ethnic or ideological affiliations, which could expose the Roma to persecution and even summary execution.

Tragically, Mikhail was unable to fully edit his chapter, drafted for the front. He finalized the first version of the text and pressed on with the initial revisions, when already in the Armed Forces of Ukraine (Збройні сили України *Zbroini syly Ukrainy*). In this situation, Tomek and Volha must take responsibility for any infelicities remaining in Mikhail's text, together with changes and additions, which the author might not have intended. Tomek streamlined the article's English prose and sorted various linguistic versions of placenames mentioned. First, this linguistic version is given that was current in a given period under discussion. Then the present-day form is supplied in parentheses. Most of the localities are hamlets and villages, which would not be readily obvious to global readership. Hence, in many cases Tomek provided additional spatial information on such villages' proximity to this or that major town or city. Volha, as a specialist in Romani history in Eastern Europe, gave this chapter an oversight regarding the events analyzed and their historical context.

Another difficulty that the editors were posed with was the question of who now owns Papusza's literary estate. Their inquiries on this matter remained inconclusive until the end of the covid pandemic. Then, in 2021 Emilia informed the team that Papusza has a single living inheritor, namely, her granddaughter Ewa Wajs. Volha and Tomek repeatedly strove to get in touch with Ewa Wajs by letter, phoning and texting her, but to no avail. Finally, using her local networks, in 2023 Emilia managed to facilitate a trusted working contact between Ewa Wajs and Volha. Ewa Wajs signed a copyright agreement and received from Tomek and Volha the entailed payment for publishing rights to the poem, its transcription, translation and facsimile in this open access volume.

Within the framework of the ERC project Roma Interbellum, Elena, Vesselin, Sofiya and Viktor also focused on the situation of the Roma in interwar Poland. As a result, it became possible to allocate some project funds for ensuring open access to the volume. After some discussion with Brill, the matter was agreed. So, most fortunately, no paywall will separate *Tears of Blood* from interested readers and researchers who might want to peruse it.

Now, after half a decade in making, the volume is poised for release soon. Under different circumstances, it would be a happy moment for Roma and world literature. Yet, war wreaks havoc in Europe again. The current situation closely resembles what Papusza narrates in *Tears of Blood*. Now, the dark history of 20th-century Europe replays in the early 21st century. In the tentatively happy conclusion to her poignant poem, Papusza hoped for lasting peace, stability, and mutual respect for all.

*Ah, people, today  
I would like you to soften  
all the world's souls,  
who love to live in a good  
way in the world, not to forget  
about war, but rather that war should not exist at all.*

Unfortunately, her wise words fell on deaf ears.

*St Andrews, Scotland  
July 2023*

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# Introduction: *Tears of Blood* as a Survivor Testimony on the Nazi Genocide of Roma

*Volha Bartash*

We have been living in ‘the era of the witness’ (Wieviorka 2006). In this era, the representations of the horrors of the past draw on eyewitness accounts. Professional historians, investigative journalists, schoolteachers, and museum curators seek to include the voices of the victims in their writings, exhibitions and classes on war and genocide. Guidelines for Holocaust educators recommend personal stories as a remedy against forgetting and the best way to ‘translate statistics into people’ (Guidelines for Teaching).

The figure of a witness underwent a gradual transformation in European public discourse – from those ‘who did not survive [the Holocaust] but left their testimonies’ to a Holocaust survivor as a ‘bearer of history’ (Wieviorka 2006). During World War II, thousands of Jewish eyewitnesses wrote letters and kept diaries that described the destruction of their communities. Not all these ego-documents survived the war, especially in Eastern Europe. However, many of them were collected by the postwar Jewish committees that documented Nazi crimes. In the decades to follow, the survivors who left Europe for Israel and North America produced voluminous memoirs and memorial books, entrusting paper with their bitter memories and unbearable losses. While some turned to writing and arts for trauma relief, others engaged in conscious documentation attempts, creating early Holocaust archives. Eventually, the oral history fever of the 1980s, facilitated by widely available audiovisual recording technology, enabled ordinary people to share their stories and leave their message to future generations (For the analysis of Holocaust testimonies, cf. Wieviorka 2006, Pollin-Galay 2018).

As fascinating as it may sound, this story is not one for all victims of the Nazi genocide. A young journalist who sets to dig out the fates of a prewar Romani community in her hometown, will be soon challenged by the lack of available sources. So will be a European teacher who aspires to add personal stories to her class on the Nazi persecution of Roma in Eastern Europe.

As a scholar and educator, I was in the same position. In 2014 I embarked on my own microhistorical project on the fates of Roma in the borderlands of Belarus and Lithuania. With a glimpse of luck, I could identify a rare mention of the Romani genocide in a local memorial book, a memoir of a Soviet partisan or postwar trial records. The voices of the victims themselves rarely came up to the surface in such narratives (Bartash 2019).

Although hundreds of thousands of European Sinti and Roma lost their lives to the Nazi genocide, we still know too little about the victims and their life paths (Donert 2021: 1). Furthermore, we have a limited understanding of how diverse Romani communities experienced and responded to the blanket genocidal violence in wartime Europe under German rule. Romani survivors seldom wrote memoirs and were rarely invited to European court rooms to testify about the horrors they endured (Bartash 2019, Joskowicz 2023).

To showcase the community perspective, I have engaged in oral history research with the families of Roma. Most of the people whom I interviewed, did not see World War II with their own eyes or were too young to remember. They recounted the memories of their family members who survived the war and genocide in the western borderlands of the German-occupied Soviet Union (Bartash 2020).

The narratives of my Romani acquaintances were different and yet similar to one another. Many of them talked about mass shootings, extremes of survival in the woods, Soviet partisans and partisans of various national groups. Women recalled the fates of their female relatives who sacrificed for their children and often became victims of sexualized violence. Like pieces of a puzzle, these family histories were slowly coming together and shaping a grand narrative of Romani suffering and struggle for survival.

I was immediately able to sense this metanarrative, when reading *Tears of Blood* in its original version, as if family stories of my Romani interlocutors received continuation. This is the power of an early testimony and the genius of its creator, Bronisława Wajs (Papusza, 1908–1987), who managed to reflect the survival experiences that were not limited geographically to Volhynia but shared by many Romani individuals and families across German-occupied Eastern Europe.

*Tears of Blood* is a powerful voice of the community and one of the earliest eyewitness accounts of the Romani genocide, written by a woman. This book introduces the recently re-discovered manuscript of this long narrative poem in Papusza's own hand (1,086 lines), which is at least four times longer than the previously known text published in communist Poland (Papusza 1956). The censored version largely omitted Papusza's personal experiences of war and violence, as well as the themes that were seen as politically controversial at the time. This included the scenes of mutual Polish-Ukrainian ethnic cleansing, as well as the episodes in which Papusza's family sought to survive by playing music to different fighting parties or passing under a different ethnic and religious identity. It is only in the original version of the poem that we can hear the authentic voice of Papusza and embrace the whole complexity of interethnic and interpersonal relations in wartime Volhynia.

In this book we approach *Tears of Blood* not only as a masterpiece of Romani literature but as a survivor testimony and a historical source on the Nazi genocide of Roma. The poem stands out thanks to its narrative genre and overwhelming frankness, offering a horrific account of the persecution that Roma endured at the hands of Germans and Ukrainian insurgents, of the Polish-Ukrainian mutual ethnic cleansing, and women's experiences of male-driven warfare and violence.

Although the idea of poetry as a historical source is not entirely new, few poems allow for a historiographical reconstruction of events past. Papusza's poem fulfils this test well. Close to Homeric epic in the choice of genre (as claimed by Shapoval in this volume), *Tears of Blood* mostly follows a chronological order and mentions names of actual personalities and localities. The editors further trace such pieces of information to regional history and geography, as well as Romani cultural practices, providing the reader with nuanced commentaries in Part II of the book. The four chapters – written by historians and literary scholars Viktor Shapoval, Emilia Kledzik, Mikhail Tyaglyy and Sofiya Zahova – contextualize the poem in the light of the Nazi genocidal policies towards Roma and Romani literary scene. Based on the poet's papers and recent research in Poland, Emilia Kledzik reconstructs the biography of Papusza. She calls into question a public image of the poet that was constructed by her close acquaintance, editor and censor, Jerzy Ficowski.

Viktor Shapoval shares his unique experience of working with Papusza's manuscript with the reader. Drawing on his deep knowledge of Romani language and cultures, Shapoval reveals hidden meanings behind Papusza's text that has taken years of his painstaking work. Sofiya Zahova further traces the impact of Papusza's legacy on today's Romani literature worldwide. No other poet has shaped modern Romani literature in the way Papusza did, concludes Zahova.

Historical contextualization of the poem would be hardly possible without ground-breaking archival research by our Ukrainian colleague, Mikhail Tyaglyy. In his chapter, Tyaglyy thoroughly reconstructs the logic and the chronology of the persecution of Roma in Volhynia. Tyaglyy bravely addresses such horny issues as the hostility of the local Ukrainian population towards traveling Roma and their victimization by UPA fighters.

As the reader will learn from Kledzik's contribution, poet Jerzy Ficowski joined Papusza's caravan in western Poland<sup>1</sup> in 1949, while working for the Main Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland [*Główna*

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1 That is, the former German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line, freshly passed to Poland at the Potsdam Conference.

*Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce*]. Across the Soviet bloc, such commissions documented the damage from the German occupation to the local economies and populations. They drafted their reports, based on forensic examination and the interrogation of eyewitnesses. These reports were later published by the local press and used in national and international trials over the Nazi and their collaborators (cf. Bartash 2019, Sorokina 2009 for the work of the Soviet Extraordinary Commission).

Ficowski's mission was to prepare a report on the Nazi persecution of Roma for the Main Commission, even though the report never got published (cf. Kledzik in this volume). Introduced to Papusza's community by a mutual acquaintance, Ficowski conversed with them about their wartime experiences in Volhynia that had been part of interwar Poland. He noted down their narratives on paper cards. Among Ficowski's respondents were male members of the Wajs and Krzyżanowski families, including Papusza's husband Dionizy Wajs. These notes later became part of different editions of his books on the Gypsies in Poland (cf. Kledzik 2020 for a critical discussion).<sup>2</sup>

Papusza was also asked to give a testimony, which she promised to write down and send to Ficowski (Kledzik in this volume). Yet her wartime memoir took a form of a long narrative poem that she was able to finalize only in the summer of 1952. Like for other Roma survivors throughout Eastern Europe, postwar years were extremely challenging for Papusza and her community. Devastated by the war and genocide, they spent immediate post-war years in Volhynia, looking for the lost relatives and mobilizing resources for a cross-border move to postwar Poland (Dębicki 2004: 192–222). It was not until spring 1946 that Papusza and her relatives moved westwards. They joined the stream of fellow Poles who, voluntarily or involuntary, left their homes in the eastern half of interwar Poland (now incorporated into the Soviet Union). With few possessions in hand and often on their own carts, they crossed the new Polish-Soviet frontier (Bartash 2023 a: 167–169). Papusza's extended family soon faced new difficulties, having to earn their living and look for winter accommodation in unfamiliar and often hostile environment of western Poland from where remaining Germans were being still expelled, while Polish settlers were moving to this area (cf. Kledzik in this volume; Kochanowski 2001).

As my Romani interlocutors recalled, the postwar hardship absorbed their families to the degree that there was a little time and space for remembering genocide victims. That is, memorials in carved stone had to wait. While

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2 I am grateful to Emilia Kledzik who has kindly shared with me her transcripts of Jerzy Ficowski's fieldnotes from the collections of the Polish National Library (*Biblioteka Narodowa*) in Warsaw.

survivors tackled their tasks of feeding families and caring for orphans and the sick, they often suppressed their bitter memories (Bartash 2023a). It is not accidental that Papisza begins her poem with the lines:

Ah, my good people  
believe me on my love of God  
I don't want to recall such bad times  
because my heart becomes sick and soon wants to cry (lines 4–7).

Painful memories came to the surface mostly when they were provoked by the events that occurred in the present, for example, if a survivor met an old acquaintance or a person who resembled a lost family member (Bartash 2023: 174–175). Community gatherings, too, provided the survivors with safe spaces for grieving and mourning (For the discussion of patterns of remembering in Roma communities, cf. Kapralski 2023).

It seems that Ficowski's intervention played a role of a trigger for Papisza's memory and trauma that eventually transferred into the poem. Once unblocked, the process of working-through became irreversible: 'the author was overwhelmed by the visceral urge to get rid of the memories of a traumatic experience as soon as possible through leaving its detailed description on paper. This tension dictated the peculiar emotional and dynamic rhythm of writing the manuscript of *Tears of Blood*' (Shapoval in this volume). As Shapoval's analysis of Papisza's handwriting suggests, she was extremely tired, and her fatigue led to multiple errors, omissions and repetitions.

From this perspective, *Tears of Blood* is to be seen as a trauma text. Many of its horrific scenes translate a mental state of the poet as she experienced and witnessed war horrors, lived through the moments of despair and lost a sense of reality. In one of such episodes, Papisza can no longer stand watching children starving. She falls into a state when she disconnects from reality and starts singing a song out loud, though being close to a battlefield. Ignoring an attempt of her husband to stop her, Papisza leaves to search a battlefield for food:

But I began to sing [aloud] alone, I don't  
know what had happened to me.  
I would have [then either] gone kill a German,  
or gone stabbed with the knives, and literally I became  
fearless (lines 195–200).

Papisza is overwhelmingly candid with her audience, transferring the experience of a person pushed to her physical and mental limits by the persecution, malnutrition and challenges of survival. This transfer happens unconsciously,

before any attempt of rational reflection. A literary scholar, Gabrielle Schwab, emphasizes the crucial role of ‘the unconscious and of transference’ in the writing of violent histories. Schwab notes:

To make trauma accessible, a form needs to be found that translates into language or symbolic expression an experience that is only unconsciously registered and left a mere trace on the affective and corporeal levels. Literature and the arts can become transformational objects in the sense that they endow this knowledge with a symbolic form of expression and thereby not only change its status but also make it indirectly accessible to others (Schwab 2010: 7–8).

A Holocaust scholar, Hannah Pollin-Galay, outlines three main ‘genres’ of a survivor testimony (that she associates with a place and the context in which testifying happens): ‘*personal*, in the way that the witness’s voice sounds, and *allegorical*, in its possible rhetorical outcome’; ‘a *communal* witness voice, an “I” that incorporates political or national institutions’ and, correspondingly, ‘*monumentality*, the greatness or dignity of the narrator’; and a ‘*collective* perspective and point toward *forensic* accusation as an ethical result of testifying’ (Pollin-Galay 2018: 17).

*Tears of Blood* stands at the intersections of these genres. First of all, the poem translates the experience, emotion and mental state of the author who survived the war and genocide as a married Romani woman in her middle 30s, childless at the time. Her family status helps explain her choices and behaviour under extreme circumstances:

All became as if dead from fear.  
But I don’t care: if I live  
or die, I have no children,  
no one to live for (lines 216–220).

Though Papisza’s personal experience is central to the text, it does not mean that she did not perceive herself as a writer (or singer) of her people’s history. On the contrary, Papisza sees her mission in narrating the collective ordeal of Roma and does so with great dignity. Her monumental anti-war message to the world draws on the experience of her people:

My dear and good  
people of great [heart]! Listen to my true song,  
on what the Rom, Roma children and Romni suffered  
during the war ... (lines 32–36)

*Tears of Blood* goes beyond ‘the personal’ and ‘the collective,’ turning to the fates of Papisza’s immediate kin and bigger community, Polska Roma of

Vollhynia. Her husband Dionizy Wajs and her friend Moliunia are among the protagonists of the poem. In one of many life-threatening episodes, pictured by Papusza, she calls other members of her community by name: Janek, Bronia, Krzysia, Zosia (lines 505–506).<sup>3</sup> Other characters – the playing children, the elderly Romani women who sing a fairy tale, the parents grieving for their children lost to the winter cold – are composite. A gifted singer and narrator, Papusza managed to give a voice to many: the female and the male, the young and the old, the living and the dead. The poem's dreadful scenes took place in real life and were lived through and witnessed by her and the people she knew.

Papusza not only experienced the war as a member of her community, but she narrated the events, drawing on aesthetic patterns and communicative norms, available to her through her culture. Shapoval aptly notes that the poem resembles a testimony in the Romani traditional law, that is, an oral act of testifying in front of the community and the members of a *sendo* (Romani 'court'; cf. Shapoval in this volume).<sup>4</sup> As noted by Pollin-Galay, survivors do not testify in a sociocultural vacuum: 'In setting out to testify, witnesses do not negotiate this polyphony of generic options in a vacuum, but do so with the help of narrative habits learned over decades, implicit ethical and political goals, expectations about their eventual audiences' (Pollin-Gallay 2018: 16).

Likewise, in her search for self-expression, Papusza takes inspiration from Romani cultural tradition and folklore texts, turning to such images as the bird of the dead and a crying forest. She addresses her pleas to the God, the sun, the forest and stars. Previous editions of the poem articulated these images, while downplaying and omitting Papusza's personal experience, as well as factual parts of the poem. In the Romani original, presented in this book, these images coexist in harmony with a human experience, communicating the feelings of despair, fear or, at times, joy and hope for the brighter future:

All the humans left  
us, so that the forest can  
hide us. A starlet  
sits with us until daybreak, and an old  
owl tells a Roma  
tale: some listen to

3 As we learn from the poem, a dozen people from Papusza's extended family would be killed by Germans (lines 102–104).

4 Historically, this institution of traditional law settled internal disputes between the members of Romani groups who travelled in Eastern Europe. For more on the institution of *sendo*, cf. Marushiakova and Popov (2007).

the owl, some throw twigs  
 after it. For they strongly believe  
 it [=owl] (lines 325–333).

As a historical source the poem is, first of all, a testimony to the world that seized to exist after World War II. Known to the world as a Romani poet from Poland, Papusza spent the first half of her life, traveling in the former ‘western provinces’ of the Russian Empire that became ‘eastern borderlands’ of interwar Poland. As a child the poet lived and traveled in the surroundings of Lublin, in the Neman valley, Galicia and throughout Volhynia and Polesia (present-day Poland, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania). For instance, several biographical episodes, later recalled by Papusza as life-changing, took place on the Neman River. Presumably, she learned how to read and write in Polish from a Jewish shopkeeper in Grodno (Hrodna) where she lived with her mother after World War I (Dębicki 2004: 27, Machowska 2011: 35–36).

Even if half-legendary, such episodes reflect the nature of the region that was multicultural, multiconfessional, and multilingual. It would not be an exaggeration to say that its multicultural environment shaped Papusza as a person and a poet. *Tears of Blood* reveals multiple intercultural influences, as does Papusza’s dialect and her fluency in different local languages (cf. Shapoval in this volume).

Historiography often portrays the eastern voivodeships (administrative divisions) of interwar Poland as ‘backward’ for their agrarian economy and low levels of literacy among the population (For example, cf. Gross 2021). Papusza’s writing and reading skills indeed made her exceptional not only among her people. Yet, Romani families from the region do not see their life in interwar Poland in terms of backwardness and poverty. These lands offered vast opportunities for mobile trade and horse barter, and, it seems, the Polish state was not particularly interested in banning Romani mobility. Countless fairs attracted horse dealers from all over the region; and their schedule often defined the routes of caravans (Bartash 2023b: 72–73).

The majority of Polska Roma to which Papusza’s family belonged made their living from horse trade. The Wajs family, therefore, had an exceptional status in their own community – they earned money by playing music for the local nobility and rural communities. Mobility, even if seasonal, was part of their lifestyle. Through their occupation, the Wajses maintained networks of contacts among local peasants and landlords throughout the region, from Volhynia to Wilno. They relied on these networks, when looking for winter accommodation among the local peasants (Bartash 2023b: 72).

In modern terms, Papusza and her generation had transnational biographies lived at the shifting borders of Eastern Europe. In moving from one marketplace to another and dealing with representatives of different milieus, they also crossed social, linguistic, and cultural boundaries. Their flexible lifestyle made them more modern than the populations among whom they lived and traveled (Bartash 2023b: 73).

For the sake of historical clarity, not all Romani families from this region used to travel, and there was a lot of flexibility in their lifestyles. Edward Dębicki who survived the war as a child in Volhynia, mentioned in his memoir that his paternal grandparents, Jan and Bronisława Krzyżanowski, owned a cottage and land in Aleksandria (today Oleksandriia in Ukraine) before the October Revolution (1917). The family had cattle and hired servants. The World War I and the October Revolution put the end to their family well-being: the war took the life of Jan who served in the Russian Army; the Bolsheviks – their properties. Left with a horse and a wagon, Bronisława and her children joined a group of traveling Roma (Dębicki 2004: 10–11). Other well-to-do families of Roma reacted in a similar way, escaping the repercussions of the October revolution or, later, Stalin's deportations from the east of interwar Poland annexed in 1939.

It is worth mentioning that the Romani picture of Volhynia was not homogenous. Like all over Eastern Europe, multiple Roma communities lived and traveled in the region. They differed in their histories, professions, language and cultural tradition; and these differences were reflected by their self-naming. At the time, it was normal for a Rom or Romni to identify with a bigger group, for instance, Polska Roma, and a *rodo*, an extended family or a lineage.

Papusza's parents belonged to Polska Roma. Thus, Papusza's mother, Katarzyna Zielińska, came from the family of Galicyjaki who used to travel in Galicia before World War I, while her father came from the families of Warmijaki and Berniki (Ficowski 1986: 213–214). During my ethnographic fieldwork in Polesia in 2009, I had a chance to converse with several families who identified themselves as Berniki. Before World War II, these families traveled throughout Polesia and Volhynia, trading in horses and offering their services as veterinarians and healers in local towns and villages.

Along with Polska Roma, there were other sedentary and half-sedentary communities in Volhynia. For instance, Dębicki mentions that his maternal grandmother came from the family of Roma who identified themselves as Mukany (Dębicki 2004: 11). Until today, Mukany have been locally known as sedentary Roma from the Belarusian-Ukrainian borderlands who speak a local Slavic dialect. In *Tears of Blood* and the memoirs of Wajs family, such groups

often go under the collective term 'Ukrainian Roma'. Additionally, Papisza's relatives mentioned the presence of Ruska Roma during in Volhynia World War II (Papisza 1956: 159). Although their dialect was close to that of Polska Roma, they were Orthodox Christians and spoke mainly Russian outside the community.

Furthermore, interethnic marriages occurred, as well. That is how some non-Roma became part of the community and their networks of support. Such networks were of vital importance for the people in hiding. Local contacts kept the families in hiding informed about the dislocation of German and partisan units, as well as about the 'political' orientation of a given village. Through such networks, people obtained food and a shelter and, occasionally, work and false identity papers (cf. Aleksiu 2020). The members of Papisza's community recounted to Ficowski how they were sheltered by a Ruska Roma woman, married to a Ukrainian man. The Romni let them in her home and provided with food and clothing (Ficowski: *Materiały warsztatowe*: 57–62).

Nevertheless, the differences between the Romani groups came to play a role during the war. As Mikhail Tyaglyy's analysis shows, occupation authorities and German military units practiced different policies towards sedentary and traveling Roma (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume). The latter were first to fall victims to the Nazi violence. Since the first days of the war in the Soviet Union, German mobile killing units (*Einsatzgruppen*) that moved in the wake of Wehrmacht murdered communist activists, Red Army soldiers, Jews and Roma. Their mission was to 'clean up' the newly concurred lands of any 'unreliable' people, preventing the acts of defiance and resistance. Traveling Roma were often seen as potential spies and killed on the spot (cf. Holler 2021).

However, as Tyaglyy's contribution convincingly demonstrates, it was not until the spring-summer 1942 that the murder of Roma in Volhynia became systematic. This timing coincided with the final stage of the Holocaust in Volhynia when last Jewish residents of ghettos were killed. In April 1942 few Jews were still alive to witness the unfolding tragedy of Roma. In Łokacze (Lokachi in Ukrainian), 30 Jewish men from the local ghetto were forced to dig a grave and bury more than 100 Roma victims, rounded up in the local villages (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume).<sup>5</sup> Most probably, those families rented winter accommodation from local peasants like they used to until the German occupation.

The persecution intensified in summer 1942, with first documented attempts to collect data on sedentary families in the countryside. The wave of violence

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5 Joskowitz writes that handling each other's dead was one of the ways in which the two groups interacted and were made to serve the German master plan (Joskowitz 2023: 40–41).

against traveling and sedentary families then lasted through the entire 1943, taking lives of 1,500–2,000 people and marking the Volhynian landscape with over 20 mass killing sites of Roma (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume). ‘A little tragedy on the margins of “big histories”’, as Tyaglyy puts it, meant a devastating loss for the community of several thousands. Entire families lost their lives to the Nazi genocide, as well as to the military conflict(s), starvation, disease and the cold.

The Nazi persecution of Roma took different forms – from forced labour in local concentration camps and ghettos to mass killings in the local woods and fields. The majority of Roma (and Jews) from Volhynia were not transported from their small homelands to concentration camps in Poland and other occupied countries. The persecution of Roma had a much more local and intimate nature. It took place in the localities through which their nomadic routes laid and to which their family histories were connected.

German occupation soldiers and the local police rounded up Romani victims in villages or on their way there, as well as in the woods during anti-partisan actions. Such crimes, known to historians as the Holocaust by bullets, were committed with a great cruelty and in a broad daylight (cf. Desbois 2008). They were often witnessed by the local population who have, until recently, lived in these places. The Yahad-In Unum project that documents the last eyewitnesses to the Holocaust, have collected 12 eyewitness testimonies on the murder of Roma in present-day Ukrainian provinces of Volyn and Rivne, namely in Ratne, Sarny, Berestechko, Kamen-Kashirskiy, Bakhiv, Kysylyn and Kovel. These interviews testify about the excessive violence against Roma that stamped on the local memory for decades (Interviews 448U, 450U, 453U, 455U, 471U, 472U, 473U, 474U, 525U, 552U, 554U, 563U, Yahad-In Unum collection).

Yet, the local non-Roma population – the people whom they formerly knew as their hosts, commercial partners, classmates, lovers and godparents to their children – played an ambiguous role in their fates. Some turned traitors and even assistants to the perpetrators. Others simply closed doors before their faces. However, some undertook the risks of cautioning when needed, helping and rescuing their Romani acquaintances.

On the one hand, the poem and Ficowski’s notes mention the situations in which Poles and Ukrainians gave their hand to the Roma in hiding. For instance, a peasant woman, for whom one of the Krzyżanowski family worked as a shepherd, alarmed the man about the German plan to murder all Roma in their locality, thus enabling his escape. She knew this information from her husband who worked as an interpreter for Germans (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*, 63–79). Ryszard Krzyżanowski recalled how, presumably in 1942, he was detained by a German in the forest near the village of Zofiówka (today

Sofiivka). When interrogated about his identity and residence, Krzyżanowski pointed to a house of his Polish acquaintance. When approached, the acquaintance confirmed that the young man dwelled in his house and was not a ‘Gypsy’. Ryszard and his father were then temporarily living with the Polish family (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*: 57–62). On the other hand, Ficowski’s materials recount acts of denunciation by the locals including shepherds and other people who came across Romani families in the woods (Papusza 1956: 159, 168).

Moreover, the local police and volunteers broadly participated in identifying, detainment and murder of Roma. Even though the poem narrates the persecution of Polska Roma by Ukrainian police and insurgents, ‘Ukrainian Roma’ experienced violence as well. During a recent German testimony project, one of the last Romani survivors from Volhynia, Mykola Yuzepchuk, and his family reflected about the local complicity in the genocide: ‘There were such people who had (earlier) drunk *horilka*<sup>6</sup> together with the victims, celebrated weddings (because Roma were often musicians); and the same people shot them down’ (Лівицька 2018). Thus, a long period of a relatively peaceful cohabitation preceded the murder.

Mykola was between 10 and 13 years old when he was rounded up together with 60 Romani families in Vyderta in 1943. Vyderta was not a new place for their family. In fact, it was Mykola’s birth place, since his parents for years used to stay in the village over winter. Judging from their family name, the family of Yuzepchuk might have been ‘Ukrainian Roma’. At such a young age, Mykola witnessed the torturing of his older sister by impalement. Mykola and his mother found themselves in the middle of the shooting. Wounded but not dead, Mykola fell in the pile of bodies; his dying mother covered him with herself. To make sure that no one survived, the policemen penetrated the victims with bayonets. Suffering from multiple wounds, Mykola would have been buried alive under the bodies of his killed family members, unless his older cousin had come to inspect the place. He heard the boy’s moans and helped him out. Besides a long-lasting physical pain, a deep trauma overshadowed his whole life. When interviewed at the age of 88, Mykola complained about the nightmares in which he felt the pressure of ‘yet warm bodies’ (Лівицька 2018). The life story of Mykola Yuzepchuk is unique and one of many, another proof that harrowing episodes of *Tears of Blood* are not a fruit of pure imagination.

Not coincidentally, Papusza dates her poetic testimony from 1943 to 1944. The poem starts with the scene when her family has to leave all their possessions in the city of Włodzimierz (today, Volodymyr) and head to the woods (lines 44–67). We also learn from these lines that her family experienced forced

6 *Horilka* is Ukrainian for ‘vodka’.

labour, although Papusza does not mention the name of a labour camp or a ghetto. Ryszard Krzyżanowski recounted to Ficowski that their family were placed in the ghetto in Kostopol (Kostopil in Ukrainian) and were forced to work in agriculture. They managed to secure the help of a Polish policeman and flee from the ghetto (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*: 57–62). Tyaglyy provides the information on the placement of 92 Roma in the labour camp in Ludwipol (today, Sosnove near Berezne in Ukraine) in April 1942 (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume).

Yet, as we learn from the testimonies, collected by Ficowski, Papusza's kin were able to spend the winter of 1942–1943 in Włodzimierz. Dionizy Wajs and his band played music in a canteen for German officers (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*: 80–81). In early spring 1943 they learned from the city administration about the German intention to kill 'Gypsies' in the city.<sup>7</sup> Fearing repercussions for themselves, local Poles started denying accommodation to Roma families, meaning the latter had no choice but to seek refuge in the woods. While hiding in the woods, rumours about the murder of local Poles by the UPA (Українська повстанська армія, Ukrainian Insurgent Army) reached them (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*: 63–79).

Apparently, the title of the poem *Tears of Blood: What We Suffered under the Germans in Volhynia in 1943 and 1944* reveals not only the experience of Papusza's group but the dynamics of violence in the region. In 1943 Volhynia was, undoubtedly, one of the deadliest places in the world. The region was jeopardized by German brutal policies, their constant clashes with Soviet partisans, the confrontation between Soviet partisans and UPA, alongside the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic conflict.

UPA's violence cost approximately 60,000 Volhynian Poles their lives and leveled dozens of Polish settlements. The insurgents used farming equipment to commit the murder of innocent women, children, men and the elderly or burnt them alive. The Polish underground reciprocated violence with violence, causing deaths of at least 2,000–3,000 Ukrainians (Motyka 2011: 449). The members of Papusza's community recalled to Ficowski one of such massacres, when the Polish underground burnt the population of a Ukrainian village in an Orthodox church after the Ukrainian insurgents had placed on fire a Catholic church with the clergy inside (Papusza 1956: 165–166).

In the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic conflict, religion served as an ethnic marker. While most Ukrainians were Orthodox or Greek Catholic Christians, Poles were Catholics. The same marker differed Polska Roma from Ukrainian Roma

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7 According to Dionizy Wajs, it was one of German officers, a fan of their music, who warned them about the danger (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*: 80–81).

and made the former feel solidarity with the Polish population. In many lines of the poem, Papusza laments the Polish victims of UPA's violence. For the sake of their own safety, Papusza's family sought to speak Ukrainian and present themselves as 'Ukrainian Gypsies', whenever coming into contact with UPA fighters or Ukrainian villagers. In one of such episodes, Papusza and her family introduce themselves to the villagers by Ukrainian names and say that they cross themselves to the right (in the Orthodox fashion, people cross themselves to the right) (lines 440–444).

Harrowing scenes of ethnic cleansing and its aftermath have found their way into the poem. Papusza skilfully uses metaphor and refers to wild and homeless animals to picture the situation in which she and her family had to stay in the houses of killed Poles:

I'd prefer  
to remain in the forests. Better wolves  
eat me now than we sit  
in these houses. In the frenzied  
nights of killing, people here  
were drowned in the wells.

Chickens run wild in the forests,  
cats walk, cry. Gadjos  
kill cows. It is unbearable to watch  
what is happening. The Roma fear  
lest the dead return, lest the living  
begin killing us (lines 421–433).

As interethnic violence in Volhynia escalated, the countryside population split, siding with one group or the other. Throughout the region, Ukrainian insurgents drew on local networks of support and human resources. To protect themselves, local Poles organized self-defence units. Others joined the Polish underground or the Soviet partisan movement. The Soviet partisans, in their turn, sought to undermine German military efforts and prevent anti-Soviet resistance in the region. Therefore, they directed their outrage at the networks of UPA's supporters, as well as the families who worked for the German occupation authorities and the local police. For example, Papusza mentions the case when the men from a Ukrainian village were taken captives by Soviet partisans (lines 580–585).

Even though the 'Gypsy question' was not central to the ideology of the Ukrainian national movement (unlike the Polish or Jewish question), Roma were still victimized. The poem and Ficowski's records mention different forms of victimization – from threats and physical abuse to murder. As Tyaglyy

illustrates, anti-Gypsy prejudice and the perception of Roma as spies and informants for Soviet partisans came into play as well, determining decisions of individual commanders (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume).

In the midst of war chaos and violence of ‘all against all,’ Papisza’s family of musicians sought to survive, literally, on the move. In *Tears of Blood*, they constantly change their dislocation, follow Soviet partisans, seek seasonal work from Ukrainian peasants and stay in empty houses in winter. Papisza articulates their musical performances as an important survival strategy. Thus, *Tears of Blood* includes fragments of songs in Romani, Ukrainian and Russian that they performed for partisans and villagers. According to Papisza, they kept their harps through the war and took care of them ‘like of their eyes’ because ‘playing music saved us from [sure] death’ (lines 380–383). Their art opened doors and warmed hearts:

And they played  
a soldier song. And now, out of nowhere,  
a peasant woman has fetched a pot of lard.  
They [=Roma] played the song ‘Your Dark  
Eyes’ – the peasants brought boots [for the Roma].  
And all were playing so beautifully  
that the peasants brought [for us] all [we needed] (lines 383–389).

Paradoxically as it may sound, victimhood does not mean passivity and the lack of choice. In *Tears of Blood*, victims act, reflect about their plight and make important decisions. Papisza offers us a nuanced picture of Romani agency and resistance – from daily survival to armed struggle – and calls to resist:

We are men, let’s take up axes in hand  
before they kill us and later the children (lines 520–521).

Many lines of *Tears of Blood* poeticize the encounters of Papisza’s family with Soviet partisans who saved their lives on multiple occasions. In one of such episodes, the partisans of the Chapaev unit<sup>8</sup> warn them about their sabotage plans, so the Roma would manage to cross a bridge before it was blown up. Ficowski’s records, too, mention different forms of cooperation between Polska Roma and Soviet partisan detachments. For instance, Ficowski’s interlocutors

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8 Soviet partisan units were usually named after heroes of the October Revolution or after communist party activists. The online database, Partisans of Belarus, provides information about almost 40 units named after the revolutionary hero Vasily Chapaev (База данных “Партизаны Беларуси”).

recounted how their people provided a Soviet unit with information about a storehouse that belonged to one of the paramilitary groups. A joint takeover of the storehouse allowed them to win badly needed provisions for their families (Ficowski: materiały warsztatowe: 57–62).

The Soviet partisan movement was a major military actor in Volhynia and Polesia. To a great degree, the rise of the movement in the region can be explained by favorable geography, namely swampy forests of the Prypyat valley that created excellent conditions for partisan activities. The first units were formed by the Red Army militaries who found themselves in an encirclement, as early as summer 1941. By the end of 1942, the movement in the region had become well organized and consisted of 32 detachments and 71 underground groups (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume). Their tactics included sabotage activities, political propaganda among the local population and armed struggle against *Einsatzgruppen*, local police and UPA units. By 1943, some detachments transformed into forest settlements with dugout dwellings, storages, sanitary facilities, kitchens and craft workshops (Bartash 2021: 120).

The Soviet partisan movement was probably the only military force at that time, which readily extended some protection to Roma. For this reason, it has been remembered by them mostly in a positive light. Hundreds of Romani men, women and children found shelter among the Soviet partisans. My own study of their biographies shows that, before enrolling in the movement, they often experienced genocidal violence or lost their families and homes to the war and genocide. While in the movement, Romani partisans performed a variety of tasks – from acting as horsemen and nurses to leading fighters and commandos (For biographies of Romani partisans, cf. Bartash 2021).

Tetiana Gorbuncova (Markovska) from a family of local horse traders stayed with her caravan near Sarny, Volhynia in late summer 1942 when their whereabouts were found out by the local police. Her parents and sisters were arrested and, after a short internment, killed together with other Roma. Only Tetiana and her three brothers managed to escape the bitter fate. After hiding in the local fields and swamps, they were able to join a local partisan unit that later integrated into a bigger detachment, the Lelchicy partisan brigade. The brigade that carried out scouting tasks was active in Polesia (Горун и Церович 2009).

Tetiana became a partisan at the age of 15–17. While her brothers served as scouts and radio operators, Tetiana was responsible for a partisan kitchen. For a long time, she was the only chef who cooked for the whole unit. In her interview with Maria Cerovic and Alexander Gogun, Tetiana recounted her life as a young female partisan in a male-dominated environment. She also mentioned her encounters with a legendary partisan commander, Sidor Kowpak, who was

on mission to consolidate the partisan movement in Polesia in fall 1942 (Горун и Церович 2009). Papisza, too, mentions this commander by his informal name 'Kolpakow' (lines 564–565).

Officially, the Soviet partisan movement adhered to the ideology of internationalism and sought to include people from different ethnic backgrounds. For instance, the Lelchicy partisan brigade, in which Tetiana Gorbuncova and her brothers partook, had 661 members in early 1944: 644 male, 17 female; 593 Belarusians, 30 Ukrainians, 25 Russians and 13 of other nationalities (Лельчицкая бригада).

Yet, anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy prejudice sometimes came into play when individual commanders made decisions on acceptance of new members. Moreover, as the evidence from *Tears of Blood* and Ficowski's records suggest, it was not easy for an extended family of Roma to get enrolled. According to one of Papisza's family members, partisans were reluctant to accept women and children: 'But early in the morning Russian partisans came and we all [intended] to enrol with the partisans, but they did not want to accept us. Only men, but not the women and children. Those [men] who were not married went [and joined the partisans]' (Ficowski: materiały warsztatowe: 57–62).

Like other militaries active in the region, Soviet partisans, first, pursued their military goals – rescuing civilians was not their main task. Therefore, the enrolment was much easier for prospective fighters, that is, younger healthy men. As it appears from partisan archives, historical expertise of Romani men in looking after horses was in high demand as well. For instance, Piotr Stayanovich (b. 1909 in Pinsk region), a fighter of the Lazo unit, took care of the unit's horses in addition to his participation in combat. In his award letter, Piotr is said to be a 'brave, courageous and persistent' fighter who was also appreciated by his comrades as an excellent horseman: 'While in the unit, he looked after the horses. With him our horses were always groomed and the horse harness was always in order' (Bartash 2021: 111).

The families of active partisans were often allowed to stay in the so-called civilian or family camps that functioned as detachments to military units. In such camps, they engaged in a variety of tasks, associated with reproductive labour, for instance, obtaining food, cooking and doing laundry.

Although Papisza and her family were not directly associated with Soviet partisans, they still cooperated with them in many ways, for example, by sharing resources and exchanging data. The members of Papisza's community recalled that partisans 'sent our women to scout for them. They were killed' (Papisza 1956: 223). Most probably, their knowledge of the local population and geography made Romani women desirable scouts for Soviet partisans (Bartash 2021: 116).

Even if it was dangerous, Romani families agreed to cooperate with Soviet partisans to secure their protection. The family of Papusza often stayed in the forest zones under partisan control and got informed about the military situation in the region. This, however, considerably increased the vulnerability of Romani families from other sides that were in confrontation with the Soviet resistance. Tetiana Gorbuncova, for instance, mentioned that her family, killed by the local police near Sarny, used to accommodate partisans in their tents (Гогун и Церович 2009).

Besides organized forms of resistance, some families gathered in small self-defence groups together with the people from other backgrounds – for instance, Jews and POWs in hiding. Sometimes they had weapons and guarded their forest encampments. In his memoir, Edward Dębicki recounted his family experience of hiding in the woods where they cooperated with a Jewish family and three Soviet POWs with whom their family developed a close friendship (Dębicki 2004: 198; Bartash 2023 a: 172–173). Such experiences, shared by Romani families with people from other ethnic groups, made them closer one to another.

Many lines of *Tears of Blood* express solidarity with the Jewish people, also shedding light on the ways in which the two persecuted groups interacted. While in many regions of Europe, Jews and Roma rather watched one another's suffering from afar, Volhynian ground offered spaces for solidarity and support. Romani-Jewish encounters took place not only in ghettos, concentration camps and at killing sites but in hiding and resistance (for an excellent discussion of the Jewish-Romani relations in wartime Europe, cf. Joskowicz 2023).

Already in the beginning of the poem, Papusza mentions 'two poor Jews are in our company, all their family killed' (lines 85–86). Further, she recounts a night visit paid to her by a Jewish girl, when she stayed with her family in a former Polish settlement. This episode not only narrates the act of sharing of food and clothing but translates a feeling of closeness and connection between the two women who for a moment allow themselves to forget about the danger of being discovered by armed men:

And we two forgot that the soldiers  
were camped nearby,  
and this night they didn't come to us (lines 473–474).

The image of two women walking in the night re-emerges in the poem again when Papusza runs away from a killing site together with her friend Moliunia. The women walk through the forest, where even birds pray to God that 'angry snakes and gadjos would not kill us' and that they would meet 'a good Russian'

(lines 543–553). These episodes well reflect the plight of the women who try to survive in a militarized, male-dominated environment.

Papusza does not pronounce the threat of sexual violence but alludes to it by mentioning ‘beautiful Roma girls’ who ‘perished in the concentration camp from forced labour’ and whom they remember ‘like stars’ (lines 589–593). A continuation of this plot can be found in Ficowski’s records. According to one of the stories from the time of their internment in the ghetto in Kostopol, two girls from their community were taken to the kitchen and, later, requested by the commandant at night: ‘They took two girls to the kitchen to cook. It was 1 am or midnight; the commissar phoned to send both girls to him. He kept them [in his place] all the night. He did with them as he pleased – detaining them [in his place] all night. They came back and cried’ (Ficowski: *materiały warsztatowe*: 57–62).

*Tears of Blood* offers another dimension of women’s suffering by portraying the tragedies of mothers who failed to provide for their children and lost their battle to the cold and hunger:

The night is cold,  
already a girl is dying,  
after four days  
the Romnia buried four sons  
in the deep snows.  
These four together  
were buried in one day (lines 148–154).

By narrating such experiences Papusza challenges the very understanding of victimhood. Who is a genocide victim and who is not? Are those little lives lost to the cold in the winter forest victims of the Nazi genocide? We will never be able to count the victims who died, having been pushed to their limits by the perpetrator. But if we adopted the community perspective, the scale of Romani tragedy would appear in a different light. As a result of the German occupation and escalation of ethnic violence in Volhynia, the lifestyle that had been normal for generations of Roma turned dangerous and not feasible. They could no longer make a living from their traditional occupations, such as horse trade and commerce, and could not stay with peasants in winter. German policies stipulated criminal responsibility for hosting traveling families or supporting them in other ways, and the locals feared consequences for themselves.

For most Romani families, it meant that they were to survive winter either in the woods, in the conditions hardly tolerable for human body,<sup>9</sup> or on the

9 In the region in question, winter temperatures went down to  $-20^{\circ}\text{C}$ .

move from one abandoned home to another. It is true that many Romani families who used to keep on the move before the war, were familiar with its natural environment and climate conditions. Many lines of *Tears of Blood* show Papusza's attachment to nature and her deep knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

While traveling, Romani families used to stay in the vicinity of water and woods, and their diet included a variety of wild food. Those skills, undoubtedly, metabolized into their survival potential. However, none of them were used to go through a freezing winter on the move. Without proper dwelling and clothing, survival was highly challenging even for healthy adults; infants and elderly people were much more vulnerable. During anti-partisan actions when occupation soldiers surveyed the woods families often had to hide in swamps for days:

Hardly did we save ourselves  
from sure death in the quagmire. Barely, with great effort  
we got out. All dirty.  
In the [midst of the] large swamp, we all  
crowded onto the single left cart (lines 659–664).

Oral histories of Romani families from the western borderlands of the German-occupied Soviet Union show the multiple ways in which parents sacrificed for their children. Mothers deliberately took a risk of going to nearby villages and asking for food among peasants. Many women, in fact, were killed in villages or on their way. Fathers sought to enrol in Soviet partisan units as fighters to enable the acceptance of their families in the civilian camps where living conditions were more arranged (For examples, cf. Bartash 2020).

*Tears of Blood* deepens our understanding of the ways in which the Nazi plans extended to the level of human suffering and captures the most harrowing experiences of Romani genocide, namely: the realities of the community survival when pushed to the extremes and the collapse of the most essential cultural norms of Polska Roma, for example, those associated with ritual purity and alimentary prohibitions, such as the taboo of consuming horse meat:

Romnis cooked  
dead horses that had rotted for two  
or three weeks on the ground, but how miraculous that meat tasted (lines  
145–147).

The 'cultural evidence' from the poem presents a whole array of the Romani experiences of the genocide, and the discussion of such evidence has potential

to contribute to a broader discussion of cultural genocide.<sup>10</sup> To offer one more example, traditional etiquette stipulated wearing long skirts for women, since female lower body was considered impure. The lack of appropriate clothing added an additional level of suffering and humiliation to the female experiences of German occupation:

Where will they get a coat from?  
All the clothes are already in tatters,  
the flesh is naked, we want to die (lines 154–156).

Finally, our historical and cultural interpretation of the poem calls for a closer integration of Romani and regional histories. *Tears of Blood* offers us a unique opportunity to embrace the complexity of interethnic and interpersonal relations as lived and perceived by Polska Roma in German-occupied Volhynia. Through the prism of their experiences, the Nazi genocide is hardly separable from the persecution they endured at the hands of Ukrainian insurgents and the hostility of the non-Roma population. That is why, the Romani genocide cannot be taken out of its micro-historical context and studied as an isolated phenomenon. Such an approach would unavoidably lead to marginalizing Romani experiences and memories of the Nazi genocide, preventing a proper comprehension of why and how it happened.

Therefore, the volume's overall objective is to tackle historical injustice and make the history of Romani genocide part and parcel of the mainstream of European and global historiography. We are convinced that *Tears of Blood* has a greater potential to retell the ordeal of Roma to public at large than any scholarly publication. And we hope that the open access publication of the poem will contribute towards this important goal.

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10 The concept of cultural genocide or culturicide appeared as early as 1944, being proposed by the lawyer Raphael Lemkin. Nowadays the concept is most often used in relation to the indigenous people of North America.

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**PART I**

*Texts & Translations of Tears of Blood*



# A Facsimile of the Manuscript in Papiusza's Hand

Bronisława Wajs-Papiusza

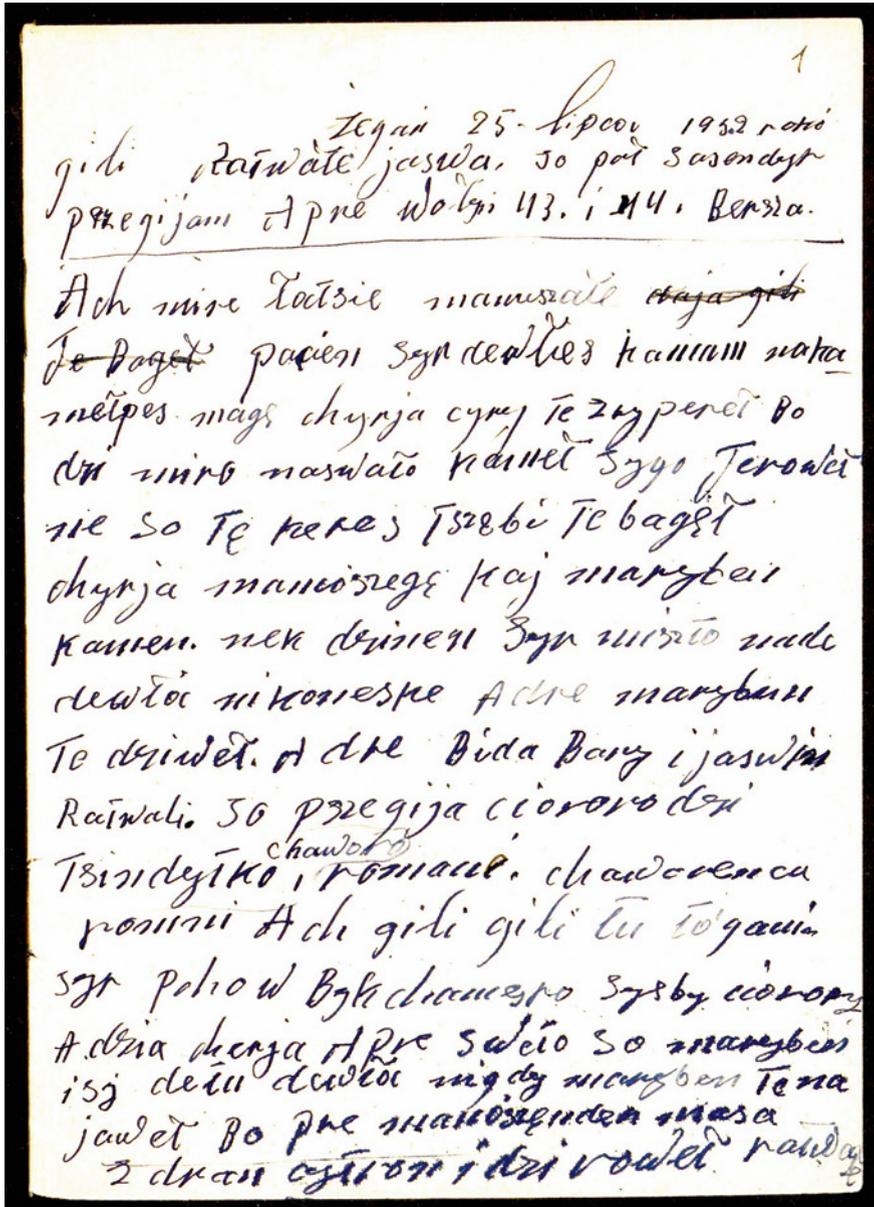


Fig. 1.1

jaswengoc i milcon nadriwet krajy tescny  
 Samenca. meti gocz s'jedn a che mizy giti  
 Te na kainen maryben Te skowlot tegro  
 dri. Tedawlot somaryben iay. 60 idy  
 dasawe kraj nadenie mishi i ronnge  
 na pacemys kaj pat sasosim ronn psze  
 peremys s'ya smkan kakera tabse manes  
 potsie ~~kele~~ karia gocz pojatne. maryben  
 s'ya Bysynde deia dewca kraj inostan  
 Sary Bibalit Te Bisinet koc pre Inco  
 Tejauet smkan Te diwid baregola Te don  
 niet maryben maryben Boczaj m'goc i  
 jawet celo drjpen. mizy koc i tawic  
 inasusradie bare wgsunet mizy giti caccim  
 So. puzija roni ikawore i ronn a che  
 a che maryben jocz Bocz s'ji Ronesu i jcz  
 wencia of isiody pagawa tomegs  
 giti giti iugant a che wena Bzpa  
 miestore by jagawet Bocz Nam Bocz  
 kaj kaj Te sowed ikawore

Fig. 1.2

2

Trajna nam, jak te chakiret raiy na  
 syj Tohow drowese dazge det  
 chadymy sja Fedniwet chadowe cu  
 Adre wani Dary. Sore Pinage sare  
 Sore Adre wano wlozesimie pome  
 kie sejr jannej kandyt sady  
 Te wynnarey Ajit pchedle Dary  
 Boty teheret jak Sasio raiy kai  
 roma peja Sos me tumyge mato  
 sio poliamawa daja raiy <sup>kam</sup> ~~ty~~ tumen  
 Tenymarey iikowesre zapolnen do  
 me som romi kato pat pateseyn  
 ciucwo riek det tumyge mo  
 dewet Basky Dary Adre wesi  
 kato. dala touda wyfchardnia  
 Sarem ciucwedeja me sego diana  
 Adre wesa. Bijani don don.  
 Suletanca Skeclejapes romian  
 Symetka. Sore Kulefane zret

Fig. 1.3

mausia agit dyales gijam adre  
 Baro werr Saro pomekicium nasys  
 warden dni gres. pat jamedek sasys  
 klotes i Aulencia pchorez nasys na  
 d mardasj jek, chadore pre polutice  
 wawya apre wasia nchra dnaryz roma  
 soodaj te keret sasys nam dot  
 arroginem men techryler. A day  
 nasys iso patuzartha prymoret  
 i karjeler saru chalya bo  
 chawaren dyficiu i rommen  
 ot tsia kindra Baro nasysben  
 Adna kaj sasos ~~tsioshdna~~ te dy  
 chylot. Paruzartha orapajen nissi  
 madaret i rommenca narwet so  
 pes dawa keret sasys men  
 kumdle Lewymaret nos indrian  
 Achre werr pes tedet tch tamie  
 cionore Bot tamten 127 jek 32et

Fig. 1.4

3

Eza daj dewiã te dewiã so te diat  
 se te pjei kaj tõe telet nepusio adje  
 nau so te keret wesi sare tũnlegš  
 Adna det so, zy Adne. dessa to  
 Zalesia roma so isz Adne. gawa  
 to cionasam tũnle jante sare  
 Kotelane isz niera daj isinde  
 ciorone tũnle sare nymatle  
 Angila gwanar ~~mmmmmm~~ losaresza  
 zabogã ligindetgn don Adne. nosza  
 cirkãle jek jekidestke dyldiandli  
 daja nat ~~obars~~ suki ar isz  
 Apre Boliberi ciondama romle  
 nca kotelane zachõte.  
 cirkãle tũn dĩaade; ochawore  
 teknie. pamiõny Agit dydesvaki  
 ret supan giti bagel maisione  
 romane tũnaworen sari i frejciono  
 Apre pamiõliren pãõkes nakipen  
 i Bidatãr Bẽsãren, nãdriõen  
 so tũn dewiã siakirel dajpiv

Fig. 1.5

jeli daj Bary dęwłoro dęwłoro. och gili  
 gili tu miyę tęgani nikoi dęwłoro na  
 dęwłoro so pes dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro miyę dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro. pał jany dęwłoro tęgani  
 ne dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro ne te wy dęwłoro jany dęwłoro  
 pre swęto kraj kany dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro. pes miyę dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro. nęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 sa te so dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro pes  
 nazap dęwłoro. A ne dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro miyę dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro  
 dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro dęwłoro

Fig. 1.6

4

Zmyslin Ęggę Bagg drama naszykaw  
 Ęggę daom Łatśio sykaw Ęggę choda  
 no. Te dęchgiol Ęsindlytrow; romeno  
 okanoro (Je pmederel dasio Boro  
 pinia wawłot~~ę~~ weszono janiaro  
 Bagg Ęggę gilony kaj janiaro drian  
 Agit; patel doro B. asawel;  
 dāt.) weso weno wenozenca tu  
 dast Bars; prajencol Bato  
 margben sasz i ukrancenca  
 sare janiari zamani i Ęsi  
 den mikonos Boleclyr nactam  
 en. byko ped kortzore sarey  
 pte sweto zamande klatylony  
 cionore Ęsibja Ęggę optsinite  
 jandra Ęggę wepline sare sweto  
 manow cionore zyk jander  
 a. Bawale kon pmedria  
 gaswa R. Ratwale.

Fig. 1.7

Zyk pes tuncygs manowale z det  
 kaj Tepredridroni manowala net  
 idygs chipja imisio zyrygs Budny  
 Taja koły kocham koły jaswa  
 kałe mooy Teskedet rozna  
 dnaba te pjet Beini ciauure m  
 i koły matsi gnaja zamande  
 romnia kichacle doj tyn fronte  
 skitnainde isygs kie masione  
 pDhlowegny syn mancyfany  
 romasle pete. jekwan p dme  
 konpro bizi dese jandte romu  
 ciwrosz nie sare sare sar  
 mtsi sajawclajdcm dady  
 so kereła tykne chawnosq rom  
 ni. kaj leła podricor sawi  
 Bojose sare operet masanage  
 Temeret pro kamet mietkon  
 nadalot inacclivet jekt Polibay  
 i pani Suroet

Fig. 1.8

5

Tęgro Rojberu. Za de jakcha jamen  
 A pre dnyja zadyltę Saude uscia  
 jamen prekonę Dewia nauydon u  
~~te~~ Ten wysnu u jamen. daja  
 nat snyteli jaisia dysie Te Bayet  
 phore i emie paramisaromai  
 jawla went siodnareni jwa  
 penma pre phow pre wasoi  
 syn tykne cimchemia. Kacę jak  
 cha zamkasiona Tekne Irija  
 pomonona phore najeki predyidro  
 mai kienona gila cucuse (Tykne)  
 Terowet dysie chianore Joffat  
 Madias jisz zon naui doreiten  
 Ledrias. Sasy sato wasz obliu  
 A daj Bokchataja pncpene.  
 Pre Tasianem jendoro ilgja  
 joi Boki i Bida Tekne drija rosfrej  
 derikindria jek sat u wany  
 rowet jek ~~jek~~

Fig. 1.9

papina pawanida napisi Tete nago  
 Boliben jeki sat jen woda daja  
 dewet furoro daj nyziota sosio  
 chiznja natatsio jow nyziota dore dep  
 ezapojow dxiata sygedejr jause dria  
 zam patan jaweta so tchot naja  
 wawa ioniani choj so nadziawa  
 Ache jak Berg, jandawa mas piny  
 me jandawa usoro, madiarsto  
 Tchojato. dadydey Raktetes panty  
 Zanto czapojow toz psetniasam  
 drom Sustrono me, ciseio  
 daja pat nasiociam na baro jworo  
 peja drom Satsiapindria: jek  
 clytito drom Tchodejtro A pre Boli  
 ben Boliben. drian Tete naga gi libag  
 em) A me. dajom te Baget konkonny  
 naczinaw so pes mafe kendaia  
 dymybyz sosio te marek  
 A pre edionja; niby sawfritsi  
 nadawan

Fig. 1.10

6

Sane ichabade rakiren doste  
 zorales. Dagen Tona Boekinen  
 dasen. madriane daw mani  
 unnege Saben. Tychona sawa  
 jawda margben Sare Te Kan  
 clen) Bolibin Boro zokaryben  
 dyjoni mage giti polokches  
 Te bagel i Pchenaw firoma  
 dykchen i pre Boliben Syn  
 zya migo zmet zduat nani  
 spokajno Syn m tobyio So  
 prydasam saro dusaniki  
 Hchaginy Bary syt me  
 nomyli. Achre dowe iaw  
 pesa Gak Bary. Sare Pasion  
 ichaworegg moja Pchanden  
 Sane noble danjajyn jatsien  
 Anage Sare jett Te dyidrot  
 chy Te menet chawore nani  
 nani komestec Te brid

Fig. 1.11

i dawaj godes Agit Tonnasel miro  
 rom man pochyca fajz wasi man  
 chytelna so kere s. kemes je pape  
 res nadawa romora so koneska  
 -dysa dawlowo te chat nam is  
 me tsicaj ~~ter~~ romam magz nat  
 kati pohan minaj. Doko dymie  
 so pes tury kendzia me kama  
 m. pokchateu ikawonen te ciat  
 kivet Bonasety pre da bida  
 Te dykchet dadydes so man  
 isz dawawo kameu te pzeperet  
 do doj kaj nasety romano ikawo  
 gilasca cdyjom. mawben Baro  
 gaga Tsiobon Tyn wess Baro po  
 koty sasy chytion tsy jama  
 manen sasrono drom  
 ilqga kenen me wperaw  
 szymki kad Tchajate. Bujny  
 goillso celo cina nalyjom

Fig. 1.12

7

punne mare i caru soisys Bot ma  
 cbiary. Zauicirde pasitj isys  
 me cbiaw tsinaclawau mare  
 Pohaginaw; chaw Bidaityr Bisuy  
 raw nassaw so san isy jume  
 ren nani agit pagim  
 psremokte Egn chatade jume  
 re i pre madyn dyteden solo  
 Zajek claya ronta mine in  
 me man na presickinde jek  
 A pre Babet chatade jawja claya  
 romni jantary jaj Zauire  
 Bage gili romni sosreto  
 jatsian sygeayn ~~sygeayn~~ ~~sygeayn~~  
 sygeayn Bada j isy sasy stadon  
 Botedyn Apre gresyn chatade  
 nba. Besiom saro marca  
 Zalijam joss Baro dyteden  
~~Kotom~~ jantaren sare Souten  
 Srukach Sileto A clay sasy mujuden

Fig. 1.13

moznia kicy dywera te jawet  
 dyja Baro ju Te peret. Bary  
 Tysia z atoliczian i nakiren  
 kionz Bokhatyn, a ponniam Adne  
 czasowo narzben kas do jed rok  
 met. day cioci inawore smetole  
 voni miro Adne choliv Baro  
 some. Tuty peretrom mas  
 snare janciom date bawca wy-  
 zohenciom i frejdatyn gili  
 frejdasu te boget dejom sare  
 jandha wytychodej sz byman na  
 slytę potchancej panykide  
 chadole matadniec ~~z~~  
 pokidę. me na kaudrom  
 ięgro szaryben chaworen  
 zardntes Bokhatyn myzben  
 cloja nat sztyodi jise meret  
 i Majony pnie szton dywera  
 garode sztanen chaworen narmia  
 adne ju Baro prapujan

Fig. 1.14

8  
 romanu chaworo ztomeny fclctca  
 nie garo de. Aare jek cywec) in dewio  
 re. janiary B. d. a. dykdes cykto  
 khamoro zyn B. d. yno miewe  
 Srylibnaszyn e chaworo i romauo.  
 adre wesz baro. szunet cinykco  
 rojben dakro i da desno szunet  
 paui i wesz qilu Bary fiera i kon  
 Aare Thema ioc liginet rom eeste  
 oepolinet soste wesz Bagei Do  
 romaui rowet. najek droaua  
 sasirone romce chawo dencia pszegi  
 re. najek nagty passe ozero roma  
 no. pszmasz Sze cinytlo najek  
 jaswa natwote wyziode najek  
 chaworo pszmeto z B. d. yno  
 zyn wode cinykco. khamo khamoro  
 garowet pes pat kossior cini  
 kossiozry keret szylot jak masy  
 Jekeret dewiono medy pisynt  
 B. d. yno

Fig. 1.15



Bo sicutna wessa sosnyka<sup>9</sup>  
 wysusciodajen i son doden).  
 Doro jaurei omptaci Sweto  
 paruo datacy so uclre wess  
 Tsiaknakhia jek ciercheniony  
 jamca Byszty Egn. Mi. cywed i so  
 wa. pchony rakine Panamisia  
 romani isy dasawo kag zowa  
 kauden isy dasawo gaty pat  
 tatyr ichionden Bo clre lotyr  
 zonalis pacim. so wa tyane  
 cykryt rowa legue giosz  
 zonalis ze mirones na  
 ciortode Bot ien isys sgn dnoicel  
 jannare. mire manossale pio  
 loutsie kamteby iume adne fikas  
 jamaro drjje pen tedykchet  
 i ciocio Tepchnef Bome Tekka  
 manu TeTsinef saro a saro  
 Te Bygy zonalis jek Benschoro

Fig. 1.17

To jawies by Bocho srokon Barad  
 aab. me drinaw kraj Tsieneloi  
 mito pszatonu souhatoniu me  
 na chuchawaw Te pzeperet  
 nuro Szero) saro ciuic cialio  
 So pzedrudzija som ciuroso  
 i Tsindo barawelo. Adro szejso  
 pat' sasiossoro Szery) kadam ~~szery)~~  
 wigija wez sarsa sparnij. vom  
 kioy so dndriet cyro puzpinas daw  
 oreste sporodna gadzio pes syra  
 dria ~~szery)~~ daw kerdria cy  
 Sasio doredyr chybun. wera kraj  
 naryj by sasegro jata dardzie  
 gadzija penen sya puzdzant  
 jaswa prejam edyr dytchom  
 ni by daren) i rommiao voden  
 frej dalyj gaj gaw. in dytchom,  
 daw gadzitra szonen romio  
 chaben jandem qitoc nasren  
 ier Tete Bolibien chaworo

Fig. 1.18

10

frejcion kcheten i' i'weszyn ma  
 clarkn chera to'ie zya bezomila  
 te. nani g'adore. perore nage. —  
 gacrie jawen Achre kchera magem  
 nijamary frejda napreshio  
 wyfija. Ba' locha isys ukrojnay  
 manozza polia ckeinde kchagim  
 ja sztockirenyz Trozto  
 gerownio roweni syr manozza  
 wymande so kicheraj katelary  
 i zaien tegro Barwalipen i  
 nijame g'abri poliamen so tumo  
 Sarz jam cygany cyz ukrojnay  
 cyz cyz polaki jame roma.  
 szasz men kamitla te zaimare  
 kitumie jawjam i za barzode  
 ba sare Baszajebena naktchungs  
 zya pestne jakcha roma  
 bobaszajebon myzgbias tyt.  
 jamon wyliza i za barzode  
 matla cytko gili karyts do

Fig. 1.19

Aligipet gadni tukos mas pine  
 zabarrade goli kati jakda  
 tybe; gadne jadde Tyrochore  
 i dria soro zruan borantomy  
 gadni soro kijauę jandens  
 zaren jagon jaguresyn pryre  
 wens tytko ~~my~~ me tsi nelyom  
 mine gada romniege poltyom  
 Bonne gada sowe manca zaljo  
 ni jek tyrachu pio bysyn  
 chom jek dhyaja Apre che  
 ra so isys man pre wessa  
 z resstirion. ne dlyjom magi  
 dasawo tod kaj te mienaw  
 kon idz zamardo gai nataw  
 woliraw A che magi te par  
 raw. Patysa soro magie  
 z rypret o dowa kaj mewinow  
 A che pchaw ppreperet Bonne  
 som dasawi so dymchod chynj  
 worgis nek meret chit mro

Fig. 1.20

~~etajaj~~ ~~dytchab~~ ~~actaj~~ ~~dnica~~ <sup>11.</sup>  
 jek patesyn dot gadno desz  
 chrine pohrybnastja pre paku  
 kie. bobbowcy zamarde zota  
 dnywore kondzian kraj men  
 clay jandzian sokapadasi  
 ciorore kikon Tedzias kisawle  
 chataly cypajow mędyn otrady  
 me Alie Pysionie syte pale ki  
 jume. So cawel deia chypa  
 cng misio kraj chianei Apie  
 wei Bata psepereciu najet zero  
 Apie jek pes zcyme i kchiera  
 pomagie cyme megz kchiera pol  
 katyelaneta poramurde ciorore  
 denja machanga. nie nie woli  
 cionys tejawel padne wena <sup>Polon</sup> te po  
 dian man rowa syz te Beszet  
 A ktre deia kchiera Are dyleg  
 natar kymawo manasie  
~~sw~~ ~~actre~~ ~~charyga~~

Fig. 1.21

Kachnia z dylinyne pre wema  
 Pchiren kchacy powen gorownen  
 gadnie zamaren naszy te dykrohet  
 zopes wykeret roma adne  
 Kchena Te besh daren tena  
 moite jawen dzyde To na ja  
 zieni zawaren Kchona dzyne  
 Baly roden; baszawen jawje  
 Bary wēt szajali pre gaw pchiries  
 Kali romni. H dne bary det  
 naszy gadnie dogise usuginey  
 Ony san kalykary parze mei  
 roma gode nachia cymcete  
 sza gadnie naku yben roma  
 no nachastija gadnie syr  
 Troszot kchren A pre ciacio  
 dzyr ped kcharen wasyl intem  
 nasia paraska otēna  
 petro kay liřa sasz  
 zaline roma Adne wema  
 garode kay gadnie tena dzyri

Fig. 1.22

vi) kaj san katylary papusza 12  
 zapanas by men zamardel  
 jekwar <sup>u</sup>syntonomie <sup>u</sup>nyzpowan  
 sarb clywes isys boliben drokar  
 isys tbron a che clodali zacyfka  
 me te sowet naszy jany's tet  
 clodali zacyfka <sup>u</sup>nyzpowan  
 jettmaty pchociatu from isy  
 pchivan woclara ming jechi  
 romniory cyfkiad wclpiat  
 smacz tsinlong <sup>u</sup>nyzpowan zcl  
 at image? te chad clyfka  
 clyfket kaj nachochawclw  
 zyr keamam Bacht a che zclto  
 te loutchaw. <sup>u</sup>nyzpowan san  
 ming ciowory tsinlonge byjo  
 nyfakte maro lant do isys  
 quadoro smaczper tsinlonge  
 sst moryka zardli pike.  
 clyfka sawe tume lantsie  
 merem bokchiaty z dij'chawore  
 mire roma isy lantsie

Fig. 1.23

i sare doj bistyrstiam kaja na  
 clor jamedy isy chata de  
 sie doja wat kijauu najawne  
 noumije tinniy de te ciams  
 clantat pat tro kassio clor tu  
 clares i medaraw me so for  
 koi jawanda sojat czy nadzi  
 nes kaj isy anapajewo  
 ochrat. jany tca tradycjam  
 Tradycne agit wstady  
 zasuciam i balyr nacysta  
 joi man sie to siomocjau  
 karyk i so wperet jek gastro  
 stredem tinnen sare voma  
 briana A clre walyr kedona  
 waly sare vomen cligardem  
 jost jek keher cho ciot walyr  
 rostiedem jamen A clre  
 jek keher straden  
 66 manuzem

Fig. 1.24

13  
lutuene 1944

lutuene doj mege gadrie  
 digne sare adre je kichen 3 potroj  
 i kodnia pre. tuwio zanoswali  
 jad sare je ki rom mi A poum  
 me ~~sonny's nesistuti~~ sare 3 yr je k  
 nikon nameja sare isys po  
 zrow kortre persy pomogicte  
 mializuytka kenda rokawo  
 i do paniesd sare wysasciajan  
 i cladydes tyrepreu sareje  
 clnam cyja dywel mawo tato  
 kraj nadyj wono pasio gadrie tele  
 cloda la pchiren sawe roma tro  
 ssito kreen roma polokches zabi  
 tyren A preimie jezne kcharey  
 janek Buonia kerysia zasia jety  
 miro tau nasny chaline nomam  
 clowa kchak isys Bakhito  
 Bare nady gadrie kenne  
 kraj romen Te zamar el

Fig. 1.25

pohen<sup>te</sup> groby te chardet krande  
 Jansen Izadaret so doj isys roiky  
 ne gadre tena clytchen roma romma  
 maswate pasze put clydes <sup>ten</sup> put  
 cloj zamarena sareni vacienca  
 A pne ciaga mitejon clytes magen  
 rowen natwate jasulwena fydye  
 isys Adre wesra syn ilaje  
 qu dymia chana jancare mas  
 janne mionsza tan ewera Adre  
 wasioa zek zamareni jannen ce  
 poym ichadowen) Pat kabi zagi  
 ja me i jeki rommi zek judej  
 tokro dsi Bachtali jaimo  
 de wet bo joj jisy madriwet.  
 chajant naty gijant syn nat  
 Bary te kabi z kadija clarjatyn  
jancare dsi joj ime  
 Tsiadore mani i dnu zamareni  
 man i int pszat isy clyas sygo  
 o clote ykones a kaj chajant  
 isy

Fig. 1.26

14

Bo Casia nadziwota romemden  
 Isie <sup>niross</sup> lub micii epadorenadi jand  
 doj cziro kaj Te na chakon poma  
 nes gijamjoch. o do eionno raciozy  
 gilinirz gili kaj jame Terakidhas  
 jannareg Dabri Burg in szejio doj  
 jannary. dojdoro godio dri turo  
 wylidzia mege szero tena sare psz  
 pernas pody mege wesi tyro, sare  
 tyone cyngitly magen dnytyz pat  
 jannare chadowe tena zannaren mon  
 chyrja sasai guchijeh dolica in jam  
 mang Dybahtenti Bathi ming siuntin  
 cheye ryzisowes Tenu doj czimia byro  
 mego prepernas wfydyn sare  
 kohetane zrusarecler so bot czimie  
 coll in niro czomoro zytan mege  
 kcy isz cztsio chata do Te po dcy  
 mege wesi pernos wazysio talisty  
 Tractet cierzto wo gili Burg  
 zroncto wesi pamiwe / chata  
 ceykes

Fig. 1.27

oł pchoneł wauład pest kchawel jasse  
 sja mołe pounerijam sa tekerel  
 nadzimecliam pre dclis uyr men  
 zcljau i jak zapalka lot dyjam  
 jone potomes saro obrle wes  
 jasse agjam chatacytmo gila teb  
 get i chatacytmes teratitel  
 oloa pcela ty cnapcyed i dlice  
 suela prot pczow i chatacy wari  
 wle nle ne i pchones ze nadzimecl  
 cny dclis jassas daja nat  
 cngna a pre gczny pprirady  
 jass jassas a che Bary dclis  
 dclis chclan joss tendziones saro  
 i pss tendzys chata de  
~~Ami jcl~~  
~~jak w~~  
~~by w~~

Fig. 1.28

9. 15  
 Te dnan A dria clor Syr jek Bat.  
 Te meret miru chawore daja  
 rat driasani syr jek, sare kachetane  
 Romina molonta garo drian  
 chcaady Bolbodeci zaline zatar  
 dem tigiwi daja gadrija podon  
 romen koszen pat so ten Bep  
 A daj jantna miru tsicwo peida  
 ledya psrepja. dale kate Bega  
 pdeenybnagruja lidrianyg Tytne  
 rakla i kereenyg zamo Stujnoi  
 a lekrajna) i kende natoty  
 ratoi kaj psrepene bat mawassa  
 scasy Tyzsz tascie chistelo. psrepe  
 ne srukas ilaja Adre oboro Syr  
 cierchunia. kaj tu dadywes kende  
 ledya sumar gila Adre Pchate  
 Bociar) daja rat czapajowdnoj  
 octradi) gine gien pozalime roma  
 babitsien pora yada szornu  
 sare so isys tu gadrio A cpre koble

Fig. 1.29

znieścis toż narysija jek tytko rom  
 i romi daja kaj maiea chatołom  
 ca) a mdrice doja Apr szieo przepija  
 jek Bobowco (charyc) manus? szp.  
 czepujow pomest o tdroctnia szp.  
 jek do tnieo karye wydyja i jek  
 czepujow te) zamardcia ne romi  
 Apr szieo przepija Szare bydy psre  
 dridnija jek psraes doje pchomien  
 pomencia nidadajni dat nawi kon  
 pa' iute roweoi scorony chadire  
 ti iut pchom kabi tei mry pchom  
 kabi chatoke wypchocen szp  
 ianne doj jawneniszp jon ianen  
 agit nazamande na chodine kaj  
 san kaj kate romi ciowow  
 Szaro Szaro wypchocen Szaro te  
 drinet kameli romi rakireni  
 Nowen soste tuon jawnen Apr  
 Sojben pomestę i prawo 2 sziana  
 mis dze b isyrdę karia janteloi ~  
 Achia mdrice git dridnoloi Opala  
 n. nametchaduit iunen

Fig. 1.30

3. Barwato wonden zaralo 16  
 roma pobardatine cnapajuda  
 itatane i roma saru zatine gadrie  
 rowen partysantij pohenen o den  
 clowasa pobakege zalinou neti  
 cionore roma zatsie guencoi  
 Traideni Atume rowen sandi zis'  
 kenen dakiaj yawa pochaiterde  
 dakiaj mazroszen towereaca  
 zatsindie chynja drijja tomase  
 claja bawo wybchen dria ikamanda  
 podyja roma Traideni San  
 Bagen syt raja ichawore  
 frej drian quaja chynrou zunen  
 clhoni baro psreperet zasio zaralo  
 gaja cheneicoi pchow maren  
 zasy Achse Bida wpenen roma  
 Sait Achse goren dyt Traideni  
 zasy chylcien partysantij ien  
 zalen romoi dypitawre dno  
 parysypen

Fig. 1.31

qila Bagen tãtsio cyo peske przyto  
 wen. sarege chãlãdẽgie Bassaden  
 i bidaũy Bĩsũren) josi rozjãtsin  
 pos tne sare rypã Buro maryben Adre  
 wen wypeja zyr chãdẽnes chãdã  
 iromẽnca chãdore i romnia  
 namim jant przyradzjãnt kaj orapcyõ  
 cãdãdo isz tãdo doja pãt  
 Bot bawcy Saurãdã 5 chãlãden  
 iãurãren adãtã kaj jãmẽma  
 Tuãdãnt mĩtsi nadzrinen jãũjãũ  
 dołen garõwen sau i bagen  
 rojben naszãdẽn) doja pãt  
 don wytrãdãjãnt Sare techetãns  
 Adre Buro Błõta kaj cytrõt  
 gũajã pãũpene pãkãdã tãtã  
 isz mĩtsi mãkãdã doj gũajã  
 Tuãdãdẽne kãũjã jãũt Adre  
 Błõũy mãpãpẽjãnt lĩdãdo Bidaũ  
 sa wytrãdãjãnt Sare mĩcãũ  
 Adre Błõũy Buro pãũ jãk wõũ  
 ãũũ

Fig. 1.32

4.) posūchodniam agit dnydes 17  
 Sasynadon paj ngydjam npre  
 wankawyr dromd kaj Sasz zometke  
 wipdina tchandone maba; noime  
 Saszcyti; draba, hatadef  
 magen isy tumen gugia wor  
 dena Traden chaben nalen  
 i mleder Zapityren Bo jansnca  
 chadendca Te na psreperen  
 Bachidles tanegz jatsien Adre  
 jatobu ciacipen patien kaj  
 jamen nalcipen rucskan pory  
 patipen sau i dylachou joss nachoy  
 ga pomekidiane wessa. datigo  
 Traden Tradas cielo raj dnydes  
 Te klat isy so so dny kamanet  
 iylno koido dsiat i pieret ba tesidde  
 kamanet dylchad kaj jumen Ligira  
 Apre barine droma dyllo kole nadon  
 wessa Tu typer pes perona kichan  
 chaces wygija cielo Boliben  
 dyleto dyltrio sweca soukar mino

Fig. 1.33

dygło sweto. Sukan Bare Edonot  
 pchera i mamsza f rej da bary  
 Achre (denja) romane, c chōcie  
 Kchena. bot Kachnia mamōsren  
 nani zamende dodata Sora 18.  
 Achre Kchena so pes clay kist  
 chian dykchas patul chatade  
 jannato pol patrow psytadyja  
 i pat nstyn boleclyr bagen  
 gili romani chata dykto szōka  
 nclyr Bradnaga siō dzo pro  
 klijajēt i msscyta sumkaj na.  
 pliecuach i i nakiren Thaden  
 roma i Tsi nadeuren. clay tūne  
 n. wawyn chatade Sakinert  
 dykchas Trossotytna drama jet  
 chion roma chataclay wasia  
 paden i nakiren Tsi n jannare  
 romie Sasie i bachiōle Ajant  
 nystiowos patē. clay tūmen  
 nantyt Siakierde 1/2

Fig. 1.34

(5.) <sup>18</sup> Satainde chataido wyka  
 ma katylary umare claii iawa  
 wypukndie salinepes i trauzno roma  
 teys syz jek panykande gilosa  
 kate jacha zarandie zyr katwale  
 perengs jawa syz boysegnit Apie  
 Trozuletkia dromaj  
 Jek jamegs Tajnes napohendie  
 Crapajow i kot pakow chataide ze  
 madin Terde parnyzany katylor  
 ny jandare me jame zbyl darys  
 i madynas kaj Tetradas kamesas  
 patz Te rygnat adaj chataido  
 syz sosia rydo Apie gresyn  
 klisiat Apie sase ryga pes cyk  
 chet. i cetraso chalyja kaj kate  
 roma Apie trozuletkia dromie  
 me i dykanyz dyja bot bot chataidom  
 jawja i wardenia o potokode

Fig. 1-35

i pchicim non imen Aclij jam dria  
 cypajow chadade aciej Teiradei  
 mege pchendle, sypawen lilo sasy  
 ory srojna roma roma i romnieu  
 chawory janne wawen bersz aclo  
 wysza bese Szr Towla i na  
 manaso) Szr kichendyr wytra  
 dyma lita jannere pokowicajr  
 Aclre Birja Te na sptirniai  
 wylizam i kame chawicelajr  
 Szpadriam ciucia machodade pat  
 peryr jannege drom sypade kichena  
 mege dym pat unnanendyr  
 zamarile i saru so dykides isy  
 Tyto kochniaj bolitsi pajek groye  
 i warden 2. kappe pobeszena  
 mignoi kichensa i Tradencia  
 ki siota chadade kaj pasyjatyr  
 jawnre. Ro pchocet cyp  
 Daso psaperej jekwot chylciot  
 # jekwot pale nysiot

Fig. 1.36

Samoloty z bzi marem forja 19  
 i gawa wessa chaćkirem imano  
 szen ki bacia zalien botedyr swao  
 nadykden. Ale nek jawel medyr  
 ochre drijaj kaj dawu beam Sasu  
 przepaja miarzydla na. roma lego  
 Daszawenys jon duganes pre saro  
 polcykchenys je anak niekonestle daj  
 clon napodkerys tyllro przyszarenys.  
 A clia isys 2. korkie dajdajn roma  
 zabisynde masa wytwornes Sany  
 i bugenys Czapojowska gila roma.  
 romnia i tsiaja purtyzantka gila  
 chadacychins) gili oji upolu upolu.  
 clu ropoli de posocy ko tyssgi  
 sia tamam Tam zabyla glybo  
 ko zaryto krasomoliet grasnoj  
 purtyzant ona jaku ona pruda  
 zator de zocnoj ko tyssgi sia  
 Trawa ona joni szabl szabl  
 podala woronochu komu

Fig. 1.37

krasica wotaj tam zabity dajebaba  
 zabity. ko somole krasnoj porojan  
 ono on upawda presinylaw wilitro  
 mo sowielkomi dajo za stranajo  
 zasranoj nacimjo. zakrasawicoj  
 lubimjoj mojoj prowad<sup>zary</sup>awkomka  
 wanawoj skablu potlewatoc ona  
 samaja gypoj krasawica byti  
 a mo gable soctroj potyszta  
 Trawa dwi dopoli woronscho  
 krasica wloti za lubwioja za  
 zaswickej stranajo samta wtoj  
 propatca bo paruzkawioj giroje  
 kosomolcoc lubiti i simerci niebaja  
 lasini orijca lubod nasoj wsiroj  
 siisiti konik topoli dwie  
 pro lubod pisimio pajot pisimio  
 wsim sweton lietit. lici pisimka  
 lici de manasy mowej spociz  
 szero ja lici ~~za krasawicoj lici~~  
~~zabity dajebaba zabity~~  
~~a gable topoli dwie~~  
~~krasica wloti~~

Fig. 1.38

(7) Zabity gzie k Topoli dnie 20  
 szkrasawickej swajej k dzie panow  
 koły szysia Thawa Tam zabity glibo  
 ko zassty kosomob kasnoj paruzanij  
 ona joni siablu podawala  
 wonowob komika dleci itia  
 kasawicor w tjem bojo probata  
 za paruzinjo zasawickoj s tra  
 nojo dwe Topoli pisimko  
~~pojot~~ ~~pidzi paruzanica~~ ~~czapajon~~  
 daja gili <sup>daja gili bogens roma</sup> <sup>ichatall</sup> ~~czapajon~~  
 Tace. Czapajona chatane i roma sace  
 wacstac pesne podyne apte Tradycyja  
 cloma sare pesne Tradycyja  
 jaticha figinolej <sup>ktore przynadujam</sup>  
 ki katylary chatowc besasz daj  
 kirkie sare iszs syn dne foro  
 Bare sa dzi kamidria sare. Siokan  
 panues kakra rydo szk dokloms  
 Bare sare wykenengs roziwo wyrob  
 a. i sare sare <sup>Aclom iszs</sup>  
 = locbantc iolo i parwo zatchad

