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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXXI.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &C.)

(Nos. I and II, and Extra Nos. I and II.—1902.)

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.” SIR WM. JONES.

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*Notes on the Baṣḡalī (Kāfir) Language, compiled by COLONEL J. DAVIDSON, C.B., I.S.C :—*

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## Extra No. 2.

*Three Episodes from the old Bengali Poem “Caṇḍī,” translated into English.—By E. B. COWELL, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College in the University of Cambridge :—*

<i>Preface ... ..</i>	v-viii
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Plates I and II : Copper Coins in the Wun District, Barar.



## ERRATA.

- Page 5, line 9: for *Viadya* read *Vaidya*.
- „ 6 „ 21-22: cancel 4 after *Nowwab*, and place it after *Amirchand* in following line.
- „ 8 „ 17: for *Shaja* read *Shuja*.
- „ 10, note 1: line 1: for compared read composed.
- „ 36, line 4: for *Maṇikarn* read *Manikarn*.
- „ „ 13: cancel at before somewhat peculiar.
- „ „ 25: for *maṅgalakalāḥa* read *maṅgalakalaḥa*.
- „ „ 32: „ *Bodhisativa* read *Bodhisattva*.
- „ 37 „ 10: „ *yvālāmukhī* „ *Jvālāmukhī*.
- „ 38 „ 35: „ *Maṇikarn-* „ *Manikarn*.
- „ 39 „ 4: insert comma after *Sītā*.
- „ „ 33: for *State-religion* by its Rulers read *state-religion* by its rulers.
- „ 40 „ 9, 15 and 21: for *kalāḥa* read *kalaḥa*.
- „ „ 17: for *tricūla* „ *triḥūla*.
- „ 42 „ 9: „ *Gupta* made as belonging read *Gupta* as belonging.
- „ „ 16: add railing after *Buddhist*.
- „ 44 „ 26: for *Rauzat-Tāhirīn* read *Rauzatu-t-Tāhirīn*.
- „ 45 „ 20, 28, and 33: for *A‘aḥim* read *A‘aḥam*.
- „ „ 25: for *Jāmā-al-Maqāmāt* read *Jam‘u-l-Maqāmāt*.
- „ 46 „ 2: „ *Mullī* read *Mullā*.
- „ „ 11: „ *Anīsu-t-tālibīn* read *Anīsu-t-ṭālibīn*.
- „ „ 24: „ *‘Aalam* read *‘Ālam*.
- „ „ 32: „ *buūr* read *ba-nūr*
- „ 47 „ 19: „ *Kash-mīrī* read *Kashmīrī*.
- „ „ 20: „ *Ratnā-kara* and *Rud-raṭa* read *Ratnākara* and *Rudraṭa*.
- „ „ 31: „ *Harsha-karita* read *Harshacarita*.
- „ 61 „ 1: „ *Bābhan* read *Bābhan*.
- „ „ 21: „ *Keī* read *Kern*.
- „ „ 30: „ *Brahman* be read *Brahman*.
- „ 100 „ 32: „ ‘my legends’ read ‘many legends.’
- „ 103 „ 6: „ ‘Prithar.’ read ‘Prithwi.’
- „ „ at end of note 4: for ‘note 14,’ read ‘note 2 above.’
- „ 105, line 14: for ‘*Kalpi*’ read ‘*Kālpi*.’
- „ 106 „ 15: „ ‘*Birbal*’ „ ‘*Bīrbal*.’
- „ „ 1: „ ‘*Sohanpā*’ read ‘*Sohanpāl*.’
- „ „ 11: „ ‘*Kartik*’ read ‘*Kātik*.’
- „ „ 21: „ ‘*Bīr Bal*’ „ ‘*Bīrbal*.’
- „ 107 „ 23-4: „ ‘*Bhārti-Chand*’ read ‘*Bhartichand*.’
- „ „ 26: „ ‘*Patorib*’ read ‘*Patori* 5.’
- „ „ note 8: „ ‘note 23’ „ ‘note 3, p. 105.’

