

# Decoding Egyptian Origin of Roma: Fact and Faith

Zameer Anwar

Central University of Gujarat, India

The premise of the research paper is to decode the myth and revisit the fact in regard to the Egyptian link of the Roma communities through piecing together classical and modern documents, scholarly works, literature and books. The paper is a scholarly endeavour to navigate the historical alley of the Roma community and their emergence in Peloponnese. The research paper assumes the empirical and multidisciplinary approach to dealing with historical myth and alleged origin of the Roma people and responds to the narratives that deconstruct the notion of biblical versions and Egyptian legend. It critically analyzes mendacious premises and mythological rhetoric about Egyptian origin of Roma communities. The paper also addresses the argument premised upon Roma's peripatetic lifestyle, fortune-telling vocation and their professions like bear keeping, animal training, sieve/basket making and jugglery.

*Keywords:* Roma, Roma communities, Gypsies, Egyptian origin, Egyptian link, Egyptian legend, Indian origin of Roma, Indian lineage

## Introduction

The research paper chiefly intends to evince the reliable account of historical occurrences as well as substitute legends and myths with facts and findings besides phasing out the unexamined assumptions. De facto, it is hereby imperative to meticulously analyze mythological rhetoric about Egyptian link of Roma communities. One of the most mendacious premises and baffling questions in Romani study is "Little Egypt" (also designated as "Lesser Egypt" in the chronicle of Constance) that conflated with the so-called origin point of Roma communities and misled into the acceptance of their Egyptian origin, and subsequently by the name "Egyptian" they became known to the different countries of Europe. The name "Egyptian" was used to refer to Domaris or Domba<sup>1</sup> then later to Roma in the Byzantine Empire. So, Egyptian appellation for Roma should have been brought in from there before they moved to Europe. Even the well-educated historiographers or chroniclers knew nothing about Gypsies/Roma. However, they wrote down the stories what others told them. Romantic writers or chroniclers across Europe fashioned a fantastic realm of mystery and wonder about origin, history, culture, way of life and language of Roma/Gypsies who were also lumped in with a group of familiar foreigners, Egyptians, Tatars, Saracens, and what not. Consequently, mediaeval Europe used the word "Egyptian" indiscriminately as a cover term to denote a number of different foreign populations encompassing Gypsies.

---

Zameer Anwar, PhD Scholar at Central University of Gujarat; Research Fellow, Indian Council for International Cooperation (ARSP), Centre for Roma Studies and Cultural Relations, Delhi, India.

<sup>1</sup> Doms are pre-Aryan nomadic community from Northern and Central India, having extraordinary knack for dancing, singing, music, acrobatics, mats, basket and sieve weaving. They hold traditional monopoly on burning corpses and dealing with the dead bodies and eat all naturally deceased animals as well as are fond of pork and alcoholic spirit.

However, after the establishment of scientific facts adverting to Indian origin of Roma, Little Egypt was characterized as a Gypsy fable or puerile idea. John Komaromi<sup>2</sup> (1701) mentioned in his diary that the Turks termed Nicomedia and its surroundings (the modern Izmit in the capital district of Kocaeli Province, Turkey) Little Egypt (Kucuk Misir) because of its fertility and heavenly milieu. During their journey from Asia Minor to Europe, the Roma/Gypsies must have traversed Nicomedia and its environing regions and therefore their assertion that they had come to Europe out of Little Egypt proves itself to be a geographical necessity.

### **Some Prevalent Arguments Apropos of the Egyptian Origin of Roma, Despite Cogent Evidences to the Contrary**

Roma came from Egypt as pilgrims who got lost on their way to Jerusalem and claimed to be the progeny of Christians banished from Egypt, and forced to pay seven years of penance for apostasy. Some try to prove this argument with biblical narratives and an Old Testament prophecy<sup>3</sup> regarding the downfall of Egypt. According to the Bible legends, Roma were the cursed descendants of Cain<sup>4</sup>, condemned to wander around the world on account of failing to assist Jesus and the Holy family on their flight to Egypt.

Another general explanation was accorded that Roma/Gypsy had become pilgrims or penitent Christians, wandering the lands, particularly in groups, begging for alms, on pursuit of getting eternal salvation and emerged from the land of 'Little Egypt'.