Fig. 1.39

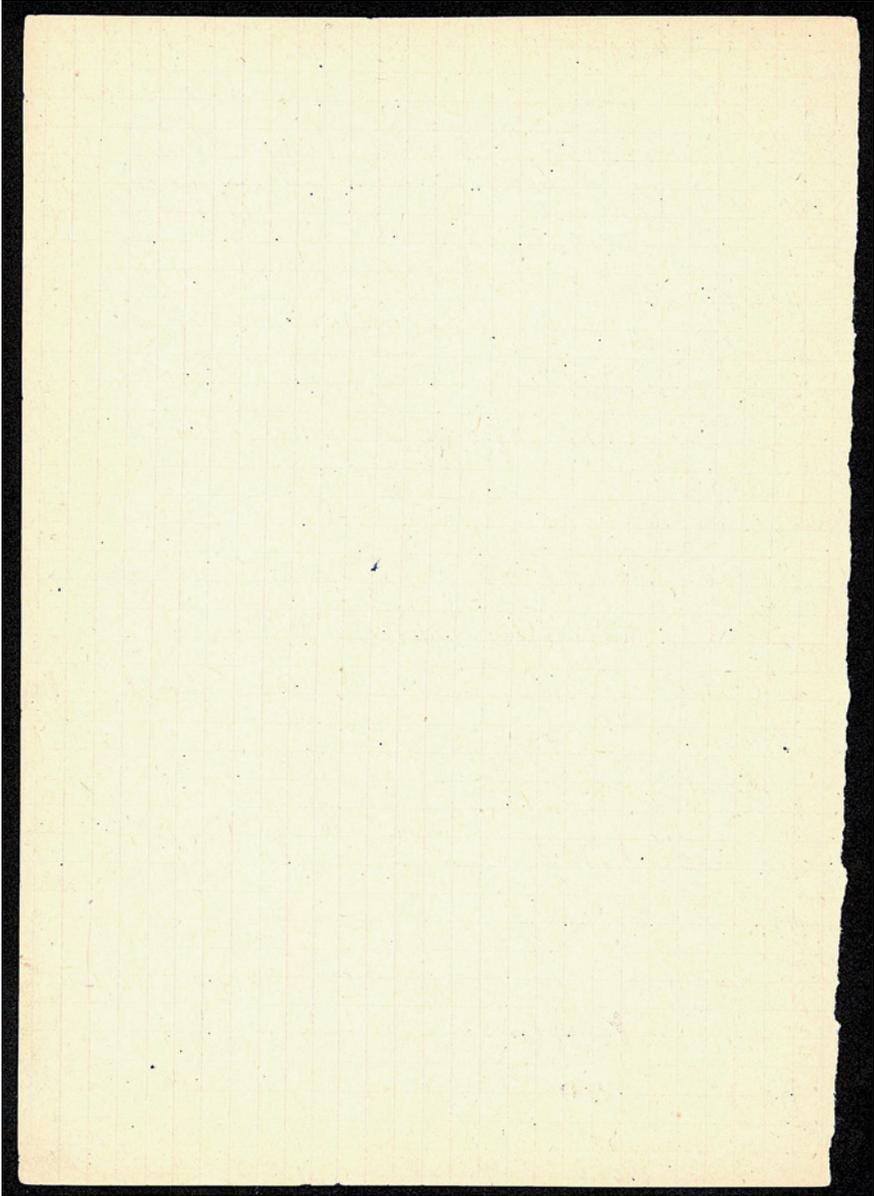


Fig. 1.40

8) Złobcuo załchodo jaimen. 21  
 przemiokłe patē załchode i pre  
 Sinaza syn dpe Źworo Tende  
 chałcna Adre i jeben syn sasy rudy tyłko  
 o zētmi jaimane dpe sstōayka bare,  
 Zdrōtko tēca kōdētōne Adrojen  
 ztōbo przebescōm TerkaŹ so dñi kōme  
 Ti dnyes isys zrunan kichamoro Tałmi  
 reł zrunan. Tedyndet kamōdriam  
 dladynes kuzō s o. kinasam i f. penet  
 Baro syn pałymnia. i drom jūmoro  
 z dymirōnia dlasawo baro jeb kraj  
 roty saresa galdria. Tzebi  
 chereca z pēna Te kereł i wōnde  
 na patē gresyŹ Te spojēt kałetay  
 y. pchełł Tedyndet kiltopierō  
 w. oferyco Terko dōj isy Sanno  
 obrona i rożna znanōzra dōj  
 tēca pēna kiche rono i besze  
 ra syn rāja Do Adraj tūmęg  
 naszy chaworeca

Fig. 1.41

Te bszet mogineu szasz pã Tepsemã  
 nei pãwredyn pchendra èc ticha  
 worenoc. A chre wessa naszy tejawã  
 ba pat 3 dydes isz baro baro marg  
 bar tejawã moginen voma te pesserã  
 ne i jenne kandzjan tyn dydes jessere  
 psubenciano Ah. dentã Baro piety  
 peretã if. parno. Zaro bolibert  
 tamto te patã pes kerdrã chroni  
 janneq misardã ne so isz Tepie  
 reit tzebi isz tãradã Bo chãtãtã  
 psepchẽdãtã urõma. A ronuc chãc  
 nozbyt kãndãtã alie miãdãtã.  
 A chre iw baro wõndznesã tãtra  
 det tã kãpicrãw pchẽn tãtã  
 i pãe stãtã chãtãdende sãwãtã  
 ipãtã te zãtãreit. Ah. Ah. Ah  
 Dentã Baro san A pãe Bolibert

Fig. 1.42

(9) de tu mege drispen clanicu bide<sup>22</sup>  
 Tugi poredias misyr bidatyr tedydria  
 nasu wydnias kaj spokoines tederwas,  
 syr cienscōne wpaq syr maisie kaj  
 igr prewōtka chūti cyiron schan  
 i clayjaty zarracem) kicy bōdy i  
 Bokcha kicy tugi i droma kicy osina  
 bana (i polki różna) wgiere Adre  
 chera. kicy kicy maglę nasremy  
 pasre kawa. kicy bōcūy Bryzmdoi kicy  
 waiwał jaswa wytsiockiani bat.  
 wesa A pre igrue kicy) galsz  
 kōy jancha nawyljani wki dy cienne  
 mory zadylchetejs kijame pat da  
 rok paternionz jesterie nasu  
 stacia clayjaty chajing romany  
 wki dy Tsio ~~mar~~ cladow  
 pre pasz nat isy. nom nom  
 cionoro wartyicy wesa obgi ja  
 Bodas A pre Bēta —

Fig. 143

Bessio isys zasuo i porieun 2 ozy 3  
 Tykno chaworo nom magly denty  
 doske namere cioworo tykno tykno  
 moisinet wess wessetyr Tercheret.  
 Aclre dar bary nassty per test  
 jowet w feder by isys Tenoret  
 Dyr Aclre manyben Te drind  
 ne zabystynas Takestyn  
 pichelle jannege punyhanu kiko  
 picrow teinadet, nei nadas  
 id baro warden sare sipolow  
 rotege dierenca ~~z p~~ sspena  
 kenas. Adaj slunas kaurka  
 dasyno naszet ko ty rak rca  
 zaciowwet janne sare Apre  
 if popejani jaw isys baro ne  
 pre mjad id isy kindo isys da  
 scate kej isys pirage. —

Fig. 1.44

(10) ciorene chawore zani zapinasine<sup>23</sup>  
 niisrom godli dyja garowen moja  
 bo chaloia kaj roma sare moja  
 garode Adre iw Baro Te kirodo  
 me Te te was nachodud te menaw  
 wytychaw so do onoplano keret  
 Ajow nisotnis pes przytychaw  
 tonnetka nykiret zasandria  
 dykcia tykne icha kaj piragi  
 pusre clatyn pasiot. nose tes greda  
 kija i patz nysiot jame chijam  
 kion nuczyn badiowio przykincicij  
 olojkioty nadomrasijam me te  
 menet naimojam choc kamdriam  
 dyja dydel' kachamoro keret megz  
 clona trawio jost dycto wazgo  
 forzo na bano puzstinas tutez  
 clawiono syk tclawioia chawore...  
 clawia tawda wytychawia, onoplomy

Fig. 1.45

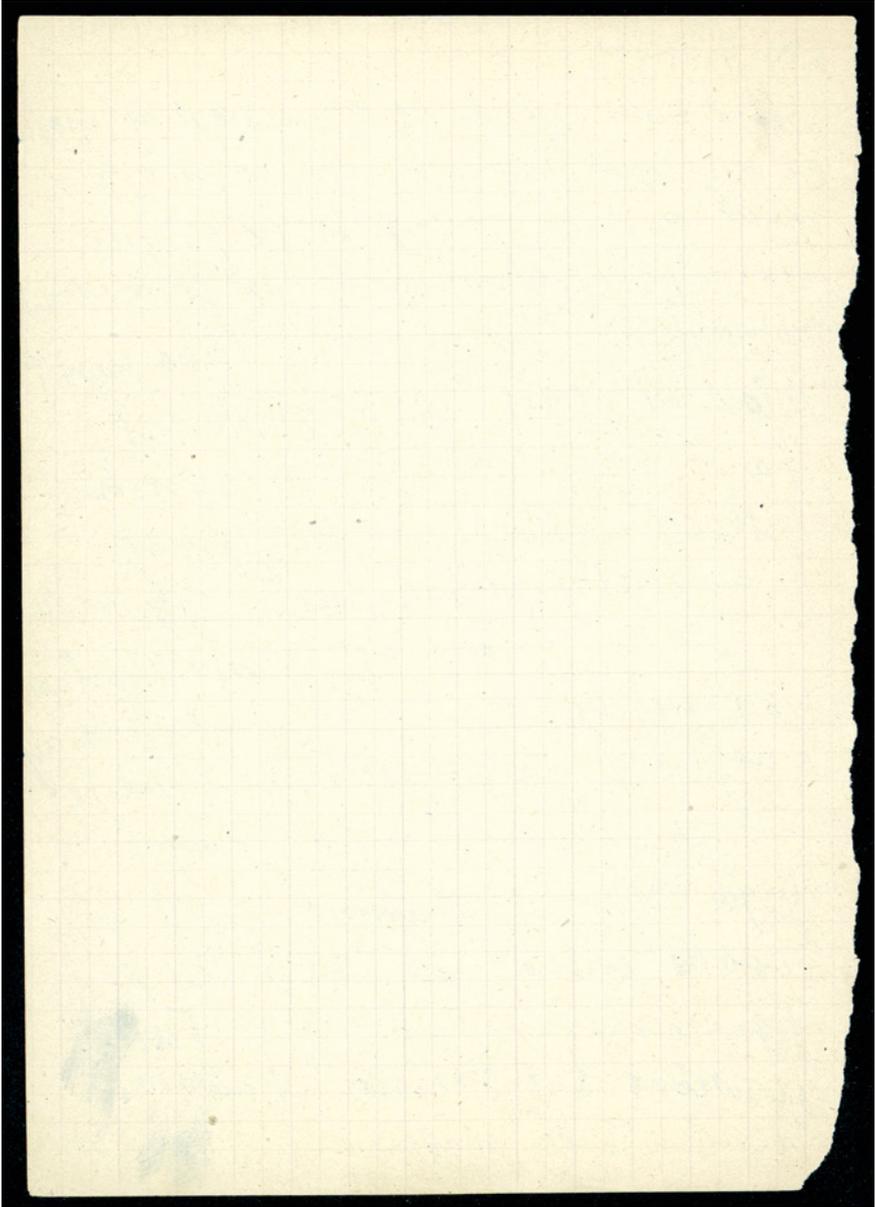


Fig. 1.46

11.) Sawe desz przynasica Apre fore bęby<sup>24</sup>  
 Tsiordet. juw bładasa kijame napet bida  
 Bary kaj Te Tarior mioszoroi chajory  
 Bida bida bary isys bida Achro wasta  
 ne na naszenys dale sasyka bega.  
 odoj chacion kchena edaj konjete  
 penaj smutno kacudy i wunozs zyn  
 megg czapajen pehenozia fej  
 clycio jawena jawa jek jekchostyn  
 wymaren sasos wytraden sasio  
 temar<sup>25</sup> iez clywet kamel celo  
 zweto tezale ne jedroz masia  
 iez koi miosza imr dewet.  
 ne iso daj te teken czj terysio  
 czj doreket te tradet Ach dewet  
 kno. Agit miro palai nen pes  
 karek so kamel such moni  
 jekatar samaret Sza Adria  
 te chwiet Achre bida bary  
 kaj chajory meja Adaj bobu  
 chondaja nekones na samar

Fig. 1.47

Adria jek dywes Tradasyz Kuty na Dome  
 jam sare naswabongz chawole roma  
 ne. joss sasy Temaret przycine, kchem  
 meszo Tetaskieret jameu kamercia bonoszy  
 A ne jumez bida clykcia i sare promini  
 rozmokcia i o chrazo pat clywes jek  
 b ieta jaisia. Adre forzo zatnaclyjam  
 gadri czchi Tsinde roma scawetylito  
 mamosa Pcherejbnagnaja Adne wosta  
 i partychakita kke woszi i Adria at  
 chakinnes sasiosa marybiena  
 i przeciw litnista A pre kchona  
 branka so dywes A pre kopiczow  
 przyclykchet i so dywes bobardenet  
 joss natyriawa so isys gres megs  
 zamordowa B iatasa najek moio  
 psichakinde sare i dys ne niak  
 zamordow natyrija bo Adria  
 clewora dyja Tsindore i jalle  
 A dhe swietlica bezaszy kcheta  
 i so nat jaidenes zrole

Fig. 1.48

12) miote chataclen katylojzika papusza<sup>25</sup>  
 ziten. sarat 2 albo 4 sukran mamozza  
 sya cladywes rypynaw Achre nata  
 dare najek clay wysiodnia papusa  
 jaswa niwale ciowore chataclay  
 taia kujmen clykate isys inaw  
 yr ichane. popawo clywes masys  
 garode garode wizaw wodan Achre  
 wodan jawnca kchotane ba ciolo  
 foro gadri sinadyne maszy  
 kchena mienaj am sionia te wlyt  
 atet. Bo je 14 ikches lasawet. imote  
 chataclen nek. legre clajja jawen  
 Bachtalz madarasyz zaetti maga  
 szs cewetys pot legro dni  
 i Achra oloj przedrichiam 1722 stalo  
 chataclen clykclan jawnca legre  
 koncyty Bazzade wanykicy moze  
 1732 sineore klystata chataclen gine  
 jawnca pos ciawodent isys syz  
 siong Tekne 4 Tsinde i 5 tojnie

Fig. 1.49

chja chwał sar pszednijam sare roma  
 pes ponasale sar pes raktoim Bare  
 momełoi ki nro <sup>coj.</sup> chwał chjam iki  
 clacyles sare nypynen scro so  
 psregine roma romnia chawone i bot  
 paprepene A kej makaj isys chide i odo  
 lo roma so pszedichine Anijek wanyr  
 katylyz cialone. kedclaryja i lo  
 wanyja odoła isys A dne lwona  
 syr najja chide bo lita wanyr ~~ps~~  
 peske wanyrde Tylko pszaco  
 jaw goda zycosinaw ciociperite  
 pcheinaw foluay cheny i clacyles  
 Teszys rozna bega te psreperen  
 tegre chija kole małoszeg  
 naden tedgineł magawto  
 pszacoas niepronekce napen  
 pedosz megz pszaco ro pyłca  
 Tedygn Tenneret A jame na  
 Sam panwate ne turyls roma  
 dooć sumi ciorsie

Fig. 1.50

(13) A cilia psiaćo psiedziem 30 jsszco 26  
 batedyn dewćo to nuro moznaby teke  
 net docho z byt baso i mozna teichine  
 jak tykno bensoro. kaj te opchenet  
 saro saro saro nawi gody i szero  
 saro te opchenet 30 pszogine rama  
 dclne doj Bensa ciero puryklnas  
 orne dewćsae i dojonjaję cresa  
 chowatyń i kocie manozęs pat  
 saro so pszogijam rianę clywia.  
 kaj nielon clasaćo cyro tena nig  
 dy dypidę te nakkhet's koć  
 manozęa imro dewć

---

giti maniczij w Adh. manozęę dady  
 wes ~~kanca~~ me bytkanciam imęę  
 Te baget sate swćytkę dęjaję te  
 skowlakinet koi kowlet zisito cyro  
 Julia te dęndet marybnasęs Lena  
 zbyrot kaj maryben wcołie tena isin  
 net me kancęimby dędęndet te  
 Baget znikan te łone. sate rama te  
 naszen kęntę sęs pindęs kaj jak idę

Fig. 1.51

Buro a khamytko do da pchenolo. Ach  
 manossate syu me drisa cladydes joss  
 Ahana me kamariobz uboget gilou ipre  
 Odo mire gilou Terdrian pes sare romo.  
 i tewechalon mire lowa. tejadas dride  
 sare kchotane koo bannate Adre siadaj  
 mirej <sup>Bary</sup> gili <sup>nomany me josskan ta manian!</sup> ming gili do ara tu tu  
 pchoregay dri ba tenne Sygetyn jadon  
 a bochtalecyn. ~~syu kchikman ostar~~  
 kchotane kchotane sare i roma pefone  
 Ang'szincare der Tenne chadone  
 jantare te dyidon baditocle  
 i dasawo cyro tedozinkaren kaj  
 te kajuwet mnyben pszetoszo  
 manossate drizepem! ~~deu gili~~  
 dewar Bury pogodyca kaj te  
 wigroci me ~~peystricy~~ statyca  
 chanco przysyit peja tylnie  
 chawen kichindria ~~jad~~ ming gili  
 Tommasa ligindria. kiscare roma  
 bannate kaj ten 15y szony neo.

Fig. 1.52

nowe jone nachalon swob mand<sup>27</sup>  
 isy boawo o clawa kaj jowmocyj  
 iszles bot orydowa kaj gary imaw  
 iszles a clre wasia terozrozimeli na  
 chruen roma cy kasuchyabym beraweli  
 gili tekerej, inne gibusa clri darygo  
 te ceter syn jamen woroblija cladydes  
 tempyret pchenczici i ki mierzben syn  
 cichyco A clre wesz zabyscia syn  
 kachamoro kaliben swokan. pestice wylia  
 i texabieszet cichemigis pchawonia  
 i passe tsion jeli cienchen syn barydys  
 o doj isy naj sokarydys syn passe  
 jak ichawono nago skatna romaw  
 a clre wesz tendy. Roman syn ciench  
 emory a clria dot pestyn dei A clre  
 Tamto nat ~~syn~~ Bug syn cienchan  
 sowmationi. Tenne chaja Teme swiat  
 syn mory fady jakcha chacion syn  
 sowmatione. jone icchawte backstale  
 syn A clre pami miazie dwoboda isy le

Fig. 1.53

Apve sweto naj' bōtēcyr pchiron naj' sy  
 gedyn sya pauni waszēt mīsijō nā  
 zngfaret. syr wesz bagēt Adria rōm  
 kchētēt tokoo sya pon pcharo syr  
 Bar Bar Adri adne kamlipen  
 chaciōt syr jak sōkan. tōno drijē  
 pan romalio syr at ne wesz baduō  
 cinglō. kaj romencōi nāchirō  
 jek jechesne dran pszechēt. jek jek  
 chesne gi-li bagēt. jek jek ches dychēt.  
 syr Adne wesz drijēt cinglō  
 i rom katō? kōc romegē bōwōlō  
 gr kōc pre sweto tē drijēt  
 A jamegē (ciorogē hōnjēs) Adne  
 kchēra tē beszēt sukkan gi' dā  
 Tē bagēt sukkan bōdwa. tēginēt  
 i tē opchētēt i nēwō bōdwa  
 kōc manōsna Adne nēwō  
 sweto tē wydzēt (papusze  
 wajs)

Fig. 1.54

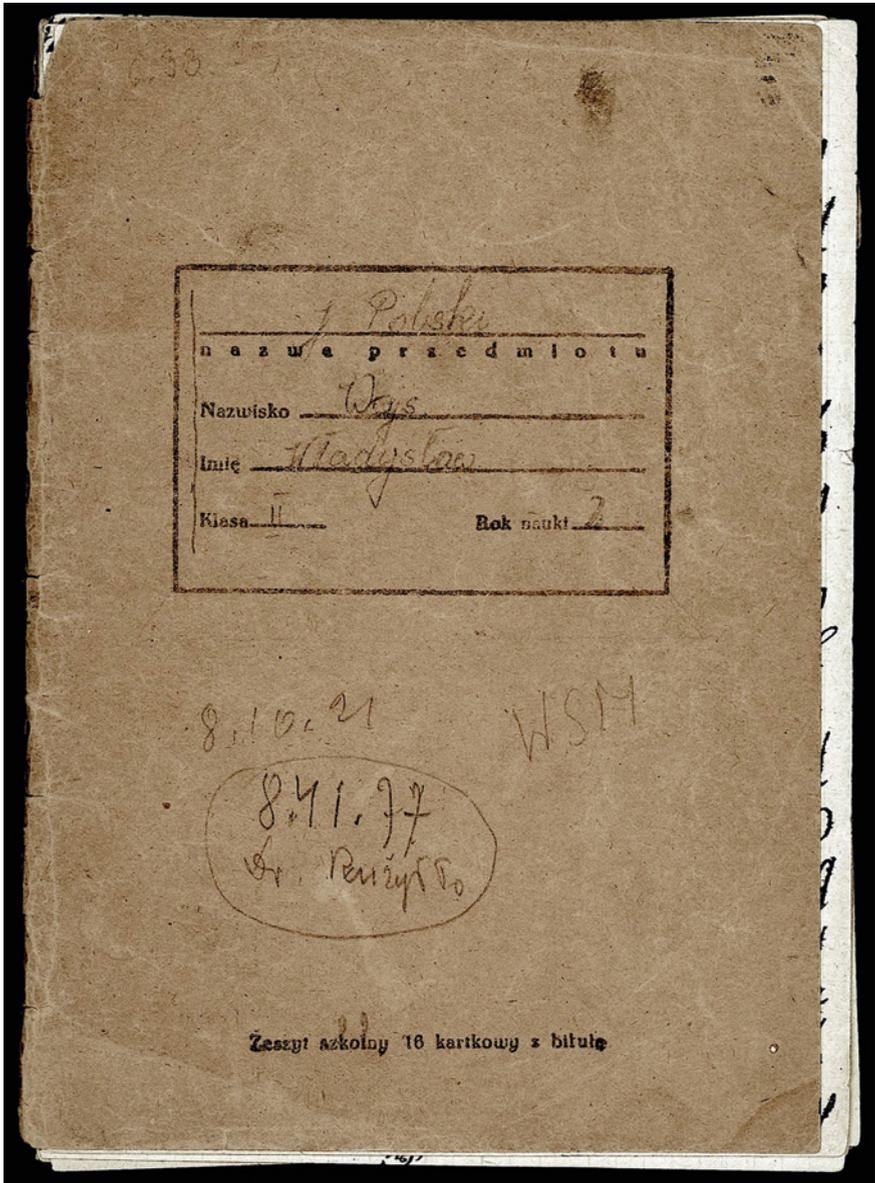


Fig. 1.55 Cover of the school copybook in which Papusza wrote *Tears of Blood*

Source reference for Figures 1.1–1.55: Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Zbigniewa Herberta w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim.



# *Tears of Blood* in Papusza's Spelling

Viktor Shapoval

## Symbols, Signs

### *Specific signs in MS:*

<sup>4</sup> [1] – superscript number – page of the Papusza's ms, subscript number – Ficowski's line

<sup>4</sup> {~~daja gili~~} {abc} {??} – crossed out

<sup>14</sup> [chaworo] – added later, usually over the line

{a}[b] – the correct *b* is added **after** the crossed out *a*

[{a}b] – the correct *b* is added **over** the crossed out *a*

<sup>5-6</sup> ka\_ | melpes = ka- | melpes – word hyphenation by Papusza; psze\_ | <sup>27</sup> perenys – here “e\_”  
at the end of the line signifies word wrap/break

<> – added in translation as a necessary detail

≤dre kher≥ – added by J. Ficowski, absent in MS

\_/, \_) – Here (gili \_/ tugani) in the manuscript the end of the omitted by Ficowski fragment is probably marked with \_/

.) – some borders in the text shown by Papusza

\\ – inversion in the published version not shown in the MS

|n|, |<sup>n</sup>| – omitted letters

### *Some specific letters' forms and selected ligaturae:*

A = ei, oi,

Ą = q

aa = æ

C, Ć = c

D = g

E, Ę = è, ε

G = d,

I = è, Ī, i, j

J = j, ĵ,

Ł = ł, ĩ, ĵ, Ī, ĩ, ř, š

M = ni

N = m, ñ

n+d = nl,

n+i = n',

O, Ó = o, ●, ◐

o+n = ū

R = ĩ, ĩ̄,

m = m

T = ḍ, ī, I, l, l̄, ĩ̄,

Y = ej, j, j̄, ŷ, ʸ

*Marginal subtitles:*

Shooting. – section published by Ficowski in Papisza 1956

Her conversation with her husband. – section omitted by Ficowski in Papisza 1956

1                    Żegań 25. lipca 1952 rokó  
gili Ratwałe jaswa, so pał sasendyr  
pszegijam Apre Wołyń 43. i 44. Bersza.

[1] Ach mire łatsie manuszałe {daja-gili  
5 Te-Bagel} pa[{e}]c]cien syr dewhes kamam [2] na ka  
melpes magę chyrja cyry te zryperel [3] Bo  
dzi miro naswało [4] kameł sygo Teroweł.  
[5] ne so Te keres Tszebi Te bageł  
[6] chyrja mamószegę kaj maryben  
10 kamen. [7] nek dzinen Syr miszto [8] nade  
dewła nikoneske [9] Adre maryben  
Te dziweł. [10] Adre Bida Bary i jaswin  
Ratwali. [11] so pszegija ciororo dzi  
[12] Tsindytko [chaworo] i [13] romané. chaworenc  
15 romni [14] Ach gili gili tu tógani ...  
[15] syr pchow Bykchamesro sysby ciórory  
[16] Adzia cherja Apre sweto so maryben  
isy detu dewła nigdy maryben Te na  
jaweł Bo [17] pre manószęnder masa \_\_  
20 Zdran cytron [18] i dzi roweł ratwa<sub>e</sub>

jasweñ[{a}]c]a i [19] nikon nadzineł kajsy łęskry  
səməncə. mek gody sy[{g}]k]lon A drę miry gili  
Te na kamen maryben Te skowłoł łęgro  
dzi. Te cha<sub>11</sub>]łoł so marybem isy. bo isy  
25 dasawe kaj nadente nitsi i romęę  
na pacenys kaj pał sasiostyr roma psze  
perenys syr szukar kchera łatse mamósza  
Potszé[{binenys?}<sup>b</sup>]ne?] [{a}]A]kana grózy pojatśne. marybna  
styr Bystyrde de tu dewła kaj niekan  
30 sary Bibacht Te bistręł, koč pre sweto  
Te jaweł sz<sup>11</sup>]kar Te dziweł Bare gila Te szon  
neł maryben maryb<sub>ę</sub>m Bodaj nigdy Tena  
jaweł c[{a}]e]to dzijępen. mire kóc i łatsie  
manuszałe Bare wyszuneñ miry gili ciacióni  
35 so pszegija rom ćhawore i rom<sup>11</sup>]i A dre  
A dre maryben jak Bary dzi Ratesa i ja<sup>15</sup>]\_  
węncə o[{b}]p]tsiódy Bagawa tómeęę

gili gili /<sup>-</sup>tugani [20] A dre wesza Bypa  
 nieskro by jagakro Bok {Nas?} Bary.  
 40 {kaj} [21] kaj Te sowen chwore

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szatra nani. [22] jak Te chaćkireł raty na  
 szty [23] Tchów dęwese sasęgę deł  
 chadyńi [24] syr [{}d]T)e dziweł chwore<sup>n</sup>ca  
 Adre węnt bary. [25] Sare Pira<sup>n</sup>igę [26] Sare  
 45 saro Adre woro włodzimiż pome  
 kle [27] syr jamęn kamdlę sasy  
 Te wymareł [28] Agił pchedlę Bary  
 Bóty Te kereł. [29] jęk sasio raty ki  
 roma peja [30] soś me tumęge nała<sup>t</sup>  
 50 sio pchanawa [31] daja rat≤y≥ {isy?}≤ [kamen]≥ tumen  
 Tewymaren. [32] nikoneske napch<sup>e</sup>nen [33] Bo  
 me som rom kało [34] rat ratestyr  
 ciacuno [35] nek deł Tumegę mro  
 deweł Bacht Bary [36] A dre wesz  
 55 kało. [37] dała ława wyPchendzia  
 [38] saren c[i]amódeja [39] me sego dziawa  
 A dre wesza. [40] [{}G]ijam dór dór  
 {?} swętenca [41] skedeja pes romani  
 semęnca. [42] sare kchetane szeł

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60 manósza. [43] {a} agił dywes gijam adre  
 Baro wesz [44] Saro pomekciam nasys  
 wórden Ani gres. Pał jamęder sasy  
 klistes i Aménca pcherybnagry na  
 [{}o]d maras \_ [45] jek chworo pre pchikie  
 65 wawyr Apre wasta [46] Adzia dzianys roma  
 [47] so adaj Te kereł [48] Sasy nani dor  
 moginem men Te chtyłeł. [49] A daj  
 karyk i so patryzantka pszynaszeł  
 [50] i karje\_) deł [51] saro chalija bo  
 70 chworen dykcia i romnien  
 [52] ot\_tsiakirdzia baro maryben  
 A dzia kaj saso [{}m]ós[i]ndzia te wy  
 chytoł. [53] Partyza<sup>n</sup>tka czapajew nitsi  
 na dareł [54] i romęnca rakireł so  
 75 pes dawa kereł [55] sasy men

kamdłę Tewymareł<sup>[56]</sup> mósindzia<sub>m</sub>  
 A dre wesze pes te deł<sup>[57]</sup> Ach tume  
 ciorore Bót tumen isy jek szeł

[58] Syr daj dewła Te dziweł<sup>[59]</sup> so Te chał  
<sup>80</sup> se Te pjeł kaj łowe Teleł {ne-pre-sio-adej}  
 nani so Te kerleł wesz saro Tumęęę  
 A dzia deł so isy {A-dre} wesza to  
 Załena roma so isy A dre . gawa  
 To ciorasam tume jame sare  
<sup>85</sup> kchetane<sup>~</sup><sub>[60]</sub> isy męncza dój Tsinde  
 ciorore<sub>[61]</sub> łęgren saren wymarde.  
 [62] [Roma] gila szókar {mursza?} do sarestyr  
 Zabagle<sub>[63]</sub> ligirde łęń dor {A} dre wesza  
 cirykle<sub>[64]</sub> jekh jekcheske wyPhendli  
<sup>90</sup> [65] daja rat {dar} szukar isys  
 [66] Apre boliben cierchena romę  
 nca kchetane za[<sup>{eħ}</sup>]S]óte.  
 [67] cirekleę łęń dzigade i cchawore  
 Tekne. [68] paniory Agił dywes raki  
<sup>95</sup> reł<sub>[69]</sub> szukar gili bageł<sub>[70]</sub> matsiore  
 romane tsiaworen san i<sub>[71]</sub> frejdzion  
 Apre pani Pchiren połokęs rakiren  
 [72] i Bida[<sup>{ei}</sup>]ty]r bistryen<sub>[73]</sub> na dzinen  
 so łęń dewła ziakireł źakireł|ł

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<sup>100</sup> [74] jek daj Bar[<sup>{ej}</sup>]O] dewłoro dzineł. [75] och gili  
 gili tu mirej tugani<sub>[76]</sub> nikon dewła na  
 dzineł<sub>[77]</sub> so pes Adre dzi kerleł<sub>[78]</sub> desze  
 dojęń manószęń<sub>[79]</sub> Sasy mire symęncat<sub>yr</sub>  
 {tr} zamaren. [80] pał jamęder Traden  
<sup>105</sup> [81] ne [A]dre wesza bare te dzian [t]d]aren  
 [???na kamen} ne Te wydział jamęęę  
 pre sweto kaj kamas naden  
 [82] sare wesza {jame} oblęń<sub>[83]</sub> partyzante<sup>ni</sup>  
 ca. pes maren<sub>[84]</sub> romnia rowem dew[ł]ę[s][t] ]?  
<sup>110</sup> magęń<sub>[85]</sub> raty saro cioren czasym Tsi najan  
 den<sub>[86]</sub> dój Tryn dywes Te chał mani<sub>[87]</sub> i dałe  
 sa Te soweł dzi<sup>a</sup>in Bókchałe<sub>[88]</sub> jakcha pes  
 na zapchanden. [89] A<sup>p</sup>re cierchenia dykcheni

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[90] dewła dzijepen`\\ szukar/ [91] sassy te dziw  
 115 eł naden. [92] maren maren [93] jaga  
 syr mire gila dor naszen  
 {ah} [94] Ach tu miry ciercheniory [95] Agił  
 dywes Bary \\ tu sam/ [96] Apre sweto  
 ciacuni [97] zakorjakir sasęgę jakcha

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120 [98] zryskir łęge Ba<sup>ni</sup>ge droma [99] na sykaw  
 łęge drom łatsio [100] sykaw łęge chocha  
 no. [101] Te dzidzioł Tsindytko i romano  
 chaworo (te pszepereł sasio Baro  
 kir tu wanta{tyr?}· weszoro jamaro  
 125 Bage łęgę gilory kaj jamare dzian  
 A gił i pał sar B aszaweł i  
 sał. ) [102] weszo weszo weszorenca [103] tu  
 san baro i prajtenca Ba[{ł}r]o  
 maryben sasy i ukra<sup>lj</sup>ncenca  
 130 sare jamen zamaren i tsin  
 den nikones Bótedyr nakanl  
 en. tylko pes korkore saren  
 Pre sweto zamarde katylaren  
 ciorore Tsibja łę<sup>sl</sup>ę optsindło  
 135 jakcha łęgę wejline sar sweto  
 manósz a ciorore syk jawen  
 a. Barwał kon pszed{s}oła  
 jaswa {P} Ratwał.

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[104] Syr pes tumęgę manószale zdeł  
 140 [105] Kaj Te pszedzidzon mamósza szeł  
 {?} [106] isys chirja i miszto [107] syr isys Awry  
 Tato [108] Kóty Kcham koty jaswa  
 [109] Kałę móry Te skedeł {i} [110] różna  
 draba Te pjęł [111] Betki ciacune ne  
 145 i kóty matsi<sup>el</sup> [112] graja zamarde  
 romnia kierade [113] doj tryn kórke  
 skirniakirde [114] isys k•ć masiore  
 {e} [115] Pchowegry syr marcypany  
 romane peke. [116] Jekwar A dre  
 150 korko Bisz desz jandłę [117] roma  
 ciorore. ( ne sar saresa .

nitsi [118] s[ $\{\text{o}\}$ y]r jaweła / węnt Bary  
 [119] so kereła tykne chawore<sup>11</sup>sa rom  
 ni. [120] kaj ęła podzica sawi  
 155 [121] Bo jósz saro oPerel masa nage,  
 [122] Te merel pes kameł [123] nie kon  
 nachaloł i na dzinel jek Boliben  
 [124] i pani szunel

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ęgro Rojben. [125] Sawe jakha jamen  
 160 A pre chyrja zadykle [126] Sawe uszta  
 jamen pszekoszę [127] Dewła na wyszón tu  
 {ę} ęn [128] wyszun tu jamen. [129] daja  
 rat szylali {ja}tsia {j} [130] dyne Te Bageł  
 phore romnie [131] paramisa romani  
 165 [132] jawła went siownakóni [133] jwa  
 perna pre phow pre wasta  
 [134] syr Tykne cierchenia. [135] Kałę jak  
 cha zamrasiona [136] Tekne dzija  
 pomerena phore na{ $\{k\}$ j}ek pszedzido  
 170 na i kierena gila cacune (Tykne)  
 Te rowel dyne chwore te Hał  
 kamas jósz zor nani doreder  
 te dzias. Sasy saro wesz obline  
 A daj Bokchatyr pszepene.  
 175 Pre Tasiarla jeworo dyja  
 joć Bok i Będa Tekne dzija rosfrej  
 dzi<sup>18</sup>kirdzia jek sał wawyr  
 rowel jek {jw- / chyleł}

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papósza paramisa rakireł telę nągo  
 180 Boliben jek sał jek rowel . dyja  
 dewel jworo daj rysioła sasio  
 chyrja nałatsio jow rysioła doredyr  
 czapajow działa syged{e}[y]r jame dzia  
 sam pałał jaweła so te chał ñaja  
 185 wawa romani chaj so na dziawa  
 A dre jak bary i jandawa mas piry  
 me jandawa maro i madziarsko  
 Tchojało. [137] dadywez rakiel[ $\{r\}$ ęs party  
 zanto čapojewo [138] kaj pszedziasam

190 drom \\\- sastróno [139] ne i ciacio  
 daja rat na sióciam [140] {ne} Baro jworo  
 peja [141] drom zaTsiakirdzia: [142] jekh  
 dytćło drom Tchodytko [143] Apre Bolì  
 ben Boliben. [144] dzian Tełę nak gili bag  
 195 en.) A me. dyjom Te Bageł korkory  
 nadzinaw so pes magę kerdzia  
 dzi<sup>a</sup>wys by sasios Te mareł  
 A pre ćchorja i niby ) sawi ) nitsi  
 nadaraw

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200 sare i chałade rakiren Soske  
 zorałes. Bagen Te na Bóckiren  
 sasen. madziare<sup>m</sup> daw<sup>a</sup> mani  
 tumęgę saben. Tykchena sawo  
 jaweła maryben Sare Te kan  
 205 dén ) Bolibin boro szókaryben  
 dy[{i}]om magę gili polokches  
 Te bageł i pchenaw ki roma  
 [{T}]dykch<sup>e</sup>n A pre boliben syr  
 syr migoczynęł zdrał nani  
 210 spokojno syr mro dzie so  
 pszydziasam saro dasam ) ki  
 Kcha<sup>m</sup>giry Bary s[{?}]y)r me  
 m[{??}]om]eyli. A dre dowe ław  
 [145] peja jak bary. [146] sare pasion  
 215 ćhaworege mója pchanden  
 [147] sare móle darjatyr jatsien  
 A ma<sup>m</sup>gę saro jek Te dzidoł  
 czy Te merel ćhawore nani  
 nani koneske Te dziweł

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220 i dawaj god<sup>l</sup>es<sup>a</sup> Agił Te naszeł miro  
 rom man podykcia pały wast man  
 chiyłdzia so keres. kemes te pszepe  
 res. nadara romoro so koneske  
 -dyja d[{x}]e]włoro te chał nani Tsi  
 225 me tsiaj {re} romani magę rat  
 kali pchen mirej. [{rom}]So Tó] dylniśu  
 so pes tuckę kerdzia me kama\_

m. Bokchałen ćhaworen Te cćala\_  
 kireł Bo naszty pre daa býda  
 230 Te dykheł dadywes soś man  
 230 isy dasawo kamem Te pszepereł  
 {dø} doj kaj naszty romano ćhawo  
 gilasa odgijom· maryben Baro s|ys|  
 jaga Tsiódzon syr wesz Baro po\_  
 235 kóty sasy chylton Tsy jamaręęę  
 na keren sastróno drom  
 męęę keren me wperaw  
 szynki ław tchojałę i Brajnty  
 gódtę {ə} celo cier<sup>h</sup>a nalijom

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240 parne mare i saro so isys Bot ma\_  
 dziary· zamarde paszłę isys  
 me dziaw tsi na daraw maro  
 Pchagiraw i chaw bidatyr Bisty  
 raw naszaw so zor isy jame\_  
 245 ren nani agił pogine  
 pszemókle łen cha[ {d}ł]ade jama\_  
 re i pre ma<sup>h</sup>dyr dykchen so To  
 za jek dawa roma mire tu  
 me man na prenćkirde jek  
 250 A pre Bacht chaład● jawja daja  
 romni jamary joj zawsze  
 Bage<sup>h</sup> gili romani soske. Tó  
 jatsian sygedyr {sygady sygede}  
 [syg]<sup>e</sup>dyr Bodaj isy sasy nadór  
 255 Botedyr Apre grestyr chałade  
<sup>[n]</sup>{s}c)a. Besciom saro manca  
 zalijam josz Baro dywes) {r}a\_  
 {kchłom?} jamaren sare sowen  
 szukar sz[T]eto Ad[{eje}aj] sasy najawena

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260 można kicy dywesa Te jaweł  
 dyja Baro jw te pereł. Bary  
 Tysia zatchodziam i rakiren  
 kóty Bokchatyr na pomejam A dre  
 dasawo naryben kaźdo pes rak\_  
 265 cheł. daj ciaci ćhawores mekcheł

rom niro A dre cholin Baro  
 so me tukę Kęredzom mas  
 maro jandz[i]om dałe ława wy\_  
 pchendzom i frejdatyr gili  
 270 frejdasa te bageł dejom sare  
 jakcha wytchodej syr by man na  
 dyklę poTchane i parejkirde  
 chałade maładziec {pchn}  
 pch-dłę, me na kamdzom  
 275 Ię<sup>n</sup>gro szaryben ćhaworen  
 żakirles Bokhatyr myryben  
 [148] doja rat szyłali [149] jósz mereł  
 ćHajory [150] pałe sztar dywesa  
 [151] garode sztaren chaworen romnia  
 280 [152] adre jw Baro pszepejan

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romano ćhawaro [153] sztaren kcheta\_ \  
 nie [154] garóde \\ Adre jek diwes tu dewłó\_  
 ro. jamary bida dykches [155] dykta  
 khamoro, syr b{e}ytyro [156] mereł  
 285 szylibnastyr ćchaworo romano.  
 [157] adre wesz Baro. [158] szunel cirykło  
 rojben dakro i dadeskro [159] szunel  
 pani i wesz gili bary kiereł [160] dór  
 A dre tchema ła ligireł rom łeske  
 290 otpcheneł [161] soske wesz Bageł [162] Bo  
 romni roweł. najek droma  
 sastróne roma chaładenca pszegi\_  
 ne. [163] najek nagły pasze szero roma\_  
 no. pszynaszłę [164] syr cirykle [165] najek  
 295 jaswa ratwałe wytsióde najek  
 cchaworo pszymerełys Bokchatyr  
 syr węde cierykło. kcham k amoro  
 garóweł pes pał kaszta cien  
 kasztegry kereł szyla jak naszty  
 300 Te kereł dewłoro mędyr ( bistrył|a|  
 bistryeł

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jednak dewłoro łatsio jek Bersz  
 rom A dre wesza Bygawęgro Byszto

dajory dywłęskry mędyr rypyreł  
 305 [166] choć romni pre gawa napchireł  
 [167] jekwar pre kórko soś pes adre  
wesz rakheł, [168] syr na gorowni  
to graj rzamardo [169] i koły łont i  
gıw rostsiódo adzi<sup>al</sup> rom isys  
 310 dzido wosko zójneł (zamiast  
 gomka Amerykansko) z deł pes  
kaj chał i isy ciolo [170] me i pjeł  
wysztytko droboro [171] ne i jeżacz  
ko wysztytko Balitsioro {jednak}  
 315 rada peskie deł choć pre  
nał<sup>n</sup>gi pchów sioweł. szukie  
na d•ryseł. Bo bałwał łalsie  
sare łolodzi<sup>e</sup>lndyr z{e}t}radel  
wesz wesz A dre szukę {cho<sup>r</sup>ly na płóca}  
 320 to znaczy po cygańskó szukę  
chory na płuca / szuke

<picture: Lungs> Boke saste

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Bo smolna wesza sosnytka  
 wysaściakiren i zor doden \_).  
 325 saro jamen omykcia sweto  
parno dakicy so A dre wesz  
tsiakirdzia jek ciercheniory  
jameca Byszty żyn.ki. dywes i so  
wa. pchóry rakireł [{B}P]aramisia  
 330 romani isy dasawe kaj sowa  
kanden isy dasawe gak pał  
łatyr óchórden Bo dre [{t}ł]atyr  
zorałes pacien. sowa tykne  
cyryklę rowa łęgre głasy  
 335 zorałe ne nikones na  
ciałade Bot [{l}l]ęn isys syr dziókeła  
jamare./— mire maniószałe kóć  
łalsie kamłęby Tume A dre film  
jamaro dzijepen Te dykheł  
 340 i ciacio Te pch<sup>e</sup>neł Bo me Te ka  
mam Te tsineł saro a saro  
Te By{e}y} zdziałes jek Berszoro

to jaweies by Bocho szókar barw\_  
 ało. me dzinaw kaj tsienęła  
 345 miro pszałoro sownakóno me  
 na chochawaw te pszeperęł  
 mro szero/ saro ciacio ciacio  
 so p<sup>e</sup>szedzidzija rom ciororo  
 i Tsindo barwało. A dre sweto  
 350 pał sasioskro szero“) [172] Kcham {???) [racatyr?]  
 wigija [173] wesz saresa sparnija rom  
 kóty so dzidziol cyro parykiras dew\_  
 łoreske sparódzia gadzio pes syka\_  
 dzia so pes dawe kerdzia czy  
 355 sasio doredyr chylytyja wesza kaj  
 na kaj by sase<sup>nl</sup>gro jatsia dadzie  
 gadzija peren syr Bryszynt  
 jaswa pre jamędyr dykchen  
 niby daren ) i romnia rowen  
 360 frejdatyr Kaj gadzien dykchen  
 ław gadzitko szónen rom<sup>nl</sup>ia  
 chaben janden gila naszen  
 żyn tełe bolibien ćhawore

frejdzion kchełen i i wę<sup>szel</sup>styr na  
 365 daren chera łołę syr bežo meła\_  
 łę. nani gadore. perore na<sup>nl</sup>gę.  
 gadzie jawen A dre kchera magęn  
 mi jamary frejda napremiszto  
 wygija Bo dawa isys ukrajncy  
 370 mamósza pochaćkirde. kchagir\_  
 ja sztakirenys trószóła  
 gorownia rowen syr mamósza  
 wymarde so ki cherój katelaregę  
 i załen łęgro Barwalipen i  
 375 ki jame gadzi<sup>el</sup> pchenen so tume  
 san jam<sup>el</sup> cygany czy ukrajn  
 cy czy polaki jame roma  
 sasy men kamdhe te zamare|ł|  
 ki tume jawjam i zabaszade:  
 380 bo sare Baszajebena rakchenys

syr peskre jakcha roma  
 bo baszejeben myrejbnastryr  
 jamen wylija i za Baszade  
 chađadytko gili karejk i so

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385 |d|oligireł gadzi [{{eu}}Tc]hoło mas piry  
 zabaszade [{{??}}gi]li kałe jakcha  
 tyre ; i gadzie jadl[ł]ę tyrochore  
 i dzia saro szukar baszawenys  
 gadzi saro ki jameę jandenys  
 390 saren jagór jagurestyr pszyre\_  
 wanys tylko {my} me Tsi nalijom  
 mire gada romnięęę podyjom  
 Bo me gada sare manca zalijo\_  
 m. jek tyracha koć bystyr\_  
 395 dzom jek chyrja Apre che\_  
 ra so isys mam pre wesza  
 zryskirdziom· ne dyjom ma<sup>nl</sup>gę  
 dasawo [{{ł}}]aw kaj Te mieraw  
 kon isy zamardo gat naław  
 400 wolinaw A dre na<sup>nl</sup>gi Tepchi\_  
 raw. Ratysa saro ma<sup>nl</sup>gię  
 z rypyreł o dowa kaj niewinni<sub>e</sub>  
 A dre Pchów pszePerel Bo me  
 Som dasawi so dykchaw chyrj<sup>al</sup>  
 405 warejsio m[{{a}}e]k merel dzi miro

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{dajaj dyk}chas adaj dział  
 jek i pałestyr Bót gadzio desz  
 dzine pcherybnagrja pre pchi\_  
 kie. bolbowcy zamarde so tu  
 410 dywłoro kerdzian kaj men  
 daj jandzian so kerasam  
 ciorore ki kon Te dzias ki sawe  
 chałady czapajów mędyr otrady\_  
 ne Alie Rysiona syk pałe ki  
 415 jame. So deweł deła chyra  
 czy miszto kaj dziaweł A pre  
 wet Bar[{{o}}o] pszeperela najek szero  
 A pre jek pes zdyne i kchera

poma<sup>n</sup>głę dyn-e meęę kchera pał  
 420 katylarejtka pozamarde ciorore  
 dzija nacharga. [174] me me woliñ  
 dziomys tejaweł A{a}dre wesza {{Fedyr}} [175] Te po\_  
 chan man rowa [176] syr Te Beszeł  
 A dre dała kchera [177] A<sup>d</sup>re dyły  
 425 rata kaj na kaj manósza  
 [178] {sys?} adre chani<sup>n</sup>ga

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kachnia zdylin[(i)y]ne pre wesza  
 pchiren kchacy rowen górownen  
 gadzie zamaren naszty te dykcheł  
 430 so pes wykereł roma adre  
 kchera Te beszeł daren te na  
 mołe jawen dzide Te na ja\_  
 men zamaren Kchera dyne  
 Boty roden i baszawen jawja  
 435 Bary węt sz[{}y]łali pre gaw pchirles  
 kali romni. A dre bary dar  
 naszty gadzie dogine ukrajncy  
 czy san katylary panie ne i  
 roma gode nadzia dynałe  
 440 syr gadzie rakiryben romaı\_  
 no nachajlija gadzio syr  
 troszół keren A pre ciacio  
 syr pes kharen wasyl iwan  
 nascia paraska ołena  
 445 peřro kaj liła sasy  
 zaline roma A dre wesza  
 garode kaj gadzi Te<sub>{s}</sub> na dzin\_

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|<sup>e</sup>n. ) kaj san katylary parne·  
 zaras by men zamarde )  
 450 [179] jekwar [kchere?] ≤dre kher≥ Lytamorie na ryp<sup>l</sup>raw  
 saro dywes isys boliben szókar  
 {i}sys T[{}s]ion A dre dodali [{}zadykcheł]  
 [180] me Te soweł naszty Kon[{}y]ś Teł  
 dodali zadykcheł [{}Z<sup>d</sup>aryjon]  
 455 [{}Jeknak] [181] phocia[{}w] Kon isy  
 [182] pchiraw wodara miry koli

romniory<sup>[183]</sup> dykchaw wdział  
 szukar Tsindorej<sup>[184]</sup> ty[{{??}}tro<?>]ł zdr\_  
 ał i mage ł Te [{{??}}chał] dywłoro  
 460 dykcheł kaj na chochawalw  
 syr kamam Bacht A dre sweto  
 te latchesaw.<sup>[185]</sup> [{{Ficeryk?}}ciorory] tu san  
 miry ciorory Tsindory<sup>[186]</sup> dyjo\_  
 m.) [{{tø}}łake] maro łont<sup>[187]</sup> so isys  
 465 gadoró szukar<sup>l</sup>pen Tierniory  
 sjr moryca zaro<sup>nl</sup>dli Ach.  
 dewłoro. ) sawe tume łatsie  
 merem bokchatyr z dój ćhawore  
 mire roma isy łatsie

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470 i<sup>[188]</sup> sare doj bistryrdziam<sup>[189]</sup> kaj na\_  
 dor jamędyr isys cha[{{d}}]ade  
<sup>[190]</sup> n{ø}e doja rat ki jame na jawne  
<sup>[191]</sup> romnije tu miry<sup>[192]</sup> de Te ciamó\_  
 daw tut pał tro łatsio dzi<sup>[193]</sup> tu  
 475 dares i me daraw<sup>[194]</sup> me so kor\_  
 ko. jawawa so.) rat<sup>[195]</sup> Czy na dzi\_  
 nes kaj isy czapajewo  
 odrat.<sup>[196]</sup> jamę łę<sup>nl</sup>ca tradyjam  
<sup>[197]</sup> Tradyne agił wkidy  
 480 zasuciam i botyr na dykch<sup>[ca]</sup>m  
 joj man me ła ciomodyjam  
 karyk i so wperel jek gadzo  
 skeden tumen sare roma  
 dziana A dre wawyr kchera  
 485 raty sare romen dzi<sup>nl</sup>gawen  
 josz jek kcher chociol wawyr  
 roskieden jamen A dre  
 jek kcher straden  
 66 manuszen

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490 lutune 1944 r  
 lutune doj męgę gadzie  
 dyne sare A dre jekcher 3 pokoj<sup>el</sup>  
 i kochnia ) Pre tuwissio zanaswali  
 jam sare jek romni A potym

495 [198] me {[somyśnaswali]} i mandyr sare syr jek  
 [199] nikon nameja [200] sare isys {pa}  
 szow korke paszle [201] pomogi<sup>ni</sup>dę  
 malinytka kerade rokhore  
 [202] i do paniesa sare wiysaści{a}jam  
 500 i dadywes tyrypren saregę pchen\_  
 dziam ) [203] dyja dyweł mar{ø}co tato  
 [204] Kaj nakaj iworo paszlo [205] gadzie Tełę  
 dodała pchiren [206] Sawe roma Tró\_  
 szóła keren [207] roma polokches zabi<sup>si</sup>  
 505 tyren [208] Apre ława peskre kcharen  
 [209] janek Bronia kszysia zosia [210] jek  
 miro ław naszty chaline romano  
 [211] dowa khar isys bachtało  
 [212] Bare rady ga<sup>d</sup>zie ker<sup>e</sup>nes  
 510 [213] kaj romen Te zamareł

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[214] Pch[{e}n]d łe<sub>{e}</sub> groby Te chandeł [215] kamdł<sub>e</sub>  
 jamen T<sup>el</sup> zamareł [216] so doj isys roiben  
 [217] ne gadze Te<sub>n</sub> na dykchen [218] roma romnia  
 naswałe [219] paszle pał dywes {pał} [tele]  
 515 [220] doj zamarena saren. racienca  
 [221] A pre cia<sup>ni</sup>ga kniejon dywłes magęn  
 [222] rowen ratwałe jaswęncą [223] fydyr  
 isys {A}dre wesza syr daże  
 gadzinca [224] chana jamare masa  
 520 [225] jame mórśza ł[{as}en] towera A dre  
 wasta [226] nek zamaren jamen [227] a  
 potym óchworen / [228] rat kali zagi\_  
 ja [229] me i jek romni [230] n[{a}e]k jaweł  
 łakro dzi Bachtali [231] ki mro  
 525 deweł [232] bo joj jósz na {g}dziweł.  
 [233] chtyjam raty gijam [234] syr rat  
 Bary te kali [235] zkalija darjatyr  
 jamar[{e}o] dzi {jɛ} / joj i me  
 Tsiawore nani i dzia zamarena  
 530 man i tur pszał isy [236] dzias sygo  
 odołe g[{ɔ}dr]omesa [237] kaj czapajęw  
 isy

Bo tasia nadzidzoła romęnder ni\_  
 tsie [nikon] tut i man chawore nani jaw  
 535 dój dzin[i]a kaj Te na chalon róma  
 nej gijam / \_\_\_\_\_ [238] och. odo {ciomno} ≤ [kali] ≥ raciory  
 [239] gili miry gili / \_\_\_\_\_ kaj jame Te rakchas  
 jamaregę Baht Bary tu swęto daj  
 jamary. dadoro [{k}g]odło dzi turo  
 540 wylidzia męgę szero Te na sare psz<sup>le</sup>\_  
 peras [{B}P]ody męgę wast tyro. / \_\_\_\_\_ [240] Sare  
 Tykne cyre]kłę [241] magęń dywłęś pał  
 jamare chawore [242] te na zamaren men  
 chyrja sapa i gadzi[e] / \_\_\_\_\_ [243] ech dolica tu jam\_  
 545 mary [244] Bybachtali Bachr miry [245] szun tu  
 ćhaje rysiwos [246] Te na doj dzinia byro\_  
 megro pszeperas [247] W fydyr sare  
 kchetane [248] szukareder so Bot dzine  
 [249] ech tu miro dromoro [250] sykaw męgę  
 550 kaj isy łatsio chałado [251] Te po deł  
 męgę wast peskro / \_\_\_\_\_ warysio kliste<sub>s</sub>  
 Tradęł cerykłoro gili Bagęł  
 szondło wesz rakireł / \_\_\_\_\_  
 chała\_  
 555 dytkes

otpcheneł wan[ia] ) ław pes kchareł jame  
 syr mółę potyrdzijam so te kereł  
 nadzindziam pre dewłę<sup>st</sup>tyr męń  
 zdyjan i jak zapalka dót dyjam  
 560 jone połokes saro obszle wesz  
 jame dyjam chaładytko gili Teb<sup>.a</sup>\_  
 gęł i chaładytkes te raki[{}r]eł )  
 ola kuda ty czapajew i dzice  
 suda Kałpakow i chałady roki  
 565 wierch ne i pchenas że na dzina<sub>s</sub>  
 czy dzidy jamare daja rat  
 czy na A pre gręndyr psz<sup>lv</sup>trady\_  
 jam jamaren A dre bary dyda  
 dykhc[i]am jósz Terdziones sare

570 i pasz lëndyr chałade  
 572 Ani je{k} [milicija]  
 574 {z piosenką wiesolą}  
 573 jak w marszu swym kroczą  
 571 Czy widzisz dokota,}

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575 2.

Te dzian A dzia dór Syr jek Bał.  
 Te mereł mir[{}ę] ćhawore daja  
 raT dziasam syr jek sare kchetane  
 Romnia molónia garodzia  
 580 chałady Bolbowcen zaline zakor\_  
 dan ligir<sup>le</sup>n daja gadzija rowen  
 romen koszen pał so lęn B&K  
 A dai jandzia miro Tsiawo pelda  
 lëndyr pszepeja. dałe kałę be<sup>ni</sup>ga  
 585 pcherybnagrja lidzianys Tiykne  
 rakla i kerenys samo styjna  
 {a}Ukrajna) i kierde nakoty  
 rata kaj pszepene Bót manosza  
 saisy Tysz łatsie dziókeła popszepe\_  
 590 ne szukar ćhaja A dre o·bozo Syr  
 cierhmia. kaj ki dadywes kerde  
 lëndyr szukar gila A\_dre pchare  
 Bócia\_ / ˘ daja rat czapajowskoj  
 odraT. ) gine gren pozaline roma  
 595 ba{s}litsien pora gada szkorni  
 saró so isys ki gadzio A dre kcher

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szetetostyr na rysija jek tylko rom  
 i rom<sup>ni</sup>i daja kaj manca chaładen  
 [ca] ) jandzia doja A <sup>ni</sup>re szteto pszepeja  
 600 jek Bolbowco (chyrja \ ˘ manusz. Syr  
 czapajów romen otchodzia  
 jek sozniko karje wydyja i jek  
 czapajów łes zamardzia ne rom<sup>ni</sup>i  
 Apre szteto pszepeja Sare bydy psze\_  
 605 dzidzija jek pszałes doje pchenien  
 pomekcia ni daj Ani dat nani kon  
 pał tute roweła ciorory <sup>le</sup>chakire\_



wesz wypeja syr dr[**{a}**e]denes chałade  
 i romęn{-}ca chawore i romnia  
 zanim jam<sup>le</sup> pszytradyjami kaj czapajów  
 odrado isy terdo doja rat  
 650 Bolbowcy zamarde 5 chaładen  
 jamaren adala kaj jamęncza  
 traden nitsi nadzinen . jawja<sub>M</sub>  
 . dołęg g[**{ɛ}**a]rówen san i bagen  
 rojben na sykawen) doja rat  
 655 dor wytradyjam Sare kchetane  
 Adre Bare Błata kaj cytroł  
 graja powpene P[**{????}**chala] tełę  
 rotys nitsi na kerde doj graja  
 tasadene kóty jame A dre  
 660 Błaty n[**{a}**o]pszepejam lidwo bida\_  
 sa wytradyjam Sare melale  
 A dre Błaty Bare **{i}** pre jek wór

den

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4.) postchodziam a<sup>ln</sup>gıl dywes ,  
 665 sasy | nadór pałe rysijam A pre  
 waw,awyr droma kaj **{p}** sasy pomekke  
 wórdena kchandóne masa i różna  
 zaszczyki i drabą cha[**{d}**]ad[**{y}**e]  
 magęn isy tumen graja wór\_  
 670 dena Traden chaben nałęg  
 i męder zabi<sup>sl</sup>tyren Bo jamęncza  
 cha[**{e}**]adeca te na prszeperen )  
 Bachtalęs tumęgę jatsien A dre  
 jakcha ciacipen rakiren kaj  
 675 jamen na kamen maszkir pestyr  
 rakiren san i dykchen jósz nachar\_  
 ga. pomekchena wesza. dali go  
 Traden Tradas cieło rat i dywes  
 Te chał isy so so dzi kameł  
 680 tylko kaźdo dział i pierel bo te s<sup>li</sup>oweł  
 kameł dykchas kaj jamen ligereł  
 A pre barine droma dyćło kałe nadór  
 wesza Tatyphen pes kerdzia kcham  
 choces wygja cieło Boliben  
 685 dyćło dy<sup>lc</sup>ht**{o}** sweto szukarr miro

dyćło sweto szukar baro zdóraf  
 kchera i manósza frejda bary  
 A dre dzija. \romane c chócie  
 kchera. bot kachnia mamószon  
 690 nani zamerde wodara saró isy  
 A dre kchera so pes daj kier\_  
 dzia. dykchas pałał chałado  
 jamaro kolpakow pszytradyja  
 i pał łestyr botedyr bagen  
 695 gili romani chaładytko szóka\_  
 redyr Bradziaga siódzbo pro\_  
 klinajet i mszczytsa sumkaj na ·  
 pliecziach i i rakiren Tradeń  
 roma i Tsi naduron. dój tume\_  
 700 n. wawyr chałade żakiren  
 dykhas troszółytko droma Ter\_  
 dzion. roma chałady wasta  
 poden i rakiren Tsin jamare  
 rom<sup>a</sup>łę sastie i bachłale A jame  
 705 rysiówas pałe. doj [T]umen  
 wawyr ziakerde {syg} 4.

(5.)

żakirde chałade rajka\_  
 neę katalary tumare dała ława :  
 710 wypch<sup>e</sup>ndłę zalinapes i tradyne roma  
 łęgę syr jek parykirde gilasa  
 kałę ja<sup>k</sup>cha zaron[ł]dłę syr ratwałę  
 perenys jaswa syr bryszynt A pre  
 troszuletko droma ) :::: <picture: Tears>  
 715 Tsi jamęgę Tajnes napchendłę  
 Czapajow i Kołpakow chałade że  
 nadór Terde partyzanty katyla  
 ry jamare {me} jame zbyt daras  
 i nadzinas kaj Te Tradas kamesas  
 720 pałę Te rysioł adaj chałado  
 syr sasio rydo A pre grestyr  
 klisioł A pre sare ryga pes dyk\_  
 cheł. i odrazó chalija kaj kałę

roma A pre troszólytka droma  
 725 ne i wykarj<sup>|e|s</sup> dyja Bot Bot chaładen  
 jawja i i wordena op[<sup>{d}</sup>đ]chode

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i pchócin kon tumen A dej jandzia  
 czapajow cha[<sup>{d}</sup>ł]ade adaj Te Tradeł  
 męgę pchendę. sykawen lila sasy  
 730 czy ) roma roma roma i romnię<sup>|n|</sup>ca  
 cchawory jame wawer bersz a dre  
 wysza besz[<sup>{ł}</sup>ł]e syr rowa i na  
 mamószA ) syr kcherędyr wytra\_  
 dyjam liła jamare pchowiatur  
 735 A dre Pirja. Te na skirmion  
 wylizam i kam<sup>|ar?</sup>le chałade<sup>|n|</sup>[<sup>{s}</sup>g]ię  
 sykadziam ciacio nachochade Pał  
 pestyr jamęgę drom sykade kchera  
 męgę dyne pał ukra<sup>|l|</sup>ncendyr  
 740 zamarde i saro so dykhes isy  
 tyřo kachnia, balitsi pojek graje  
 i wórd<sup>e</sup>n 2. kórke pobeszena  
 męncza kchetane i Tradena  
 ki stała chałade kaj rosyjatyr  
 745 jawwne Ro<sup>|m|</sup> pchoceł czys  
 saso pszeperęł jekwar chylcioł  
 A jekwar pałe rysioł

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Samoloty zbyt maren forja  
 i gawa wesza chaćkirem i manó\_  
 750 szen ki bocia zalien botedyr sweto  
 nadykchen. Alie nek jawęł mędyr  
 A dre dzija kaj dawa be<sup>|r|</sup>sz Sasio  
 pszepeja i na rysio ła na. roma łęgę  
 Baszawenys jon<sup>|e|</sup> baganes pre saro  
 755 podykchenys jednak niekoneske doj  
 dar na poddenys tylko pszyszarenys.  
 A dzia isys 2. korkie b[<sup>{y}</sup>i]datyr roma  
 zabistyrdę masa wytsiór<sup>|e|</sup>nes sanys  
 i bagenys czapojowska gila roma  
 760 romnia i tsiaja partyzanytka gila  
 cha[<sup>{d}</sup>ł]adyłdytkis )<sup>-</sup>gili oji upolu upolu.

dwi topoli de ponoczy kołysz[ $\{e\}y$ ]t  
 sia tóman Tam zabyto głybo\_  
 ko zaryto kōsomoliec grasnoj  
 765 partyzant ona jocho ona prowa\_  
 żała de noczoj kołyszyt s[ $i$ ]a  
 Trawa ona jomó szabló szabló  
 poda<sup>l</sup>wa<sup>l</sup>ła woronocho komyka

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konika we<sup>l</sup>a ) tam zabyty chłyboko  
 770 zaryty. kosomolic krasnoj par<sup>l</sup>tyzan<sup>l</sup>t  
 on $\{e\}$  on upaw da prestrylūy wiliko\_  
 mó sowickamó Bajó za sTranojo  
 za s<sup>l</sup>tranoj radnojo. za krasawicoj  
 lubimoj mojoj prowa[ża][ $\{w\}l$ ]a ) konika  
 775 waranoj szablu podawała ona  
 samaja [ $\{d\}$ g]yroj krasawica była  
 A  $\{?$ oi gdzie noczoj kołyszysa  
 Trawa dwi [ $\{d\}$ T]opoli woronocho  
 konyka we<sup>l</sup>a za lubwiojā za  
 780 za s<sup>l</sup>awickoj stranojo sama w toj  
 propała Bo partyzanta, giroja  
 kosomolca lubiła i sim[ $i$ ]erci niebaja\_  
 łas. ni on ) i ja lubow naszy W siroj  
 zimli konik Topoli dwie .  
 785 pro lubow pisinkó pajót piśni ety  
 wsim swetom lietit. lici piśenka  
 lici de mamaszy majej skaży \_ .  
 szczo ja liżó {za mamaszej Tužo}

(6) {zabyty z padrogój swajěj}  
 790 {a gdzie topolie dwie}  
 konik wor}

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(7) zabyty g<sup>d</sup>lzie {2} topoli dwie  
 s krasawicoj swajo[ $\{e\}$ ] kdzie panoczy  
 ko[ $\{t\}$ ]yszysia trawa tam zabyty głybo\_  
 795 ko zaryty kōsomol<sup>e</sup>c k<sup>l</sup>rasnaj pa<sup>l</sup>tyzan<sup>l</sup>y  
 ona jomó szablu podawała  
 wor<sup>o</sup>nocho konika we<sup>l</sup>a Ana  
 krasawica w tiem bójo próbala  
 {z}a za · rydniojo za sawickoj stra\_



Te beszeł mogineñ sasy pes te pszema<sup>l</sup>leł  
<sup>840</sup> ne i pchóredyr pchendzia że ticha  
 worenca A dre wesza naszty te jaweł  
 bo pał 3 dywes isy baro baro mary  
 ben te jaweł moginen roma te pszepereł  
 ne i jame kandyjam Tryn dywes jeszcze  
<sup>845</sup> pszebeszcziam Ach. dewła Baro kicy  
perela if parno. / -saro boliben  
 tamło te kało pes kerdzia drom  
 jamęę mósardz<sup>l</sup>la ne so isys T{e}[e]kie\_  
 reł Tszebi isyś TeTradeł Bo chałade  
<sup>850</sup> pszepchendłę aroma· A roma choć  
 nazbyt kamdłę alie mósi<sup>l</sup>ldłę.  
 A dre iw baro wórdynesa tetra\_  
 deł ki kópiczów kcher te łeł  
 i pre stała chaładende sowicka  
<sup>855</sup> i po[l]ska te żakireł. {ahu·} Ach tu  
 Dewła Baro san A pre Boliben \_\_

(9)  
 de tu męęę dziepen dakicy bidy  
 Tugi pszedzies nisy r bida{d}[t]yr tewydział  
<sup>860</sup> naszty wydzias kaj spokoines te dziwas.  
 syr ciejkdore węde syr matsie kaj.)  
 łen pre wotka ch{i}[i]y<sup>l</sup>leln cytron zdran  
 i darjatyr zameren.) <sup>[265]</sup> kicy b{y}[i]dy i  
 Bokcha <sup>[266]</sup> kicy tugi i droma <sup>[267]</sup> kicy ostrą  
<sup>865</sup> bara {{i kolki różna}} wgine Adre  
 chera. <sup>[268]</sup> Kicy, kicy nagłę naszenys  
 pasze kana. kicy {raty?} biały Bryszynda kicy  
 ratwałę jaswa wytsiódziam but.  
 wesza A pre łęgre kreży. } {galez{y}i}  
<sup>870</sup> kóty jakcha nawylizam w kidy cierge\_  
 niory zadykchełs kijame p{a}[e]ł da  
 rók paterniory jeszcze naszty  
 sucia da[r]jatyr chajóry romany  
 w kidy tsonor● {dag} dadoro  
<sup>875</sup> pre pasz rat isys. rom rom  
 ciororo warykicy wesza obgija  
 bodaj A pre Błata \_\_

Beszto isys zasuto i pasz lę<sup>s</sup>tyr 2 czy 3  
 tykno ćhaworo rom magę łes dewłes  
 880 soske na mereł ciororo {ty[l]kø} tylko  
 mósineł wesz weszestyр Tepchereł  
 A dre dar bary naszty pes te[n]  
 jsoweł {w} feder by isys te mereł  
 syr A dre maryben te dziweł

\_\_\_\_\_ [NB: Not counted as a verse]

885 ne zabystyras sarestyr  
 pche<sup>m</sup>dlę jamęgę partyzanty ki kó\_  
 piczów te tradeł. ne i tradas  
 iw baro worden sare szpól{e}[a]s  
 rotegę cherenca {s-pszr} szpera  
 890 keras. A daj szunas ramka  
 sasytko naszeł koty rók na  
 za ciaławeł. jame sare A pre  
 if popejam jw baro ne  
 pre nijał iw isy kindo isys da  
 895 sawe kaj isys piragę \_\_\_\_

(10)  
ciorore chawore zam zamrasine  
 miro rom godli dyja garówen moja  
 bo chalóła kaj roma sare moja  
 900 garóde A dre iw baro Te kindo  
 me Tełę was nacho<sup>cha</sup>waw te meraw  
 wydykchaw so do oroplano kereł  
 A jow nizótkes pes pszydykcheł i  
 łornetka rykireł zasandzia  
 905 dykcia tykn{a}[e] ćcha kaj piragi  
 pasze datyr pasioł. może łes grecho  
 lija i pałę rysioł jame chiy{ř}[j]am  
 kon mędyr bachtalo porykirdziam  
odoj) kóty nadomrasijam me te  
 910 mereł namejam choć kamdziam  
 dyja dyweł kachamoro kereł męgę  
 drom łatsio jósz dycło waryco  
 foryco na baro parykiras tukę  
 dewłoro syk tacioła ćhaworo ...  
 915 dała ława wyBchendzia. oroplany

(11.)

sawe desz pszynańcia Apre foro boby  
 Tsiórdeł. j<sup>l</sup>w bla{d}Tasa ki jame naszeł bida  
 bary kaj te ta{s}cioł mórszoro i chajory  
 920 bida bida barj i isys bida A dre wesza  
 ne na naszenys dałę sasytka bęga ...  
 odoj chacion kchiera odoj karjede\_  
 peną) szu<sup>l</sup>dło kacuszy i wanószy syr  
 męgę czapajęw pchendzia {Jeg}[Kaj<?>]  
 925 dyćło jawena jaga jęk jekchestyr  
 wymaren sasos wytraden sasio  
 temareł łęs dyweł kameł c'eło  
 sweto te załeł ne {jednak} mareła  
 łęs kóc manósza i mr• deweł.  
 930 ne i so daj te te ker czy terysiół  
 czy dóredeł te tradeł Ach dewle[s]\_  
 kro. A<sup>l</sup>gıl miro pałał nek pes  
 kiereł so kameł nek mein  
 jekwar zamareł syr A dzia  
 935 te dziweł A dre bida bary  
 kaj ćhajory meja Adaj boba  
 ćhórdeja mekones na zamar

A dzia jek dywes tradasys koty na pome\_  
 jam sare naswa{d}lonys chawore roma  
 940 ne. josz sasy Temareł pszejaćne. kcham  
 meszto te taćkireł jamen kamdzia bo naszty  
 A<sup>l</sup>re jamary bida dykcia i sare promini  
 rozmókcia i odrazo pał dywes jek  
 błata jatsia. A dre foryco zatradyjam  
 945 gadzi czEchi Tsinde roma sawe-) tylko  
 mamósza Pcherejbnağraja A dre wasta  
 i party{n}[Z]antka dre wesza i Adzia ot  
 ćhakernejs sasiosa marybiena  
 i pszeciw litniska A pre Kchera  
 950 bramka so dywes A pre kopiczow  
 pszydykchEł i so dywes bobardenel  
 jósz natsinawa so jsys gres męgę  
 zamardzia błařasa na jek moło

psz<sup>yl</sup>ćchakirde sare isys ne miekon  
 955 zamard d ● na tsija bo Adz{e}[i]a  
 dewłor● dyja Tsindore i jame  
 A dre swietlica BÉsząsýs kchetane  
 i so rat jandenes mółę

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(12)  
 960 mółę chaładen katylaĩytka partyza\_  
 nten. So rat 2 albo 4 szukar mamosza  
 syr dadywÉs rypyraw A dre rata  
 Bare najek daj wysiódzia {raja}  
 jaswa r<sup>nl</sup>twale ciorore chaład{y}[e]  
 965 łała kaj men dykĹe / isys i waw\_  
 yr ćchawe. po panć dywÉs nasys  
 garóde garóde wizaw wodar A dre  
 wodar jamenca kchetane bo cieło  
 foro gadzi stradyne naszty  
 970 kchera niekaj ani szórna te wyn\_  
 ałęł Bo jek ikches tasaweł: i mółę  
 chałade nek łęgre dzija jawen  
 Bachtalę nadarasys me tsi ma<sup>nl</sup>ga\_  
 sys dewełęs pał łęgro dzi.  
 975 i A dzia odoj pszedzidziam Asz stało  
 chaładen dykcian{ł} jamare łęge  
 koncyrty Baszade warykicy mółę  
 A tsindore Ki) stała chałade gine  
 jamęncą p[{o}ε]s ciamódene isys syr  
 980 móry Tekne 4 Tsinde i 5 Tsindzia

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dyja dyweł saro pszedzi[dzi]jam sare roma  
 pes ponaszade sare pes rakc{ĩ}[i]am Bare  
 momeła ki mro Deweł dyjam i ki  
 dadywes sare ryPyren saro so  
 985 pszegine roma romnia ćhawore i bót  
 popszepene A kaj nakaj isys dzide i odo\_  
 ła roma so pszedzidine Ani jek wawyr  
 katylary ciacióné. Ke{nl}[ll]delarja i ło\_  
 warja odoła isys A dre lwowa  
 990 syr raja dzide bo liła wawyr {pes}  
 peske wekierde / Tylko pszałoro

jaw god{ø}[a], mosinaw ciacipen te  
 pchenaw foldaj Czéry i dadywes  
 Teszysę różna bęga. Te pszeperen  
 995 lęgre dzija kocie manószęę  
 na den Te dziweł ma<sup>l</sup>gaw tót  
 pszałoro niekoneske napen  
 pe sosz męęę pszałoro pył da  
 lędyr Te mereł / A jame na ·  
 1000 sam Barwałe ne korjes roma  
 [choć sam ciorore]

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(13.)  
 Adzia pszałoro pszedzi<sup>dzi</sup>jem so jęszcze  
 bótedyr dewłoro tó miro możnaby teke  
 1005 reł Bocho z byt baro i można te ćchineł  
 jek tykno berszoro. kaj te opcheneł  
 saro saro saro \ nani gody i szero /  
 saro Te opcheneł so pszegine roma  
 A dre dój Bęrsz ciero parykirasa  
 1010 mre dewłęske i dojorjaję czesta  
 chowatyr i kocie manószęę pał  
 saro so psze{g}[dz]ijam nady dywła.  
 kaj niekon dasawo cyro te {ka} nig  
 dy dykcheł Te rakcheł<sup>l</sup> kóc  
 1015 manósza i mro deweł

[NB: Not counted as a verse]

gili roman\_) {A<sup>h</sup>} Ach. manószęę dady  
 wes {kaka<sup>na</sup>} me by\_) kamdziam tumęęę  
 Te bageł sare swetytka dzija . Te  
 skowlakireł kon kameł miszto apre  
 1020 sweto te dziweł marybnastyr te na  
 bys<sup>l</sup>reł kaj maryben w calie te na istni  
 neł. me kamdziomby dadywes te  
 bageł szúkar te{e}[a]tores [269] sare roma te  
 naszen ki me [270] syr ki wesz kaj jag isy

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1025 Baro [271] A kchamitke duda pcherdo. Ach  
 manószęę syr me dzi[e]sa dadywes josz  
 Akana me kamdzio<sup>l</sup>by te bageł gila i [272] pre  
 odo mire gila [273] Te z dzian pes sare roma

[274] i Te wychalon mire ława. Te jawas dzide  
 1030 sare kcheTane koć barwałe A dre sława)  
 [Bary romany ne jósz kan<sup>al</sup> ła nani nani']  
 miry gili miry gili dodzia tu ki  
 pchóre<sup>l<sup>m</sup></sup>gry dzi bo terne sygedyr jawen  
 a bachłaledyr. [syr koć mamósza]  
 1035 kchetane kchetane sare i roma pchore  
 A naj szókareder Terne ćhawore  
 jamare te dzidon bachłale  
 i dasawo cyro te doziakiren kaj  
 te na jaweł maryben pszekoszło  
 1040 manószeskro dzijepen! /<sup>~</sup> [275] de tu {gili}  
 dewła Bary po{d}[g]odyca [276] kaj te  
 wyszócoł mré {?} ryskirdy szatryca  
 [277] chórdo bryszynt p{o}[ɛ]ja [278] Tykne  
 ćhawen ki<sup>m</sup>ckirdzia [279] {jow} miry gili  
 1045 Tómanósa ligirdzia [280] ki sare roma  
 Barwałe [281] kaj łen isy szaTrę ne{ø}

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newe [282] jone na chalon sawo [283] manósz  
 isy barwało [284] odowa kaj sownakaj  
 i syłes Bot czy dowa [285] kaj gody i maro  
 1050 i syłes A dre wasta Te rozróźninel na  
 dzinen roma oj kamdzia<sup>m</sup>bym barwali  
 gili Te kerel i mre gilasa dzi sare<sup>m</sup>gro  
 Te óleš syr jamen wesz o{l}[b]lija dadywes  
 Te rypyreł pchendzia i ki meryben syr  
 1055 cierykło A dre wesz zabyścia syr  
 Kchamoro kaliben szókar p{e}[ɛ]skie wylija  
 i Te zabieszel cierchenięgię pchandzia  
 pasze tsion jęć cierchen naj bu{?}[t]ydyr  
 o doj isy naj szókarydyr syr pasze  
 1060 jak ćchaworo nag{ę}o szatra romani  
 A dre wesz Terdy. szókar syr cierch\_  
 eniory A dzia dót pestyr deł A dre  
 Tamło rat {Byr} Bary syr cierchen  
 sownakóni. Terne chaja Ter<sup>dl</sup>e szókar  
 1065 syr móry kałę · jakcha chacion syr  
 sownakóne. jone i ćchawe Bachtale  
 syr A dre pani matsie swoboda isy łen

Apre sweto naj bótedyr pchiren naj sy\_  
 gedyr syr pani naszeł nitsi ) ła na\_  
 1070 zrykireł. [286] syr wesz bageł Adzia rom  
 kheleł [287] łoko syr por pcharo syr  
 {B{a}{ċ}{n} Bar [288] Adzi|<sup>a</sup>| adre kamlipen  
 chaciol [289] syr jak szókar. łoko dzije\_  
 pen ) romano syr A<sup>d</sup>re wesz Bachtalo  
 1075 Cirykło. kaj romęca raćkirdo  
 jek je<sup>k</sup>cheske drom pszechteł. jek jek\_  
 cheske gili bageł. jek jekches dykcheł.  
 syr A dre wesz dziweł cirykło  
 i rom kało? hoć romęgę barwałę\_  
 1080 gę kóć pre sweto Te dziweł  
 A [290] jamegę (ciororęgę kórjes ) A dre  
 kchera Te beszeł. [291] szukar gi{d}[l]a  
 Te bageł Szukar [292] bócho. Te gineł  
 i te opheneł [293] i newo bócho  
 1085 kóć manósza [294] A dre n{e}[i]ewo  
 sweto Te wyden ... ) (̄papuszā)  
 wajs



# Tears of Blood in Consensual Romani Spelling

Viktor Shapoval

Page 1 [NB: Consecutive numbering]

<sup>1</sup> Žegaň, 25. lipca 1952 roku  
Gili Ratvale jasva, so pal Sasendyr  
pšegijam apre Volyň, 43. <štardešto tryto> i 44. <štardešto štarto> berša.

▼<sup>[1]</sup> Ax, mire lače manušale! {Daja gili Soske i pal so bagava.  
<sup>5</sup> te bagel,} pačen, syr Devles kamam, <sup>[2]</sup> na ka-  
mel pes mange xyrja cyry te zrypyrel, <sup>[3]</sup> bo  
dži miro nasvalo, <sup>[4]</sup> kamel sygo te rovel.  
<sup>[5]</sup> Ne so te keres, tšebi te bagel  
<sup>[6]</sup> xyrja manušenge, kaj maryben  
<sup>10</sup> kamen. <sup>[7]</sup> Nek džinen, syr mišto. <sup>[8]</sup> Ná de  
Devla nikoneske <sup>[9]</sup> andre maryben  
te dživel, <sup>[10]</sup> andre bida bary i jasvin  
ratvali. <sup>[11]</sup> So pšegija čororo dži  
<sup>[12]</sup> Čhindytko [čhavoro] i <sup>[13]</sup> Romane čhavorenc  
<sup>15</sup> Romni. <sup>[14]</sup> Ax, gili, gili tu tugani!..  
<sup>[15]</sup> Syr phuv by-khamesro sys by čorory,  
<sup>[16]</sup> adža xyrja apre sveto, so maryben  
isy. De tu, Devla, nigdy maryben te na  
javel, bo <sup>[17]</sup> pre manušendyr masa  
<sup>20</sup> zdran-cytron, <sup>[18]</sup> i dži rovel ratvale

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jasvenca, i <sup>[19]</sup> nikon na džinel kaj sy leskry  
semenca. Mek gody sykl'on andre miry gili  
te na kamen maryben, te skov'ol lengro  
dži, te xa'ol so maryben isy. Bo isy  
<sup>25</sup> dasave, kaj <phenen> "Na dente ničhi!" i Romenge  
na pačenys, kaj pal sasostyr Roma pše-  
perenys. Syr šukar khera latše manuša  
potšé{bine?}, {a}kana gruzy pojačhne, marybna-  
styr bystyrde. De tu, Devla, kaj nikon  
<sup>30</sup> sary bibaxt te <na?> bistrel, kuč pre sveto  
te javel, šukar te dživel, bare gi'a te šu-  
nel. ▼Maryben, maryben, bodaj nigdy te na Bidy marybnastyr.

javel celo džijepen. Mire kuč i lače  
 manušale bare! Vyšunen miry gili čačuni,  
 35 so pšegija Rom, čhavore i Romni andre  
 (andre) maryben. Jag bary! Dži ratesa i jas-  
 venca občhudy! Bagava tumenge  
 gili, gili \_/ tugani. [20] Andre veša by-pa-  
 ňeskro by-jagakro , bokh {Nas?} bary.  
 40 {kaj} [21] Kaj te soven čhavore,

šatra nani. [22] Jag te xačkirel raty na-  
 šty: [23] thuv dyvese Sasenge del  
 xadyni. [24] Syr te dživel čhavore|n|ca  
 andre vend bary. ▼ [25] Sare pira|n|ge, [26] sare  
 45 saro andre foro Vlodžimiž pome-  
 kle. [27] Syr jamen kamdle Sasy  
 te vymarel, [28] angil phendle bary  
 buty te kerel. [29] Jek Sašo raty ki  
 Roma peja [30] soš me tumenge nalač-  
 50 ho phenava: [31] daja rat {isy} tumen  
 te vymaren. [32] Nikoneske na ph|e|nen, [33] bo  
 me som Rom kalo, [34] rat ratestyr  
 čačuno. [35] Nek del tumenge mro  
 Devel baxt bary [36] andre veš  
 55 kalo. [37] Dala lava vyphendža,  
 [38] saren čamudeja. ▼ [39] Me sygo džava  
 andre veša. [40] Gijam dur-dur  
 svetenca, [41] skedeja pes Romani  
 semenca. [42] Sare khetane šel

60 manuša. [43] Angil dyves gijam andre  
 baro veš. [44] Saro pomekhčam, na sys  
 vurden, ani greš. Pal jamendyr Sasy  
 klistes, i aménca pherybnangry, na  
 {od}maras. \_) [45] Jek čhavoro pre phike,  
 65 vavyr apre vasta. [46] Adža džanyš Roma.  
 [47] So adaj te kerel. [48] Sasy nani dur,  
 moginen men te xtylel. ▼ [49] Adaj,  
 karyk i so, partyzantka pšynašel  
 [50] i karje \_/ del. [51] Saro xalija, bo  
 70 čhavoren dykhča i Romnen.

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PAL SASENDYR.  
 Jekh Sasytko Rom phendža  
 jamen te našas avry.

Mekhas foro Vlodžimiž,  
 garuvas pes andre veša.

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ANDRE VEŠA.  
 Partyzantka Čapajev  
 vylel jamen bidatyr.

[52] Odčhiakirdža baro maryben,  
adža kaj Saso musindža te vy-  
xy|l'|tol. [53] Partyzantka Čapajov ničhi  
na darel; [54] i Romenca rakirel: so  
75 pes dava kerel? [55] – Sasy men  
kamdle te vymarel, [56] musindžam  
andre veša pes te del. – [57] Ax tume  
čorore, but tumen isy? – Jek šel.

▼ [58] Syr daj, Devla, te dživel? [59] So te xal,  
80 so te pjel, kaj love te lel? {ne pre so adáj}  
Nani so te rodel, veš saro tumenge  
adža del. So isy {a|n|dre} veša, to  
zalena Roma; so isy andre gava,  
to čorasam, tume-jame, sare  
85 khetane. \_/ ▼ [60] Isy menca duj Čhinde  
čorore, [61] lengren saren vymarde.  
▼ [62] [Roma] gil'a šukar {murša?} do sarestyr  
zabagle, [63] ligirde len dur {?} dre veša  
čirykle, [64] jekh jekheske vyphendle.  
90 ▼ [65] Daja rat {dar} šukar isys,  
[66] apre boliben čerxeňa Rome-  
nca khetane zasute.  
▼ [67] Čirykle len dži|n|gade i čhavore  
tekne. [68] Paňory angil dyves raki-  
95 rel, [69] šukar gili bagel. [70] Mačhore  
Romane čhavoren <... ?> san i [71] frejdžon.  
Apre pani <čhavore> phiren, polokhes rakiren  
[72] i bidatyr bistyren. [73] Na džinen,  
so len, Devla, žakirel. (žakirel)

100 [74] Jekh Daj Bary, Devloro džinel. ▼ [75] Ox, gili,  
gili tu miry tugani. [76] Nikon, Devla, na  
džinel, [77] so pes andre dži kerel: [78] deše  
dujen manušen [79] Šasy mire semencatyr  
{te} zamaren. [80] ▼ Pal jamendyr traden,  
105 [81] ne andre veša bare te džan daren.  
{na kamen} Ne te vydžal jamenge  
pre sveto, kaj kamas, na den.  
[82] Sare veša {[jame]} oblen, [83] partyzante|n|-

Page 5

Syr, Devla, te dživel?