- Page 109, line 29 : for 'Madh Kur' read 'Madhkur.'
- „ „ note 3 : „ 'Note 26' read 'Note 6, p. 105.'
- „ 100, line 2 : „ 'Madhpur-Sāh' read 'Madhpur Sāh.'
- „ „ „ 3 : „ 'lenience' read 'leniency.'
- „ 111 „ 2 : „ 'Ghor-Jhāmai' read 'Ghor-Jhāmar.'
- „ „ „ 4 : „ 'Baroui' read 'Baroni.'
- „ „ „ 20 : „ 'Patua Kachai' read 'Pathra-Kachār.'
- „ „ „ 23 : „ 'Gantum' read 'Gautum.'
- „ „ „ 26 : „ 'Bhanrer' „ 'Bhānṛer.'
- „ „ note 1 : „ 'at' read 'as.'
- „ „ „ 3 : „ 'Pichhar' read 'Pichhor.'
- „ „ „ 4 : „ 'Garotka' „ 'Garotha.'
- „ „ „ 5 : „ 'note 42' „ 'note 4, p. 108.'
- „ „ „ 10 „ 'Charipur' „ 'Chainpur.'
- „ „ „ „ „ 'note 50' „ 'note 3, p. 110.'
- „ 112, line 24, 26 and 35 for 'Selim' read 'Salim.'
- „ „ „ 24, for 'Jehāngir' read 'Jahāngir.'
- „ „ note 2 : „ 'Bhārwar' read 'Bhānṛer.'
- „ „ „ 3 : „ 'Motli' read 'Moth.'
- „ 113, line 6 : „ 'Indarjit' read 'Indarjit.'
- „ „ „ 12 : „ 'Bhadoriya' read 'Bhadoria.'
- „ „ „ 20 : „ 'Kuchhwāha' read 'Kachhwāha.'
- „ „ „ 23 : „ 'Bhārer' read 'Bhānṛer.'
- „ „ „ 25 : „ 'Selim' „ 'Salim.'
- „ „ „ 25-36 „ 'Jehāngir' read 'Jahāngir.'
- „ „ „ 33 : „ 'Irichh' read 'Irichh.'
- „ 114 „ 17 : „ 'Charite' „ 'Charitr.'
- „ „ note 2 : „ 'Muḥbaras' read 'muḥbaras.'
- „ 115, line 10 : „ 'Chandar Bhān' read 'Chandarbhān.'
- „ 117 „ 32 : „ 'Kangārs' read 'Kanghārs.'
- „ 118 „ 1 : „ 'Narū' read 'Nāru.'
- „ „ „ 20 : „ 'Man' „ 'Mān.'
- „ 119, note 5 : „ 'p. 37' „ 'p. 129.'
- „ 120 „ 1 : „ 'note 84' read 'note 15, p. 115.'
- „ 121, line 12 : „ 'that one day' read 'that in that one day.'
- „ 122, note 1 : „ 'p. 24' read 'p. 118.'
- „ 123, line 12 : „ 'Bhāurér' read 'Bhānṛer.'
- „ „ note 5 : „ 'Lakhevā-dādā' read 'Lakhwa-dāda.'
- „ 124, line 6 : „ 'Chauderi' read 'Chanderi.'
- „ „ „ 17 : „ 'Patheri' read 'Patehri.'
- „ „ note 1 : „ 'note 74' „ 'note 4, p. 113.'
- „ „ „ 2 : „ 'note 76' „ 'note 2, p. 114.'
- „ 125 „ 2 : „ 'note 35' „ 'note 6, p. 107.'
- „ „ „ 5 : „ 'In pargana...Lalitpur,' substitute 'a pargana in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhansi district, north of Lalitpur.'
- „ 127 „ 1 line 1 : for 'Chauderi' read 'Chanderi.'
- „ „ „ „ „ 6 : „ 'Duraj Singh' read 'Durag Singh.'
- „ „ „ 4 : for 'see p. 24' read 'see p. 118.'