It was also often specified that Roma/Gypsies kept on travelling in order to fulfill a penance in varied groups which were led by different noblemen like Count Thomas and Duke Andrew of Little Egypt. They possessed the letters of protection issued by the highest authorities such as the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, Count Friedrich von der Pfalz in 1471, Countess Zu Leissnigk in Saxony in 1488 on behalf of Count Nicolaus Caspar, etc. It is incredibly hard to say that the authenticity of these letters cited in chronicles is whether genuine or not. It was then also commonplace for beggars pretending as pilgrims to present false papers. It is imperatively noteworthy to mention, despite such imperial titles, they did not carry any sign of nobility but had disheveled and slovenly appearance. Johannes Aventinus (*Annales Boiorum*: 1522), noted that courtly respect, hospitality and courtesy for Roma Duke and Count were willfully ignored as well as all trappings or the outward signs of their aristocracy were denounced as an impersonation. There were several documented cases of disregarding those entitlements by many regional and city authorities. Since 1497 when Gypsies were evicted because of the threat of violence and other reasons and thenceforth, there was not any reference to the issuance of the letter of protection to Gypsies.

Fraudulent claims for an Egyptian origin, made by Gypsies/Roma, were meant only for papal or imperial protection with a view to obtain safe passage as well as to dwell anywhere in Europe with the assurance of their safety and subsistence. Klaus-Michael Bogdal (2023, p. 21) referred to the writing of Gyorgy Szabo who recorded that, "Roma/Gypsies necessitated the immediate protection of the king of one of the many feudal lords who provided them with letters of protection and residence permissions".

---

<sup>2</sup> John Komaromi was the secretary of the exiled Prince Emerich Thokoly who died in Nicomedia in 1705. Komaromi gave a vivid and comprehensive description of the town of Nicomedia and its surroundings in his diary in 1701.

<sup>3</sup> Prophecies affirming that I will scatter Egyptians among the nations and will disperse them through the countries, Ezekiel 30:23.

<sup>4</sup> Cain means blacksmith in Semitic languages especially in Hebrew and Aramaic. Because of blacksmithing work of Roma, they were linked with the story that goes: Roma forged the nails used in the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ so they were cursed to roam the earth forever.

Klaus-Michael Bogdal (2023, p. 26) also mentioned that Gypsies/Roma often spun tales of enduring seven years of exile to atone for the sins of their forefathers who gainsaid the divine conceiver, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus. The reference to the number seven<sup>5</sup>, because of seven years of penance undertaken by Gypsies as an atonement for the wrongs of their forefathers, was widely deemed holy in Christian world owing to its supreme significance in the biblical story of creation. August Hermann Francke<sup>6</sup> (1663-1727) dispraised the claim by some about Gypsies as descendants of Cain who was ordained to roam around the world. He said, “these people don’t know what they are talking about as Cain’s whole family line perished in the Flood”.

Such lines of argument have been out and out premised upon the Christian faith which was part of every day’s life of medieval Europe. Hence it was practically viable and appeared credible to purportedly connect the history of Roma/Gypsies with the biblical story that was further elucidated as “imitatio Christi” (meaning imitation of Christ: “live and act as Christ lived and acted”). David Cressy (2018) noted that Europe held a medley of beliefs, conjectures and fantasies which attempted to fit the Roma/Gypsies into biblical frames of reference.

### **Primary Emergence of Purported Egyptian Origin of Roma**

The legend of Egyptian origin of Roma/Gypsies was first propagated in Byzantium by the fourteenth century. The Greek word “Guphtoi”—the name assigned to Gypsies/Roma, certainly comes to use in that period. Fraser (1992, p. 48) also referred to Gypsies as Egyptians or as other names, identified by Byzantines because of their professions like bear keeping, animal training, sieve/basket making and jugglery.

The so-called Egyptian legend was spawned by the confusion between India and Egypt because of writings of some travelers like Leonardo di Niccolo Frescobaldi<sup>7</sup> who had written in the diaries in 1384-85 (published by the librarian of the Barberini Library in Rome in 1818) that he had seen a number of penitents who called themselves Romiti<sup>8</sup> or Romitoi outside the walls of Methoni<sup>9</sup> city. Bernhard von Brey Denbach, the Dean of the cathedral in Mainz, on the return from a pilgrimage to Palestine in 1481, underlined that there were 300 huts around the city, where bands of “Egyptians, the dark-skinned and ugly” lived. Konrad Grunenberg (1486) noted that all Gypsies had their origin in Modon known as Little Egypt. Another traveler Arnold von Harf in 1497 also recorded that Sujginer (Gypsies) lived near Modon (modern Methoni) in the Peloponnese and called themselves “Little Egyptians”; however, they had not come from Egypt, but from a region near Gyppe, called Tzingania, around 65 km from Methoni. They suggested that it was the original home of this group, since then the Little Egypt was often mentioned as a place of origin of Roma in several records of towns, cities and municipalities from 14th to 15th century. They called the outside of the Methoni city walls and its surrounding locations as Little Egypt which started the myth of their Egyptian origin.