Zamarde Čhinde.

Gili tradel dukh avry.

Dre veš raty.

Šukar dyves javja. Te javas  
džide.

Page 6

Na bystras jamaren mulen.

Veš garuvel jamen Sasendyr.

ca pes maren. [84] Romňa roven, Devlestyr  
 110 mangel, [85] raty sar{o}[e] čoren, *czasem* čhi na jan-  
 den. [86] Duj-tryn dyves te xal nani, [87] i dale-  
 sa te sovel dž|a|n bokhale, [88] jakha pes  
 na zaphanden. [89] Apre čerxeňa dykhen.  
 [90] Devla, džijepen \\ šukar [91] Sasy te dživ-  
 115 el na den. [92] Maren, maren, [93] jaga,  
 syr mire gi'a, dur našen.  
 {ah} ▼ [94] Ax tu miry čerxeňory! [95] Angil  
 dyves bary \\ tu san [96] apre sveto  
 čačuni, [97] zakorjakir sasenge jakha,

### Papusza mangel čerxeňory.

Page 7

120 [98] zryskir lenge bange droma, [99] na sykav  
 lenge drom lačo [100] sykav lenge xoxa-  
 no. [101] Te džidžol Čhindytko i Romano  
 čhavoro (te pšeperel Sašo Baro,  
 ▼ker tu vanta{tyr?}, vešoro jamaro,  
 125 bage lenge gi'ory, kaj jamare džan,  
 angil i palel saro bašavel,  
 sal. ) [102] Vešo, vešo, vešorenca, [103] tu  
 san baro i prajtenca. ▼Baro  
 maryben, Sasy i Ukrainenca,  
 130 sare jamen zamaren, i Čhin-  
 den, nikones butedyr na kand-  
 en, tylko pes korkore. Saren  
 pre sveto zamarde Katy'aren.  
 Čorore, čhibja lenge občhindlo,  
 135 jakha lenge vyline. ▼Saro sveto,  
 manuša čorore syg javena.  
 Barvale – kon pšechola  
 jasva ratvale.

### Papuša mangel vešorestyr.

Sasy i Ukrainenca zamaren  
 Romen, Čhinden, Katal'aren.

Barvale syg javena čorore  
 i zarovena (≈Lukastyr 6:25).

Page 8

▼ [104] Syr pes tumenge, manušale, zdel,  
 140 [105] kaj te pšedžidžon manuša šel?  
 {?} [106] Isys xyrja i mišto, [107] syr isys avry  
 tato. [108] Kuty kham, kuty jasva,  
 [109] kale mury te skedel, {i} [110] ružna  
 draba te pjel, [111] betki čacune, ne  
 145 i kuty mačhe. [112] Graja zamarde  
 Romňa kerade, [113] duj-tryn kurke

### Syr xyrja cyry te pšedžidžol?

skirňakirde, [114] isys kuč mašore.  
 {e} [115] Phuvengry syr marcypany  
 Romane peke. [116] Jekvar andre  
 150 kurko biš-deš jandle [117] Roma  
 čorore. ▼ (Ne saro saresa  
 ničhi). [118] Syr javela \_/ vend bary,  
 [119] so kerela tykne čhavore|n|sa Rom-  
 ni? [120] kaj lela podžica savi –  
 155 [121] bo juž saro operel, masa nange,  
 [122] te merel pes kamel. [123] Nikon  
 na xal'ol i na džinel, jekh boliben  
 [124] i pani šunel

lengro rojben. ▼ [125] Save jakha jamen  
 160 apre xyrja zadykhle? [126] Save ušta  
 jamen pšekošle? [127] Devla, na vyšun tu  
 len, [128] vyšun tu jamen. ▼ [129] Daja  
 rat šylali {ja}čha, {i} [130] dyne te bagel  
 phure Romňa [131] paramiša Romani:  
 165 [132] "Javla vend sovnakuni, [133] i va  
 perna pre phuv, pre vasta,  
 [134] syr tykne čerxeňa. [135] Kale jak-  
 ha zamrašona, [136] tykne džija  
 pomerena, phure na jekh pšedžidžo-  
 170 na i kerena giľa čačune (tykne)".  
 ▼ Te rovel dyne čhavore: "Te xal  
 kamas, juž zor nani duredyr  
 te džas". Sasy saro veš obline.  
 Adaj bokhatyr pšepene.  
 175 Pre tašarla jivoro dyja,  
 j<sup>x</sup>oč bok i bida, tekne džija rosfrej-  
 džakirdža: jekh sal, vavyr  
 rovel, jekh {iv \_/ xtylel}.

Papuša paramiša rakirel tele nango  
 180 boliben, jekh sal, jekh rovel. ▼ Dyja  
 Devel ivoro, daj ryšola Sašo,  
 xyrja nalačo. Jov ryšola duredyr,  
 Čapajov džala sygedyr, jame džā-  
 sam palal. ▼ Javela so te xal – na ja-

Javela pharedyr.

Save jamen pšekošle?

Gili dre rat šylali.

Čhavore roven,  
 ivoro frejdžakirel len.

Saso ryšola, tšebi te našen.

Papusza jandela xaben.

185 vava Romani čhaj, so na džava  
 andre jag bary i jandava mas piry.  
 Me jandava maro i madžarsko  
 thujalo. ▼<sup>[137]</sup> Dadyves rakierlys party-  
 zanto Čapajovo, <sup>[138]</sup> kaj pšedžasam  
 190 drom \\ sastruno, <sup>[139]</sup> Ne i čačo,  
 daja rat na sučam, <sup>[140]</sup> {ne} baro ivoro  
 peja, <sup>[141]</sup> drom začhakirdža: <sup>[142]</sup> jekh  
 dyčhlo Drom Thudytko <sup>[143]</sup> apre boli-  
 ben. (boliben) <sup>[144]</sup> džan, tele nakh gili bag-  
 195 en.) ▼ A me dyjom te bagel korkory,  
 na džinav so pes mange kerdža.  
 Džavys by Sašós te marel,  
 apre čhurja, i niby ) savi, ) niči  
 na darav.

200 ▼ Sare i xalade<sup>1</sup> rakiren: “Soske  
 zoraless bagen? Te na bučkiren  
 Sasen, Madžaren. Dava nani  
 tumenge saben. Dykhena, savo  
 javela maryben. Sare te kan-  
 205 den.” ) Boliben -- baro šukaryben.  
 Dyjom mange gili polokhes  
 te bagel i phenav ki Roma:  
 ▼ Dykhen apre boliben, syr  
 (syr) migočynel, zdral, – nani  
 210 spokojno, syr mro dži. So  
 pšy|dži|džasam, saro dasam, ) ki  
 Khangiry bary, syr me,  
 momeli. ▼ Andre dove lav  
<sup>[145]</sup> peja jag bary. <sup>[146]</sup> Sare pašon,  
 215 čhavoreng muja phanden.  
<sup>[147]</sup> Sare mule darjaty r jačhen.  
 ▼ A mange saro jekh te džidžol  
 čy te merel, čhavore nani,  
 nani koneske te dživel.

Pšedžasam sastruno drom.

Papusza niči na darel.

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Sare Papuszá mangel  
 te na bagel zoraless.

Syr pšedžidžasam, ki Khangiry  
 bary momeli dasam.

Karjedepena.

Papusza niči na darel  
 pale. Soske?

1 This is not fully recognizable, nevertheless we try to differ by the capitalized initials meanings as follow: xalade ‘soldiers of any nationality’, Xalade ‘Russians > Soviets’, Gadže ‘unspecified local people, Ukrainians, etc.’, Čhinde ‘Jews’.

<sup>220</sup> I davaj godlesa ngil te našel. ▼ Miro  
rom man podykhča, pale vast man  
xtyldža: “So keres? Kames te przepe-  
res. – Na dara, romoro, so koneske  
dyja Devloro. Te xal nani či.

<sup>225</sup> Me čhaj Romani, mange rat  
kali phen miry. – {Rom:} “[So tu,] dyl’nišu,  
so pes tuke kerdža? – Me kamam  
bokhalen čhavoren te čala-  
kirel, bo našty pre daa býda  
<sup>230</sup> te dykhel. Dadyves so man  
isy? Dasavo! Kamam te pšeperel,  
doj kaj našty, Romano čhavo!”

▼ Gil’asa odgijom. Maryben baro sys.  
Jaga čhudžon, syr veš baro. Po-  
<sup>235</sup> kuty Sasy xyl’ton, či jamareng  
na keren, sastruno drom  
menge keren. Me vperav,  
šynki lav, thujale i brajnty  
gudle. Celo cer|h|a nalijom:

<sup>240</sup> parne mare i saro so isys. But Ma-  
džary zamarde pašle isys.  
Me džav, či na darav, maro  
phagirav i xav, bidatyr bisty-  
rav, našav, so zor isy. ▼ Jama-  
<sup>245</sup> ren nani, angil pogine,  
pšemukle len xalade jama-  
re i pre mandyr dykhen: “So tu  
za jekh?” – “Dava Roma mire ... Tu-  
me man na prynčkirde?” ▼ – Jek,  
<sup>250</sup> apre baxt, xalado javja: “Daja  
Romni jamary, joj zavše  
bagel gili Romani. Soske tu  
jačhan? Sygedyr! {sygady-sygede}  
Sygedyr, bodaj isy Sasy nadur

Papusza rakirel lakire romesa.

Papusza baxtales doresel  
but xaben.

“– Kaj jamare gine?  
– So tu za jekh?”<sup>2</sup>

Apre baxt, jekh xalado  
la prynčkirdža.

2 [Joj darel, kaj na prynčkirde xalade la lokhes zamarena, syr podumindle, kaj joj Sasendyr isy podbičhady.]

255 butedyr!" – ▼Apre grestyr xaladenca besčom, saro manca zalijam. Juž baro dyves. ) {R}a- {khčom} jamaren, sare soven. Šukar šteto. Adaj Sasy na javena.

260 Možna kicy dyvesa te javel.  
▼Dyja baro iv te perel. Bary tyša zathodžam, i rakiren:  
▼"Kuty bokhatyr na pomejam. Andre dasavo maryben každo pes rak-  
265 xel. Daj čači čhavores mekhel". –  
▼"Rom miro andre xolin baro, so me tuke keradžom mas, maro jandžom". Dale lava vyphendžom i frejdatyr gili  
270 frejdaso te bagel dejom. ▼Sare jakha vythody, syr by man na (?) dykhle. ▼Podxane i parykerde xalade: Maladziec – phendle. ▼Me na kamdžom  
275 lengro šaryben. Čhavoren žakirlys bokhatyr meryben.

[Angil nevo 1994-to berš xalade tajnes pomekle Romen raty i skedyne pes nadur forostyr Sarny.]

▼<sub>[148]</sub> Doja rat šylali, <sub>[149]</sub> juž merel  
čhajory, <sub>[150]</sub> pale štar dyvesa  
<sub>[151]</sub> garude štaren čhavoren Romňa.  
280 <sub>[152]</sub> Andre iv baro pšepejan,

Romano čhavoro. <sub>[153]</sub> Štaren khetane <sub>[154]</sub> garude \\ andre jekh dives. Tu, Devloro, jamary bida dykhes. <sub>[155]</sub> Dykh-ta, khamoro, syr by-tyro <sub>[156]</sub> merel  
285 šylibnastyr čhavoro Romano.  
<sub>[157]</sub> andre veš baro. ▼<sub>[158]</sub> Šunel čiryklo rojben dakro i dadeskro. <sub>[159]</sub> Šunel pani i veš, gili bary kerel, <sub>[160]</sub> dur andre thema la ligirel. Rom leske  
290 odphenel. <sub>[161]</sub> Soske veš bagel, <sub>[162]</sub> bo Romni rovel. ▼Na jekh droma

Papusza lathel peskiren pale.

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Bary tyša [xabe] xaladenca.

Roma šaren Papuszá.

Papusza rakirel, syr našty.

Roma čhi na phenen.

Xalade šaren Papuszá.

Jekh barvalo xaben. Duredyr bokh pre tyknendyr žakirila.

**Bokh i šil. Čhavore meren.**

Page 15

Dada, daja roven.

Jamare bidy bare.

sastrune Roma xaladenca pšegi-  
 ne. <sup>[163]</sup> Na jekh nagly paše šero Roma-  
 no pšenaše, <sup>[164]</sup> syr čirykle. <sup>[165]</sup> Na jekh  
<sup>295</sup> jasva ratvale vyčhude. Na jekh  
 čhavoro pšymerelys bokhatyr,  
 syr vende čiryklo. Kham, kamoro,  
 garuvel pes pal kašta, čien  
 kaštengry kerel šyla. Jag našty  
<sup>300</sup> te kerel. ▼Devloro mendyr (bistryla)  
 bistryrel?

Devloro mendyr rypyrrel.

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Jednak Devloro lačho, jekh berš  
 Rom andre veša bygavengro bešto.  
 Dajory Devleskry mendyr rypyrrel,  
<sup>305</sup> ▼ <sup>[166]</sup> xoč Romni pre gava na phirel,  
<sup>[167]</sup> jekhvar pre kurko soš pes andre  
 veš rakhel, <sup>[168]</sup> syr na guruvni,  
 to graj zamardo, <sup>[169]</sup> i kuty lont i  
 giv rosčhudo. Adža Rom isys  
<sup>310</sup> džido. Vosko žujnel (zamiast  
 gumka Amerykaňsko), zdel pes  
 kaj xal i isy čalo. <sup>[170]</sup> Ne i pjel  
 vešytko draboro. <sup>[171]</sup> Ne i ježač-  
 ko vešytko baličhoro. {Jednak}  
<sup>315</sup> ▼ rada peske del, xoč pre  
 nangi phuv sovel, šuke  
 na doresel. Bo balval lačhe  
 sare luludžendyr ztradel  
 Veš, veš! Andre šuke {chory na pluca}  
<sup>320</sup> to znaczy po cygaňsku (šuke)  
 chory na pluca (šuke)  
 <picture: Lungs> buke saste.

Veš del soš te xal.

Veš dodel zor i sastypen.

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Bo smoľna veša sosnytko  
 vyaščakiren i zor doden. )  
<sup>325</sup> ▼Saro jamen omykhča sveto  
 parno, dakicy, so andre veš  
 čhakirdža. Jek čerxeňory  
 jamenca bešty žyn ki dyves, i so-  
 va phury rakirel paramiša

Sveto jamen omykhča. Jamary  
 kompanija dre veš.

330 Romani. Isy dasave, kaj sova  
kanden. Isy dasave, gak pal  
latyr čhurden, bo dre latyr  
zorales pačen. Sova, tykne  
čirykle, ruva – lengre glasy  
335 zorale, ne nikones na  
čalade. But len isys, syr džukela  
jamare. \_\_\_\_ ▼Mire manušale, kuč  
lače! Kamle by tume andre fil'm  
jamaro džijepen te dykhel?  
340 I čačo te phenel, bo me te ka-  
mam te čhinel saro a saro,  
te by zdžalys jekh beršoro,

to javdžas by buxo šukar, barv-  
alo. Me džinav, kaj čhanela  
345 miro pšaloro sovnakuno, me  
na xoxavav, te przeperel  
mro šero. \_) Saro čačo-čačo,  
so pšedžidžija Rom čororo  
i Čhindo barvalo andre sveto  
350 pal Sašoskro šero.) ▼<sub>[172]</sub> **Kham** {???) [???)  
**vygija**, <sub>[173]</sub> **veš saresa sparnija**, Rom  
kuty so džidžol. Cyro – parykiras Dev-  
loreske – sparudža. ▼Gadžo pes syka-  
dža, so pes dava kerdža? Čy  
355 Sašo duredyr xyl'tyja, veša kaj  
na kaj by-Sasengro jača? Gadže,  
Gadžija – peren, syr bryšynt,  
jasva – pre jamendyr dykhen,  
niby daren. \_) ▼I Romňa roven  
360 frejdatyr, kaj Gadžen dykhen,  
lav Gadžitko šunen. Romňa  
xaben janden, gi'a našen  
žyn tele bolibien. Čhavore

frejdžon, khelen i vešestyr na  
365 daren. Xera lole, syr bežo, mela-  
le. Nani gadore, perore nange.  
▼Gadže javen, andre khera mangen,

Jamaro džijepen trebi te sykavel  
andre fil'm i buxo.

PAL UKRAINCENDYR.  
**Kham vygija, tačiol.**

Gadže pes sykade dre veš.

Frejda bary ...

... nadža bary. Katalary nani.

mi jamary frejda na pre mišto  
 vygija, bo dava isys Ukraincy  
<sup>370</sup> manuša. ▼ Poxačkirde khangir-  
 ja, štakirenys trušula.  
 Guruvña roven, syr manuša.  
 Vymarde, so ki xeruj, katel'arengi  
 i zalen lengro barvalipen. ▼ I  
<sup>375</sup> ki jame Gadže phenen: "So tume  
 san?" – Jame: "Cygany". – Čy Ukrain-  
 cy, čy Poľaki?" – "Jame Roma,  
 Sasy men kamdle te zamarel.  
 Ki tume javjam". ▼ I zabašade:  
<sup>380</sup> bo sare bašajebena rakhenys,  
 syr peskre jakha, Roma.  
 Bo bašejeben myrybnastyr  
 jamen vylija. I zabašade  
 xaladytko gili. ▼ Karyk i so

So dala Gadže kerenys?

So jamendyr phučen?

Zabašadžam lenge.

Saro džala syr by šukar.

<sup>385</sup> ligirel Gadži thulo mas piry.  
 Zabašade gili "Kale jakha  
 tyre", i Gadže jandle tyraxore.  
 I džá saro šukar. Bašavenys,  
 Gadže saro ki jame jandenys.  
<sup>390</sup> Saren jagor jagorestyr pšyřa-  
 venys. ▼ Tylko {my} me čhi na lijom.  
 Mire gada Romňenge podyjom,  
 bo me gada sare manca zalijo-  
 m. Jek tyraxa kuč bystyr  
<sup>395</sup> džom, jekh xyřja apre xe-  
 ra, so isys, nani. Pre veša  
 zryskirdžom. Ne dyjom mange  
 dasavo lav, kaj te merav,  
 kon isy zamardo, gad na lav.  
<sup>400</sup> Volinav andre nangi te phi-  
 rav. Ratesa saro mange  
 zrypyrel odova, kaj ňevinňe  
 andre phuv pšeperel, bo me  
 som dasavi, so dykhav xyřja  
<sup>405</sup> vareso, mek merel dži miro.

Papusza: "Kon isy zamardo,  
 pal lestyr čhi na lav".

▼ {Daj-aj-dyk} xas adaj, džal  
 jekh, i palestyr but, Gadžo, deš  
 džine, pherybnangrja pre phi-  
 kie. Bul'bovcy zamarde. ▼ So tu,  
 410 Devloro, kerdžan? Kaj men  
 daj jandžan? So kerasam,  
 čorore? Ki kon te džas, ki save  
 xalade? Čapajov mendyr otrady-  
 ne, alie ryšona syg pale ki  
 415 jame? So Devel dela: xyrja  
 čy mišto? Kaj džava apre  
 vend? Baro pšeperela najekh šero.  
 ▼ Apre jekh pes zdyne i khera  
 pomangle. Dyne menge khera pal  
 420 Katyl'arytka, pozamarde – čorore  
 džija – naxarga. ▼ [174] Me volin-  
 džomis te javel andre veša. {[Fedyr]} [175] te po-  
 xan man ruva, [176] sy<r> te bešel  
 andre dala khera. [177] Adre dyly  
 425 rata, kaj na kaj manuša  
 [178] {sys?} andre xaninga.

▼ Kaxña zdylinyne pre veša,  
 phiren khacy, roven. Guruvnen  
 Gadže zamaren. Našty te dykhel,  
 430 so pes vykerel. ▼ Roma andre  
 khera te bešel daren, te na  
 mule javen, džide te na ja-  
 men zamaren. ▼ Khera dyne,  
 buty roden i bašaven. Javja  
 435 bary vend šylali, pre gav phirlys  
 kali Romni. Andre bary dar:  
 našty Gadže dogine, Ukraincy:  
 ▼ “Čy san Katyl'ary parne?” Ne i  
 Roma gode, nadža dynale,  
 440 syr Gadže. Rakiryben Roma-  
 no na xalija Gadžo: “Syr  
 trušul keren?” – “Apre čačo”. –  
 “Syr pes kharen?” – “Vasył, Ivan,

Adža pšeperenys manuša.

Papusza magel pes Devleske.

Khera pal zamardendyr.

Fedyr andre veša.

By-manušengire kaxña, khacy.

Roma daren mulendyr,  
 džidendyr butyr.

Saro džal syr by niči,  
 te na parudžol by vareso.

So mendyr phučen vavyr Gadže?

Našća, Paraska, Olena,  
 445 Petro”. – “Kaj lila?” – “Sasy  
 zaline”. Roma andre veša  
 garude, kaj Gadže te na džin-

|e|n. ) – “Kaj san Katyl’ary parne ...”, –  
 zaras by men zamarde. \_)

450 ▼<sub>[179]</sub> Jekvar <sub>[khere]</sub> ≤dre kher≥, Lytamorie,  
 na rypyrav,

saro dyves isys boliben šukar,  
 {i}sys čhon, andre dodali {zadykhel}:

<sub>[180]</sub> me te sovel našty. Konyš tel  
 dudali zadykhel. {Zdaryjom,

455 jednak} <sub>[181]</sub> phučav: “Kon isy?” –

<sub>[182]</sub> “Phirav vudara, miry kali  
 Romňory!” <sub>[183]</sub> Dykhav, vdžal

šukar Čhindory, <sub>[184]</sub> cytrol(?) -zdr-  
 al i mangel te xal. Devloro

460 dykhel, kaj na xoxavav,

syr kamam baxt andre sveto

te lathav. <sub>[185]</sub> {???) [Čorory] tu san,

miry čorory Čhindory. <sub>[186]</sub> Dyjo-  
 m [lake] maro, lont, <sub>[187]</sub> so isys,

465 gadoro, Šukarypen terňory

syr muryca zarundli. – “Ax,

Devloro, ) save tume lače!

Meren bokhatyr 2 (duj) čhavore”. –

“Mire Roma isy lače”.

470 I <sub>[188]</sub> sare duj bistrydžam, <sub>[189]</sub> kaj na-  
 dur jamendyr isys xalade,

<sub>[190]</sub> ne daja rat ki jame na javne.

<sub>[191]</sub> – “Romnije tu miry, <sub>[192]</sub> de te čamu-  
 dav tut pal tro lačo dži. <sub>[193]</sub> Tu

475 dares i me darav, <sub>[194]</sub> me so kur-  
 ko javava, so ) rat. <sub>[195]</sub> Čy na dži-

nes, kaj isy Čapajovo

odrat?” – <sub>[196]</sub> “Jame lenca tradyjam,

<sub>[197]</sub> tradine angil, vkidy

480 zasučam i butyr na dykhčiom”.

Joi man me la čamudjom.

▼ Karyk i so vperel jekh Gadžo:

“Skeden tumen sare, Roma  
džana andre vavyr khera”.

<sup>485</sup> Raty, sare Romen džigaven,

juž jekh kher xačol, vavyr

roskieden. Jamen andre

jekh kher straden,

66 <šovdeša šov> manušen.

Vavyr kher.

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490 ▼

lutune 1944,

Sare nasvale, nikon na meja.

Lutune doj menge Gadže

dyne sare andre jekh kher: tryn pokoji

i kuxña. ) Pre tuvissio zanasvali-

jam sare. Jek Romni, a potem

<sup>495</sup> [198] me {[somys nasvali]}, i mandyr sare syr jekh.

[199] Nikon na meja, [200] sare isys {pa}

šov kurke pašle. [201] Pomogindle

malinytka kerade rukhore,

[202] i do pañesa sare vysaščam.

<sup>500</sup> I dadyves, te rypyren, sarengi phen-

džam. ) ▼ [203] Dyja Devel mar{e}co tato.

[204] Kaj na kaj ivoro pašlo, [205] Gadže tele

dudaľa phiren: [206] “Save Roma tru-

šula keren?” ▼ [207] Roma polokhes zabis-

<sup>505</sup> tyren, [208] apre lava peskre kharen:

[209] Janek, Broña, Kšyša, Zoša. [210] Jekh

miro lav našty xaline Romano.

[211] Dova khar isys baxtalo.

▼ [212] Bare rady Gadže kerenes,

<sup>510</sup> [213] kaj Romen te zamarel.

So mendyr phučen neve

Gadže, katařary rajkane?

Roma bidy zabistyren, ne ...

... vavyr Gadže kamen

amen te zamarel.

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[214] Phendle groby te xandel, [215] kamdle

jamien te zamarel. [216] So doj isys roiben,

[217] ne Gadže te na dykhen: [218] Roma, Romña

nasvale [219] pašle pal dyves tele.

<sup>515</sup> [220] Doj zamarena saren račenca.

[221] Apre čanga kñejon, Devles mangen,

[222] roven ratvale jasvenca. [223] Fedyr

isys dre veša, syr dale

Gadženca, [224] Xana jamare masa.

<sup>520</sup> [225] Jame murša l{as}[en] tovera andre

vasta, [226] nek zamaren jamen, [227] a

potem čhavoren. ) \_\_\_ ▼ [228] Rat kali zagi-

ja, [229] me i jekh Romni, [230] nek javel

lakro dži baxtali [231] ki mro

<sup>525</sup> Devel, [232] bo joj juž na dživel.

[233] Xtyjam, raty gijam. [234] Syr rat

bary te kali, [235] zkalija darjatyr

jamaro dži. \_\_\_ ▼ Joj i me,

čhavore nani. "I dža zamarena

<sup>530</sup> man, i tut pšal isy. [236] Džas sygo

odole dromesa, [237] kaj Čapajov

isy,

Duj Romnia roden Xaladen.

Soske jone gine?

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bo taša nadžidžola Romendyr ni-

či [nikon]. Tut i man čhavore nani, jav

<sup>535</sup> duj džiña, kaj te na xa'on Roma".

Ne j gijam. \_\_\_ ▼ [238] Ox, odo {ćomno} [kali] račory,

[239] gili miry, gili! \_\_\_ Kaj jame te rahas

jamareng baxt bary? ▼ Tu, svento Daj

jamary! Dadoro, gudlo dži tyro,

<sup>540</sup> vylidža menge šero, te na sare pše-

peras! Pode menge vast tyro. \_\_\_ ▼ [240] Sare

tykne čirykle [241] mängen Devles pal

jamare čhavore, [242] te na zamaren men

xyrja sapa i Gadže! \_/ ▼ [243] Ex, dolica tu ja-

<sup>545</sup> mary! [244] By-baxtali baxt miry!" – ▼ [245] "Šun-ta,

čhaje, ryšovas, [246] te na duj džiña byro-

mengro pšeperas! [247] Fedyr sare

khetane – [248] šukaredyr, so but džine!"

▼ [249] "Ex, tu miro dromoro, [250] sykav menge,

<sup>550</sup> kaj isy lačo Xalado, [251] te podel

menge vast peskro." \_\_\_ ▼ Vareso klistes

tradel. Čirykloro gili bagel.

Šundlo: veš rakirel \_\_\_

Jone bagen.

Jone mängen pes Devleske.

Lenca mängen pes čirykle.

Vavyr gili.

Jekh phenel te ryšovas.

Jone mängen pes dromeske.

PALE PARTYZANTENCA.

Veš šunel Rusko lav.

xala-  
dytkes!

Odphenel. Vaňa – lav pes kharel. ▼Jame  
 syr mule potyrdžijam. So te kerel  
 nadžindžam. Pre Devlestyr men  
 zdyjam, i jag zapalka dud dyjam.  
 560 Jone polokes saro oblile (?) veš.  
 Jame dyjam Xaladytko gili te ba-  
 gel i Xaladytkes te rakirel: )  
 “O!a kuda ty? Čapajov, idice  
 suda!” ▼– Kolpakov i xalade: “Ruki  
 565 vjérix!” – Ne i phenas, že na džinas,  
 čy džide jamare daja rat,  
 čy na. Apre grendyr pšytrady-  
 jam, jamaren andre bary byda  
 dykhčam. Juž terdžonys sare,  
 570 i paš lendyr Xalade –  
 572 ani jekh [milicija] –  
 574 {*Czy widzisz dokota,*}  
 573 {*jak w marszu swym\_krocza*}  
 571 {*z piosenką wiesotą*}

575 2.

▼te džan adža dur, syr jekh bal,  
 te merel mire čhavore, daja  
 rat džasam syr jekh sare khetane.  
 Romňa Moľuňa garudžam.  
 580 ▼Xalade bul'bovcen zaline, za kor-  
 don ligiren. Daja Gadžija roven,  
 Romen košen: “Pal so len beng  
 adaj jandža. Miro čhavo pelda  
 lendyr pšepeja. Dale kale bengal!”  
 585 ▼Pherybnangrja lidžanys tykne  
 rakl'a, i kerenys samostyjna  
 Ukraina. ) I kerde nakuty  
 rata, kaj pšepene but manuša.  
 ▼Sasy tež lače džukela. Popšepe-  
 590 ne šukar čhaja andre obozo – syr  
 čerheňa, kaj ki dadyves kerde  
 lendyr šukar gila – andre phare  
 buča. \_) ▼Daja rat *Čapajovskoj*

Syr mule darjaty, bagas.

Partyzanty zalen Romen pesa,  
 vavyr xalade len mukle.

Džasam Xaladenca.

Gavitka murša zaline dur,  
 džuvlia košen Romen.

So dala Gadže kerenys?

So kerenys Sasy Romnienge?

Partyzanty pobarvaline raty.

odrat. ) Gine, gren pozaline Roma,  
<sup>595</sup> baličhen, pora, gada, škorni –  
 saro, so isys ki Gadžo andre kher.

▼Štetostyr na rysija jekh tylko Rom  
 i Romni daja, kaj manca Xaladen  
 [ca] ) jandža. Doja adre šteto pšepeja.  
<sup>600</sup> Jek bulbovco, xyrja \\ manuš, syr  
 Čapajov Romen othodža,  
 jekh sotniko karje vydyja, i jekh  
 Čapajov les zamardža, ne Romni  
 apre šteto pšepeja. ▼“Sare bydy pše-  
<sup>605</sup> džidžija, jekh pšales, duje pheñen  
 pomekhča. Ni daj, ani dat nani. Kon  
 pal tute rovela, čorory! Čhakire-  
 l tut phuv kali. Tu miry phen  
 kali!” ▼Xalade vyphučen: “Syr  
<sup>610</sup> tume daj javne, i syr jone tumen  
 angil na zamarde. Na xaline, kaj  
 san rajkane Roma. Čorore!”  
 Saro-saro vyphučen, saro te  
 džinel kamen. Romňa rakiren i  
<sup>615</sup> roven: \_) “Soske tume jamen apre  
 sojiben pomekle i *prawie* duj čhona  
 mendyr bistryrde?” Kana javela  
 adža murš <an>gil džuvla: “Pala-  
 l na mekhasam tumen!”

<sup>620</sup> 3.

▼ Barvalo vurden, zoralo.  
 Roma pobarvaline. Čapajova  
 xalade i Roma saro zaline. Gadže  
 roven, partyzanty phenen: “Odden  
<sup>625</sup> dova, so polakenge zalinen. Nek  
 čorore Roma lačhe grenca  
 traden. A tume roven! ▼Save že ž  
 keren, dakicy gava poxačkirde,  
 dakicy manušen toverenca  
<sup>630</sup> začhindle. Xyrja džija tumare!” -  
 ▼dala lava vyphendža i *kamánda*

Syr Moľuňa pšepeja.

Rojiben pal Moľuňatyr.

Xalade vyphučen Romniendyr.

Roma pobarvaline xaladencia.

So dala Gadže kerenys?

Drom baro i frejda bary,

podyja. Roma traden, san,  
 bagen, syr raja. Čhavore  
 frejdžon. Graja xymron, šunen  
 635 drom baro. Pšeperel Sašo zoralo.  
 Graja xerenca phuv maren.  
 Sasy andre bida vperen. Roma  
 san, andre grendyr traden.  
 Sasy xylčën, partyzanty len  
 640 zalen. Romňa Devloreske  
 parykiren,

syr Sasy andre bida bary.

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gi'a bagen, lačho cyro peske pšedtho-  
 ven. Sarenge xaladenge bašaven  
 i bidatyr bistyren. ) ▼Juž rozjačhen  
 645 pes andre sare ryga. Baro maryben andre  
 veš vypeja, syr tradenys Xalade,  
 i Romenca čhavore, i Romňa.  
 Zanim jame pšytradyjam, kaj Čapajov  
 otrado isy terdo doja rat,  
 650 bul'bovcy zamarde pandž xaladen  
 jamaren. Adala, kaj jamenca  
 traden, ničhi na džinen. ▼Javjam,  
 dolen garuven, san i bagen,  
 rojben na sykaven. \_) ▼Doja rat  
 655 dur vytradyjam sare khetane.  
 Andre bary blata, kaj cytrol,  
 graja povpene. Phal'a tele  
 roty ničhi na kerde. Duj graja  
 tasadene. Kuty jame andre  
 660 blaty na pšepejam, lidvo bida-  
 sa vytradyjam. Sare melale,  
 andre blaty bare, i pre jekh vur-  
 den

Rozjačasam pes Xaladencia.  
 Neve zamarde xalade.

Syr garuven xaladen.

Pharo drom pale.

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4.) posthodžam. ▼Angil dyves  
 665 Sasy nadur. Pale rysijam apre  
 vavyr (?) droma, kaj Sasy pomekle  
 vurdena: khandune masa i rožna  
 zaščyky i draba. ▼Xalade

Soske pale rysijam.

Rozjačasam pes xaladencia

mangen: "Isy tumen graja, vur-  
 670 dena? Traden, xaben nalen  
 i mendyr zabistryren, bo jamenca  
 xaladenca te na pršeperen. )  
 Baxtales tumenge jačhen! ▼Andre  
 jakha čačipen rakiren. Kaj  
 675 jamen na kamen, maškír pestyr  
 rakiren, san i dykhen. Juž naxar-  
 ga pomekhena veša. ▼"*Daligo*  
 traden!" Tradas celo rat i dyves.  
 Te xal isy so, so dži kamel,  
 680 tylko každo džal i perel, bo te sovel  
 kamel. Dykhas, kaj jamen ligerel  
 apre baryne droma. Dyčhlo, kale nadur  
 veša. ▼Tatypen pes kerdža, kham  
 xučes vygija, celo boliben  
 685 dyčhlo. Dyčhlo sveto šukar miro.

Dyčhlo sveto šukar baro zdural:  
 khera i manuša. Frejda bary  
 andre džija \\ Romane. Čuče  
 khera, but kaxňa, manušen  
 690 nani, zamarde vudara, saro isy  
 andre khera. So pes daj ker-  
 džá. ▼Dykhas: palal xalado  
 jamaro Kolpakov pšytradyja  
 i pal lestyr butedyr: "Bagen.  
 695 gili Romani, Xaladytko šuka-  
 redyr: *Bradziaga šudžbu pro-*  
*klinajet i mšćítsa s sumkaj na*  
*pľečach*". I (i) rakiren: "Traden,  
 Roma! I čhi na duron, doj tume-  
 700 n vavyr xalade žakiren.  
 ▼Dykhas: trušulytka droma. Ter-  
 džon. Roma, Xalade vasta  
 poden i rakiren: "<Ja>čhen, jamare  
 Romale, saste i baxtale! A jame  
 705 ryšovas pale. Doj tumen  
 vavyr žakirde". {syg}

vavyr molo, lačno xaben.

Xalade na saro jamen rakiren.

By-sojibnaskiro drom.

Khera pal zamardendyr pale.

Xalade mangen gil'a. Jamen  
 vavyr xalade žakiren.

Pre jamendyr žakiren Katyl'ary.

(5.)

Žakirde xalade rajka-

ne, katal'ary tumare!" – dala lava

710 vyph<sup>le</sup>ndle, zaline pes i tradyne. ▼Roma

lenge, syr jekh, parykirde gil'asa

"Kale jakha", zarundle, syr ratvale,

perenys jasva, syr bryšynt, apre

trušulytka droma.) :::: &lt;picture: Tears&gt;

715 ▼Čhi jamenge tajnes nephendle

Čapajov i Kolpakov xalade, že

nadur terde partyzanty Katyl'a-

ry jamare. ▼{Ne} jame zbyť daras

i na džinas kaj te tradas. Kamasys

720 pale te ryšol. Adaj xalado,

syr Sašo rydo, apre grestyr

klišol, apre sare ryga pes dyk-

hel. I *od razu* xalija, kaj kale

Roma apre trušulytka droma,

725 ne i vykarjes dyja. But-but xaladen

javja i (i) vurdena obthode,

▼i phučen: "Kon tumen adaj jandža?" –

"Čapajov xalade adaj te tradel

menge phendle". – "Sykaven liľa: sasy

730 čy ) Roma?"- "Roma, Roma i Romňenca,

čhavore. Jame vavyr berš andre

veša bešte, syr ruva i na

manuša. ) Syr kherendyr vytra-

dyjam, lila jamare phuviaty

735 andre pirja, te na skirňon.

Vyljam – i k amare (?) xaladenge,

sykadžam: "Čačo, na xoxade". ▼Pal

pestyr jamenge drom sykade. Khera

menge dyne pal Ukraincendyr.

740 Zamarde, i saro, so dykhes, isy

tyro: kaxňa, baliči pojekh graje

i vurden. ▼"Duj kurke pobešena

menca khetane, i tradena

ki stala xalade, kaj Rosyjatyr

Roma Xaladenge parykiren

gil'asa pre trušulytka droma.

Xalade na saro jamen rakirde.

Pale katyl'arendyr.

Daras i kamas pale te ryšol.

Vavyr xalade men obthode.

So mendyr phučen Katyl'ary?

Khera pal zamardendyr dyne.

Duj kurke pobešena adaj.

<sup>745</sup> javne". ▼Ro<sup>ml</sup> phocel: "Čyž  
Saso pšeperel?" – "Jekvar xyl'čol.  
A jekhvar pale ryšol".

Saso i kana jačhel zoralo.

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▼Samoloty zbyt maren forja  
i gava. Veša xačkiren. I manu-  
<sup>750</sup> šen ki buča zalen butedyr, sveto  
na dykhen. Ale nek javel mendyr  
andre džija, kaj dava berš sasto (Saso?)  
pšepeja i na ryšola, na. ▼Roma lenge  
bašavenys, jone baganys, pre saro  
<sup>755</sup> podykhenys, jednak nikoneske doj  
dar na poddenys, tyl'ko pšyšarenys.  
▼Adža isys duj kurke, bidatyr Roma  
zabistyrde, masa vyčorenys, sanys  
i bagenys *Čapajovska* gi'la Roma,  
<sup>760</sup> Romňa i čhaja, partyzanytka gi'la  
Xaladytkes. ) ▼Gili:<sup>3</sup> "Oji, u poľu, u poľu  
dvi topoli, De ponočy kolyšyt-  
ša tuman, Tam zabyto, glybo-  
ko zaryto *komsomolec grasnoj*  
<sup>765</sup> partyzant. Ona joho, ona prova-  
žala, De *nočoj* kolyšytša  
trava, Ona jomu šabl'u, šabl'u  
podala, voronoho konyka,

Marybena odčhiakirde neves.

[Saso pšeperela i na ryšola]  
Rypyras: jone baganys,  
pšyšarenys, dar na poddenys.

Zabistyras sare bidy.

Gili Xaladytkes.

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*konika* vela. ) Tam zabyty hlyboko  
<sup>770</sup> zaryty *Komsomolic, kraznoj* partyzan.  
On, on upav *da prestryliny* <v> *viliko-*  
*mu sovietskomu baju, za stranojo,*  
*za stranoj radnojo, za krasavicoj*  
*ľubimoj mojoj ... Provažala, ) konika,*  
<sup>775</sup> *varanoj ... šabl'u* podavala ... *Ona*  
*samaja gyroj krasavica byla ...*  
*A gdže nočoj* kolyšytša  
trava ... Dvi topoli, voronoho  
konyka vela, *za ľubvioju* za

3 Ukrainian prevailed in the language mixture, Russian words are italicized.

780 *savicky stranojo sama v toj*  
*propala*, bo partyzanta, *giroja*  
*komsomol'ca ljubila i simierci niebajala*. Ni on. ) I ja l'ubov ... našy v siroj  
zimli ... konik, topoli dv'e .

785 Pro l'ubov pisinku pajut, pišni ety  
vsim svetom lietit. Lici, pišenka,  
lici da mamašy majej, skažy,  
ščo ja ližu {za mamašej tužo}

(6) {zabyty z padrugoj svajěj}

790 {a g dzie topolie dvie}  
{konik vor}

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(7) zabyty, *gže* {z} topoli *dv'e*,  
*s krasavicoj svajoj, kaže panočy*  
*ko lyšytša trava*, tam zabyty, glybo-  
795 ko zaryty *komsomolic kasny* }oj partyzanty  
ona jomu šablu podavala  
voronoho konika vela ... *Ana*  
*krasavica v tem buju propala*  
{za} za rydnojo *za savickoj stra-*  
800 *noju, dve topoli, pisinko*  
*pajut* )

[Pišń partyzancka *Čapajov*.

▼ Daja gili bagenys Roma  
i xalade *Čapajov*]

[Lava: Mikhailo Isakovsko,  
muzyka: Vladimiro Zaxarovo.]  
**Rozjačasam pes Xaladencia.**

805 ▼ [252] Daja gili zabagandžam sare kheta-  
tane, [253] *Čapajovska* xalade i Roma sare.

[254] Vasta peske podyne apre trušulytka  
droma. [255] Sare peske tradyne,

kaj jakha ligirde. ) ▼ [256] Jame pšytradyjam

810 ki katal'ary xalade, [257] bešasys doj {duj}

kurke. ▼ Saro isys, syr dro foro  
baro. So dži kamdža, saro šukar.

Parnes rakla rydo, syr doktoro  
baro. Saro vykerenys, ružna vyrdo-

815 |n|a, i saro saro. A drom isys –

šlabanto lolo i parno – zathodo.

**Katal'arenca bešasys.**

Syr odoj saro isys skerdo.

(8)

Šľabanto zathodo. Jamen

pšemukle, pale zathode, i pre

<sup>820</sup> straža, syr dre foro terde▼ <sup>[258]</sup> xalade andre gijeben syr Sasy rydy, <sup>[259]</sup> tylko

oželki jamare apre štadyka bare.

▼ Duj kurke lenca khetane andre jekh

štabo pšebeščam, te xal, so dži kamel,

<sup>825</sup> i dyves isys šukar: khamoro tački-

rel šukar. Te vytradel kamdžam

dadyves, kana so kerasam? ▼ <sup>[260]</sup> I iv perelysbaro, syr paterňa. <sup>[261]</sup> I drom jamarozrykirdža. <sup>[262]</sup> Dasavo baro iv, kaj<sup>830</sup> roty saresa garudža. <sup>[263]</sup> Tšebixerenca špera te kerel <sup>[264]</sup> i vurde-

na pale grestyr te špolel. ▼ Katel'ar-

y phenen te vytradel ki Kopičuv,

foryco tykno. Doj isy samo-

<sup>835</sup> obrona, i ružna manuša doj

lena peske kheroro i beše-

na, syr raja, bo adaj tumenge

našty čhavorenca

Syr Katal'ary uryde.

Skedasam pes andre drom.

Pharo drom.

Soske džasam ke Kopičuv.

te bešel. Moginen sasy pes te pšemarel.

<sup>840</sup> Ne i phuredyr phendža, že tixa

forenca andre veša našty te javel,

bo pal tryn dyves isy baro baro mary-

ben te javel. Moginen Roma te pšeperel.

Ne i jame kandyjom. ▼ Tryn dyves ješče

<sup>845</sup> pšebeščam. Ax, Devla Baro, kicy

perela iv parno. \_/ Saro boliben

tamlo te kalo pes kerdža. Drom

jamenge musardžia, ne so isys te ke-

rel, tšebi isys te tradel, bo xalade

<sup>850</sup> pšephendle droma. A Roma, xoč

nazbyt kamdle, ale musindle

Tšebi te džas avry.

andre iv baro vurdenesa te tra-  
del ki Kopičuv, kher te lel  
i pre stala xaladende sovicka  
<sup>855</sup> i pol'ska te žakirel. ▼Ax tu,  
Devla, baro san apre boliben,

Pharypena dre drom.

Page 43

(9)  
de tu menge džijepen. Dakicy bidy,  
tugi pšedžas, nisyр bidatyr te vydžal  
<sup>860</sup> našty. Vydžas, kaj spokojnes te dživas?  
Syr čiryklore vende, syr mače, kaj  
len pre vendka xtylen: cytron-zdran  
i darjatyr zameren. ) ▼<sup>[265]</sup> Kicy bidy i  
bokha, <sup>[266]</sup> kicy tugi i droma, <sup>[267]</sup> kicy ostra  
<sup>865</sup> bara (i kol'ki ružna) vGINE andre  
xera. <sup>[268]</sup> Kicy, kicy nagly našenys  
paše kana. Kicy blaty {raty}, bryšynda, kicy  
ratvale jasva – vyčhudžam but.  
Veša, apre lengre krenžy {gatęzi}  
<sup>870</sup> kuty jakha navylijam, vkidy čerxe-  
ňory zadykhelys kijame pal da  
ruk, paterňory. ▼Ješče našty  
suča darjatyr čhajory Romany,  
vkidy čhonoro-dadoro  
<sup>875</sup> pre pašrat isys. Rom, Rom  
čororo varekicy veša obgija,  
bodaj apre blata

Rojiben.

Raty dre drom.

Page 44

bešto, isys zasuto. I paš lestyr 2 <duj> čy 3 <tryn>,  
tykno čhavoro. ▼Rom mangelys Devles,  
<sup>880</sup> soske na merel čororo? Tyl'ko ą  
musinel veš vešestyr te phirel  
andre dar bary. Našty pes te ni (?)  
sovel, fedyr by isys te merel,  
syr andre maryben te dživel.

Rom mangelys Devlestyr  
lokho meryben.

[NB: Not counted s a verse]

<sup>885</sup> Ne zabystyras sarestyr.  
▼Phendle jamenge partyzanty ki Ko-  
pičuv te tradel, ne i tradas.  
Iv baro, vurdén sare špul'as,

Drom ke Kopičuv.

rotenge xerenca špera  
<sup>890</sup> keras. ▼ Adaj šunas: *ramka*  
 Sasytko našel, kuty rukh na  
 začalavel. Jame sare apre  
 iv popejam, iv baro, ne  
 pre nijal iv isy kindo. Isys da-  
<sup>895</sup> save, kaj isys pirange. \_\_\_\_

Samol'oto poddel jamenge dar.

Page 45

(10)  
Čorore čhavore: "Sam zamrasine".  
 Miro rom godli dyja: "Garuven muja,  
 bo xa'ola, kaj Roma. Sare muja  
<sup>900</sup> garude andre iv baro te kindo.  
 Me tele vast – na xovav, te merav –  
 vydykhav: so do oroplano kerel?  
 A jov *nížutkes* pes pšydykhel i  
 lornetka rykirel, zasandža,  
<sup>905</sup> dykhča tykne čha, kaj pirangi  
 paše datyr pašol. Može, les grexo  
 lija, i pale ryšol. ▼ Jame xtyjam,  
 kon mendyr baxtalo, porykirdžam  
 odoj. ) Kuty na domrasijam me, te  
<sup>910</sup> merel na mejam, xoč kamdžam.  
 Dyja devel khamoro, kerel ménge  
 drom lačo. Juž dyčhlo vareco  
 foryco na baro. Parykiras tuke,  
 Devloro, syg tačola čhavoro ...  
<sup>915</sup> ▼ Dala lava vyphendža, oroplany

Kuty na zamrasijam.

Marybena, neve zamarde.

Page 46 (no text, empty)

Page 47

(11)  
 save deš pšynasča, apre foro bomby  
 čhurdel. Iv blatasa ki jame našel. Bida  
 bary, kaj te tas|adzi|ol muršoro i čhajory.  
<sup>920</sup> Bida, bida bary, i isys bida andre veša,  
 ne na našenys dale sasytka benga ...  
 odoj xačon khera, odoj karjede-  
 pena. ) Šundlo *kačušy* i *vaňušy*, syr  
 menge *Čapajov* phendža. Jekh  
<sup>925</sup> dyčhlo: javena jaga jekh jekhestyr.

▼Vymaren Sasós, vytraden. Sašo –  
te marel les Devel – kamel celo  
sveto te zalel, ne {jednak} marela  
les kuč manuša i mro Devel.  
930 ▼“Ne i so daj te te ker? Čy te ryšol,  
čy duredyr te tradel? Ax, Devles-  
kro angil, miro palal. Nek pes  
kerel, so kamel. Nek man  
jekhvar zamarel, syr adža  
935 te džível andre bida bary”.  
▼Kaj čhajory meja, adaj bomba  
čhurdeja, nikones na zamar<dža>.

Adža jekh dyves tradasys, kuty na pome-  
jam sare, nasval'onys čhavore Roma-  
940 ne. ▼Juž Sasy te marel pšejáčhne. Kham  
mišto te tačkirel jamen kamdža, bo našty  
apre jamary bida dykhča, i sare promini  
rozmukhča, i *od razu* pal dyves jekh  
blata jačha. ▼Andre foryco zatradyjam:  
945 Gadže, Čexi, Čhinde, Roma, save ) tylko  
manuša ... Pherybnangrja andre vasta,  
i partyzantka dre veša. ▼I adža od-  
čhakirnys sasosa marybena,  
i pšechiv *lotniska* apre khera  
950 bramka. So dyves apre Kopicšov  
pšydykhel i so dyves bombardynel.  
Juž na čhinava, so jsys, gres menge  
zamardža, blatasa na jekh molo  
pšyčhakirde sare isys, ne nikon  
955 zamardo n-ačhija, bo adža  
Devloro dyja. ▼Čhindore i jame  
andre *šv'etlica* bešasys khetane,  
i so rat jandenys mulen,

(12)

960 mule xaladen Katyl'arytka, partyza-  
nten. So rat duj al'bo štar šukar manuša,  
syr dadyves rypyprav, andre rata  
bare. Najekh daj vyčhudža {rata}

Saso na javela xučedyr.

So te keras? Devleskro angil!

Neve pharypena dre drom.

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Cyro tačol. Blata apre drom.

Save manuša isys ke Kopicšov?

Odčhakirnys marybena.

Zamarde xalade.

Page 49

jasva ratvale čorore xalade.

<sup>965</sup> dala, kaj men dykhle. \_) ▼ Isys i vav-

yr čhave. Po pandž dyves na sys  
garude (garude) vizavi, vudar andre  
vudar, jamenca khetane, bo celo  
foro Gadže stradyne, našty

<sup>970</sup> khera nikaj ani šurna te vyn-  
alel. Bo jekh jekhes tasavel: i mule

xalade – nek lengre džija javen  
baxtale. Na darasys me čhi, manga-  
sys Develes pal lengro dži.

<sup>975</sup> ▼ I adža odoj pšedžidžijam, až stalo

xadaden dykhlam. Jamare lenge  
koncerty bašade. Varekicy moly.  
A Čhindore ki ) stala xalade gine.

Jamenca pes čamudene. Isys syr

<sup>980</sup> mury tykne: štar Čhinde i pandž Čhindža.

Vavyr mule nani garude.

Stala xadade javne.

▼ Dyja Devel, saro pšedži[dži]jam. Sare Roma

pes ponašade. Sare pes rakhčam, bare

momel'a ki mro Devel dyjam i ki

dadyves sare rypyren saro, so

<sup>985</sup> pšegine Roma, Romňa, čhavore, i but

popšepene. ▼ A kaj nakaj isys džido i odo-

la Roma, so pšedžidžine. Ani jekh vavyr –

Katyl'ary čačune. Kedel'arja i lo-

varja, odola isys andre Lvova,

<sup>990</sup> syr raja džide, bo lila vavyr {pes}

peske vykerde. \_) ▼ Tyl'ko, pšaloro,

jav godo, musinav čačipen te

phenav: fol'dajčery i dadyves

te šysen. Ružna bengal – te pšeperen

<sup>995</sup> lengre džija – kuče manušenge

na den te dživel. Mangav tut,

pšaloro, nikoneske na phen.

Pe so ž menge, pšaloro, pelda

lendyr te merel? \_/ ▼ A jame na

<sup>1000</sup> sam barvale, ne kul<sup>to</sup>l'jes Roma

[xoč sam čorore].

JAGOR MARYBNASKE.

Ki khangiry momel'a

dyjam. Mulyen rypyrdžam.

Rajkane Romenge isys

pharedyr sarendyr.

Sasy i vavyr bengal

na den te dživel.

Jame sam kutorjes čorore.

(13.).

▼ Adža, pšaloro, pšedžidžijam, so ješčē  
 butedyr, Devloro tu miro, možna by te ke-  
 1005 rel buxo zbyt baro, i možna te čhinel  
 jekh tykno beršoro, kaj te ophenel  
 saro saro saro. Nani gody i šero  
 saro te ophenel, so pšegine Roma  
 andre duj berš celo. ▼ Parykirasa  
 1010 mre Devleske i Dajorjake Čensta-  
 xovaty, i kuče manušenge pal  
 saro, so pšegijam. Na de, Devla,  
 kaj nikon dasavo cyro te nig-  
 dy dykhel, te rakhelys kuč  
 1015 manuša i mro Devel.

[NB: Not counted as a verse]

▼ Gili Romani. \_) Ax, manušale, dady-  
 ves {kakana} me by \_) kamdžam tumenge  
 sare svetytka džija te  
 skovlakirel, kon kamel mišto apre  
 1020 sveto te dživel, marybnastyr tena  
 bystrel, kaj maryben vcalie te na istni-  
 nel. Me kamdžom by dadyves te  
 bagel šukar “teatores”, ▼ [269] sare Roma te  
 našen ki me, [270] syr ki veš, kaj jag isy,

1025 baro [271] a khamitka duda pherdo. Ax,  
 manušale, syr me džiesa (?) dadyves, juž  
 akana me kamdžom by te bagel gil'a, i [272] pre  
 odo mire gil'a [273] te zdžan pes sare Roma  
 [274] i te vyxa'on mire lava. Te jvas džide  
 1030 sare khetane, kuč barvale andre slava)

[bary Romany, ne juž kana la nani nani]...

Miry gili, miry gili, dodža tu ki  
 phurengry dži, bo terne sygedyr javen  
 a baxtaledyr. Syr kuč manuša  
 1035 khetane, kheetane sare i Roma phure,  
 a naj šukaredyr terne čhavore  
 jamare, te džidžon baxtale  
 i dasavo cyro te dužakiren, kaj  
 te na javel maryben, pšekošlo

Jamaro džijipen trebi te sykavel  
 andre buxo.

Parykiras Devleske, kaj dživas.

GILI ROMANI.  
 Te skovl'on džija!

Te skeden pes sare khetane.

1040 manušeskro džijepen! \_/ ▼<sup>[275]</sup> De tu,  
Devla, bary pogodyca, <sup>[276]</sup> kaj te  
vyšučol mry ryskirdy šatryca.  
<sup>[277]</sup> Xurdo bryšynt peja, <sup>[278]</sup> tykne  
čhaven kinčkirdža, <sup>[279]</sup> {jov} miry gili  
1045 tumanosa ligirdža, ▼<sup>[280]</sup> ki sare Roma  
barvale, <sup>[281]</sup> kaj len isy šatry neve,

neve. <sup>[282]</sup> Jone na xa'on, savo <sup>[283]</sup> manuš  
isy barvalo. <sup>[284]</sup> Odova, kaj sovnakaj  
isy les but, čy dova, <sup>[285]</sup> kaj gody i maro  
1050 isy les andre vasta? Te rozružninel na  
džinen Roma. ▼Oj, kamdžombym barvali  
gili te kerel i mre gil'asa dži sare<sup>[m]</sup>gro  
te ulel, syr jamen veš oblija, dadyves  
te rypyrel phendža ... i ki meryben, syr  
1055 čiryklo, andre veš zabeščča, syr  
khamoro kaliben šukar peske vylija  
i te zabešel čerxeňenge phendža,  
i paše čhon jekh čerxen. Naj butedyr  
odoj isy, naj šukaredyr, syr paše  
1060 jag čhavoro nango, šatra Romani  
andre veš terdy – šukar, syr čerx-  
eňory, adža dud pestyr del andre  
tamlo rat, bary, syr čerxen  
sovnakuni. ▼Terne čhaja ter<sup>[d]</sup>e šukar,  
1065 syr mury. Kale jakha xačon, syr  
sovnakune. Jone i čhave baxtale,  
syr andre pani mačhe. Svoboda isy len

apre sveto. Naj butedyr phiren, naj sy-  
gedyr, syr pani našel. Niči ) la na  
1070 zrykirel. ▼<sup>[286]</sup> Syr veš bagel, adža Rom  
khelel: <sup>[287]</sup> lokho, syr por, pharo, syr  
bar. <sup>[288]</sup> Adža andre kamlipen  
xačol, <sup>[289]</sup> syr jag šukar. ▼Lokho džije-  
pen Romano, ) syr andre veš baxtalo  
1075 čiryklo, kaj Romenca račkirdo.  
Jekh jekheske drom pše<sup>[m]</sup>xtel. Jekh jek-  
heske gili bagel. Jekh jekhes dykhel.  
Syr andre veš dživel čiryklo

Rypyryben: pšekošlo  
džijepen xarga!

Kon isy čačes barvalo  
(≈Solomonostyr 19:1).

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Rypyryben: baxtalo  
džijepen xarga!

Baro sveto del Romenge  
zor i baxt!

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Adža Rom khelel!

Andre veš dživelys Rom kalo  
baxtales, syr čiryklo.

i Rom kalo? ▼Xoč Romenge barvale-  
 1080 nge kuč pre sveto te dživel,  
 a [290] jamenge (čororenge ku|<sup>to</sup>|rjes) andre  
 khera te bešel. [291] Šukar gil'a  
 te bagel. Šukar [292] buxo te ginel  
 i te ophenel. [293] I nevo buxo  
 1085 kuč manuša [294] andre nevo  
 sveto te vyden.) ▼Papuša  
 Vajs

**Jame, kutorjes čorore Roma,  
 doresasam nevi kultura.**

# An English Poetic Translation

*Hamish MacDonald*

<sup>1</sup> Żagań, 25th July 1952

The song Tears of Blood, or what we suffered  
under the Germans in Volhynia in '43 and '44.

-----

▼ Ah, my good people

<sup>5</sup> believe me on my love of God

I don't want to recall such bad times  
because my heart becomes sick and soon wants to cry.  
But what to do? It is necessary to sing,  
to evil people who want war.

<sup>10</sup> Let them know well:

God forbid anyone has to live  
in war. In times of great trouble stained with a bloody  
tear. What a poor soul went through.

A Jewish child, and with her Roma children

<sup>15</sup> a Romni! Ah song, song you are sad!

As the earth without the sun would be poor

It is bad in the world when there is war.

God grant that there will never be a war.

People are shaking, flesh trembles

<sup>20</sup> on the bones and the soul cries blood-stained  
tears. No one knows where one's family is

Let them see only reason from my song;  
so that their soul will soften and not want war.

Let them learn how it was, because they are

<sup>25</sup> the ones who said 'do not give anything to the Roma'  
and did not believe how under the Germans the Roma perished.

What beautiful houses these good people  
aspired to have! And now what is left?

Only forgotten ruins. Dear God, make sure that no one

<sup>30</sup> forgets all these misfortunes, though how wonderful it would be  
to live in the world, if only to listen to great songs.

**Why and what do I sing about?**

▼War, war! Let it never be part of our life.

My dear and good-hearted people!

Listen to my true song,

<sup>35</sup> on what the Rom, the Roma children and Romni suffered.

Terrible fire! The soul drenched in blood and tears.

It is for you I sing the song, this woeful song.

In the forests without water,

without fire, in great hunger.

<sup>40</sup> Where are the children to sleep?

There is no tent. Fires can't be burned at night

because the smoke betrays us

to the Germans; how are we to live with the children

in freezing, bitter winter? ▼All are barefoot,

<sup>45</sup> everything left behind us in the town of Włodzimierz.

**The woes of the war.**

**UNDER THE GERMAN RULE.**

**A German Rom told us to flee.**

When the Germans wanted to murder us,

first they ordered us to hard labour.

This German came to the Roma at night saying:

'I must tell you something bad:

<sup>50</sup> on this night they mean to kill you.

Keep it quiet but know this:

I am from the Kalo Rom, a true black Rom,

purest of blood. May you have

the best of luck in the dark

<sup>55</sup> forest.' Having spoken these words

he kissed us all.

▼I am walking swiftly into the forest. We have ventured far

into the broad world, to where a hundred

of the Roma family gathered.

<sup>60</sup> Before dawn we moved deeper

into the great forest. We threw away everything,

we were without cart or horse. The Germans came on horseback,

and we only with our hiking staffs, so how to escape?

One child carried on the shoulders,

<sup>65</sup> the other in the arms. This is how the Roma were walking.

What to do now? The Germans are near,

they can catch us. ▼Then,

from all around us partisans are running and shooting.

In the clearing

**Leaving the city  
of Włodzimierz.**

**IN THE FORESTS.**

**Chapaev partisans save us.**

<sup>70</sup> they see the children and the Romnis  
as a big battle begins.

Where could the Germans hide?

The Chapaev partisans fear nothing;

then begin talking to the Roma: 'What is happening here?'

<sup>75</sup> We say: 'The Germans wanted  
to kill us, so we had

to hide in the forest.' 'Ah, poor

you, how many are you?' 'One hundred.'

▼Dear God, how are we to live, what is there to eat,

<sup>80</sup> what to drink, where to get money from?

But no need to seek anything, the forest will give  
up its bounty. Whatever is to be found in the forest  
Roma take; whatever is to be found in the villages  
we will steal – you or us, all of us,

<sup>85</sup> together. ▼Two poor Jews are in our company,  
all their family killed.

▼With all of that sadness the Roma began singing.

It was a beautiful song, birds carried it far  
into the forest, one retelling it to the other.

<sup>90</sup>▼This was a wonderful night,  
the Roma fell asleep together  
with all the stars.

▼Birds and the little ones

woke them up. The stream murmurs before dawn

<sup>95</sup> to sing a beautiful song.

Fishes delight the Roma children to make them laugh  
as they quietly chatter by the stream,

forgetting all their hardships. They don't know  
what, Dear God, awaits them.

<sup>100</sup> ▼Only our Blessed Mother and the Almighty knows.

Oh, song,

my sad song, no one knows, oh God,

what will happen.

A dozen of my family will be killed by the Germans.

▼The Germans are chasing us

<sup>105</sup> but they fear to go deeper in the forest.

They do not allow us to go out, where we want.

**How to survive here?**

**Victims, Jews.**

**Our song relieves grief.**

**Our night in the forest.**

**Great morning. Let's  
live and wait.**

**Let's not forget our  
dead ones.**

**The forest hides us  
from the Germans.**

They are surrounding the forest to fight  
 with the partisans. The Romnis are weeping, asking  
 God for His mercy. At night all go out to steal but sometimes  
<sup>110</sup> bring nothing back.

For two, three days there is nothing to eat.  
 Because of that we go to sleep hungry, eyes  
 do not close. Everyone is watching the stars.  
 Oh God, life can be good but the Germans do not let us  
<sup>115</sup> live. They are shooting, and fires  
 like my songs go flying far away.

▼ Ah you, my tiny star, before day breaks  
 you are so big and real over this world,  
 blind the Germans' eyes,  
<sup>120</sup> take them along twisting roads, show  
 them a wrong turning, deceive them.

Let Jewish and Roma children live  
 let the German leader perish.

▼ Raise yourself around us, dear forest,  
<sup>125</sup> sing to them a song where our people walk,  
 in front and at the back let your song sound out, laugh.  
 Forest, forest, thick with trees!  
 Mighty forest, covered with leaves!

▼ A big battle rages, Germans together with Ukrainians,  
<sup>130</sup> all are killing and wounding us and Jews,  
 they do not listen to anyone anymore,  
 only to their own voices. Everywhere around  
 they have killed Catholics.

Poor Poles, with their tongues cut out,  
<sup>135</sup> their eyes gouged. ▼ Soon,  
 all over the world people will be poor.  
 You, rich people, it is you who  
 will then be poor, weeping tears of blood.

▼ So what do you think, my good company,  
<sup>140</sup> where can hundreds of people survive?  
 It was bad and it was good when it was  
 warm outside. Some sunshine, some tears,  
 wild blueberries to be gathered, we drank brews  
 made from herbs, ate forest mushrooms, yes, and

**Papusza prays to the little star.**

**Papusza prays to the forest.**

Germans and Ukrainians murder  
 Roma, Jews, Poles.

The rich fast turn poor (≈ Luke 6:25).

**How to live in the forest?**

<sup>145</sup> a few fishes too. Romnis cooked  
 dead horses that had rotted for two  
 or three weeks on the ground, but how miraculous that meat tasted.

Roma children roasted potatoes on a fire, those tasted  
 sweet as marzipans. Once a

<sup>150</sup> week poor Roma brought a dozen or two  
 of them. ▼ So far so good

but when freezing winter comes  
 what are Romnis to do with a small child?  
 Where will they get a coat from?

<sup>155</sup> All the clothes are already in tatters,  
 the flesh is naked, we want to die.

**It will be even worse soon.**

No one has heard or knows about it, only the sky  
 and the river hear them cry.

▼ What evil eye has led us  
<sup>160</sup> into such misfortune? Whose lips  
 have cursed us? God, don't listen to  
 them, hear us.

**Who has cursed us?**

▼ This night got colder and old Romnis  
 began to sing a Roma fairy tale:  
<sup>165</sup> 'A golden winter will come,  
 snowflakes will fall on the ground, on your arms,  
 like tiny stars. Black eyes will  
 freeze over, little souls will  
 die, not a single one of the old will survive  
<sup>170</sup> to compose honest songs.'

**The song of a cold night.**

▼ The children began to cry: 'We want  
 to eat, we have no strength left to keep  
 on walking'. The Germans surrounded the forest.  
 Here many of us perished from starvation.

The children cry, the snowfall  
 makes them happier.

<sup>175</sup> In the morning it began snowing  
 and despite hunger and misfortune little souls brightened up:  
 one is laughing, the other  
 is crying, another plays in the snow.

Papusza tells a fairy tale in the open  
<sup>180</sup> air, one is laughing another is crying. ▼ God  
 gave snow. Here the feared and evil German  
 is returning, pressing on.

The Germans are coming,  
 we must run away.

The Chapaev partisans are walking faster with us walking  
 after them. ▼There will be food to eat. I won't be  
<sup>185</sup> a Roma daughter if I don't go  
 through the campfire to bring back a pot of meat.  
 I am bringing bread and Hungarian  
 smoked meats. ▼Today the Chapaev  
 commando were saying that they would cross  
<sup>190</sup> the railroad. Yes, that's true,  
 so that night we didn't sleep.  
 It snowed heavily, closing the road: with only the  
 Milky Way to be seen in the sky.  
 The partisans go with a song under their breath.  
<sup>195</sup> ▼I alone began to sing aloud. I don't  
 know what became of me.  
 I would have gone then to kill a German,  
 or to let them stab me.  
 Truly I became fearless.  
<sup>200</sup> ▼All Roma and the soldiers are asking: 'Why so  
 loud? Sing, but do not wake  
 the Germans and Hungarians up. This is no laughing  
 matter. Let's see what the battle  
 will bring. Let everyone now obey.'  
<sup>205</sup> The sky is so beautiful.  
 I began to sing a song quietly to myself  
 and I spoke to the Roma:  
 ▼'Look at the sky, how  
 it flashes, trembles, not  
<sup>210</sup> calm, unlike my soul. When  
 we arrive, we will gift all we have  
 to the church, a candle, as big as my own  
 height.' ▼After I finished,  
 a big fire fell upon us. All tumbled down,  
<sup>215</sup> tied up children's mouths.  
 All became as if dead from fear.  
 ▼But I don't care if I live  
 or die, I have no children,  
 no one to live for.  
<sup>220</sup> I started to scream then began running forward. ▼My  
 husband saw me, grabbing me by the hand.

Papusza will get a lot of food soon.

**A railroad crossing is planned.**

Papusza is under trance.

All ask Papusza not to sing loud.

Papusza's vow of a church candle.

**Shooting.**

Papusza is under trance again,  
 why she was fearless.

Her conversation with her husband.

'What are you doing? Do you want to die?'

'Don't worry, husband, God gave each of us their own fate. There is nothing to eat.

<sup>225</sup> I am a Rom's daughter, black night

is a sister of mine.' 'Crazy,

what has happened to you?' 'I want

to feed the hungry children.

I can't bear to look at

<sup>230</sup> this misfortune. What is happening to me

today? This! I want to die

there, where I shouldn't, you Roma lad!

▼Singing, on I went. A big battle raged.

Fires rained down. Little by little,

<sup>235</sup> the Germans are giving up, don't harm our fighters

allowing them to cross

the railroad. I plunder the battlefield for meats,

grab smoked hams and sweet

liquors, a full blanket packed with

<sup>240</sup> white loaves and all I could find. A lot of killed

Hungarians lie around.

I am walking and fear nothing, break

a piece of bread and am eating it. I forget about the misfortune

and am running as fast as I can. ▼Our people

<sup>245</sup> can't be seen, they have gone on.

Our soldiers have let them through

and now are looking at me: 'Who are you?'

'Were my Roma here? Haven't

you recognized me?' ▼Fortunately,

<sup>250</sup> a soldier was around who knew me: 'This

Romni is ours, she always

sings a Roma song. Why have you

stayed behind? Faster,

go now, faster. God forbid, if there are

<sup>255</sup> Germans nearby.' ▼On horseback, together with

the soldiers I ride and

we took all that food. It's already a bright day.

Our people are all asleep.

A beautiful place. The Germans will not come here.

Papusza gets a lot of food.

Her short separation from the Roma.

[Unexpressed risk of being mistaken for a spy.]

A soldier confirms her identity.

Papusza finds her family again.

<sup>260</sup> We may stay for several days.  
 It began snowing heavily. ▼ We've set a big table.  
 ▼ They say we almost died from hunger.  
 In such a war, it is said,  
 everyone saves only himself,  
<sup>265</sup> the birth mother even leaves her child.  
 ▼ My husband is in a terrible rage  
 that I cooked meat for you,  
 brought bread; I spoke these words  
 and because of joy, I began  
<sup>270</sup> to sing a song with joy, ▼ all with  
 eyes wide open, as if they weren't able to see  
 me. ▼ The soldiers had a hearty meal and thanked me,  
 they ate up till satiated. 'Well done, you are brave',  
 they said. ▼ I didn't want  
<sup>275</sup> their praise, I only wanted to save  
 the children dying from hunger.  
 ▼ This night is cold, a girl is already  
 dying, during the past four days  
 the Romnis have buried four children.  
<sup>280</sup> In deep snow, Roma boy,  
 you perished. Four children we laid in a single  
 grave in one day. Dear God,  
 see our misfortune. Have a look,  
 dear sun, at how without you, a Roma  
<sup>285</sup> boy is dying of cold  
 in the big forest. ▼ A bird hears  
 a mother and father weep. The river  
 and forest hears and together compose a great song to carry  
 it far into the world. A Rom replies,  
<sup>290</sup> 'why is the forest singing'?  
 Because a Romni is crying. ▼ Often  
 the Roma crossed the railways together with the soldiers,  
 often bullets whizzed past a Rom's  
 head, like birds, often  
<sup>295</sup> tears of blood flowed. Often  
 a child was starving to death,  
 like a little sparrow in winter. Sun, gentle sun,  
 hiding behind the trees, the shadow

A banquet for everybody.  
 Roma thank Papusza.

Papusza says unacceptable things.

Roma are silent in shock.

Soldiers thank Papusza.

A good, but single meal for children.

[The soldiers secretly left the Roma]  
**Hunger and cold. Children are  
 dying.**

**Parents' laments.**

**Endless suffering.**

of the trees deepens the cold, but a fire cannot  
<sup>300</sup> be made. ▼Dear God  
 forgot about us.

God looks after us.

All the same, dear God, for one year  
 a Rom has been hiding in the forests.  
 Mother of God remembers us,  
<sup>305</sup> ▼though a Romni does not go to villages.  
 Once a week she is sure to find something  
 in the forest, if not a cow,  
 a killed horse, a little salt and  
 some spilled rye. This is how the Roma  
<sup>310</sup> lived. The Rom is chewing wax  
 instead of gum, seems  
 to be eating and fills his belly, he drinks  
 forest tea and eats a hedgehog –  
 the little forest piglet.  
<sup>315</sup> ▼Somehow he survives, and though  
 he sleeps rough doesn't  
 get TB. After all, the wind carries fragrances from all good  
 flowers to drive sickness away.  
 Forest, forest!  
<sup>320</sup> This disease  
 hangs in the air but here  
 Roma can avoid it.  
 After all resinous pine forests  
 heal and add strength.

**The forest somehow feeds us.**

The forest gives us strength and  
 health.

<sup>325</sup> ▼All the world neglected us,  
 so the forest  
 covered us. A little star  
 sits with us until daybreak  
 and an owl. The old woman tells a Roma tale of the owl  
<sup>330</sup> as bird of the dead. Some listen to the voice of  
 the owl, some throw twigs  
 after it for they strongly believe  
 it. The owl, little  
 birds, wolves, all their voices

People have left us. Our neighbours.

<sup>335</sup> are loud but they never touch us.  
There were many creatures all around us as if they were  
our dogs. ▼My dear and good  
people! How would you like to see  
our life in a film?

<sup>340</sup> Truthfully I would like  
to describe all these things.  
After one year passes,  
there would be a beautiful Book.

I know that my golden little  
<sup>345</sup> Brother is writing it, I  
don't lie, otherwise let my  
soul perish. All is true, true  
what the poorest Rom and  
the richest Jew in the world  
<sup>350</sup> suffered under German rule.

▼The sun rose, all the forest brightened, the Rom has  
barely come to life and the times – may God be praised –  
changed. ▼A gadjo showed up;  
'What is going on? Did  
<sup>355</sup> the Germans move on'? Some forests  
have already become free of Germans. Men and  
women, villagers are looking at us fearfully  
as our tears fall like rain.

▼Romnis are crying  
<sup>360</sup> of happiness when they see the villagers,  
hear these townsfolk. Romnis  
are fetching food, songs fly  
up into the sky. Roma children  
rejoice, dance and do not fear  
<sup>365</sup> the forest. Legs are red, browned, dirty.  
No shirts. Bellies are naked.

▼The villagers come and invite us to their houses.  
But our joy did not turn out to be  
big because these people were  
<sup>370</sup> Ukrainians. ▼They burnt churches,  
tore down Catholic crosses.  
Cattle are lowing like the sound of people mourning.  
Poles have been killed to the last one  
and now their property is being taken. ▼Then

Our past deserves a movie and a  
book (about Roma and Jews).

UNDER THE BULBAITES RULE.  
**Dawn. It's getting warmer.**

A gadjo comes.

The joy is great ...

Enmity towards Catholics.

What did they do before?

What did they ask us about?

<sup>375</sup> the gadjos turn to us: 'Who are  
 you?' 'We are Roma.' 'Ukrainians  
 or Poles?' 'We are Roma,  
 the Germans wanted to kill us  
 ▼we have come to you to play.'  
<sup>380</sup>After all, the Roma took good care of all their  
 instruments as preciously as their eyes,  
 because playing music saved us  
 from certain death. They played  
 a soldier song and now, ▼out of nowhere,  
<sup>385</sup> a peasant woman has fetched a pot of lard.  
 Roma played the song 'Your Dark  
 Eyes' – the peasants brought boots.  
 All were playing so beautifully  
 that the peasants brought everything we needed.  
<sup>390</sup> In the end they have clothed us all,  
 ▼only I didn't take anything.  
 The clothes I got I distributed among the Romnis  
 because I had taken all my own dresses.  
 I left some good boots behind,  
<sup>395</sup> I wore some bad ones, these ones  
 that I had were worn away, I had torn them walking  
 in the forests. I promised  
 myself that even if I had to die  
 I would not take a killed person's shirt,  
<sup>400</sup> I would prefer to have walked naked.  
 Blood admonishes me  
 that the innocent perished here  
 and lie buried in the ground. After all, I  
 am such a one who can see when something is evil.  
<sup>405</sup> Let my soul die before I would touch it.

We play our music.

Gadjos pay us.

Papusza and things of the  
murdered.

▼We see a gadjo come  
 and ten more follow him  
 with staffs on their shoulders.  
 Bulbaites killed them. ▼What have you,  
<sup>410</sup> dear God, done, why have you led us  
 to here, what are we now to do?  
 To where should we go? To which  
 soldiers? The Chapaev partisans left us,  
 but they will likely return soon to

How people died.

Papusza's prayer.

<sup>415</sup> us. What will God give: bad  
or good? Where will I go to live  
through winter, when not one big head will perish?

▼The Roma agreed on one thing and asked  
for housing. They gave us the houses  
<sup>420</sup> of the Poles, poor souls,  
who were killed recently. ▼I'd prefer  
to remain in the forests. Better wolves  
eat me now than we sit  
in these houses. In the frenzied  
<sup>425</sup> nights of killing, people here  
were drowned in the wells.

▼Chickens run wild in the forests,  
cats walk, cry. Gadjos  
kill cows. It is unbearable to watch  
<sup>430</sup> what is happening. ▼The Roma fear  
to stay in the houses  
lest the dead return, lest the living  
begin killing us.

Houses of the dead.

It would be better in the forest.

Ownerless animals.

Roma are afraid of the dead, and  
even more of the living.

▼Accommodated in houses the Roma were looking for work. Modest comfort, fear of change.  
<sup>435</sup> A big cold winter came, a black Romni was wandering  
around the village. Fear was great,  
some gadjos came, Ukrainians:

▼'Are you "white" Poles?' But  
the Roma are clever, not such simpletons,  
<sup>440</sup> like the Pole gadjos. The Ukrainian gadjo  
didn't understand the conversation in Romani: 'How  
do you cross yourselves?' 'To the Orthodox right.'  
'What are your names?' 'Vasyl, Ivan,  
Nastia, Paraska, Olena,  
<sup>445</sup> Petro.' 'Where are your papers?' 'The Germans  
took them.' Roma are hiding  
in the forests, where gadjos can't find them.  
'If you were those Polish Lords ...'  
They would have immediately killed us.

What did the other gadjos ask?

<sup>450</sup> ▼Once in Lytomorye's house, but where I can't  
remember,  
all day the sky was perfect.

**The night visit of a young Jewess.**

The moon shone directly into the window,  
 so I couldn't sleep. Someone at  
 the window was peering fearfully inside.  
<sup>455</sup> I asked: 'Who is that?'  
 'Open the door, my dear black  
 Gypsy woman.' I see a beautiful  
 Jewish girl come in. She is trembling, shaking,  
 asks for something to eat. Dear God  
<sup>460</sup> knows I don't lie,  
 I swear by any good luck  
 left to me in this world. Poor you,  
 my dear Jewess. I gave her  
 bread, salt, what I had,  
<sup>465</sup> a shirt. A beautiful lass,  
 like a berry, she began crying: 'Ah,  
 dear God! How good you are.  
 Two Jewish children are dying of starvation.'  
 'My Roma are good.'  
<sup>470</sup> And we two forgot that the soldiers  
 were camped nearby,  
 and this night they didn't come to us.  
 'My dear Gypsy, let me kiss  
 you for your good soul. You are afraid  
<sup>475</sup> and I fear. Each week I will  
 come once at night. Don't you know  
 where the Chapaev commando  
 may be?' 'We were traveling with them.  
 But they went on when  
<sup>480</sup> we fell asleep and I haven't seen them again.'  
 She kissed me and I her.  
 ▼ From all over the gadjo is running.

Another dwelling.

'All you Roma, gather,  
 now you will move to other houses.'  
<sup>485</sup> At night all Roma are awakened.  
 Already one house is burning, another  
 is being destroyed. They  
 chase us into a single house,  
 sixty six people in all.

490 ▼

In February 1944

**Everyone got sick, no one died.**

In February the gadjos gave  
 a single house for all of us, three rooms and  
 one kitchen. We all got sick  
 with consumption: a Romni, and then  
<sup>495</sup> I, and from me all caught this disease.  
 No one died, but all  
 stayed six weeks in bed. Boiled raspberry twigs  
 gave some strength and  
 with this brew we began to heal.

<sup>500</sup> And today, in order to remember, we tell to all how this is done.

▼ God sent us a warm March.

**What did the Poles ask?**

Only patches of snow remained. Other gadjos walk  
 to the windows: 'Roma, how do you  
 cross yourselves?' ▼ The Roma eventually forget those adopted names.

**Roma forget troubles, but ...**

<sup>505</sup> Now call one another by our baptised names:

Janek, Bronia, Krzysia, Zosia ...

Only mine they did not recognise as a Roma name.

This nickname was lucky.

▼ Gadjos were holding big meetings

**the gadjos want to kill them.**

<sup>510</sup> on killing Roma.

They ordered us to dig graves, they wanted  
 to kill us, how much we cried!

But the gadjos didn't even look: sick men  
 and women fell into the ground a day later.

<sup>515</sup> Over there they kill all at night.

Some kneel, pray to God,  
 weep tears of blood. It would have been  
 better to stay in the forests than to be with these  
 gadjos who devour our flesh!

<sup>520</sup> We are men, let's take up axes in hand  
 before they kill us and later the children.

▼ A black night fell,

**Two Romnis are looking for  
Russians.**

I and a Romni

(let her soul rejoice at my God's  
<sup>525</sup> because she has already died)

sprang out and went away. Like a  
 big and black night, our soul  
 blackened with fear. ▼ She and I

Why did they decide to go?

are childless. 'Anyway they will kill  
 530 me and you, but you have a brother.' We are walking fast  
 along the road towards where  
 the Chapaev commando is encamped.  
 After all, by tomorrow no one of the Roma will have survived.  
 'Neither you nor I have children, let us two  
 535 go, so that the other Roma wouldn't know.'  
 So, we went. ▼Oh, this dark night,  
 my song, song. Where to find  
 our big good luck? ▼You, our Holy  
 Mother! Heavenly Father, sweet is your soul,  
 540 save our heads, so that not all of us perish.  
 Lend us your hand.

▼All little birds pray to God for  
 our children, so that angry snakes and gadjos  
 would not kill us. ▼Ah, what a sad fate is ours.  
 545 My unlucky luck. ▼'Listen my  
 Romni-friend, let's go back! We should not face death just two alone  
 without being among our Roma, it's better to perish  
 together, it is better among many of us.'  
 'Ah, you my dear path, show us  
 550 where a good Russian is, so he could lend  
 us his hand.' ▼Someone is  
 riding. A little bird is singing a song.  
 We hear the forest speak,

in  
 555 Russian!

It replies. Vania, the name resounds. ▼We,  
 as if dead, stopped in our tracks. What to do,  
 we didn't know. By God, we lay down  
 and started a fire with a match.  
 560 They surrounded the forest.  
 We began to sing a Russian song  
 and to talk in Russian:  
 '*Olia, kuda ty? Chapaev! Idite  
 siuda!*' ▼Kolpakov and the Russians: '*Ruki  
 565 vverkh!*' Well, we tell them, we don't know if  
 our people are alive this night.  
 We rode with the partisans,

**They are singing.**

They pray to God.

**Birds pray with them.**

**Another song.  
 Doubts.**

They pray to the dear path.

**UNDER THE PARTISANS.  
 The forest hears a Russian name.**

**Frightened, they sing in Russian.**

and saw that our people were in great  
 misfortune. They all had been already standing,  
<sup>570</sup> next to them the Russians  
 and there was no militia to be seen.

*Czy widzisz dokola,  
 jak w marszu swym krocza  
 z piosenką wesolą ...*

<sup>575</sup> ▼ And in this way  
 they marched in a single column.  
 I swear on the lives of my children: this  
 night we all were walking together.  
 We buried Romni Moliunia.

<sup>580</sup> ▼ The Russians captured Bulbaites who will be  
 transported  
 beyond the frontier. These women are crying,  
 berate the Roma: 'Why did the devil  
 bring them here! Because of them  
 my son is lost. Oh, these black devils!...'

<sup>585</sup> ▼ Little girls carried staffs,  
 and were busy creating an independent  
 Ukraine, this caused a lot of  
 nights when many people perished.

▼ The Germans are decent dogs, too! Beautiful  
<sup>590</sup> Roma girls perished in the concentration camp  
 from forced labour. We remember them like  
 stars, so to this day good songs are composed about  
 them during hard works. ▼ This night Chapaev  
 commando and the Roma took horses,  
<sup>595</sup> pigs, down duvets, linens, leather shoes,  
 all that they could find in a villager's house.

▼ From the town only a single Rom has not come back,  
 alongside the Romni who together with me had led the Russian  
 soldiers to our Roma. She perished in the town  
<sup>600</sup> because of a Bulbaite.

When the Chapaev commando surrounded the Roma  
 a Bulbaite commander shot, but a Chapaev  
 soldier killed him; anyway, the Romni  
 perished on the spot. ▼ All those misfortunes she survived

**March with the Russians.**

**Local men in captivity, women  
 curse the Roma.**

What were the locals doing?

What were the Germans doing?

Partisans get rich at night.

How Moliunia died.

Lamentation of Moliunia.

<sup>605</sup> and left her only brother and two  
 sisters. Neither mother nor father do they have. Who  
 is going to cry after you, poor you? Black  
 soil will cover you, my black  
 sister. ▼The soldiers ask 'How come  
<sup>610</sup> that you lived here and they  
 didn't kill you? That they didn't learn that  
 you are Lords, Polish Roma? Poor you!  
 They ask about everything.  
 The Romnis are remembering  
<sup>615</sup> and crying: 'Why did you leave us  
 when we slept and for almost 2 months  
 forgot about us?' Now a man appears  
 in front of the women: 'We will  
 not leave you again!'

The partisans ask the Romnis.

<sup>620</sup> ▼The rich cart is strong,  
 the Roma got rich  
 and Chapaev soldiers took all the Roma along.  
 The peasants are crying,  
 the partisans keep telling them: 'Return  
<sup>625</sup> all that, which you took from the Poles. Let  
 these poor Roma ride good  
 horses. And you who cry! ▼What have you  
 done? So many villages you burnt down,  
 so many people you chopped to death  
<sup>630</sup> with axes. Evil are your souls!  
 ▼Having spoken these words he ordered  
 to leave. The Roma are riding away, laughing,  
 drinking like lords. Children  
 rejoice. The horses are neighing, sensing  
<sup>635</sup> the long journey. The strong German is gone!  
 The horses clip-clopping along the road.  
 The Germans are in trouble. The Roma  
 laugh, ride the horses.  
 The Germans retreat. The partisans  
<sup>640</sup> capture them. Romnis thank  
 God,  
 sing songs, imagine good times coming,  
 play music for all the Russian soldiers

The Roma are getting richer too.