- Page 128, line 28 : for 'Panari' read 'Panāri.'
- „ 130, note 3 : „ 'note 168' read 'note 1 above.'
- „ „ „ 4 : „ 'page 23' read 'p. 117.'
- „ „ „ 5 : „ 'note 169' read 'note 2 above.'
- „ 131 „ 1 : „ '(1288 A.D.)' read '(1288 A.D.); but this is of very doubtful authenticity.'
- „ „ „ 4 : „ 'note 151' read 'note 5, p. 127.'
- „ „ „ 7 : „ 'S. of Gwalior' read 'S. of Guna.'
- „ 132 „ 1 : „ 'p. 37,' read 'p. 129.'
- „ „ „ 2 : „ 'note 180' read 'note 8, p. 131.'
- „ „ „ 3 : „ 'note 152' „ 'note 6, p. 127.'
- „ „ „ 5 : „ 'note 137' „ 'note 9, p. 125.'
- „ 133, line 6 : „ 'Kāli Dūn' „ 'Kāla Dūnr.'
- „ „ note 7 : „ 'note 169' „ 'note 2, p. 130.'
- „ 134, line 29 : „ 'Banpūr' „ 'Bānpūr.'
- „ „ note 6 : „ 'note 135' „ 'note 7, p. 125.'
- „ 135, line 2 : „ 'Gudūwal' „ 'Gudāwal.'

## EDITOR'S NOTE.

To pp. 42 and 43 :—

Mr. R. Burn has kindly pointed out to me that the coins of Dhruva Mitra and Rudra Gupta described on pp. 42 and 43, have already been published in Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, Plate VII, 1 and 2.

To pp. 47-60 :—

The peculiar transliteration and spelling of Oriental words adopted by Major Raverty in his paper on the Invention of Chess and Backgammon, pp. 47-60, has been retained at the author's special request.

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*Postscript to Mr. Theobald's paper (Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 2, p. 38, 1901.)*

Since writing the above I have acquired a silver 'Purāna' with the figure of a Rhinoceros on it. This animal will therefore remain on the list of animals on those coins.

I find too that, by some inadvertence, the Rhinoceros has been excluded from the list of animals found on copper coins, though I had already figured it in my paper (*J.A.S.B.*, 1890, Part I, p. 217, fig. 14), which figure was from a copper coin of Ujain. The Rhinoceros may therefore be inserted in the list on p. 71 as 55 A., that being its proper place among animals.

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Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of papers for the *Journal*, Pt. I, are particularly requested to adhere to it in their contributions.

A. FOR THE DEVANAGARĪ ALPHABET, AND FOR ALL ALPHABETS RELATED TO IT.

अ a,	आ ā,	इ i,	ई ī,	उ u,	ऊ ū,	ए e,	ऐ ē,	ओ o,	औ ō,	य ai,	औ au,	म् m,	ँ ~ : ḥ
क k,	ख kh,	ग g,	घ gh,	ङ ṅ									
च c,	छ ch,	ज j,	झ jh,	ञ ñ									
ट t,	ठ th,	ड d,	ढ dh,	ण ṇ									
त t,	थ th,	द d.	ध dh,	न n									
प p,	फ ph,	ब b,	भ bh,	म m									
य y,	र r,	ल l,	व v,	(ळ ḷ)									
श ṣ,	ष ṣ,	स s,	ह h.										

In the above the *virāma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness.

In Modern Vernaculars only; ङ may be represented by ṅ, and ढ by ṛh.