<sup>5</sup> Number ‘seven’ represents both completion of creation and perfection. Genesis states that God has created the heavens and the Earth in six days, and, upon completion, God rested on the seventh day (Genesis 1; 2:1-2).

<sup>6</sup> German Lutheran theologian, preacher, professor at Halle University, founder of Ministry, and a key leader of the Pietist movement.

<sup>7</sup> The Florentine nobleman Leonardo Frescobaldi along with his two companions travelled Venice, whence they sailed to Alexandria in Egypt, in order to visit St Catharine’s monastery on the way to Jerusalem. Frescobaldi described holy places in great detail, and delineated the route home, via Damascus and Beirut, thence by ship to Venice. Whatever he saw and found during his pilgrimage jotted them down.

<sup>8</sup> In Greek, Romiti means something like sons of the people who rule Rome.

<sup>9</sup> Methoni, formerly known as Methone or Modon, was a municipality in Messenia, Peloponnese, Greece. Methoni was a key route to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, thus an important centre to the pilgrim business that was controlled by the Venetian government from 1227 till the conquest of the Ottoman (1499-1500).

It is imperative to reflect that Methoni turned out to be a major hub for trade with Egypt and the Levant and became a pivotal stopping post on the route between Venice and the Holy Lands (Jerusalem) during the Venetian rule from 1125 till the conquest of the Ottoman (1499-1500). Pilgrims after paying visit to Jerusalem often voyaged to the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai and then to Egypt and afterwards sailed back to Venice. It was therefore a strong impression of Egypt on the Byzantine chroniclers and pilgrims who were coaxed into identifying “Little Egypt or Egypt” as an origin point of Roma/Gypsies.

David Cressy (2018) set forth the fact that Modon earned a reputation as Little Egypt owing to the dwellings of a large number of Gypsy metal workers. The mention of beggarly and shabby settlements of blacksmiths in Methoni explicitly pointed that the south-eastern Europe was a primary location where Gypsies used to live before moving to west and north of Europe. It is thus not astounding that Roma/Gypsies exploited their acquaintance with pilgrims at places like Methoni in adopting the masquerade of Egyptian pilgrims in order to facilitate their journey to western Europe.

M. Bataillard (1892) quoted Daniel Specklin who referred to the arrival of Zigeuner<sup>10</sup> at Strasbourg in 1418 from Epirus that was incorrectly called “Little Egypt” in his manuscript (vol. 1, fol. 340), written at the end of the sixteenth century. Bataillard further referred to the statement of Mazaris (Journey to Hades, 1415), a Byzantine writer, who explicated that the Peloponnese (the Despotate of the Morea or Morea) was inhabited by seven main nations, one of them was the “Egyptian” that pertained to Gypsies/Roma. Herrmann (1891) postulated that Epirus was recognized as Little Egypt because Turks had become sovereigns of the Morea and Epirus, referring to the views of Thewrewk who also designated Epirus as “Little Egypt” as well as noted that Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV declared himself the ruler of the Little Egypt in 1652. It can be reckoned that Peloponnese, spanning Nicomedia and its surroundings, Methoni, Epirus and Morea, was under the rule of the Ottoman that christened these places where Gypsies inhabited as Little Egypt; hence the inhabitants were called Egyptians. These geographical localities culminated in the myth-making of the Egyptian identity of Roma communities.

Another blatant falsity of the Egyptian link of Roma points to the inaccurate nomenclature that appears in the fifteenth-century Byzantine canon which specifies the excommunication for five years for those who contact ‘Aiguptissas’ Egyptian women for fortune telling or call in them to their houses for necromancy upon the ill or someone suffering from any other causes or maladies. Though the Slavic version of the canon redressed the fallacy that Aiguptissas is a name to denote Gypsy women practiced soothsaying not Egyptians. Fraser (1992, pp. 47-48) quoted this account and cautioned that one should not be so sure of interpreting that Byzantine writers intended to refer Gypsies as Egyptians. Several Byzantine memoirists and chroniclers branded Roma/Gypsies as Egyptians because they dealt in fortune-telling or were of black complexions as William E. A. Axon (1909) also implied the Egyptian identity of Roma/Gypsies due to fortune-telling vocation and black-coloured skin (“An Egyptian in the House”, Gypsy Lore Society, p. 288).