What were the locals doing?

The road is great and the joy is  
 great, as the Germans are in great  
 trouble.



is in the shade. ▼ It got warmer, the sun  
 rose high, the whole sky  
<sup>685</sup> clear, all visible, my dear, most beautiful world.  
 You can see the beautiful big world from afar:  
 houses and people. Great joy  
 in Roma souls. Empty  
 houses. A lot of chickens. No  
<sup>690</sup> people, all killed. The doors all remain intact  
 in the houses. What happened here?  
 ▼ We see soldiers behind us,  
 our Kolpakov leader has arrived,  
 and more soldiers follow him: 'Sing  
<sup>695</sup> a Roma song, or better a Russian one:  
 "The tramp curses fate  
 and rushes with a bag on  
 his shoulders.'" Then he declares: 'It's time to go,  
 Gypsies! And don't move away even a little.  
<sup>700</sup> The other soldiers await us.'  
 ▼ We see the crossroad. And  
 the Roma are standing, and the soldiers shake  
 hands and they say: 'Stay, our  
*Romale*, healthy and happy. And we  
<sup>705</sup> go back. The other  
 ones expect us.  
 Lords' soldiers wait for you,  
 your Poles.'  
 Having spoken these words  
<sup>710</sup> they gathered and left. ▼ All the Roma  
 in a single voice thanked them with the song  
 'Dark Eyes.' The soldiers cried, like drops of blood  
 their tears fell, like rain, on  
 the road crossing.  
 ▼<sup>715</sup> It wasn't any secret what  
 the Chapaev and Kolpakov's soldiers told us  
 about our Polish partisans who camped  
 nearby, ▼ but we are a bit afraid  
 and don't know where to go. We would like  
<sup>720</sup> to return. Here is a soldier  
 dressed up like a German, on

Again the houses of the dead.

Russians are asking for songs;  
 other soldiers are waiting for us.

Polish soldiers are waiting for us.

A farewell song. The final  
 parting at the crossroads.

Soldier secrets.

UNDER THE POLES.

Left at the crossroads. Fears and  
 hesitation. Unknown soldiers  
 surround us.

horseback, and keeps looking around.

And he immediately guesses that black  
Roma are on the crossroad.

<sup>725</sup> He shoots in the air. Many, many soldiers  
approached, surrounded our carts

▼ and ask: 'Who has led you here?'

'The Chapaev soldiers told us

to come here.' 'Show your papers, are you Germans

<sup>730</sup> or Roma?' 'Roma, Roma!, with women

and children. It is the second year we

have lived in these forests, like wolves, not

people. When we left our homes,

we put our papers in pots then buried them in the ground

<sup>735</sup> so that they wouldn't rot.

We took out the papers and showed to our

soldiers. 'Right. You are not cheating.' ▼ They

showed us the road behind them. They

gave us Ukrainians' houses.

<sup>740</sup> 'All the Ukrainians are killed, what you see is now

yours: hens, pigs, a horse for each,

alongside a cart.' ▼ For two weeks they will live

with us here and then they will go

to the regular army soldiers, who came from

<sup>745</sup> Russia. A Rom asks: 'Has the German

already gone away?' 'One day he retreats,

but another day he comes back again.'

▼ Planes hit the cities and

villages hard. The forests are on fire. More people are

<sup>750</sup> taken away for forced labour, they do not see

daylight. But let our

souls hope that this year has gone

and will never return. The Roma

played for them, they sang, kept staring up

<sup>755</sup> but still, they did not scare us

a lot, they only boasted.

That was going on for two weeks, the Roma forgot

about misfortune, stole hams, laughed.

Roms, Romnis and girls sang

The interrogation about our  
ethnicity (Poles) and papers.

March after the Polish partisans.  
The houses of killed Ukrainians.

The Polish partisans join the  
regular army soon.

The Germans are still strong.

The battles intensify. Our victory  
is coming.

<sup>760</sup> Chapaev partisan songs in Russian:

▼'Oh, near the field, near the field,  
two poplars, where at night a cloud  
hangs, there lies buried deep  
a fallen Komsomol member, a beautiful

<sup>765</sup> partisan. She used to lead him,  
where at night the grass is  
rolling. She gave him a sabre,  
a sabre. She led a black  
horse. There lies buried deep  
<sup>770</sup> a fallen Komsomol member, a beautiful partisan.

He fell shot in a big  
Soviet battle for the land,  
for motherland, for my beautiful  
beloved ... She led a black  
<sup>775</sup> horse ... gave me a sabre ... She,  
the beauty was a hero herself ...  
there where at night the grass is  
rolling ... two poplars, a black  
horse she led ... for love, for  
<sup>780</sup> the Soviet land, she also  
perished, because she loved a hero,  
a Komsomol member, and didn't fear death.

Neither did he. And I lie I in the dark  
ground ... the horse, two poplars ...  
<sup>785</sup> to love I sing this song, for

all the world to hear ... Fly, dear song,  
fly to my mother, tell her  
and the man's mother  
that he lies killed with his sweetheart

<sup>790</sup> where the two poplars are  
and the black horse

was killed, where the two poplars;  
with his beloved, where at night  
the grass is rolling, lies buried  
<sup>795</sup> deep a fallen Komsomol member, a beautiful partisan.

She gave him a sabre,  
led a black horse to him ... She,  
a beauty, perished in this battle

for motherland, for the Soviet land,

<sup>800</sup> the two poplars are singing

the song.'

▼ The Chapaev commando's song,

The Roma and the Chapaev soldiers

sang this song.

▼<sup>805</sup> This song we sang all together,

the Chapaev soldiers and all the Roma.

We shook hands with one another at the

crossroad. All went ahead, to where

their eyes led them. ▼We went to

<sup>810</sup> the Polish soldiers. We stayed with them for two

weeks. ▼All was as if in a big

city. Whatever your soul wished for, all beautiful things.

Girls dressed in white, as if some important doctor.

Here they produced all kinds of stuffs, carts

<sup>815</sup> and all. The road was closed

by the white-and-red barrier.

The barrier is down.

They let us in

and closed it again, then

<sup>820</sup> stand guard, as if in a town.

The soldiers are standing at the entrance, dressed in German uniforms,

but with the eagle of Poland pinned to their hats.

▼We stayed with them for two weeks

in a single camp, ate whatever the soul desired.

<sup>825</sup> It was a beautiful day, dear sun warming the world

beautifully. We wanted to depart

this day. But what are we to do now? ▼It snowed

heavily, like falling leaves. Snow

stopped us in our tracks. This snow was

<sup>830</sup> deeper than the cart wheels. With our own feet

we had to create ruts and helped the horses by

pushing the carts. ▼The Poles

said: 'Go to Kopyczew,

a small town. They have a self-defence commando

<sup>835</sup> and different people

take houses there and live,

as the owners. Otherwise, you

should not live here with

Parting with the Russian partisans.

A fortnight stay with the Poles.

Polish army order.

We're going to depart.

Our exhausting trip started.

Reasons to leave for Kopyczew.

children. The Germans may break through.'

<sup>840</sup> The commander said that it was better not to stay in quiet towns, located in the forests, they needed to be avoided because in three days a big battle was expected. The Roma might perish there.

Well, we listened. ▼We stayed three days

We have to leave for Kopyczew.

<sup>845</sup> more. Ah, dear Great Lord, how much white snow fell! All the sky

was overcast and got even darker, the road became blocked but what could we do?

We had to go, the soldiers

<sup>850</sup> commanded us to move. And the Roma, though they didn't really want to they had to go

by cart across big snow to Kopyczew, to receive a house

before regular Soviet and Polish

<sup>855</sup> soldiers would finally come. ▼Ah, you,

The strong snowfall, our departure.

dear God, great you are in the sky,

let us live.

So many misfortunes, so many sorrows we have lived through and we are unable to leave misfortune behind.

<sup>860</sup> Will we ever leave it behind and be able to live quietly?

Like winter sparrows, like caught fishes

that shake and jump in the boat before

lying still stricken with fear. ▼How many misfortunes

**Lamentation.**

and starvations, how many sorrows and roads, how many sharp

<sup>865</sup> stones and thorns cut our

feet? How many bullets whizzed by

our ears? How many bogs, rainy nights, how many

tears of blood did we shed? Many!

In the forests, tree branches

<sup>870</sup> almost gouged out our eyes, when a little star

blinked at us from behind that

branch, through the leaves. ▼The Roma girl

Overnight stay was hard.

still did not sleep for fear

when the moon father

<sup>875</sup> appeared in the north. The poor, poor

Rom, how many forests did he go through,

not once did he sleep

sitting in the mud. By him two or three

tiny children. ▼The Rom asked God:

<sup>880</sup> 'Why don't the poor die, only  
have to wander between the forests  
in great fear. You can't sleep  
either, it would be better to die  
than to live in war.'

<sup>885</sup> Well, we forget about everything.

▼The partisans told us to go to  
Kopyczew. So, we go.  
Through thick snow we all push the cart,  
tread a rut in the snow

<sup>890</sup> with our feet. ▼Suddenly, we hear the German  
'air-frame' plane fly, which almost got caught  
on a tree top. We as one dropped  
on the snow already

wet because spring was coming. Some

<sup>895</sup> walked barefoot.

Poor Roma children froze to death.

My husband cried out:

'Turn down your faces  
so that he understands we are Roma!'

<sup>900</sup> All faces are hidden in the big wet snow.

Shading my eyes with a hand (I'm not kidding, otherwise let me die)

I look up: what is that airplane doing?

And he comes low and peers  
through binoculars. He laughed,

<sup>905</sup> saw a little girl lying barefoot

next to her mother. Maybe something deceived him  
and he turned back. ▼We jumped up,

and whoever is happy holding for a while at  
the place. We almost froze

<sup>910</sup> to death, but didn't die, though wanted to.

Thanks be to God, dear sun you made  
a good road for us and already a little

town is visible. 'Thanks be to you  
dear God!' Quickly a child warmed up ...

▼<sup>915</sup> Having uttered these words, about a  
dozen planes flew in, throwing bombs on the town.  
Snow with mud gets flung at us.

Prayer for the comforting death.

Our exhausting trip to  
Kopyczew.

A reconnaissance plane hunts us.

People almost froze.

The battles intensify.  
New victims.

The trouble is big,  
 a peasant man and a Roma girl were crushed.  
<sup>920</sup> The trouble is great and there was trouble in the forests  
 but these German devils did not fly there.  
 Houses are burning, shots go out.  
 You could hear Stalin's organs and nebelwerfers, as  
 a Chapaev soldier told us. What could only be  
<sup>925</sup> seen: one fire after another was coming closer to us.  
 ▼They would kill, chase away the German. The German – The Germans never win.  
 let God kill him – wanted to conquer  
 all the world, well, now good people and  
 my God were defeating him.  
<sup>930</sup> ▼'Well, what to do now? Should we return, What are our plans then? Papsza's  
 or press on? Ah, God, fatalistic mood.  
 the first is yours, and mine the last. Let it  
 be as it wills! Let them  
 kill me at once, why  
<sup>935</sup> to live in such misfortune?  
 ▼Where the girl had died, they dropped Our exhausting trip to  
 another bomb, but didn't kill anyone. Kopyczew.  
 So that is how we travelled that day, we all nearly  
 died, the Roma children were sick.  
 ▼<sup>940</sup> The Germans had already stopped bombing. The weather improved, the road  
 The sun got wet.  
 happened to be warming us well, as it cannot bear  
 to watch our misfortune, and sent all the rays  
 to us, and immediately after one day  
 the mud appeared. ▼We arrived at the little town: Who were then in Kopyczew.  
<sup>945</sup> gadjos, Czechs, Jews, Roma, people of  
 different kinds, staff in hand,  
 and the partisans in the forests. ▼In this manner, The battles intensified near  
 a battle against the Germans commenced. Kopyczew.  
 The houses stood like a gate before  
<sup>950</sup> the airfield: each day reconnaissance planes fly  
 and each day they bomb Kopyczew.  
 I won't write more how it was. Our horse  
 got killed, mud covered  
 us all, not once but many times, well no one  
<sup>955</sup> got killed. That is how  
 dear God ordained. ▼Jews and Roma, The dead soldiers.

in the town hall we sat together,  
 and each night  
 we carried the dead,  
<sup>960</sup> the soldiers carried the dead near us.  
 Each night two or four beautiful men,  
 I remember as clearly as today, the  
 long nights, when many mothers shed  
 tears of blood, these poor soldiers,  
<sup>965</sup> who saw us. ▼Others died too,  
 children. For five days they lay unburied,  
 opposite our hall's door, because  
 the town was full of gadjos  
 evacuated from all over; making it impossible  
<sup>970</sup> to rent a house or shed.

After all, one lies atop the other: the dead  
 soldiers – may their souls be  
 happy. We were not afraid of anything – we prayed  
 to God for their souls.

<sup>975</sup> ▼And so we lived there until we saw  
 regular soldiers arrive. We played  
 concerts for them. Some of the wounded died.  
 And the Jews went with the regular soldiers.  
 They kissed us goodbye. There were beautiful as  
<sup>980</sup> small berries: Four Jews and five Jewesses.

\*\*\*

▼Thank God, we all survived. All the Roma were  
 scattered. We were all found by one another. We give  
 big candles to my God. And until  
 today, you all remember everything what  
<sup>985</sup> Roms, Romnis, Roma children went through, while many  
 perished. ▼And here and there some remained alive,  
 those Roma who survived. Nobody else, only  
 real Polska Roma. Kalderashi and Lovari –  
 those who stayed in Lwów,  
<sup>990</sup> lived as gentlemen, because they secured false papers  
 for themselves. ▼Yet, dear Brother,  
 be clever, I need to tell  
 the truth: even today *Volksdeutsche*

Not buried dead. Overcrowding.

The regular soldiers arrived.  
 The Jews went with them.

THE WAR ENDED.  
 Papsusza's vow of a church  
 candle fulfilled.

We, the true Polish Roma, went  
 through the hardest experience.

*Volksdeutsche* and other "devils"  
 are still dangerous.

*schießen*. Various devils – let their  
 995 souls perish – don't let  
 people live. Please, dear  
 Brother, don't tell anyone.  
 Why should we, dear Brother, die because  
 of them? ▼ And we are not  
 1000 rich, but we are real Roma,  
 though we are poor.

We are modestly poor Roma.

▼ So, dear Brother,  
 we survived, what else  
 more – my dear God! We could make  
 1005 a book, a very large one, which could be written  
 during one little year to tell  
 everything, everything, everything. There is no mind and head  
 to take in everything that the Roma lived through  
 during two whole years. ▼ We thank  
 1010 my God and Holy Mother of Częstochowa  
 and kind people for  
 everything that we survived. God forbid  
 that anyone should see such  
 a time again, so that good people  
 1015 and my God may take care of the world.

Papusza could write a bigger  
 book about the war.

Papusza thanks God  
 for saving their lives.

▼ A Roma song: Ah, people, today  
 I would like you to soften  
 all the world's souls,  
 who love to live in a good  
 1020 way in the world, not to forget  
 about war, but rather that war should not exist at all.  
 Today I would like  
 to sing beautifully as if in a theatre, ▼ so that all the Roma  
 would run to me, as to the forest where there is a fire,  
 1025 big and full of sun rays. Ah,  
 people, how inspired I am, right  
 now I would like to sing a song and  
 let all the Roma come together for that song  
 of mine and understand my words. Let us all be  
 1030 alive together, at least rich in the  
 great but fading Roma glory.

THE ROMANI SONG.  
 Disposition.

**Let's live together  
 for our happy future.**

My song! My song! Get to old  
 people's souls, because the young will become  
 happier faster. As good people  
<sup>1035</sup> together, all the Roma, our old  
 and most beautiful young children,  
 let them live happy and  
 arrive at such a time, when  
 there will be no war that curses  
<sup>1040</sup> human life to misfortune. ▼ Give to us,  
 dear God, good weather, so that  
 my ragged tent dries up.

Recollection: our poor life  
 in the past (song).

\*\*\*

A fine rain fell, soaking  
 small children, it carried my song  
<sup>1045</sup> in a mist to all the rich  
 Roma who have new  
 tents. ▼ They don't understand what makes one  
 rich. Is one rich when one has  
 a lot of gold, or when one is clever and with bread  
<sup>1050</sup> in one's hand? Roma can't see  
 the difference. ▼ I'd love to compose  
 a rich song to embrace all people's souls  
 as the forest embraced us, and that said today  
 we should remember what we lived through ... until death.  
<sup>1055</sup> My song like a bird in the forest sat down on a tree branch,  
 the sun beautifully drove out the darkness,  
 and ordered the stars to set,  
 and near the moon there is one star. The most  
 beautiful place of all is there where  
<sup>1060</sup> a naked child sits near the fire, a Roma tent  
 stands in the forest beautiful, like a little star  
 whose bright light shines into  
 the big dark night, like a golden  
 star. ▼ Young girls are standing, beautiful  
<sup>1065</sup> like berries. Black eyes burn like  
 gold. They and the lads are as happy  
 as fish in the water. They have freedom  
 in the world, they walk more than anyone else, faster

**Who are the rich Roma?**  
 (≈ Proverbs 19:1)

Recollection: our happy forest  
 life in the past.

The universe gives freedom  
 and power to Roma.

than anyone, like water runs, nothing will hold  
<sup>1070</sup> it back. ▼As the forest sings, so the Rom  
 dances: light as a feather, heavy as  
 a stone. So in love  
 he burns, just as fire burns beautifully. ▼Roma life is  
 easy, like in the forest a bird is happy  
<sup>1075</sup> when it spends the night with the Roma.  
 One bird crosses the road to another who is the Rom. One sings  
 a song to another the Rom hears. One sees the other.  
 How do a bird and the black Rom  
 live in the forest? ▼It is good  
<sup>1080</sup> for the rich Roma to live in this world,  
 but we in modest (small) poverty  
 sit in our houses, where we sing beautiful  
 songs, read and tell stories from a beautiful  
 book, so let the good people  
<sup>1085</sup> in this new world  
 publish this book. Pampusza

Wajs

**The way the Rom dances.**

Roma life is as happy,  
 as the forest bird life.

**Our Roma possess the new  
 sedentary culture.**



# An English Literal Translation

*Tomasz Kamusella and Viktor Shapoval*

This literal English translation of Papisza's *Tears of Blood* was conducted by Tomasz Kamusella from Viktor Shapoval's Russian translation of the Romani original, as transcribed – also by Viktor Shapoval – from the original manuscript in Papisza's hand. Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov and Sofiya Zahova checked this English translation against the Romani original.

\*\*\*

[School copybook's cover]<sup>1</sup>

School subject: Polish language

Surname: Wajs

Given name: Władysław

School grade: II (Two)

Page 1 [NB: Consecutive numbering]

<sup>1</sup> Żagań, 25th July 1952

The song Tears of Blood, or what we suffered under the Germans in Volhynia in '43 and '44.

▼ Oh, my good people!

**Why and what do I sing about?**

<sup>5</sup> Believe me, on my love of God, I don't want to remember the bad times, because my soul is sick and wants to cry right away.

But what can you do! It is necessary to sing

<sup>10</sup> to evil people who want war.

Let them know well: God forbid

anyone has to live in war. In great trouble [marked with] a bloody tear. What a poor soul went through,

a Jewish [child] with her Roma children

<sup>15</sup> a Romni! Ah, song, song you are sad!

As the earth without the sun would be poor,

So bad it is in the world when there is war.

---

<sup>1</sup> Brackets are employed to provide brief in-text information, usually an explanation of the preceding word or phrase. Also some phraseological or syntactical elements that are not present in the text, but are required by the English prose, are provided in brackets. *TK*

God grant that there would never be a war,  
 for in people the flesh is trembling  
 20 and shaking, and the soul is crying with bloody

Page 2

tears and no one knows where his  
 family is. Let them see reason from my song,  
 so that they do not want war, so that their soul  
 softens, so that they learn what war is, cause there're  
 25 the ones who said 'do not give anything to' the Roma  
 and did not believe that under the Germans the Roma perished.  
 What beautiful houses did good people  
 aspire to have. And now what remains since the war  
 is [only] the forgotten ruins. Dear God, make sure that no one  
 30 has forgotten all the misfortune, even though it would be wonderful  
 to live in the world, [and] listen to great songs.

▼War, war! Let it never  
 be [in] all [our] life. My dear and good  
 people of great [heart]! Listen to my true song,  
 35 on what the Rom, Roma children and Romni suffered  
 during the war. Great fire! The soul doused with blood  
 and tears. It is singing for you <by me>  
 the song, woeful song. In the forests without water,  
 without fire, great [our] hunger [was].  
 40 Where would the children sleep?

**The woes of the war.**

Page 3

There is no tent. Fire should not be burned at night,  
 because smoke gives the Germans  
 a sign [where we hide]; how to live with the children  
 in the cold harsh winter. All are barefoot.  
 45 All [of us] left everything in the town of Włodzimierz.  
 When the Germans wanted to kill  
 us, first they ordered [us] a lot of  
 work to do. At night, a German  
 came to the Roma: something bad I will  
 50 [need] to tell you, this night they want to kill  
 you. Don't tell anyone, but know  
 I am black [=real Rom], a Rom of the purest of  
 bloods. May you have much of  
 good luck in the dark

**UNDER THE GERMAN RULE.  
 A German Rom told us to flee.**

55 forest. [After] having spoken these words,  
 he kissed everyone. ▼ I am walking fast  
 into the forest. We have walked far  
 into the broad world. The Roma family [=clan]  
 gathered. Together a hundred people

**Leaving the city of Włodzimierz.**

Page 4

60 stood. Before the dawn we went [deeper]  
 into the big forest. We threw away all [our possessions], there was no  
 cart, or horse. The Germans after us  
 on horseback, chasing, we <only with hiking staffs> won't  
 escape. One child carried on the shoulders,

65 the other in the arms. That's how the Roma were walking.

What to do now? The Germans are near,  
 they can catch [us]. ▼ At this point,  
 from all over partisans are running,  
 and are shooting. In the clearing they

**IN THE FORESTS.**

**Chapaev partisans save us.**

70 saw the children and Romnis.

They began a big battle.

Where could the Germans hide?

The Chapaev commando fear

nothing; and are talking to the Roma: 'What is

75 happening here?' 'The Germans wanted

to kill us, so we had

to hide in the forest.' 'Ah, poor

Page 5

you, how many are you?' 'One hundred.'

▼ Oh, God, how to live, what to eat,

**How to survive here?**

80 what to drink, where to get money from?

No need to seek anything, the forest will give  
 you all gratis. Whatever is to be found in the forest

Roma take; whatever is to be found in the villages,  
 we will steal – you or us, we

85 together. ▼ Two poor Jewish [persons] are  
 with us, all their kin killed.

**Victims, Jews.**

▼ Because of all that [sadness], the Roma began singing  
 a beautiful song, which birds carried far

**Our song relieves grief.**

into the forest, one [bird] retelling it to another.

**Our night in the forest.**

90 This was a wonderful night,

The stars in the sky together with the Roma  
 fell asleep.



they no more are listening to anyone,  
but only to themselves. All over  
the world they killed Catholics [=Poles].

Poor them [=Poles], they [=Germans, Ukrainians] cut out their tongues,

<sup>135</sup> gouged their eyes. ▼ Soon,

all over the world, people will be poor.

You rich, it is them who will weep

tears of blood [when got poor].

The rich fast turn poor (≈Luke 6:25).

Page 8

▼ What do you think, folks [=listeners],

<sup>140</sup> where can hundreds of people survive?

It was bad and good, when outside it was

warm. Some sun[shine], some tears,

we gather wild blueberries, drink various

herbal infusions, eat edible mushrooms, well,

<sup>145</sup> and few fishes. Romnis cooked

killed horses that had already rotten for two

or three weeks, the meat tasted miraculously.

Like marzipans were potatoes, which Roma

children baked [in fire]. Once a

<sup>150</sup> week, a dozen or two of them [potatoes] poor

Roma brought. ▼ So far, so good.

[But] when big winter comes,

What are Romnis to do with the small child?

Where will they get a coat from? –

<sup>155</sup> all the clothes already in tatters, the flesh [is] naked,

we want to die. Neither has one heard

nor knows [about it], but only the sky

and the river hear

**How to live in the forest?**

**It will be even worse soon.**

Page 9

them cry. ▼ Whose bad eyes have led us

<sup>160</sup> astray into this misfortune? Whose lips

have cursed us? God, don't listen to

them, hear us. ▼ This

night got colder, and old Romnis

began to sing a Roma fairy tale:

<sup>165</sup> 'A golden winter will come, snowflakes

will fall on the ground, on your arms,

like starlets. Black eyes [=children] will

freeze, little souls [=children] will

**Who has cursed us?**

**The song of a cold night.**

die, from the old ones not a single one will survive  
<sup>170</sup> and compose honest (little) songs.'

▼The children began to cry: 'We want  
 to eat, we have no strength left to continue  
 walking. The Germans surrounded the forest.  
 Here many of us perished from starvation.  
<sup>175</sup> In the morning it began snowing,  
 and despite hunger and misfortune, the little souls [=children] cheered up:  
 one is laughing, the other  
 is crying, and another [is playing] in the snow.

The children cry,  
 the snowfall makes them happier.

Page 10

Papusza tells a fairy tale in the open  
<sup>180</sup> air: one is laughing, another is crying. ▼God  
 gave snow. Here the bad and evil German  
 is returning. He is pressing on,  
 [but] the Chapaev partisans are walking faster. We are walking  
 after them. ▼There will be food to eat, or I won't be  
<sup>185</sup> a Roma daughter if I don't go  
 to the great fire and bring back a pot of meat.

I am bringing bread and Hungarian  
 smoked [ham/sausages]. ▼Today, partisans from the Chapaev  
 commando were saying that they would cross  
<sup>190</sup> the railroad. Yes, that's true,  
 so that night we didn't sleep. It snowed  
 heavily, [snow] closed the road: it was only  
 seen the Milky Way in the sky.

They [=partisans] are going and are singing a song under their breath.

<sup>195</sup> ▼But I began to sing [aloud] alone, I don't  
 know what had happened to me.

I would have [then either] gone kill a German,  
 or gone stabbed with the knives, and literally I became  
 fearless.

The Germans are coming,  
 we must run away.  
 Papusza will get a lot of food soon.

**A railroad crossing is planned.**

Papusza is under trance.

Page 11

<sup>200</sup> ▼All [the Roma], and the soldiers, are asking: 'Why so  
 loud? Sing, but do not wake  
 The Germans, Hungarians up. This is no laughing  
 matter. Let's see what the battle  
 will be like. Let [now] everyone obey.

<sup>205</sup> The sky is of great beauty.  
 I began to sing a song quietly to myself,

**All calm down Papusza.**

to hum, and I spoke to the Roma:

▼‘Look at the sky, how  
it flashes, trembles, not  
210 calm, unlike my soul. When we arrive, we  
will give away all [we have] to  
[gift] at the church a candle, as big as my  
height.’ ▼Immediately after I finished,  
a big fire fell [on us]. All tumbled down,  
215 tied up children’s mouths.  
All became as if dead from fear.

Papusza’s vow of a church candle.

**Shooting.**

▼But I don’t care: if I live  
or die, I have no children,  
no one to live for.

Papusza is under trance again,  
why she’s fearless.

Page 12

220 And I started to scream and began running forward. ▼My  
husband saw me, and grabbed me  
by my hand: ‘What are you doing? Do you want to die?’  
‘Don’t you worry, hubby, God gave each of us  
their own fate. There is nothing to eat.

Her conversation with her husband.

225 I am a Rom’s daughter, black night  
is a sister of mine.’ ‘Crazy,  
what has happened to you?’ ‘I want  
to feed the hungry children.  
I can’t bear to look at  
230 this misfortune. What is happening to me  
today? This! I want to die  
there, where I shouldn’t, you Roma lad!’

▼Singing, on I went. A big battle raged.  
Fires rained down, like a big forest. Little by little,  
235 the Germans are giving way to our people [=partisans]  
but do not let them cross  
the railroad for a while. I burst [into the left butchery on the battlefield],  
I take smoked hams and sweet  
liquors, a full blanket packed:

Papusza gets a lot of food.

240 white loaves and all, I could find. A lot of killed  
Hungarians lie [strewn] around.  
I am walking and fear nothing, break  
a piece of bread and am eating it. I forget about the misfortune,  
and am running, as fast as I can, ▼our people [=the Roma]

Page 13



you perished. Four [children] we buried in a single  
grave in one day. You, Dear God,  
see our misfortune. Have a look,  
dear sun, at how without you, a Roma  
<sup>285</sup> boy is dying of cold  
in the big forest. ▼ A bird hears  
mother and father weep, the river  
and forest hear [too], [and] compose a great song, far  
they carry it into the world. A Rom replies  
<sup>290</sup> to [the song]. Why is the forest singing?  
Because a Romni is crying. ▼ Often did  
the Roma cross the railways, together with the soldiers,  
often bullets whizzed past a Rom's  
head, like birds, often  
<sup>295</sup> tears of blood flowed. Often  
a child was starving to death,  
like a winter [frozen] sparrow. Sun, dear sun,  
you're hiding behind the trees, the shadow  
of the trees deepens the cold, but a fire cannot  
<sup>300</sup> be made. ▼ Dear God  
forgot us

**Parents' laments.**

**Endless suffering.**

God looks after us.

All the same, good God, for one year  
a Rom has been hiding in the forests without [visiting] villages.  
Mother of God, remembers us,  
<sup>305</sup> ▼ though a Romni does not go to villages,  
once a week she is sure to find something  
in the forest, if not a cow,  
a killed horse, and little salt and  
spilled rye [grains]. That's how the Roma  
<sup>310</sup> lived. He is chewing wax (in place of an  
American chewing gum), seems  
to be eating and [with a] full [belly]. Well, and he drinks  
forest tea [=herbal infusions], and [eats] a hedgehog –  
the forest piglet.  
<sup>315</sup> Somehow he copes, though  
he sleeps rough, but doesn't  
get TB. After all, the wind [carries fragrances] from all good  
flowers and drives sickness away.

**The forest somehow feeds us.**

The forest gives us strength and  
health.

Forest, forest! [Suffering] TB,  
<sup>320</sup> *in Romani šuke means*  
*a lung disease (TB)*  
 <a picture of the lungs> the healthy lungs.

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After all resinous pine forests  
 heal and add strength.  
<sup>325</sup> ▼ All the humans left  
 us, so that the forest can  
 hide us. A starlet  
 sits with us until daybreak, and an old  
 owl tells a Roma  
<sup>330</sup> tale: some listen to  
 the owl, some throw twigs  
 after it. For they strongly believe  
 it [=owl]. The owl, little  
 birds, wolves – their voices  
<sup>335</sup> are loud, but they never touch  
 us. There were many of them, as if [they were]  
 our dogs. ▼ My dear and good  
 people! Would you like to see  
 our life in a film?  
<sup>340</sup> and, to tell you the truth, I would like  
 to describe all that.  
 After one year passes,

People have left us. Our neighbours.

Our past deserves a movie and a book  
(about Roma and Jews).

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a beautiful and luxurious Book would be [ready].  
 I know that my little  
<sup>345</sup> brother Sovnakuno (lit. Golden) is writing [one], I  
 don't lie, otherwise let my  
 head perish. All is true, true  
 what the poor Rom and  
 the richest-in-the-world Jew  
<sup>350</sup> suffered under German rule. ▼ The sun  
 arose, all the forest brightened, the Rom has  
 barely come to life, the times – praise be to God –  
 changed. ▼ A gadjo [=non-Rom] popped up,  
 what is going on? Did  
<sup>355</sup> the Germans move on? Some forests  
 have already become free of Germans. Male and

UNDER THE BULBAITES.  
 Dawn. It's getting warmer.

A gadjo comes.

female Christians [=non-Jews, non-Roma] – [our] tears fall  
 like rain – are looking at us,  
 and literally fear [us]. ▼And Romnis are crying                   The joy is great ...  
<sup>360</sup> of happiness, when they see the villagers,  
 hear the urbanites. Romnis  
 are fetching food, songs fly  
 up into the sky. Roma children

Page 19

rejoice, clap and do not fear  
<sup>365</sup> the forest. [Their] legs are red, rather beige, dirty.  
 [They have] no shirts. [Their] bellies are naked.  
 ▼The villagers come [out], and invite us to their houses.   Enmity towards Catholics.  
 But our joy did not turn out to be  
 big, because these people were  
<sup>370</sup> Ukrainians. They burnt [Catholic] churches,                   What did they do before?  
 tore down the [Catholic] crosses.  
 Cows cry, like people.  
 They [=Ukrainians] killed the Poles [=Catholics] to the last one,  
 and are taking their [=Poles'] property. ▼And                   What did they ask us about?  
<sup>375</sup> they [=Ukrainians] turn to us: Who are  
 you? 'We are Roma.' 'Ukrainians  
 or Poles?' 'We are Roma,  
 the Germans wanted to kill us  
 ▼we have come to you and played [music].'  
<sup>380</sup> After all, the Roma took care of all the                   We play our music.  
 instruments, like of their eyes,  
 because playing music saved us  
 from [sure] death. And they played  
 a soldier song. ▼And now, out of nowhere,                   Gadjos pay us.

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<sup>385</sup> a peasant woman has fetched a pot of lard.  
 They [=Roma] played the song 'Your Dark  
 Eyes' – the peasants brought boots [for the Roma].  
 And all were playing so beautifully  
 that the peasants brought [for us] all [we needed].  
<sup>390</sup> In the end they [=the peasants] have clothed us all,  
 ▼only I didn't take anything.                   Papusza and things of the  
 The clothes [they gave me] I distributed among the Romnis. murdered.  
 but I took all the dresses.  
 I forgot some boots,

<sup>395</sup> Some bad ones, those  
 that I had worn were gone [already]. I had torn them walking  
 in the forests. I promised  
 myself that even if I had to die,  
 I would not take a killed person's shirt.  
<sup>400</sup> I prefer to walk naked.  
 Blood admonishes  
 me that the innocent perished  
 and [now] in the ground [they are buried]. After all, I  
 am such one, who can see when something  
<sup>405</sup> is evil, [rather] let my soul die [than I touch it].

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▼We see a gadjo come here  
 and more follow him, ten  
 souls, hiking staffs on the shoulders.  
 Bulbaites killed them. ▼What have you,  
<sup>410</sup> dear God, done, why have you led us  
 to here, what are we poor  
 now to do, where should we go? To which  
 soldiers? The Chapaev partisans left us,  
 but they will be likely to return back soon to  
<sup>415</sup> us. What God will give: bad  
 or good? Where will I go to live  
 through winter? Not a single head is missing.  
 ▼The Roma agreed on one thing and asked  
 for housing. They [=Ukrainians] gave us the houses  
<sup>420</sup> of the Poles, poor souls,  
 killed recently. ▼I'd prefer  
 to remain in the forests. Better wolves  
 would eat me, now we [need to] sit [=live]  
 in these houses. In the frenzied  
<sup>425</sup> nights [of killing], people [=Poles] here and there  
 [had been drowned] in the wells.

How people died.

Papusza's prayer.

Houses of the dead.

It would be better in the forest.

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▼Chickens run wild in the forests,  
 cats walk, cry. Gadjos [=Ukrainians]  
 kill [Poles'] cows. It is unbearable to watch  
<sup>430</sup> what is happening. ▼The Roma fear  
 to stay in the houses  
 lest the dead return, lest the living

Ownerless animals.

Roma are afraid of the dead,  
and even more of the living.

[begin] killing us. They [=Ukrainians] gave us these houses.

▼They [=Roma] look for work and perform. A big cold Modest comfort, fear of change.

<sup>435</sup> winter came, a black Romni was wandering

around the village. Fear was great,

some gadjos came, Ukrainians:

▼‘Are you white Poles?’ But

What did the other gadjos ask?

the Roma are clever, not such simpletons,

<sup>440</sup> like gadjos [=Poles]. The gadjo [=Ukrainian] didn’t understand the conversation in Romani: ‘How do you cross yourselves?’ ‘To the right.’ [=in the Uniate/Orthodox/Eastern fashion]

‘What are your names?’ ‘VasyI, Ivan,

Nastia, Paraska, Olena,

<sup>445</sup> Petro.’ ‘Where’re your papers?’ ‘The Germans

took [them].’ Roma are hiding

in the forests, where gadjos can’t find them.

Page 23

‘If you were white Poles ...’ [=Polish lords]

They would have immediately killed us.

<sup>450</sup> ▼Once in Lytomorye’s house, but can’t remember [exactly where],

all the day the sky was beautiful [=clear].

**The night visit of a young Jewess.**

The moon shone directly into the window,

so I couldn’t sleep. Someone at

the window, is peering inside. <Though frightened>

<sup>455</sup> I ask: ‘Who’s that?’

‘Open the door, my dear black

Gypsy woman.’ I see a beautiful

Jewish girl come in, she is trembling, shaking,

asks for something to eat. Dear God

<sup>460</sup> knows I don’t lie,

I swear by any good luck

left to me in this world. Poor you,

my dear Jewess. I gave her

bread, salt, what I had, [and]

<sup>465</sup> a shirt. A beautiful lass,

like a berry, she began crying: ‘Ah,

dear God! How good you are.

Two [Jewish] children are dying of starvation.’

‘My Roma are good.’

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<sup>470</sup> And we two forgot that nearby

the soldiers stayed [=stationed],

and this night they didn't come to us.

'My dear Gypsy, let me kiss

you for your good soul. You are afraid

<sup>475</sup> and I fear. Each week I will

come once, at night. Don't you know

where the Chapaev commando

may be?' 'We were traveling with them.

But they went on, when

<sup>480</sup> we fell asleep. And we haven't seen them again.'

She kissed me and I her.

▼From all over gadjo comes running.

Another dwelling.

'All you, Roma, gather,

you will [need to] move to other houses.'

<sup>485</sup> At night all Roma were waken

Already one house is burning, another

is being destroyed. They [=gadjos, Ukrainians]

chase us into a single house,

[all] 66 people.

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<sup>490</sup> ▼

In February 1944

**Everyone got sick, no one died.**

In February the gadjos [=Ukrainians] gave

us a single house for all [the Roma], 3 rooms and

the kitchen. We all got sick

with TB [=pneumonia?]: a Romni, and then

<sup>495</sup> I, and from me all caught this disease.

No one died, but all

stayed six weeks in bed. We recuperated

thanks to infusions

from raspberry twigs.

<sup>500</sup> And today [=present moment after the war], in order to remember, we tell to all [the story].

▼God sent us a warm March.

**What did the Poles ask?**

Only patches of snow remained [on the ground]. Other gadjos walk [up]

to the windows: 'Roma, how do you

cross?' ▼The Roma gradually forget [about their Ukrainian names].

<sup>505</sup> They call one another by their own [Catholic] names:

**Roma forget troubles, but ...**

Janek, Bronia, Krzysia, Zosia. Only

mine they did not see as a Roma [=Catholic]-name.

This nickname was lucky.

▼Gadjos held big meetings

**... the gadjos want to kill the Roma.**

<sup>510</sup> on killing Roma.

They ordered [us] to dig graves, they wanted  
to kill us, how much we cried!

But the gadjos didn't even look: sick men  
and women fell to the ground [=mass grave] a day later.

<sup>515</sup> Over there they kill all at night.

[Victims] kneel, pray to God,  
weep tears of blood. It would have been  
better to stay in the forests than with these  
gadjos [=Ukrainians], who eat our flesh [=kill us]!

<sup>520</sup> We are men, let's take axes in

hand, lest they kill us and

later the children. ▼A black [=moonless] night fell,

I and a Romni (let her

soul rejoice at my

<sup>525</sup> God's, because she already died)

sprang out [from the place] and went away. Like a

big and black night, our soul

blackened with fear. ▼She and I

are childless. 'Anyway they will kill

<sup>530</sup> me and you, but you have a brother.' We are walking fast

along the road [to] where the Chapaev commando  
camps.

**Two Romnis went looking for  
Russians.**

Why did we decide to go?

After all, by tomorrow no one of the Roma will have survived.

'Neither you nor I do have children, let us [only] two

<sup>535</sup> go, so that the [other] Roma wouldn't know.'

So, we went.

▼Oh, this dark night,

my song, song. Where to find

our big good luck? ▼You, our Holy

Mother! Father [in heaven], sweet is your soul,

<sup>540</sup> save our heads, so that not all of us perish.

Lend us your hand.

▼All birdies pray to God for

our children, so that angry snakes and gadjos

would not kill us. ▼Ah, what a sad fate is ours.

<sup>545</sup> My unlucky luck. ▼'Listen my

Romni-friend, let's go back! We should not face death just two alone

without [the company of] our Roma, it's better to perish

**We are singing.**

We pray to God.

**Birds pray with us.**

**Another song.**

**Doubts.**

together, it is better among many of us.'

'Ah, you my dear path, show us,

<sup>550</sup> Where a good Russian [=soldier, partisan] is, so he could lend

us his hand.' ▼Someone is

riding. A birdie is singing a song.

We hear the forest speak,

in

<sup>555</sup>

Russian!

They pray to the dear path.

UNDER THE PARTISANS.

The forest hears a Russian name.

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It replies. Vania, the name resounds. ▼We,  
as if dead, stopped [in our tracks]. What to do,  
we didn't know. By God, we lay down  
and started fire with a matchstick.

<sup>560</sup> They [=partisans] surrounded the forest.

We began to sing a Russian song

and to talk in Russian:

'*Olia, kuda ty? Chapaev! Idite*

*siuda!* Kolpakov and the Russians: '*Ruki*

<sup>565</sup> *verkh!* Well, we tell them, we don't know, if

are our people alive this night,

or not[?] We rode [with the partisans],

and saw that our people were in great

misfortune. They all had been already standing,

<sup>570</sup> and next to them the Russians [=soldiers, partisans]

<sup>572</sup> and no militia [Polish or Jewish self-defence?] to be seen.

<sup>574</sup> *Czy widzisz dokota,*

<sup>573</sup> *jak w marszu swym krocza*

<sup>571</sup> *z piosenką wesolą ...*

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<sup>575</sup> 2.

▼so that they would walk like a hair [=marching in a file]. **Marching with the Russians.**

Let my children die [if I lie]: this  
night we all were walking together.

We buried Romni Mol(i)unia.

<sup>580</sup> ▼The Russians took Bulbaites, who will be transported

beyond the frontier [=to Russia]. These [=local, Ukrainian] women are crying,

berate the Roma: 'Why did the devil

bring them here! Because of them

my son is lost. Oh, these black devils!...'

Local men are in captivity, women curse the Roma.

585 ▼Little [=local, Ukrainian] girls carried staffs,  
and were [busy] creating an independent  
Ukraine, and caused a lot of  
bloodshed nights, so that many people perished.

What were the locals doing?

▼The Germans are decent dogs, too! Beautiful  
590 Roma girls perished in the [concentration] camp, due  
to forced labor. [They were] like  
stars, so to this day good songs are composed about  
them – during hard work. ▼That night the Chapaev  
commando and the Roma went [there] and took horses,  
595 pigs, down duvets, linens, leather shoes,  
all, what they could find in a villager's house.

What were the Germans doing?

Partisans get rich at night.

▼From the town only a single Rom has not come back,  
alongside the Romni who together with me had led the Russian  
soldiers [to our Roma]. She perished in the town.

How Moliunia died.

600 A Bulbaite – a bad man [he did it]. When  
the Chapaev commando surrounded the Roma,  
a [Bulbaite] commander shot, but a Chapaev  
soldier killed him; anyway, the Romni  
perished on the spot. ▼'All the misfortunes she survived,  
605 and [now she] left her only brother and two  
sisters. Neither mother, nor father do they have. Who  
is going to cry after you, poor you. Black  
soil will cover you, you are my black [=Roma]

Lamentation of Moliunia.

sister. ▼The soldiers ask 'How come  
610 that you lived here [=under Ukrainian-German rule] and they  
didn't kill you? That they didn't learn that  
you are lords' [=Polish/Catholic] Roma? Poor you!  
They ask about everything,  
want to know. The Romnis are recollecting  
615 and crying: 'Why did you leave us  
when we slept and for almost 2 months  
forgot about us?' Now a man appears  
in front of the women: 'We will  
not leave you again!'

The partisans ask the Romnis.

620 3.

▼The rich cart is strong,  
the Roma got rich. The Chapaev

The Roma are getting richer too.

soldiers took all the Roma along. The [Ukrainian] peasants  
are crying. The partisans keep telling them: 'Return

<sup>625</sup> all that, which you took from the [slain] Poles. Let  
these poor Roma ride good

horses. And you cry! ▼What have you  
done, so many villages you burnt down,  
so many people you chopped up to death  
<sup>630</sup> with axes. Evil are your souls!

▼Having spoken these words, he ordered  
to leave. The Roma are going [by cart, on horseback],  
laughing,

drinking, like lords. Children  
rejoice. The horses are neighing, feel  
<sup>635</sup> the long journey [ahead]. The strong German is gone!  
The horses are clip-clopping on the road.  
The Germans are in trouble. The Roma  
laugh, ride the horses.  
The Germans retreat. The partisans  
<sup>640</sup> capture them. Romnis thank  
God, [and]

What were the locals doing?

The road is great and the joy is great,  
as the Germans are in great trouble.

sing songs, imagine good times [ahead],  
play [music] for all the Russian [=Soviet] soldiers  
and forget about the trouble. ▼Already they [=soldiers, Roma] are parting and go  
<sup>645</sup> their ways. A big battle took  
place in the forest, when the soldiers harnessed [to depart]  
with the Roma, together with their [=Romas'] children and women.  
Before we arrived at the place where the Chapaev commando  
camped this night,

<sup>650</sup> the Bulbaitees had killed five of our [=Soviet, Russian]  
soldiers. These [soldiers] who go together  
with us, know nothing [of the killings]. ▼We have arrived.  
They [=soldiers in the camp] are burying [the killed ones], laugh and sing,  
shed no [=concealed] tears. ▼That night

<sup>655</sup> we rode far away together.  
Into the big mud that trembles [=bog].  
The horses sank [into the bog]. Planks thrust under  
the [cart's] wheels didn't help. Over there two horses  
drowned. Hardly did we save ourselves

<sup>660</sup> from sure death in the quagmire. Barely, with great effort

Parting. New victims.

The funeral of the partisans

Hard way from the partisans.

we got out. All dirty.

In the [midst of the] large swamp, we all  
crowded onto the single left

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(4) cart. [It was] before the daybreak,

Why are we coming back?

<sup>665</sup> the Germans [were] nearby. We went back, returning onto

the other roads, where the Germans had left

their carts [loaded with] fragrant hams and various

injections and medicines. ▼The soldiers

Another parting.

ask: 'Do you have horses, carts?

<sup>670</sup> [No?, so,] Go! Pick up some food

and [don't] forget about us. After all, with us,

soldiers, you will never perish.

Godspeed to you. ▼They

Soldier secrets.

tell the truth straight in the face. What

<sup>675</sup> they don't want [to reveal], they discuss with each

other, they laugh and look [at us]: shortly they will leave

the forest for good. ▼'Well, come on,

Sleepless marching.

go.' We ride [by cart] all night and day,

but we have a lot to eat, whatever your soul may desire,

<sup>680</sup> but who walks [by the cart] almost falls down, because all want

to sleep. We see that they [=soldiers] lead us

onto the roads overgrown [with grass, forgotten]. It's daylight, but shady near

the forest. ▼It got warmer, the sun

has come out high, the whole sky is

Again the houses of the dead.

<sup>685</sup> clear, all visible, dear you, my most beautiful world.

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You can see the beautiful big world from afar:

houses and people. Great joy

in the [=our] Roma souls. Empty

houses. A lot of chickens. No

<sup>690</sup> people, [all] killed. The doors, all remain [intact]

in the houses. What happened here?

▼We see soldiers behind us,

Russians are asking for songs; other  
soldiers are waiting for us.

Our Kolpakov [=leader of another Soviet partisan  
commando] has arrived,

and more [soldiers] follow him: 'Sing

<sup>695</sup> a Roma song, or better a Russian one:

"The tramp curses fate

and rushes with a bag on

his shoulders." And says he: 'It's time to go,  
Gypsies! And noone didn't go away. There  
700 the other soldiers await you.'

▼We see the crossroad. And stop.  
The Roma and the soldiers shake  
hands and [the latter] say: 'Stay, our  
*Romale*, healthy and happy. And we [=soldiers]  
705 go back. The other  
ones expect us.

Polish soldiers are waiting for us.

Page 35

(5.)

Lords' soldiers wait for you,  
your Poles.' Having uttered  
710 these words, they gathered [to trip] and left.

▼All the Roma  
in a single voice thanked them with the song  
'[Your] Dark Eyes.' They [=soldiers] cried out, like blood  
drops their tears fell, like rain, on  
the road crossing. [the picture of tears]

715 ▼It wasn't any secret what  
the Chapaev and Kolpakov's soldiers told us  
about our Polish partisans who camped  
nearby. ▼We are a bit afraid  
and don't know where to go. We would like  
720 to return. Here is a soldier  
dressed up like a German, on  
horseback, and keeps looking around.  
And he immediately guesses that black [=real]  
Roma are on the crossroad.

725 Well, he shoots in the air. Many, many soldiers  
approached, and surrounded our carts,

A farewell song. The final  
parting at the crossroads.

Soldier secrets.

UNDER THE POLES.  
Left at the crossroads. Fears and  
hesitation. Unknown soldiers  
surround us.

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▼and ask: 'Who has led you here?'  
'The Chapaev soldiers told us  
to come here.' 'Show your papers, [are you] Germans  
730 or Roma?' 'Roma, Roma [we are], with women  
and children. It is the second year we  
have lived in these forests, like wolves, not  
people. When we left our homes,  
we put our papers in the pots [then buried] in the ground,

The interrogation about our  
ethnicity (Poles) and papers.

<sup>735</sup> so that the [papers] wouldn't rot.

We took out [the papers] and showed to our soldiers. 'Right. You are not cheating.' ▼ They showed us the road behind them. They gave us Ukrainians' houses.

<sup>740</sup> All [the Ukrainians are] killed, and what you see, is now yours: the hens, pigs, a horse for each [Roma family], alongside a cart. ▼ 'For 2 weeks they will live with us here, and then they will go

to the regular army soldiers, who came from

<sup>745</sup> Russia.' A Rom asks: 'Has the German already gone away?' 'One day he retreats, but at another time he comes back again.'

March after the Polish partisans.  
The houses of killed Ukrainians.

The Polish partisans join  
the regular army soon.

The Germans are still strong.

[Both armies'?] planes hit [=bomb] the cities and villages hard. The forests are on fire. And more people are

<sup>750</sup> hauled for forced labor, they do not see daylight [=work all day long]. But let it [=hope] be in our souls that this year has elapsed

safely [=finally] and will never return, no. The Roma

played for them [=Ukrainians], they sang, kept staring up

<sup>755</sup> still, but they did not scare any [of us] a lot, they only boasted.

That was going on for two weeks, the Roma forgot about misfortune, stole hams, laughed.

Roms, Romnis and [Roma] girls sang

<sup>760</sup> Chapaev partisan songs

in Russian. ▼ The song: 'Oh, near the field, near the field, two poplars, where at night a cloud

hangs, there lies buried deep

a killed ... Komsomol member, a beautiful

<sup>765</sup> partisan. She used to lead him,

where at night the grass is

rolling. She gave him a sabre,

a sabre. She led [there] a black

The battles intensify.  
Our victory is close.

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horse. There lies buried deep

<sup>770</sup> a killed Komsomol member, a beautiful partisan.

He fell shot [to death] in a big

Soviet battle for the land,

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city. Whatever your soul wished for [it got], all beautiful [things].  
 [Polish] girls dressed in white, as if a big  
 doctor. They produced all kinds of stuffs, carts  
 815 and all [other things]. The road was closed  
 by the white-and-red [=Polish national colors] barrier.

Page 40 (no text, empty)

Page 41

817 (8)

The barrier is down. They [=Polish soldiers]  
 let us in, and again closed [the road], and  
 820 guard [it], as if in a town:

The soldiers are in the entrance, dressed up like Germans [=in German uniforms],  
 only the big eagle pin [=Polish national coat-of-arms] on their hats.

▼We stayed with them for two weeks

In a single camp, [and] ate whatever the soul wanted. We're going to depart.

825 It was a beautiful day, dear sun is warming [the world]

beautifully. We wanted to depart

today. But what are we to do now? ▼It snowed

Our exhausting trip started.

heavily, like tree leaves [falling in the autumn]. Snow

stopped us in our tracks. Such big snow that was

830 deeper than the cart wheels. With our own feet

we had to create ruts, and helped the horses by

pushing the carts. ▼The Poles

Reasons to leave for Kopyczew.

said: 'Go to Kopyczew,

a small town. They have a self-defence commando [there]

835 and different people [=refugees victims of the mutual Ukrainian-Polish ethnic cleansing]

take [lest, emptied] houses [=emptied of killed Ukrainians] there and live,

as the [houses'] owners. Otherwise, you

should not live here with

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children. The Germans may burst through [our defences].

840 Well, the commander said that it was [better] to stay in quiet

towns, the forests needed to be avoided,

because in three days a big battle was

expected. The Roma might perish [if they stay or enter the forests].

Well, we listened [to him]. ▼We stayed three days

845 more. Ah, dear Great Lord, how much of

We have to leave for Kopyczew.

white snow fell! All the sky

was overcast and got yet darker, [the snow]

blocked/spoilt the road, but what could we do?

We had to go, as the soldiers  
<sup>850</sup> commanded us the trip. And the Roma, though  
 they didn't really want, yet they had to go  
 by cart across big snow  
 to Kopyczew, to receive a house [there]  
 before regular Soviet and Polish  
<sup>855</sup> soldiers would finally come. ▼ Ah, you,  
 dear God, great you are in the sky,

The strong snowfall, our departure.

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(9)

let us live. So many misfortunes,  
 sorrows we have lived through, and we are unable to leave  
<sup>860</sup> misfortune behind. Will we ever leave it behind and be able to live quietly?  
 Like winter (frozen) sparrows, like caught fishes  
 that shake and jump in the boat before  
 lie still stricken with the fear [of death]. ▼ How many **Lamentation.**  
 misfortunes  
 and starvations, how many sorrows and roads, how many sharp  
<sup>865</sup> stones and various thorns cut our  
 feet? How many bullets whizzed by  
 our ears? How many bogs, rainy nights, how many  
 tears of blood did we shed? Many!  
 [In] the forests, tree branches  
<sup>870</sup> almost gouged out our eyes, when a starlet  
 blinked at us from behind that  
 tree, through the leaves. ▼ The Roma girl  
 still did not sleep for fear [~~of staying alone~~]  
 when the moon-father [~~came back~~]  
<sup>875</sup> was [seen] in the north. The poor, poor  
 Rom, how many forests did go through,  
 not once did he sleep

Overnight stay was hard.

Page 44

sitting in the mud [=bog]. By him two or three  
 tiny children. ▼ The Rom asked God:  
<sup>880</sup> 'Why don't the poor die, only  
 have to wander between the forests  
 in great fear. You can't sleep  
 either, it would be better to die  
 than to live in [the time of] war.'

Prayer for the comforting death.

--- --- --- --- [NB: Not counted as a verse]

885 Well, we forget about everything.

▼The partisans told us to go to  
Kopyczew. So, we go.

Big snow, we all push the cart,  
With our own feet we make

890 a rut. ▼Suddenly, we hear the German  
'air-frame' plane fly, which almost got caught  
on a tree top. We all like one dropped  
on the snow, big snow, already  
wet because spring was coming. Some

895 walked barefoot.

Our exhausting trip to Kopyczew.

A reconnaissance plane hunts us.

Page 45

(10)

Poor Roma children froze to death.

My husband cried out: 'Hide [=turn down] your faces [submissively],  
so that he [=the pilot] understands that we're Roma!'

900 All faces are hidden in the big and wet snow.

Shading my eyes with a hand – I'm not cheating, otherwise let me die –  
I lookup: what is that airplane doing?

And he [flies] low and peers  
[through] the binoculars. He laughed,

905 saw a little girl lying barefoot  
next to her mother. Maybe something deceived him  
and he turned back. ▼We jumped up,

and whoever is happy holding for a while at  
the place [to warm up]. We almost froze

910 to death, but didn't die, though wanted to.

Thank be to God, dear sun made  
a good [=passable] road for us, already a little

town is visible. 'Thank be to you  
dear God!' Quickly a child warmed up ...

915 ▼Having uttered these words,  
about a

People almost froze.

The battles intensify.  
New victims.

Page 46 (no text, empty)

Page 47

(11)

dozen planes flew in, throwing bombs  
on the town. Snow [mixed] with mud gets flung at us. The trouble  
is big, because a peasant [man] and a [Roma] girl were crushed.

920 The trouble, the trouble is great, and there was trouble in the forests.

But these German devils did not fly away ...

The houses are burning there [=in the town], there are shots.

You could hear Stalin's organs and nebelwerfers, as  
a Chapaev soldier told us [we would]. What could only be  
<sup>925</sup> seen: one fire after another were coming closer to us.

▼They would kill, chase away the German. The German – The Germans never win.  
let God kill him – wanted to conquer  
all the world, well, now good people and  
my God were beating him [into defeat].

<sup>930</sup> ▼'Well, what to do now? Should we return,  
or press on? Ah, God,  
the first is yours, and my [will] at the back. Let it  
be as it will! Let them  
kill me at once, why

<sup>935</sup> to live in such misfortune?'

▼Where the girl had died, they threw  
A bomb [again], but didn't kill anyone.

What are our plans then?  
Papusza's fatalistic mood.

Our exhausting trip to Kopyczew.

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So that is how we traveled that day, we all nearly  
died, the Roma children were sick.

<sup>940</sup> ▼The Germans had already stopped bombing. The sun  
happened to be warming us well, as it cannot bear  
to watch our misfortune, and sent all the rays  
[to us], and immediately after one day  
the mud dried up [on us]. ▼We arrived at the little town:

<sup>945</sup> gadjos, Czechs, Jews, Roma, people of  
different kinds [=ethnicities], staff in hand,  
and the partisans in the forests. ▼In this manner,  
a battle against the Germans commenced.

The houses [stand midway] like a gate vis-à-vis  
<sup>950</sup> the airfield: each day reconnaissance planes fly  
and each day they bomb Kopyczew.

I won't write more how it was. Our horse  
got killed, mud [thrown up by explosions] covered  
us all, not once but many times, well no one

<sup>955</sup> got killed. That is how  
dear God ordered. Jews and us [=Roma],  
in the [town] hall we sat together,  
and each night we carried the dead,

The weather improved,  
the road got wet.

Who were then in Kopyczew.

The battles intensified  
near Kopyczew.

(12)

<sup>960</sup> dead Polish soldiers, partisans.

Each night, 2 or 4 beautiful men,  
I remember as clearly as today, the  
long nights, when many mothers shed  
tears of blood, these poor soldiers,

<sup>965</sup> when they saw us. ▼Others died, too,  
[including] children. For five days they lay unburied,  
vis-à-vis our [hall's] door, because  
the town was full of gadjos  
evacuated from all over; it is impossible  
<sup>970</sup> to rent a house or shed.

After all, one crushes one: the dead  
soldiers – may their souls be  
happy [- us, the living]. We were not afraid of anything – we prayed  
to God for their soul[s].

<sup>975</sup> ▼And so we lived there until we saw  
regular [=state army, Soviet] soldiers [come].

Our [Roma] played  
concerts for them. Some [wounded soldiers] died.

And the Jews went with the regular soldiers.  
They kissed us for goodbye. There were beautiful as  
<sup>980</sup> small berries: 4 Jews and 5 Jewesses.

Not buried dead. Overcrowding.

The regular soldiers arrived.  
The Jews went with them.

▼Thank God, we all survived. All the Roma were  
scattered (?). We were all found by one another. We give  
big candles to my [=Catholic] God. And until  
today, you all remember everything what

<sup>985</sup> Roms, Romnis, Roma children went through, while many  
perished [too]. ▼And here and there some remained alive. We, the true Polish

[that is] those Roma who survived. Nobody else, [only]  
real Polska Roma. Kalderashi and Lovari –  
those [Roma] stayed in Lwów,

<sup>990</sup> lived as gentlemen, because they secured different kinds of papers [=IDs]  
for themselves. ▼Yet, dear Brother,

be clever, I need to tell  
the truth: even today *Volksdeutsche*  
*schießen* (shoot). Various devils – let their

THE WAR ENDED.  
Papusza's vow of a church  
candle fulfilled.

Roma, went through the  
hardest experience.

*Volksdeutsche* and other  
“devils” are still dangerous.

<sup>995</sup> souls perish – don't let  
 people live. Please, dear  
 Brother, don't tell anyone.  
 Why should we, dear Brother, die because  
 of them? ▼And we are not  
<sup>1000</sup> rich, but 'slightly' [real] Roma,  
 though we are poor.

We are modestly poor Roma.

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(13)

▼So, dear Brother, we survived, what else  
 more [to want] – my dear God! – we could make  
<sup>1005</sup> a book, a very large one, which could be written  
 during one little year to tell  
 everything, everything, everything. There is no mind and head [big enough]  
 to tell everything that the Roma lived through  
 during all that year. ▼We thank  
<sup>1010</sup> my God and Holy Mother of Częstochowa  
 and kind people for  
 everything that we went through [and survived]. God forbid  
 that anyone should see such  
 a [sorrowful] time [again], so that good people  
<sup>1015</sup> and my God [may] take [better] care [of the world].

Papusza could write  
 a bigger book about the war.

Papusza thanks God  
 for saving their lives.

--- --- --- [NB: Not counted as a verse]

▼A Roma song. Ah, people, today  
 I would like you to soften  
 all the world's souls,  
 who love to live in a good  
<sup>1020</sup> way in the world, not [just] to forget  
 about war, but rather that war should not exist at all.  
 Today I would like  
 to sing beautifully [as if in a] theater, so that all the Roma  
 would run to me, as to the forest – where there is a fire –

THE ROMANI SONG.  
 Disposition.

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<sup>1025</sup> big and full of sun rays. Ah,  
 people, how inspired i am, right  
 now I would like to sing a song and  
 let all the Roma come together for that song  
 of mine and understand my words. ▼Let us  
 all be

Let's live together for our happy  
 future.

<sup>1030</sup> alive together, at least rich in the [famed]  
 great Roma glory (though it is all but gone now!)  
 My song! My song! Get to old  
 people's souls, because the young will become  
 happier faster. As good people  
<sup>1035</sup> together, together, all the Roma, our old  
 and most beautiful young children,  
 let them live happy and  
 arrive at such a time, when  
 there will be no war that curses  
<sup>1040</sup> human life [to misfortune]. Give you,  
 dear God, good weather [to us], so that  
 my ragged tent dries up;  
 a fine rain fell, soaked  
 small children, it carried my song  
<sup>1045</sup> in a fog to all the rich  
 Roma who have new

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tents. They don't understand what makes one  
 rich. Is one rich when one has  
 a lot of gold, or when one is clever [=educated] and with bread  
<sup>1050</sup> in one's hand? Roma can't see  
 the difference. ▼Oh, I'd love to compose  
 a rich song, and to embrace all people's soul(s)  
 with this song, as the forest embraced us, and said  
 that today we should remember [what we lived through]... until death, my song like  
<sup>1055</sup> a bird in the forest sat down [on a tree branch], like  
 the sun beautifully drove out the darkness,  
 and ordered the stars to set,  
 and near the moon there is one star. The most  
 beautiful place of all is there where  
<sup>1060</sup> a naked child [sits] near the fire, a Roma tent  
 stands in the forest beautiful, like a starlet  
 whose [bright] light shines into  
 the big dark night, like a golden  
 star. ▼Young girls are standing beautiful,  
<sup>1065</sup> like berries. Black eyes burn like  
 gold. They and the lads are as happy  
 as fish in the water. They have freedom:

**Recollection: our happy forest life  
in the past.**

**The universe gives freedom and  
power to Roma.**

in the world they walk more than anyone else, faster  
than anyone [else], like water runs, nothing will hold

<sup>1070</sup> it back. ▼As the forest sings, so the Rom

**The way the Rom dances.**

dances: light as a feather, heavy as

a stone. So in love

he burns, like fire burns beautifully. ▼Roma life is Roma life is as happy, as the forest bird life.

easy, like in the forest a bird is happy,

<sup>1075</sup> when it spends the night with the Roma;

one [=the bird] crosses the road to another [the Rom], one [=the bird] sings

a song to another [=the Rom], one [=the bird] sees the other [=the Rom].

How do a bird and the black [=real] Rom

live in the forest? ▼Though it is good [life]

<sup>1080</sup> for the rich Roma to live in this world,

but we, slightly poor,

sit in our houses, [where we] sing beautiful

songs, read and tell [stories from] a beautiful

book, so [now] let the good people

<sup>1085</sup> in this new [=postwar] world

publish this book [=this poem]. Papisza

**We, the modestly poor Roma, will  
get the new sedentary culture.**

Wajs

# Explanatory Commentaries to All the Texts and Translations of *Tears of Blood*

*Volha Bartash, Tomasz Kamusella and Viktor Shapoval*

*VB* stands for Volha Bartash  
*VS* stands for Viktor Shapoval  
*TK* stands for Tomasz Kamusella

## General and Technical Notes

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Brackets are employed to provide brief in-text information, usually an explanation of the preceding word or phrase. Also, some phraseological or syntactical elements that are not present in the text, but are required by the English prose, are provided in brackets. *TK*

## Commentaries

Line 0: 'Given name: Władysław.' Papusza's *gadjo* (official) name was Bronisława Wajs (1908–1987). The surname's spelling was later ascertained as 'Wajss' (probably, a reflex of the original German-language spelling 'Weiss' or 'Weiβ.' 'Wajs' is a Polish phonetic spelling of this surname, perhaps, under influence of the Russian form Байц *Vais*), as at present attested on the poet's gravestone in Inowrocław, Poland. She shares the grave with her stepfather Jan Wajs (1895–1961). Papusza's biological father was Piotr (?), whose surname remains unknown; he perished around 1913 in Siberia. For the first time Papusza was married away in 1923, but her then husband (Adam, whose surname remains unknown) abandoned her shortly afterward. Meanwhile, Papusza's mother Katarzyna Zielińska (1888–?) remarried and adopted Jan's surname Wajs(s). Papusza's second husband Dionizy Wajs(s) (1885–1972) – Dyśko was his Roma name – is buried separately, in

Gorzów Wielkopolski, Poland. He was Jan's brother. In 1928 Papusza and Dyśko married in the Catholic church in Szumsk, Volhynia. Nowadays, the town, known as Shums'k, is located in western Ukraine, near the city of Ternopil'. Władysław Wajs (1944–2006) was Papusza and Dyśko's adopted son, whom she gave the nickname 'Tarzan(ek/io)'. His official first name, given to Tarzan in honor of his paternal grandfather, that is, Dionizy's (and Jan's) father, was Władysław Wajs. Tarzan is buried in Skarżysko-Kamienna, Poland, a town located between Kielce and Radom. He is survived by his daughter, Ewa Wajs. *TK*

Line 1: Żagań, a town in southwestern Poland, which until 1945 was the German town of Sagan. In 1945, at the Potsdam Conference the Allies passed to Poland most German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line (that is, the *deutsche Ostgebiete* in German). Nowadays, these former German territories constitute what is western and northeastern Poland. *TK*

Line 1: '25. lipca 1952 roku,' the date, like the place, is also given in Polish, meaning '25 July 1952.' July is the period when itinerary ('nomadic') Roma travel most often. Yet, instead of in a cart or in a forest, Papusza is in the town. For this reason, her recollections of the tragic days spent in the woods during the war are mixed with some nostalgic longing for a traveling manner of her former way of life. *VS*

Line 2: The poem's title *Tears of Blood* is an allusion to popular Catholic prayers, for instance, the Rosary (Chaplet) of the *Tears of Blood* (*Koronka do krwawych łez Najświętszej Maryi Panny* in Polish) or the Rosary (Chaplet) of Our Lady of Tears (*Różaniec do Łez Maryi* in Polish). These chaplets draw on references from the Gospels of Matthew (4:11) and Luke (22:44). Repetitions of the appeal to God (*na de, Devla!* 'Do not permit, oh God!') and reminders of the poem's genre (*gili, gili tugani* 'the song of sorrow') constitute direct parallels with the aforementioned chaplets. *VS*

Line 3: According to Mikhail Tyaglyy's calculations (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume), from 1,500 to 2,000 Roma were killed in Volhynia by different divisions of the German occupation forces and the local police. This number does not include war casualties, as well as those who died from starvation and disease, while in hiding. Survivor testimonies and archival sources indicate over 20 mass killing sites of Roma in Volhynia. Like in the neighboring regions, the genocidal persecution intensified in summer 1942. At this point, the German occupation administration began collecting data on sedentary Roma families in the countryside to improve the rounding up and extermination. The mass killings, forced labor, alongside internment in ghettos and concentration camps were carried out through 1943. Papusza does not limit her poem's purview to the late period in World War II. *VS VB*

Lines 4–5: The poet tried various ways to commence the poem. The words *daja gili Te Baget* ‘this song/poem [is meant] to be sung’ were crossed out. Then Papusza used the formula of affirming the veracity of her story: *pacien syr dewtes kamam* ‘believe <me you all>, as I love God,’ which is a Romani translation of the Polish phrase *jak Boga Kocham* (‘for my love of God’). The expression is broadly known across the whole East Slavic area as a typical Polish shibboleth (Szetela 2019: 392). It is not clear why Jerzy Ficowski did not preserve this line in his much shortened version of *Tears of Blood*. Perhaps, in the 1950s the censors would not tolerate the term ‘God.’ VS

Line 14: In Volhynia, Nazis exterminated most of the region’s Jews between 1941 and 1943 (Круглов, et al. 2016: 105). Some individual Jews (and even fewer entire families) survived, hiding in the wilderness, enrolling in Soviet partisan units and finding shelter among the local Christian (Catholic, Greek Catholic or Orthodox) peasantry. Roma followed a similar survival tactic (Горун 2018: 159). VS VB

Lines 15–16: Ficowski (1956: 118) replaced the genuine Romani adverb *bikhames<k>ro* ‘without sun’ with the adjective *bikhameskri* ‘sun-less,’ as related to the feminine noun *phuv* ‘earth.’ Furthermore, the omitted final phrase *sysby ciórory* ‘<the earth> would be poor <without sunlight>’ changes the sentence structure. A similar misunderstanding and alteration in the Romani text can be observed in ll. 38–39. VS

Lines 18–19: Symptomatically, the word *God* was removed again (cf. l. 5), although the Soviet bloc’s communist propaganda allowed it in such a pacifist slogan even during the 1950s. VS

Line 20: *zdran citron*. This folklore formula contains two synonymous verbs, literally ‘they tremble-vibrate’ (cf. Line 862). VS

Lines 25–26: *nadente nitsi*. It is a typical example of Papusza’s condensed syntax; the sentence comprises an incorporated reply of the persons who did not sympathize with the Roma and their plight, as expressed by *nadente nitsi* ‘don’t give them anything’. VS

Line 26: *sasiostyr* ‘from Germany, German.’ The Romani word stems from the Germanic ethnic group of Saxons (or *Sachsen* in German). In the Baltic region, the German(ic) populations used to be known under this name. This ethnonym survives to this day in Estonian (*Saksa*) and Finnish (*Saksan*), or in England’s regional place-name of Essex, Sussex and Wessex. In the 19th century a Polish idiom developed *chodzić na saksy* (literally ‘going to Saxony’) for denoting annual migrations for seasonal (typically agricultural) work in Saxony, Prussia, and finally in the German Empire.

The Romani grammatical forms *saso* (occurring 30 times) and *sasio* (11 times) mean either ‘a German individual’ or ‘a German military unit.’ The plural form *sassy* occurs only twice in the text. *Saso* is sporadically pronounced as *sasio* /'saɕɔ/ in Romani. This tendency reflects the Polish regional neutralization and confusion of dental, gingival and palatal consonants (Dejna 1973: 103). cf. l. 53: *ciacuno* /ʃɛafɛu'nɔ/ ‘true,’ where the same sounds are denoted with different letters. It appears Papusza believed that a single [i] was sufficient for indicating the palatalization of two syllables in a single word. The same way of indicating multiple nasalizations in an entire word is characteristic of Papusza’s idiosyncratic spelling. *TK VS*

Lines 28–29: *Potszé{binenys?}[b\ne?]* – an undecipherable word, due to multiple corrections. One can guess that initially the poet intended the verb *potszébinenys* (derived from Polish *potrzebowali* ‘they needed’).

The image of ruins is employed as a symbol of war and its destructive consequences. cf. Papusza’s poem *Gruzy wszystko przypominają* (Romani: *Gruzy saro rypiren*) ‘The Ruins Remind Us All [About the War]’ (Machowska 2011: 225, 349). *VS*

Lines 29–30: *niekon ... Te bistret* (usually: *nikon te na bistret*). Double negation is common in the Slavic languages and the local variety of Romani, though rather unusual in Romani as such. Compare with the phrase in Polish *nikt nie zapomni* or its Ukrainian/Belarusian counterpart *ніхто не забуде*. *VS*

Lines 35–36: Sic! Preposition *adre* ‘in’ is unnecessarily written twice at the end of l. 35 and at the beginning of the subsequent line. *VS*

Line 38: Here and elsewhere in the manuscript Ficowski probably used the idiosyncratic sign [ \_/ ] (for instance, *gili \_/ tugani*) for marking these fragments that he decided to exclude from his version. *VS*

Lines 38–39: *A\_dre wesza Bypanieskro by jagakro Bok {Nas?}Bary*. Ficowski rendered this line as *Andre vešá bipañéskre, bijagákre bokh barí* (Ficowski 1956: 118). He changed the adverbs *bypanieskro* ‘without water’ and *byjagakro* ‘without fire’ into adjectives grammatically bound with the plural noun *wesza* ‘forests.’ In the manuscript the final [-o] in both adverbs is underlined in black ink, while Ficowski settled for the final [-e] in his version. cf. ll. 15–16. *VS*

Line 39: *{Nas?}*. Likely the word *naswalipen* ‘disease’ was intended. *VS*

Lines 38–44: In these lines, Papusza portrays the challenges of survival faced by her family in the forest during winter. The effects of the German occupation on Romani families went far beyond human losses and the collapse of community life. In fact, historical

patterns of co-habitation between Roma and non-Roma were destroyed. Before World War II, local Romani families used to stay with peasants during winter, renting or sharing homes with them. Under the German occupation, peasants were reluctant to host traveling families because of the fear of police intervention. Therefore, Romani families often had no other choice than to look for refuge in the woods, even if the conditions there were hardly tolerable for humans. In the course of German anti-partisan actions, the people in hiding did not start fires not to be discovered (Bartash 2023: 157; cf. Bartash in this volume). *VB*

Line 44: *Adre węnt bary* ‘in harsh (literally “big”) winter.’ *Adre węnt* ‘in winter’ (l. 151), *węnt* (f. noun) ‘winter’ = *ivend* in other dialects (l. 164). cf. *węde* (l. 296), *węde* (l. 861). *VS*

Line 45: *włodzimiz*, a dialectal pronunciation of the official Polish-language name of the city of Włodzimierz, or nowadays, Volodymyr-Volynskyi in northwestern Ukraine. According to Ficowski’s records, Papusza’s family were able to stay in Włodzimierz in winter 1942–1943. In early spring 1943 they learned from the city administration about the German intention to exterminate ‘Gypsies’ in the city and went in hiding (Ficowski 1956: 166–167; cf. Bartash in this volume). *TK VB*

Line 46–48: ‘When the Germans wanted to kill us, first they ordered [us] a lot of work to do.’ Papusza does not mention the name of a labor camp or a ghetto where her family experienced forced labor. Other members of her community recalled that they were placed in a ghetto in Kostopol (Kostopil in Ukrainian) and forced to work in agriculture. They managed to secure the help of a Polish policeman and flee from the ghetto (Ficowski 1956: 154–155; cf. Bartash in this volume). *VB*

Lines 48–55: This event was narrated to Ficowski by other members of Papusza’s family group, as well. Ficowski’s interpretation was that a ‘German Rom’ warned them about the danger in ‘their language’ (Ficowski 1956: 170). It would be, however, difficult to ascertain the ‘national’ belonging of this person or to know in what occupation division he served. German Sinti and Roma were barred from serving in the Wehrmacht after February 1941. Most of Sinti soldiers were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau (cf. Fings 2016 for the history of Nazi persecution of Sinti and Roma in Germany). However, other national divisions fought under the German leadership in Volhynia, and Romani soldiers could potentially go unidentified. *VB*

Line 49: *soś* – a calque of the Polish noun *coś* ‘something,’ which in Romani can be analyzed as *so* ‘what, that’ + the Polish suffix for forming indefinite pronouns [-*ś*]. The verb *peja* is also a calque, in this case of the past participle *wpadł* of the Polish verb *wpaść* ‘to drop in.’ cf. ll. 236 and 481. *VS*

Line 50: *Daja rat* ‘this night,’ which Ficowski (1956: 120) incorrectly interpreted as *ráty*. He confused the noun *rat* ‘night’ and the adverb *raty* ‘at night, tonight’. VS

Lines 50–51: *daja rat ≤ y kamen ≥ {isy?} tumen Te wymaren*. Corrections in a different ink by another hand. The original words *daja rat isy tumen Te wymaren* ‘Tonight they have to kill you’ replaced with *Dajá ráty kamén tumén te wymarén* ‘Tonight they want to kill you’ (Ficowski 1956: 120). Probably, Ficowski misunderstood the construction *isy te* + [verb in present tense] for expressing obligation, as for instance, when relating the Polish commander’s words *isy baro baro mary | ben te jawet* ‘a big battle was expected’ (ll. 842–843). Kozhanov (Кожанов 2013: 71–104) and Mérimée (1936: 171) wrote about this construction. VS

Lines 57–58: *{?} Gijam dór dór {?}* *swętenca*. Ficowski’s Polish translation needs to be explicated: *poszłam daleko, daleko w święta* ‘during the holidays I went (travelled) far, far away’ (Ficowski 1956: 121). But the Romani original reads ‘we went far, far into the world.’ Papusza erroneously wrote [ɛ] instead of [e], a common spelling error of hers. The expression *gija swetenca* ‘(s)he went into the (broad) world’ is common. Yet, the designation *swętenca* ‘\*during the holidays’ is unusual, while *swętonenca* ‘with the holy (days) / on holidays’ would be appropriate. In addition, ‘holiday’ in the dialect is *swenko* from the Polish regionalism *świętek* or *święteń* (instead of the standard form *święto*). Mixing of paronymic roots historically parallel to Polish *świat-* ‘world, light’ and *święt-* ‘holy, saint’ led to homonymy in the Romani dialects of Belarus, where the coincidence of verbs meaning ‘to shine, to emit light’ and ‘to sanctify, to consecrate’ arose in emulation of the Belarusian *śviacić* in which both verbs coincide, entailing the homonymy of the two aforementioned meanings (Шаповал 2010: 254). A similar expression denoting wandering, vagrancy, as a rule, under the conditions of extreme need or circumstances, is found both in Ukrainian *pity svitamy* ‘to go [far] to the world[’s ends],’ or in the Polish dialect counterpart *pójść światami*, instead of the standard Polish expression *pójść gdzie oczy poniosą* ‘to go where your eyes lead you’ (Dobrzański 1858: 1232, 1233). Papusza’s use of a Romani calque of this Polish dialectical (or Ukrainian) expression emphasizes the drama of her Roma family group’s forced escape far from the comfort of everyday life into alien and hostile spaces. Papusza’s confusion between the Polish [e] and [ɛ] could be an influence from the southeastern Polish dialects (or, today’s Slavic dialects in Belarus and Ukraine’s region of Volhynia) (Klemensiewicz et al. 1981: 109–110). VS

Lines 63–64: An example of how Ficowski dealt with incomprehensible words. The word *pcherybnagry* (f) appears 4 times in the manuscript, probably formed from *pherav* ‘I walk,’ as derived from *pherybena* ‘walks’ (pl.); cf. *pherybna|n|giro* ‘something or someone related to walks.’ All these fragments were omitted in Ficowski’s version. Cf. also ll. 407, 585, 946. VS

Line 68: *karyk i so* ‘where and what’ – this expression indicates an unexpected occurrence, cf. ll. 383 and 481. *VS*

Line 69: [51] *Saro chaliya* ‘they all understood (the partisans).’ Erroneously, in Ficowski’s version [čh-], while [ch-] in the manuscript. *VS*

Lines 72–73: This verb probably confused Ficowski. It denotes the Germans’ retreat, stop.

<sup>72</sup> *te wychytoł* ‘to escape?’

<sup>233–234</sup> *Chylton* ‘they recede.’

<sup>353–354</sup> *czy | sasio doredyr chyltyja*<?> ‘does the German retreat farther?’

<sup>639</sup> *sasy chylcien* ‘the Germans are retreating’ (that is, ‘they keep standing,’ or ‘do not attack’). *VS*

Line 73: *Partyza|n|tka czapajew* ‘Chapaev commando.’ During World War II, several Soviet partisan units named after the legendary Soviet hero Vasily Chapaev (1887–1919) operated in Volhynia and Polesia (Лозицкий 2010: 87, 642; Лавренов, et al. 1994: 112). Most probably, Papisza mentioned the unit organized by Mikołaj Kunicki (nom de guerre *Mucha* ‘Fly,’ 1914–2001). It was composed of local Poles and Poleshuks (stemming from the indigenous Slavophone and Orthodox population of Polesia), whom the Germans had earlier trained as policemen. This unit operated between March and June 1943 in the vicinity of the city of Rivne (Дюков 2008: 106–107; Горуш 2012: 348). They might protect Roma, who – like them – were Polish citizens. *VS*

The Soviet partisan movement was the most numerous and influential Resistance movement in many parts of the German-occupied Soviet Union (with the partial exception of the eastern half of interwar Poland occupied by the Soviet forces only in 1939). The first partisan units were formed by the Red Army commanders who found themselves in an encirclement in summer 1941. Throughout the war, the percentage of civilians in partisan units constantly increased. Partisans’ tactics included sabotage, political propaganda among the local population and armed struggle against Nazi police and *Einsatzgruppen* (death squads). Along with the centralization and bureaucratization of the movement, many partisan detachments underwent a transformation from small and highly mobile armed groups to more territorially based forest settlements that included family dwellings, sanitary facilities, storages, kitchens and craft workshops (Bartash 2021: 120). *VB*

Lines 83–84: *to* – Polish for ‘that’; *čorasam* ‘we steal’ – the secondary form of the Romani 1st person plural, formed with the suffix *-am* < *ame* ‘we.’ The smuggling of food as a survival strategy was mentioned by Papisza three times, but Ficowski fully omitted it in his version of the poem. Cf. ll. 83, 109, 758 (Kledzik 2020: 187–188). It should be,

however, mentioned that this survival practice was not confined to Roma. All those who went into hiding depended on the local resources. This is not to mention regular requisitions from peasants by various militaries, be them Soviet partisans, Ukrainian UPA soldiers or Germans. For the strategies of coping with hunger and shortage cf. Tönsmeyer, Haslinger and Laba (2018). *VS VB*

Line 86: Papusza's favorite motif (topos) of echo carrying the song that is followed up by animals from the forest. Cf. also ll. 115 and 285. *VS*

Line 88: {dar} – crossed out in pencil. *VS*

Line 98: *ziakireł / źakire|ł* – two different manners of pronouncing the same word given. *VS*

Line 99: [o] – corrected in pencil. *Daj* 'mother' misunderstood by Ficowski as 'here;' hence, replaced with *doj* 'there' (Ficowski 1956: 124, 125). *VS*

Line 104: [*A]dre wesza bare* 'In the big forests.' It was a popular Roma survival tactic to hide deep in forests and swamps (Ковпак 1945: 98). *VS*

Lines 104–105: 'The Germans are chasing us but they fear to go deeper in the forest.' Papusza describes a so-called anti-partisan action (in German, *Bandenbekämpfung* 'struggle against bandits'). Such actions were conducted by the joint forces of the *Einsatzgruppen*, Gestapo, SS and Wehrmacht. For the involvement of Wehrmacht, cf. Beorn (2014). *Bandenbekämpfung* was used as an excuse for ethnic cleansing and mass violence against the countryside population, that is, potential partisan supporters. After the defeat in the battle of Stalingrad (Volgograd) in February 1943, a turning point in the German-Soviet war, Nazi occupation policies frequently took a form of punitive actions that aimed at destroying the material resources and networks of support for Soviet partisans. During anti-partisan operations that could last for weeks, endangered civilians, as well as partisans themselves, went deep into the woods or stayed on the floating islands in the midst of Polesian swamps. *VB*

Line 122: *sasio Baro* – literally 'German the Great' for referring to Adolf Hitler. Ficowski omitted this fragment for obvious ideological reasons, just a decade after the end of World War II. *VS*

Line 126: *weszo, weszo, weszorenca* 'Oh, forest, forest, with the small forests.' A typical way of address that treats forest as a living creature (cf. Демерет 1981: 114, n. 41) or as a father and a protector (cf. ll. 124–128; 325–327). *VS VB*

Lines 128–130: ‘A big battle, the Germans together with Ukrainians, all are killing us, and Jews.’ Papusza articulates the local population’s complicity in the Nazi genocidal project. Throughout the occupied territories, local policemen and volunteers assisted the occupation forces in the implementation of their anti-Jewish and anti-Romani policies (cf. Dean 2000). *VB*

Line 132: *katarar, katylar*, literally ‘Catholic,’ meaning an ethnic Pole. *VS*

Line 133: *tsibja tɛ|g|ɛ optsindto* ‘their tongues were cut out.’ Perhaps modelled on the Polish expression *języki im odcięto*, or the Ukrainian one *язуки їм відтято*. *VS*

Line 136: *psze|ć|choła*. The underlined letters represent the contracted form *ćchoveta* ‘(s)he pours.’ *VS*

Line 142: *Katę móry Te skedet* ‘Collecting wild blueberries.’ Berries often function as a metaphor for tears (Деметер 1981: 196; Ficowski 1960: 8–10; Kuźniak 2013: 21). *VS*

Line 144: *graja zamarde* ‘killed horses.’ The local Romani tradition prohibits slaughtering horses and eating horse meat. Those Polska Roma who traveled perceived their horses as their most valuable possession or even as family members and gave their horses names. After the war, Shero Rom announced a retroactive amnesty for all those who had been compelled to eat horse meat to survive (Kledzik 2020: 194; Kuźniak 2013: 63). Cf. also l. 307. *VS VB*

Lines 155–156: ‘all the clothes already in tatters, the flesh [is] naked, we want to die,’ most probably, of shame. The concept of shame or impurity (*mageripen*) was central to the local Romani tradition. It considered the female lower body as the main source of such ritual impurity. In conservative families, housework and personal hygiene were organized in such a manner so as to avoid defilement by a woman’s body or a newborn baby. Therefore, according to traditional etiquette, women were supposed to wear longer skirts. *VB*

Lines 167–168: *zamrasona; pomerena*. It is unclear why Ficowski replaced the former with *zmraśona* and the latter with *pomerna*. *VS*

Line 175: *joć = i hoć* ‘and though.’ Papusza used the contraction to denote an allegro pronunciation of this line. *VS*

Lines 181–182: *Saśo, xyrja nalaćho* ‘the German, an evil Devil (literally “No-Good”)’. How to explain the inhuman behavior of the enemy? The question was answered in a

similar manner both by Papusza and Yitzhak Katzenelson in his *Song of the Murdered Jewish Nation*. According to them, the enemy serves the power of the evil one. Cf.: “... אונטערװעלט פון אַ שטראַ-אַחראַ, דער שד דאָס איז געװען די שטראַ-אַחראַ, דער שד פֿון אונטערװעלט” *Dos iz geven di stra-akhra, der shd fun untर्वelt* ‘This was the “stra-akhra, the ghost of underworld,’ translated by Ficowski into Polish as ‘To była siła nieczysta z piekiel ...’ (‘It was an impure force from hell’) (Kacnelson 1982: 55, 58 of the 2nd pagination). In Belarusian (but also in Ukrainian and Russian), *нелюдзь* *nieliudź* (literally ‘non-human’) denotes ‘beast [from hell].’