*Avagraha* is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus सो ऽपि sō 'pi. *Visarga* is represented by ḥ, *Jihvāmūliya* by ḥ, and *Upadhmanīya* by ḥ. *Anusvāra* is represented by ṁ, thus संसर्गं saṁsarga, and *anunāsika* by the sign ~ over the letter nasalized, thus अँ ā̃, आँ ā̃, and so on. The *udātta* accent is represented by the sign ' and the *svarita* by ^ . Thus, अग्निः agniḥ, जनिता janitā, वा luvā, कन्या kanyā. The *anudātta* accent may be represented by ` . Thus, ते अवर्धन्ते té avardhanta.

B. FOR PERSIAN (INCLUDING ARABIC WORDS IN PERSIAN) AND HINDŪSTĀNĪ.

(The system is not applicable to Arabic when pronounced as in Arabic-speaking countries) :—

Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
ا a	ب b	bh
آ ā	پ p	ph
ا i	ت t	th
ای ī		t̄
ع ē		ṭh
ا u	س s	
او ū	ج j	jh
او ō	ح c	ch



Vowels.	Consonants.	Sounds only found in Hindūstānī.
اِي ai	ح h	
او au	خ <u>kh</u>	
	د d	ڊ dh
		ڌ d
		ڏ dh
	ذ z	
	ر r	ر̣ ṛ
		ڙ ṛh
	ز z	
	ژ <u>zh</u>	
	س s	
	ش <u>sh</u>	
	ص ṣ	
	ض ḍ	
	ط t	
	ظ z̤	
	ع ‘	
	غ <u>gh</u>	
	ف f	
	ق q	
	ک k	ڪ kh
	گ g	گ gh
	ل l	
	م m	
	ن n	
	و when representing <i>anunāsika</i> in Dēva Nāgarī, by ~ on the preceding vowel	
	و w (or rarely v)	
	ه h	
	ی y	
	Hamzah ا (where necessary) ’	

The **ل** of the article **ال** in Arabic words should be assimilated before the solar letters; and the vowel *u* which often precedes the article and absorbs its vowel should remain attached to the word to which it belongs. Thus—اقبال الدولة Iqbālu-d-daulah.

*Tanwīn* may be rendered by *n*—e. g., *ittijāqan*. *Alif-i maqṣūrah* should be rendered by *ā*.

Final *ṣ* need not be written in Persian and Hindūstānī words but should be written in Arabic words.

JOURNAL  
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL



Part I—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 1.—1902.

*Account of late Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur.*—By S. C. HILL, Esq.

[ Read 5th March, 1902. ]

A few months ago Mr. N. N. Ghose published a most interesting Memoir of Maharaja Nubkissen. Amongst the documents consulted for the compilation of this Memoir was “*An Account of the late Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur, required and delivered to A. Sterling, Esq., Persian Secretary to Government, on the 30th April, 1825.*”

Maharaja Nubkissen died on the 22nd November, 1797, and the above *Account* is said to have been written by Maharaja Sir Radha Kanta Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I. It may therefore be taken as an authentic narrative of some of the leading events in the life of the celebrated Diwan of the Honourable East India Company. I have been permitted to publish it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society by the courtesy of Raja Binay Krishna, a descendant of Nubkissen and therefore the hereditary friend of the British Government whose power his ancestor assisted to establish.

This all too short *Account* should be extremely interesting to the historical student not only because the early history of the British connection with India is attracting so much attention at the present moment but because the proper understanding of Hindu character depends largely upon our being able to obtain side-lights illustrative of it as it



appeared before the mantle of European customs and language began to obscure its features from European eyes. If anything is evident from a consideration of this *Account* it is that the Hindu of Bengal, in all the essentials of character, is unchanged and unchangeable.