Walter Simson (1866, pp. 39-41) argued that the idea of Egyptian origin sprang up amongst the priests and learned men of Europe, who linked Gypsies with Egypt on account of their divination skill and occult art through finding the clues of such phenomena in the Bible. As a result, Roma/Gypsies of Hindustan were

---

<sup>10</sup> Zigeuner—a German word, derived from the Byzantine Greek *athinganoi*, meaning “untouchable”, refers to the status of Roma in the Indian caste system. Zigeuner means differently in different languages. In Hungary and Romania Roma call themselves “Zigeuner”, while in Slovakia the same word means “thief”. Erich Hackl, an Austrian writer, referred to the negative connotation of the word “Zigeuner” in German language (15-16). One refers to Zigeunerspieß, literal meaning as a “skewered Gypsy”.

suddenly transformed into Egyptian penitents. When Enlightenment scholars in the last quarter of 18th century 'discovered' that Roma/Gypsies were a people from India with a language derived from Sanskrit. However, writers, memoirists and government officials set Roma/Gypsies down as the barbarous and parasitic pariahs defiant to civilization in order to shroud their Indian lineage.

The Egyptian legend of Romani origin also gained momentum because of the myth of Hebrew as a matrix of all languages till the 18th century. Nevertheless, this orthodox belief was repudiated by linguists and philologists. It was probably Father Coeurdoux (1767) who for the first time recognized the kinship of Sanskrit with all languages of Europe and further Sir William Jones (1746-1794), linguist genius, dispelled this dogma and suggested that Persian and European languages are derived from one common ancestor that is not Hebrew but Sanskrit. From then on Charles Wilkins (1749-1836), Franz Bopp (1791-1867), and Friedrich Schlegel (1808) established Sanskrit as a common ancestor of classical languages of Europe and ancestral language of the Indo-European language family.

These linguistic studies paved a way for linguists and philologists like Johann Christian Christoph Rudiger (1782), Jacob Bryant (1783), August Friedrich Pott (1844), George Borrow (1862-1874), Alexandre G. Paspati (1870), Franz Miklosich (1881), Turner (1927), so on and so forth who took a cue from these recent linguistic findings which added another dimension and new perspective to their studies. Hence, they carried out the empirical and comparative studies between Romani language (Romani dialects) and Indian languages. Corollary to their research findings, they pointed to the undisputable origin of the Romani language lying in the languages of India or Indian subcontinent and affirmed that Romani language is a member of the Indo-Aryan language family, especially intrinsically linked with the Sanskrit and other Indian languages especially Shauraseni Prakrit and its offshoot languages. The modern philological studies strongly established analogies between Romani and Shauraseni and its offshoot languages in phonology, regularity of sound resonance, lexicon, and grammatical structure as well. Besides linguistic studies, since the 15th century, several European scholars studied the community and explicitly and implicitly pointed to the Indian origin of Roma.

### **Other Imperative Axioms of Demystifying the Egyptian Legend**

There was overlong geographical misunderstanding between India and Egypt as Egypt (Africa) was known as Sancha-Dvipa continent according to Skanda Purana<sup>11</sup>, cited by Sir William Jones in his dissertation on Egypt. There are similarities between place names in Bengal, India and Egypt, besides shared elements of folk art, language, and rural culture. British Lt. Colonel Wilford offered ample evidence proving that ancient Indians colonized and settled in Egypt (On Egypt from the Ancient Book of the Hindus, Asiatic Researchers Vol. III, 1792). Peter Von Bohlen (1796-1840 CE), German Indologist, indicated the possible cultural link between India and ancient Egypt. Max Muller (1823-1900) observed that the mythology of Egyptians emanated from Vedic traditions. Col. Henry Steel Olcott (1881) elucidated the transmittal of Indian emigrants who carried arts and great civilization along with them into what is now known as Egypt. Heinrich Karl Brugsch (also Brugsch-Pasha, 1827-1894), Egyptologist, insisted that they migrated from India before historic memory,