Line 187: *rakie[r]lęs*. Ficowski changed this word to *rakirlys*. VS

Line 189: Crossing any railroad in a large group was risky, because the Germans watched the railways closely, anticipating partisan activities (Ковпак 1945: 100; cf. also ll. 235 and 290). One of the partisans’ tasks was to stop the enemy’s transportation by railway through blowing up trains and damaging rails. VS VB

Line 190: *daja rat na sióciam* ‘this night, we didn’t sleep.’ Ficowski incorrectly interpreted this passage as *daja raty na sućom* ‘\*this tonight, I didn’t sleep.’ VS

Lines 196–198: *dzi|a|wys by sasios te mareł*

*A\_pre ćchórja i niby) sawi) nitsi*

*Nadaraw*

‘I would be going either to kill Germans, <or to be [stabbed]> with the knives; nothing is likely to scare me.’ *A\_pre ćchórja*, literally ‘on the knives.’ The same rhetoric formula is used in the then popular Russian song *Loze* (*Лозе* ‘Oh, Luisa’), recorded and published by P. S. Patkanov in 1904 (Патканов 1904: 36–37, No 13; Шаповал 2007: 294–295). VS

Lines 199–202. Such verbal courtesies (polite plural *wy* ‘you’ in Polish for addressing a person) were not typical for Soviet partisans, suggesting that in this case Papusza is writing either about Polish partisans, or about Volhynia’s locals. VS

Line 200: *bóckiren* – a calque of the Polish verb *budźcie* (infinitive: *budzić*), instead of the Romani *dzi<sup>n</sup>gawen* ‘wake them up.’ VS

Line 201: the Germans sent two Hungarian regiments to pacify the partisans in Volhynia and Polesia (Kunicki 1959: 87, 89; Лозицкий, et al. 2010: 42, 154, 161, 168, 177, 181 217). Polish partisans moderated their impact through Hungarian-language propaganda leaflets (Auderska and Ziólek 1972: 293). Soviet partisans also tried this approach (Лозицкий, et al. 2010: 130, 220). VS

Lines 210–213: ‘When we arrive, we will give away all [we have] to [gift] at the church a candle, as big as my height.’ This passage illustrates intercultural influences on the poem. Lighting (big) candles is rather an Orthodox Christian tradition (Papusza’s family were Catholics). Such candles are lit out of gratitude to God or as an act of commemoration for a deceased family member. The ritual is also used in black magic. *VB*

Line 215: ‘tied up children’s mouths,’ to prevent children from crying. While in hiding, young children were often seen as a threat to collective safety, since their screams could reveal a group’s hideout. There were even the situations in which a family with infants had to leave a group and hide on their own (Bartash 2021: 117). *VB*

Lines 246–247: *so To za jek* – a calque of the Polish expression *Co ty za jedna?* ‘Who are you, lady?’ *VS*

Line 261: *Tysia* ‘table, banquet,’ cf. the Sinti word *tiša* borrowed from German *Tisch* ‘table.’ *VS*

Line 265: *A\_dre cholin baro* ‘in big anger,’ the masculine gender of the adjective *baro* can be influenced by the Polish masculine noun *gniew* ‘anger,’ cf. *Terno batwał* ‘Young Wind’ by Edward Dębicki with the same shift (Szybka 2017: 05:12). *VS*

Line 266: *so* – in the place of the Polish dialectal conjunction *co* ‘that, which,’ in standard Polish the conjunction is *że* (Kledzik 2020: 177). *VS*

Line 279: *adre jw baro pszepejam* ‘in deep snow we perished.’ Ficowski erroneously reinterpreted this passage as *andre bare jiwa* ‘(Roma women buried four kids) in the great snows.’ *VS*

Line 296: *syr węde cierykto* ‘like a <frozen> sparrow in winter.’ Cf. l. 861. A rare dialectal usage *węde/węde* ‘in winter’ related to the description of the frozen sparrows. Both contexts refer to the tribulations suffered by the Roma. *VS*

Line 305: ‘a Romni does not go to villages.’ The expression demonstrates the abnormality of Romani lives under German occupation. In traditional communities, women were daily breadwinners. They usually earned money or obtained food by telling fortune, selling crafts and offering healing services to peasant women. *VB*

Lines 309–310: *wosko żójnet (zamiast / gomka Amerykańsko)* ‘they are chewing wax instead of chewing gum,’ where *gomka* or *gumka* stands for ‘chewing gum.’ This detail,

as well as *marzipans* (l. 148), illustrates tribulations suffered during the war. In stark contrast, Papusza wrote that in 1929 *Żyłam jak królowna, miałam na sobie złota, ile chciałam. Dularami rzucałam jak śmieciem* 'I lived like a princess. I wore as much gold (jewelry) as I wanted. I threw dollars around, like rubbish' (Papusza in Kuźniak 2013:41). VS

Lines 313–314: 'a hedgehog – the forest piglet.' According to the narratives of the Roma who used to travel in the region, their diet included a variety of game foods. A hedgehog's meat was considered a delicacy. The entire hedgehog was cooked on fire, wrapped in a layer of clay, which allowed for the easy removal of the skin and quills from the meat. VB

Lines 318–320: The Romani word for 'TB' *šuke* is an adaptation of the Polish one *suchoty*. VS

Line 329: *sowa* 'owl' (a direct borrowing from Polish, also *sowa*) plays the role of the messenger of death (Dębicki 2004). In other Romani groups, for instance, among the Kalderash, the woodpecker is cast in this role (Деметер 1981: 249). VS

Lines 343–344: *pszatoro* 'little Brother' refers to Jerzy Ficowski (1924–2006), Papusza's non-Roma friend, who transcribed, edited, censored, translated into Polish and secured the publication of Papusza's poems. His censoring interventions were done in good faith, so that communist Poland's official censors would permit the publication of the 1956 collection of Papusza's poems. Obviously, the Polish communist propaganda banned any mentions of the 1943 mutual ethnic cleansing of Poles and Ukrainians in Volhynia, or of the tense relations between Polish and Soviet partisans. Cf. l. 991 *pcheniory* 'little Sister,' which refers to Papusza (Kuźniak 2013: 21). While Papusza addressed Ficowski with the term *pszatoro*, Ficowski called Papusza *pcheniory* (Machowska 2011: 197, n. 122). TK VS

Lines 347–348: *so pszedzidzija rom ciororo /i Tsindo barwało* 'the poorest Rom and the richest Jew.' This dichotomy between the poor Rom and the rich Jew, attested in Roma folklore, became irrelevant during World War II. By 1942 most Volhynian Jews had been robbed of their property and either murdered in the Holocaust by bullets (cf. Desbois 2008) or incarcerated in local ghettos and concentration camps. A similar fate was soon imposed on the local Roma. Beginning in 1942, Volhynian Roma were often interned in the ghettos and concentration camps together with (or after) the Jews (cf. Tyaglyy in this volume; Kledzik 2020: 185, 188–189, 194). Nazis earmarked both ethnic groups (nations) for extermination on racial grounds. Yet, Germany's genocidal policies towards Jews and Roma differed in some aspects. Thus, the Romani genocide was less centralized, more depending on locals taking initiative. The severity of Romani genocide

often depended on the involvement of local perpetrators, thus, varying across the occupied territories, from the almost complete destruction of the Romani population in Estonia (cf. Weiss-Wendt 2023) to a relative safety experienced by Roma in Lwów (Lviv) (cf. Wawrzeniuk 2018). *VS VB*

Line 349: *pał sasioskro szero* ‘under the German administration;’ literally *szero* means ‘head.’ *VS*

Line 372: (*mamósza*) *wymarde so ki cherój* ‘people [Poles] were killed to a man, without a trace.’ The Romani expression is a calque of the Ukrainian one *вибити до ноги* ‘to kill all to the [last person’s] leg,’ also attested in Polish *wybić (co) do nogi*. *VS*

Line 383: *cha{d}ładytko gili* means here ‘soldiers,’ not ‘Russians.’ The Wajs family’s first concert in the area controlled by the Ukrainian forces took place in the village of Ochedniki, in the military school (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 178; Лузицький 2010: 48). The village’s name is cited in a variety of spellings (Kledzik 2020: 187; Літопис 2007: 75, 90, 124). Now it is Okhytnyky in Ukrainian. The village is located 20 kilometers southwest of Kovel’. The song successfully performed by Papusza likely was ‘Розпрощая стрілець (козак) зі своєю ріднею’ (A rifleman (Cossack) is saying a goodbye to his family) (Dębicki in Krótki 2020: 04.45–05.37). The same tune with Russian lyrics Papusza recorded in the poem’s ‘Partisan song,’ cf. ll. 761–801. *VS*

Line 383: *karyk i so*. Cf. l. 68. *VS*

Lines 384–390: Papusza related about their concerts that were richly rewarded by Ukrainian partisans. Ficowski removed these fragments that documented UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) partisans’ positive attitude toward the Roma, because both Soviet and Polish censors deemed the formation as ‘anticommunist’ (Kledzik 2020: 195). *VS*

Lines 385–386: ‘Dark Eyes’ (Очи чѣрныя *Ochi chiornyia*), a popular Russian pseudo-folk song, translated into many languages across Central and Eastern Europe. Originally, it was the Ukrainian poet Yevhen Hrebinka (1812–1848) who wrote this poem and published it in 1843. The poem with its current tune was published in 1884. It was the German-Polish composer active in Vil’na (Vilnius), Florian Hermann (1822–1892), who in 1879 published the melody, originally titled in French as ‘Valse Hommage.’ *TK*

Lines 389–390: *saren jagór jagurestyr pszyrę / wanys* ‘in the end;’ *jagór jagurestyr* – a calque of the Polish expression *koniec końców* ‘ends’ end.’ Meanwhile, *pszyrę / wanys* seems to be a misspelling of *przy-ra\_wenys* ‘[they] changed clothes.’ *VS*

Lines 395–399: According to the Romani tradition, personal belongings of the dead require special care; clothing should be burnt or given away (Kuźniak 2013: 48–49, 62; Деметер, Черных 2018: 310–312). Yet, the harsh realities of survival made many Roma breach such traditional taboos. Under the German occupation and during the immediate postwar period, personal belongings of murdered Poles and Jews continued to circulate locally. For a history of Jewish belongings circulating in such a manner, cf. Waligórska and Sorkina (2022). *VS VB*

Line 405: *dajaj*, miswritten as *jadaj* ‘here,’ and then crossed out. *VS*

Lines 407, cf. the note regarding ll. 63–64. *VS*

Line 408 ‘Bulbaites,’ that is, Ukrainian partisans who fought against any Soviet forces. The term is derived from the nom de guerre of commander Taras Dmytrovych Borovets, namely, Taras Bulba. In literature he is known as Taras Bulba-Borovets (1908–1981). The commander borrowed this pseudonym from the Ukrainian writer, Nikolai Gogol’s well-known story, titled ‘Taras Bulba.’ After the German-Soviet attack on and occupation of Poland in 1939, the following year Borovets organized and headed a Ukrainian resistance army, which was named the Polisian Sich. After Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, the German military administration recognized Bulba’s forces as part of the German army (or the 213th Sicherungs-Division). At the end of 1943 the Gestapo imprisoned him, but the following year (in late October) Bulba was freed (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 291) to fight again against the Red Army.

The Bulbaites mentioned by Papisza were acting independently or as part of Stepan Bandera’s UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). The Bulbaites’ refusal to participate in actions against the local Poles caused them to part ways with Bander’s UPA. So, in late July 1943, Borovets decided to rename his forces as UNRA (Ukrainian People’s Revolutionary Army). Eventually, UPA directed an assassination attempt at Borovets that brought death to his wife (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 9). Soviet partisans took note of the rift between Bandera and Borovets and sought to use it to their advantage. Meanwhile, UPA and UNRA locked in a struggle against each other, against the Soviet partisans, and in the former case also against the Polish underground military, resorted to subterfuge. When tactically useful, UNRA and UPA partisans spoke Russian, Polish, and sometimes German. The situation confused many and especially civilians, who did not know whom to trust and who was who (‘Документи. 1975’: note 16; Kunicki 1959: 43, 163, 165). *TK VS*

Line 424: *kaj na kaj* – a calque of the Polish expression *gdzieniegdzie* ‘here and there.’ The ligature [aj] looks as if it were [ej]. *VS*

Line 425: Reasonably, Papisza was afraid of wells, often poisoned with festering dead bodies (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 229; Kunicki 1959: 34). *VS*

Line 431: *mulo* 'ghosts,' which Roma feared. Different Romani groups have traditionally believed in a *mulo* ('dead person, ghost') and their ability to return to the world to express their dissatisfaction with the deeds of the living or, on the contrary, to warn them about danger (Деметер, Черных 2018: 560; Mulo, Mule Romarchive). A *mulo* can disturb the living, scare them to death and, in extreme cases, even suffocate. According to the local Romani belief, a *mulo* can only visit the homes where he/she has previously lived or visited as a human. Therefore, while staying in the homes of the murdered Poles, Papisza had all the reasons to fear the dead who might come back. *VS VB*

Lines 442–444: These are typical Ukrainian (Orthodox, Uniate) names. Cf. ll. 505–506, where the Roma's Polish (Catholic) names are mentioned. Papisza's family group pretended to be Ukrainian (Orthodox, Uniate) Roma, when coming into contact with UPA soldiers or the Ukrainian villagers who supported them. Reasonably, they feared of being victimized as Catholics and 'Polish' (Kledzik 2020: 171, 185). Ficowski excised from his version the long section about the looting of an abandoned house, when Roma showed some Ukrainian documents to UPA partisans to avoid being summarily punished (Kledzik 2020: 185, 186). In these Ukrainian documents the Wajses hid under the Ukrainian surname Poharewicz (Kledzik 2020: 190). *TK VS*

Line 449: *Lytomorie* – a distorted Roma aural recording of the German historical place-name Lodomerien for the town, which nowadays is known as Volodymyr-Volynskyi in Ukrainian. *VS*

Line 459: *dywłoro dykchet kaj na chochawałw* 'Dear God knows I don't lie.' In line with the German occupation regulations, one was to be shot together with one's family in punishment for helping Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. Therefore, such religious formulas for confirming the veracity of Papisza's words were seen as necessary. *VS*

Line 461: In the manuscript the word *ciorory* 'poor [girl]' written above the word *Ficeryk* 'little officer (?).' It might be the beginning of another story line, which the poet did not pursue.

Salt was scarce at that time and often functioned as a hard currency when paper money issued by different occupation authorities turned out to be worthless (Kunicki 1959: 65). Soviet partisans gave peasants matches and even salt to curry favor and paid with these for goods (Лозицкий 2010: 495). Borovets's UNRA forces paid peasants with salt and sugar for bread and other foodstuffs (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 185). *VS*

Line 465: *syr moryca* '[as lovely] as a berry', and also ll. 980 and 1065 *syr móry* '[as lovely] as berries.' Cf. Papisza's direct translation of this phrase into Polish *A żona młoda jak jagoda* 'And the wife was as young as a berry' (*Pamiętnik*: 11). VS

Line 471: *raty* 'in the night' is mistakenly given in Ficowski's version, instead of *rat* 'night,' cf. ll. 50–51 and 190. VS

Lines 474–475: *so kor /ko* 'every week, every Sunday' – a calque of the Polish expression *co tydzień, co niedziela*. VS

Lines 478–479: *Tradine agił wkidy / zasuciam* 'They went ahead, when we fell asleep.' The Chapaev partisans belonged to General Begma's military group, composed of local Poles and Poleshuks. They were ordered to take leave of the Roma, who impeded their military capacity (Kunicki 1959: 141). The Roma and the Chapaev partisans met again two months later in March 1944, when the former withdrew west before the advancing Soviet front. Some Roma women reproached partisans in such a way, from which it is obvious the latter reneged on some personal (romantic) promises made to the Romnis. Cf. ll. 615–616 *Soske tum|e| jamen Apre | sojben pomektę* 'Why did you leave us when we were asleep?' VS

Line 481: *karyk i so*. Cf. also l. 68. The Roma verb *wperet* is here a calque of the Polish verb *wpada* in the colloquial meaning 'to drop in, visit'. VS

Line 492: It is impossible to establish what illness it was. The Roma expression is a calque of the Polish one *zachorować na coś* 'to get sick with something.' The Romani *tuwissio* can be also analyzed as either an assimilation of the Latin medical term *tussis* 'cough,' or the French pronunciation of /te-be-se/ for TBC 'tuberculosis.'

In local healing practices, raspberry infusion is used for treating common colds and respiratory infections. In February, when winter is at its coldest and hungriest in Central and Eastern Europe, avitaminosis used to be rife, while overcrowding in small huts caused spikes in infection rates. VS

Line 495: *nikon nameja* 'nobody died.' In other places, Papisza recalled that many Roma had died (cf. l. 102; Papisza in Kuźniak 2013: 63). VS

Lines 505–506: Polish (Catholic) and Ukrainian (Orthodox, Uniate) names, cf. also ll. 442–444. VS

Line 506: *miro taw naszty chaline romano* 'They hardly considered my name as Romani.' The Turkish noun *papuç* 'shoe' was borrowed into Romanian as 'slipper,' but also

in some dialects as ‘bundle, doll.’ In turn, in Northern Slavic it came to mean *kapciuch* (in Polish) for a ‘bundle of dried tobacco leaves,’ alongside *papuc*, *kapec* (in Polish) for ‘slipper’ (Мельничук 2003: 286; Цыхун 1993: 158–159). Local peasants misinterpreted Papusza’s name to mean a ‘standard bundle of home-grown tobacco.’ VS

Line 510: *Pchendte groby Te chandel* ‘they made us dig graves.’ Yet, it is not clear who actually was compelled to dig such a grave for whom (Kledzik 2020: 180). VS

Line 510–571: Papusza avoids talking about some embarrassing details of their survival. At times, unintended consequences of military operations let the Roma escape unharmed. For instance, although they planned so, the Ukrainians could not kill the Roma, because they found themselves under a German attack. Afterward Soviet partisans attacked, so countering them was a priority, instead of slaughtering the Roma. In his version of *Tears of Blood*, Ficowski excised the fragment on the Germans’ role in the events (Kledzik 2020: 192–193). VS

Line 512: *ne gadze Te na dykchen* ‘but gadže <won’t> to look (to take into account age and sex of victims):’ Later, the latter [n] was added in black ink, resulting in *ne gadze Ten na dykchen*). Subsequently, this word *Ten* was misread as *ten* ‘them,’ resulting in the following misinterpretation ‘but gadže don’t look at them (victims),’ finally, yielding in Ficowski’s version *Ne gadže les na dykchen* ‘but gadže don’t look at that (victims’ age or gender).’ VS

Line 515: *Apré čanga kņejon* ‘they kneel.’ The Romani verb *kņejon* ‘to kneel’ is a borrowing from the German verb *knien*. VS

Lines 519–521: *Jame murša l{as}[en] tovera andre /vasta*. The verb *las* ‘we took,’ replaced with *len* ‘you took (pl.):’ VS

Line 529–531, also cf. l. 479: Papusza did not let the young Jewish girl know where the Chapaev commando had set up a camp. VS

Line 535: *och. odo {ciomno} [kali] raciory!* Ficowski misread the line as *Och, do kali raćori!* In the manuscript *Kali* was added in pencil by another hand. VS

Line 539: *wylidzia meęę szero* is a contracted version of the expression *tu, mro syvo grastoro, tu vylydža mro šero* (Шаповал 2007: 288, № 43) ‘you, my gray horse, take my head [out of the trouble].’ VS

Line 541: *Tykne cyrykte mangel dewtes ...* Ficowski misread *cyrykte* as *ćirikłore*. VS

Lines 544–545: *Ex, dolica tu jarmy! By-baxtali baxt miry!* It looks like a Belarusian song quoted in Romani, cf.: “Ах ты, доля мая, доля! Доля горкая мая!” *Ach ty, dolia maja, dolia! Dolia horkaja maja* ‘Oh you, my fate, my fate! My bitter fate!’ (Гарэцкі 2009: 363). *VS*

Line 547: The Roma’s traditional preference for dying in the presence of their own family tends to be ridiculed by non-Roma neighbors and host populations (Konczewska 2016: 117). *VS*

Lines 554–555: ‘We hear the forest speak in Russian!’ Papusza means an encounter with a group of Soviet partisans. Cf. the commentary to the lines 562–563. *VB*

Line 559: *jone potokes sar {e} [o] oblite wesz*. I reinterpreted the manuscript’s unknown to me Romani word *obszte* as *oblite*, ‘they surrounded [it]’ (literally ‘embraced’), because it fits the context best. *VS*

Lines 562–563: ‘Olga, where are you going to? Чapaев [partisans]! Come here!’ is given in the poem in Russian, though phonetically written down in Latin letters. Language is used as a means of group identification, for instance, at that time Russian was closely associated with the Red Army and Soviet partisans (Kunicki 1959: 152). *TK VS*

Lines 563–564: Papusza noted the Ukrainian surname *Kovpak* in its Russified version *Kolpakov*. The legendary partisan leader was known among his fellow partisans and the locals by different informal names, such as *Kolpak* (‘cap’ in Russian), *Dzed* (‘grandfather’ in Russian), *Batia* (‘daddy’ in Russian) (Марковская 2009: 102–103). Soviet partisan commander Grigory Balitsky also tended to Russify Ukrainian surnames and words (Лозицкий 2010: 443). However, Major General *Kovpak* could not listen to the songs of the Roma in Volhynia in March 1944, because in January, due to his deteriorating health, he had been evacuated by plane to Moscow (Самосват 2007: 27). *VS VB*

Line 571: *Ani jek {piosenką wiesotą} milicija* ‘there was no militia to be seen’ suggests that the Roma were surrounded by unfamiliar soldiers, and the local self-defense unit (*milicija*) was not around to confirm their loyalty. *VS*

Line 574: A Polish-language song that can be translated as ‘Have a look around, can you see / how they step [hard] marching / and [sing] a joyful song.’ The text at the page’s bottom was written by Papusza’s son Tarzan. *TK VS*

Line 579: *Mol(i)unia* – a diminutive of the Polish-language name Mariola or Melania. She was a friend of Papusza’s. *Molunia* and Papusza led the Soviet soldiers to the Roma

camp. Papusza also mentions her in ll. 527–528 and 533, before lamenting Molunia's untimely death in ll. 598–609. *TK VS*

Lines 580–581: *zakoř / dan ligir|e|n* 'they [Soviets] bring [take] them [Ukrainians] abroad.' *VS*

Line 585: *pcherybnagrja*, cf. the note regarding ll. 63–64. *VS*

Line 586–587: Creating an independent and ethnically homogenous Ukraine was the ultimate goal of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN, founded in Vienna in 1929). In interwar Poland, the OUN was one of the most radical organizations that adopted terror as a political tool. During World War II, the organization was responsible for many instances of anti-Jewish violence in Volhynia and Galicia, as well as the massacres and expulsions of Volhynia's Poles that cost the latter approximately 60,000 dead (cf. Himka 2021; Motyka 2011). *VB*

Lines 590–591: 'Roma girls perished in the concentration camp from forced labour.' The places of forced internment conceptualized by Papusza as concentration camps might look very differently. In fact, it could be any makeshift place erected by the Germans with the use of barbed wire to detain people and force them to do their bidding may be meant here (Kunicki 1959: 164). Presumably, this episode recalls the fate of two young women from Papusza's family group who fell victims to sexualized violence in the ghetto in Kostopol (cf. Bartash in this volume). *VS VB*

Line 599: *[ca]* ... *doja A\_|d|p|re szteto pszepeja* 'this <woman> died at the spot.' The phrase *A\_re szteto* can be reinterpreted as *A\_|d|re szteto* 'in the city,' by analogy to the earlier expression *sztetostyr* 'from the city.' After all, the Roma did not return to Włodzimierz (Vladimir-Volynsky). *VS*

Line 618: *gił dziówla* 'in front of women.' Cf. l. 478: *Tradine agit* 'they went forward.' *VS*

Line 627: Mutual accusations of this sort were common. Here, Papusza is retelling the Soviet version of the events (Kunicki 1959: 140). *VS*

Lines 634–635: *graja chymron szunen / drom baro* 'The horses are neighing, sensing / the long journey.' A well-established topos in folklore songs (Шаповал 2007: 272). *VS*

Line 639: *sasy chylcien*. Cf. l. 272. *VS*

Lines 642–643: *latsio cyro peske pszytchowen* ‘imagine good times coming,’ here the Romani calque *pšy-thoven* is employed instead of *\*pšed-thoven* because the Polish *przystawiają* ‘they put (something closely to something else)’ is confused with similarly pronounced *przedstawiają* ‘they imagine / perform.’ VS

Line 650: *Bolbowcy zamarde 5 chaładen* ‘Bulbaites killed 5 soldiers.’ In reality, Borovets’s UNRA units had nothing to do with these events, which took place after the commander and his soldiers had parted ways with UPA (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 236). Yet, local Polish and Soviet partisans continued to dub all Ukrainian forces as ‘Bulbaites’ (Kunicki 1959: 133). VS

Line 658–660: *graja / tasadene [...] A\_dre / Błaty* ‘horses drowned in the swamp.’ It is not a rhetoric hyperbole, the swamps along the Pripyat (Прыпеч in Polish) river used to be dangerous (Лозицкий 2010: 196). VS

Line 668: *zaszczyki (zaščiki)* ‘injections,’ a borrowing from Polish *zastrzyki*. The German forces, spread thinly as they were, German units faced logistical problems to secure medical and other supplies (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 261). VS

Line 670–672: The soldiers (partisans) allow the Roma to stock up on food from the found German wagons. In general, the phrase is difficult to interpret: *i męder zabi|s|tyren* ‘forget us too,’ that is, ‘go your own way.’ Then there is some contradiction, it is not clear why when parting the soldiers ask ‘you won’t get lost [from the Germans] with us.’ It seems that *Bo jamęncą / chaładeca te na prszepereń* refers specifically to the products received from the soldiers. VS

Line 677: *dali go* ‘let’s do it quickly!’, from the Polish interjection *dalej!* (Kucharzyk, et al. 2010: 45–46). VS

Line 686–687: *dyćto sweto szukar baro zdórat / kchera I manósza* ‘apparently the world is more beautiful far away from the people and their houses.’ In the midst of the total war, some places escaped the ravages of fighting (Лозицкий 2010: 122). VS

Line 696: *Bradziaga* (Tramp) – the famous Russian folk song ‘По диким степям Забайкалья’ (Crossing the wild steppes of Transbaikal). Attested since the 1880s, the song’s most popular text was written later by Ivan Kondratyev (1849–1904) (Гартвельд 2012: 67, No 43). VS

Line 704 ‘*Romale!*’ In Romani ‘dear Roma.’ A specific form of address, in the vocative, as opposed to the nominative case. TK VS

Line 707: By the ‘Lords’ soldiers’ Papusza means the Polish underground, namely, the Armia Krajowa (‘Home Army’, abbreviated as the AK). The Home Army was one of most numerous and best organized resistance movements that operated in the former eastern regions of Poland (annexed by the Soviets in 1939). The AK fought for the reconstruction of the Polish state in its prewar boundaries, thus, the force enjoyed local Poles’ support. In Volhynia, the AK confronted the Ukrainian insurgents and German forces. Depending on the situation, the AK either fought against or cooperated with the Soviet partisans. *VB*

Line 715: In principle, the expression ‘our Polish partisans’ may mean several different groupings. In Volhynia and Polesia, many Poles fought in Soviet partisan units or initiated their own self-defense units in response to the UPA-driven violence against the Polish population. Such units were gradually absorbed either by the AK or the Soviet partisan movement. *VB*

Line 730: The first question the Roma were asked by the Polish AK soldiers *sasy czy roma* ‘[Are you] Germans or Roma?’ may look unreasonable. However, at the beginning of 1944, even the region’s ethnically German settlers of the tsarist times were leaving the occupied territories (Schmaltz 2008). *VS*

Line 744: *stata chatade* ‘regular soldiers,’ opposed to partisans. Cf. ll. 854 and 978. Papusza speaks of two different Polish military formations. Soviet partisans handed over the Roma to the care of the 27th Volhynia division of the Home Army dressed in German uniforms (Jeziński 2011; Kunicki 1959: 140; Zińczuk 2012: 211). The regular Polish troops, whose arrival the Roma awaited, were advancing from the east. It was already the Polish People’s Army (*Armia Ludowa*), which de facto constituted part of the Red Army. *VS*

Line 748: Papusza began mentioning bombings only beginning in March 1944, because earlier the Roma had hidden in the forests. In reality such aerial bombing had started earlier (Kunicki 1959: 144). *VS*

Lines 753–756: Papusza’s poem does not follow a strict chronological order. Some earlier events are incorporated into the narrative as contrastive recollections. This highly interesting passage illustrates the conduct of Bandera’s UPA soldiers and the power of music as an important survival strategy. ‘The Roma played for them, they sang, kept staring up, but they did not scare any of us, only boasted.’ *VS*

Lines 757–758: Papusza recalls what others are now gradually forgetting, namely, the dramatic wartime events. They generated such a trauma (PTSD) that the only psychological possible way of dealing with it was to forget about what had been going on during the war (cf. Koźlicka 2019: 15.45). *VS*

Line 758: *masa wytsiór|e|nes* '[they] were stealing hams.' Cf. l. 109. VS

Lines 761–801: The song is written in a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian. Apart from Polish, Papusza officially indicated only Russian, as the sole foreign language that she spoke (Kuźniak 2013: 172). The poet did not distinguish Russian either from Belarusian or Ukrainian, although she had a day-to-day experience in comprehending and using all the three languages, be it as a fortune-teller or the author of *Tears of Blood*. In daily practice, all these three languages were referred to as *Ruski* (literally, 'Ruthenian') in wartime Volhynia. The Russian-language song mentioned by Papusza in her partly Ukrainianized rendering is 'В чистом поле под ракитой' *V chystom polie pod rakytoi* (In a Plain Field, Under a Willow). In the latter 1930s, Mikhail Isakovsky (1900–1973) wrote the song's lyrics to the music of Vladimir Zakharov (1901–1956). TK VS

Line 764: 'Komsomol' is abbreviation from the Всесоюзный ленинский коммунистический союз молодёжи ('All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, 1918–1991). It was a political youth organization in the Soviet Union. Although officially independent, it functioned as a youth section of the country's communist party. During the Soviet times, Komsomol focused its activities on ideologized and atheistic upbringing of the Soviet youth. VB

Line 811: The comparison with a city is revealing. The Polish, Ukrainian and Soviet partisans in Polesia and Volhynia were quite entrenched and had time to secure all kinds of amenities, which then were thought to be typical only for urban areas (Kunicki 1959: 124). VS

Lines 816 and 818: *szlabanto* 'barrier in the form of a long pole that can be raised and lowered,' from Polish *szlaban*, which in turn is derived from German *Schlagbaum*. The secondary phoneme [-t-] is inserted like in the case of Romani *bravinta* 'brandy,' as borrowed from German *Branntwein*. VS

Line 816: After recording the partisan song with some variations that she tried out in the course of repeated performances, Papusza left a blank page here. Perhaps, the poet planned to write down a finalized form of the song, but never came to completing this task. VS

Line 823: *o\_żetki* 'eaglets,' that is, *orzetki* in Polish for 'military emblem.' It is hard to establish, whether this was the regular emblem worn on caps by Polish soldiers or a cockade with the coat-of-arms of the region of Volhynia, which also features such a heraldic eagle. VS

Line 833: ‘Kopyczew.’ Also, Копычзów, nowadays, Kopychiv, a village in Ukraine, located near the town of Turiisk (Turzysk in Polish). After 20 August 1942, the village’s Jews were exterminated (Круглов et al. 2016: 127). That is why empty houses were available for Roma in this village in 1944. *TK VS*

Line 834–835: The self-defense militia in Kopychiv was composed of local Poles, Czechs and probably Jews (Артизов 2019: 249; Kresowa 2007: 53; Leoni-Zopperfin 1957: 509, 510). Papusza used the term *foryco tekno* ‘small town’ to express the Polish one *miasteczko* and the Yiddish-language designation *שטעטל* *shtetl*. Nowadays, from the administrative perspective, Kopychiv is recognized to be a village. The Soviet sources claim that all the ethnic Poles fled their hamlets and villages and grouped in towns for safety. In turn, the Germans allowed for forming a Polish police that would curb the Ukrainian forces who were then ethnically cleansing Poles (Лозицкий 2010: 103). As a result, the Ukrainian civilian population faced retributive violence at the hands of Polish policemen, as aided by local ethnic Germans (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 248). *VS*

Lines 842–843: *pał 3 dywes isy baro baro mary | ben te jaweł* ‘in 3 days, a big-big battle must be’. Cf. ll. 50–51. The Polish military knew the exact date of the commencement of the attack to be launched within the framework of Action Burza (‘Storm, Tempest’). Hence, they strove to remove civilians from the predicted zone of fighting. Action Burza lasted from January 1944 to January 1945. Polish underground forces, mainly, the AK (Home Army) wanted to liberate the most important Polish cities and towns from the Germans to be able to welcome the advancing Red Army as the hosts. This unaccomplished feat would have lessened Moscow’s ‘right’ to seize the eastern half of interwar Poland (Kunicki 1959: 150). The Polish unit which hosted Roma was informed about the future activities against German forces, too. *VS*

Line 845: This unusual snowfall in March was noted by many at that time (Kunicki 1959: 170). *VS*

Line 861: *węde*. Cf. l. 296. *VS*

Line 862: *Zdran cytron*. Cf. l. 20. *VS*

Line 863–867: The fragment inspired the song *Kicy bidy* ‘How Many Misfortunes’ that the Polish composer Jan Kanty Pawluśkiewicz developed for the feature film *Papusza* (2013). *VS*

Line 869: *kręży* – derived from the Romanian noun *creangă* ‘twig, branch,’ pl. *crengi*. The poet’s glossa on this unique word was to denote Polish *gałęzy*, which was corrected as *gałęzi* ‘twigs, branches,’ and finally crossed out. The end of the line was erratically marked with [.]. VS

Line 875: The winter moon can be observed in the north. VS

Line 890: ‘air-frame plane.’ The Focke-Wulf Fw 189 Uhu German reconnaissance plane with the characteristic airframe body (Лозицкий 2010: 381). TK VS

Line 923: ‘Stalin’s organs.’ The Soviet Katyusha multiple rocket launcher (BM-31). TK

Lines 923–924: *szudło kacuszy i wanószy syr / męgę czapajew pchendzia* ‘You could hear Stalin’s organs and nebelwerfers, as a Chapaev soldier told us.’ The Katyusha multiple rocket launcher. The Nebelwerfer (smoke mortar) was a World War II German series of weapons, nicknamed *Vanyusha* (‘Little Ivan’) in Russian. Papusza borrowed the names from partisan usages. VS

Lines 946: *pcherybnagraja*. Cf. the note regarding ll. 63–64. VS

Lines 967–968: *wizaw wodar A\_dre / wodar* ‘opposite our hall’s door,’ like in the French expression *vis-à-vis* ‘face to face.’ The Romani phrase is a calque of the Polish expression *drzwi w drzwi* ‘door to door.’ VS

Line 980: *syr móry*. Cf. l. 465. VS

Line 988: ‘Polska Roma. Kalderashi and Lovari.’ This passage mentions three Romani groups (that is, culturally and linguistically differentiated communities of Roma with shared history and identity). Ethnonyms of such groups are often derived from professional occupations or identify their historical roots. For instance, the ethnonyms Polska Roma or Ruska Roma refer to the groups’ (imagined) homelands, namely, the Polish and Russian lands, respectively. The Lovara (derived from Hungarian *ló* ‘horse’) speak a Vlach Romani dialect and lived mainly in Hungary and Slovakia before World War II. The Kalderash (or Kalderara, derived from Romanian *căldare* ‘cauldron’) speak a Vlach Romani dialect, too. The Kalderash formed as a group in Southeast Europe but lived and travelled in interwar Poland, as well. Unlike the Polska Roma, who made their living mainly from horse barter and small-scale commerce, the Kalderash were tinkers and metal workers. VB

Line 989: ‘Lwów’ in Polish, today, Lviv in Ukraine. TK

Lines 989–991: Papusza mentions here that some Romani families survived the war in Lwów (Lviv), thanks to forged documents (Kuźniak 2013:43). Apparently, these documents featured typical German names. For reasons still unknown, the situation of Roma in Lwów, the wartime administrative capital of the District of Galicia, was better than in the Galician countryside or elsewhere in the General Government (*Generalgouvernement*). Hence, the city became a desirable haven for diverse Romani groups during World War II (Wawrzeniuk 2018: 339). *VS VB*

Line 993: ‘*Volksdeutsche*:’ German bureaucratic term for ‘ethnic Germans’ outside pre-war Germany and Austria, who were eligible for German citizenship. *TK*

Lines 993–994: *foldaj{d?}Czéry i dadywes / teszysę* ‘today, the *Volksdeutsche* are still shooting <people>’. Obviously, Papusza uses the local pronunciation /foldajčëri/ of the term *Volksdeutsche* ‘ethnic Germans,’ while hesitating how to write it down. The German verb *schießen* ‘to shoot,’ for instance, rendered in Yiddish as *ןישן shisn*, yielded here a Para-Romani hybrid verb *te-szyse*<sup>n</sup> ‘to shoot.’ *VS*

Line 1010: ‘Holy Mother of Częstochowa.’ In other words, the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, that is, the venerated icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the altar of the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa, Poland. It is the country’s most important Catholic pilgrimage place. *TK*

Line 1016: Papusza completed the poem’s main story on the Roma’s tribulations in wartime Volhynia with a plea for peace. Next, she moved to a different kind of reflection on the value of life in peace. The poet’s choice of images is reminiscent of her poem ‘Pchumiry’ (My Land), which Papusza had written earlier in March 1952. What is more, this reflection constitutes the entire poem’s framework and its haunting coda. After all, this conclusion also refers to the beginning of *Tears of Blood* (Ratwałe jaswa), where Papusza explains that she returns to these difficult memories to soften some men’s cruel hearts. Cf. also ll. 23 and 1019. *VS*

Line 1065: *syr móry*. Cf. l. 465. *VS*

Line 1069: *syr pani naszel* ‘<as fast> as the water runs.’ A metaphor for commenting on one’s rhetorical skill. *VS*

Lines 1073–1080: Ficowski excised from his version this description of the positive aspects of the traditional way of Roma life. The censors, in accordance with the communist party’s line, wanted to emphasize the negative aspects of itinerant (nomadic) life. Hence, the optimistic pathos of unity with nature and the likening of the Roma to the feathered inhabitants of the forest were considered inappropriate. *VS*

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**PART II**

***On Papusza and Tears of Blood***



# Bronisława Wajs-Papusza (1908–1987): The ‘Gypsy’ Myth within Discourses

*Emilia Kledzik*

Research into the life and work of Bronisława Wajs (Papusza), though pursued with varying intensity for several decades, can hardly be considered complete. Its popularity rose in the mid-1990, when scholars began to stress the importance of Wajs’s poetry for the conceptualization of Romani literature. Papusza was then called ‘the pioneer of Romani poetry’ (Eder-Jordan 1999: 36) ‘the mother of Romani literature’ (Toninato 2024: 76), ‘the emblematic Polish Romani poet’ (Stefanovsky 2023: 123), and ‘the most famous Roma poet of the twentieth century’ (Zahova 2020, 544). Papusza’s works have been included in anthologies of Romani poetry, including those by Ian Hancock (1998), Rajko Djurić (2002), and Wilfried Ihrig and Ulrich Janetzki (2018). They are also featured in the online project RomArchive. The poet’s tragic story has become the subject of reportage books (Fonseca) (Kuźniak), films (eg. Joanna Kos-Krauze, Krzysztof Krauze) and literary transformations (McCann). Quotes from her works are used to commemorate the extermination of the Roma (monument by Małgorzata Mirga-Tas in Borzęcin Dolny in southern Poland), and are the subject of artistic projects (Tears of gold/ *Sownakune jaswa* exhibition, Małgorzata Mirga-Tas, Valerie Leray, Emilia Rigova, Marcin Tas, Lamna Varady, Berlin 2019). It is safe to say that Papusza is the most recognizable Roma poet in the world. However, despite these gestures of recognition, the circumstances of writing her poetry are still obscure and her biographies are fraught with inaccuracies, which the new archival research helps to resolve.

This essay seeks to reconstruct the biography of Bronisława Wajs with the aid of hitherto untapped documents. The modest collection of source materials on which the previous biography of Bronisława Wajs was based has been expanded in recent years to include the poet’s manuscripts and other sources that have not yet received wider attention.

One of the most important novelties in the study of Papusza’s life is the fact that researchers of her biography have so far been able to draw on a relatively small collection of sources which, based on their authorship, could be called autobiographical. This collection included only about 20 well-preserved

handwritten letters found scattered in three archives in Poland,<sup>1</sup> as well as a small excerpt of a copy of her diary. We also knew only two audiovisual documents in which Bronisława Wajs herself talked about her life and work: a film entitled *Papusza* by Grzegorz and Maja Wójcik from 1974 and a radio broadcast entitled *Kolczyki Papuszy* [Papusza's earrings] by Irena Linkiewicz from 1979. Unfortunately, Papusza provided scant information about her own past and said very little about her poems. Faced with such a small corpus of source materials, biographic profiles of Papusza had to rely mainly on the memories of people who met the poet in the course of her 79-year long life.

For over forty years, almost the only source of information about the poet's biography and writings was Jerzy Ficowski, in his own words, the 'discoverer' of Papusza (Ficowski 1989: 109). This poet and lover of folk art was also the author of the most popular monograph on the people referred to as Gypsies published in Poland in the 20th century, entitled *Cyganie na polskich drogach* [Gypsies on the Polish Roads] (which was published in altered versions in Poland in 1953, 1965, 1985 and 1989, as well as in English in 1989 under the title *Gypsies in Poland*, and in German in 1992 under the title *Wieviel Trauer und Wege... Zigeuner in Polen*). Part of this monograph (in some editions, it was a chapter) was devoted to Papusza and her work. Ficowski also translated into Polish and edited three volumes of Bronisława Wajs's poetry, which he prefaced with introductions. Starting from 1950 until the end of the 1980s, he submitted numerous biographies of Papusza and selections of her poems to Polish literary magazines, newspapers, anthologies and occasional collections.

As Ficowski himself said, he owned a collection of manuscripts of the poet's works, which were excerpts from letters addressed to him (*Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* 1956: 5). However, he did not make this collection available to other researchers and, with few exceptions, he did not publish it. It was only towards the end of his life that a scattered repository of these documents found its way to the Ossoliński Institute and the District Museum in Tarnów. They became the groundwork for the first revision of Bronisława Wajs's biography by Magdalena Machowska (2011). After the death of the author of *Cyganie na polskich drogach* in 2006 another part of his archive was sold to the National Library. Machowska could not make use of it, because at the time she prepared her book the collection underwent editing process.

The group of sources, which I have called recollections, also includes publications of other people who were acquainted with Papusza and who preserved her memory. Shortly after her debut in 1952, admirers of her poetry who were

1 These include *Biblioteka Narodowa* [National Library], *Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich* [Ossoliński Institute] and *Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie* [District Museum in Tarnów].

part of the artistic community of the so-called *Ziemie Odzyskane* [Recovered territories], the former German territories annexed to Poland after World War II, began to publish their accounts about the artist. In particular, these were artists who were contributing to the development of Polish literary culture in two large cities in this region: Zielona Góra and Gorzów Wielkopolski, the city where Papusza lived for almost 30 years. These were usually publicists and journalists who knew Papusza and tried to improve her and her family's living conditions. At the same time, they were shaping her image as a significant figure of the artistic community in this unique area of post-war Poland, which was devoid of Polish literary and historical tradition. These accounts were partly consistent with Papusza's biography, as portrayed by Ficowski, but they were contradictory at other times.

After Papusza's death in 1987, members of this community began to urge Ficowski to publish the manuscripts of her poems. Different reasons were given for this, as will be discussed below. The mounting controversy was partly defused by Ficowski's decision to sell almost the entire archive of Bronisława Wajs's life and work that was in his possession to the *Stowarzyszenie Twórców i Przyjaciół Kultury Cygańskiej w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim* [Association of Creators and Friends of Gypsy Culture in Gorzów Wielkopolski]. However, instead of being handed over to *Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim* [Provincial and Municipal Library in Gorzów Wielkopolski] and made available to all interested parties in accordance with the sale agreement, the collection was not made public for another 24 years. This was finally done at the end of 2020, partly after my appeal, published in *Romani Studies* (Kledzik 2020: 271).

The archive of correspondence and other documents donated to the library in Gorzów Wielkopolski in December 2020 includes 134 letters from Papusza to Jerzy Ficowski from 1949 to 1981, postcards, a notebook with the poem *Ratwał jaswa so pał sasendyr przegijam apre Wotyń 43 anid 44 bersza* (28 pages), as well as a memoir written by Papusza at the request of Jerzy Ficowski from 1949 to 1981 entitled *Pamiętnik* [Memoirs] (196 pages) and 12 pages of the text entitled *Uściłók dnia 20go maja 1934 roku za Bógiem na temat wróżby co mi sie zdażyło w mym życia prawdziwa prawda tak było ze mną*. [Uściuług<sup>2</sup> behind the Bug on the 20th of May 1934 about fortunetelling what happened in my life the truest truth this is what happened to me]. This is the largest known corpus of documents on the life and work of Bronisława Wajs, which has fundamentally changed the dominant narrative of several stages of the poet's life. This chapter outlines a biography of Papusza that takes into account the

2 Uściłók (Uściuług, Устилуґ) is a border town located on the river Bug, currently in Ukraine.

main aspects of this change, as well as new biographical information that has emerged independently of the release of the archival collection. The following biographical profile of Papusza is based primarily on what I call autobiographical sources and archival documents, with references to memoirs only when necessary.

Papusza's date of birth has been the subject of controversy and speculation for many years. Following Jerzy Ficowski, researchers have suggested it to be 1908, 1909, or 1910 (Ficowski 1953: 127; Ficowski 1986: 213). In 2017, 30 years after Papusza's death, historian Dariusz Rymar analyzed the documentation in the *Archiwum Państwowe w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim* [State Archives in Gorzów Wielkopolski] that related to the issuance of an identity card to Papusza in 1952. Attached was a copy of the baptismal certificate dated August 17, 1908. The ceremony took place in the Roman Catholic parish in Sitaniec (in the Lublin region). The certificate was drawn up in Russian because at that time these territories belonged to the Russian Empire. All documentation, including church records, had to be kept in Russian. The certificate stated that the child was born on the same day as she was baptized. It also revealed that Papusza's mother was the unmarried Katarzyna Zielińska, and her godparents were Stanisław Bobowicz and Marianna Bogdanowicz. No additional information about Bobowicz and Bogdanowicz has survived. The copy of the birth certificate, an official document, is generally considered to be a reliable source of information on Papusza's date of birth and the identity of her mother.

It is much more challenging to establish the identity of Bronisława's father. He is not mentioned in her baptism certificate. In her diary, Papusza wrote that she was five years old when her father died in Siberia (in the Russian Empire, this was a common place of exile for people who had come into conflict with the law), and her mother married Jan Wajs eight years later (*Pamiętnik*: 1). The Wajs family's main source of income before the war was a music band led by brothers Jan and Dionizy Wajs, who performed in Volhynia, Polesia, and the Lublin region. Their route led through the eastern part of Poland that was inhabited by a multicultural community consisting of Belarusians, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, as well as the so-called Poleshuks (considered a separate ethnic group by some scholars [Obrębski 2007: 187–191]). It is not easy to determine which of these groups made up the clientele of the Wajs band. In her *Pamiętnik*, Papusza only mentioned that during their performances, she entertained the audience with fortune-telling. This went on until she turned 15 and got married (*Pamiętnik*: 6). Papusza did not judge this relationship well in retrospect, and accused her husband of infidelity. Eventually, after some trials and tribulations connected with her husband's imprisonment, their marriage was dissolved. In 1928, in Szumsk in Volhynia, Papusza married her uncle, Dionizy

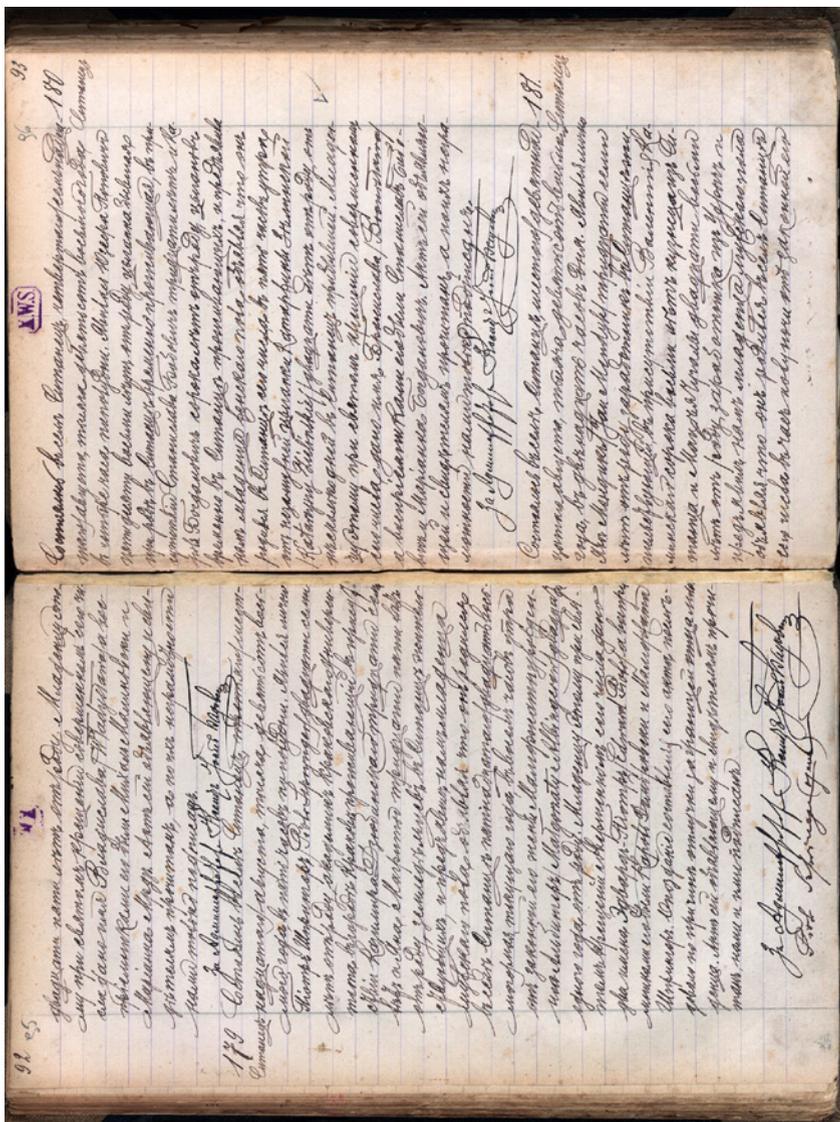


Fig. 7.1 Birth record of Bronisława Wajns. Archiwum Państwowe w Zamościu, Akta stanu cywilnego Parafii Rzymskokatolickiej w Sitancu, sygn. 88/631/01-137, s. 93, wpis 180.

Wajs, who was 23 years her senior (Rymar 2017: 35). Papusza's second marriage lasted until Dionizy's death in 1972. The poet wrote to Ficowski that their adopted son, Władysław Wajs, came from a mixed Roma-*Gadjo* (non-Roma) family. The exact date of the adoption is unclear. However, it must have occurred before 1949, when Papusza first met Jerzy Ficowski. In 1952 Władysław attended the second grade of elementary school.

We know from *Pamiętnik*, written in late 1949 and early 1950, that before the war, in 1936, Papusza was hospitalized for mental disorders. In the absence of hospital records, the memoirs are the only source dealing with this period of the poet's life. However, the autobiographical account of her stay in the hospital is chaotic and muddled, so it is hard to draw conclusions about the process of treatment, diagnosis and convalescence on its basis.

Papusza and her family survived World War II in Volhynia. This area was engulfed by war and from 1943 it was also the scene of violent attacks of Ukrainian nationalists on the Polish population, known as the Volhynia Massacre. Papusza included her memories from that time in a poem sent to Jerzy Ficowski in the middle of 1952 entitled *Ratwałe jaswa...*, known in its abridged version, censored according to communist politics of memory,<sup>3</sup> edited and translated into Polish – and from Polish into other languages – as a poem entitled *Krwawe łzy co za Niemców przeszliśmy na Wołyniu w 43 i 44 roku* [Tears of blood: what we suffered under the Germans in Volhynia in 43 and 44].

Immediately after the war, which is evident from the memoirs of Bronisława Wajs's nephew, Edward Dębicki, the Wajses were still in Volhynia, and in the winter of 1946/47 they were living in eastern Poland. It was not until 1947 that they moved to the west of the country and arrived in Wrocław (Dębicki 2012: 224). Their migration was connected with the Polish-Soviet population exchanges, following World War II and the revision of the Polish-Soviet frontier. As a consequence, over 1.2 million persons left these areas between 1944 and 1947. They headed mainly west. Between 1945 and 1947, about 2.2 million people migrated to this area from central and eastern Poland (Praczyk 2018: 86–187). It was a massive migration process, of which Bronisława Wajs's family also became a part. Edward Czarnecki, an old friend from Volhynia, helped the

3 For example, the third Polish version of the poem, published in 1990, after Papusza's death and after the fall of the socialist system in Poland, in the volume *Lesie, ojciec mój* [Forest, my father], included passages removed from previous editions that depicted the atrocities committed by Ukrainian nationalists against Poles and Roma in Volhynia. Ficowski did not place them in volumes published before 1989, but in 1990, on the wave of revisions of Polish history, he decided to incorporate them into Papusza's writings. There are many more such actions by the editor and translator of Bronisława Wajs in the works previously known as Papusza's poems.

group which included Papusza to settle in a new place. Jerzy Ficowski, who was looking to get in touch with 'Gypsies', contacted Czarnecki in the summer of 1949.

At the time, Jerzy Ficowski was a 25-year-old Gypsy culture passionate, who was publishing essays on Roma people and their songs (Ficowski 1947; Ficowski 1948). From 1948 or 1949, he worked for the *Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce* [Main Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland]. This was a team of experts appointed by Polish authorities in order to collect evidence for Polish and international trials against Nazi criminals. Jerzy Ficowski drafted a report on the extermination of the Roma for this commission. His research was pioneering. Unfortunately, the report did not come out in print in the journal of the *Główna Komisja*. Sections of this work were later included in the aforementioned monograph *Cyganie polscy* by Jerzy Ficowski and thus became an important context for the research to come decades later on the wartime plight of the Roma.

While gathering materials for the *Główna Komisja*, Jerzy Ficowski tried to track down the Roma who survived the war in the eastern parts of interwar Poland, which were annexed by the USSR. He managed to make the acquaintance of Edward Czarnecki, who probably played the cimbalom in their music band.<sup>4</sup> Ficowski's pass to the Wajs tabor was his article 'Skarby ludowej kultury w cygańskim taborze. Ostatni harfiarze wędrowni potomkowie nadwornego muzyka Królowej Marysienki krążą po Polsce, rozrzewniają, weselą i budzą zachwyt znawców' [Treasures of folk culture in the Gypsy camp: last wandering harp players, descendants of the court musician of Queen Marysienka, wander throughout Poland, cheer people up and arouse the admiration of experts] which the young Gypsy enthusiast wrote about the Wajses and the Dębickis (Ficowski 1949: 4). In this article we read that 'Among the gypsies [sic!] who survived the Holocaust, there lives in Poland a family that has formed a musical ensemble, consisting of harps, violins, the cimbalom and double bass. ... This is the Wajs family, an old Gypsy family, who have been playing the harp for generations' (Ficowski 1949: 4). The article also gave insight into the family's current problems: 'The Wajses are now anxious to get into some kind of trade union, to obtain privileges that would allow them to perform and earn money legally again' (Ficowski 1949: 4). Ficowski noted that the problem was the lack of professional training of the band members, which was the reason for the unfavorable opinions of the committees that decided on granting the rights.

4 Cf. Letter from Edward Dębicki to Jerzy Ficowski dated September 2, 1959. Archive of the Ossoliński Institute, Jerzy Ficowski Archive, Correspondence of Jerzy Ficowski, file: Letters from Da-Dę.

Jerzy Ficowski paid a few-days visit to the Wajs family<sup>5</sup> in August 1949 and it was their only meeting in the camp. Papusza's family was then living in the town of Płoty in the West Pomerania. Ficowski promised the Wajses help in obtaining official permits for public performances and collected wartime accounts of their experiences in Volhynia, which were published in several later studies (*Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* 1956: 54–190; Ficowski 1965: 96–109). During this stay, he also met Bronisława Wajs-Papusza, who promised to send him her wartime stories in letters (Letter dated 23 August 1949).<sup>6</sup> Papusza wrote her first letter to Ficowski immediately after his departure. She declared that she would send the text as soon as they managed to find a permanent home. In subsequent letters, she wrote with variable frequency until 1953, addressing Ficowski cordially and often calling him her little brother (*pszatoro*).

In 1949, the year in which Ficowski and Papusza met, Poland began preparing a state-run settlement and production campaign targeted at the 'Gypsy population'. As historians note its first stage was an attempt to count how many Roma people lived in post-war Poland (cf. e.g. Olejnik 2003). A census was carried out in December 1949, but not in all of Poland's voivodeships (Mirga 1998: 21).

In the same year, Ficowski made an appeal for information about the extermination of the Roma. It was published in the popular Polish magazine *Problemy* by the famous avant-garde poet Julian Tuwim (Tuwim 1949: 779). Tuwim, himself interested in Gypsy culture for many years, became a mentor of Ficowski's Gypsy studies. The career of the future author of *Cyganie na polskich drogach* then began to soar,<sup>7</sup> and his later fate got intertwined with the fate of Papusza.

5 Ficowski gave various accounts of the length of his stay in the Wajs camp and most often portrayed it as an escape from the state security services. In 1971, in an interview with Krystyna Nastulanka, he said: '[I experienced the Gypsy adventure] from [19]49 to [19]51, and I wandered with them during the summer months.' [my emphasis] (Nastulanka 2010: 571–572). In the same year, in an interview with Michał Sprusinski, he recalled: 'I was looking for an escape and I travelled with the Gypsies for the first time. They gave me asylum. ... I roamed for two and a half years and it was a great experience [my emphasis] (Sprusiński 2010: 582–583). In a 1994 interview with Lidia Ostałowska, he reported: 'I used to say that I ran away to the Gypsies because I wanted to look for the truth that I could not see in front of me. It was a spectacular thing to say, but it wasn't quite like that. I simply escaped from the security service. ... [my emphasis] I stopped hiding in the tabors in 1951' (Ostałowska 2010: 552).

6 All quotes from letters from Bronisława Wajs to Jerzy Ficowski, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the archive of Bronisława Wajs in Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim.

7 As early as 1950 Ficowski gave two lectures on Gypsies at the University of Warsaw, and also published an article in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* titled 'The Polish Gypsies of Today,' in which, however, he did not mention Papusza (Ficowski 1950b).

In 1950 Tuwim interviewed Ficowski about his interest in Roma culture. The interview was published again in *Problemy* magazine. Ficowski described Papusza, a part of her diary and several passages of her poems. He also pledged support for the 'socialization, productivization, and settlement of Gypsies' campaign that was beginning in Poland (Tuwim 1950: 662). 'For the abilities dormant in this nation to develop, for the Gypsies to free themselves from the shackles of darkness and bad, stagnant habits, they must break with their wanderings', he said (Tuwim 1950: 662). Papusza's work was thus linked to the propaganda campaign for the settlement of Gypsies that was underway in Poland. In this respect, the People's Republic of Poland was ahead of other countries in the Soviet sphere of influence, which began settlement-productivization campaigns after the war. The first efforts to register the 'Gypsy population' took place in Poland as early as 1949 (Barany 2002: 119). During this time, propaganda articles also appeared in press, authored or co-authored by Jerzy Ficowski. To illustrate their political message, the interview in question included a Romani translation of [*The Internationale*] alongside a short biography of Papusza and the story of her family.<sup>8</sup>

The Wajses were still looking for a place to live in the western part of Poland, near Gorzów Wielkopolski. It was not an easy task. Papusza's tabor companions, contrary to the stereotype of Gypsy people, were experiencing a feeling of threat because they lived in the woods. They also had the impression that they were constantly being watched by the communist police. Sometimes they felt like victims of provocations of the Polish majority society. Papusza described one such incident in a letter dated October 18, 1949. She told Ficowski that two members of her stock were suspected by police of setting fire to the forest, actually carried out by local shepherds (Letter dated 18 October 1949). Some men from her tabor worked loading cars and at the sawmill (Letter dated 27 October 1949). Bronisława Wajs complained to Ficowski that, despite the exhausting work, her companions still could not count on suitable accommodation; they also suffered from difficult relationships with Poles, who did not want to have Gypsies in their neighborhood.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1950, riding the wave of his burgeoning career as an expert in Gypsy studies, Jerzy Ficowski became an advisor to the commission in charge of the settlement campaign in Poland (Ficowski 1953: 185). In April 1950, the Wajs family received an invitation to a meeting at the Ministry of Public Administration, which was leading the project. A letter dated

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8 In later publications, Jerzy Ficowski claimed that he had no influence on the final wording of this interview, and that Julian Tuwim was its editor and ideological censor (Ficowski 1986: 242–243).

22 April 1950, written by Papusza to Ficowski after her return from Warsaw, shows that Papusza and her husband were to promote the settlement campaign among the Roma community living in the area of Gorzów Wielkopolski (Letter dated 22 April 1950). The pledges that Papusza made in her letters to Ficowski about her community's determination to find a permanent home became more and more intense.

However, the working conditions were still not favorable to trouble-free adjustment of Papusza and her close ones. In March 1950, the poet wrote to Ficowski about the tragic death of a five-year-old boy from her family injured by a mine explosion at his father's workplace (Letter dated 24 March 1950). After this event, overwhelmed by a sense of danger and a precarious professional situation (they still did not have permission to perform officially), the Wajses, with a group of other families, decided to leave the western part of Poland and look for a place to live in the north-eastern part of the country, in the former East Prussia. The journey took several weeks. After a three-month search for suitable accommodation, the group with which the Wajs family was traveling made the decision to separate. Another reason behind this choice was the above-mentioned Ficowski's interview with Tuwim on Gypsies, published at the end of 1950, which brought Papusza bitter fame. On December 13, 1950, the poet wrote to Jerzy Ficowski that she felt harassed by the unjust opinions that she had heard from members of her community on account of this interview (Letter dated 13 December 1950). The poet's enigmatic comment in the letter suggests that members of her community did not like her poetry being associated with the state settlement campaign. Papusza's family then decided to return to western Poland. Some of them, including Papusza's sister Janina, stayed in Kujawy, while another group returned to Gorzów Wielkopolski. In January 1951 Papusza moved with her husband, son and mother to Żagań, not far from Zielona Góra, from where she continued to write frequently to Ficowski.

For Papusza, this was a time of prolific poetry writing. She sent her poems to Jerzy Ficowski in letters, separating the parts entitled 'gili' or 'pieśń cygańska' [Gypsy song] on separate pages. She wrote them both in Polish and in Romani. Jerzy Ficowski used only those Romani poems that he edited and translated into Polish. Papusza's first poems after the interview with Tuwim appeared in the Polish press in 1952 (Ficowski 1952: 5). This was the year of the so-called Operation C, the first successful registration of the 'Gypsy community' in Poland (Mirga 1998: 126). In the spring of 1952, *Uchwała Prezydium Rządu z 24 maja 1952 roku 'W sprawie pomocy ludności cygańskiej przy przechodzeniu na osiadły tryb życia'* [the Resolution of the Government Presidium of 24 May 1952 'On Assistance for the Gypsy Population in their Transition to a Settled Way of

Life] came into force (Mirga 1998: 125–126). The image of Papusza in the press became an important element of pro-settlement propaganda. Poems containing praise for the assimilation policy, patriotism towards People's Republic of Poland, and elements legitimizing Papusza's Gypsy identity (nostalgic references to wandering and life close to nature) included Ficowski's short biographical notes on the poet, which emphasized her non-traditional attitude, self-taught ability to read and write and her resolution to abandon nomadic lifestyle, settle down, educate, and take up a job.

Ficowski stressed the importance of Papusza's poetry by focusing on its links to a traditional Gypsy folk song. As a collector of such songs, he also planned to combine his own collection with the lyrics noted down by Izidor Kopernicki (Kopernicki 1930) to create *Antologia polskiej poezji cygańskiej* [The Anthology of Polish Gypsy Poetry]. Papusza's works, along with those of the Soviet-Roma poet Alexandr Germano, were introduced in the anthology as a new stage in the history of Gypsy literature and the end of anonymous folk poetry. The anthology was never published,<sup>9</sup> but the idea of including Papusza's poems in the continuum of Gypsy songs became an important part of Jerzy Ficowski's gypsyologist project. Inscribed into the broader history of folklore, the poems became more 'authentic' and, compared to the anonymous Gypsy songs, Papusza's work appeared as a step towards modernity. Such a slant of the poet's biographical portrait was clearly in line with the requirements of the state settlement campaign.

A detailed biographical profile of Papusza, as well as several of her poems, were included in Jerzy Ficowski's magnum opus, the monograph titled *Cyganie polscy* [Polish Gypsies]. The book was published at the end of 1953. The author also added an edited excerpt from her memoir, in which the poet recounted how she learned to read as a child.<sup>10</sup> It showed that because of this

9 The typescript is kept in the archives of *Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie*.

10 I quote Ficowski's version, with the omitted passages from the original added in square brackets:

I was an only child. I was good at one thing, but I was bad at another, because I couldn't read and I couldn't read a newspaper. I really wanted to learn to read, but my parents didn't care about me. My stepfather was a drunk and played cards, my mother had no idea what learning was and whether or not it was necessary to educate a child. And mom had her own problems with dad, that he was a drunkard, as he still is today and will be until his death. Well, how could this child learn? Such a child was doing well on its own. I asked children who went to school to show me a couple of letters, and they did. Then I stole something and brought it to them to teach me, and that's how I learned a b c d and so on. A shopkeeper lived near us. I used to catch chickens and give them to her and she taught me to read. And then I read a lot of newspapers and different books. I could read well, but I wrote awfully, because I didn't write much and I read a lot. And

determination she was considered a misfit in her community and was even taunted (Ficowski 1953: 127–128).

The price that Papusza paid for the publication of Jerzy Ficowski's book was a nervous breakdown. She had already informed the author of her health problems; in the summer of 1952 she was treated for rheumatism and, as she put it, 'a weak heart' (Letter dated 24 June 1952) at a clinic in Busko-Zdrój. Correspondence from Dionizy Wajs to Jerzy Ficowski, written through intermediaries (his son and others) in late 1953 and early 1954, reveals that the poet asked the author to destroy the edition of *Cyganie polscy*. Her immediate concern was that poems signed with her name were included in the volume. Although Papusza sent Ficowski her poems, knowing that some of them might be published, there is no documentary evidence that Ficowski consulted with Papusza on the selection of poems that he published in his monograph. Moreover, following an interview that appeared in 1950, Papusza likely preferred to avoid having her work linked to the state settlement campaign (Tuwim 1950: 662–664). Wajs wrote: 'Dear *Sownakuno* [golden one – E. K.] I will describe how Papusza began to lose her senses after her return from Warsaw. She said unbelievable things, ... she gets very upset and immediately starts crying a lot, and after she cries she gets upset and says why did they put my poems in that book [*Cyganie polscy*] and that very book is the cause of her anxiety' (Bartosz 2012: 199). The poet's health was deteriorating. Papusza was hospitalized in the State Hospital for the Nervously and Mentally Ill in Lubliniec from January 28, 1954 (*Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie*, hospital admission confirmation of January 28, 1954). Another stay in the hospital took place from

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that's how it stayed with me all my life, until today. I am proud of this education, even though I am not taught in schools, just by myself ... [I've lived my life, education gave me a lot and I will remember it all till my death, I will remember what I lived through, I will tell you what I lived through, I was not so little, I was 13 years old, I was thin and agile like a forest squirrel even though I was black, but I was sweet and I was good at fortune-telling and earning money and I was successful, I was able to earn money on my own and I gave money to my parents all my life and even today I still give them some help, I am so good at giving to those who are poorer than me all my life and that I am good for people and I can read so gypsies used to laugh and spit at me]. Because I can read, the gypsies laughed at me and spat at me [because I could read and earn money]. They were very mean to me because I could read ... they said the worst things to me and to spite them I read as much as possible [and did fortune-telling, when I was 14 years old, I enrolled in the library and borrowed what books I could find and I didn't know what was good, and what wasn't and asked my parents to let me go to school]... I asked my parents to let me go to school, but they wouldn't listen to my requests. They said [added by Jerzy Ficowski]: No, you'll be a teacher. So I gave up and just read and read until my eyes hurt.'

17 May to 8 September 1954 (*Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie*, hospital admission confirmation dated 17 May 1954, discharge form 8 September 1954).

Around the same time, at the end of 1953, Jerzy Ficowski applied to the *Wydawnictwo Ossolineum* [Ossolineum Publishing House] for the publication of a collection of poems by Bronisława Wajs that he himself had selected, edited and translated (*Archiwum Wydawnictwa Ossolineum*, file *Pieśni Papuszy*). Because of the poet's prolonged hospitalization, Dionizy Wajs became involved in the publishing process that lasted almost three years. The publishing records suggest that his role was limited to honoring the agreement between the publishing house and Bronisława Wajs at the end of 1954. They do not show that Papusza had any say on the form of the published collection: the selection of poems, their editing or the biographical information in the preface.

When in 1956, the year of the post-Stalinist thaw, the poetic volume *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* [Songs of Papusza] edited and translated by Jerzy Ficowski was published, the propaganda for the assimilation of Gypsies in Poland temporarily eased. Gradually, Jerzy Ficowski and the state authorities appointed to carry out the settlement campaign also parted ways. Compared to the early 1950s, the accents in Ficowski's portrait of Papusza also changed: the poet was still presented as an advocate of 'civilization', including settlement, but her poems were now interpreted as testimony to the demise of traditional Gypsy culture. This pattern, also found in the writings of earlier Gypsy ethnographers such as Heinrich von Wlislöcki (Wlislöcki 1890: 55), placed Bronisława Wajs's poems in a different, unpolitical and more artistic context. As the alleged last documents of the days of wandering, they became a sort of reservoir of memory about the Gypsy model of culture under Ficowski's pen. The collection *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* contained 13 poems in three language versions: the so-called poetic translation, which Ficowski called the 'original version', and the 'literal translation.' Therefore, the book satisfied the readership's needs of both lovers of Gypsy culture and scholars: ethnographers and linguists interested in the Romani language.<sup>11</sup> In light of the correspondence, it seems important to mention that even though Papusza had an excellent command of Polish, Jerzy Ficowski decided that he would be the one to translate her poems. The collection also leaves out all of Papusza's many works written in Polish.

While Papusza was being treated in the hospital in Lubliniec, her husband Dionizy Wajs moved to Gorzów Wielkopolski. Papusza was released from

11 For more on the scale of Ficowski's interventions in the manuscript of the poem and Ficowski's works on Gypsy culture, cf. Kledzik 2023.

the hospital in September 1954, but her correspondence with Jerzy Ficowski ceased. However, the reception of the volume *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* in Poland was very enthusiastic: it was praised by the outstanding Polish avant-garde poet Julian Przyboś (Przyboś 1956: 74–77) and the future Nobel Prize winner for literature, Wisława Szymborska (Szymborska 1956, 73). Soon after her debut, when readers started expecting new poetic works, Papusza remained silent or spoke only occasionally. In 1958, a scandal erupted in Gorzów Wielkopolski's artistic circles when it turned out that a few months earlier the poet had been arrested for stealing a chicken (Kajan 1958a: 3). It was at this time that news broke out about the Wajses' dire financial situation (Kajan 1958b: 6). A modest scholarship, which was granted to the poet thanks to Julian Tuwim's efforts back in 1953, was not enough for them to live on. The local literary community intervened with the city authorities, asking for a new apartment for the Wajses. They also contacted Jerzy Ficowski with a request for help in publishing the poet's older and newer works (Tadeusz Kajan's letter to Jerzy Ficowski dated September 14, 1958). In 1958, Papusza was awarded the *Lubuska Nagroda Kulturalna* [Lubuski Cultural Prize], which also came with a material assistance. In the same year, the 50th jubilee of the author was held in Gorzów Wielkopolski, at which, according to Kajan, 'Papusza could not speak to a large audience. ... She also read only one poem' (Kajan 1960: 16). The aid efforts were successful, because in December 1958 Papusza moved to a new, bigger apartment. Her situation improved slightly after she was accepted to the *Związek Literatów Polskich* [Polish Writers' Union] in 1962. At that time, it became possible for her to receive a pension, which the poet herself or Tadeusz Kajan and Jerzy Ficowski applied for in later years (Machowska 2011: 66–67).

Keeping the promise made to Tadeusz Kajan in the late 1950s, Jerzy Ficowski published Papusza's several new works in the literary press (Papusza 1958). During this period, he also began to work on the next edition of his monograph, *Cyganie na polskich drogach* [Gypsies on Polish roads], with a chapter devoted to Papusza (Ficowski 1965).

Little is known about Papusza's later fate. As the sources that I have referred to as autobiographical are scarce, we must also rely on memoirs. The poet very rarely made public appearances and almost never gave interviews. Until 1981, she lived in Gorzów Wielkopolski. Her husband Dionizy Wajs died in 1972. It is difficult to establish the date when her son Władysław Wajs got married and moved out. She often expressed her longing for him in her memoirs and reportages (Ańska 1975: 29; 32). Elżbieta Dziwisz, in her reportage from 1981 titled *Cale życie Papuszy* [Papusza's Whole Life], painted a picture of the poet abandoned and starving to death in utter solitude during her illness (Dziwisz 1981: 46). A poet from Gorzów Wielkopolski, Zdzisław Morawski, said that

Papusza was also frequently admitted to the local hospital during this period and that this could have been due not only to the aggravation of her illness symptoms, but also to neglect (Morawski 1992: 53). Papusza received various forms of financial support from state institutions: a pension, one-time allowances, and awards. In 1978, she received an award from the *Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki* [Ministry of Culture and Art] ([n.a.], 1978, 12). In 1984, she was decorated with the badge *Zasłużony Działacz Kultury* [Distinguished Activist for Culture] (Machowska 2011: 80).

Meanwhile, Jerzy Ficowski regularly reminded readers of Papusza in Polish literary and cultural periodicals. His image of the poet was marked by hypersensitivity, the fact that the artist was rejected by Roma people who were not willing to appreciate her talent, and the exceptional value of her poetry, which grew out of the spirit of Roma culture. Simultaneously, Ficowski also articulated a kind of *tristes tropiques*<sup>12</sup> for the perishing Gypsy culture in his own work. He wrote the lyrics of a very popular song titled *Jadą wozy kolorowe* [Colourful wagons]. It was first performed at the 8th *Przegląd Piosenki Polskiej w Opolu* [National Festival of Polish Song in Opole] by the Polish pop star Maryla Rodowicz wearing a Gypsy costume. The artist won the *Nagroda Telewizji Polskiej* [Polish Television Award] for her performance and a pass to the 10th *Międzynarodowy Festiwal Piosenki w Sopocie* [Sopot International Song Festival], where she took third place in the international competition. It was one of the biggest hits of the communist era and the beginning of the popularity of Gypsy themes in Polish popular song. Fueled by this success, Jerzy Ficowski published another volume of Papusza's poems *Pieśni mówione* [Spoken songs] in 1973. Another collection of Papusza's verses entitled *Lesie, ojciec mój* [Forest, my father] was published posthumously in 1989.

Papusza died on 17 February 1987 in Inowrocław, where she had been living since 1981 under the care of her sister, Janina. She was buried at the local cemetery in the tomb of the Zieliński family. Both the Gorzów community and Jerzy Ficowski learned about the funeral with a delay.

After Papusza's death in the new social and geopolitical reality of the Polish Republic, a dispute over the right to the poet's legacy began to grow with Jerzy Ficowski and members of the Gorzów's literary community involved. The latter took steps to ensure that the editor and translator of Papusza's poems made her manuscripts available to the public. This was because any reprinting of the texts already published required Jerzy Ficowski's permission, which he was unwilling to grant (Bołtryk 1987: 47). In memoirs about Bronisława Wajs

12 I am referring here to an anthropological metaphor that describes a researcher's nostalgia for a vanishing, primordial culture (Levi Strauss 1956).

published in the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were speculations about the poet's creative impotence, as she did not submit a single poem to the local literary community during the entire time she lived in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Koniusz 1992: 129). Some even claimed that Papusza's legacy was a mystification engineered by Ficowski (Morawski 1992: 52); other Gorzów-based artists who knew Papusza were surprised that her attitude to her own poetry was astoundingly indifferent. They remarked on the fact that the poet consistently referred those interested in her works to Jerzy Ficowski (Bołtryk 1987: 42). Furthermore, a documentary by Greg Kowalski entitled *Historia Cyganki* [A Gypsy Girl Story] was released in 1991. The relatives of Bronisława Wajs who featured in it, including her son, Władysław, accused Jerzy Ficowski of collaborating with the Polish administrative apparatus during the Stalin era, of exploiting the poet's fame for pro-settlement propaganda, and of cynically ignoring her declining health. The film had an international audience (Fonseca 1996: 312), and polarized the community of people who were interested in the life and work of Papusza. Some found it manipulative (Bartosz 2015: 299), while others felt that the arguments it put forth were worth considering (Kamińska 1992: 134).

The international recognition of the Papusza phenomenon began at the same time. This had to do with the publication of two translations of the fourth revised edition of Jerzy Ficowski's monograph *Cyganie w Polsce. Dzieje i obyczaje*. The English translation entitled *Gypsies in Poland. History and Customs* came out in 1989 and almost coincided with the fourth World Romani Congress in Serock near Warsaw. The German translation entitled *Wieviel Trauer und Wege... Zigeuner in Polen* was published by Suhrkamp in 1992. These two volumes still serve as the chief source of knowledge on the life and work of Bronisława Wajs-Papusza outside Poland.

The chapter in the 1989 version of the book in which Ficowski summarized Papusza's life and work is titled 'Folk Literature and the Gypsy Poet Papusza.' Roughly speaking, it is the quintessence of the nostalgic profile of Papusza that Ficowski created and reproduced from the moment he parted ways with the state propaganda apparatus. This sketch is composed of several elements questionable in light of contemporary knowledge of Bronisława Wajs's biography:

Papusza's birth date is not precisely known and the poet herself was not sure of the year of her birth. Years ago she claimed it to be 1909, but in documents [which ones? – E.K.] it is May 30, 1910, and also January 17, 1908. In this generation of Polish Gypsies, literacy is an exception. ... The heyday of her work came around 1950, just after she had given up wandering, at a crucial time for Polish Gypsies, the time of their great drama. Papusza is the spokesperson and participant of this drama, and her song is its only artistic testimony. ... Her brothers did not pay gratitude to the poet's work for the community. As an alleged 'traitor,' she was pilloried by the Gypsy community, who accused her of collaborating

with non-Gypsies. ... From then on, harassed by her own people and sick, she remained silent until the end: she died on February 8, 1987 (Ficowski 1989: 109).

The not valid facts are: the unprecise birth date, the fact of 'giving up wandering' instead of searching a new place to stay, the undefined 'drama' which in light of the archival documents appears to be the private tragedy of Papusza whose poetry got involved in the settlement campaign propaganda. The above passage, which became the most frequently cited excerpt on Papusza in international studies (Fonseca 1996: 312; Bogdal 2011: 535; Eder-Jordan 1999: 35; Zahova 2014, 33–35), was followed by passages from several poems that, as Ficowski argued, 'gave one an idea of the whole' (Ficowski 1989: 110).<sup>13</sup> Edited by Ficowski and translated by Elleen Healey in the English edition and by Karin Wolff in the German version, the poems are in turn the most frequently cited works in international studies of Bronisława Wajs's poetry.

The poem *Krwawe łzy co za Niemców przeszliśmy na Wołyniu w 43 i 44 roku* [Tears of blood: what we suffered under the Germans in Volhynia in 43 and 44] has been re-contextualized in a 1989 version of Jerzy Ficowski's monograph that was prepared for the international market. In earlier versions of Ficowski's book, this poem was published along with other wartime memoirs by members of Papusza's family. Until 1989, the author of *Polish Gypsies* was skeptical about its accuracy. 'No substantial documents have survived about the extermination of the Gypsies in Volhynia, and in order to illustrate its timeline and character, we must turn to the accounts of the Gypsies themselves. Although they are chaotic and fragmentary, they vividly convey the atmosphere of those terrible years,' wrote Ficowski about this work in the collection (*Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* 1956: 153). In *Cyganie na polskich drogach* (1965), he confined himself to remarking that the poem is 'an epic story about the experiences of Gypsies fleeing annihilation during the Nazi occupation' (Ficowski 1965: 279). The affirmative tone of the 1989 monograph differs from these earlier interpretations: '[the poem *Krwawe łzy*] is unquestionably the most outstanding **Gypsy voice** [Ficowski's emphasis], an artist's testimony to the tragedy of a homeless nation – one of a kind' (Ficowski 1989: 115). This shift in the evaluation of the poem, which occurred in the English and German editions, may have influenced the fact that the poem *Krwawe łzy* today enjoys

13 These were parts of *Pieśń cygańska z Papuszy głowy* [Gypsy song from Papusza's head] in an unknown edition, the poem *Lesie, ojciec mój* published together with the poem *Woda, który wędruje* [Water that wanders], parts of the poem *Kolczyk z liścia* [Earring from a leaf], parts of the poem *Krwawe łzy* and the poem *Ziemio moja, jestem córką twoich* [Oh land, I am your daughter].

more acclaim internationally than in Poland. This is, arguably, also due to the concurrence with the emerging theoretical framework of Romani literature at the time, which was believed to be founded on texts thematizing Holocaust remembrance. Klaus-Michael Bogdal argued that this *oeuvre* had to radically break with the stereotype of gypsyism, as well as come to terms with the entire history of Gypsies in order to do justice to the victims and the survivors who wished to pass on their memories (Bogdal 2011: 444). Thus, emancipated Romani literature grew out of autobiographical testimonies of persecution, which gained a communal relevance and became a national literature: 'It presupposes an ethnic, cultural, social, and political unity between groups that are often visibly different from each other, between whom so far there have been few points of contact' (Bogdal 2011: 447). In this context, Papusza's text took on a foundational significance. What might have been a shortcoming for Ficowski still in the 1950s, namely, speaking in one's own voice about historical memory, was, in view of the nascent research on Romani literature, a valuable reversal of the stereotype about the ahistoricity of Gypsies. For this reason, the poem *Krwawe tzy* became both a testimony and an artistic phenomenon.

When it comes to the Polish reception of this work, it was not until 2010 that Magdalena Machowska drew attention to its extraordinary value. She wrote that it is 'a testimony to martyrdom' (Machowska 2011: 250). In her documentary on Papusza, Angelika Kuźniak used passages from the poem in a quasi-autobiographical monologue about the poet's wartime experiences (Kuźniak 2013: 49–64). However, among researchers, Sławomir Kapralski did not mention this poem in his seminal work *Naród z popiołów. Pamięć zagłady a tożsamość Romów* [The Memory of the Holocaust and Roma Identity]; only Andrzej Mirga called this text 'a commemoration of tragedy' and compared it to Karl Stojka's paintings (Mirga 2009: 125).

As new fields of Romani literature studies were emerging in international research, the reception of Papusza's poem outside of Poland was quite different. The impulse for this came from Mariusz Cybulski, who in the first English-language essay on Papusza's poetry, published in 1985 in 'Lacio Drom', included a passage from *Krwawe tzy* and described it as a depiction of 'Gypsy martyrdom during last war' (Cybulski 1985: 22). Later, commentators made similar remarks: Isabel Fonseca wrote the following about Papusza, with reference to the theme of helping a Jewish woman featured in the poem: 'She bore witness. She wrote not just about her own people, and of the vague threat of the gadjikano (non-Gypsy) world; she also wrote of the Jews with whom her people shared forests and fate' (Fonseca 1996: 7). Beate Eder-Jordan began her discussion of the conceptualization of 'Roma poetry' (Eder-Jordan 1999: 35) with the passage from *Krwawe tzy* quoted from Ficowski's monograph.

Klaus-Michel Bogdal described it as Papusza's 'most famous poem' (Bogdal 2011: 473). Karola Fings mentioned *Pieśni mówione* in Karin Wolff's translation, containing an excerpt from *Krwawe tzy*, in a list of biographical and literary testimonies (Fings 2016: 121). Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov compared Papusza's work to Itzhak Katzenelson's *Song of the Murdered Jewish People* (Marushiakova, Popov 2017: 79).