In the first place the apparent resignation of the Hindu to "*the powers that be*" does not imply the death of his national and religious feelings. In 1756 the Hindus were looking for a deliverer. A Frenchman, resident in Chandernagore at the time of the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula, wrote to Paris that the people of the country "hugged themselves in the expectation that the English would defeat the Nabob and deliver them from his cruelty and oppression." In fact it was the intrigues of the Hindu merchants and bankers at the Murshidabad Darbar that brought about the rupture between the English and the Nawab, and, when they saw their new allies beaten, the Hindus *with a loyalty not often ascribed to them*, took every opportunity of protecting them from the Nawab's vengeance. Their action was none the less effectual because it bent to the storm and was secret.

The Hindu has always been fond of what may be called "political speculation," and clever young men of this *reputedly timorous* race have always been prepared to risk life and property by lending a helping hand to brave men in adversity on what appears an almost impossible chance of recovery. Nothing could have appeared more hopeless than the condition of the English at Fulta, yet Nubkissen thought it wise to urge his relations to save these apparent outcasts from starvation.

It is not the Hindu only who worships the great Goddess Chance, but the Hindu delights in recalling the influence of trifling incidents upon the careers of great men. Nubkissen walked in a certain street on a certain day, and so became the Company's Diwan.

Finally as an illustration of Asiatic reserve and Asiatic love of dramatic effect one may notice the disclosure of Nubkissen's rank. A man of high birth, he accepts a post, which, though lucrative and probably honourable amongst his fellow-countrymen, gives him no position commensurate in the eyes of his European employers with his real rank. It is disclosed by an enemy in a way which is intended to mortify as well as damage him, but, owing to the lucky accident of Clive's intuitive knowledge of Asiatic character, the disclosure only adds to his honour and confirms his position.

I have vainly searched the records of the Government of India for evidence of Nubkissen's having assisted the English at Fulta, but the accounts of what happened at Fulta are extremely meagre and, though the secret supply of provisions by natives under cover of night is mentioned, the names of these natives are not given. This is no reason

for doubting the family tradition,<sup>1</sup> for it is certain that Nubkissen's friends were influential people at Fulta, and it was only the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood who could hope to correspond with the English without attracting the notice of the Nawab's spies. How this brought him to the notice of Lord (then Colonel) Clive is explained in a note by Babu Nilmani Mukerjea, late Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, which I append to the Account.

S. CHARLES HILL,

*Officer in charge of the Records of the Govt. of India.*

January 14th, 1902.

*Account of the late Muharaja Nubkissen Bahadur required by and delivered to A. Sterling, Esq., Persian Secretary to Government on the 30th April, 1825.*

As an account of this family from its first founder and his immediate descendants would contain an immoderate length of detail (they having held respectable situations under the former sovereigns of Bengal) I will begin with his eighteenth descendant named Daveedas Mujmoadar; this individual was appointed Kanoongoe of Pergunnah Mooragacha, &c., in the District of 24-Pergunnahs, where he resided having removed his dwelling-house from his native village of Cansona, near Moorshidabad. On the demise of Daveedas Mujmoadar his sons Sahasracsha Mujmoadar and Rucminikant Byabaherta presented themselves to Nowwab Mahabutgunge<sup>2</sup> at Moorshidabad, who was pleased to appoint the former to his late father's office, and the latter a Manager of the Estate Casubram Roy Chowdhooey then minor Zemindar of Pergunnah Mooragacha, &c. After the death of Rucminikant Byabaherta his son Rameswar Byabaherta having succeeded his father, paid into the Nowwab's Treasury the Revenues of the above Pergunnah amounting to more than the former settlement, in consequence of which Casubram Roy having attained to full age confined Ramswor Byabaherta in his own house, on account of which Ramchurn Byabaherta (son of Rameswar Byabaherta) went to Moorshidabad and introduced himself to the Royrayn<sup>3</sup> Chain Roy and delivered in writing in the Nowwab's Record

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. J. Long, as Mr. Ghose points out, mentions Nubkissen's assistance of the English as an undoubted fact. Governor Verelst in his "View of the English Government in Bengal" writes: "Nubkissen is a native Hindu, who had been extremely zealous in the English cause during the troubles preceding Meer Jaffer's elevation to the subahdarry." This, I think, is as near as we can get to a complete confirmation of the family tradition.