---

<sup>11</sup> The Skanda Purana is a voluminous compilation of ancient Hindu scripture and one of the eighteen major Puranas in Hinduism. It is the largest of all the Puranas, consisted of 20 books with over 81,000 verses. It is also one of the oldest, with some sections dating back to the 4th century BCE. The Skanda Purana covers numerous topics, describing pilgrim routes, pilgrimage sites and holy places throughout India, besides providing detailed descriptions of various religious practices and rituals.

crossing the Isthmus of Suez<sup>12</sup>, and found a new fatherland on the banks of the Nile. Lately an Egyptian scholar, El Mansouri, has pointed out that in both countries Egypt and India the worship of cow, sun, snake, and river was common. Concerning these phenomena, it is pertinent to specify how these two remotely far countries like India and Egypt are analogous to each other in social, cultural, civilizational and traditional precincts. These similarities engendered the speculation about Roma are close to Egyptian.

It is also testified that Egypt was called India Egypti in the Latin language, while neighboring Ethiopia in the South was called India Ethiopia in Latin. Eusebius (260/265-339 AD), a Greek writer, reported that the early Ethiopians emigrated from the river Indus and first settled down in the vicinity of Egypt. Both of these countries were supposedly reckoned to be in the territorial continuity with India, constituting together a “Black Continent”. Thomas Maurice (1806, pp. 135-136) also clarified this confusion created by ancient Greek and Romantic writers who proposed the inaccurate and equivocal geographical divisions of the globe. It was pointed out that both India and Ethiopia were used as common terms to characterize any remote uncivilized country inhabited by black-skin people.

Another reason for this confusion was that Egypt was much more known than India in medieval Europe, and notions of India and its geography were extremely vague at that time. Hence the Roma themselves preferred to declare Egyptians, when they first came to Western Europe and presented themselves as newcomers from Little Egypt. This narrative persisted among Gypsies in the Balkans until later. Nevertheless, Egyptian label was nothing but allegedly presumed identity for Gypsies (Roma) without their origin in Egypt.

Nonetheless, Sebastian Munster cleared the confusion in his *Cosmographia Universalis* (1554 CE) while having discussion with a Rom (Gypsy), he replied “your Egypt the Low is not therefore in Africa near the Nile, but in Asia near the river Ganges, or near the river Indus”. There is another conclusive account recorded by Cesare Vecellio<sup>13</sup> (1590, p. 484), mentioning as follows:

In this great city of Cairo some baptized Indians are seen, who are engaged in trading and mercantile business. They are baptized with fire or with burning irons which are placed in the face to have some signs onto them. These Indians put on a robe of woven bamboo on their heads tied with a piece of cloth look like a handkerchief. They wear the dress with wide sleeves, fastened with a leather belt, that is long down to the feet and open at the front. They are swarthy with oily complexion.

It is requisite to refer to the master piece *Tiganiada* (1800 and 1812) of Ion Budai-Deleanu<sup>14</sup> who specified his encounter with Gypsies/Roma who were same as here so they were tormented and persecuted by everyone during his long sojourn to Egypt. He mentions, he has got to know many of his people (Gypsies) living in Egypt who say, we are from India, and our language is spoken there up to this day. Ion narrated the story of his friendship with Marza (Mirza) who ascertains his Indian origin because he heard this having said by his father, grandfather and great grandfather (Prologue, p. 3). Leland (1874) noted that Roma/Gypsies are not Egyptian in their appearance but Hindu, and the exceptional effulgence of their eyes and eyes’ expression are common to those of Indians. He noticed Hindus and Gypsies in Cairo who resemble to each other and marked as different from Egyptians.

<sup>12</sup> The Isthmus of Suez in eastern Egypt connects the continents of Africa and Asia, and separates the Mediterranean and Red Seas.

<sup>13</sup> Cesare Vecellio (1521-1601 CE), an Italian painter and engraver of the Renaissance, wrote the book *De gli habitati antichi et moderni di diuerse parti del mondo libri due*, written in Italian language in 1590.

<sup>14</sup> Ion Budai-Deleanu, original name Leon Dianeu or Leonachi Dianeu (1760-1820), a Romanian writer, psalmist and copyist, was sent along with the French army to Egypt there he had lived for thirty years.