How important this poem was in terms of the worldwide reception of Papusza's work, and how deep the conviction was that Romani testimony should be a song-poem, is evidenced by the paraphrase of *Krwawe tzy* that Colum McCann included in his bestselling novel *Zoli* (2006), loosely based on Papusza's biography. In McCann's version, the piece is titled *The Bones They Broke Let You Predict the Weather: What We Saw Under the Nazis in 1942 and 1943* and is a collage of quotations from the works of Bronisława Wajs, other songs of extermination, known from the publication of Jerzy Ficowski, and an apocryphal song about the extermination written/sung by the novel's protagonist, a Gypsy girl. The outcome is a work full of rhetorical figures that link the reality of wartime persecution with natural spaces, forests, mountains, and rivers that offer advantage over the oppressors and safe havens: 'Auschwitz, Majdanek, Teresin, Lodz / Who gave them such places, O Lord, / Right on the edge of the black forest?' (McCann 2020: 270). This literary apocrypha completed the image of Zoli-Papusza as an artist who, according to the theories of nation-building, determined the existence of a Romani national community. Her work crystallized the collective memory, as a watershed and formative historical event from the perspective of this community.

The major problem with the reception of Bronisława Wajs's writing outside Poland, and to some extent also by Polish-language audiences, is that the role of Jerzy Ficowski in the construction of her poetic biography as well as in the editing and translation of her poetic works is overlooked. The transparency of his edits and translations is sometimes emphasized, e.g.: 'Ficowski then edited and translated them into Polish, without a single interference in the content' (Zahova 2014: 33). One exception is Marcel Courthiade, who, in the afterword to the French translation of Papusza's poems, suggested, with regard to the poems promoting the settlement campaign, that Ficowski or someone close to him might have 'smuggled in lines that Papusza did not write herself' (Courthiade 2010: 91). Most scholars, however, have drawn attention to the remarkable poetic diction in her texts: 'powerful verbal images' (Bogdal 2011: 473) and distinctive stylistic devices (Eder-Jordan 1999: 38).

Moreover, international commentators on Papusza's writing, when quoting her poems, have directly or indirectly (e.g. after Cybulski) cited various studies by Jerzy Ficowski or translations of poetry volumes from Polish language

versions (e.g. Wolff 2011). Although Mariusz Cybulski cited Romani language versions of works from the volume *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila*, he translated Papusza's poems into English on the basis of Polish language versions from *Pieśni mówione*. In the anthology *Die Morgendämmerung der Worte. Moderner Poesie-Atlas der Roma und Sinti* of 2018, the poem *Kolczyk z liścia* [*Ohrring aus Laub*] was translated into German based on the version published by Ficowski in *Cyganie na polskich drogach* (the third edition of the monograph) in 1985. One extreme case in point is Ian Hancock's, Siobhan Dowd's and Rajko Djurić's anthology *The Roads of Roma* (1998), in which an excerpt from the song *Pieśń cygańska z Papuszy głowy ułożona* mixed with an excerpt from *Ziemio moja jestem córką twoją* quoted by Ficowski in the monograph *Gypsies in Poland. History and Customs* was deemed an 'excerpt from untitled verse' (Hancock 1998: 84). Only Marcel Courthiade translated Papusza's works on the basis of Ficowski's edited 'original texts' in Romani in the volume *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila*.

It is difficult to justify why scholars of Romani literature took for granted that the texts they quoted were, in terms of verse, style, composition, and genre, the product of Papusza's poetic craft. This is all the more baffling because Jerzy Ficowski was a well-known poet and the affinity between the poetic language that he used in his own works at various stages of his career and the poetic language from which he constructed Papusza's poems is all too evident. In addition, it is impossible to explain why international scholars of Romani literature have only sporadically consulted the volumes published by Ficowski and have mostly relied on his monograph.

The scale of Jerzy Ficowski's interference in Bronisława Wajs's manuscripts may be fully revealed after an analysis of the collection of Papusza's letters to Jerzy Ficowski, made available in 2020. Between 1950 and 1973, he published a total of 30 works by Papusza under the titles that he changed and with frequently altered contents. It is commonly believed that the 13 poems published in the 1956 collection *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila* were translated verbatim. In the letters made available in 2020 we find the prototypes of 25 out of 30 poems that Jerzy Ficowski published as Papusza's works. There is a great deal of variation in how closely they correspond with what we know as the final version of Papusza's poems. Of the 13 poems published in *Pieśni Papuszy – Papuśakre gila*, three were used in their entirety, including the song *Na stepie zabity* [Killed on the steppe], which turned out to be a Russian folk song that Papusza translated into Romani (Mann 1953: 66). The other ten underwent transformations.

Jerzy Ficowski made various changes to the texts that Papusza sent him and the extent of the modifications varies as well. Based on a comparative

analysis of the manuscripts and the published versions of the works, it is possible to reconstruct his editing and translation practices. Ficowski began editing Papusza's poems by selecting passages, phrases and expressions from the manuscripts, which he then arranged into poems. The amount of text that Ficowski used from manuscripts ranges (based on word count) from 10% to 80% in the remaining ten poems from *Songs of Papusza – Papuśakre gila*. In some instances, especially in the poems from later volumes, such as the well-known *Lesie, ojczyzno moja*, the number of changes is so large that it is difficult to assess the percentage of Papusza's authorship. Ficowski then arranged selected passages into verses and stanzas, structured their composition, added rhymes, modified stylistic figures, and – in most cases – added a title of his own. The findings of textual studies to date leave no doubt that the poems that have been known to date as Wajs's are in fact excerpts from Papusza's manuscripts, fashioned through the vision of Gypsy culture that Ficowski applied to them.

This leads to a fundamental conclusion about the biography of Bronisława Wajs and the reception of the legend of her life and work. Due to the limited number of sources from the poet herself, her lack of participation in literary life, as well as Jerzy Ficowski's key role in the creation and promotion of her work, the figure of Papusza has become a myth. The myth, encompassing both the pivotal moments of her biography and the contextualization of her work, underwent considerable editing in order for it to accommodate changing social, political, and ideological needs. Accordingly, in the 1950s Bronisława Wajs's work could be viewed as an example of propaganda poetry, and her biography – as an example of a Gypsy pioneer, a proponent of the settlement of the Gypsy community. After this demand subsided and the paradigm of Romani culture changed, Papusza's poetry, in a slightly altered context, filled another niche: that of exoticism, otherness, and the Enlightenment story of the noble savage. Her biographical narrative then morphed from propagandistic to nostalgic, and her poetry was seen as a sentimental token of a bygone time of wandering and of stereotypical Gypsyism. This process also strengthened the image of Gypsy culture as ancient and hermetic, orthodox and guarding its customs, which Ficowski called 'secrets'. Such a profile of Papusza clearly stood out from the crowd of Gypsies portrayed in accordance with the stereotype: backward, primitive, and incapable of honoring their sensitive, poetic soul. Finally, at the turn of the millennium, with the expansion of the concept of Romani literature/literatures, the work of Bronisława Wajs served as a nation-forming cornerstone of emancipated Roma artistic creativity, an example of self-generated talent that was appreciated by the non-Roma reading public.

All of these biographical narratives were created in loose connection with Bronisława Wajs's life story and her works commissioned by Jerzy Ficowski.

It is only after the manuscripts of her poems and her correspondence with the author of *Cyganie polscy* have been made public that it will be possible to ascertain the true scale of the modifications in these two areas: the creation of poetry and the biographical legend. This is important for revisiting the concept of the new Romani literature, which, as we have seen, was founded on the vision of Gypsy culture embodied in Ficowski's renditions of Papusza's texts. Further analysis is needed to investigate, for example, the extent to which the fetishized motif of the forest really did constitute the most important background for Papusza's poetry. The same also applies to the 'matching [Übereinstimmung] of Roma and earth' (Eder-Jordan 1999: 38) ascribed to Papusza's writings, which connotes a particular kind of patriotism: national and 'planet-wide.' On the other hand, the available manuscripts finally offer direct contact with the personality, imagination, and vivid language of Bronisława Wajs. When examined in light of the preserved manuscripts, her writing can open up new avenues of analysis and interpretation. Even a cursory glance at Papusza's manuscripts reveals that Romani studies can draw on her works to a much greater extent than previously thought.

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# Decoding the Simplest Things: Papusza's Writings as a Message

*Viktor Shapoval*

Migające wibrują wersety,  
Nie uchwycisz, co się w nich ukrywa ...<sup>1</sup>  
(Julian Tuwim, *Biblia cygańska*, 1933)

## Papusza and the Origins of *Tears of Blood*

The uniqueness of Papusza's work is often taken as an axiom, for example, it can be heard that 'Papusza had a unique personality, and her songs are unique as well' (Szott 2016, 469). Indeed, her work enters literature during the 1950s, when it was impossible to talk about female Roma poets and writers as a visible trend. The Soviet Roma literary project had actually come to an end in 1938, while the future female Czechoslovak Roma writers were still going to school.

Hence, the uniqueness and loneliness of Papusza as a literary figure is undeniable. On the other hand, a differing opinion also circulated among Roma that there were many people similar to Papusza: 'Among Romnis (Roma women) there are many poets like Papusza' (Machowska 2011: 62; Kuzniak 2013: 165). These opposed points of view are not mutually exclusive. If we consider all those involved in oral creativity as poets and poetesses, then this was indeed the situation. Each Roma family, perhaps, can find among its members a person reputed to be a 'generator of texts,' who on this account became part of the collective memory. However, not everyone was able or wanted to write down these texts, let alone have them published. The uniqueness of Papusza's case lies in the fact that the poet had a clear understanding of the importance of presenting the results of her creativity to the reading public in the form of a book. This achievement required on her part quite extraordinary efforts and sacrifices. Furthermore, the feat would not have been possible without the

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1 'Flashing verses vibrate / You cannot grasp what is hidden in them ...'. The quote is taken from the famous Polish poet of Jewish origin Julian Tuwim's 1933 collection titled *The Gypsy Bible*. After World War II, Poland's communist authorities lauded Tuwim. Thanks to his privileged position, the poet enabled Jerzy Ficowski to help Papusza with quotidian issues, but most importantly with the publication of her poetry.

help of state officials, in particular, writers with an established political position in the communist Poland. What is more, they facilitated Papusza's membership in the Union of Polish Writers (*Związek Literatów Polskich*), as only this organization's members were allowed to publish works of literature without too many problems.

To comprehend properly the phenomenon of Papusza's poetry, one has to address simultaneously and in conjunction these three questions, first, how to grasp properly what was written; second, what compelled Papusza to write it; and third, how it should be pronounced correctly. The last point is of much significance in the poet's absence. When Papusza was alive, the author's performance of her poetry was conceived as the final stage of the creative process. At this stage, the poet could smooth out any rough edges and distortions left in writing with the use of another language's spelling system. After all, 'Papusza sings her poems' (Szott 2016: 472).

These three issues are of import when researching the entire corpus of Papusza's poetic and prose writings, both in Romani and in Polish, which together add up to her literary legacy. Yet, with respect to a single text, for example, the epic poem *Ratwate jaswa* (*Tears of Blood*), such an approach is also necessary. Unfortunately, this approach is not easy, because it requires much attention from the reader to the questions of composition, when perusing the poem's Romani original or English translation, both presented in this volume. It would be more comfortable to deal with these issues one by one. However, the need to move constantly from one perspective of analysis to another, from the minutiae of sound transmission to hidden meanings encoded in the overall structure of the poem compel us to consider these three issues as inextricably intertwined aspects of text interpretation.

The difficulty entailed by such constant consideration of these three issues in conjunction explains why Papusza's poetry 'has rarely become a subject of the analysis of literary discourse' (Szott 2016: 470). Although many scholars discussed and analyzed her poems, driven by the fame of the poet's oeuvre. For this reason, leaving aside the analysis of minutiae at the level of form, it is necessary to reflect more holistically on the poet's idea of a given poem as a singular phenomenon.

But even with this caveat, the end result may not be satisfactory.

The opinion that Papusza did not emulate any examples needs to be clarified. Mirosława Szott justifiably corrects Ficowski's statement 'that her poetry does not draw on any other examples with the exception of Roma folk songs' (Szott 2016: 474). However, by limiting research exclusively to the ethnically Roma origins of Papusza's poetry, scholars risk to overlook the influence of

Polish culture on her poems. The attraction of this culture was such that still in her childhood Papusza learned how to read and write in Polish.

In the two-layer model of Roma culture, it is appropriate to single out 'the traditional layer, for instance, occupations, housing, dress, holidays, customs and rituals, oral and musical folklore, etc.' and the recently formed 'contemporary layer, that is, modern forms of artistic creation, such as literature, painting, music, theater, cinema, etc.' (Marushiakova, and Popov 2016: 35). In contrast, the actualization of a particular culture is steeped in an inseparable fusion of phenomena belonging to both layers. In a car, one should not mention *beng* ('devil' in Romani), as well as one did not mention it in the traditional Roma cart (*wóz kryty* in Polish). Likewise, the Roma social decorum requires that when talking to assembled authorities via a video link, one should stand up before addressing them. The same rule applies at any meeting of one's extended family indoors. Roma literature is an important part of the so-called 'contemporary layer' of Roma Culture (Marushiakova and Popov 2016: 35). But Romani linguistic means for creating texts in novel genres remain rooted in traditional types of discourse, developed earlier in the context of traditional culture.

During the formation of a literary (standard) language, initially its use spreads to social spheres and contexts where previously it was not employed. Therefore, what Papusza did with the Romani language should not be considered narrowly as mere object of linguistic analysis, but also in a more encompassing manner, which recognizes this achievement as 'a fact of the history of culture' (Шапир 1993: 120). No text exists outside the reference framework of a certain discursive model.<sup>2</sup> Hence, addressing humanity in literature emulates how one publicly speaks in front of one's family.

Reading literature significantly impacted the formation of Papusza's emotional world, for example, Helena Mniszkówna's (Mniszek) melodramatic bestseller novel *Trędowata* (The Female Leper, 1909). Papusza reminisced: 'We also had time to read. I chose novels, whose plots could help as an example with everyday life. Dyżko [Papusza's husband] and I were crying over one book. Its title was *Trędowata*'<sup>3</sup> (Kuźniak 2013:41). The sad fate of a poor noble girl touched the Roma camp girl's heart and, perhaps, gave rise to some

2 Interestingly, a Roma researcher in the USSR wrote an article, which proved that literary descriptions of a meeting with space aliens tend to be steeped in the folklore model of how meetings with evil spirits are presented. In this aspect, science-fiction literature displays its ancient roots (Санапов 1979).

3 Na czytanie też był czas. Wybierałam książki, ażeby przykład na życie można brać. A nad jedną to razem z Dyżkiem płakaliśmy. *Trędowata*, taki tytuł.

fantasies. Along with fiction, pre-war Polish cinematography could also influence the formation of Papusza's imagination. Although the cinema was then still seen a poor relative of literature. In 1926, skeptical Virginia Woolf asked: 'If the [cinema] ceased to be a parasite, how would it walk erect?' (Woolf 1926: 382). Literature has remained the foundation for filmmaking since the latter's inception. But soon enough, in the reversal of roles, the cinema began impacting literature. The first film adaptation of *Trędowata* (released in the same year 1926 that saw Virginia Woolf's wry remark mentioned above) was silent, while a decade later, in 1936, was already a talking picture. As early as the former film, a special tie-in edition of the novel was published (Mniszek 1926).

Perhaps Mr and Mrs Wajs (Dyżko and Papusza) read this cheap mass publication. Books and films provided Papusza with models of noble behavior for emulation, including posture, gestures, facial expressions and intonation, which distinguished the poet until her old age. She remained so 'pre-war' in her demeanor. In this context, the relevant section from her diary on Papusza's own sufferings follows the cinematic model, including the poet's trip to the city of Grodno (today, Horadnia in Belarus) to find oblivion. It reminds a film-like *mise-en-scène*: the unfortunate 'gypsy' is crying, sitting alone on a bench on the banks of the Neman River, and passers-by cast her sympathetic glances (*Pamiętnik*: 12–13).

And a few words about the importance of the third question, namely, the performance of a poetic work on the stage. For Papusza, given the inherently imperfect shape of her writings, performance is of critical importance. Only then she can check upon and correct the realization of her artistic concept. So, in the documentary film about Papusza (1974), she reacts with the interjection '*Czekaj Pan!*'<sup>4</sup> (Cygańska 1978: 18:55) to Ficowski's attempt to break into her monologue about the Gypsy idea of happiness with some clarification at the very moment when she is approaching the rhetorical acme of the final passage. From his point of view, it was an acceptable intervention as part and parcel of the ongoing intellectual dialogue with Papusza. In contrast, from the poet's perspective, Ficowski thus could 'ruin the song' when the film was being shot.

When talking about texts that emerge at the intersection of cultural conventions, even different conceptual universes, one has to keep in mind that the meaningful value of communication is often inversely proportional to the ease of communication. Unlike small talk, which often is formulaic and part of the formal etiquette, messages that overcome intercultural barriers do not always correspond to the typical formats adopted in one of the interacting cultures. A high level of emotions is often communicated through the violation of the

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4 'Wait a moment, Mister!' in Polish.

rules of grammar, etiquette, or style. For instance, often a paradoxical narrative arises when a non-English-speaking victim's traumatic war experience is translated into this language (Kelman 2009). The imperfect form of the dramatic message may even discredit the seriousness of its content. However, it does not negate the emotional meaning of the event itself, as well as the sincerity and seriousness of the author's intentions. The latter believes that the social value of this message amply excuses its imperfect form.

Briefly, the higher the barriers to communication are, the more the message costs. Bridging the gap between the meaning communicated by the Other and the limited possibilities of interpretation the addressee possesses and is prepared to apply, the Other can use any means in unusual contexts in order to achieve at least some understanding on the addressee's part.

Creating texts in a foreign, not always fully mastered language, can be evaluated in different ways. Thus, Kelman writes about the content value of evidence rendered in imperfect (non-native) English. In contrast, R.M. Rilke's Russian-language poetry was assessed highly in terms of lyrical imagery and linguistic originality. Papusza also tried her hand at writing in Polish (*Pamiętnik* 'Diary'). The use of the Polish majority's language and literary patterns Papusza acquired through her indiscriminate reading of sentimental mass publications, leading to a predictable initial stage of imitation. It is characterized by a combination of idiosyncratic and normative uses, including regional (dialectal) features and phonetic spelling. The poet commented in Polish 'Czytać ómę dobrę Alie Pisać szkaradnie'<sup>5</sup> ('I can read well, but my way of writing is ugly') (*Pamiętnik*: 2). Papusza found writing difficult.

Obviously, for the Other to resort to an unusual mode of communication is a challenge. But for the recipient, the acceptance and recognition of the relevant details of this message is not a trivial task, either.

Authors from the lower strata of society, be it Captain Lebiadkin (from Fyodor Dostoyevsky's novel *Demons*) to present-day bloggers, produce works whose artistic and meaningful assessment cannot be based on the literary standards of their time. Such texts transcend or even hack these standards, even if their authors pledge allegiance to them. This is also the case of Papusza's voluminous literary *Diary* (*Pamiętnik*), written and re-written several times in Polish prior to the composing of *Tears of Blood* in 1949 (Machowska 2011: 121). Only on one page does the Polish text (in an idiosyncratic spelling) is interspersed with Romani in 13 lines (*Pamiętnik*: 196). The poet took a firm decision, so to speak, to play on a foreign pitch, by writing in Polish. The publication of Papusza's *Diary* is not even planned yet. Even choosing a compromise spelling

5 In standard Polish spelling: *Czytać umie dobrze, ale piszę szkaradnie.*

may not be an easy task. Although a good solution could be to keep the original in Papusza's own idiosyncratic spelling side by side with the text in standard Polish orthography.

The bilingualism of Roma ethnic groups (*in plural*) is a complex phenomenon. It also manifested itself in the use of various (language) forms of the poet's official name Bronisława Wajs. It is worth reflecting on the well-known phenomenon of official (language) and community (Romani) names of Roma. The Roma(ni) name, usually intended for use in one's own family and community, rarely coincides with the official one. In the case of Papusza, we have a rare example of revealing the Roma name to the outside world. Such a step, from the Roma perspective is considered unsafe in a practical and symbolic sense.

In Romani *papusza* (or nowadays *papuša* in popular Romani spelling) means 'doll.' How the poet received and used her Roma name appears similar to the story of the stage name of the popular Soviet actress of Roma extraction Lyalya Chyornaya (Nadezhda Sergeevna Khmeleva, 1909–1982). They say that when the actress was born, one of the guests called the pretty baby a *lialechka* 'dolly' in Ukrainian or Belarusian. The description stuck to her as the future actress's Roma name, and as such became also entrenched in the outside world of *gadže* (non-Roma). Thus, the Polish equivalent of the Roma name *Papusza* is *Lalunia* or *Laleczka* (that is, diminutive forms of *lala* or *lalka* 'doll'). 'Oh! Mama called me *Lalunia* in Romani'<sup>6</sup> (Machowska 2011: 95). The usage is not exclusively of Roma character and is widespread among Polish-speakers, too, for example, 'the youngest sibling Anna, due to her beauty and height was called *Lalka*'<sup>7</sup> (Sznajderman [2019]: 226).

Not each bilingual author in her creative work decides to switch from the majoritarian language with all kinds of registers fully developed to her native language that was not previously employed in such contexts. This requires a serious reconfiguration of attitudes and a switch in the already mastered patterns of language use. Also, a thoroughly different situation arises in the perception and evaluation of creativity in a self-taught author's native language, which is also a minority language. This is always a cultural breakthrough, even if the achievement is limited to mastering trivial topics or meeting propaganda goals. Indubitably, such an experiment expands the horizons of a minority language that previously was limited to everyday communication.

In the case under consideration, Papusza simultaneously draws on two traditions, the Roma oral folklore system and its genres and their Polish

6 *O! Mama nazwała mnie Lalunia po cygańsku.*

7 *najmłodsza z rodzeństwa Anna, z racji urody i wzrostu znana jako Lalka.*

counterparts. In the former case, it was stories about life experiences and lyrical texts about fate. On the other hand, the Polish models included poems and ballads, but also sermons and prayers. Often, to create a radically novel kind of a text in a minority language, its author must feel a strong internal conviction or compulsion. After all, an audience of readers who would enjoy and appreciate such a text has not coalesced yet. Only in the future, such a reading audience may arise, who would enjoy and appreciate texts in their native (minority) language. Subsequently, writers would create more texts for a growing number of readers, leading to an accumulation of genres and publications. In turn, the process may produce an entire literature in a minority language. But prior to this moment, a minority language author, like Papusza, needs to work in a cultural vacuum.

In the case of Papusza, we have no answers on the goals of her creativity, or why she wanted to enter the circle of a written culture. More than once she denies the sarcastic suggestion of other Roma women that she wants to become a teacher: 'no Będiesz Poni naóczyielku'<sup>8</sup> (*Pamiętnik*: 3). However, Papusza never reflects on her own literacy goals. Apparently, it was not clear to Papusza, either, what she intended to attain. Literacy is a basis of polite society. It is *grzeczność* ('politeness' in Polish) that Papusza and a Polish girl Irusia are hotly discussing (*Pamiętnik*: 194–196). Politeness and respect for one another is something that Papusza sorely missed at home. Acquaintance with another more comfortable and delicate world began with literacy in its language. In Papusza's case it was Polish language and culture, to which the popular primer *Elementarz* (Falski 1910) or any other of that time opened the way.

What is striking in Papusza's stance is her confidence that she has the right to be different from anyone else. Admirably and with steeled determination, she humbly endured the hostility of her family and other Roma, when confronted with her desire for *gadjo* (non-Roma, formal) knowledge. The image is biblical in its origin, reminiscent of an unrecognized prophet persecuted by his own people. 'Co chcieli to mówili namnie'<sup>9</sup> (*Pamiętnik*: 3), 'dóžo omnie mówiono'<sup>10</sup> (*Pamiętnik*: 4, 6), 'się śmieli z mnie ... Plóli namnie'<sup>11</sup> (*Pamiętnik*: 5). Apparent indifference and lack of reaction to humiliation appears to reproduce the (Polish) nobility's pattern of reserved and courteous behavior.

8 In standard Polish spelling: *No, będziesz Panią nauczycielką* ('Well, you will become a Miss Teacher').

9 In standard Polish spelling: *Co chcieli to mówili na mnie* ('They said all kinds of bad things about me').

10 In standard Polish spelling: *dużo o mnie mówiono* ('I became a subject of gossip').

11 In standard Polish spelling: *się śmieli ze mnie ... Pluli na mnie* ('They were laughing at me ... They were spitting on me').

Papusza learned about it and its role in polite society from the popular novels she read. Yet, the attention paid to these situations in the diary shows that she was still hurt, after so many years.

In the context of any majoritarian culture in Europe, a reading Roma girl who joined a library at the age of 14: 'josh mam Pełnych 14 lat lat życia zapisałam się do Biblioteki'<sup>12</sup> (*Pamiętnik*: 3) is an oxymoron. The mirror opposite of Papusza transitioning from non-literate to literate culture is young Julian Tuwim's quest for pre-literate joy, as encapsulated in his ecstatic self-presentation as a dancing Socrates, which is also the title of his poem 'Sokrates tańczący' (Tuwim 1920).

Originality and insightful content that, as if by chance, shed light on the experience of the Other, thanks to the structures of a majoritarian culture is not always guaranteed. It is a high-risk area. Like Papusza, Mikhail Bezlyudsky (1901–1977) experienced this dilemma first hand. He was a Roma boy from the region of Ryazan. In 1928, in a Moscow prison, the future writer learned about literature and creative writing by attending courses led by Russophone poets (Marushiakova and Popov 2022: 456). Afterward, similarly to Papusza, he enjoyed reading Russian-language pulp-fiction indiscriminately (Marushiakova and Popov 2022: 451). Meanwhile, Bezlyudsky began to write poetry first, and then prose in the Romani language. Unfortunately, after the end of the Soviet policy of nativization (*korenizatsiia*) in the mid-1930s, he was unable to write and publish in Romani any longer. Romani was excluded from among the narrowing group of Soviet languages in which literary and book production was supported by the state.

The epic poem *Ratwałe jaswa* (*Tears of Blood*) was written, above all, to soften evil hearts. This lofty goal is declared at the beginning and at the end of the poem, constituting its overarching framework. *Te skowlot łęgro / dzi* 'so that their soul will soften' (*Ratwałe* 23–24<sup>13</sup>); *sare swetytka dzija. te / skowlakireł* 'I would like you to soften / all the world's souls' (*Ratwałe* 1018–1019). It is worth noting that these fragments were dropped from the abridged publication prepared by Jerzy Ficowski. He did not appreciate this message, although it was also addressed to him. It was not for nothing that the Roma kept repeating: 'It is justified what we say about Ficowski: A Golden head, but a Cold Heart'<sup>14</sup> (Machowska 2011: 60). Obviously, the political and cultural context of communist Poland still in the grip of stalinism was not conducive to the publication of

12 In standard Polish spelling: *już mam pełnych 14 lat życia, zapisałam się do biblioteki* ('I turned 14, so I enrolled with a lending library').

13 When citing from *Ratwałe jaswa*, or the Romani original of the poem, verse numbers are given, *not* pages.

14 In Polish: *Mówimy o Ficowskim sprawiedliwie: Złota Głowa i Zimne Serce*.

the entire poem. Had Ficowski disregarded censors' suggestions, it would have never come off the press and probably would have been lost.

Apart from the overarching appeal for softening hearts, the poem is permeated by the eponymous metaphor of *ratwałe jaswa* (tears of blood). The rhetorical figure is repeated eight times in the text: *Ratwałe jaswa* (*Ratwałe* 2), *jaswin / Ratwali* (12–13), *dzi roweł ratwałe / jaswęncą* (20–21), *jaswa {r} ratwałe* (137), *jaswa ratwałe* (294), *rowen ratwałe jaswęncą* (516), *syr ratwałe / perenys jaswa* (712–713), *ratwałe jaswa* (868).

The poem's title and main rhetorical figure of 'tears of blood' is an allusion to popular Catholic prayers in Polish, for instance, 'Koronka do krwawych łez Najświętszej Maryi Panny' (Chaplet for the Bloody Tears of the Blessed Virgin Mary) or 'Różaniec do Łez Maryi' (The Rosary of Our Lady of Tears). The image's origin is biblical, for example, see: 'he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was like *drops of blood* falling to the ground' (Luke 22:44). The figure is of such pivotal importance for the poem's plotline that the adjective *ratwało* 'bloody' is used in the text exclusively in relation to tears (of sorrow). Repetitions of the appeal to God *na de, Devla!* (*Ratwałe* 101, 161) ('Do not permit, God!') and reminders of the selected genre *gili, gili tugani* (*Ratwałe* 15, 38) ('the song of sorrow') show the poem's direct parallels with the aforementioned prayers.

The poem's genre and rhetorical framework reflect the fate of its author, who can be justifiably seen as a poetess-cum-prophetess. Initially, the Roma rejected Papusza. Then the Roma perception of her as a fellow Roma person evolved from traitor to heroine (Krzyżanowski 2016: 67–81).

### My Story of Acquaintance with the Poem

I decided to add a little about my own personal experience with the poem *Ratwałe jaswa* (*Tears of Blood*), since it sheds light on my attitude toward the text. I first came across an abridged version of the poem in the volume *Cyganie na polskich drogach* ('Gypsies on the Polish Roads') (Ficowski 1965). Probably, it was in 1986 I had a rare occasion to borrow this book for a brief period. During the time, I rewrote for my own use all Papusza's texts found in this edition. The Romani dialect of the Lowland Roma of Poland is quite close to the North Russian dialect of this language. Romani linguist Matras says that 'their [Polska Roma] dialect is closely related to that of the xaladitka roma or "North Russian Roma"' (Matras 1999: 4). The dialect of the Polska Roma ('Polish Gypsies') constitutes part of the Northeastern macrodialect of Romani, spoken from Poland in the west to Vladivostok in the east (Tcherenkov and Laederich 2004, Vol 1: 370, 376). Unbelievably, in the mid-1920s, the same dialect was selected as a

basis for the Soviet project of the Romani literary language in the period of nativization (*korenizatsiia*) (Demeter and Chernykh 2018: 168). Thus, despite some differences observed between these closely related dialects of Romani, potential readers of Papusza's poetry live in numerous countries outside Poland.

My first encounter with Papusza's texts impressed me immensely. But at that time, I had no idea how much richer the original manuscripts were. I had a chance to learn about much later. In August 2021, I received a letter from Volha and Tomasz with an offer to transcribe and translate the Romani manuscript of *Tears of Blood* in Papusza's own hand. Subjectively speaking, it seems to me that this year lasted much longer than it actually did, since work on the manuscript completely absorbed me. Thanks to the covid restrictions and lockdowns, I had time and space to devote my full attention to *Tears of Blood*. And I did not let it go until the last letter was identified and transcribed. I discussed some Romani manuscripts of Papusza's poems with Emilia Kledzik, which allowed me to gauge the scale and achievement of Papusza's oeuvre as a poetic whole.

The full text of the poem turned out to be four times longer than the selection published in 1956. For some time now researchers have postulated the need to refer to Papusza's unabbreviated and unedited texts of her poems. 'Only Ficowski's translations available for analysis, it is difficult to determine to what extent the translations of [Papusza's] poetry differ from the Romani originals' (Szott 2016: 471).

This cavalier approach to publishing Papusza's writings was characteristic of Jerzy Ficowski, who followed the changing attitudes of communist Poland's censorship (cf. Koper 2016: 170–181). The same is true of the publication of his Polish-language field notes of living with Papusza's Polska Roma family group. The most altered and abridged version of these notes came off the press in 1953. According to Ryszard Krzyżanowski, in its published form only a quarter of the original account was preserved, mainly the parts concerning the persecution of the Roma by Nazis and Banderites (Kledzik 2020: 184). Particularly, Ficowski left out all the neutral and positive details of everyday Roma life. In an orientaling fashion, he concentrated on Roma holidays and family celebrations. This was a politically acceptable image of Roma as ethnically non-Polish war victims and survivors. Furthermore, Ficowski cast aside almost all Papusza's philosophy of peace and harmony with the universe, alongside her reflections on the sources of human brutality in war and day-to-day relations.

In the abridged version of *Tears of Blood*, Ficowski, as its translator and editor, strove to foreground the suffering. In comparison with the full text, his version is not only much shorter, but also strangely monochromatic. Perhaps, his

command of Romani was probably insufficient for Ficowski to grasp all the nuances. In the Romani original, Papusza is an epic character, a Roma Homer. On the other hand, in Ficowski's version she is molded into a socialist realist writer, who goes straight to describing a prescribed topic, like a diligent schoolboy.

The role of Ficowski as a researcher, translator and editor of Papusza's oeuvre has not been fully assessed yet. Emilia Kledzik broached the subject by proposing that 'the subject, whenever he decides to reveal himself, becomes a modernist ethnographer, using the language of discursive domination and orientaling clichés' (Kledzik 2019: 157). Such a 'subject' might misinterpret lengthy repetitions in Papusza's texts and other oral poetic devices as a sign of insufficient literary skill. But Papusza was guided in her choices by the strictures of oral performance of poetry as songs. In addition, she followed the tradition of the Roma rhetoric, according to which it is necessary to make the performance comprehensible to the Roma audience. Above all, this approach entails the repetition of the most important events and statements.

Ficowski was open about the fact that he published fragments of *Tears of Blood*. 'It is a selection of fragments of from a longer story in verse about the experiences of Gypsies [Roma] in the years of the greatest intensification of their extermination [by Germans] during the Second World War' (Ficowski 1956: 153). Ficowski's choices were dictated by politics of his times and the inability of the mass European reading audience to comprehend oral Roma narratives, especially about the experience of the Roma Genocide. Political considerations are quite obvious. For example, Ficowski left out the entry barrier painted in red and white stripes, or the Polish national colors, to the camp site of a detachment of the *Armia Krajowa* (Home Army), which was anticommunist and opposed the Soviet control of Poland (*Ratwate* 816 and 818). Likewise, Romani-language monologues on serious and tragic topics are longer than their translated versions, which were shortened to suit the expectations and tastes of Polish and European readers.

In oral literary production and performance different rhetorical devices are employed than in writing or on the printed page in a book. The importance of words uttered by a senior member of a Roma community is signalled by the special Romani verb *phukavel* 'to narrate' or 'to bear witness.' A witness account of this type fulfils two main functions. First of all, it teaches the community, and especially its younger members, about life's tribulations, including advice on how to stay away from harm's way among the *gadziós* (non-Roma). Second, such stories confirm the correctness of the Roma way of life.

Ficowski had to conform to the limits of the printed page, which is not conducive to preserving the fullness of oral performance. But he was able to

preserve and convey the main aspects of what Roma had suffered during the war, caught between various parties fighting against one another. In general, it can be said that the abbreviated version of *Tears of Blood* serves ‘the purpose of raising awareness about the Roma among the majoritarian (non-Roma) population’ (Berkyová 2017: 51). This role is confirmed by the translations of this poem into many languages of the world. Yet, the unabbreviated Romani original is considerably richer in content and literary devices.

The epic component of the original was thoroughly removed from the abbreviated version. What may at first glance seem like verbosity entailed by the poet’s ineptness, in reality is ritualized remembrance of the past and the dead. This is also a lament, so typical for oral culture, for the victims of war and the genocide. In this context, monologue is a manner of expressing grief and compassion.

The description of the death of Papisza’s friend, with whom they both led the Russian troops (*Ratwale* 598–609) is a good example. The redundancy of the narrative is an indicator of the author’s emotional solidarity and involvement in the events described. The composition of the poem as an oral object forced onto paper shows the dominance of the former over the latter. The original, recorded in a slim copybook, ends exactly at the last line available on the copybook’s last page. The closing message is appropriately uplifting not to leave the (notional) listeners downtrodden. Perhaps, symbolically even the poet’s official (*gadjo*) name is split between the two last lines for the sake of an optimistic future and closing the poem. As with each note and melody turn in a song performed live, in the manuscript’s copybook Papisza strives to fill in each page to the last line.

Not always did Ficowski properly comprehend, transcribe, and translate lines from the manuscript of Papisza’s *Tears of Blood*. Romani adverbs with the ending *-kiro* (for instance, *bikhameskro* ‘without sun’) were not correctly identified and transcribed (*Ratwale* 15–16, 38–39). It is typical for Ficowski to mix the noun *rat* ‘night’ and the adverb *raty* ‘at night’ (*Ratwale* 50–51, 191, 472). He translated the verses {?} *Gijam dór dór* {?} *swętenca* (*Ratwale* 57–58) as ‘\*during the holidays / Christmas,’ though what the poet intended was ‘(s)he went to the (broad) world.’ Papisza’s substitution of the letter [e] for [ɛ] caused this misunderstanding.

Ficowski not only transcribed and translated Papisza’s manuscript, but also heavily edited it. Traces of his labors can be identified by comparing the manuscript with the published abbreviated version of *Tears of Blood*. We confine ourselves to two examples. First, Ficowski changed the manuscript’s *isy* ‘is’ to *kamen* ‘they want to’ or ‘they are going to’ in a syntactic construction that conveys obligation or inevitability (*Ratwale* 50–51). Secondly, he replaced the borrowed Slavic adjective in the description of the night to a ‘more appropriate’ one

of Indic origin. Papusza wrote *och. odo {ciomno} [kali] raciory!* (*Ratwale* 536), while Ficowski transcribed this line as follows: *Och, do kali raćori!*

This approach to editing is a form of purism. However, the collocation *ciomno raciory* 'the dark night' is attested widely in Romani folklore texts. Their producers do not tend to mechanically increase the proportion of Romani lexical elements. Such purism has no esthetic value in folklore. On the contrary, fluency in two or more languages allows Roma performers to engage in complex word games and translanguing puns.

At times, Ficowski excluded from publication fragments acceptable for communist censorship, because he misunderstood a word or expression.

Ficowski did not include in the abbreviated version, these fragments where the verb applied exclusively to the Germans, meaning 'to retreat'. Let us have a look at the examples:

*A\_dzia kaj saso mós[i]ndzia te wychytoł* 'So, where should the German escape?' (*Ratwale* 72).

*po|kóty sa Chylton* 'they keep gradually receding (stopping?)' (*Ratwale* 234–235).

*czy | sasio doredyr chyltyja<?>* 'does the German retreat further?' (*Ratwale* 354–355).

*sasy chylcien* 'the Germans are retreating' (*Ratwale* 639).

The four sentences give three forms of the same verb with the hesitation in the notation and pronunciation of the final consonant of in the root, namely /t/, /t'/ or /tɕ/, which is written as

[wy-chy|l|toł], [chyltoł] and [*\*chylcioł*] '(s)he retreats;'

[chylton], [*\*chylcion*], [chylcen] and [*\*chylcien*] 'they retreat;'

[chy(\*l)tyja] and [*\*chylcyja*] '(s)he retreated'.

The first person singular form of this verb could possibly be [*\*chylciowaw*].

Probably, Papusza quoted an expression either from some *gadjo* slang or another Romani dialect, which would explain the variability of spelling.

It is unclear why Ficowski avoided consulting obscure words with Papusza. A telling example of how Ficowski dealt with words he failed to comprehend is connected with the name of the walking stick. The word *pcherybnagry* (female grammatical gender) appears four times in the manuscript. It stems from *pherav* 'I walk,' and developed through the following forms: *pherybena* 'walks' (pl.), and *pherybna|n|giron* 'something or someone related to walks'. All of these fragments were omitted from the abbreviated version.

*Pał jamęder sasy klistes i Aménca pcherybnagry, na {d}\_maras* 'The Germans after us on horseback, chasing us, we <only with a hiking staff> won't escape' (*Ratwale* 62–64). In the manuscript, this place is marked with the symbol [/], which indicates the end of a fragment omitted from the abbreviated publication.

*jek i palestyr bót gadzio desz dzine pcherybnagrja pre pchikie. bolbowcy zamarde* 'he was alone, many non-Roma [chased] him, ten people with sticks on their shoulders. The Bulbovites killed them' (*Ratwate* 408).

*pcherybnagrja lidzianys tykne rakla* 'little girls <local Ukrainian girls> were carrying these sticks' (*Ratwate* 585).

*A\_dre foryco zatradyjam gadzi czechi tsinde roma sawe) tylko mamósza pcherybnagraja A\_dre wasta i partyzantka dre wesza* 'we entered the little town, namely, Poles, Czechs, Jews, Roma, what different kinds of people <you could meet in this townlet>, walking stick in hands, while the guerrilla detachment [remained] in the woods' (*Ratwate* 946).

Usually, it is easy to reconstruct the reasons for the deletion of certain fragments from the abbreviated version of *Tears of Blood*. For example, at the poem's end, there is this passage, which praises the positive aspects of free life in the forest. It had to be cut:

*Roma life is  
easy, like in the forest a bird is happy  
when it spends the night with the Roma.  
One bird crosses the road to another who is the Rom. One sings  
a song to another the Rom hears. One sees the other.  
How do a bird and the black Rom  
live in the forest? It is good  
for the rich Roma to live in this world,  
but we, slightly poor,  
sit in our houses* (*Ratwate* 1073–1082).

As clearly visible, Ficowski wanted to emphasize the negative aspects of nomadic life. For this reason, the optimistic vision of unity with nature and the likening of the Roma to birds of the forest were considered inappropriate. They had to be deleted. The poet's vacillation in her assessments of the new sedentary way of life was not allowed to reach readers' eyes.

Another obvious reason for deleting some lines was communist Poland's official atheism. The word 'God' was removed wherever possible. It occurs 37 times in the manuscript, but only only 12 references of this kind made it to the abbreviated version.

In general, the feeling that permeates the entire text is the state of shock. The narrative depicts wartime suffering, everyday life, nostalgia for the waning nomadic way of life. Yet, Papisza concluded the poem with a cautious hope for a wonderful peaceful future under the novel conditions of sedentary life in communist Poland. Often, her poetry is seen as veiled propaganda for sedentarization, but the poet was quite satisfied with the results of 'the beginning of the action for sedentarizing Roma in communist Poland, which was to make

them “more productive” (Kledzik 2019: 166) from the perspective of the country’s centrally planned economy.

The first impression from the point of view of language use is overwhelming. It was sufficient to grasp Ficowski’s way of reflecting Romani phonemes in order to read out the poem as it should sound in Romani. However, the manuscript of *Tears of Blood* in Papusza’s own hand opens a path to a deepened understanding of this masterpiece and its further dimensions that are absent in Ficowski’s abbreviated version. It is not alone the fact that at least 75% of the Romani original were left out. What really strikes is the frankness with which Papusza described military life and emotions of the poem’s protagonists.

However, on the way to read and transcribe the manuscript, a prominent obstacle is encountered. First of all, it was Papusza’s own idiosyncratic hand, typical for autodidacts with no formal training in calligraphy. I immediately recollected the peculiar hand of Roma poet Evdokiia Orlova from Moscow. It felt that this singer and dancer embarked on drawing each letter like on a difficult quest. Similarly, Papusza showed diligence and labor with which the poet wrote her texts, letter by letter. The reader must bear in mind the process and its ramifications. Polish spelling re-employed for conveying Romani’s phonemes constitutes the initial barrier. Another barrier is posed by Papusza’s regular omissions of letters in certain phonemic contexts, alongside typical and ad hoc ligatures, so typical of the Polish written school hand.

While boundaries between words are easy to establish, separating sentences posed a problem. It was especially difficult to discern boundaries between different speakers’ words in the dialogues, which also happens in traditional Roma songs. However, reward was rich for the hard work. The suddenly revealed Romani manner of leading conversations with peasants, Soviet guerrillas, Bulbovites or AK (Polish Homeland Army) soldiers turned out to be amazingly accurate.

### The Manuscript

Unsurprisingly, the handwritten manuscript of *Tears of Blood* is executed in a specific Romani spelling. After all, any of the projects for the consensual Romani orthography has only met with limited acceptance, e.g. the alphabet which was coined in the 1990s. Papusza used her son Władysław’s (Tarzanek) school copybook, ironically earmarked for lessons of the Polish language. The poem’s text exceeded the slim copybook’s 16 sheets. So, the poet had to resort to inserting additional sheets of paper. Probably, it was Ficowski or an archivist, who paginated all the manuscript’s pages in pencil, from *folio 1 recto* and

1 *verto* (corresponding to page 1 and page 2) to *folio 27 recto* and 27 *verto* (corresponding to page 53 and page 54).

The 12 inserted sheets, perhaps torn out from another copybook, Papisza paginated in her own hand. In the completed manuscript, this pagination commences with number 2 on page 29 (NB: 'F. 15r' means *folio 15 recto*, while 'F. 19v' means *folio 19 verso*):

- 575 2. (P. 29 <F. 15r>).  
 620 3. (P. 31 <F. 16r>).  
 664 4.) (P. 33 <F. 17r>).  
 707 (5.) (P. 35 <F. 18r>).  
 789 (6) (P. 37 <F. 19v>), at the bottom, circled.  
 792 (7) (P. 39 <F. 20r>), at the beginning of the first line, circled.  
 817 (8) (P. 41 <F. 21r>), circled.  
 857 (9) (P. 43 <F. 22r>), circled.  
 896 (10) (P. 45 <F. 23r>), circled.  
 916 (11.) (P. 47 <F. 24r>), circled.  
 959 (12) (P. 49 <F. 25r>), circled.  
 1002 (13.) (P. 51 <F. 26r>), circled.

The rearrangement of words in a number of cases testifies to copying from an earlier draft. For instance,

*dzijepen* \ \ *szukar* – in the manuscript, while in Ficowski's published abbreviated version: *šukar džiiipen* (*Ratwałe* 114);

*Bary* \ \ *tu sam* (*Ratwałe* 118) – in the manuscript, while in the abbreviated version: *tu san bary* 'thou art great (fem.)' (pronounced /sam\_ba.'ri/). This example suggests that the original word order read *tu sa/m/ bary.*, compare with the two following instances: *moginem men te chtylet* 'they can catch us' (*Ratwałe* 67), where *moginem + m ... < moginen + m ...*; <sup>467</sup> *merem bokchatyr 2 dój ćhawore* '2 children are starving' (*Ratwałe* 468), where *merem + b ... < meren + b. ...* Perhaps, Papisza rearranged the order of these words in the final draft by mistake, while the corresponding editorial markings only correct these errors.

Insertions in blue ink are a later markup, probably in Ficowski's hand. Likewise, it was probably him who also edited the manuscript in black ink and pencil, as far as can be deduced from the scanned copy of the manuscript.

The communication of evidence of public importance to Roma communities, even today on the internet, necessitates the replication of traditional rhetorical figures required by the situation, for instance, expressions of respect to listeners or spectators: *Te javen saste i baxtale sare Roma, terne i phure. Mangav tumen te skenden tumen p ada lajfo* 'May all Roma, old and young, be healthy and happy. Please join this running brook' (Шаповал 2022: 311). The goal is

to stress that the truth is going to be imparted. For instance, the collocation *ćaci vorba* 'true speech' is a designation for signalling that a told or sung version of an event or thought should be considered 'true' (that is, believable) (Kovalcsik 1993: 20, note 8). This commitment to telling the truth is repeatedly emphasized both in *Tears of Blood* and Papusza's other poems. The poet once commented: "A Pan może sobie jak chce. pisać aja kłamac niemożę Bo niema sęsa"<sup>15</sup> (Papusza in Machowska 2011: 128, 130).

A public statement made by a member of a traditional Roma group cannot be banal. It is always devoted to some extraordinary deviations from the usual order of things. The decision to deliver such statement entails a high degree of responsibility and is bound to evoke a similarly high level of emotions both in the speaker and among the listeners. For example, it is exactly this aspect that poet Osip Mandelstam comments on in reference to Dante's verse *Così gridai con la faccia levata* (*Inferno* 16: 76) ('Thus cried I with my face uprais'd' [*Alighieri Hell* 16: 76]). According to Mandelstam, these words signal Dante's ecstatic state, when he is addressing all the world. Appropriately, this message is multi-layered in semantic and emotional terms (Мандельштам 2004: 3). The same methods of expression for the same ends are attested in Papusza's rhetorical manner, which can be described as 'astronomical, like a concert, deeply public, and similar to a preaching dictionary' (Мандельштам 2004: 4).

The way in which such a public statement of the truth is performed, Papusza strives to reflect in writing. As the song or speech fills in the space of a room to the fullest, the poet aims at achieving a maximum text density, so that no blank spaces are left. In the process, the final letters in a line are squeezed tight, at times requiring that the line's end is bent downwards to accommodate the last word.

Papusza avoided splitting words between lines, or pages, because when sung each word constitutes a whole in its own right. But if a word did not fit in the line, then only one letter could eventually be transferred to the next line. When after filling the entire page with text it was necessary to split a word, Papusza did not use a hyphen, but rather underlined the penultimate letter of the split word on one page and the word's last letter on the next page. In some places such underlining is missing but is never used for any other purpose.

Papusza never wrote more than one word in the last lines at the bottom of the page. Apparently, from the purely technical point of view, it was difficult to fill in the entirety of this line. First of all, the writing hand did not have

15 In standard Polish spelling: *A Pan może sobie jak chce pisać, a ja kłamać nie mogę, bo [to] nie ma sensu* ('You, Sir, may write as you want. I can't lie, because it doesn't make any sense').

sufficient support, while at the same time it was necessary to be careful to not touch the finished page, because the ink was still wet.

When in some instances the bottom of the page is left blank, this may indicate the poet's desire to distribute the text rewritten from the first draft in accordance with some typographic plan she had in mind for the final draft. For example, at page 7, a couple of lines are left blank at the bottom, because a new section begins at page 8. It opens with a second address to the listeners, so the importance of such an address did not let Papusza to start it at the end of a page. Directly addressing the listeners is a common rhetorical practice in the case when an official testimony is delivered orally at a Roma community meeting. It can be said that *Tears of Blood*, as a witness account, was addressed to a close circle of family and friends belonging to a single Roma group. On an important occasion, they met at a community gathering and listened to Papusza singing about their wartime tribulations.

Among the Polska Roma, such community meetings are referred to with the polonism *sendo* 'law court' (in Polish *sąd*). They continue to play an important role in traditional Roma culture when making final decisions on issues of importance for the entire community, often controversies and conflicts (Marushiakova and Popov 2012). *Sendos* follow a strict formal. Especially speakers take an oath to ascertain that they would tell the truth.<sup>16</sup> Nowadays, the rise of modern means of communication allows for keeping in touch with all the members of a single Roma community, who live in different countries. As a result, *sendos* are held more rarely.

A *sendo* was to be convened in 1950 for discussing the possible damage to the Roma community from the publication of Papusza's poems. 'Unconsciously Papusza revealed "secrets" to Ficowski and he published them' (Machowska 2011: 31fn62, 46, 186).<sup>17</sup> The question whether Papusza should be allowed to publish texts arose before writing *Tears of Blood*. That a *sendo*

16 'The oath is to verify the truthfulness of the parties involved in a conflict, which *Šero Rom* (literally 'Big Head,' that is *sendo's* judge) is to resolve. In this ritual, the parties submit themselves to God's justice, meaning that "God's punishment" would befall a perjurer. *Šero Rom* orders an oath in a situation where no resolution can be found, for instance, due to the lack of evidence or witnesses of an incident' (Machowska 2011: 56fn24).

17 It is worth noting that the author of the first Russian manual for studying the Romani dialect of the Russka Roma presciently enumerates the possible claims that the Roma may level against him. They largely coincide with the accusations that were made against Papusza. 'I know that the Gypsies will not appreciate it [the manual]. Secretive by nature and due to historical reasons, they are most reluctant to initiate a newcomer into the secrets of their language. At present, when almost all speak Russian [in the empire's European section], Romani remains the sole reliable shield for protecting Roma, the peace of their households and their group interests' (Патканов [Истомин] 1900: 6).

would deliberate the issue perturbed the poet. In late 1950 the Roma community was alarmed at the publication of Julian Tuwim's interview on the Roma with Ficowski (Tuwim 1950). 'In this year Tuwim's interview with Ficowski appeared in the periodical *Problemy*' (Kledzik 2019: 162, 177).

A *sendo* on the case of Papusza never took place. But in her 1952 poem the poet reiterates arguments in defense of her innocence. She listed her services to the Roma community rendered during the war and afterward.

Monologues, like speeches at a *sendo*, usually begin with well-wishes and an address to the audience. Next, these elements are repeated as markers of a new section, which is a witness account communicated through the monologue. Papusza borrowed this 'communication etiquette' from oral performances at Roma gatherings (Шаповал 2022: 310). Thus, it can be safely assumed that in *Tears of Blood*, Papusza wrote down her story on paper. She did so by rehearsing an imaginary monologue-cum-speech, addressed primarily to her own Roma community.

However, the poet also turns to another addressee, a much larger audience that includes all people in the world. The problems of 'including the Gypsy population into the production processes' (Kledzik 2019: 170) of communist Poland's economy were not resolved as gently as the representatives of the Roma communities expected. This negative outcome gave rise to the desire of identifying the culprits. Certainly, Papusza found herself among them. Yet, it must be emphasized that the poet's oeuvre and archive have not become a subject of thorough and rigorous study yet. Hence, it is difficult to sift between the description of real-life events, self-censorship and flourishes required by literary (folklore) conventions of Roma performing.

Furthermore, it is necessary to analyze and describe Papusza's 'spontaneous and intuitive' (Sonnemann 2019: 25) Polish-style spelling system, which she employed to write down *Tears of Blood* and her other writings. This task must include a reflection on the poem's phonemic features. So far reasons for the variability in the spelling of this or that word has not been established. But it should be presumed that these changes communicate important shades of a meaning or altogether different meanings.

Papusza's way of writing Romani is phonetically faithful. Working in a family of professional harpists, she had a perfect pitch. As a result, the poet tried to reflect as many phonemic, suprasegmental and other prosodic elements of spoken Romani as possible. This ambition explains why Papusza's spelling is quite variable.

Another important aspect of Papusza's narrating is detailed remembrance, which makes *Tears of Blood* both a witness account and a historical document. The text is overloaded with quotes. Numerous Polish expressions were used

under the guise of Romani words, mostly through calquing. For instance, the Romani expression *syr dewtes kamam* 'as I love God' is a calque of the Polish set saying *jak Boga Kocham* for confirming the sincerity of one's words. The poet faithfully translated dialogues conducted in a variety of languages. For example, she used the polite plural form of the pronoun 'you' (that is, *wy* in Polish, cf. *vous* in French) for addressing a person, which is unattested in regular Romani speech.

As a result, Papusza 'distorted' Romani to imitate the specific way of addressing Polish soldiers or common people in Volhynia. Quite exceptionally, the Romani used in *Tears of Blood* is not only the poet's native dialect. She quoted what Roma from different groups had spoken in a variety of their own Romani dialects, variously influenced by the languages of their *gadjo* (non-Roma) neighbors, be it Belarusian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian or Yiddish. Thus, Papusza's epic poem deserves to be treated as testimony, carefully crafted and delivered by an experienced observer, rather than a message from a barely literate person. Unfortunately, the latter lazy and orientaling assessment (or rather dismissing) of Papusza's oeuvre still prevails.

### Peculiarities of Papusza's Rhythmic Prose

The first task is to describe of the method of reproducing Romani speech, which Papusza developed for writing her texts. Without the reconstruction of phoneme to grapheme correspondence in Papusza's writing, any decoding of her texts will be limited and prone to erroneous readings. Not surprisingly, Papusza's writing system is typical for autodidacts. Unlike an uninitiated non-Roma reader may think, Papusza's manuscripts are written in an extremely careful hand. Due to the idiosyncrasies of Papusza's writing, some letters and their shapes may seem ambiguous or hard to establish. Yet, it should be borne in mind and appreciated that the poet invested much time and effort into writing relatively extensive texts by a hand untrained in school calligraphy. The pages of the manuscript of *Tears of Blood* are a testament to the poet's great concentration and perseverance. She was clearly inspired by the self-imposed mission to bear witness on Roma sufferings during World War II.

I researched numerous Cyrillic hands of Roma authors who wrote in the interwar Soviet Union. Those who received elementary education as adults had a clear, but not fully developed, style of handwriting (Шаповал 2020). Papusza's hand is similar. The poet's hand displays regular deviations from the standard Polish school hand, especially in the form of additional characters,

which I believe, arose spontaneously in the process of writing. Without the correct identification of these characters' functions and phonemic values, it is almost impossible to grasp which specific Romani words are intended. Researchers of Papusza's writings need to focus on the restoration of how her texts were spoken when performed, given the 'oral character of her poetry' (Machowska 2011: 31).

The squeezing of letters and words in order to fill in each blank space on the page is another remarkable feature of Papusza's manuscripts. This desire to maximize the use of the entire sheet, Papusza shared with the neurotic Fyodor Dostoevsky's approach to writing by hand. This feature is a sign the author was overwhelmed by the visceral urge to get rid of the memories of a traumatic experience as soon as possible through leaving its detailed description on paper. This tension dictated the peculiar emotional and dynamic rhythm of writing the manuscript of *Tears of Blood*. Papusza wrote at night, she was very tired, but felt unable to stop. 'At times I wrote so long until all the kerosene in the lamp was gone' (Papusza in Kuźniak 2013: 85). Fatigue was the main cause of errors, omissions and unnecessary repetitions of letters and words.

Often reasons for missing a letter are not of a phonemic nature, but a plain error, for example, *sz[u]kar Te dziweł* '[it is] wonderful to live' (*Ratwałe* 31), *ja[s]węcna* 'with tears' (*Ratwałe* 36–37), or *char[a]kter* 'character' (*Pamiętnik*: 3). However, in each case, a check is recommended to identify a possible phonemic reason for omitting a letter. For instance, *wytsiór[e]nes* '[they] were stealing' (*Ratwałe* 758) can be pronounced as /vitɕu'renis/ or /vi'tɕurnis/. Yet, the latter option should be discarded in favor of the former, which works much better in relation to the rhythm observed in the preceding and the following verses.

Papusza sometimes repeated the last word on the page at the beginning of the following page. In some instances, reasons for this practice may be different, but typically it was a mnemonic aid often observed in hand-written books, for instance, [Page 34] *wawyr ziakirde* [Page 35] (5.) *żakirde* 'the other [people] waited || waited' (*Ratwałe* 706–708).

The shift of the Polish postalveolar fricatives and affricates /ʂ, ʐ, ʧ, ʤ/ (written [sz, ż, cz, dż]) into the dentalveolar sibilants /s, z, ʃ, ʒ/ (written [s, z, c, dz]) is called *mazurzenie*. Another linguistic phenomenon occurring in Polish is *jabłonkowanie*, or the merger of the retroflex sibilants /ʂ, ʐ, ʧ, ʤ/ (written [sz, cz, ż, dż]) and palatal sibilants /ç, ʧ, ʐ, ʤ/ (written [ś, ć, ź, dź]) into the intermediate series /ʃj, ʧj, ʐj, ʤj/ (sometimes written [śz, ćz, źz, dźz]). Both phenomena are reflected in Papusza's variable spelling. Palatalization observed in the manuscript of *Tears of Blood* may be used for stylistic reasons.

For instance, *sasio Baro* ‘the Great German’ (for obliquely referring to Adolf Hitler) (*Ratwałe* 123), *Mas* ‘meat’ (*Ratwałe* 267, 385), but: *kuč masiore* ‘tasty pieces of meat’ (*Ratwałe* 147).

Some words repeated in a row (‘doubled’), which reflects different ways of their pronunciation, for example:

*so łęń dewła ziakiret żakire[t]* ‘Oh Lord, what does for them wait || wait’ (*Ratwałe* 99) – regional vs standard pronunciation of Polish *ż*;

*konyka / konika* ‘a horsey || a horsey’ (*Ratwałe* 768–769) – Ukrainian vs Russian pronunciation.

These repetitions in all likelihood arose spontaneously as a result of the poet’s ‘mental dictating’ to herself). At other times, such repetitions are inadvertent, the seemingly repeated word belonging to the autonomous phrases stem from the overlapping words from neighboring phrases.

*A\_daj boba / ćhórdeja niekones na zamar[dzia] / A\_dzia jek dywes* ‘they dropped another bomb, but didn’t kill anyone. / So that is how once ...’ (*Ratwałe* 936–938).

The word *na zamar[dzia]* ‘[a pilot] didn’t kill [anyone]’ is unfinished at this page. Its ending was added at the following page, where it also doubles as the beginning of another phrase, namely, *A\_dzia* ‘so.’ Such overlapping of the neighboring parts in the two phrases written next to each other should be suspected, when no sensible syntactic structure can be restored through the simple transcription of the manuscript.

It is not always clear whether this phenomenon is a result of skipping one word or its segment when alike with the initial word in the following line, which might happen in the process of copying from the preliminary draft. Another possible explanation is that Papusza faithfully reflected the properties of performed (sung) speech, when such overlapping may be dictated by the needs of rhythm or rhyme. In such a formalized setting, the listener is ready to attribute the same word or its segment both to the previous and following line. For example:

*gorownia rowen syr mamósza / wymarde so ki cherój katelaregę / i załen*  
*łęgro Barwalipen* ‘Cows cry, like people / killed to the last one, from the Catholics, / [they] are taking their property’ (*Ratwałe* 372–374). The sentence can be also interpreted differently if the phenomenon of overlapping is borne in mind (overlapping elements are **emboldened**): ‘Cows cry, **like [any] people killed to the last one;** / **as this** <Polish> **people were killed to the last one,** from <these> Catholics / [they = Ukrainians] are taking their property’.

The doubling of a word in a written text occurs also due to other reasons. Let us consider this example: *soske na meret ciororo {ty[l]ko} tylko / mósinet*

wesz weszesty *Tepcheret* 'Why don't the poor die, only / have to wander between the forests' (*Ratwale* 880–881). Papusza considered the first attempt to write the word *tyko* as non-standard. She corrected the spelling by inserting the letter [l], resulting in *ty[l]ko*. But this outcome did not suit her, either. Subsequently, the poet crossed out this attempt and rewrote it as the perfectly correct *tylko*.

Sometimes the doubling of a word is a result of unrealized automatic repetition (*dittography*). Instances of this phenomenon can be found in Papusza's unpublished diary, written mainly in Polish, for example, *i do śmierci Pamiętać Będe Będe* 'and until [my] death I will will remember' (*Pamiętnik*: 2). The end of the phrase is also repeated in this example: *Aprę Boli / ben Boliben* 'in the sky sky' (*Ratwale* 193–194); *jatsian sygedyr {sygady-sygede} / [syg]<sup>[e]</sup>dyr* '[Why have you] stayed behind? Faster, [~~faster~~, faster] faster!' (*Ratwale* 253–254); *{T}{d}ykch|e|n A\_pre boliben syr // syr migoczynet zdrał* 'do you look at the sky, how // how does it flash, tremble [with fires of explosions]' (*Ratwale* 208–209).

Two close, but slightly different, grammatical forms written in a row can express hesitation, for example, *bistyr[ła] // bistyret* '<God> will forget // forgets [us]' (*Ratwale* 300–301). The repetition of an adverb may express emphasis, for instance *{?} Gijam dór dór* 'we went far, far' (*Ratwale* 57).

All in all, both repetitions and omissions were a result of Papusza's hard work on *Tears of Blood*. She was fatigued but pressed on with the necessary work to bear witness. Her tiredness and haste generated minor flaws in the design of the manuscript and spelling. At the moment of writing, she did not notice such errors, because the poet paid her full attention to the sung internal dictation of the text in her mind. It is a complicated business to transfer an oral text in its fullness onto the written page.

### Papusza's Idiosyncratic Spelling

The letters used by Papusza to write *Tears of Blood* stem from the Polish-style Latin alphabet. The peculiarities of Papusza's usage are caused by the lack of formal education and by the poet's application of this writing system to represent the phonemes of the Romani language. Because of the former, the poet did not really distinguish between uppercase and lowercase forms of letters. On the other hand, faithfulness to the pronunciation of Romani generated several spelling variants of the same word.

Most Polish Latin-alphabet letters, as employed by Papusza, are used in a standard manner. Yet, some require a detailed explanation, regarding their use.

### Letter A

Papusza prefers to use the capital [A] at the beginning and even in the middle of a word or phrase, for instance, *pszegijam Apre Wołyń* ‘we suffered in Volhynia’ (*Ratwałe* 3). Papusza learned to write by drawing in sand time and again all the letters of the Polish alphabet in the established order ‘A, b, c and the rest of the letters, as they stand in the primer’ (Papusza in Kuźniak 2013: 32). However, this does not explain why the uppercase [A] is more common in Papusza’s hand than the lowercase [a]. In her diary, Papusza recollects differently the process of learning how to write: *i tak sę naóczyłam a B c d i tak dalej*<sup>18</sup> ‘and thus I learned a B c d, etc.’ (*Pamiętnik*: 2).

Papusza’s spelling idiosyncrasies include the widespread use of the capital [A] and [B]. At times it is hard to establish whether a given letter executed by the poet is a capital or minuscule. The use of such uppercase [A] and [B] (for instance, *Bersza* [*Ratwałe* 3]), alongside the lowercase [t] with a high crossbar typical of the capital [T] (for example, *ne so Tę keres Tszębi Te bagęł* [*Ratwałe* 8]) served to better distinguish these letters from the minuscule [f] and [ł]. This method can be observed in numerous hands at the turn of the 20th century.

### Letter A

In the Polish vernacular (dialect) used and heard by Papusza in everyday life, the nasal vowels, so typical for standard Polish, did not occur. The denasalization of these vowels is a distinctive feature in the eastern dialects of Polish, or in today’s western Lithuania, western Belarus and western Ukraine (Dejna 1973: 191). That is why Papusza rarely uses the letter [ą]. In *Tears of Blood* it occurs only three times. Twice this happens, when a need arises to represent the Indic phoneme in the Romani adjective *nągo* /naŋo/ ‘naked’ (*Ratwałe* 179). Perhaps, the poet wished to emphasize the difference in pronunciation between this adjective and its Polish counterpart, *nagi*, which is rather similar, due to the interrelatedness of the Indo-European languages. The third occurrence of [ą] is observed in the Russian-language song, namely, *kąsomol[i]c* ‘komsomolets’<sup>19</sup> (*Ratwałe* 795). Papusza used the ad hoc letter [q] twice to differentiate between the Romani nasal vowel designated with [ą] and the close Polish nasal vowel (in Polish orthography written with the letter [ą], but here with [q]), for instance, *kąsomoliec* ‘komsomolets,’ *bqby* ‘bombs’ (*Ratwałe* 764, 917).

18 In standard Polish spelling: *i tak się nauczyłam a B c d i tak dalej*.

19 The term ‘komsomolets’ denoted a member of the Communist Party’s youth wing in the Soviet Union, that is, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League.

Perhaps, it is not necessary to consider all the letters employed in writing by Papusza, but some clearly need detailed commentaries, due to their idiosyncratic use.

It is difficult to say whether phonemic or spelling factors caused Papusza's tendency for confusing [B] and [P], for instance, *Brosita[m] rodzicow* (in standard Polish: *Prosiłam rodziców*) 'I asked my parents' (*Pamiętnik*: 3). When relating a Russian-language song, the poet wrote: *probata* (correct phonemic transliteration of this Russian word into standard Polish spelling: *propata*) 'she was lost, perished' (*Ratwałe* 798). One case was difficult to decide, because Papusza clearly wrote [B], but the context strongly suggested that it should be [P]: *Pirja* 'pots' (*Ratwałe* 735). Fortunately, other cases of the poet confusing certain letters with each other when writing words in Polish or Russian, allowed for identifying this Romani word.

For conveying some Romani phonemes, Papusza employed digraphs and trigraphs. For instance, the digraph [ci] in the case of the phoneme /t͡ɕ/ in the word for 'bird,' that is, *cierykto*, *Cirykto* (*Ratwałe* 1055, 1075). Striving to convey the affricative /t͡ɕx/, Papusza used several options. First of all, the trigraph [ćch] and the digraph [ćh], as in *A\_pre ćchórja* 'on the knives,' *ćhórdeja* 'he threw' or *ćhawen* 'Roma children' (*Ratwałe* 198, 937, 1044). It can be assumed that the trigraph was simplified to the digraph under the influence of Ficowski's editorial choices when Papusza's poems had been published earlier. In some cases, Papusza forgot or decided not to use the acute accent ['] in [ć], resulting in [c], as in: *cchawore* 'Roma children' or *chaworo* 'Roma child' (*Ratwałe* 93, 14). The last usage is quite confusing, because it is left to the reader to decide whether [ch] denotes /t͡ɕx/ or /x/, as in *chyrja* 'bad, evil' (*Ratwałe* 9).

For denoting the palatalized version of the aspirated voiceless affricate /t͡ɕç/, written [čh] in academic Romani transcription, Papusza used the trigraph [tsi], for instance, *matsiore* 'fishes' (*Ratwałe* 95). This trigraph [tsi] is regularly contrasted with the digraph [ci] for the same but unaspirated affricate, as in *ciororo* 'poor (m.)' (*Ratwałe* 13), but also as a reflex of /t/ in the context that entails palatalization, leading to /tʃ/ as in *pacien* 'believe (2nd p. pl.)' (*Ratwałe* 5). On the other hand, the corresponding voiced alveolo-palatal affricate /d͡z/, like in Polish, is denoted with the trigraph [dzi], for instance, *nek dzinen* 'let them know' (*Ratwałe* 10).

### Letter E

Papusza's use of the letter [e] reflects phonetic peculiarities of Polish dialects as observed east of today's Poland. Interestingly, the Slavonic vowel denoted with the Church Slavonic letter yat' [ѣ] (originally a long vowel /ē=ě/), yielded the tradition of the pre-1917 Russian letter yat [ѣ] for denoting

variegated modern realization of this old vowel. In the case of these eastern Polish dialects it entails, among others, the morphing of /e/ into /i/, which Papusza faithfully reflected in her spelling, as in *lidwo* = (standard Polish: *ledwo*) 'barely' (*Ratwałe* 660), *nie widzialam* (standard Polish: *nie wiedzialam*) 'I didn't know (1st p. sg. f.)' (*Pamiętnik*: 4), or *gdziś* (standard Polish: *gdzieś*) 'somewhere' (*Pamiętnik*: 9), and vice versa: *sielny jak liew* (standard Polish: *silny jak lew*) 'as strong as a lion' (*Pamiętnik*: 7).

The sporadic preference for the letter [i] in place of the standard [e] next to palatalized consonants in Romani is noticeable in the second half of *Tears of Blood*, for example, *sawi żeś / keren /sa'wie ze ɕ kie'ren/* 'you used to do the same [things]' (*Ratwałe* 627–628). The expressive doubling of the particle [że ź] is characteristic for Romani-speaking in what today is the western sections of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. Papusza took careful note of the assimilation of consonants, for example, when [że ź] finds itself next to the phoneme /k/ the following assimilation takes place [że ś], as [czy ź > czy /s/] in *czyś saso pszperet* 'will the German perish?' (*Ratwałe* 742–743).

#### Letter Ę

As in the case of the letter [ą] for the nasal vowel /ɔŋ/, Papusza sporadically used the letter [ę] for the nasal sound /ɛŋ/ in a denasalized manner instead of [e] for /e/, for example, *so Tę keres* 'what have thou done' (*Ratwałe* 8).

We retain the rare spelling variant of the Greek epsilon letter [ε] in the function of [e], as employed by Papusza in the manuscript. However, this variant denotes only the sound /e/ and does not indicate any phonemic peculiarities, for instance, *nqge* 'naked (pl.)' (*Ratwałe* 155).

The mutual linguistic influences between speakers of Polish, on the one hand, and speakers of Belarusian and Ukrainian, on the other, brought about interferences in the form of the subsystem of smooth sonorous consonants (liquids). Instead of the standard Polish alveolar lateral /l/, Papusza preferred the dialectal palatalized approximate /lʲ/, typical for the region, for example, *Alie* (standard Polish: *ale*) 'but,' *w\_calie* (standard Polish: *wcale*) 'at all, quite' (*Ratwałe* 414, 1021); *lieśna* (standard Polish: *leśna*) 'of forest (f. sg.)' (*Pamiętnik*: 2).

On the other hand, [ɨ] for denoting /w/ and [w] for conveying /ɨ/ are not differentiated in Papusza's individual phonetic system, as in many Polish dialects (Dejna 1973: 114–115). As a result, a fluctuation is observed in Papusza's spelling of Romani words that contain these sounds, for instance, *na chochawalw = na xoxavav* 'I don't cheat,' *phocia}{w} = phučav* 'I ask,' and in the Russian-language song: *prowa}{za}{w}{t}a* 'she accompanied' (*Ratwałe* 460, 455, 774).

Furthermore, traces of self-correction are worth noting, when the poet replaced the initial choice of regional [w] with the more standard [f], for example, {w}feder 'better', {w}fforyco 'a small town' (*Ratwale* 883, 834).

Eastern Polish dialect, alongside Belarusian and Ukrainian, also influenced Papusza's pronunciation and spelling of Romani. For instance, she spelt the title of *Tears of Blood* poem in accordance with this type of pronunciation, that is, *gili Ratwale jaswa* 'Tears of Blood: A Song' (*Ratwale* 2). Ficowski, in his abbreviated version, modified the spelling of the Romani title to make it closer to the standard Polish pronunciation, namely, *Ratfaté jasfá* (Ficowski 1956: 118). With time, thanks to prolonged exposure to these variants, Papusza acquired most nuances of Polish standard and dialectal pronunciations. In later interviews, she reproduced them flawlessly.

Another specifically Polish feature worth mentioning is the inter-word voicing of the voiceless consonant. This phonemic phenomenon occurs in *Tears of Blood* just once, *dadywez rakie[r]tęs* = *dadivés rakirtys* 'today <a soldier> was telling' (*Ratwale* 188; Ficowski 1956: 128). Usually, this phenomenon of inter-word voicing is not reflected in the poem's manuscript, perhaps, meaning that Papusza did not use it in her own speech, for instance, *paniory Agit dywes rakireł* 'a river chatters before dawn' or *połokes rakiren* 'they speak softly' (*Ratwale* 93–94, 96).

Sporadically, Papusza confused [r] and [ɫ], as in *Bersz ciero* = correctly: *Bersz cieto* 'the whole years' (*Ratwale* 1009), *ciała* = correctly: *cata* 'whole' (*Pamiętnik*: 180).

It is evident that the manuscript the final draft of *Tears of Blood* was executed in haste. Hence, in many places the acute accent ['] is missing in the Polish diacritical letter [ó] for the phoneme /u/, confusingly resulting in [o] for /o/, for instance, *phore* = *phure* 'old (pl.)', *Bocho, bócho* = *buxo* 'book', *bótedyr* = *butedyr* 'more', *tó* = *tu* 'thou' (*Ratwale* 164, 1005, 1084, 1004). This proves that Papusza usually wrote the whole word, and then introduced missing diacritics. Hence, the wider morphemic context must be borne in mind to ensure the correctness of deciphering. What is more, Ficowski's spelling choices for the publication of Papusza's writings also influenced the poet's spelling, for example, *Tómanósa* = *tumanósa* 'with fog' (*Ratwale* 1045). In this instance, the first [ó] for denoting /u/ is Papusza's own choice, while the other [ó] for the stressed pronunciation of /o/ was Ficowski's editorial intervention.

At times, Papusza went for a deliberately simplified, for instance, writing [ó], instead of [iu], as in *samótka* = *samiutka* 'very lonely (f)' (*Pamiętnik*: 9). This does not suggest that in the poet's pronunciation no palatalisation of the consonant /m/ occurred. Basically, the letter [i] for signalling such softening

could be skipped, as the phenomenon could be easily deduced from the phonemic context, see: *katylary ciacióne* ‘real (true) catholics’, *Betki ciacune* ‘genuine (true =eatable) mushrooms,’ or *gila cacune* ‘true songs’ (*Ratwale* 988, 144, 170).

Such variability might indicate Papusza’s expectation that the reader fluent in Romani (and in Polish) would actively cooperate while reading out this text, most probably aloud. This expectation saved the poet time and effort necessary for paying close attention to the details of spelling and writing conventions adopted.

### *Unusual Letters*

Apart from the Polish-style Latin alphabet letters used for the composition of most of the manuscript, sporadically atypical letters are also employed. Their status is ambiguous and difficult to establish, as these are rare occurrences. The letter [ɛ], mentioned above, probably was a variant of [ɛ̃], while [ɔ] a variant of [ɔ̃]. The letter [ə] was used just once as a variant of [e] or [a], in: *səmęncă* ‘family, clan’ (*Ratwale* 22). The letter [i̇] could arise with the poet accidentally doubling the dot over [i] or was borrowed from the Ukrainian-style Cyrillic letter [і], for instance, *tsiaworen* ‘children (acc. pl.)’ (*Ratwale* 96).

Perhaps, some hybrid characters arose in an ad hoc manner, for example, *dajă ława* = *dala lava* ‘these words’ (*Ratwale* 631). The phrase was restructured in the process of writing. The original intended *daja kamanda* ‘this order (Romani+Russian)’ was amplified into *dajă ława wypchendzia i kamanda / podyja* ‘Having spoken these words, he ordered’ (*Ratwale* 631–632). In the process of correction, the tilde was put above [j], making this letter look almost like the handwritten [ĵ]. At times apparently erroneous characters or diacritics were introduced in haste, for instance, *chyră*, typically: *chyrja* ‘bad’, or 9 [6] *mamószege*, typically: *manuszenge* ‘to the people’ (*Ratwale* 415, 9).

In some cases, Papusza spelled the same word in several different ways. It was not only a result of insufficient proficiency or attention, but also an effort at reproducing sung words from memory. In this way, Papusza conveyed nuances in pronunciation depending on the context of which other words the given word was employed during performance. This seems to explain the rise of the following spelling variants *manósza*, *manusza*, or *manosza* ‘people’ (*Ratwale* 425, 60, 588). Yet, the following variants appear to be clear errors, namely, *mamósza*, correctly: *manusza* ‘people,’ *maní*, correctly: *nani* ‘there is not’ (*Ratwale* 372, 946, 202), or *chany*, correctly: *chamy* ‘boors’ (*Pamiętnik*: 10).

Ligatures occur when a text is composed in hurry. An important feature of Papusza’s hand is ligatures, which arise from merging the neighboring letters in the continuous manner of writing, that is, without detaching the pen from paper, for instance, *kali pchen mirej* ‘my black sister’ (*Ratwale* 226). This manner

of handwriting was typical for the Polish school hand. Papusza hesitated when choosing between the phonetically close vowels [e] and [y], especially when it was stressed in a word. She tended to write [e] first, and then added the letter [y] to it. However, it might also be an attempt at indicating the lengthening of the final syllable in a word, which is quite appropriate in a lamentation, for example, for a dead friend. So, what at the first glance appears arbitrary may turn out to be phonetically relevant or even deeply thought out in Papusza's system of idiosyncratic spelling.

Let us have a look at more examples of ligatures in the manuscript of *Tears of Blood*. In the case of *daa býda* (*daa býda*) = *daja bida* 'this woe' (*Ratwałe* 228), the ligature was formed through the fusion of the two neighboring letters [a], probably to indicate the lengthening of the vowel /a/ in the pronoun *daa* 'this.' In this manner, Papusza probably conveyed the peculiarities of her deceased girl friend's speech. Other examples of interesting ligatures, include,

*Nakand/en* 'they don't obey' (*Ratwałe* 131–132), [*nd*] is written as a ligature. These two letters were merged probably to spare place at the line's end.

*rom miro* 'my husband' (*Ratwałe* 266), [*mi*] is a ligature. The merged letters look like [*m̄i*] or [*ni*]. It might be also a result of the doubling of [mm], alongside the loss of the sixth stroke.

*Me wolin-aw* 'I desire' (*Ratwałe* 421). In this case [in] was replaced with the ligature [*n̄*].

*kaj na kaj*, a calque of the Polish expression *gdzieniegdzie* 'here and there' (*Ratwałe* 424). The merger of the letters [a] and [j] into the ligature [*aj*] results in what looks almost like [*ej*].

### Papusza's Meters, Verse Rhythm and Rhymes

The Austrian slavist and philologist of Slovenian extraction Franz Miklosich's opinion on Romani-language folklore poetry retains its relevance to this day:

*as far as content is concerned, it includes elements from both Romanian and Hungarian fairy tales. The folk poetry of the Rumunians and Ukrainians had an unmistakable influence on the Romani songs. The songs are sung without instrumental accompaniment. The verses are rhymeless. Each verse regularly has two accents. Only one stressed syllable can be in the accented syllable, the tone may be the tone of the word or, in the case of monosyllabic words, the tone of the sentence (Miklosich IV. 1874: 2).*

Unfortunately, the boundaries of the verses are not marked in the manuscript. Of course, I would like to listen to Papusza's performance in order to

understand her preferences in the case of possible options for the distribution of pauses. It is possible to reconstruct such a division into verses during a recitation.

*mek gody sy{?}klon* (5 syllables)  
*A\_drę mury gili* (6 syllables)  
*Te na kamen maryben* (7 syllables)  
*Te skowłot łęgro dzi.* (6 syllables)  
*Te chalot so maryben isy.* (9 syllables)  
 (Ratwałe 22–25)

It is possible to use the bar sign [|] for helping readers to visualize borders of poetic verses. Nevertheless, some parts of manuscript are in prose.

Papusza's poetry shares some traits with Polish folk songs, especially changing number of syllables in a verse (Dłuska 1954; Dłuska 1987). 'Asyllabism, or to put it more mildly, relative syllabism, thrives through the 17th century in urban lyrics, even longer in folk verse, but it no longer returns to the upper regions of poetry [as practised by nobility and intelligentsia]' (Dłuska 1987: 192).

Papusza used to emphasize, that she was not 'any poet at all' (Papusza in Kuźniak 2013: 167). Thus, the poet defines her genre with the Polish term *piosenka* 'little song':

*Coś we mnie znajszli. Bo pan Tuwim jeszcze. Znajszli jakiś wielki talent. A ja takich pioseneczek, co oni chcieli, to mogła kiedyś miliony zrobić. Szłam górami, lasami. Jeden moment i już. Pan Jerzy mówił, że to wiersze, ale to nie byli wiersze. Piosenki. Wierszy są inny. Trzeba rym składać, a piosenka to prosta. Piosenka to niżej. A wiersz wysoo, trzeba kształconych ludzi. Musi być uniwersytet, a ja nie mam ani jednej klasy kończonej. Nie mogę być wierszopisarka* (Papusza in Kuźniak 2013: 70).<sup>20</sup>

'Papusza's poems are dubbed "songs" because they stem from the deeply rooted Roma oral tradition' (Szott 2016: 472). Papusza translated into Polish the common Romani term *gili* 'song' (Ratwałe 2) as *piosenka* 'little song.' In regular usage this Polish term denotes a song of several to about 15 verses. Yet,

20 They found something in me. Because Mr. Tuwim found a great talent. And such little songs they craved I had been able to compose millions [in the past]. I walked through the mountains and forests. One moment and that was it, [another song ready]. Mr Jerzy [Ficowski] said they were poems, but they weren't poems. They were songs. Poems are different. You have to develop rhymes for poems, while the song is simple. The song is placed below [the poem]. The poem is always a rung higher, you need educated people [to compose poems]. They finished universities, while I never attended a single year of elementary school. I can't write verses, so I can't be a poet.

Papusza's 'songs' are much longer. *Tears of Blood* is comprised of over a thousand verses. According to Papusza, the main difference between her *gili* 'song' and real poems is the absence of rhymes, alongside the simple structure of Papusza's 'little songs.' On top of that, Papusza saw the lack of formal education as disqualifying her from being a poet. It is worth adding that when the Soviet Romani literature developed on the basis of a dialect quite similar to that of the Polska Roma, its codifiers had to coin a term for 'poem.' They settled on the Romani *гилы* /gili/, literally 'song,' which came to mean also 'poem' in Soviet Romani (Безлюдско 1933: 1).

Papusza's rhymes are irregular. The peculiarity of Roma morphology often causes words' stressed endings to become phonemically similar, for instance,

wyszunen miry gili ciacióni (10)  
 so pszegija rom chwore i rom|n|i (11)  
 [or more likely: so pszegija rom chwore /j/ rom|n|i (10)]  
 (*Ratwate* 35).

But such similarities in the pronunciation of word endings may occur more often, as in:

Baro maryben  
 sasy i ukra|i|ncenca  
 sare jamen zamaren i tsinden  
 nikones Bótedyr nakanden  
 (*Ratwate* 129–132).

All these features of the Roma folk song verse are present in the work of contemporary poets. Having stepped rather painlessly over attempts to accurately imitate the strict poetic meters characteristic of the academic poetry typical of the surrounding peoples, many Roma poets turned to freer poetic forms. 'Nothing justifies treating the rhythm of a folk poem as a cinderella of artful poetry. Spoken rhythm and melic rhythm must be treated separately, but as equals, with respect for each, according to the laws that govern it' (Dłuska 1954: 502).

Osip Mandelstam noted about the famous Italian poet that 'Dante sees the beginning of prosody in the foot's step, which is locked with breathing and spawns thought' (Мандельштам 2004: 10). Papusza walked a lot and quickly. This rhythm of movement manifests itself in her blank but rhythmic verse. In one place in *Tears of Blood*, the poet refers to the tendency to sing in an undertone during a lengthy march: *dzian Tetę nak gili bag / en* 'they go, they sing a song under their breath' (*Ratwate* 193–194). Later, Papusza broke out

into singing in full voice, though it was risky, the German troops searching for Roma, Jews, and guerrillas. ‘Voice is an important tool for the poet: discursive practices related to the metaphor of “voice” in the texts of Bronisława Wajs are various and purposeful’ (Novac 2010).

### Languages of the Indigenous Populations and of the Occupiers

Multilingualism of interwar and wartime Volhynia is an aspect of utmost importance for grasping the complex phonetic score of *Tears of Blood*. First of all, Papusza’s writing is phonetically oriented, and then visually motivated. Writing as such was a later addition that did not impact the poet’s memory but afforded her an instrument to record words and images to bear witness of the Roma genocide. Papusza mentions in a conversation with Ficowski that in her dreams she hears words uttered in languages that she does not understand: *i coś mi przychodzi, jakaś mowa inna*<sup>21</sup> (Papusza in: Cygańska 1978: 4.00–4.07).