<sup>2</sup> Mahabat Jang or Alawardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> Rayrayan. A title bestowed by the Muhammadans on Hindu noblemen.



an additional Tahud or agreement for the sum of 50,000 Rupees for the Pergunnah of Mooragacha, and was appointed Ohdadar or Revenue farmer for that Pergunnah, and obtained the release of his father from confinement and revenged on Casubram Roy by imprisoning him and paid in sums to the Nowwab's Sircar over and above the Tahood executed by him and afterwards quitted his abode in Pergunnah Mooragacha and built a house at Govindpore in Calcutta where he having left his family proceeded to Moorshidabad, and presented himself to the above-mentioned Nowwab and Royrayn, and was appointed Salt Agent and Collector of Hidgelle, Tumlook, Mohisadub, &c., and discharged his duties to the great benefit and entire satisfaction of his superiors.

In the meantime Nowwab Muniruddeen Khan, brother of the Subadar of Arcat, having quarrelled with his brother came to Nowwab Mahabutgunge, Subadar of Bengal, who showed him much respect and nominated him Subadar of the Province of Cuttack and also appointed Ramchurn Byabaherta Dewan of that Province and sent them with a considerable force for preventing the incursions of the Mahrattas. They accordingly arrived at Midnapore to suppress the Pindaras, and from thence marched towards Cuttack, but their Army was at a great distance excepting a few people of their retinue who accompanied them when a number of Pindaras consisting of about 400 Horsemen, suddenly fell upon them from the woods, and plundered and cut off the Nowwab and Dewan with their attendants who fought them with great bravery.

At that time Dewan Ramchurn had three infant sons, *viz.*, Ramsundra Deb the eldest, Manickchandra Deb the second, and Nobocrishna Deb the youngest. They were very much distressed at the loss<sup>1</sup> of their father, and their paternal property by the death of Fukher Tojjar at Hooghly in whose hands the same had been deposited. Their mother defrayed the expense of their maintenance, education and marriage with her own money and built a new house at Govindpore in consequence of the old premises having been encroached on by the River. Some time since that Fort William was erected at Govindpore, after the residences of Individuals of that village having been removed, they received from the Hon'ble Company 10 Biggahs of ground in Arpooly<sup>2</sup> and 5,000 Rupees for buildings in lieu of their dwelling-house at Govindpore. The ground received in Exchange at Arpooly not being sufficient for habitation Ramsundra Deb purchased a house, formerly belonging to Ramsunker Ghose, at Sootanooty in Calcutta with the above money after which

<sup>1</sup> Fakhretujjar, *i.e.*, the pride of merchants. This name is mentioned in a letter from Mr. John Young, Prussian Agent at Chandernagore, dated July 10th, 1756.

<sup>2</sup> Arpooly in Calcutta.

Nobocrishna Deb bought more grounds and built suitable buildings, and resided there with his numerous family and relatives. When Ramsundra Deb became fit for business, he at first did the duties of Aumeen or Supervisor of Punchcote commonly called Panchet<sup>1</sup> and other places and supported his family for some years.