Stuart Mann (1990s) noted that Albanian society apparently differentiates between Jevgs<sup>15</sup> and Roma (also known as Kurbat) because of their distinct traditions, culture, customs and language. Mann pointed out that Jevgs have nothing whatsoever to do with the Roma and firmly denied any connection of Jevgs with Roma. He described Jevgs as dark and reddish-skinned people who do not resemble Roma in the slightest in feature and type.

According to Marcel Courthiade (2000), the alleged Egyptian origin of Roma is motivated by Yugoslavs in order to deny the Jevgs an identity of their own to increase the general number of the Roma. Courthiade further argued that Jevgs had posited a separate identity from the Roma, but are considered “Gypsies” by their respective majorities which name Jevgs and Roma as “Majup”.

Rajko Djuric (2021) characterized the discourse about the Egyptian origin of Roma as a “comedy”, a presumption that lacked seriousness and scientific basis but served political purposes. The other basis of the argument for an Egyptian (that is non-Albanian) origin is religious confession as mainly in Middle Ages, the religion has invaded every aspect of people’s lives. He also assumes that many beliefs, rituals and magical practices among Macedonian Egyptians show close similarities with those of the Copts. So Jevgs and Roma have their different historical origin.

Historical and contemporary sources and scientific studies stipulate that Roma and Egyptian communities are seemingly diametric with respect to language, culture, life-style, pattern of itinerancy, origin, social conducts, behaviors, genetics, ethnicity, skills, rituals, customary social interaction, etc. In spite of gigantic and numerous differences, both of the communities are still clubbed together on account of their similar social situations, some same professions, and plain coincidental similarities.

Modern research studies conducted by Romani and non-Romani scholars in Europe and elsewhere have finally swept away the Egyptian myth and corroborated the origins of the Romani people from India. The Egyptian descent of Roma was also refuted by classical chroniclers like Albert Krantz (1520) and Johannes Aventinus (1522) who asserted, their language and customs are antithetical to the Egyptians. The Egyptian connection of Roma was typically established by myth-making in order to disassociate themselves from the Gypsy label and constituted part of the Egyptian movement.

## References

- Achim, V. (1998). *The Roma in Romanian history*. Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.
- Bogdal, K.-M. (2023). *Europe and the Roma: A history of fascination and fear* (J. Chase, Trans. in English). Allen Lane, Penguin Random House Ireland. (Original work published 2011)
- Budai-Deleanu, I. (1812). *Tiganiada*. Romania: 100+1 GRAMMAR Publishing House (2002).
- Cressy, D. (2018). *Gypsies: An English history*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Djuric, R. (2021). *Romology*. Serbia: Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction Unit of the Government of the Republic of Serbia.
- Fraser, A. (1992). *The Gypsies*. UK: Blackwell.
- Herrmann, A. (1891). Little Egypt. *Journal of Gypsy Lore Society* [Vol. III. (July 1891-April 1892, pp. 152-155)]. Liverpool: Edinburgh University Press.
- Koinova, M., Dimitras, P., Papanikolatos, N., & Lenkova, M. (2000). Roma of Albania. Working Paper, Center for Documentation and Information on Minorities in Europe-Southeast Europe (CEDIME-SE).
- Krantz, A. (1520). *Saxonia* (the chronicle of Saxony). Coloniae: s.n.
- Leland, C. G. (1874). *The English Gypsies and their language*. London: Trubner & Co.

---

<sup>15</sup> Jevgs are also known as Arli or Magjyp and recognized as the descendants from the Coptic migrants who came from Egypt, living in Balkans since the fourth century (ERRC Report, 1997:10).

- Maurice, T. (1806). *Indian antiquities: Or, dissertations relative to the ancient geographical divisions, the pure system of primeval theology, the grand code of civil laws, the original form of government, the widely-extended commerce, and the various and profound literature of Hindostan*. London: Oxford University.
- Munster, S. (1544 in German & 1550 in Latin). *Cosmographia Universalis*. (Trans. R. Eden [1521-1576], from Latin to English).
- Simson, W. (1866). *A history of the Gipsies: With specimens of the Gipsy language*. London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston.
- UNESCO Office in Kabul. (2012). *Ghazni: A city of empire builders, scholars and monuments: A short introduction to the people, monuments and art of historic Ghazni*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Trans. Kherad Translations and UNESCO Kabul Office.
- Vecellio, C. (1590). *De gli habitanti antichi et moderni di diuerse parti del mondo libri dve*. Venetia: Presso Damian Zenaro.