Formally, *Tears of Blood* is written in Romani. Yet, foreign intrusions are quite numerous in the text. Most are almost imperceptible, because they are skillfully calqued into Romani,<sup>22</sup> while direct borrowings from other languages are fewer. Analyzing Polish borrowing in this section would be inappropriate. After all, apart from Romani, Polish was also a native language for the Polska Roma. ‘Romani was Papusza’s first language. In this language, she composed her songs. But with the passing of years, it appeared that Papusza began to think exclusively in Polish’ (Machowska 2011: 72).

Below selected examples of intrusions in other Romani dialects and foreign languages in *Tears of Blood* are analyzed.

#### *Intrusions in Foreign Languages*

Papusza acknowledged her knowledge of only a single foreign language, namely, Russian: *Ankieta literata 1962 r. (Związek Literatów Polskich). Narodowość: polska. Wykształcenie: samouk. Znajomość języków obcych: j. rosyjski. Podróże zagraniczne: Tak. Na Wołyniu w czasie wojny*<sup>23</sup> (Papusza in

21 ‘And I hear something, as if a foreign language.’

22 The camouflaging of words and expressions in a majoritarian language through calquing them into Romani is characteristic for Roma’s bilingual communication. As such it is easy to convey in writing (Шаповал 2019). In turn this is true of the ‘Polska Roma’s Polish ethnolect in which words and expressions are calqued from Romani’ (Kledzik 2020: 171).

23 ‘Writer’s Questionnaire, 1962 (Association of Polish Writers). Nationality: Polish. Education: Self-taught. Knowledge of foreign languages: Russian. Travels abroad: Yes, in Volhynia during the war.’

Kuźniak 2013: 172). The Russian language in its standard form is uttered in the poem by the Soviet soldiers:

*matadziec* (*Ratwale* 273), or the Russian expression *молодец!* 'Brave! Good for you!', written down in Polish spelling, which reflects the emphasized Moscow pronunciation with the neutralized unstressed /a/ and /o/, that is, /mələ'djɛfɛs/. The close Ukrainian counterpart is pronounced differently, see: *молодець* /mələ'dɛfɛj/. *kamánda* 'order, detachment' (*Ratwale* 631), команда, is another Russian word, in the spelling of which Papusza Papusza reflected the specific Moscow pronunciation. The same kind of pronunciation is attested in the phrase *roki wierzch* /'rukʲi vj:erʲx/ 'Hands up!' (*Ratwale* 564–565), руки вверх, typically written in Polish spelling as *Ruki w wierch!* (Kunicki 1959: 42). Papusza also wrote down the conversation of two brave Roma women, conducted in Russian: *ola kuda Ty czarajew i\_dice / suda* = in Russian Cyrillic: Оля, куда ты? Чапаев! Идите сюда! 'Olya, where are you? Чараев! Come here!' (*Ratwale* 563–564). The spelling *suda* denotes the word's Moscow pronunciation, that is, /sʊ'da/, rather than /sʲʊ'da/. The title of the song <sup>696</sup> *Bradziaga* 'Tramp' (*Ratwale* 696) denotes the pronunciation with the neutralized unstressed /a/ and /o/, alongside the Russian or Belarusian affricatization of the palatalized dental /d/, also observed in: *i\_dice* 'go (2nd p. pl.)' (*Ratwale* 563).

The partisan song cited in *Tears of Blood* (*Ratwale* 761–801) was written down partly in Russian, but mostly in Ukrainian:

o*ji* upolu upolu. <sup>762</sup> dwi topoli  
de ponoczy kołysz {e}yt<sup>763</sup> sia tóman  
tam zabyto ghybo<sup>764</sup> ko zaryto  
kõsomialiec grasnoj <sup>765</sup> partyzant  
(*Ratwale* 761–765).

The poet denotes pronunciation faithfully in her idiosyncratic spelling. Hence, without too much difficulty the song's text can be presented in Russian and Ukrainian Cyrillic. For the sake of clarity, the Russian elements are italicized:

Ой, у полю, у полю дві тополі,  
де поночі колишеться туман,  
там забито, глибоко зарито...  
*консомолець, грасной партизант.*

The song continues as follows:

ona jocho ona prowa<sup>766</sup>żała  
de noczoj kołyszyt sia<sup>767</sup>trawa  
ona jomó szabló szabló<sup>768</sup>podala

woronocho konyka <sup>769</sup> konika wela)  
 tam zabyty chlyboko <sup>770</sup> zaryty.  
 kosomolic kraznoj par|t|yzan  
 (*Ratwate* 765–770).

It is obvious that this fragment does not conform either with standard Russian or Ukrainian. However, the predominantly Ukrainian background is visible from the fact that Russian words are fewer. For clarity these words are italicized:

Она його, она проважала  
 Де *ночой* колишется трава,  
 она йому шаблю, шаблю пода<ва>ла,  
 Вороного коника (*коника*) вела.)  
 ... там забитий, глибоко заритий  
*косомолец, красной партизан.*

Obvious similarities in meter (mainly five-foot trochee) and in the sequence of images it appears to be a popular guerrilla song by poet Mikhail Isakovsky (1900–1973). The citation in *Tears of Blood* overlaps with a third of Isakovsky's poem, see:

В чистом поле под ракитой,  
 Где клубится **по ночам туман**  
 Эх, там лежит, в земле **зарытый**,  
 Там схоронен **Красный партизан.**  
 Я сама героя **проводжала**  
 В дальний путь, на славные дела.  
 Боевую саблю **подавала**,  
**Вороного коника вела.**

Soviet soldiers mentioned in their postwar memoirs about the popularity of this song during the war (Ковпак 1945: 28–29; Лозицкий 2010: 87).

Drawing freely on folklore tropes and images, Papusza reworked this song as a creative coauthor. She incorporated a popular folk song plot, namely, a conversation between the dying warrior and his relatives.

Papusza was a poet, not a scholar. She did not aim at scholarly objectivity. Her goal was to clothe emotions and events in words that would be graspable by their Roma audience. In her diary, when listing ethnic groups, Papusza uses exonyms, which one could consider as stereotypical or even offensive, for instance, *i żydy i Polacy i chany i cygany*, in standard Polish spelling: *i Żydzi, i Polacy, i chamy, i Cyganie* 'and Jews and Poles and Hams (= literally 'peasants' for Ukrainians and Belarusians) and Gypsies' (*Pamiętnik*: 10). It is obvious

that among the people for whom Papusza told fortune not only Poles and Jews were represented. The Polish census of 1931 noted in Volhynia's population mainly Ukrainians (68.4%) and Poles (16.6%). *Tears of Blood* carefully portrays the region's multiethnic character, including interethnic tensions (cf. Wasiutyński 1939).

Obviously, Papusza's interlocutors also included Belarusians. In all likelihood, most referred to themselves *Tuteiŝyja* (literally, 'people from here, this locality') or *Palieš(č)uki* (that is, inhabitants of the region of Polesia, at times considered also an ethnic group in their own right). For instance: 'On 20 September 1941 [...] Ukrainian-Belarusian Polishchuks at last become the rulers of their own native land' (Бульба-Боровець 2008: 140); 'our group included 8 Poles, 6 Ukrainians and 16 Palieščuks (Byalorusians)' (Kunicki 1971: 17). Divination entails involves the accurate choice of a dialect variant, depending on to whom a Roma fortune teller happens to be talking. At the level of interpersonal communication, Papusza was able to accommodate and successfully reproduce numerous phonemic and sociolinguistic features of her interlocutor's speech. In the aforementioned questionnaire, she identified Russian as the sole foreign language she knew. Probably, she meant *Ruski* (Ruthenian), which in interwar Poland referred jointly to Ukrainian and Belarusian. Furthermore, in popular speech, people also covered Russian with the use of this linguonym (cf. Papusza in Kuźniak 2013: 172).

Interestingly, the Russians featured in *Tears of Blood* are portrayed sparingly. From Papusza's words it is impossible to determine their political affiliation. Hence, it is unclear whether they fought for or against the Germans. Papusza's relative, Andrzej B. Lewkowicz, recollected in an interview: 'I read a few poems in which my aunt writes about her wartime experiences in Volhynia, when the Russians and Ukrainians teased the Roma on why they kept hiding in the forests' (Lewkowicz in: Machowska 2011: 80). Who were these Russians or Ukrainians is hard to establish. But Papusza's family were more at ease talking about their wartime experiences to a radio journalist than the poet. At the height of the stalinist period in communist Poland, Papusza was aware that a careless word on the printed page could endanger her family and herself. Otherwise, friendly or not, meeting any armed people in the forest during the war meant at least the loss of essential foodstuffs.

The poet paid close attention to words and usages in different languages, as employed around her in different spheres of life. On top of that, she developed idiosyncratic strategies of recalling and writing down such foreign words, for instance, *Pre tuwissio zanaswali-jame sare* 'something (*tuwissio*) we all fell ill [with]' (*Ratwate* 493–494). The word *Tuwissio* may be a phonemic rendering of the French acronym *TBC* /te-be-se/ for 'tuberculosis.' Another possibility

is the Latin medical term *tussis* 'cough.' In this quote Papusza used an unambiguously French expression *wizaw wodar A\_dre wodar* 'vis-à-vis' 'face to face' (*Ratwałe* 967–968). First, it is given in the Polish phonemic spelling as *wizaw* [i]. Then a Romani calque of the Polish expression *drzwi w drzwi* 'next door' is given, which is a translation of the French term *vis-à-vis*.

*Lytamorie* (*Ratwałe* 450) is obviously a place-name. It is written with the initial capital, which on Papusza's part, is a rare case of scrupulousness. She probably had problems with recollecting the correct pronunciation and spelling of this place-name, which explains the crossed out [a]. Papusza's family, the Weisses (Wajses) lived in the town for some time. It was known as Włodzimierz in Polish, Volodomyr in Ukrainian and Vladimir in Russian. The Germans rendered this name variously as Wladimir or Wolodimir. The same Ruthenian place name yielded 'Lodomeria' in the traditional Austro-Hungarian name of the Crownland of Galicia, namely, the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Hence, the fusion of the initial letters [w] and [l].

The German in its origin word *szlabanto* 'barrier' (*Ratwałe* 816, 818) was acquired from its Polish form *szlaban*. In German the term is written *Schlagbaum*.

Many pondered on Papusza's idiosyncratic word *falorykta*. Whatever it denoted provoked a panic reaction in the poet (Kledzik 2019: 174). And we cannot ignore it. Although this word is absent from *Tears of Blood*, it is hard to ignore, given that it was a constant source of horror for Papusza. She intended to give an expensive finger ring to her son, so that he would have something to live on, when Papusza feared she would be arrested. Papusza said that all Roma would end in prison, due to *falorykta* (Machowska 2011: 59, 186, 197). In vain did the Polish writers, collaborating with Papusza, try to convince her that it was none other than the harmless term 'folklore' (*folklor* in Polish) or 'folklor studies' (*folklorystyka* in Polish) (Kuźniak 2013: 144). Ficowski (1986: 208–262) devoted a study to the incident with this strange word, which exacerbated Papusza's illness, when she read it. Curiously, no one seems to have noticed that what Papusza meant might be the German legal term *Fallrecht* 'case law.' The Weisses (Wajses) as itinerant harpists were active in Austria-Hungary before the Great War. Then German terminology prevailed until the turn of the 1930s in Poland's Galicia gained from the Dual Monarchy. World War II, which entailed the arrival of German troops in Volhynia, perhaps activated these half-remembered scary legal terms in the family's collective memory.

In *Tears of Blood*, Papusza warns Ficowski about danger by resorting to a strange mixture of languages: *mosinaw ciacipen te / pchenaw foldaj\_Czëry i dadywes / Teszysę* 'I must tell the truth, the *Volksdeutsche* are shooting <people?> today' (*Ratwałe* 992–994). The Romani infinitive with the particle *te* is

formed from the German verb *schliessen* 'to shoot,' resulting in *Teszysę*. The term *Volksdeutsche* 'ethnic Germans' is written in such a manner (*foldaj\_Czéry*) that it is difficult to decipher it. Although it may be reflection of the Polish (dialectal) augmentative fold-o/a-jczery employed to criticize these interwar Polish citizens who declared themselves to be ethnic Germans.

These examples illustrate the breadth of Papusza's and her fellow Roma's polyglot contacts with people from numerous ethnic groups (nations, confessional communities). In wartime Volhynia alone, apart from Germans and Hungarians as invading troops, the Roma also came across 'Finns' (or rather Estonians or Latvians), Caucasians (Crimean Tatars, Georgians, Armenians, Azeris), French, Czechs, or Slovenians (more likely, Slovaks) (Лозицкий 2010: 37 (632), 66, 389, 249 (446), 219, 282). Such diversity could never escape Papusza's attention because her livelihood as a fortune teller and singer depended on comprehending multilingual contexts and operate in them successfully. Afterward, she described these experiences in her writings.

### *Romani Dialects*

In the Romani original of *Tears of Blood* Papusza quoted words and phrases from other Romani dialects than her own. The word *wórdena* 'carts' (*Ratwate* 667, 726) comes from the Polska Roma dialect, but the same word spelled *wyrdona* (*Ratwate* 814–815) is probably a quote in a different variant of Romani. Once, in the lamentation for her deceased girl friend Maliuna Papusza introduced a different, perhaps, local variant of Romani. In Volhynia one could hear both Polish dialectal *býda* (standard Polish: *biada*) 'woe' (*Ratwate* 229) and local Ukrainian *бидá* /by'da/ (instead of Standard Ukrainian *бідá* /bi'da/) (*Ratwate* 916, 918). There is a single sample of the locative plural with the ending -(n)de (when Papusza's genuine form has -(n)dyr): *i pre stata chatadende sowicka i polska te żakireł* 'and for regular soldiers, Soviet and Polish, awaiting' (*Ratwate* 854–855). This also sounds like a quote reflecting another Romani dialect.

It is difficult to establish with full certainty which word may be a borrowing from this or that Romani dialect or variety. The Romani word *nusarel* looks like a verb from Slovak Romani. In the fragment *if parno / drom / jameęę mósardz|i|a* 'the white snow spoiled our path' (*Ratwate* 846–848) the last word in the Romani quotation looks like a Slovak Romani borrowing. A Romanian Romani (Vlach) borrowing for '[tree] branches,' namely, *kreży*. (*gatezfyji*) (*Ratwate* 869) is underlined and supplied with a footnote-like glossa, which the Papusza crossed out later. Boundaries between dialects in their oral use are fluid, while Romani-speakers tend to be bi- or multi-dialectal.

## Conclusion

The uniqueness of Papusza's poetry stems from the tension between the poet's two cultural identities, namely, Romani and broadly speaking 'Polish' (but embracing interwar Poland's multicultural character). On the one hand, Papusza's sensibilities were shaped in a typical Roma family of musicians, while on the other, she was at home in interwar Polish culture. It was a tragedy for the poet that she lost both of her identities. After World War II, not only Roma life changed dramatically, but many features of prewar Poland did not make it to communist Poland. This discontinuity in Papusza's life was similar to the fate of actor Aleksander Żabczyński (1900–1958). Upon his return to postwar Poland, he realized that he would not be able to restart his acting career. Yet, surviving the total war was an incredible stroke of good luck. The fate dealt a worse to actor Eugeniusz Bodo (1899–1943), who like numerous interwar celebrities.

The uniqueness of Papusza's oeuvre and its very existence were possible thanks to an incredible combination of favorable factors. Firstly, the poet's enormous labor to write down her own songs and other texts was not supported by the social environment in which she lived. In Roma society, few men, let alone women, would dare to undertake such a long-term creative commitment against all odds. It was a *gadjo* thing, not part of the Roma social world. Secondly, with all the restrictions of political censorship observed in communist Poland, the 'civilizing project' to sedentarize Roma created minimal conditions for the partial publication of Papusza's poetry. This Polish Roma policy emulated the vast interwar Soviet program of language standardization and nativization (*korenizatsiia*), alongside the Kremlin's 1956 decree that sedentarized Roma living in the Soviet Union. In this contradictory context, the fact of the very publication of a part of Papusza's oeuvre became a foundation of the poet's well-deserved worldwide fame. Nowadays, the published fragments fit a variety of ethnic, feminist and other emancipatory projects with identity and the recognition of the past wrongs at their center. However, most of Papusza's writings remain in precariously preserved manuscripts, unavailable to researchers, let alone readers. Papusza as an icon is widely known and revered, but no serious research on her writings has commenced yet.

The Romani dialect, in which Papusza wrote, is a phenomenon largely formed in the sphere of the Polish linguistic culture. This is manifested at all linguistic levels from phonetics to phraseology and to meter. The interpretation of previously unpublished fragments of *Tears of Blood* often depends on the correct reconstruction of Polish phrases and translations, which Papusza almost literally translated (calqued) into Romani.

The inclusion of elements borrowed from other languages must be also analyzed, especially in the case of the dialogues in *Tears of Blood*. Although Papusza translated them into Romani for her Roma audience, she left enough distinctive features that make it possible to establish whether quoted speakers uttered their parts in Ukrainian, Russian or even Belarusian. Given the portrayal of Jews in the poem, an interesting question arises whether they spoke in a Slavic language or in their native language of Yiddish.

In 1956 *Tears of Blood* was published for the first time in Ficowski's abbreviated version. In this version the emphasis is on the sufferings of the Roma extended family (group) of musicians in wartime Volhynia. In line with the needs of communist Poland's culture and propaganda, Soviet guerrillas are portrayed as saviors of the Roma. The Germans are these guerrillas' antagonists. However, in the full text of this epic poem, the picture of the military confrontations is more nuanced, confusing, and ambiguous. The Germans, Ukrainians and Hungarians fight against Catholic Poles, Soviet guerrillas, the Red Army, Polish anticommunist guerrillas (AK, *Armia Krajowa* Homeland Army), or pro-Soviet Polish communist guerrillas (AL, *Armia Ludowa* People's Army). In the maelstrom of these multidirectional conflicts, Roma, Jews or ethnically Czech colonists are caught. On top of that, the genocidal-scale mutual Ukrainian-Polish ethnic cleansing then unfolded, a kind of regional civil war within World War II.

However, the poem's message to humanity is not limited to the denunciation of war crimes and cruelty, and to bearing witness on the Roma Genocide. *Tears of Blood* includes an important layer, which almost does not show up in the abbreviated version. It is a repeated emphasis on the emotional unity of the human soul with nature, which constitutes a platform for Papusza to address all the world's people. The poet calls for peace. Her visualization of peaceful life inevitably evokes an idyllic image of the Roma past, unhurried and devoid of external duties and pressures; life led in the forest, on the go from one country to another, with no border officers stopping and harassing Roma and their caravans. This lost ideal of Roma freedom is not compensated by anything else in the poem, except for Papusza's hope for softening people's hearts.

Papusza is deservedly presented as a witness to war crimes. Communist Poland's propaganda showed the poet as an unwavering supporter of the state program of sedentarizing the country's Roma way of life. But she was not. Papusza's doubts about sedentary life did not make it to the abbreviated version of *Tears of Blood*. Censors would not allow it. Neither would they accept Papusza's universalist philosophy and exhortations to Roma life immersed in

nature. The poet's benchmark of a good and happy life fell too far away from the strictures of marxism-leninism in the heydays of the stalinist period.

*Translated from Russian by Tomasz Kamusella  
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# Papusza and the Romani Literature Scene Worldwide

*Sofiya Zahova*

## **Introduction: Papusza and the Romani Literature History**

‘The first Romani poet’ and ‘mother of the Romani literature’ are common descriptions accompanying Papusza’s presentation in texts introducing her works and popularising Romani literature today (Hancock, Dowd and Djurić 1998: 44; Reidy 2014). After several decades of developments and trends that have contributed to the internationalisation and globalisation of the Romani literature scene, Papusza is unquestionably one of the few Romani literary figures known transnationally, having been presented and acclaimed on many occasions at Roma-related events in various countries and in many languages.

Papusza’s literary works along with her life path and dramatic destiny – marked by the persecution of the Roma during World War II and perceiving her as a ‘traitor’ of the community during the years of the state-controlled sedentarisation of the group (Bartosz 2016; Krzyżanowski and Wasilewski 2016) – have been present in the narratives of the emerging Romani literary historiography and in the field of Romani literature and activism in general. As these narratives usually rely on the same (limited) English language sources, they often replicate and repeat each other; additionally, they all contain certain patterns and motifs of Papusza’s representation, shaping an image – to paraphrase the apt title of Magdalena Machowska’s book (2011) – between a legend and a real figure. The pattern of glorification and ‘legendarisation’ by emphasising curious and extraordinary facts around public figures of importance for a community or society is in no way unique; indeed, it is rather common to universal discourses on the lives of personalities who are a source of pride for the community in question and who are considered important for the collective identity. In mainstream culture, the legendarisation of a famous personality from a certain public field follows the same pattern. In this sense, the fact that Papusza’s life and works have been an object of such narratives confirms her importance as a poet and as a Romani individual for those who create them and who aim at building a collective (Romani) representation.

This chapter discusses how, on the background of tendencies within the internationalisation and globalisation of the Romani literature scene,

Bronisława Wajs – Papusza has become a symbol and icon of Romani writing. The emerging Romani literary historiography (Djurić 2002; Eder-Jordan 1993; Lundgren 2003; Tahirović-Sijerčić 2019) considers Papusza an embodiment of certain features representative of Romani literature: the author's striving for learning and writing regardless of circumstances; the figure of the Romani poet as a woman speaking publicly; the 'traditional' way of life as a source of inspiration for the writer; the merging and interplay between orality and writing; and literary works that can function as historical testimonies. Considering the narratives of Papusza's representation in Romani (literary) historiography, I also look at how her portrayal has become homogeneous, mainly due to reliance on common sources. It is important to consider in the discussion the question of how Papusza's depictions in mainstream culture have contributed to reintroducing her into Romani activism internationally and in many individual countries.

Examining narratives *about* Papusza in writings presenting Romani literature as a common phenomenon globally – publications on the history of Romani literature, Romani anthologies and collections aiming to have a summarising and representative character, as well as textbooks for Romani children's education in which Papusza's biography and/or selected literary works are presented – allows us to explore the image of Papusza in these narratives. At the same time, I look at elements of Papusza's biography and creativity throughout her life that are in a dialogue and correspond to trends, aspects and occurrences in the life path and literary production of other Romani authors. My aim is to question how unparalleled Papusza's development as a Romani writer is in order to contribute to the 'normalisation' of her image as a Romani female writer and poet. The focus of the analysis is not a demonstration or assessment of Papusza's great importance and significance for Romani literature in general, though such aspects will come across. The final part is devoted to 'Papusza labelling' in various fields of what we can today call the international literary scene. Looking beyond the literary scene, the discussion turns to the question of how Papusza's works have inspired Romani activism in other public fields.

Before turning to Papusza's representation it is necessary to elaborate on what, from the point of view of the history of Romani literature, I mean by the internationalisation and globalisation of the Romani literary scene. In some previous works, I have discussed a four-stage historical periodisation of Romani literature – the literature created by and for Roma (Zahova 2016: 82–83; 2021: 7–8), and Romani-language literature created and published in the Romani language, including the corpus of Romani language translations (Zahova 2020: 540–541). The first period started with the emergence of texts

written in Romani primarily comprising religious translations and folklore materials, but also several instances of original fictional works translated by Roma in the context of the 19th-century Romantic nationalism movements in respective regions during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, followed by the interwar period in which many fictional and publicistic works were created in all countries where Romani activism developed and organisations were established (Roman et al. 2021). The most impressive and well-known phenomenon was the Soviet state-supported initiative for publications in Romani (Shapoval 2020, 2021).

The second period refers to the second half of the 20th century with the emergence of works by Romani authors in all European countries where Roma have lived. Throughout this period, the developments in Romani literature occurred primarily within the borders of states and were to a great extent dependent on the respective governmental policies towards the Roma. It was exactly in this period that Papusza emerged as a literary figure in Poland. Her public appearance, apart from her undisputed talents, happened due to the personal agency of the poet Jerzy Ficowski and the influence of Julian Tuwim, an authoritative figure in literary circles who corresponded with Papusza between February 1951 and December 1952 (Papusza, Tuwim and Tartakowsky 2011); both men appreciated her talent.

On the other hand, unfortunately for Papusza herself, her emergence as a poet was also tied up with the national policies for the sedentarisation of nomadic Gypsies, and, generally, integration of Gypsies as citizens of the new regime in Poland. Note that in the same issue of *Problemy*, a literary journal in which Papusza's poetry appeared for the first time and in which dialogue between Ficowski and Tuwim was published, a Romani translation of 'The Internationale' was also featured (Machowska and Krasicka 2011a: 107). Like other Romani writers emerging in this period, Papusza as a poet remained known mainly within Poland, and even there within a rather small literary circle and among the local public and journalistic community of Gorzów Wielkopolski, who maintained a regular interest in her personality and creative work. Through the international contacts and collaborations of Ficowski, the name and poetic talent of Papusza became known among specialists in Romani/Gypsy studies and in the manner in which she was presented by Ficowski. Ficowski himself often used the opportunity to mention Papusza as the 'first conscious Gypsy poet among the Gypsies whose name is known' (Ficowski 1989: 113) and 'the woman-poet' (Ficowski 1976: 71) of Poland, and published her works in his publications for international audiences.

The third period of Romani literature commenced in the 1980s and was characterised by the issue of Roma children's education and Romani culture

being raised by some European countries and pan-European institutions (e.g., Council of Europe) as well as by the general rise of Romani issues in the public discourse of the Eastern European countries in transition, donors' programmes and EU institutions (Marushiakova and Popov 2005; Matras 2005). There was a significant increase in Romani literary production in the context of affirming Roma rights and support for the expression of Romani cultural identity. The Romani movement, with its major stakeholder of that time, the International Romani Union, has also played an important role in intensifying contacts between Roma activists internationally (Klímová-Alexander 2005). Throughout this period too, some Roma authors were known beyond the borders of their own state but occasionally and only among a very limited circle of activists, researchers and experts on Roma issues and culture.

In the fourth period, since the end of the 1990s until today, we may speak about the internationalisation and globalisation of the Romani literature scene and developments that go far beyond the borders of a nation-state or a region. Common features of Romani literature have emerged, facilitated by intensified collaborations in the field of Romani activism and Romani issues, as well as by overall globalisation and the development of technology. In this period, there has been a strong influence from the Romani movement in Romani literature production and writing has been part of the politics of identity of many Romani activists who communicated their visions through publications (Toninato 2014: 150–160; Zahova 2017a: 376–377). Common or similar narratives centred around the idea of a Romani collective representation through textual and visual descriptions have emerged (Bakker and Daval-Markussen 2013; Zahova 2017a). Many events within the international Romani movement provided opportunities for contacts between Romani activists who – as part of their activism nationally and internationally – have often become writers of literature in all genres. Romani writers-cum-activists have also undertaken activities for networking and presenting Romani literature at international cultural and political forums (for example, poetry readings were organised as part of International Romani Union assemblies) as well as introducing Romani authors already established within the borders of their own country in other countries and internationally.

The end of the 1990s brought truly global developments, including international Romani literature festivals, competitions for Romani literature production, and the establishment of Romani writers' organisations – such as the Romani PEN Centre in Berlin (in 1996) and the International Romani Writers' Association (2002–2008), and anthologies presenting Romani authors across the world (Zahova 2014: 63–64). A noteworthy example is the international poetry competition 'For the Golden Pen of Papsza' with the main and leading

organiser the Ethnographic Museum, a department of the District Museum of Tarnów, in the framework of which since 1990 was set up the permanent exhibition on 'The History and Culture of Roma People', curated by Adam Bartosz.

During this period of the internationalisation of Romani literature, the internet provided many possibilities for publishing and dissemination of digital content, as well as opportunities for readership and engagement with this content. Access to the internet and active networking between Romani activists became a fertile ground for creating and circulating narratives of representation of the Roma in many fields, one of them being the literary scene, including famous figures with prominent lives that are a source of pride and representation. Romani literary historiography in publications such as textbooks, collections, and academic works discussing Romani literature have appeared (Eder-Jordan 1993; Hancock, Dowd and Djurić, 1998; Djurić 2002; Zahova 2014).

Exactly in this context, Papusza became known and popular among circles of Roma activists in various countries, with these activists writing about her in relevant publications (Courthiade 1997; Hancock, Dowd and Djurić, 1998; Djurić 2002; Tahirović Sijerčić 2010). Detailed discussion is provided below in the part devoted to Romani literary history. Papusza's life and time of creativity chronologically appeared within the second period of Romani literature, but since her emergence as a figure globally representative of Romani literature started in the decades after the 1990s, the discussion in this chapter will mainly concern the fourth and the currently ongoing period of Romani literature.

### Expressing Patriotic Feelings as a Pattern in Romani Literature

One of the first texts about Papusza that was aimed at an international audience was published in English in 1955 as part of an extensive summary of the book *Polish Gypsies* by Jerzy Ficowski (published originally in Polish as *Cyganie polscy. Szkice historyczno-obyczajowe* in 1953) by Stuart E. Mann in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*:

... the life of Papusza, the first Gypsy authoress, is interesting. Born in Lowland Wanderers in a wood in 1910 she lost her father—who was sent to Siberia—at the age of five, and her stepfather was a drunkard. At 12, determined to learn reading and writing, she would stop school-children and ask them to teach her her letters. She even stole trifles in order to bribe them. Later, a woman keeper of a general store accepted stolen chickens from her and taught her to read in return. She is now a settled Gypsy (since 1950), but is wistful about her isolation from the rest of her kind, and longs for the woods, the trees and the open sky. Indeed these are the themes of her three published collections of poems

[a misunderstanding, probably referring to the three publications of Papusza's poems in literary periodicals], all, alas, in translation, while Ficowski files the originals. Could they not have appeared bilingually? Papusza's autobiography is contained in a long poem entitled '*Gili romani*', a spontaneous nature-poem of Wordsworthian sensitivity, touchingly simple and nostalgic. Her favourite epithets are 'the singing woods' and the 'silver moon,' which is once described as 'father of our Indian people.' But this sophistication, maintained in '*Pre lačo drom*' and in '*Phuv miri me som čhaj tiri*,' the first an appeal to settle down and work, the second a paean to 'my country' Poland (!), is not typical of her work. Russian folksong is suggested in her ballad of the fallen warrior on the steppe, whose horse takes back a handkerchief of his mother to tell her he is dead. The girls in search of earrings – a leaf falling from a yellowing oak-three provided the treasures – seems to be original. Papusza's best images are perhaps 'where the silver moon bathes in billow-clouds like a young maiden in a warm under-wood stream,' and 'winds fighting with the flames.'  
(Mann 1955: 66–67)

This short text offering information and opinion was one of the few presentations of Papusza's work and significance in English for an international audience before the book *Gypsies in Poland. History and Customs* was published in English (1989) and German (1992). Mann's discourse is very indicative of the interpretation and perception of Papusza's works and generally for Gypsies/Roma as a group that is exoticised as completely different from the rest of the society. The poems that present reverence for nature and emotional vibrancy about natural senses (Mann referring to their 'Wordsworthian sensitivity') seemed to be considered authentic and typical for Papusza, while those calling for participation in the institutional fields of modern society ('On the right path') and patriotism ('My land, I am your daughter') were presented as 'not typical of her work' and their authenticity is questioned.

Below is the English language version of one of the poems in question – 'My land, I am your daughter', as published in a book by Jerzy Ficowski who chooses fragments of it as a closure of the text in his English language book *The Gypsies in Poland. History and Customs*:

O land, mine and afforested,  
I am your daughter.  
The forests sing, the land sings.  
The river and I combine this hymn  
Into one Gypsy song.  
I will go into the mountains,  
The high mountains,  
I shall put on a beautiful marvellous skirt,  
Made from flowers and I shall cry with all my strength:  
Polish land, red and white!

My land, you are in tears,  
 You were pierced with pain,  
 O land, you cried in your sleep,  
 Like a little Gypsy child  
 Hidden in the moss.  
 I apologize to you, O land,  
 For my poor song,  
 For the Gypsy signs.  
 Place your body and mine together  
 When all is over and I die, you will receive me.

O land of black forests,  
 I grew up from you,  
 I was born in your moss.  
 All living things  
 But and worried  
 My young body.  
 O land, you have laid me to sleep  
 With tears and songs,  
 O land, you have thrown me into good and evil.  
 O land, I believe firmly in you,  
 I can die for you.  
 No-one will take you from me  
 And I will give you back to no-one.  
 (Ficowski 1989: 120)

Similar disbelief by 'a British Gypsy expert' (which could have been S. Mann) were encountered by Ficowski himself on the occasion of Papusza's poem 'My land, I am your daughter', about which he writes in the English-language edition of the book *The Gypsies in Poland: History and Customs*:

This is a major work, and moreover deserves particular attention for non-literary reasons: as a deep and highly individual expression of her own kind of Gypsy patriotism and also attachment to Poland. In a review of the translation of a collection of Papusza's songs published by the present author some years ago, a British Gypsy expert claimed that this poem was false, was unthinkable in the mouth of a Gypsy.

This view is quite mistaken. Papusza is a Gypsy from the *Polska Roma* group, that is a group of Polish lowland Gypsies, who for many tens of generations have never left Polish territory, and are therefore tied to the country of their birth and antecedents. The Polish language is the only one that they speak apart from Romany – only occasionally do they know a little Ukrainian or German. Papusza herself never travelled outside Poland, and all her experiences and memories concern Polish lands.

(Ficowski 1989: 119–120)

This poem by Papusza was among the ones circulated in the mainstream of Polish society before 1989. It appeared first in 1952 and had been later republished in several editions in Polish, including textbooks (Machowska and Krasicka 2011b: 125). After the democratic changes, in journalistic and academic discourse of anti-communist rhetoric and reassessing the past with critical notes towards the dominant ideology, it was considered that this poem was either very much influenced by the ideology or that the Polish translation did not reflect the original as such kind of poetry was foreign to Papusza's poetic style; this shift of the original meaning was attributed to Ficowski intermediary role. This interpretation, however, might also fall into the trap exoticising the Roma/Gypsies as people different from the majority and isolated from broader social and historical processes. It disregards major characteristics of the Roma communities, namely that they always live in at least two dimensions, as a community and as part of a larger society, and they do often share dominating public opinions as well as the identity of the nation to which they belong (Marushiakova and Popov 2016: 15). Romani self-identification with their nation-state, i.e., Polish Roma, Hungarian Roma, French Roma, German Sinti/Roma, Finnish Kaale, etc., is neither a misinterpretation nor a theoretical limitation dictated by methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Schiller 2003); rather, it is a requirement for a full understanding of the multifaceted character of both Romani identity and Romani literature. As Ficowski points out (1989: 119), Papusza's own group had been travelling for centuries through Polish regions and identification with the Polish lands is not surprising. In some of her public interviews for the local press, she had pointed out that she wrote 'My land, I am your daughter' and invited the journalists and the public to get acquainted with this work (Machowska and Krasicka 2011b: 125).

From a cross-national perspective, Papusza is one of many authors expressing belonging to their national territories, who praises the beauty of the land and its landmarks and whose emotional attachment, which is also accounted for in other narratives, takes the form of a lyrical expression. Such examples, to mention only a few, are the poem 'In USSR' (Romani original Дрѣ СССР) by Georgiy Lebedev (Германо 1931: 37), 'Homeland' (Родина) by the Bulgarian Roma poet Usin Kerim (Керим 1978: 7), 'Hungary' (Ungriko them – Magyarország) by one of the most famous Hungarian Roma poets, József Choli Daróczy (1990), 'Sibiu-Transylvania-Romania' by Luminița Cioabă (2016: 28), 'Long live Ukraine' (Мэк дживѣл Украина) by Rani Romani (Романи 2015: 14), etc. These poetic examples do not necessarily, or not only, have ideological alignment with the political regime of the time. They are an expression of the national belonging of the Roma authors, which does not exclude their community identity also expressed in literary works, nor does it mean that they are uncritical towards an individual or institutional mistreatment of

Roma. Roma had indeed created poetic and other works that acclaimed the communist regimes and the 'new way'/'new life' offered to the Roma in their own countries, such as Papusza's 'On the Right Path' (Romani original *Pre latcho drom terdzijam*) – praising the sedentarisation and opportunities for schooling, at the same time, bringing the narrative of 'old Gypsies' who don't want to lose their old way of life, rhetoric very similar to the literary discourse on the 'new life' and 'new Roma' which we can read in the works of the Soviet Romani authors (cf. the list in Roman et al. 2021: 264–273). We can look at other literary examples of the genuine support of Roma author for the new regimes of communism – 'To the Party' and 'I am a Gypsy' by Usin Kerim in Bulgaria, 'My Good People' by Jan Rais and 'The Big Sun' by Antonín Daniel in Czechoslovakia (Ryvolová 2020: 169), that have also the same pathos of appraisals of the changing way of life under the communist regimes in the respective countries.

There might be various layers of meanings and possible interpretations of these works and literary statements – negotiating the position of the author as part of the national literary landscape and its major narratives of the time, responding to expectations from people in the creative circles, but still, the leading one should be the sincereness of the messages the poems carry. I believe the reading of these literary works should be focused on understanding the authors' appreciation (usually expressed also in other writings, in the prose writing, essays, and publicistic pieces) of states and regimes that were making efforts and providing opportunities to improve deprived conditions of Roma in public fields and were promoting – at least on the level of official ideology – equality of all citizens, as well as an appraisal of measures that did advance the life of the Roma communities. Interpreting these works as political propaganda deprives Roma authors of their agency to write on a patriotic topic or to support the regimes that they indeed might have sincerely favoured (cf. discussion about the Czechoslovak case in Ryvolová 2020: 165–170 and Sadilkova n.d.). The act of writing in itself, targeting large reading audiences (Roma and non-Roma alike), is, for many Roma authors, an act of going beyond the Roma–gadje dichotomy and communicating messages resonating and engaging with the mainstream society's opinions. Topics about their native land are a clear demonstration that these authors wish to express national belonging, which they share with the majority of the population. Publishing of works in periods ruled by communist authorities, related generally to authoritative measures and reproducing highly ideological discourses, however, does not automatically mean that these works were propaganda ordered from above. I agree with Karolina Ryvolová's conclusion, referring to the poems Jan Rais and Antonín Daniel that the text 'illustrate the sense of historicity thanks to which the Roma enjoy an unprecedented opportunity to improve their plight' and link this opportunity to socialism (2020: 169). Note that there are no indications

that communist regimes forced or gave orders through the bureaucratic system to Roma authors to write on certain topics.

An indication of the post-1989 discourse to portray the former communist regimes as repressive towards Gypsies is the English-language translation of the book *Narodila jsem se pod šťastnou hvězdou* [literally, I Was Born Under a Lucky Star] (Lacková 1997). The translation of the title as *A False Dawn: My life as a Gypsy woman in Slovakia* (Lacková 2000) carries a meaning opposite to what the author wanted to convey (in both her text and title), as she considered her life and work as a functionary under the regime as full of accomplishments and opportunities even though Lacková indeed shares her frustration when discovering that there was little overlap between slogans of equality and advancement and real changes in the life of the Gypsies, who were often left to live in the same conditions as prior to and during the World War II and who continued to be treated as second-class citizens (Lacková 2000: 123; 141).

Note that in the periods of Romani literary history before its internationalisation and globalisation the developments took place and had an impact only within a certain nation-state. The literary works by Roma authors were directed toward national audiences (Roma and non-Roma in their country) and their themes were much related to the national context. The transnational aspect is an important one in contemporary Romani literature (Blandford 2015:26–34; Toninato 2014:129–159; Zahova 2016:114–122), however, such development can be seen only after the 1990s, i.e. in the fourth period of Romani literature.

### Papusza and the Emerging Romani Literary Historiography

Papusza was recognised as one of the most important Romani poets and the first Romani writer in Poland as soon as attempts to map and historicise Romani literature in a transnational perspective began in the 1990s. This process took place against the background of the raising of Roma minority issues in many countries of Europe, as well as within European institutions, and the intensified international cooperation between Roma activists, who were also authors of publications presenting Romani literature. Ficowski's publications containing Papusza's biography and English translations of her texts had already been in circulation for international audiences (1976, 1989, 1992). Another discussion of Papusza's works, including her poem *Tears of Blood* was offered in the article 'Papusza and her poems' by Mateusz Cybulski (1985) published in another academic journal on Roma issues, *Lacio Drom*. The Fourth World Roma Congress was organised in 1990 in Serock near Warsaw and public figures involved in Roma issues in Poland with international platforms, such as Andrzej Mirga, Stanisław Stankiewicz, were also presenting Bronisława Wajs-

Papusza, the first Romani poetess of Poland, whose works in Romani were published as early as the 1950s (Bartosz 2004). The statement of Adam Bartosz, the director of the Tarnów Ethnographic Museum in Poland, that has been cited in some Romani literary texts is very indicative of the presentation of the Romani poet: 'Papusza is as important to the Roma as [Jan] Kochanowski was to the Poles and Shakespeare to Europe' (Tahirović Sijerčić 2010: IV). It should also be noted that interest among the majority (Polish) society was not lacking and soon after the democratic changes productions inspired by Papusza's life and work appeared. The earlier produced documentary materials with Papusza's participation were circulated and new materials appeared – journal articles and a documentary from 1991. The symphonic opera 'Papusza's Harps' by Jan Kanty Pawluśkiewicz was composed in 1993 and premiered in 1994 at Kraków's Błonia Park, as a part of the commemoration events of the Roma Holocaust, organised by the Association of Roma in Poland. Reportedly an audience of 10,000 saw the performance (Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka 2017).

In academic scholarship, the most important contribution was made by the research of Magdalena Machowska presented in her book *Bronisława Wajs-Papusza. Między biografią a legendą* (Bronisława Wajs-Papusza: Between biography and legend) (2011). Critically assessing previous discourses of Papusza's presentation and available archival material, Machowska is the first researcher to juxtapose the dominant (seemingly factual) presentation of Papusza's life path and writing and the one that appears on the basis of a reconstruction of writings and other primary and secondary sources. In the last decade, publications and research related to Papusza have been steadily increasing (for an overview of the recent publications on Papusza in the Polish academic and public context, cf. Kledzik 2020), and access to her personal archives was provided at the Provincial and Municipal Library in Gorzów Wielkopolski, where a collection of books and archival materials, including the original manuscript of the poem *Tears of Blood*, was opened. The poet's former home on Kosynierów Gdynskich street has been marked with a plaque in 2013, as is the main city library on Sikorskiego street.

The first cross-border and/or transnational initiatives presenting Papusza as a Romani poet came from the circles of Romani activists-cum-writers. Marcel Courthiade, who had a large network of contacts and who was working on reinforcing a common Romani literary and language corpus, had been publicising Papusza's literary heritage and was one of the first outside of Poland to publish academic articles about her and to engage with a discussion on her Romani language texts (Courthiade 1997), to publicise and popularise her among his extensive network of collaborators in Europe, and to translate her works into French (Papùša 2011).

The first historically oriented publications presenting selections of Romani literature from across the globe included Papusza's work. *The Roads of the Roma: A PEN Anthology of Gypsy Authors* edited by Ian Hancock, Rajko Djurić and Siobhan Dowd on behalf of the newly established Roma and Sinti writers' PEN Centre in Berlin, features the poem 'My land, I am your daughter' (1998: 43) as a reprint from Ficowski's book quoted in the previous subsection (1989: 120). The first important study discussing Romani literature from different countries was *The Literature of Roma and Sinti*, published by Rajko Djurić in German (2002), followed by several editions in other languages. The whole chapter on Poland is devoted to the life and creative work of Papusza with a short note, at the end of the piece, on the handful of other Polish Roma authors who have published literary works subsequent to 1990. It is also the first work aimed toward an international audience that elaborates on the contribution of Julian Tuwim in the recognition of Papusza's talent and the publishing of her works; in previous publications for international audiences, only Ficowski's name had appeared in this context. The only Papusza's poem that is explicitly mentioned and discussed by Djurić in the chapter is *Tears of Blood*:

Bronisława Wajs-Papuscha presented in her poems the suffering of her people. The poem *Ratvale jasva – so pal sasendyr pszegijam apre Wolyn 1943–44 bersza* (*Tears of Blood – How We Lived in Volynia Under the Germans in '43 and '44*) was published in 1952<sup>1</sup> and is one of the many shocking testimonies about the Roma Holocaust.  
(Djurić 2002: 108)

In *Historical Dictionary of the Roma Gypsies*, an equally essential book of an overview nature, authored by Donald Kenrick and aimed at large reading audiences interested in the history of the Gypsies/Roma in Europe, the Polish Romani section states that 'The only publishing in Romani in that period were the poems of Bronisława Wajs (Papusza)'. The entry on Papusza in the dictionary is as follows:

WAJS, BRONISŁAWA (PAPUSZA) (1910–1987). Poland. Poet. During World War II, she survived by hiding in the forests, an experience described in her lyrics, written in Romani, such as 'Ratvale jasva' [*Tears of Blood*]. Her verse was brought to the public by Jerzy Ficowski. Her family and many Gypsies were against this publication, as they felt Wajs was collaborating with a society intent on destroying their traditional way of life.  
(Kenrick 1998: 289)

1 Note that the poem was published in 1956 but 1952 is the year quoted in the text.

The short presentation of Papusza in both works, which are themselves fundamental contributions to building common Romani historiography and mapping the important agents in Romani history and literature, focuses on this poem and underlines its meaning for the memory and history of the Romani community. However, the authors of these studies do not ignore the overall talent or other topics of the poet. Both *Historical Dictionary of the Roma Gypsies* and *History of Roma and Sinti Literature*, authored by Roma activists, have aims that go beyond an appraisal of the literary opus of a given author. They are creating core narratives of central importance for the history, identity and recognition of the Romani community and the destiny and suffering of the Roma during World War II, and these are exactly the topics around which Romani activism has mobilised (Kapralski 1997: 273; Marushiakova and Popov 2005).

Presentation of Papusza and her works was also included in textbooks on Romani language and literature prepared and published by Roma activists in several countries, where Romani language and culture have been part of the curricula, such as: *The Romani Road: Chrestomathy of Romani literature* by Hristo Kyuchukov and Misoslav Yanakiev (Кючуков & Янакиев 1996), for students of the upper classes in primary school in Bulgaria; the textbook on Romani languages and literature for the 10th grade compiled by Gheorghe Sarău and Ionel Cordovan in Romania (2011); and the textbooks by Rajko Djurić and Ljuan Koko (a.k.a. Ljuan Koka) for Romani students in the primary grades in Serbia (2018). In most cases, the aim of the textbooks' authors and compilers was to demonstrate the richness and diversity of Romani literature through the inclusion of writers from many countries and Romani dialects. The idea behind it was to raise the knowledge of students about Romani literature as a common phenomenon and also to contribute to enhancing their self-esteem.

Of all these publications, the one that presents Papusza's life path and creative work most exhaustively is the 130-page textbook on Romani language and literature for ten-graders in Romania (Sarău and Cordovan 2011). Its eleven-page section devoted to Papusza has been compiled by Sarău in close collaboration with Marcel Courthiade, on the basis of the previously published French–Romani edition of Papusza's poetry edited by the latter (Papùša 2011), following an orthographic adaptation by Courthiade on Papusza's text (which corresponds to the standard Romani version in Romania). This is the longest presentation of Papusza in a Romani textbook and contains a comparatively comprehensive biography comprising all of the details known to the authors, including her expulsion from the Romani community. The biographical material is followed by poetry works presenting all of the themes of Papusza's opus in the versions drawn from earlier publications (Sarău and Cordovan 2011: 18–28).

Milena Hübschmannová's contribution 'Papusza (Bronislawa Wajs)' to Rombase (n.d.), a webpage providing encyclopaedic information on Romani history and culture, provides a very consistent summary of the most important facts in the life-path of Papusza as a Roma poet and personality – her origin and group belonging, her 'discovery' by the famous Polish poet Julian Tuwim, but primarily by Jerzy Ficowski' (ibid.), the process of work by Ficowski in the book with facsimiles of the author's original manuscripts, her life in the Wajs family who were harp players, the destiny of the Roma and her family during World War II, how she was ridiculed for being able to read and write and how the community opinion against her discouraged her and there 'were times when the poet didn't take her pen in hand' (Hübschmannová n.d.: 1). Hübschmannová chose to present the biographical notes in Papusza's own words and quoted large parts of the poet's biography as published by Ficowski in his foreword to the first poetry collection edited by him (Pieśni Papuszy 1956). The text by Hübschmannová describes Papusza's works as 'unique and enormously strong works of art in their authenticity, absolute honesty, sincerity and originality'; the only work of Papusza that is being mentioned explicitly is *Tears of Blood*, interpreted in the context of Romani history and Papusza's family destiny:

Of course, it wasn't that idyllic. According to Kenrick's and Puxon's information, 35,000 Roma out of 50,000 were murdered during the war in Poland. ['The Final Solution'] The Wajs clan hid in the forest in Volyń, hungry, cold and terrified. A horrible experience inspired Papusza to write her longest poem 'Ratfale jasfa – so pal sasendyr pšegijam upre Volyń 43 a 44 berša' ('Bloody tears – what we endured from German soldiers in Volyń in '43 and '44') (Hübschmannová n.d.: 2)

Publishing anthologies of Romani authors across the globe or from Europe is one of the signs of the Romani literary scene's internationalisation. Papusza's significance for Romani literature, underlined in many publications by activists (as well as her fame in mainstream culture) has also fostered her inclusion in almost all anthologies and collections designed to present the cultural unity of Roma. The very first anthologies such as *Rom Som. Romane Poetongi Antologia/Anthology of Gypsy poets/ Ciganyok Költök Versei* (1995), *Baxtalo drom* edited by Santino Spinelli (1994–1997), and the already mentioned *The Roads of the Roma: A PEN Anthology of Gypsy Writers* (1998), published in English, presented her works. Papusza's poetry has been included not only in Romani literature editions aimed at international audiences (English being one of the languages of publication) but also in various collections presenting famous Romani authors and published in a given national language. Examples

of such editions are: two anthologies from Sweden, both edited by Gunilla Lundgren (2002, 2003); the German anthology *Die Morgendämmerung der Worte: Moderner Poesie-Atlas der Roma und Sinti*, edited by Wilfried Ihrig and Ulrich Janetzki (2018: 193–194); the Romani literature collection in French, *La littérature des Rroms, Sintés et Kalés*, edited by Marcel Corthiade and published in a special issue of the journal *Massives* (2002), etc.

Papusza, as a symbol of both Romani literature and Romani female agency, has a special place in the academic and popular presentation of Romani women's writing. Hedina Tahirović-Sijerčić, a researcher, journalist, translator, and writer herself, has consistently been paying tribute to Papusza as an inspirational role model. The introductory part to the first Romani women's poetry collection *Sar o Paj. Like a Water* includes a two-page Editor's Note in which Tahirović-Sijerčić writes a dedication to Papusza:

There is no easy way to get acknowledgement or respect in our community, but our way, my sisters, is easier than for our women in the past. For singing and writing her poems our first Romani poet, Romani sister Bronislawa Wajs known as Papusza (Doll) was punished by our Romani brothers as 'unclean' and excluded from the Romani community because of her writing. We know what difficult lives Romani women have.

We know how much strength our women need in order to write, along with our work in our families and communities. And here we are. The strength of our women prevails and lives no matter what efforts are made to silence us. We write in the spirit of Papusza. With our honour to Papusza.

(Tahirović-Sijerčić 2010: II)

In the introductory paragraph of the first chapter of the same book 'Bronislawa Wajs Papusza (1910–1987)', Tahirović-Sijerčić presents Papusza as a victim of her own Roma community, largely repeating information published by Isabel Fonseca in her book, which describes the author's personal reflections and reports based on her own travels in Eastern Europe, *Bury Me Standing* (1996: 3–16):

Bronislawa Wajs Papusza is one of the most famous Romani poets ever known. She grew up with her nomadic family in Poland. She was literate, unusual for Polska Roma of that time – she learnt by trading a chicken for a lesson with local villagers. This was frowned upon, and whenever she was found reading, she was beaten and the book destroyed. Papusza was married in a traditional ceremony at 15 to a much older and revered harpist named Dionizy Wajs. She was very unhappy with the marriage and took to singing as an outlet for her frustrations, with her husband often accompanying her on harp. Soon after learning to sing she began to compose her own ballads and songs based on traditional Romani story-telling and songwriting.

...

The Roma community soon began to regard Papusza as a traitor, threatening her and calling her names. Papusza maintained that Ficowski had exploited her work and had taken it out of context. Her appeals fell on deaf ears and the Baro Shero (Head Man, an elder in the Roma community) declared her 'unclean'. She was banished from the Roma world, and even Ficowski broke contact with her. Afterwards, she spent 8 months in a mental hospital and then the next 34 years of her life alone and isolated before her death in 1987. There is a myth that Papusza was punished for being a poet, because, as the myth says, a Romani woman is not permitted to be a poet.  
(Tahirović-Sijerčić 2010: III–IV)

In a chapter of the book *A Romani Women's Anthology. Spectrum of the Blue Water*, Tahirović-Sijerčić elaborates on Papusza's difference within the already considered different Roma community echoing Papusza's own narrative:

When I was thirteen,  
I was lean and agile as  
a squirrel on a tree,  
I've only been black.  
I have read and Roma  
Ridiculed me because of it and spit on me.  
(Tahirović-Sijerčić 2017: 33)

Papusza's biography and significance are also referred to in the popular writing of other Romani authors or activists promoting Romani literature (Reidy 2014; Kokoladze 2015). She has also been an inspiring example of female Romani activism by established Romani feminists. Ethel Brooks opening contribution to the special issue of the *Signs* journal devoted to Romani feminism starts with an epigraph with the beginning of the poem 'My land, I am your daughter' as published in *The Roads of the Roma: A PEN Anthology of Gypsy Writers* (Brooks 2012: 1). Nicoleta Bitu, a Romani civil right activists, feminist and academic, 'a fan of Papusza, the Polish Romani poet', has quoted excerpts from *Tears of Blood* in the context of the history of the Holocaust:

This book brought me emotions of all kinds, including anger and sadness. As a fan of Papusza, the Polish Romani poet, I am including here some of her verses from the poem *Tears of Blood*, the story of the Holocaust, so meaningful for the work Jan has done in this book:

... All the birds  
are praying for our children,  
so the evil people, vipers, will not kill them.  
Ah, fate!  
My unlucky luck!

*Snow fell as thick as leaves,  
barred our way,  
(Bitu 2022: vii–viii).*

Narratives about Papusza as a significant female historical figure and a role model for girls appear beyond Romani feminism – such instance is the book *Women's story for children: Papusza* published in Russian by the Women's Museum in Moscow (Красовицкая & Мазикина 2019; Папуша – стихи и переводы 2019).

In some of these texts, Papusza is called 'the mother of Romani poetry' or 'the first Romani poet' (Hancock, Dowd and Djurić 1998: 44; Reidy 2014), following Ficowski's definition of her as 'the first conscious [Gypsy] poet' or the 'first Gypsy poet' (Ficowski 1989: 113). As a matter of fact, much earlier original poetry works were published, most notably in the interwar period (for the poetry works published in the USSR, Romania and Yugoslavia, cf. Roman et al. 2021). All of these publications are, nevertheless, a sign of her prominence. Even though she is not historically the first poet, Papusza actually is the first globally famous poet of Romani origin. We should not forget Papusza's national and gender label and note that her works have appeared not only in publications theme-based on Romani literature but also in anthologies of female authors of the 20th century and in presentations of Polish literature generally (Сделано в Польше 2009). Papusza can also be considered one of the most translated Romani poets and, thus far, she is the most translated Romani female writer. Apart from publications in literary periodicals and collections presenting many authors, her earlier published by Ficowski works appeared in poetry collections in translations (in most cases from the Polish edition) into German (Papuscha 1992; Papusza 2011), French (Papùša 2011), Italian (Innocenzi 2007; Papusza 2012), Russian (Вайс 2005; Красовицкая & Мазикина 2019), Spanish (Papusza 2019), Swedish (Papusza 2014), as well as Japanese (Papūsha and Fitsofusuki 2015). As excerpts of her works were translated and quoted in numerous publications, we could consider that Papusza's poetry has appeared in most of the languages with the status of official languages in Europe. Interestingly enough, even though some of Papusza's poetry earliest translations appeared in English (Ficowski 1989: 106–120; Hancock, Dowd and Djurić 1998: 43) and these translations have been quoted and reprinted in many other publications ever since, no English language collection of Papusza's poetry has appeared so far. She is also among the few Romani writers whose work was also adapted into other Romani dialects (Papùša 2011; Sarău and Cordovan 2011: 18–28).

### Mainstream Narratives and Papusza Becoming a Representative Figure for Both Roma and Non-Roma

Papusza becoming a symbol of Romani literature, accompanied by the designation 'the first Gypsy poet', is not only related to her being known and appraised among the Romani activists and specialists on Roma issues, and to the internationalisation of Romani literature. Her life was dramatic, her writing pioneering in many aspects (testimonies about World War II, female writing, the first Romani language poetry in Poland, etc.) and her works are of high poetic and aesthetic qualities. On the one hand, the popularity of Papusza and what she represents in recent decades has been largely influenced by the climate of heightened interest in Roma issues. On the other hand, journalistic and academic research has also contributed to the increased interest towards Papusza among the majority population. This is reflected in several books about her in Poland (Machowska 2011; Kuźniak 2013; Rymar 2017) as well evidenced by her portrayal in fictional works of mainstream culture in Poland, most notably the feature movie *Papusza* directed by Joanna Kos-Krauze and Krzysztof Krauze (2013), and beyond. This makes Papusza's life and work one of the most researched and discussed in comparison with other Romani authors.

In the Polish context, Papusza was indeed a source of pride for raising the Romani profile in the public field and numerous activities discussing and commemorating her life path poetic opus appeared, like circulating of the earlier made documentaries (1974, 1984, 1991). Near the municipal library complex of Gorzów Wielkopolski, in the Wiosny Ludów park – the place where the poet often lived nearby and was telling fortune to passers-by – a monument to her was erected in November 2007. The monument authored by the sculptor Zofia Bilińska, present Papusza on a tree stump with folded hands and a book of poems on her lap, from which fortune-telling cards fall out. A plaque by the sculptor Andrzej Moskaluk accompanies the sculpture: 'Gypsy poet Bronisława Wajs-Papusza. 1908–1987. Made by art artist Zofia Bilińska, handed over to the Provincial and Municipal Public Library in Gorzów Wielkopolski by the General Contractor of the new library building. SKANSKA. Gorzów 30.11.2007'.

A common pattern of community representation is that (Romani) personalities who participate and are portrayed in mainstream culture and media production, i.e. at the level of the majority society, become representative of the respective community or culture. This representation is perceived in such a way by both Roma and non-Roma, even if the content of the creative works of these Roma representatives is not largely known at the level of the community culture. In certain historical periods, Papusza was considered a traitor and lived as an outlaw expelled by her community; however, today at the level of

Romani activism and common community identity she is considered a heroine that represents the community and one of its most remarkable personalities (Bartosz 2016; Krzyżanowski and Wasilewski 2016). In this regard, the Papusza mythology is comparable with other symbols and public representations of other personalities, such as Katarina Taikon and Django Reinhardt. This pattern is not unique to Romani culture, but for mythmaking in contemporary culture and narratives in general – a personality becomes widely known via collective mythology based on second-hand bits of information rather than first-hand knowledge of their works. Today, not all Roma who refer to Papusza's life path and importance might be able to quote the title of a poem or recite her works like those of poets taught in the educational system. They do, however, know who Papusza is and that she is an important Romani female poet from Poland who learned to read and write herself and had a dramatic life. Through awareness of her and appreciation of her talent and remarkable destiny at the wider societal level, Papusza's importance for the identity of the Romani community has been strengthened.

As Machowska has demonstrated, Papusza's life story has been surrounded by many legends and has become a kind of mythology. Among recent publications based on comprehensive academic studies and archival work by Polish researchers, the most prominent, and the greatest contribution, is the work of Machowska herself (2011). Her work has begun a process of demystification of Papusza and has properly documented many facts of her life – certain myths and misconceptions have been deconstructed, some assumptions have been confirmed and others rejected (her alleged illiteracy, the role of Ficowski in her writings, her alleged unhappy marriage, etc.). But in the international context, which has been reliant on limited and rather basic facts of her biography and on narratives about her shaped by fictional creations from figures who have no expertise in Romani Studies or on Roma issues in general (Fonseca 1996; McCann 2006; Kos-Krauze and Krauze 2013), the situation is rather disappointing. Instead of referring to and trying to popularise works that have been written in Poland with enlightening information about Papusza's life, references are being made almost exclusively to the fictional works, which strengthen the legendary image of the female poet, with a lot of exotic misconceptions perpetuated. A rare example of a piece of international academic scholarship devoted to illuminating the academic and general audience interested in Papusza's life path and various aspects of her biography and work is the volume of the French-language journal *Etudes Tsiganes* devoted to Papusza edited by Jean-Yves Potel and Marie-Claude Vachez (2011–2012, No. 48–49, Vol. 4), which contains valuable articles providing primary sources materials available at the time of publication. However, probably because of the language of publication,

and the limited readership for academic journals generally, it has not managed to reach an audience on the scale of the fictional works.

This situation is not limited to the case of Papusza – popular culture mainstream narratives, often created by non-specialists or writers not basing their work on primary sources or on profound multi-sources research, will always prevail over narratives and issues discussed among specialists on Roma issues. The mainstream narrative and misconceptions are typically so strong and well-rooted that they begin to be repeated and reproduced even among specialists. Such an example is a discussion on Papusza's poetry and destiny in comparison with the works and activities of Luminița (Mihai) Cioabă, a Roma poet of the younger generation, in an article by Fevronia Novac (2010). If there is one poetic figure of today who bears comparison to Papusza's manner of writing, while also sharing a similar destiny as women belonging to a Roma community in which writing is not particularly valued, it is Luminița Cioabă. So, while comparison in certain aspects is completely appropriate and justified, the theoretical discussion, as far as Roma culture is concerned, relies only on references to Isabel Fonseca's bestselling book *Bury Me Standing* (1996) which gained huge popularity against the background of issues in the popular discourse on 'the plight of Roma from Eastern Europe'. The opening chapter of the book 'Out of the Mouth of Papusza; A cautionary Tale' contains a description of the life of the poet (Fonseca 1996: 3–16), comprising elements that have often been repeated in subsequent publications about Papusza, including the one about yearning for the *lungo drom* (i.e. the nomadic travels of the group) and how unhappy her marriage was, mingled with statements about the illiteracy of the Roma and the alleged lack of 'proper' words for to read (Fonseca 1996: 11). Fonseca's book has been criticised by Ian Hancock (1998: 19) for perpetuating some of the most negative stereotypes about the Roma. Although the book is not an academic work, being rather a travelogue produced by a journalist, it was included in the list of books in the translation programme (for translations into Eastern European languages) of the Open Society network of foundations. In an article criticising the approaches in Romani Studies which are orientalisising and exoticising the Roma in Eastern Europe, Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov discuss the example with the book by Fonseca which was classified 'anthropological' by the foundation and was further recommended as a model on how to conduct research among Roma (Marushiakova and Popov 2017: 128–129).

Inspired by what he read about Papusza in *Bury Me Standing*, the Irish novelist Colum McCann wrote *Zoli* (2006). The book narrates the story of Marienka Novotna-Zoli, a fictional Slovak Romani woman, with lots of elements in the story informed by narratives about Papusza which McCann explored: Zoli lived

with her grandpa after losing all other members of their family who were killed by the Hlinka guards, she self-educates herself and writes down her poems, Zoli meets Stephen Swann (a prototype of the character is Jerzy Ficowski) with whom they have a love affair. Zoli is used by the government in their plan to settle Gypsies and as a consequence her community condemns her, and she lived in exile. McCann's book *Zoli* and the movie *Papusza* are, of course, fictional; yet while not being perceived as works of a documentary nature, their presentation as having been based on the biography of Papusza would presuppose their authenticity and communication of the true events of Papusza's life. Academic articles would take a departure from the novel and elaborate on more general aspects like orality and modernity or the alleged rewriting and censorship of the author's text (*Zoli/Papusza*) (Garden 2016). *Zoli* has received rather positive international acclaim, but it has also been critically discussed by specialists in regards to appropriating Roma history. According to Charles Sabatos, 'McCann's novel undoubtedly brought greater attention to the lives of Roma women; the question is not whether it can substitute for an 'authentic insider's' voice but whether, if such a voice would appear, if it would have any possibility of finding a comparable readership' (Sabatos 2020: 192).

The movie *Papusza* (2013) has been presented and promoted by many Romani activists and experts on various occasions devoted to Papusza and has been acclaimed by Roma filmmakers and activists (Müllner 2017). The film director Joanna Kos-Krauze stated in an interview that 'we absolutely did not want to make a typical biography. We wanted to show a few of the most important, deciding moments of their history in the twentieth century' (Zelman 2014). The movie, being easily accessible and appealing to viewers, has shaped a great deal of the images of Papusza today internationally and was impetus for interest towards her life among Roma in many countries.

If we compare the common elements in the narratives presenting Papusza's life in Romani publications (i.e., created for a Romani audience, mainly by Roma) with the main aspects of her portrayal in mainstream cultural productions aimed at general audiences, we find a very telling difference. In the Romani narratives created for educational, academic or just popular purposes, the manner of presenting Papusza's biography is very similar to how she was presented by Jerzy Ficowski on the occasions when he was mentioning her or publicising her texts: in the introductions to Papusza's volumes (1956), when publishing fragments of the poet's work in literary periodicals, especially in the 1950s, when the audience needed to be introduced to her (1952, 1953), or in his books about the Gypsies in Poland. These elements are: Papusza's origin and her family; the way she learned to read and write (from non-Roma children attending school and from a store owner whom Papusza bribed with a stolen

chicken); that she was considered a traitor and was ostracised from her own community, which led to her isolation and affected her creative process; that she is the 'first conscious Gypsy poet' and that her poetry is related to Romani folk poetry, but goes far beyond that; and that her *Tears of Blood* presents an account of the years of extermination. It is noteworthy that Papusza herself apparently found her efforts to read and write, despite the discouragement she got from her family and community, especially important as a story to share (Machowska 2011: 125). One might speculate as to why she considered this one of her big benchmarks – was it because she wanted to explain why she did not have proper schooling and education? Was it because it opened up many possibilities, with her reading making her knowledgeable and helping her develop in the fortune-telling profession? Was it because she thought it might provide insights for the reading audiences or inspiration for Roma to be educated?

From the perspective of Romani literary writing, we can first point out that most of the Roma across the world were not schooled during the interwar years. For instance, Matéo Maximoff, a French writer of Romani origin from the same generation, also learned to read and write by himself. The story of discouragement and ridiculing because of someone's attempts to pursue education or read books is a common story that appears in the memoirs and biographically-inspired fiction of other Roma authors, including those of younger (compared to Papusza) generations of Roma writers of both genders. Hedina Tahirovic-Sijercic explains how her own auntie was constantly teasing her for her success in high school and warning her that she was to know her place for '*Cigani* can never make it far from the pond' (Tahirović Sijerčić 2011: 86), while Jovan Nikolić writes on the same topic in his poem 'Reading' (1993: 30). Luminița Cioabă, whose life path echoes that of Papusza, also faced discouragement among her family when making the decision to continue with her education and become a poet (personal communication). The significance of Papusza's role in witnessing the persecution of the Roma during World War II has been present in all Roma-related narratives discussing her biography.

The representations of Papusza in mainstream culture do not omit these elements of Papusza's biography, as all of them provide fertile ground for dramatisation and creating a great fictional story, but there is one major difference with the texts presenting Papusza for Romani audiences and an element that is constantly present in most of the popular culture productions – her alleged unhappiness in her marriage and the romantic relationship with Ficowski. In-depth research has demonstrated that these rumours were not grounded on facts, and that there are numerous proofs of the opposite positions – Papusza's relationship with the 'little brother', as she called him, did not go beyond friendship and literary cooperation, she had the support and care of

a devoted husband, who also respected Ficowski, and despite the fact that, as she explained herself, she ‘wrote badly’ because she did not go to school, there is no doubt that all works attributed to her are self-penned (Machowska and Krasicka 2011b: 23–25). Thus, perpetuating these fabrications in fictional works, presented as being inspired by Papusza’s biography, rather speaks about the attitudes of those who created the works and their conscious or unconscious intention to resonate two of the most hackneyed and widespread stereotypes about the Gypsies – about the seductive and exotic Gypsy woman and about the marginal and illiterate Gypsy – in creating the central plots for their fictional stories. It is interesting to note that most of the international narratives about her biography, in both Roma-related and mainstream publications, ignore or completely omit the fact that Papusza had been practising fortune-telling from a young age, a professional occupation that she herself did not hide, readily stating in her recollections and interviews that, from a young age, she excelled in fortune-telling. The omission of her fortune-telling professional occupation in the discourse of Romani historiography might be interpreted as a wish to stress and present Papusza only as a poet for the ‘traditional occupation’ had no significance for her representation in society.

### **Papusza’s Significance for Romani Literary Production and Its Patterns**

The aim of this section is to place Papusza’s writings, as well as the circumstances surrounding their production, in the larger context of the history of Romani literature, considering literary topics and motifs, the manner of becoming an author, the publishing process and gender aspects of writing. There are several features that can be seen in the biographies of other authors, especially the first generation of Roma writers. In the first place, the very act of writing is a profound yet shared achievement; as she has stated in letters and interviews (Machowska and Krasicka 2011ab), Papusza was reciting for herself and did not feel the need to sit and write down the verses that ‘come out of Papusza’s head’ before she was asked and encouraged to do so by Jerzy Ficowski. This pattern, especially when it comes to writing in the Romani language, is not an unheard story in the biographies of other Romani writers. The aforementioned Matéo Maximoff, who belongs to the same generation as Papusza and is one of the first Romani novelists (probably the best-known and one of the most translated ones to date), realised his writing talent by chance and with encouragement from an outsider who appreciated his talent. In a legal case in the late 1920s and 1930s in which Maximoff was imprisoned together with

other youngsters, a defence lawyer asked Maximoff to provide him with notes with which to prepare appropriately; after reading the text Maximoff supplied, the lawyer realised that it was the work of a talented writer (Lignier 2017: 9).

Likewise, some Czechoslovak Romani women writers, like Tera Fabiánová and Ilona Ferková, have stated that Milena Hübschmannová, after realising how brilliant they were as storytellers, encouraged them to sit and put their stories down on paper in Romanes, and how strange this had sounded to them at the beginning: firstly, because they did not see themselves as writers; and secondly, because they had only spoken in Romani, not written in it. Karolína Ryvolová describes the collaboration between Roma authors and experts as Milena Hübschmannová in the first steps of Roma writers in Czechoslovakia in the 1960–1970s in the following way: ‘Theirs [Roma authors’] was the content – the struggle for emancipation – but the form and the technical expertise had to be partly acquired by their non-Romani colleagues’ (Ryvolová 2020: 168). Mihail Petrov Georgiev, a gifted storyteller and poet from Bulgaria started writing down his poetry having been encouraged to do so by his close friends and collaborators the Romani activists and educators Lilyana Kovatcheva and Hristo Kyuchukov; the latter then edited and published Petrov’s works in a poetry collection (Петров 1996). These few examples, which are not exhaustive, illustrate that writing down original literary creations that were previously told/circulated by Romani narrative creators in oral form is a common pattern when it comes to the first steps of Romani authors, especially those who have never perceived themselves as literary figures or people with writing ambitions.

Another aspect in the process of Papisza becoming an author in which she is comparable with other Romani authors is her collaboration with Jerzy Ficowski. Jerzy Ficowski was her discoverer, editor, translator into Polish and her publicist, and because of this role, it has even been postulated that he has had the authority to intervene and even probably authorise/create her works due to rumours about her complete illiteracy or need for propaganda on certain topics. Note that the speculations about her alleged lack of contribution to creating her works as well as her illiteracy have been already dismissed (Machowska and Krasicka 2011b: 23–25). There is, however, nothing inappropriate or unique in this editing pattern, which is common for all literary processes and genres across the globe. The need for editorial work and the engagement of publicists in collaboration with certain authors on behalf of publishers or literary circles is essential in the professional field of the publishing industry, and Romani literature is no exception. The presence of editors, proofreaders and publicists, and generally, professional literary-critical reading of the texts before publishing is a prerequisite for high-quality literary production, and the lack of such is often the weak link in the Romani literature publishing process. Self-publishing without using the established pathways of

professional editorial mechanisms is sometimes the only option for Romani authors and this does not contribute to the higher quality of the publication and the access to it (as self-publishing typically limits the distribution of the works to only personal contacts of the author). When it comes to writing in Romani, which in most countries lacks an established standard, the editorial work is thus crucial, and when it comes to translations from Romani, as from any other language, the translators, especially of poetic works, are interpreters and often have the authority and responsibility to decide on the most appropriate choices for translation into whichever context they bring the text to. In all countries where Romani literature has been created, experts on Romani language and culture have been involved in contributing to the work on literary texts by helping with orthographic decisions, editing, translating and commenting, and publishing them, which is what Ficowski did with Papusza's text. Examples of such experts, to mention only a few of the most acclaimed who have been involved in the production of many books and collaborated with many authors, are Alexander Germano (USSR), Milena Hübschmannová (Czechoslovakia, Czechia), Erik Lindberg (Sweden), Mozes Heinschink (Austria and beyond), Hristo Kyuchukov (Bulgaria), Rajko Djurić (Yugoslavia, Serbia), and Alija Krasnići (who has even been involved in typing up works by Roma who wanted their stories and memoirs to be published).

Assessments, based on postcolonial theories, which criticise Ficowski's role in Papusza's works and in changing the meaning of her texts (Kledzik 2013), should be put in perspective, considering all relevant translation studies theories, especially those referred to the realities of translating and editing Romani literature (Tahirović-Sijerčić 2019) and of the editorial process in general. Behind criticising the role of a gadje-authority involved in translating and editing Papusza's texts, such assessments disregard the agency of the Roma authors who have put trust in their editors and collaborators, regardless of their ethnic background. Papusza's own words in her works as well as the Wajs's correspondence with Ficowski (Machowska and Krasicka 2011: 109–110) – whom they addressed as *sownakóno* (golden one) and *pszatoro* (little brother) – testify to the deep respect and caring she had for him, and there is no hint of a 'colonised' subject narrative (the excerpts from the poem *Tears of Blood* are quoted as published in this volume):

After one year passes,  
 there would be a beautiful Book.  
 I know that my golden little  
<sup>345</sup> Brother is writing it, I  
 don't lie, otherwise let my  
 soul perish.

Similarly, Papusza's path to becoming a writer can also be compared with other Romani female writers – she did not feel the need to write the poems 'coming from Papusza's head', but was encouraged to do so, and, in the same way, Ceija Stojka was writing down her memoirs for herself rather than a larger public until she met Karen Berger, who became her collaborator and publicist – she transcribed and edited all manuscripts by Stojka, and negotiated their publishing. The nature of Ficowski's collaboration with Papusza should not even be called collaborative writing (in the manner of Gunilla Lundgren who meets Roma and writes the texts on the basis of her conversations, cf. details in Zahova 2017b: 54) but should rather be viewed as an encouragement to the author to develop her own text and editorial work based on his expertise in the field of poetry and literary criticism. This is a pattern that was applied in the work of Milena Hübschmannová, for instance – she has recorded a big corpus of materials with the life narrative of Ilona Lacková in the Romani language out of which she selected what should be published in the memoir and translated it into Czech (as explained in Hübschmannová's Introduction to Lacková 1997). It is worth noting that Ficowski did publish a facsimile of some pages of Papusza's original writings in her first book of poetry (1956).

As this edition demonstrates, Papusza is one of the first Roma to have put into writing her first-person experiences and memories of World War II. The way she did it is marvellous, powerful and genuine, as the experience itself was devastating and called for a response for the sake of the community's memory and to be a call for society to also remember and recognise Roma suffering during this dreadful period in all its manifestations:

We thank  
<sup>1010</sup> my God and Holy Mother of Częstochowa  
 and kind people for  
 everything that we survived. God forbid  
 that anyone should see such  
 a time again, so that good people  
<sup>1015</sup> and my God may take care of the world.

One of the main themes of Papusza's poetic opus is the narrative about her group's experience during this period. The poems 'A Sad Song', 'The Ruins Recall Everything' and *Tears of Blood* are documentary texts on the genocide of the Roma during World War II in a literary form (Machowska and Krasicka 2011b: 125–126). These works locate Papusza in a pioneering place, together with other acclaimed Romani authors born in the interwar years, whose own communities suffered badly during World War II and who fought for justice through writing (among other means) and describing what they witnessed as Romani

community members. As early as 1946, Matéo Maximoff published the article 'Germany and the Gypsies: From the Gypsy's Point of View' and initiated a court case in a German court as a Nazi regime victim, as well as petitioning organisations, institutions and all parties he identified as stakeholders to describe the fate of Roma he witnessed and all injustices they suffered during the Nazi era (1946). His family, in a group of 400 people, was interned in the so-called Gypsy camp in France for 31 months, and at the end of his life, he wrote the memoir *Routes sans roulettes* (Roads without Wagons), in which the concentration camp is described (Maximoff 1993; Filhol 2009). Ilona Lacková's first-ever literary work was the playscript *The Burning Gypsy Camp*, a fictional work later staged in post-war eastern Czechoslovakia, in which she presented her witness account of all the suffering of the Roma from her own community under the Hlinka regime. Years later, in her memoirs, she states that after the war she was restless thinking about how many injustices her own community suffered, and she wanted to create a play that would make the audience realise the sad destiny of the Roma in the hope that such instances would not happen in the new (communist) regime (Lacková 2000: 122–124). The play was staged in 1947–49 and was considered a success in Eastern Slovakia, establishing Lacková as a Romani public figure and contributing to the start of her own career as a functionary in cultural and social institutions (Lacková 2000: 122–137; Mušinka 2020: 33–37).

These examples show that Roma indeed felt the need to publicly relate the memory of their community to the wider societies in the hope that ethnic persecution would never happen again. It is important to point out that Papusza, together with Maximoff and Lacková, is the pioneering voice of Romani literature in describing the Roma genocide during World War II. This pioneering role is often attributed to Sinti and Roma authors from Germany and Austria who survived the horrors of camps such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, where they lost their closest relatives, and whose works were published in the 1980s (Franz 1985; Stojka 1988). While these memoirs are indeed the first Roma and Sinti voices about the 'death camps', the persecution of Roma in this period went far beyond the borders of such camps. As the contribution of Mikhail Tyaglyy in this volume demonstrates, almost all Roma in Volhynia region were killed during the Nazi occupation of the region (2024: 328–357). It is therefore important to acknowledge the plurality of experience(s) in Roma suffering during this period that occurred in one way or another in most of the territories of Nazi occupation or affiliation, one example of which is *Tears of Blood* itself.

The exceptionality of the poem also lies in the fact that it is the very first testimony about the suffering of the Roma expressed in poetry and the only

literary work written by a survivor of the events in Volhynia. Ficowski points out that in this aspect *Tears of Blood* is comparable with texts of songs composed by Roma about Auschwitz (1989: 119). However, it should be noted that while texts of songs are related mostly to metaphors and elements of memory that need some background information for their comprehension, the uniqueness of *Tears of Blood* as a survivor testimony is that it mostly matches the historical events in the region where the Wajs family had travelled and reflects temporal and chronological realities (cf. Bartash in this volume). Combined with the poetic and powerful style of narration, it holds great potential for transmitting historical memory and for building a shared literary heritage, tightly related to the idea of the common trans(national) Romani identity.

Another important aspect of Papusza's *Tears of Blood* is the remarkable agreement between, on the one hand, the first-person narration, which transmits deep sentiment and poetic authenticity, and, on the other hand, the description of a collective 'we', which creates a sense about the destiny of the community, the Roma. Even though *Tears of Blood* is a personal account it still seems to be aimed at creating a collective narrative reinforced by various means (the use of the collective 'we' in describing and documenting accounts and in the actions of the poem). Papusza's family from her mother's side was killed but the account of this extermination refers just to 'Roma'. This is because the poem is not a lament about a personal or family tragedy, it is about the death of these Roma as people; the lament is for the collective fate of the community and those who share the destiny, the Jews:

Let Jewish and Roma children live  
let the German leader perish.  
Raise yourself around us, dear forest,  
<sup>125</sup> sing to them a song where our people walk,  
in front and at the back let your song sound out, laugh.

Papusza's *Tears of Blood* sets up a fundamental course for Romani literature narratives, particularly in the years of internationalisation and globalisation. Many autobiographical and historical publications in the decades to come would be about the Romani genocide or about Roma as victims of the Nazi regime and their accomplices (About and Abakunova 2016). The history of persecution plays a significant role in defining the symbolic boundaries of many communities in their historical narratives, and this is valid for Roma too. This narrative, along with those about the Indian origin of the Roma and the nomadic way of life, is commonly recurring in all genres in the fourth period of Romani literature (of internationalisation and globalisation). According to

Sławomir Kapralski, on the background of the comparatively diverse Romani groups:

The message included in this [persecution] discourse is difficult to undermine by any opponents while, simultaneously, easily acceptable to different groups of Roma. It allows for the creation of a historical narrative describing events in a chronological way, contributing to the development of a historical consciousness. By showing the continuing of persecution, the discourse can help explain the recent situation of the Romanies in the context of their long-term discrimination.

(Kapralski 1997: 273)

A considerable part of the efforts of Romani post-war activism nationally and internationally was directed at gaining official recognition and public commemoration of Romani genocide among both Roma and non-Roma. The matter of getting recognition and compensation for Romani victims of the Holocaust had been raised by Roma activists as early as 1946 (Maximoff), was a topic of all congresses of the International Romani Union and was central to the third congress in Göttingen (1981) that was co-organised by the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma (Marushiakova and Popov 2005; Klímová-Alexander 2005). The history of the Romani genocide thus became a cornerstone of a Romani national identity building, as promoted by Romani activists. While narratives about the Gypsies/Roma as 'eternal victims' during their whole history have been developed in the works of some Roma activists in the 1980s (Marushiakova and Popov 2005) and was a topic of autobiographical books by Sinti and Roma in the 1980s in the German-speaking countries (Franz 1985; Stojka 1988), it was in the 1990s when we find this idea being spread in Romani literature as well as in Romani children's (text)books and educational materials (Zahova 2014: 68–70).

The life story and the literary achievements of Papusza have inspired Roma individuals and organisations who have paid tribute through special writing or other literary activities, and many references have been made to Papusza in artworks and activists' statements. Examples include international literary competitions, literary activities such as festivals and readings initiated by stakeholders in the Romani literature field devoted to Papusza or explorations of Papusza's images in posters, book covers, blogs, etc.

Among the numerous literary activities we can mention literary competitions – the first one being the already mentioned 'For the Golden Pen of Papusza' organised by the Regional Museum in Tarnów. The contest was open to adults, students and pupils of secondary schools in Poland and abroad.

Applicants were invited to submit poetry work on a topic inspired by Romani culture, tradition and history, in two categories: poems in Romani and poems in Polish (*Złote pióro Papuszy* 2009; The International Contest 2010). The first edition of the competition was in 2007 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of her death. The second edition was organised in 2010 to commemorate Papusza's birth centennial (later discovered archival material affirmed that she was born in 1908, Rymar 2017: 33–34). It had a second (in 2009) and a third (in 2013) edition which was the last one (Bartosz 2022). All editions were followed by publications of selected poems submitted to the Polish language poem category of the competition, as part of the *Biblioteka Romska* book series published by the Regional Museum in Tarnów (Bartosz 2007, 2010, 2015).

The competition had a genuine international nature and its second edition received over 200 submissions by 79 participants from Poland, India, Macedonia, Germany and Romania (Małopolska 2010). The museum in Tarnow, organiser of the competition and the awarding ceremonies, was also the founder of the programme of events named The Caravan of Memory (*Tabór Pamięci*) which includes travels around various killing sites across the region to commemorate the Nazi mass murder of Roma during World War II. This reenactment was conceptualised as a commemoration of the tragic destiny of many Roma, but also to educate and strengthen Romani identity among the contemporary generations (Bartosz 2003; Kapralski 2016: 63–68). Readings of Papusza's works were embedded in the commemorative series of events devoted to the Roma Holocaust of the Ethnographic Museum of Tarnow. The establishment of Papusza's commemoration by the means of international literary competition and the interrelation with the Roma Holocaust commemoration is a very illustrative example of her recognition as a Romani writer who narrated the atrocities against Roma and as a figure of pride and importance for the public representation of the Roma community in the process of common (Romani) identity building. As Sławomir Kapralski points out, on the background of the comparatively diverse Romani groups, living in different circumstances and having diverse experiences, the persecution narrative holds the necessary potential to create a sense of unity (Kapralski 1997: 273).

The most recent contest is The International Competition for Creative Writing and Translation 'Bronisława Wajs' organised in Romania that had its fourth edition as of 2022 (Rromanovak 2022). There is probably hardly any country where an event devoted to Papusza has not been organised, in connection to literary activities or a larger programme (for instance, on the occasion of

a screening of the movie *Papusza*). Many Romani writers wrote literary works devoted to her – practically most of the Roma who wrote in the Polish public space have made references to her life (Izolda Kwiek, Jan Mirga and Karol Parno Gierliński), as well as her relative Edward Dębicki and Don Wasyl Szmidd (Matkowska 2022: 67). Beyond Poland, Papusza is featured in literary stories about Romani women or prominent Roma figures in general (Красовицкая & Мазикина 2019; Costache and Gelbart 2021). Romanian Romani poetess Luminița Cioabă considered Papusza a role model and a Romni with whom she shared the same destiny – of not being accepted as a writer by the community and extended family (Cioabă, personal communication). Papusza's monument in Gorzow Wielkopolski was attended by Cioabă, who later explored the picture of Papusza's monument in various materials related to her own activities, for instance, for the poster of the International Romani poetry festival in Sibiu organised by Cioabă herself (2018). A photograph of Luminița standing next to Papusza's monument holding a book is featured in two of Cioabă's books.

Daniel Petrilă, a young Romanian Romani artist, was inspired to hear the story of Papusza by the activist Nicoleta Bitu and created a painting of Papusza, based on a portrait pictures of the poet. Depicted as part of her appearance image are all symbols with which her life has been associated – tree branches formed as barbed wire and forest trees in her hair, green forest leaves form her eyebrows, her cheek features a forest encampment with tents and fire, a book at her chin, her bust is shaped of a harp and a bookshelf, a paper with a manuscript in the foreground, the background symbolises the universe with a sky full of stars, running water and earth.

The Flamenco music artists Bogumiła Delimata and Cristo Osorio have created the performance *A Través del Humo* [Through the Smoke] (2019) described as 'dance, music, poetry and theatre spectacle [that] fuses traditional Roma song with Polish, Romani and gitano cultures. An artistic voyage without borders inspired by the life of Polish-Romani poet and singer Bronisława Wajs, commonly known as Papusza, who throughout her life danced, sang and recited *gila* (Romani songs)' (Opéra national, n.d.). The spectacle has been performed internationally.

*Sownakune Jasfa/ Tears of Gold* is an exhibition organised by the European Roma Institute of Arts and Culture (ERIAC) commemorating the Roma Holocaust and featuring some of the most prominent Roma visual artists from Central Europe. The title is a reference to Papusza's poem *Ratwate Jaswa / Tears of Blood* and the curators of the exhibition Dr. Krzysztof Gil and Dr. Anna Mirga-Kruszelnicka explain:

In the poem 'Bloody Tears,' Papusza (Bronisława Wajs, 1908–1987) – one of the most famous Romani poets – encapsulates the horrors of World War II, vocalizing the individual and collective trauma of the wartime experiences of Roma in Europe. During the Roma Holocaust at least 500,000 Roma men, women, and children were massacred, with some countries annihilating as many as 90% of their entire Roma population. The experiences of the past were made even more painful, because for decades it was 'the forgotten Holocaust' – unrecognized, invisibilized, unreconciled. The Roma Holocaust continues to shape the Roma transnational collective identity, and its consequences are still lived today. (ERAC 2019)

### Conclusion

Bronisława Wajs-Papusza emerged as an author in the second period of Romani literature development (after World War II) and became globally acclaimed as 'the first Romani poet' during the later period of Romani literature. Internationally she was known primarily through brief paragraphs written on the basis of secondary sources and publications of Jerzy Ficowski. Her poetry translations, when appearing outside of Poland, were made primarily from the Polish language editions. Thus, since the very beginning, narratives about Papusza internationally were mediated by secondary sources. These narratives *about* her in academic writing, journalism, or mainstream culture have outnumbered greatly her own opus and become dominating in her representation, especially internationally. English language books published and distributed by some of the largest publishing companies and the international success of the movie *Papusza*, paired with some prevailing general stereotypes about 'Gypsies' as exotic, travelling, free-spirited and isolated society, led to furthered legendarisation, homogenisation and fictionalisation of the narratives presenting Papusza.

In the 21st century, on the background of intensified cross-border cooperation in the framework of the Romani movement, and in the context of the rise of the Roma issue in Europe and the ICT development, the story of the Romani poetess Papusza and her literary works became known widely among the circle of Romani activists and experts who contributed to the curation of the Romani literary history and literary canon. It was namely Papusza's contribution to the memory of the Holocaust and Romani suffering during World War II as narrated in her poem *Tears of Blood* that have been of fundamental significance for Romani (literary) historiography. Placing this poem in the centre of

Papusza's presentation, along with facts about her biography of importance for the Romani identity like her group belonging and struggle with circumstances for achieving her aspirations for knowledge and literacy, are present in all writings about Papusza authored by Roma and pro-Roma activists. These elements are typical for the narratives by Roma and for Romani audiences (for instance, in Romani literature textbooks) and differ from the portrayal of Papusza in works by non-Roma and intended for mainstream audiences which often tend to fall into the trap of stereotypical representation of oppressed Romani women without any agency, representing Romani culture as very particular and being against written traditions and education.

The dramatic presentation of Papusza's biography has created an image of unparalleled destiny but it should be noted that her life path and development as an author are comparable with the Romani writers of the same generation and repeat patterns observed in Romani literature or literary works in general – her self-education without attending school, not identifying herself as a poet, the collaboration with an editor with expertise in (poetry) publishing, support for a regime that at least at the level of ideology declared wish for improving the life of Roma/Gypsies, etc. Papusza, along with other authors of the same generation as Matéo Maximoff and Ilona Lacková, was also a pioneer in women's writing and in relating memoirs about the Holocaust in literary form. She is the first and so far the only Polish Romani author who started her career as part of the mainstream literary scene.

Since its very publishing (as a selection of fragments amounting to a mere quarter of the original) the poem *Tears of Blood* was perceived as a memoir in literary form, and, unlike some other poems of Papusza, was a subject of less stereotypical interpretations. This volume – presenting for the first time the whole original version of the poem along with several translations – is an opportunity for reading audiences and specialists from different disciplines to be acquainted with the whole version as created by Papusza, which would give a further impetus for discussions. Going beyond the reiterated and legendarised narratives about Papusza, the texts contribute to the creation of critical and informed-by-documents discussion and analysis of the life and poetry work of Papusza from a comparative perspective. There is a growing number of Romani individuals and activists who have been inspired and filled with pride in the life path of the literary achievements of Papusza. The publications of the original texts and the accompanying chapters will contribute to an enhanced understanding of her writings as Romani literary pieces, as part of the shared European history and as poetic messages carrying deep and universal humanism.

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# A 'Little' Tragedy on the Margins of 'Big Histories': The Romani Genocide in Volhynia, 1941–1944

*Mikhail Tyaglyy*

'Volhynia is the land of executions and punishments, the land of bloodied forests and swamps, the land of the war of all against all' (Обвіняєм 1944: 434). These words open a leaflet entitled '[We] Blame,' which representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists of Andriy Melnyk's faction (OUN-M) disseminated in 1944 among the civilians of Volhynia. The Melnikovites (OUN-M members) in this letter blamed only the members of the OUN-Bandera faction (Banderites) for the failure of what they called the Ukrainian national revolution in Volhynia. In addition, they also blamed them for a provocative policy that generated ruthless retaliation by the German occupiers, the senseless and murderous cruelty towards the civilian Polish population, but first of all, for partisan violence towards those Ukrainians who did not support policies of the OUN-B and its armed wing, the UPA (*Українська повстанська армія*, Ukrainian Insurgent Army). By and large, however, the metaphor at the beginning of the aforementioned leaflet reflected the situation in the region much more broadly than just in relation to these groups of Volhynia's people. Some sections of the population were not specifically mentioned in this document at all. First, such unmentioned groups were not of much interest to the authors of this leaflet, and second, by the fourth year of the German occupation members of these groups in Volhynia had been almost exterminated in their entirety. This was the situation of Volhynia's Jews and Roma.

During the recent decades Volhynia is one of those regions that have attracted historians' attention for its complex and multiethnic past. One of the most complicated is the period of World War II and the fates of various groups and peoples who interacted under the harshest imaginable conditions under German occupation. To name but a few, the tragic fate and almost total extermination of the region's Jews during World War II is the focus of a book by Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of the Volhynian Jews* (1990), as well as numerous pieces by other German, American, Polish and Ukrainian historians, who examine the Holocaust, the Polish-Jewish and Ukrainian-Jewish relations of that time, and the German occupation policies towards the Ukrainian population. The history of Czechs, ethnic Germans, Jews and other ethnic groups in Volhynia is researched as well. Scholarly discussions focus on the Polish-Ukrainian relations, which in 1943 tragically culminated in the murderous events known as

the 'Volhynia tragedy,' though some historians prefer the term 'Volhynia massacre'. Needless to say, these topics are not limited to the activities of purely academic researchers, but regularly become a subject of heated public discussions, including political misuse of the difficult past. Yet, the fate of Volhynian Roma, one of the smallest groups in the region, seems to have remained overshadowed by grand and national master narratives that are steeped in large-scale events. This situation is all the more bitter in view of the fact that despite its small number and low social visibility, this group experienced almost total annihilation during the Nazi occupation of the region.

The historical region of Volhynia used to belong to various states. In the 20th century alone, Volhynia was part of the Russian Empire until 1915. Then the region found itself under the Central Powers' occupation. After World War I, armies of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Poland and Soviet Russia struggled for these lands. Between 1921 and 1939, most of the historical region became a Volhynian Voivodeship in interwar Poland. Subsequently, at the beginning of World War II, under the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet Union annexed the region.

The ethnic composition of the population of the Volhynian Voivodeship (administrative region) can be indirectly calculated from the materials of the 1931 Polish census. This census did not record ethnicity, but rather the native language and religious affiliation of respondents. Volhynian scholar Yuri Kramar provides the following figures. In 1931, the Ukrainian population amounted to about 1,418,000 persons (68% of the voivodeship's population), while the Polish population to 346,640 (16%). More than 90% of the Ukrainians lived in the rural *gminas* (administrative communes) and worked in agriculture. The vast majority of the region's Poles also lived in rural areas (277,000, or 80.5%). Unlike Volhynian Ukrainians, the region's Poles constituted the governing and intellectual elite. The Jewish community of Volhynia numbered 205,519 persons, which amounted to about 10% of the voivodeship's population. The Jews were busy mostly in trade and small crafts (about 80%). German 'colonists' (or rather descendants of such mainly Protestant colonists from the turn of 19th century) constituted the fourth group (46,883 Germans, approximately 2.2% of the total population). There were more than 300 German 'colonies,' that is, ethnic villages. The 1931 census recorded an increase in a similar type of 'colonists,' namely Czechs (Bohemians), who numbered 30,977, or 1.3% of the Volhynian population. They mostly earned a living in agriculture. The census also recorded 23,387 ethnic (Orthodox) Russians in western Volhynia. From the confessional perspective, Orthodox Christians constituted 69.8% of Volhynia's inhabitants. Most of them were Ukrainians (1,379,841; 80%), while Russians

(22,771) and some Czechs (21,584) accounted for the rest. Roman Catholics (15.7%) amounted to Volhynia's second largest confessional group, which encompassed mostly Poles. About 7,000 Czechs also belonged to this denomination. Jews (10%) constituted the third largest denomination (Крамар 2015: 28–38).

Since the 1931 census recorded the population according to native languages and religions rather than ethnicity, the question of the number of Roma in the region remains unclear. It is unlikely that their numbers exceeded a few thousand individuals. Probably some of them were registered as Roman Catholics or Orthodox. It is sure that apart from the Polska Roma (Rom. 'Polish Roma') group, some Kalderash and Vlachs (see below) lived in Volhynia, too. Some scarce evidence also points to Ukrainian-speaking Roma. Probably most of the Volhynian Roma led a seminomadic way of life as itinerary tradesmen. Some also settled in the towns, earning a living through unskilled labor, small-scale trade or entertainment. Yet, others lived in the villages, where they either engaged in blacksmithing and horse-breeding or in agricultural work.

At the same time, interwar Poland, including Volhynia, was the area in which attempts were taken to establish modern-style Roma political institutions; if not an international Roma association, then at least a Romani national representation that the Polish authorities would recognize. The extended Kwiek clan of the Roma subgroup of the Kalderash proclaimed themselves kings of Poland's all Roma. They also sought to dominate the Roma communities in Romania and Czechoslovakia. The clan's influence covered Volhynia. In 1936 a convention of Poland's Roma communities was planned in the Volhynian town of Równe (today, Rivne in Ukraine) to create a statewide Roma organization (Gontarek 2020: 336–345; Klímová-Alexander 2005: 177–185; Kapralski 2018: 215–240). The leaders of the Roma community planned to approach the Polish authorities in order to obtain a tract of land in the Polesia Voivodeship (north of Volhynia) for the Roma to settle down as farmers. The convention never took place. A year later, Janusz Kwiek was crowned King of the Polish Roma. He faced strong competition from relatives trying to delegitimize his power among Poland's Roma. Particularly, Basil Kwiek, who represented mostly eastern Roma communities, declared in Volhynia's administrative capital of Łuck (Lutsk, today in Ukraine) that Janusz Kwiek did not even have the right to bear the surname Kwiek. Basil also announced a verification action aimed at separating the real Kwieks from those who assumed this name illegally. The outcomes of this story were quite ambiguous. On the one hand, for the first time in history, thousands of ordinary Romani community members (almost all of them males) became involved in political activities. On the other hand,

as Alicja Gontarek argues, all these activities had a destabilizing effect on the Romani community in Poland, contributing to its even greater atomization (Gontarek 2020: 342).

For many ethnic groups of Volhynia, the wartime and postwar Sovietization meant a radical breakdown and transformation of the established way of life. The Sovietization entailed the prohibition of political parties, the liquidation of private commerce, the expropriation of private property, the nationalization of the financial and commercial sector, and the destruction of the existing religious and communal institutions. Deportations of entire ethnic groups (or segments thereof) to the eastern territories of the USSR were implemented. The victims stemmed from all Volhynia's ethnic groups, as long as their social and property status did not conform to the Soviet norms. According to preliminary estimates, from September 1939 to June 1941 in the Soviet-occupied regions of Poland more than 109,400 Polish citizens were arrested (Hryciuk 2007).

It is reasonable to assume that some of the well-to-do Roma also underwent expropriation and, possibly, deportation into the Soviet hinterland. So far, there has been no available statistics on the Roma deported from Volhynia, although the online database 'Реабілітовані історією' (Rehabilitated by History) provides data on the Roma repressed in Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s.<sup>1</sup> The Soviet security apparatus obviously did not bypass this small minority. In the spring of 1941, the NKVD learned from a Romani agent that the 'thieving groups of Roma robbers (including Janusz Kwiek, crowned in Warsaw in 1937 as King of the Roma)' were present in the recently annexed western regions of the USSR. Another Rom from the Kwiek family was recruited by the NKVD and sent on a mission. He fetched a group of Roma (with the aforesaid Janusz Kwiek) to his home in one of the villages in what is now the Ukrainian region of Ivano-Frankivsk (earlier Stanislav, and Stanisławów in Polish). As a result, the NKVD arrested Janusz Kwiek and six of his companions (of whom only one had a different last name). During the search, the officers confiscated a silver chain with a cross weighing four kilograms, identified by them as 'a distinctive sign of the chief judge of the Roma.' An investigation was opened in connection to the arrested individuals with the purpose of establishing if they engaged in espionage, sabotage and other criminal activities' (Спецсообщение о задержании цыганского короля Януша Квека и его соучастников 1941: 118–121). This episode demonstrates how the Soviet authorities were trying to establish

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1 *Реабілітовані історією* (Rehabilitated by History) is a state-sponsored program to prepare and publish a series of books on Ukraine's regions that contain information about the people who were subjected to political repressions between 1918 and the late 1989. Cf. <http://www.reabit.org.ua/>.

strict control over Roma, like over any other ethnic group, in order to be able to manipulate the political situation and views within various strata of the population.

Soon after the beginning of Operation Barbarossa on 22 June 1941, German troops occupied Volhynia. For a better understanding of the fate that soon befell the region's Roma, it is necessary to dwell in detail on the killing infrastructure created by the occupiers, that is, to describe the main power structures, their areas of authority and the ways in which they communicated decisions. For the initial two months, Volhynia was under the Wehrmacht's control, but beginning in September 1941 a *Generalbezirk* (General District) of Volhynia-Podolia was formed. It corresponded in the north to the present-day regions of Khmelnytskyi, Rivne and Volyn, alongside part of the regions of Ternopil and Vinnytsia. This German administrative unit also included Pinsk and Brest districts of present-day Belarus. Heinrich Schöne, in his capacity of Generalkommissar administered the district. It was part of *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* (hereafter RKU), which, together with the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (today's Belarus and Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) was subordinated to the German Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories in Berlin (hereafter RMfdBO) under Minister Alfred Rosenberg's leadership. Each *Generalbezirk* was in turn composed of *Kreisgebieten* (or simply *Gebieten*), of which there were about 25 in each district. In addition to the German civil administration, the occupation authorities established local government bodies, corresponding to Soviet *raions*, alongside municipal and village administrations. Local people, often Ukrainians, were appointed as such low-level administration units' heads. The lowest level of government was composed of village administrations, typically headed by elders. Crucially, these elders were responsible for security in their villages, execution of orders of the civilian administration, registration of inhabitants, or fulfilling the Germans' economic and agricultural demands.

In addition to the civilian administration, the territorial police authorities were established. Ultimately, the police force was placed under SS *Reichsführer* Heinrich Himmler's control. Hans-Adolf Prützmann was appointed Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF) of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* in December 1941. In the Volhynia-Podolia General District, SS-*Brigadeführer* Gerret Korsemann became SS and Police Leader of Volhynia (*SS- und Polizeiführer Wolhynien*, SSPF) in September 1941. Korsemann also served as Chief for the district commanders (KdS) of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, Sipo-SD) and as Chief for the district commanders (KdO) of the Order Police (*Ordnungspolizei*, Orpo). The police investigated political cases and acts of sabotage, carried

out arrests, searches, identified members of the resistance, participated in the extermination of the Jews, and imprisoned local people in concentration camps.

In the rural areas there were gendarmerie departments within the Sipo-SD or Orpo. Local people staffed auxiliary police units subordinated to these departments. As a result, all the Ukrainian policemen amounted to about 1 % of the region's total population; each German policeman was assisted by up to five-ten Ukrainian ones (Олійник; Завальнюк 2012: 59). Mass desertions of the Volhynian Ukrainian policemen into the forests to join the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) occurred in the spring of 1943. In turn, the occupiers formed Polish police units as a replacement, which fuelled the ethnic division and strife across Volhynia.

The occupation authorities implemented a policy of looting and terror in the region. In the second half of 1941 the Jews suffered massive and brutal losses at the Germans' hands, described in historiography as the first wave of the Holocaust. Overall, in the Ukrainian lands that were transferred to the RKU around 300,000 Jews were killed during that period. Still, the cases of massacres of Roma during this time are unknown.<sup>2</sup> In early 1942, approximately a similar number of Jews were still alive in the RKU, the overwhelming majority of whom resided in General District Volhynia-Podolia (Pohl 2008: 43). The initial months of 1942 were a time of relative calm in the murderous actions of the German occupation authorities (with a few exceptions). From May 1942 onwards, however, a second wave of bloody violence swept across Volhynia, involving the liquidation of the remaining Jewish ghettos and the total extermination of the Jewish population. It was within this period that Roma were destined to become the second target of the Germans' genocidal activities. Let us examine the reasons behind the events.

### German Decision-Making Process regarding Volhynia's Roma

The known attempts to 'justify' extermination for 'solving' the 'Gypsy question' were voiced by the German civilian administration already in the

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2 This makes the situation in Volhynia different from what happened to Roma in the neighboring regions, where the *Einsatzgruppen* in cooperation with the police carried out acts of violence against Roma immediately after occupying these territories. For example, already in late summer and early autumn 1941, several mass killings of nomadic Roma took place in the Belarusian-Lithuanian border region and continued in Belarus later on (Cf. Bartash 2020: 32–33; Бессонов 2020: 118, 120, 123). The reasons of relative safety, as experienced by Roma in Volhynia, at that time needs to be explored.

fall of 1941. Yet, they took place not in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, but in the neighboring *Reichskommissariat Ostland*. In December 1941 the Reich Commissioner for Ostland (*Reichskommissariat Ostland*, or RKO) Hinrich Lohse directed Himmler's attention to the 'problem' created by itinerant Roma as a group supposedly unfit for labor and responsible for spreading diseases. On 4 December 1941, Lohse issued a decree that presented the Roma as a 'dual threat.' Arguing that Roma caused harm to the Germans also by sharing sensitive information with the enemy, Lohse concluded that 'they need to be treated in the same manner as the Jews' (Lewy 2000: 123–124). However, it took half a year longer to develop a uniform German policy towards the Roma in the East (or the territories gained from the Soviets after 1941). In June 1942 Otto Bräutigam, an official at the RMfdbO, inquired about the status of the Roma in *Reichskommissariat Ostland*: 'In particular, I request your opinion on whether the Gypsies are to be treated like the Jews. Also of interest is information on how the Gypsies there [in the Baltic states] live, whether the Gypsies are sedentary or itinerant, whether and which occupations they hold and whether the number of *Zigeunermischlinge* ['racially mixed Roma'] is substantial.' According to Guenter Lewy, the RKU received the same inquiry (Lewy 2000: 125).

However, an archival search shows that the authorities of *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* – and primarily the General District of Volhynia-Podolia – were also concerned with the 'Gypsy question' earlier than it had been dealt with in Berlin. Let us examine two important documents. Their importance, in my opinion, is so essential that they require citing in full. Both documents were found in the state archives of the present-day Ukrainian provinces of Volyn and Rivne, that is, those regions that in 1941–1944 constituted a significant part of the General District of Volhynia-Podolia.

\* \* \* \* \*

Copy!

Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Rowno [Rivne], May 8, 1942

II a

To the General Commissioners [in] Brest-Litowsk, Zhitomir, Kiev, Nikolaew and Dnepropetrowsk

Re: Treatment of Jews [sic]

Gypsies generally should be treated like Jews. The order to place them in the ghetto will follow.

Acting

Signature: Dargel

Registrar President

The copy is correct: [indecipherable] (Dargel 1942).

\* \* \* \* \*

This document was found in the collection of the *Gebietskommissariat* of Lutsk, one of the *Kreisgebieten* in the General District of Volhynia-Podolia. This fact, as well as the ink stamp on the document, indicates that this initial order from the RKU was indeed rather a circular that had already passed down through at least two higher levels of administration, namely, from the *Reichskommissariat* down to the General District of Volhynia-Podolia, and from the latter down to the *Gebietskommissariat* of Lutsk. A document of exactly the same content was recently discovered in the archival collection of the *Gebietskommissariat* of Rowno (Rivne). Therefore, one can assume that the same order was received by the general commissars in Kiew (Kyiv), Nikolaew (Mykolaiv), Dniepropetrowsk (Dnipro) and Zhitomir (Zhytomyr) and passed down to their respective *Gebietskommissariats*. The document was signed by Paul Dargel, who, from 1 November 1941, headed Main Department II (Administration) of the RKU. In 1942 Dargel was nominated to the post of the permanent deputy to *Reichskommissar* of Ukraine Erich Koch.

Based on this document, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the civilian authorities of the RKU did not make any distinction between sedentary and nomadic Roma, unlike their colleagues from *Reichskommissariat Ostland*. In *Ostland*, in December 1941 only 'Gypsies who roam across the country' (that is, nomadic Roma) were equated in status with Jews.

Secondly, it is obvious that May 1942 constituted the temporal borderline, when Roma were singled out from among the rest of the RKU population. We do not know of any earlier document that would prescribe any special treatment for Roma. The same document creates a legal framework, which had to be followed by the local authorities. Thirdly, this order unequivocally equated the status of Roma with that of Jews across the RKU. As a result, Roma, like Jews, were to be incarcerated in ghettos. Most likely, this did not mean separate places of isolation for Roma only, but rather placing them in the already established Jewish ghettos. It is revealing that, while the document discusses the measures related to Roma, its subject, obviously by mistake, states that it concerns Jews. Regardless of the bureaucratic error (either committed by an official or a typist), it shows that in the minds of the civilian authorities the policy regarding both groups – Jews and Roma – was the same or very similar.

The anti-Jewish policy of the Nazis in the RKU, and particularly in Volhynia, was already examined in detail by many researchers. As scholarship shows, with few exceptions, RKU *Gebietskommissars* began establishing ghettos between December 1941 and April 1942. Ghettoization in the RKU in March and April 1942 affected primarily Volhynian Jews (Pohl 2008: 46). This may explain why the second sentence in this circular sent out from the RKU's capital in Rowno (Rivne) to the general districts mentioned the soon-to-be-scheduled

sending of Roma to the ghettos. Precisely the same measures were carried out by the civilian administration in regard to the Jewish population at the time.

In late spring 1942, the situation of Jews in the RKU was gradually becoming even more tragic. Around 20 May, a new wave of mass murder was launched in the General Districts of Volhynia-Podolia and Zhytomyr, and by late summer, it swelled into the total destruction of almost every single Jew in the RKU (Pohl 2008: 48). In the summer and autumn of 1942, most of the region's Jews had been already killed; the few remaining able-bodied Jews were left for labor exploitation.

What was happening to Volhynia's Roma at this time? Were they really placed in ghettos? There is no documentation on this issue in the known archival material from the RKU. However, we have at least one group of sources showing that events were going in a more merciful manner for Roma in Volhynia-Podolia with its administrative center in Brest-Litovsk. On 22 April 1942, the administration of the *Kreisgebiet* of Kostopol (today Kostopil' in Ukraine) reported to the *Generalkommissar* of the Volhynia-Podolia that during the past days 92 Roma had been arrested and placed in the labor camp in Ludwipol (today, Sosnove near Berezne in Ukraine). Kostopol *Gebietskommissar* Löhnert reported that the 'Gypsies' are a 'heavy burden' for the camp, since they were 'heavily infested with lice' and there were old people and children among them. He asked *Generalkommissar* for instructions on how to proceed with these Roma (Відомчий вісник: 56). On 9 May 1942, the *Regierungsrat* (Administrative Council) of the Volhynia-Podolia district replied to Kostopol that general instructions on the treatment of Roma would soon be given (Відомчий вісник: 61). Probably, after receiving the RKU order of 8 May 1942, *Generalkommissar* of Volhynia-Podolia, Heinrich Schöne, signed the following reply on 15 May 1942: 'All itinerant Gypsies in the general district should be detained and fixed (*festzusetzen*) [that is, concentrated in one place]'. If necessary, they should be sent to useful work, while their carts and horses and the like taken away (*sicherzustellen*) (Протоколи засидань: 66). This document did not contain information about its addressee, thus, it is unclear whether it was forwarded only to the Kostopol commissar or to all *Gebietskommissars* in Volhynia-Podolia. However, the measures were prescribed only for nomadic Roma and did not imply their murder.

On 21 May 1942 – probably in order to familiarize all the subordinate authorities with this resolution – another order signed by Schöne and titled 'Wandering traders and Gypsies' was sent out from the General Commissariat of Volhynia-Podolia to all the *Gebietskommissariats* and the municipal commissariat of Brest-Litovsk. The document read, '[...] All vagrant traders should

be arrested immediately because they are spreading rumors. All nomadic Gypsies should be immediately fixed. Horses and carts are to be confiscated and transferred for rational use' (Відомчий вісник: 72). These orders indicate that at least in one of the RKU's six general districts (relevant documents for the remaining five ones are still unknown), the district authorities implemented the central RKU decree by narrowing the concept of 'Gypsies' to those who could be defined as leading a 'wandering' lifestyle. Sedentary Roma were yet not to be affected.

However, a month and a half later, a new initiative was launched regarding Roma. We have at our disposal a series of documents from the lowest – *raion* – level of the RKU administration in the town of Vysotsk in the Stolin kreisgebiet. This cache of correspondence consists of ten documents. The earliest is the order of the chairman of the Vysotsk raion, dated 10 July 1942 and addressed to the rural administrations subordinated to Vysotsk. They were required to provide, in accordance with the order received a few days earlier from the *Gebietskommisariat*, information about the presence of Roma in the villages. The other documents are the village elders' replies, all informing that there were no Roma in the territory under their jurisdiction. Here is the inquiry:

\* \* \* \* \*

Raion administration in Vysotsk

Department: org.[anizational]

10.VII.1942

No. 9/42

To the heads of village administrations

In accordance with the order of *Herr Gebietskommissar* dated 7 July 1942 I order to send immediately, by a special courier, the lists of the Gypsies who are on your territory – both passers-by and permanent residents. Provide these lists in the following form:

1. Surname and name.
2. Patronymic.
3. Year of birth.
4. Place of birth.
5. Since when [s/he] has been living in the village.
6. Occupation (profession).
7. How much land he has.
8. When he arrived to the village.
9. Where he came from.
10. Pure-bred Gypsy or mixed one.

If there are no Gypsies in or around the village, you should also inform the district administration that there are no Gypsies.

Deadline is 15 July 1942.

District Chairman (Справки сельских голов о наличии цыган в селах: 3).

\* \* \* \* \*

What does this document say about? First, the fact that the Roma began to be of particular interest to the occupation authorities (similar in this respect to the Jews, for whom a ‘special treatment’ was envisaged as well). It should be noted that the registration of Roma in this case was not part of a general registration in relation to the region’s entire population. In the rural areas in the RKU, all residents, as a rule, were registered by the elders of rural communities at the beginning of the occupation in accordance with the ‘Office instructions for elders and town mayors regarding the registration of the population and the issuance of identity cards.’ According to this instruction, all residents of a village had to be registered on a single list, except for ‘Jews,’ partisans, captured Red Army soldiers, criminal elements and members of the Communist party. All of these groups were to be registered on a ‘special list.’ During this first registration wave, Roma were not singled out as a separate category. Therefore, in July 1942, a separate registration list had to be launched exclusively for them.

Secondly, it can be assumed that this document is a result of the implementation of the RKU order signed by Paul Dargel on 8 May 1942, and of the order issued by the Volhynia-Podolia district on 21 May, as discussed above. The document in question confirms that the request from the RMfdBO in June 1942 to *Reichskommissariat Ostland* was indeed sent to the RKU, as well. Indirectly, this is evidenced by the similarity of the questions in the letter from Otto Bräutigam with the inquiry sent to the Vysotsk district administration. Both letter and order request not only statistics on the number of Roma, but also information about their way of life (either ‘nomadic’ or ‘sedentary’), about professional occupations and, most importantly, whether they were ‘pure-bred or mixed Gypsies.’ This last point most clearly indicates that the registration in Vysotsk was not the initiative of the local administration, but was an inquiry from Berlin. It clearly follows the tenets of official *Rassenkunde* (‘science of race’), in accordance with which the policy against Roma was then pursued in the Third Reich. It is likely that somewhat different policies were developed for ‘pure-bred’ and ‘mixed’ Roma in Ukraine, like elsewhere in wartime Germany. Also noteworthy is the inclusion of the patronymic in the list of required information. This may be evidence of an attempt to trace the personal genealogy of registered people. However, another explanation is more likely, namely, the patronymic was required for the identification of persons in the bureaucratic tradition of the Russian Empire and, subsequently, in the USSR.

Thirdly, the letter from the Vysotsk district administration mentions the order of the *Gebietskommissar* of *Kreisgebiet* Stolin. Documents that would tell us about the implementation of such requests by other *raion* administrations in *Kreisgebiet* Stolin, or in other *Kreisgebiets* of the General District

of Volhynia-Podolia have not been found yet. However, it is unlikely that the German administrative campaign to collect information about Roma was initiated only in a single *Kreisgebiet*. Most probably, it was a large-scale action to collect data on all the Roma living in the General District of Volhynia-Podolia, if not all over the RKU. If so, this data would play an important role in the shaping of the RMfdBO's policy on the 'Gypsy question.'

Summing up, in the spring and summer of 1942, the Roma were singled out by the German civilian authorities as a group, for which the authorities developed a specific policy. The sedentary Roma were to be registered. With regard to the nomadic Roma, the intention was to settle them in some place and use for forced labor, often entailing detention in a camp.

### The Situation on the Ground

Nevertheless, the situation on the ground was much more complex than it seems from the correspondence and administrative decisions on the 'Gypsy question' as communicated by the German civilian authorities to different levels of the territorial administration. Besides establishing the occupation rules and embarking on a variety of initiatives, the RKU officials were mainly responsible for the economic exploitation and the management of everyday aspects. Meanwhile it was the SS-police formations (Sipo-SD and Orpo), who carried out mass murders for the sake of 'solving' the 'Gypsy question'. The Sipo-SD and Orpo were formally subordinated to the respective RMfdBO structures. However, Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler was the ultimate commander for these forces. This section compares the civilian administration's instructions and the actual outcomes of the German policy. A careful analysis of German agencies' reports, the postwar Soviet documentation of Nazi crimes, survivor testimonies and eyewitness accounts enables such a comparison.

In reality, beginning in April 1942, both nomadic and sedentary Roma in the RKU, including the General District of Volhynia-Podolia, became the target of systematic extermination. The earliest case of a mass murder of Roma in Volhynia can be dated back to April 1942, though it was recorded later. This is an emotional, horrifying description of how the German gendarmerie and local police executed Roma near the town of Lokachi (Łokacze in Polish). This account was written by Jewish author Michael Diment, who later survived the liquidation of the ghetto in the same town.

On April 16, the Judenrat [Jewish ghetto administration, MT] was asked to supply 30 strong men with shovels on the following day. This immediately panicked everyone. Why suddenly with shovels? Every conversation was concerned with the following day and the coming events, trying to determine where they would be sent. At 5:00 AM the Wachmeister [correct: *Wachtmeister*, here: local German gendarmerie commander, MT], in Gestapo uniform, followed by 10 militiamen [local auxiliary police, MT], took the 30 men. All headed in the direction of Koslov [today, Kozliv]. We were scared; our eyes followed them. They went to a hill near a brick factory. There they stopped. Near the factory, waiting since the previous day, were wagons filled with Gypsies. The peasants had told us all about this in the 'park.' A short while later we heard the sound of shooting and terrible screaming. We were confused. What was happening there? The screams abated, but the shooting did not stop. Moshe Schwartz came into the ghetto. Frightened, he said, 'I came for an additional 10 men who are needed to help bury the slain Gypsies.' At noon the entire detail returned, dirty, tearful and very bitter.

The strong men who returned from the carnage told about the 114 Gypsies the Germans rounded up in the villages and brought to the mountainside, promising to provide them with all their needs: food, land and shelter. They were told that they were [being] settl[ed] down so that they would no longer need to go begging for food in the villages. The militia described how the Gypsies danced with happiness: singing and playing their violins all through the night, along with their children who were dressed in new clothes.

In the morning when the militia came, all the Gypsies were asleep. They were quickly awakened and asked to line up near the mountain, presumably to be counted. When all of them were standing, the Ukrainian militia's commanding officer ostensibly went to turn the command over to the Wachmeister, but when he walked far enough away, the shooting by the Wachmeister and other hidden militia started. The Gypsies could not escape; they were against the wall. Small children trying to get away, hid under their mothers' dresses and this was how they were killed. Babies were shot by the killers, going from crib to crib. Immediately after the slaughter, the militia ransacked the bodies for valuables. We dug large holes, collected the bodies and threw them into a mass grave. Some were still alive.

The horrifying events and the terrible ordeal of the Gypsies stirred the ghetto into a frenzy of terror (Diment 1992: 76–78).

This event finds its corroboration in the recent testimony of a local Ukrainian dweller who was a 9-year boy at that time (YIU testimony 1480). However, he says that the killing of Roma took place after the Jewish ghetto was destroyed, which actually took place in September 1942. Maybe this is the reason why he does not remember who was used by the perpetrators to bury the bodies. Diment's testimony looks more credible.

This detailed fragment can serve as a description of one of the typical ways of killing of nomadic Roma.

- (1) The murder was organized by German occupiers from the SS-police structures;

- (2) direct killing could be carried out either by the Germans themselves, or by the Germans with the assistance of the local police, or only by the local police;
- (3) captured Roma, as a rule, were not placed in isolated locations for a long time, but were shot immediately or after a short period of time;
- (4) if the victims were buried at all, the perpetrators used for this task the forced labor of the local population or even Jews from the nearest Jewish ghetto.

In addition, Diment's account provides us with a unique view of this event through the eyes of a representative of another victim group. Hence, the Jewish author displays empathy to the Roma victims and evokes emotional details that typically lack in witness accounts provided by non-Roma. In some cases, and quite importantly for that matter, massacres of Roma are known only because they were recorded in sources of Jewish origin.

The following excerpts on Roma massacres provide a detailed picture of how Roma were exterminated in Volhynia in the subsequent months. On 2 June 1942, German gendarmes executed 64 Roma in the village of Shylovoda (Отчет BDO<sup>3</sup> 1942: 29). On 17 August 1942, a German Security Police unit in Rowno (Rivne) reported that 76 Roma had been subjected to 'special treatment' in Kamin-Kashyrskyi (Kamień Koszyrski in Polish) and Kovel (Kowel in Polish) (Круглов 2009: 98). Prior to the mass execution, Jewish and Romani prisoners were incarcerated in the same concentration camp. The murder of an unknown number of Roma took place near the same site where part of Kovel's Jewry had already been exterminated. The location was a sand quarry near the village of Bakhiv (Bachów in Polish), as confirmed by two local Ukrainian eyewitnesses (YIU testimonies 525, 532).

The ChGK (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of the Atrocities of the German Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices) further documented the mass murder of some 200 Roma in Sarny (50 kilometers east of Kovel) on 26 August 1942 (Акт ЧГК Сарны 1944: 24, 69). On the same day, ten kilometers northwest of Sarny, a group of 15 Roma 'who had lived in the forest' were executed in the village of Voronky (Woronki in Polish) in the District of Volodymyrets (Włodzimierzec in Polish) (Акт ЧГК Воронки 1945: 4).

In 1942, 85 Roma were put to death in the town of Ratne (Ratno in Polish), 40 kilometers north of Kovel (Акт ЧГК Ковельский район 1944: 89). The

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3 BDO (Bund Deutscher Osten, Confederation of the German East) was a Nazi organization founded in 1933. Meant to mobilize ethnic Germans across the "German East," i. e. the regions that had German settlers.

150 Romani men, women, and children who had been arrested in Kovel were executed after three days spent in a local concentration camp (Акт ЧГК Ковель 1944: 32). In Volodymyrets District of Rivne Province, not far from the village of Stepanhorod (Stepangród in Polish), 40 kilometers northwest of Sarny, the Germans hunted down and executed 15 Roma who had been hiding in the forest (Акт ЧГК Владимирец 1945: 8). One more mass killing of Roma was documented by the ChGK in the town of Berestechko (Beresteczko in Polish), 30 kilometers south of Lutsk. It was reported that 60 to 195 Roma were ‘rounded up from the neighboring villages’ and killed in November 1942 (Начальнику Волинского ОГА УМВД 1946: 1–2).

The paucity and brevity of archival sources is to some extent compensated by information drawn from the memoirs of Polish Roma who survived the persecution,<sup>4</sup> alongside non-Roma’s eyewitness accounts. Edward Dębicki’s memoir presents a detailed description of the massacre of about 40 Roma families in the spring of 1942, several kilometers away from Berestechko. Three Roma survived the destruction of their caravan (that is, a family group). One of them testified:

Early in the morning the Germans came and took away several young men. They drove them out behind the village and ordered them to dig a deep hole in the field, about 30 meters long and two meters wide [...]. At twelve o’clock the villagers saw a large group of Gypsies led by the Germans. They were walking quietly, but it was obvious that they were very frightened. When they [the Germans] led them [the Roma] to this pit, all hell broke loose. They ran as fast as they could, but soon rifle bullets were catching up [with] them. The women got down on their knees, kissed the feet of their tormentors, and begged for their lives. When that didn’t work, they stood over the pit, clutching their small children to their chests, and fell into the grave with them. When the massacre was over, the Germans ordered the men to quickly fill in the pit. Some of the wounded were still alive, but the Germans paid no attention to this and ordered the peasants to fill in the ground. When they left, the earth on the grave was still moving for about 15 minutes (Dębicki 2004: 61–62).

One survivor, who managed to escape, also left a testimony about the destruction of a family caravan near Horokhiv (Horochów in Polish), 15 kilometers northwest of Berestechko. This is one of rare survivor accounts that mentions sexual violence against Romani women.

The cars had not yet had time to stop, and the Nazis were already jumping down and shouting ‘*Hände hoch!*’ We started to run away. Those who managed to run

4 For a more detailed survey of the testimonies by Polish Roma who survived persecutions in Volhynia, cf. Semczyszyn (2020: 311–313).

quickly into the woods escaped, the rest were caught. The elderly women, men, and children were put in two cars, and only girls and beautiful young women were taken to a separate car. The two cars went in the other direction, and the one with the women in it went into town. As we found out later, they killed everyone outside the village, near the woods, they took the girls for their amusement, and later they were killed too. Only five families left (Dębicki 2004: 77).

After August 1942, several Romani families ('two carts') were killed near the village of Kysylyn (Kisielin in Polish), 30 kilometers west of Lutsk. Polish eyewitnesses say they were 'settled Roma' who worked for the local (Soviet) collective farm (Dębski 2006: 398). Evidence by two local Ukrainian peasants confirms this murder but the victims were characterized as 'itinerant Roma' (YIU testimonies 448, 450). Approximately at the same time, nearly 10 Roma were killed by the Germans in the village of Ostrozhets (Ostrożec in Polish), Mlyniv (Młynów in Polish) raion, five kilometers south of Lutsk (Литвинчук 2011). Nearly 50 Roma were slaughtered in the spring of 1943 near the village of Zabolottia (Zabłocie in Polish) in Ratne district (Показания Свиржевского 1944: 34). According to witness accounts, almost 60 Roma were shot in 1943 in the village of Vyderta (Wyderta in Polish), Kamin-Kashyrskiy raion, 40 kilometers north of Kovel (Бессонов 2006: 9).

As can be seen from the evidence, the period of May–December 1942 and then the entire year 1943 became a deadly time for the Volhynian Roma. What were the reasons for this? In my opinion, a combination of circumstances played a fatal role, which resulted in the almost complete extermination of the region's Roma community.

First of all, the fact that the Roma, as shown above, became the subject of particular interest on the part of the German civil occupation administration both in the General District of Volhynia-Podolia and across the entire RKU. It was crucial that the very decision-making top level of this administrative system, namely, the RMfdBO took interest, too. The singling out of Roma from among the local population, their registration, data collection on them, and the draft decision to isolate Roma from society at large constituted the initial steps of the coming genocide.

However, the situation could have developed in different directions, as the official correspondence in the General District of Volhynia-Podolia shows in May 1942. While not intending to brutally eliminate members of this group, the district's civilian administration was rather inclined to use Roma as forced labor. Why then did the German occupation prove fatal for Roma?

To answer this question, it is not enough to consider only the situation of Roma; a broader socio-political context must be taken into consideration. The extermination of the Roma can be explained through tracing decisional

interactions between certain segments of the RKU civilian administration and the SS-police apparatus, including the latter's initiatives. The broader context is the 'Final solution' for the Jews, as decided at the Wannsee Conference in Berlin in January 1942. As the Holocaust studies show, in Berlin the top officials at the RMfdBO were more inclined to eliminate even skilled Jewish workers needed for work as quickly as possible rather than to leave them for forced labor, even if for a short time.

According to German historian Dieter Pohl, despite the desire of civilian officials to 'solve the Jewish question,' it became clear after the Wannsee Conference that Himmler and Heydrich (Chief of the RSHA, Main Imperial Security Office) were claiming decision-making primacy in the occupied zone under civilian administration. In addition to the general circumstances, in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* the radicalization of Germany's 'Jewish policy' received its own local impetus. Despite some disagreements, RKU Commissioner Erich Koch and RKU HSSPF (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer* 'SS and Police Leader') Hans-Adolf Prützmann closely cooperated on the 'final solution.' Koch officially turned his administrative authority for dealing with the 'Jewish question' to Prützmann. In turn, the latter delegated this responsibility to the KdS officers under his command (Pohl 2008: 47).

As a result, the Jews of Volhynia were captured in the second wave of deadly violence. Only between May and late December in 1942, about 160 thousand Jews were killed across the region. In light of the German or Soviet documentation, it was this period that brought death to the small Roma population in Volhynia, both nomadic and sedentary.

Why were the Roma singled out for 'special treatment'? As already mentioned, we still do not have direct answers to this question in the thus far located documentation of the German SS and police authorities. However, one can assume that such documents did not exist at all because they were not necessary. A combination of factors led to the coalescence of the German administrative opinion that it was necessary to exterminate all Roma. These factors included:

- (1) the separation of the group from the general population, and the prescription of special measures against Roma;
- (2) the generalized anti-Roma stereotypes and prejudices, which all the members of the occupation apparatus shared to varying degrees;
- (3) the growing acceptance for the extermination of 'racially inferior' persons and peoples;
- (4) the broad powers accorded to the SS-police;
- (5) the close cooperation between the civil administration and the SS police for getting rid of the 'undesirable' populations (notwithstanding some individual exceptions).

Activities of Einsatzgruppe D (Special Task Force D) under the command of Otto Ohlendorf amply illustrate the situation. Daniel Goldhagen gained access to documents with Ohlendorf's personal thoughts recorded on the 'Gypsy issue' (Goldhagen 1982: 93–94). Ohlendorf was guided by his idea of 'criminal and racially inferior Gypsies.' In the absence of a civil administration, he enjoyed unusually broad prerogatives in security matters. Already in the fall of 1941, Ohlendorf embarked on the policy of the total extermination of both Roma and Jews in southern Ukraine and Crimea (Tyaglyy 2009: 30–33; Holler 2012: 267–288). From spring 1942, this mindset and respective practice of dual extermination became routine for SS and mobile killing units. Heads of other SS-police bodies in the RKU also followed suit.

The fact that by July 1942 the civilian administration and the SS-police began to consider the Roma as a group earmarked for 'special treatment,' that is, extermination, is confirmed by the RKU decrees. On 1 May 1942, an order signed by the RKU *Reichskommissar* determined the sick pay for Ukrainian workers in the case of illness (Розпорядження про охорону хворих 1942). On 18 July, an addendum was issued, clarifying to whom this regulation did *not* apply. Along with foreign workers, POWs and Jews, 'Gypsies' were also mentioned to have been excluded from this provision (Перше виконавче розпорядження до розпорядження про охорону хворих 1942).

### **The Involvement of Non-Roma Population in the German Actions against Roma**

One more important aspect, namely the attitude of the locals to the persecution of Roma, needs to be explored. It is indisputable that whatever measures were planned and carried out by the German occupation authorities against Roma, they were never implemented in a social vacuum, that is, with the participation of the 'perpetrators' and the 'victims' only. Roma groups lived in the neighborhood of non-Roma or were even closely integrated with them. In ethnic terms such local populations in Volhynia, included, among others, Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Czechs, or local ethnic Germans. Due to the lack of resources and staff, the occupiers had to coopt local populations in the administration and in the implementation of German policies. The position and attitudes of the local population could significantly impact the Roma concerned. This was true of locals at the level of interpersonal relations, and especially those who worked as auxiliaries in the local administration.

From among the independent collective social actors attested in Volhynia during the occupation, two played an important role in the Romani genocide.

One was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), later renamed as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and the other were the Soviet partisans.

*Ukrainian Insurgents and their Attitude toward Roma*

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was formed in 1929 with the aim of winning an independent Ukrainian nation-state. In 1940, the OUN split into two factions. Moderates supported Andriy Melnyk, while radicals stood for Stepan Bandera. The organization's two wings were distinguished as OUN-M and OUN-B, respectively. After the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the OUN-B declared an independent Ukrainian nation-state on 30 June 1941 in Lemberg (Lviv). In reply, the Nazi authorities suppressed all the OUN leadership. In October 1942, in Volhynia the OUN-B established a Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In the Ukrainian nationalism the 'Gypsy question' did not figure prominently, until it was considered in light of the ideas about social order. In other words, the ethnic dimension of this issue itself did not attract much attention among the Ukrainian national underground. This was especially so in relation to settled Roma, who were well integrated in society. But some of the members of the movement saw nomadic Roma as those who did not meet the threshold of being 'useful members' of society. Such Roma were branded as potentially 'criminal,' and thus to be surveilled by the state apparatus. An example of this approach can be seen in the draft document titled 'The proposals of the OUN-M on the structure and competences of the ministries of the future Ukrainian state,' which was completed not later than 22 June 1941.

The authors proposed that the Ministry of Interior should be in charge of 'homeless Gypsies and people without documented occupations.' This responsibility was paired with a 'solution' in the form of 'houses of forced labor and colonies for juvenile offenders' (Кульчицький 2006: 233). In legal terms nomadic Roma were equated with criminals. As a result, diverse nomadic groups, who were engaged in legal activities and did not commit criminal acts, faced the risk of falling into the collective category of 'criminal Gypsies.'

A similar approach to this issue was demonstrated by the 'General Instruction of the OUN-B Security Service,' which was released in 1941. To successfully conduct raids, police officers were recommended to carefully study the area where a raid was to take place and, in particular, 'to know [...] the places where alcohol is illegally sold, the houses where Gypsies or other vagrants stay overnight, including the houses of politically suspicious persons' (ОУН в 1941 році: 593).

During the German-Soviet war, and especially since 1943, Volhynia became an arena of multilateral confrontations among different military forces, public and political groups, paramilitaries and partisans, permanent and temporary

groupings of militants, each of which pursued its own political and immediate goals. The main groups included the German occupiers, Soviet partisans, OUN and UPA military forces, alongside the Polish Home Army (AK, *Armia Krajowa*). The OUN and UPA forces aspired to resist both German and Soviet occupations. Simultaneously, they sought to ethnically homogenize these territories, which they saw as forming integral parts of a future independent Ukraine. Volhynia was to be included in this nation-state. That is why the OUN and UPA launched a campaign of ethnic cleansing that targeted Volhynia's Poles in spring 1943.<sup>5</sup>

In the OUN propaganda, the region's Jews and Poles were presented as 'aliens' whose presence could derail the Ukrainian national project. The 'Gypsy question' did not feature in this propaganda as prominently as the 'Jewish question.' However, in publications addressed to UPA soldiers and civilian members, at times, the Roma were portrayed as one of those groups, who were inimical to the national project. Such groups were to be eliminated. An OUN leaflet addressed to the Red Army urged Soviet soldiers not to fight for 'Jews, Gypsies and other scum' (Відозва до українців червоноармійців 1942).

In August 1943, in an appeal to the Ukrainians of Kholm (Chełm in Polish, Kholm in Ukrainian) and Podlasie, the UPA General Command stated that 'for destroying the Ukrainian people, Moscow, the eternal enemy of Ukraine, sent troops composed of Gypsies, Muscovites, Jews, and other thugs, that is, so-called "red partisans"' (Сергійчук 1996: 366). In early 1944 Victor Yuriiv's<sup>6</sup> 'Materials on Political Training' contained an appeal to the Ukrainians of Polissya (Polesia). The UPA General Command depicted the historical and present-day dangers to the construction of an independent Ukrainian nation-state from the perspective of ethnic nationalism. Among others, this appeal said, 'entire hordes move to Ukraine: Jews, Tatars, Gypsies and all other rags. They promise pears on a willow, that "everything will be fine, we will give you everything, but you only have to surrender and live under our rule"' (Юрїїв 2011: 183).

To what extent did this negative attitude towards the Roma expressed in military orders, propaganda and other documents determine ethnic Ukrainians'

5 As a result of UPA's systematic acts of violence against the Polish population in Volhynia, according to various sources, from 30,000 to more than 60,000 Poles were killed, while up to 15,000 Ukrainians fell victims to Polish retaliatory actions (McBride 2016: 631–641).

6 Viktor Yuriyiv is a pseudonym of Osyyp Dyakiv, who was a member of the OUN leadership. He served as deputy head of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, and in the rank of lieutenant colonel as a political educator for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

day-to-day relations with them? For a more thorough explanation, an important ethnographic detail must be recalled. As mentioned above, the Roma of Volhynia were not a homogenous group. While ‘Ukrainian Roma’ (see above) resided in towns and villages, spoke Ukrainian, practiced Orthodoxy, and were mainly engaged in blacksmithing and farming; Polska Roma led a semi-nomadic lifestyle, were Catholic and spoke Romani and Polish. Therefore, Volhynia’s Ukrainians often saw the latter as foreigners. So did the UPA partisans who initiated the ethnic cleansing of Poles in 1943. Most probably, these partisans extended their policies originally aimed at ethnic Poles also toward Polska Roma. Papusza’s poetry, as well as the memoirs of Tadeusz Wajs and Edward Dębicki mention the acts of UPA violence against their kin, including threats, physical abuse and murder. To survive, Polska Roma often had to pretend to be ‘Ukrainian Roma’ and switch to speaking the Ukrainian language and displaying Orthodox Christian symbols and gestures.

Polish poet and folklorist Jerzy Ficowski concluded that Ukrainian national forces ‘murdered Polish Roma, but did not harm Ukrainian Roma’ (Ficowski 1965: 98). According to the Romani testimonies collected by Ficowski, the persecution of Roma at the hands of UPA peaked in 1943. It coincided with UPA’s actions against the German and Soviet forces and the ongoing ethnic cleansing of the local Polish population. Soon after the war, the above-mentioned Tadeusz Wajs narrated to Ficowski the progress of his large traveling group across Vohlynia during 1943. For the sake of improved safety, the original group split into smaller subgroups that could respond to danger more nimbly. They all passed through the same localities, namely, Shumsk (Ternopil region), Kremenets and Teremne (Rivne region), Lanovychi (Lviv region), Ostrog and village Maikiv (Rivne region), village Bukhariv (Rivne region), Baranivka (Zhytomyr region) and village Khodaky (Ternopil region) (Jastrzębska 2013: 149–152).

In Wajs’s testimony, Ukrainian villagers often helped Roma. But some other Ukrainians, whom he also identifies as *Banderowcy* (Banderites), are portrayed as those who murdered Roma and others. Papusza’s *Tears of Blood* offers another vivid picture of Roma’s desperate survival and attempts at hiding from the Germans and Ukrainians. ‘Germans and Ukrainians come to us together, they bring death to us and the Jews,’ wrote Papusza. She did not delve into the details about the perpetrators’ ethnic origins or organizational affiliations. A similar picture is painted in Edward Dębicki’s postwar memoir titled *Bird of the Dead*. He relates two separate events when Polish Roma passed themselves off as Ukrainian Roma to the Banderites (Dębicki 2007: 98–99). However, the practice of persecuting Polish Roma was not universal, as Joszkiewicz-Krzyżżanowski’s short story ‘Dando’ shows. The author

recalled in it a Ukrainian raid on the Roma near the village of Kysylın (Kisielin in Polish), 30 kilometers west of Lutsk:

The raid by the Bandera people begins [...]. The Ukrainians are starting to chase us out of this forest. And the Poles – old people and children, all those who didn't manage to escape to Vladimir [actually Volodymyr, Włodzimierz Wołyński in Polish]. They separated the Roma from them by three steps. They had axes, pitchforks, hoes, rifles [...] One of their old men [...] said, 'Oh, the Gypsies are here! Why are you Gypsies crying?' And we exclaimed, 'Why not to cry, when death is before our eyes!' [...] They step aside, elderly Ukrainians, discussing: Why should we kill these Gypsies? They don't play politics [...]. 'What kind of Gypsies are you? What nationality? Polish or Ukrainian?' My brother [...] says, Gypsy nationality. And we are all Poles, Roman Catholics. And he said: 'We won't beat you.' And they let us go, what a miracle ... And look – they cut off the heads of those Poles with blunt sabers (Joszkiewicz-Krzyżanowski in Semczyszyn 2020: 316).

When using the Romani testimonies published by Jerzy Ficowski, one should approach them critically. They tell us little about the historical events mentioned, and rather shed more light on the postwar context in which Ficowski operated when he wanted to make the fate of the Roma publicly known. Polish researcher Emilia Kledzik compared the fragments, published in Ficowski's various works over the decades. They illustrate the way in which he edited the testimonies with an eye to 'customizing' the Roma characters for Polish readers. In particular, Ficowski took care to improve the image of the Polish population at large, emphasizing their help for Roma. On the other hand, he tended to present Ukrainian national insurgents in an unfavorable light: 'Bearing in mind that being a Rom during the Volhynia massacre did not necessarily mean a death sentence, as in the case of Poles, Ficowski used the words of his Roma informants to justify their decision to adopt Ukrainian surnames and passing themselves off as Ukrainians. The poet also removed fragments that showed any kindness, which UPA soldiers sometimes extended to Roma (Kledzik 2020: 195).

Information on anti-Roma actions of UPA is scant, but can be also found in non-Roma sources. Testifying in court about their anti-Polish and anti-Jewish actions, a former UPA soldier mentioned that in autumn 1943, a group of UPA partisans led by Antin Shkytak attacked a hamlet inhabited by a Romani family. It was located near the villages of Ploske and Halivka (Gałówka in Polish) in the Staryi Sambir (Stary Sambor in Polish) area. 'The OUN members chopped to pieces all the Gypsies they managed to capture,' testified this soldier (Statement by Shpytal 1964: 13). Because the term 'hamlet' is mentioned, the victims were either Roma who had been settled for long, or who had recently received a plot of land there. Thus, this testimony provides us

with rare evidence on the UPA violence against sedentary Roma who were not specifically targeted by the ideology of the Ukrainian national movement. The textual part is, however, scarce and does not reveal the attackers' motivations. Possibly the hamlet's dwellers died caught by accident in a confrontation between UPA units and Soviet partisans.

By 1943 many Roma had found refuge from the German persecution in Soviet partisan units. UPA's internal documentation shows their awareness of Roma's presence among the Soviet partisans. For example, Volodymyr Makar wrote an essay 'North-Western Ukrainian Lands: The Ukrainian People's Armed Self-Defense of the Ukrainian People,' which gathers the OUN Security Service's (SB) political reports and the UPA information and intelligence service's reports on the situation in wartime Volhynia and Polesia. A document dating to late May or early June 1943, states that

already in 1942 the Bolshevik partisans completely conquered Polesia and the northern forest strip of Volhynia. [...] Their ranks are constantly replenished with red paratroopers: Muscovites, Belarusians, as well as with fugitives Poles, Jews and Gypsies, and by the time of the UPA retreat also with Ukrainians from burned villages and forcibly mobilized peasants (Штендера 1984: 16).

Further mentions of Roma in the enemy's ranks can be found in numerous reports submitted by various UPA units, OUN SB units, and OUN branches' political departments. For example, in August 1943, a socio-political officer commented on the situation in the Bolota (Błota in Polish) area (40 kilometers west of Pinsk, today in Belarus). He stated that 'the national composition of the Red partisans is very different. There are Katsaps [derogatory term for Russians, MT], Gypsies, Poles, Belarusians, Uzbeks, there are also Ukrainians mostly from the eastern regions, and former communist activists' (Звіт суспільно-політичного референта округи про ситуацію в терені "Болото": 256). A report dated 15 October 1943 on the activities of the SB noted that 'in the Red partisan units all those found shelter, who are politically persecuted by the Germans or Ukrainians, namely Poles, Jews, Cossacks, Gypsies etc.' (Звіт про роботу референтури за період від 15 вересня до 15 жовтня 1943 р.: 309). In December 1943, the OUN chronicle in the Stolín region (20 kilometers east of Pinsk) reported that 'in the village of Berezichi [that is, Berezychi, Bereczice in Polish] Gypsies, Jews and all sorts of other good-for-nothings gathered, where they organized and went to plunder the villages' (Хроніка про діяльність оунівських боївок на Столінщині: 456).

On the basis of these and other reports, it can be assumed that in general Ukrainian insurgents' negative view of the Roma as an undesirable element was further complicated by the presence of the latter in the ranks of the

former's enemies. Mentions of Roma in Soviet partisan units are attested by Roma's recollections and former partisans' diaries and memoirs.<sup>7</sup> Papusza in her poem *Tears of Blood* also repeatedly refers to Soviet partisans as the only means of salvation for Roma and Jews. This choice forced on them by the circumstances pushed Roma into a tragic vicious circle of violence. Roma could not seek protection from the Germans in UPA, because the latter sought to build an ethno-linguistically homogenous nation-state. So, the only option available to Roma was to join the Soviet partisans. Yet, because Roma did join Soviet partisan units, the Ukrainian national underground associated them with the enemies of the Ukrainian nation.

It is difficult to learn about the killings of Roma from OUN and UPA sources. An exception is the following example. Ukrainian insurgent Ivan Lyko mentions in his memoirs that in 1946 the UPA district leader with the nom de guerre *Chornota* (Ukr. 'Blackness') persuaded him to kill a whole Romani family of six persons in a village of Halytsia (Galiția in Romanian, 60 kilometers west of Chernivtsi), because allegedly one of the family members was an 'informer' associated with the Soviet resistance. Lyko refused, and the next day he learned that the whole family had been killed on Chornota's order (Лико 2002: 214–215).

One more episode illustrates the logic of action followed by OUN SB members, when killing Roma. Former commandant of subdistrict 67 (in Volhynia) Kulchynskyi, nom de guerre *Yavir* (Ukr. 'Sycamore'), testified to the Soviet authorities in 1944 that in August 1943 a group of 'Gypsies' had appeared in his area, that is, in village of Novomalyn (Nowomalın in Polish) near Ostroh (30 kilometers south of Rivne). He provided them with a house, a plot of land and seeds for agriculture. But in October 1943 a group of OUN soldiers arrived from the district center and killed those Roma. Yavir inquired the district commandant about this event and received a reply that the 'Gypsies' had been killed as they were 'unreliable elements' (Показання Леоніда Кульчинського 1944: 22).

However, diametrically different cases are also known. On 24 October 1943, the political officer of the UPA Lutsk district 'Khortytsia' reported that several ethnic groups lived in the area, including about 50 'Gypsies'. The report presented the local Romani residents in a positive light: 'a Gypsy will never become a [Soviet] Komissar, [since] they only want to live through the war' (Звіт політичного референта району: 188). One female Romani survivor,

7 The most complete overview of the participation of Roma in Soviet partisan units is presented in Bessonov's work (Бессонов 2010: 268–310).

who was in hiding in wartime Volhynia's forests, recalled, 'Banderovtsy did not touch us, and we did not touch them' (Стоянович Ганна 2017).

Most probably the killing of the local sedentary Roma was not the aim of the Ukrainian national underground. What also mattered was the brutalization of the general situation in Volhynia, leading many to use violence even in situations where it was not necessary. Brutal retaliation actions by the Germans, UPA attacks on the Polish civilians, reciprocal actions by the Polish armed formations, the atmosphere of total distrust also increased violence against the local Roma.

A significant part of the fighters who joined the UPA in the spring of 1943 were deserters from the Ukrainian auxiliary police. In 1941–1942, they had already taken part in the 'final solution of the Jewish question' in Volhynia. They had learned how to kill in a mechanized, industrialized fashion. Subsequently, in 1943, such soldiers applied this 'know-how' to the extermination of the local Poles and others, whom they saw as a threat to the Ukrainian nation. As Timothy Snyder put it, 'from 1941 collaboration in the Final Solution changed the collaborators, transformed Ukrainian boys in Volhynia into the kind of men they could never have become otherwise' (Snyder 2003: 159–160).<sup>8</sup>

Some evidence suggests that the decision to wipe out entire ethnic groups in a region, including the Roma, might be taken at a higher command level that covered the operational activities of several units in various territories. For instance, according to the testimony of Ivan Iavorskyi, OUN SB commander in the Mlynov district, Rivne region, received orders to liquidate all 'foreigners,' meaning, Russians, Poles, Czechs, Jews, Gypsies, together with those Ukrainians who opposed the OUN-B and UPA. The last group was to be liquidated, including their families (Motyka 2006: 471).

However, the interrogation of Iavorskyi is problematic. First, it is well known how the NKVD obtained testimonies with the use of systematic violence and psychological pressure. Much of what Iavorskyi actually never intended to say was extracted with brutal and unlawful methods of interrogation. The goal was not to obtain a truthful picture of an event, but words that would 'confirm' what the Soviet authorities wanted and needed. Second, even if his testimony about the Roma is accepted as truthful, it is not confirmed by the testimonies of other UPA functionaries captured by the Soviets. Third, what Iavorskyi said

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8 However, recent micro-level Holocaust studies propose not to absolutize this fact. Apart from those who had already used violence in auxiliary police formations, perpetrators of ethnic cleansing in Volhynia also stemmed from among peasants, especially those who were forced to join the UPA (McBride 2016: 652).

does not correspond to the reality on the ground. No massacres of Roma in the area under his command are known.

The anti-Roma prejudices espoused among the Ukrainian popular culture significantly impacted the situation. Any stereotypes that exist within one ethnic group in relation to another do not fundamentally affect mutual relations during stable and peaceful coexistence. However, under extreme conditions, people may start acting upon previously latent prejudices, leading to escalation and open violence.

Ukrainian folklore and literature feature a considerable number of prejudiced stories about Roma (Рачковський 2005: 397–401; Шума 2016: 128–135). First and foremost, quite a few proverbs and sayings are devoted to the Romani lifestyle, their presumed traits and family relationships. Apart from positive traits (such as freedom-loving, resourcefulness, skilled in blacksmithing), much attention is paid to negative ones, such as cunning, deceitfulness, laziness, or godlessness. According to researcher Eva Milczarczyk, in traditional society, the Roma ‘sparked fascination, interest, and, at the same time, alarm, fear, and the desire to dissociate from them’ (Мільчарчик 2005: 384).

To what extent did the Ukrainian partisans inherit and spread such stereotypes about the Roma? Most UPA soldiers belonged to the traditional society because they stemmed from rural localities and obtained only primary education. Therefore, they tended to espouse their social environment’s stereotypes quite uncritically. In a similar manner they portrayed Roma in their postwar memories. Ivan Lyko, a former UPA soldier, left a colorful and informative testimony:

To continue our celebrations we got to the Kuliashne village [nowadays Kulaszne in northeastern Poland, 10 kilometers south of Sanok], where we sat down to the hospitable table of one respectful good host with his family and few neighbors. It happened that [...] a nice black haired girl was sitting next to me. The idea came to my mind to make a closer acquaintance of her and, during the conversation, we agreed that I would accompany her to her home.

[...] I was shocked by the scene in which I was caught when finding myself in her house. The door was opened by the mother of the girl, a typical Gypsy woman. And her brother, who was at that time in the room, confirmed to me with his personal look that I got to the Gypsy family.

Prejudices towards Gypsy race which I got in my childhood, when you time after time hear from adults that Gypsies were workers of evil, who fed themselves by meat of dead animals, which they exhumed, sometimes in half-decomposed condition, stroke my mind immediately. I tried not to show my impressions outwardly despite I knew perfectly that I do not belong to the people who could mask their feelings. I knew that the mother and the brother of the pretty Gypsy girl could read all that came to my mind from my face. The brother of the girl made an excuse and left the room, and the mother offered to us a snack sausage, ham and kulich [Easter bread, MT] and one quarter liter of bathtub gin.

I drank the glass with no hesitations, but when I began to eat the ham it seemed to me that the ham was 'growing in my mouth.' [I] got up from the table, trying to find some idea how to 'get out of the situation.' [...] Luckily for me, I saw Buryi approaching the Gypsy house on the hill, and when he entered the house and communicated that the militants were leaving the village, it was as if a heavy stone had fallen from my shoulders. Thanking the hostess for the hospitality, I said a goodbye and kissed the young Gypsy girl, to whom I promised that I would try to visit her and stay with her longer next time (*Лико* 2002: 178).

This passage particularly well demonstrates that the author's biased views of the Roma were shared by the society to which he belonged. Mykola Terefenko, another former OUN member, dedicated a separate fragment to Roma in his memoirs. He also described how he and his comrades visited the house of a Roma family and were invited to dinner. He recalled his feelings during the meal:

We approached the first house at the back of a village. The house looks poverty-stricken [...]. There was a light in the house. We opened the door and saw that the Gypsy family lived in that house. The old woman cooked something at the fire kitchen while the old Gypsy man was sitting on the bench. [...]

The old Gypsy woman just came up to us and said, 'Sit, please sit with us. Do not shrink away from Gypsies. We are poor people, but we are kind people [...].'

They took spoons and started to eat once potatoes, once broth. Meat laid separately. All of them started to eat together. I did as they too, my lot taught me everything, only my companion did not take a spoon and eat anything. The old Gypsy woman looked at him and said, 'Eat, Sir. I know why you do not eat, because all the time people say about us that we eat carrion, but that is not true. Look how good this meat is. We bought it from our neighbor [...].' But my companion did not eat. He said to her that he was not hungry. I kept eating, though I was thinking that possibly that cow croaked. Damn it all! If they do not die, why would I?

The Gypsy woman gave me a big portion of meat after the broth and potatoes. I ate that all. When they finished their dinner, they stood up and we did the same. I thanked her and complimented for her cooking, but she was dissatisfied because of my companion who did not eat.

Then the old woman came up to the cupboard and took out the whole loaf of bread from it, gave that bread to me and said, 'It is for the road.' Both of us said a good-bye and left. Although I was afraid that a 'revolution' would start in my stomach, nothing happened. That evening made me laugh a bit. I thought about the Gypsies, who are such poor people, but so human and hospitable (*Терефенко* 2002: 508–509).

Like the previous story, this one also took place beyond the boundaries of today's Ukraine, that is, in Slovakia in summer 1947. However, the author's feelings could be similar if this meeting happened in Volhynia in 1943, since he describes his general perception of 'Gypsies.' Of course, it is wrong to draw

a direct line between UPA soldiers' and other Ukrainians' anti-Roma prejudices and the cases of persecution and murder of Roma. These fragments do not show any hostile attitude on the part of UPA soldiers toward those Roma whose homes they visited (beyond common stereotypes). Yet, in these cases UPA soldiers visited sedentary Roma, who were an integral part of the rural society at that time. In the soldiers' eyes, nomadic Roma were different, and they could behave towards them differently, when coming across traveling caravans in forests.

The aforementioned qualifications and facts lead to the conclusion that different groups of Roma faced different fates in wartime Volhynia. Only those Roma whom Ukrainian insurgents associated with the Polish population or Soviet guerillas were singled out for persecution and extermination.

### *Soviet Partisans, and their Attitude toward Roma*

From late 1942, the Soviet partisan movement in the region rapidly intensified and increased several times over. 32 partisan detachments and 71 underground groups operated in Volhynia. The Soviet partisan movement leaders' attitude toward the Roma who fled the German extermination was ambiguous. Notwithstanding the Soviet ideology's internationalist and inclusivist character, Soviet partisans had other immediate practical considerations, namely the suitability of potential recruits for military service, or whether they possessed useful professional skills. Soviet partisans, too, were not free of antigypsyism, and this often influenced their decisions on Roma recruits and their fate.

Roma's numerous attempts to find refuge in forests are attested in the recollections of Soviet underground members and partisans. Roma who were interviewed within the framework of recent oral history projects frequently mention that they sought Soviet partisans' help or even joined their units. Most partisan commanders realized that the Germans persecuted the Roma, alongside the Jews. For example, some Roma who came to the woods told Ivan Kolos, a Soviet partisan commander in Belarus, that the Nazis 'were shooting Gypsies and Jews without exception' (Колос 1979: 46). Recounting the situation in Volhynia in 1943, Oleksii Fedorov, commander of the Chernihiv-Volhynia Soviet partisan formation recalls that entire civilian settlements emerged in the woods: 'There were unique hamlets fashioned out of dugouts: Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish and Gypsy' (Федоров 1955: 231). In 1942, Anton Brynsky, commander of a Soviet operational reconnaissance and sabotage center, was aware of the execution of nearly 150 Roma in Lielčycy (Lelczyce in Polish), a small town in southern Belarus, 30 kilometers west of Mazyr (Бринский 1966: 367).

The decision on whether to allow Roma to join a Soviet partisan detachment depended on its commander's attitude towards Roma and other factors. For example, Mykola Sheremet, a member of the Chernihiv-Volhynia partisan unit in 1943, left the following lines in his diary regarding the events of 22 March 1943.

Suddenly a group of Gypsy women came to us. I saw them a long ago. A[leksei] F[edorovich]<sup>9</sup> received them near his tent. They looked ragged, in long dirty skirts, only their eyes were burning like embers, and strands of black hair were sticking out from under the handkerchiefs. The Germans and the police persecute and kill them along with the Jews. [...] Stealthily, they roam in the Belarusian forests, looking for help and assistance from the partisans.

The eldest of the women says:

- We are not nomadic Gypsies but settled. Under Soviet rule, we worked in a match factory in Khoyniki.<sup>10</sup> My husband and brothers were in the Red Army, and when the Germans came, they destroyed our families, and threw young children alive in a well. [...]
- Where are your men? – we ask.
- Everyone in the army or in the guerrillas [that is, partisans]. We have two old men guarding our Gypsy camp. They have two grenades – that's all our weapons ...
- And how do you live? – we continue the conversation. – By telling fortune, perhaps?
- No, our dears. Gypsies used to foretell because they wanted to eat. And now neither fortunetelling nor singing. Hard times have come. Take us with you, with the children, – they beg.
- We will give you some horses and a cart, we will help, – A[leksei] F[edorovich] makes a decision. – But, you can't go with us (Шеремет 2015: 176).

However, most authors describe the Roma whom they encountered in a detached manner, often with a hint of hostility and superiority that soldiers tend to display toward defenseless people who were unfit for combat. If soldiers harbored any sympathy and empathy for Roma, these feelings were veiled by the partisans' pragmatic attitude. In their view, Roma were useless, and worse, a drain on scarce resources. In these episodes, Roma are usually portrayed as mostly elderly people, women, and children. Roma men were either in the Red Army or had become the first victims of the Nazi persecution. Some authors conclude that on partisans' part there was a desire to get rid of this 'civilian ballast.' As a result, they drove such Roma out of the areas where

9 In 1943, Alexei Fedorovich Fedorov commanded the Chernihiv-Volhynian formation of Soviet partisans.

10 Chojniki near Homiel in Belarus.

partisan detachments were stationed. Partisan commanders viewed such measures as necessary in the time of war.

A fragment from the memoirs of Yakiv Shkriabach, the commander of a partisan detachment that marched through 13 oblasts of Ukraine and Belarus, is especially revealing in terms of vocabulary and images used. It seems to bring together all the clichés and templates that are found in other texts.

Heading out on reconnaissance in the direction of the hamlet of Obruchatnitsa,<sup>11</sup> a group of our cavalymen unexpectedly came upon some bedraggled women and children in a forest clearing. Taking fright, they dashed into the thick of the forest. We spurred the horses, and after a minute we caught up with them. They were Gypsies. We saw tents and a few wagons – everything that accompanied this tribe in its nomadic life. Three Gypsy men, 15 Gypsy women, and a bunch of dirty, shaggy-haired kids formed the entire camp. There was one horse for five wagons.

– What are you doing here in the forest? We asked. A nimble, young Gypsy inspected us carefully.

– We are partisans, Gypsy partisans! He replied gravely.

– What are you killing the fascists with? They showed us a rusty rifle with a bolt without an injector, ten cartridges, and a grenade without a capsule.

The story that the Gypsies recounted was a sad one. When a German division had come through here, clearing the woods of partisans en route to Yurevychi,<sup>12</sup> the Nazis attacked the Gypsies. First, they killed the men. Only a few people managed to escape deep into the woods. During this period the inhabitants of the camp ate the horses. Right now they are eating mushrooms and berries.

A dense crowd of Gypsy men and women surrounded us.

‘Give me a rifle! I will tell you your fortune, I’ll tell the truth!’

‘Give me at least a bad horse! You will have luck and great happiness...’

‘Commander, where is your hand? I’ll tell you the whole truth. Just give us a needle and thread...’

‘Take this girl of ours. A beautiful Gypsy girl? She’s 17 already. She will come in handy... Give us a horse for the girl!’

Finally convinced that we were partisans, the Gypsies became bolder and offered us anything in exchange for a ‘horse’ and a ‘rifle.’

They were stationed some four or five kilometers from us. After observing where we had gone, the next day the Gypsies came to the camp. ‘We want to tell your fortune.’ Once again, they asked for a needle, thread, horse, and rifle. We ended up having to give them two lame horses and two German rifles with cartridges. At the same time, we warned them not to come to [our] camp anymore.

11 Obruchatnica, single household farm (*khutor*) in today’s Belarus, near the hamlet of Chobnoje, 15 kilometers northeast of the village of Juravičy, and 20 kilometers east of Mazyr.

12 Juravičy, cf. the previous footnote.

But the next day they reappeared. Only when the partisans threatened them with weapons did the Gypsies finally leave us in peace (Шкрябач 1966: 134).

The lexical set of the text reveals its tonality and creates a prejudiced (colonial-like) way for readers to perceive the ‘Gypsies’ who do not deserve protection and help. Given the internationalist ideology of the Soviet partisan movement, one would expect that this partisan force should have been hospitable to civilian Roma, women, children and the elderly, who all were threatened with death. However, the sources, with rare exceptions, show a different picture. Not everyone had a chance to remain under the protection of a partisan detachment, the exception was made only for those who could be useful to the partisans.

Nikolai Bessonov’s aforementioned work contains dozens of biographies of Roma men and women, members of partisan units or who occasionally performed some tasks for the partisans. However, the close analysis shows that extremely rarely did partisans accept family groups of Roma. Partisans mostly accepted young and middle-aged people who were capable of fighting and fending for themselves. Yet, for personal reasons or to fit the dominating narrative in Russia, Bessonov chose in his writings the mode of enthusiastic patriotic discourse.

#### *Local Occupation Administrations, and their Attitude toward Roma*

The statistical and economic departments of municipalities and district administrations were also involved in the registration of Roma and, after the massacres, in the registration and utilization of Roma’s property.

However, sometimes heads of local administrations initiated anti-Roma actions on their own. For example, on 17 November 1942, Head of the Korets district ordered the local police in the town of Korets (Korzec in Polish, 30 kilometers east of Rivne) to run an action in Bohdanivka (Bogdanówka in Polish), the aim being ‘the eviction of two Gypsy families.’ Their property was to be handed over to the elders of the village. The Roma’s dwellings were to be adapted for displaced persons (Розпорядження Корецького районного начальника Галинського: 221). By ‘eviction’ District Head Yuri Halynskiy clearly meant something else but did not want to express that openly. The local police also realized that the Roma would be handed over to the Germans for extermination.

The episode described above is a rare case in the study of the Romani genocide, since the preserved documents allow for the reconstruction of the victims’ further fate. The Soviet authorities recorded the testimony of a female resident of Korets who lived near the Jewish cemetery. She described seeing

in winter 1942 how the Germans killed several Roma in the cemetery, namely, two men, three women and two children aged 10–11 (Показания Федоры Мамчуровской: 17). They were these two Roma families from Bohdanivka, because no other murder of Roma was documented in the town. It is obvious that the Korets police brought the victims to the district center. Subsequently, they were handed over to the local Sipo-SD branch, whose officers executed the captured Roma.

In another Volhynian district, Rozhyshche (Rożyszczce in Polish, 10 kilometers north of Lutsk), on 9 June 1942, the district's head ordered the heads of the district's villages to adopt a number of measures against Roma, including the following prohibition: 'it is forbidden for Gypsies to wander around the villages. If they appear, inform the district's Security Service immediately' (Голова Рожищенського району старостам: 76). Village officials were required to report caravans to the gendarmerie, which meant death for the spotted Roma.

The ordeal suffered is known from survivors' personal accounts. At times, neighbors and even individuals directly involved in the local administration provided timely assistance to their Romani fellow-villagers to escape prescribed reprisals. Among those Roma whose recollections were recorded in the course of various oral history projects, there are also testimonies of Roma from Volhynia. For instance, in the village of Chudvy (Czudwy in Polish), Kostopil district, 25 kilometers north of Rivne, according to a Roma woman, the Germans 'wanted to kill us. And the one from the village council, who was called headman, did not allow that. The head of the village began to ask [the Germans]: "Do not touch [Gypsies], do not kill [them], because we will not have a blacksmith"' (Козелец ЛЮБОВЬ 2017).

Another female interlocutor said that her family lived near the village of Soshychne (Soszyczno in Polish), District Kamen-Kashirsky (Kamień Koszyrski in Polish), 30 kilometers north of Kovel. They survived thanks to a local Ukrainian policeman, who knew her father as a good blacksmith. This policeman escorted their family to a safe place, allowing them to escape sure death at the hands of Germans (Стоянович Ганна 2017).

One more female survivor provides a similar story about her father, mother and children (including herself). The local village elder and villagers saved the family from the Germans, because her father was known and respected as a good blacksmith in the village of Nuino (Nujno in Polish, 30 kilometers north of Kovel) (Стоянович Прасковья 2017). These examples show that non-Roma villagers, and in some cases village heads, protected those Roma who had lived in their localities for a long time. Especially, if such Roma were well integrated with the local population, meaning they spoke the same language, practiced

the same religion, were respected, and had a profession that was essential for other villagers, typically blacksmithing. Obviously, nomadic Roma could not count on such grassroots support.

As mentioned above, in the raion of Vysotsk (Wysock in Polish, 50 kilometers north of Sarny) an order was sent to the raion's village heads to register Roma residing in their localities. Nine village heads and the head of the Vysotsk raion replied that no Roma lived in the localities. However, one can assume that it was not a veracious overview of the situation, but a ploy to protect the local Roma.

### *Local Auxiliary Police, and Their Attitude toward Roma*

Recently more research is done on the role of local security formations in the Nazi 'final solution' of the Jews. But the formations' involvement in the Romani genocide remains understudied. Usually, the local police provided support for the rounding up of Roma and escorting them to the place of execution. On the other hand, the actual killings were carried out by German units. However, in several cases there are reasons to believe that the local police detained, conveyed and executed Roma out of their own initiative, without German participation. Such cases occurred beginning in mid-1942. The argument is that the murder was typically initiated by local administrators or the police. Orders were issued to this end, and the documents always contained the following formulation, 'in accordance with the *Gebietskommissar's* order'. Often those arrested for killing Roma and interrogated by the Soviet authorities claimed that they had acted in compliance with the German orders. However, such a formulation or corroborating evidence are not always available.

One Saturday evening in 1942, in the bitter cold, a Jewish girl Zhenya Chernyavska, who lived in the town of Rohizne (Rohoźne, Rohóźne or Rogoźno in Polish), Demydiv district, 30 kilometers south of Lutsk, returned home and saw 'perhaps 20 carts with Gypsies being escorted by the police to Berestechko.' She later learned that these Roma had been shot there (Memoirs of Zhenya Chernyavskaya: 13). About a year after the start of the invasion, the Germans began killing Roma with the help of local police, as narrated by Tetiana Markovska (Tatiana Markowska in Polish), who lived in a caravan near Sarny in the late summer of 1942. Her parents and relatives were killed, she managed to escape (Гогун, Церович 2009: 77–78).

In late August 1942, a group of officers of the Ratne district police encircled a group of 10–12 Roma on the way from the town of Ratne to the village of Zabolottia. The Roma were escorted to Ratne and then to the outskirts of the town, where the police killed them (Висновок по архівно-кримінальній справі 1997: 327). In June 1943, another group of local policemen in the village

of Zabolottia arrested four Roma males. They took the Roma two kilometers away from the village to the forest, where the latter were shot and buried (Обвинительное заключение 1949: 138). In summer 1942, officers from the Ratne district police detained 35–40 Roma in a forest near the village of Siltse (Sielce Górnickie or Sielce Korteliskie in Polish), 40 kilometers southwest of Lutsk. They took the Roma to Ratne and executed them by shooting near the local cemetery (Обвинительное заключение 1959: 174–175).

This evidence is sufficient to conclude that the local police were actively involved in the identification, arrests and mass shootings of Roma. The question arises why local district or city mayors and police chiefs considered it necessary to get rid of the Roma. It is difficult to answer, due to lack of sources that would shed light on their personal motivations. To some extent, a range of factors described by Alexander Prusin in his study of the motivations of anti-Jewish actions of the Ukrainian auxiliary police is of assistance. These included, among others, anti-Semitism, loyalty to the new government, careerism, the desire for domination and self-assertion at the expense of vulnerable people, or enrichment. For some, sadism was a motivation, too (Прусин 2007: 50–59). If anti-Semitism in this list is replaced with anti-Gypsyism, the other factors also played a role in rounding up and killing Roma in Volhynia. By mid-1942, the German goal to exterminate all the Roma had become apparent. So, like in the case of the extermination of Jews, local collaborators also came to view rounding up and murdering of Roma as a routine ‘administrative’ task.

### Roma Losses: Physical and Symbolical

One of the specific features of the study of the Romani genocide is the paucity of sources. At times, archival documents or memoirs portray a mass killing of Roma. But often they miss crucial details, for instance, the circumstances and the number of victims. In other cases, available written evidence operates with such vague terms as ‘caravan,’ ‘group,’ or ‘two wagons.’ The ChGK, which was to record human losses in the occupied Soviet territories, operated under time and capacity constraints. Its work had to follow specific ideological tenets, which had negatively impacted the recording of the victims’ ethnicity. As a rule, the ChGK did not produce detailed accounts of Roma massacres. The Shoah Visual History Foundation recorded tens of interviews with Roma across Ukraine, but the Volhynia was not covered. The only substantial array of surviving memories are available in the archive of Jerzy Ficowski, as mostly left by Polska Roma. They shed some light on the events in Volhynia.

The sources available today allow to estimate that over 20 mass killings of Roma in Volhynia took place. Around 1,500–2,000 Roma were murdered. The commemoration of Romani victims continues to be sadly insufficient. Of the more than 20 places of mass death in the region where Roma perished, only one is appropriately commemorated. The Roma community themselves erected a symbolic memorial sign in the form of a cross in the village of Vyderta.

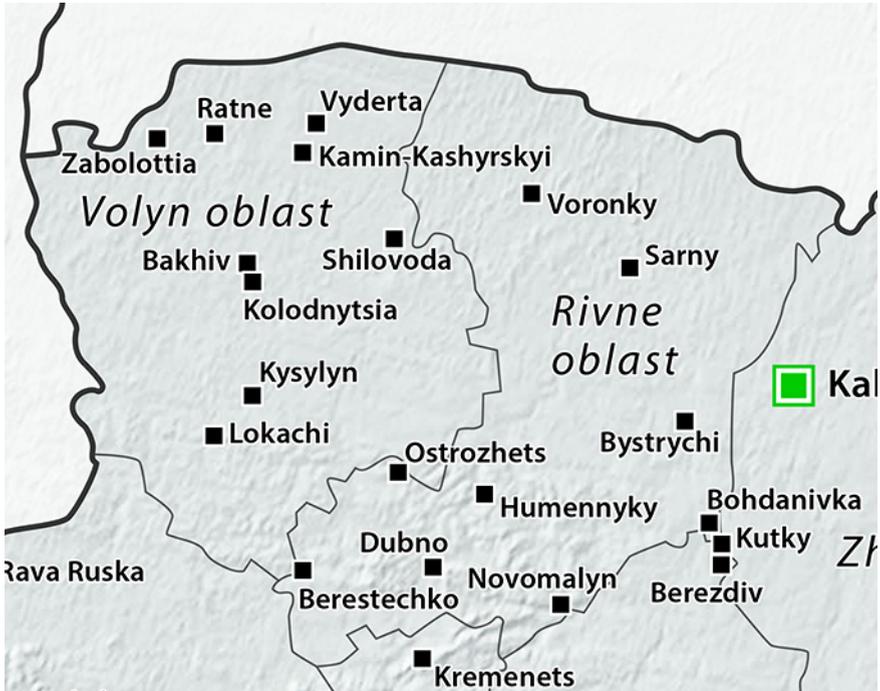


Fig. 10.1 Map of the mass killing sites of Roma in Volhynia by Mykhailo Tyaglyy.

*Edited by Tomasz Kamusella and Volha Bartash*

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*Ratwale jaswa* (Romani: 'Tears of Blood') is a poem by the Romani poet Papusza (Bronisława Wajs) who survived the German occupation and the Second World War in Volhynia, currently Ukraine. It is also one of the earliest known testimonies by a Romani genocide survivor and a Romani woman. This book introduces the recently re-discovered manuscript which is four times longer than the previously known text. The volume includes a transcript of the poem in Romani, a translation into English, extensive historical-philological commentaries, alongside stand-alone chapters on the poet, manuscript and the historical context.

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