In the year 1756 all the nobles and principal persons of the Provinces of Bengal and Behar were dissatisfied with the tyrannical conduct of Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah, whereupon Rajah Rajbullabha<sup>2</sup> (who was a Viadya by caste of Dacca) fled from Moorshidabad and took refuge at Calcutta, in consequence of which the Nowwab issued a Perwannah to Mr. Drake then Governor of Calcutta, directing him to seize and send the Rajah to him but Mr. Drake without complying with this requisition answered the Perwannah stating that he would make the Rajah pay immediately if the Nowwab had any demands against him, on sending particulars of the same, upon which the Nowwab was very much incensed at Mr. Drake, and wrote him another Perwannah threatening him that if he did not deliver up the Rajah on receipt of the Perwannah he would send his Troops to seize the Rajah and to drive out the English from Bengal, in consequence of which Mr. Drake and other English gentlemen were thrown into perplexity, they not having sufficient force to repel the enemy when Rajah Rajbullabha assured them that all the Sirdars who were dissatisfied with the Nowwab would never fight the English and accordingly all the Ministers and Sirdars of the Nowwab joined together and sent a Persian Letter from Moorshidabad to Mr. Drake, by a Hurcarah<sup>3</sup> who delivered it with the instruction that it was a Letter which contained a secrecy and should not be read nor replied to by the agency of any Musulman Moonshee but that a Hindu should be employed for that purpose, for which reason Mr. Drake without shewing that Letter to the Company's Moonshee Tajuddeen, ordered his Hurcarahs to search for and bring a Hindu Moonshee from Calcutta.

On that very day Nobocrishna Deb was gone to Burrah Bazar in the afternoon, when one of the Hurcarahs of Mr. Drake knowing by inquiry that he was acquainted with the Persian language took him to Mr. Drake to whom Nobocrishna Deb read the Persian Letter and explained the contents thereof and wrote an answer to it, although he was then a youth attending school, yet he executed this arduous task, by the superior mental faculties he was endowed with and thereby met

<sup>1</sup> Panchet in the Manbhum District.

<sup>2</sup> The English account is that Rajbalav's son Krishna Das took refuge at Calcutta with all his father's treasures.

<sup>3</sup> Harkara, one who does every business. Here a messenger or spy.



with the highest approbation of Government who were pleased to appoint him to the office of a Moonshee of the East India Company and granted him a Palankeen with Bearers for his conveyance and 200 Rupees for Dress.

After the above the Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah attacked Calcutta with a grand Army in June 1756, and the English having but a small force did not engage in hostilities, and the Governor and most other English gentlemen retired to Madras<sup>1</sup> on board of ships and the rest were imprisoned in the Black-hole, and all the inhabitants of Calcutta fled to different places. The Nowwab having taken Calcutta, named it Alinugur and dominated one Rajah Manickchunder Governor of Alinugur, and returned to Moorshidabad. Mr. Drake and the former members of Council having arrived at Madras brought Colonel Clive on board of one of Admiral Watson's fleet who landed with his force at Fulta (otherwise Colpy)<sup>2</sup> within six months and took the Forts of Budge Budge, Tana Magooa, and Aligur<sup>3</sup> (which was built and so named by Manickchunder) and defeated the Nowwab's Army and surprised Rajah Manickchunder who was then amusing himself at Nautches and caused him to flee to Moorshidabad and took possession of Calcutta, in January 1757, when Moonshee Nobocrishna waited upon Colonel Clive, and resumed his Office.

Subsequently in 1757 Nowwab<sup>4</sup> Seraj-ud-dowlah attacked Calcutta again, and encamped in Amirchund's garden called Hulsy Baug whereupon Colonel Clive deputed Moonshee Nobocrishna with an Engineer Officer under the pretence of making proposals of peace and sending presents to the Nowwab and his attendants. The above two Officers of English Government brought with them in writing a particular account of their encampment and Colonel Clive marched his force up to the Nowwab's Camp at the end of the night and blew up the Nowwab's Tent and those of his Sirdars by the first fire from Cannon, the Nowwab however saved his life by having prudently removed to another Tent during the night and so escaped with the loss of the greatest part of his Troops and battle and Colonel Clive followed him to Plassey where he fought a dreadful battle with the Nowwab's Commander-in-Chief

<sup>1</sup> The English retired only to Fulta where they were reinforced from Madras.

<sup>2</sup> Colpy or Kalpi, about 20 miles below Fulta.

<sup>3</sup> Tanna Muckwa in Rennell's Map. Hunter's Gazetteer says :—" An old port on the Hughli River, opposite Fort Aligarh in Garden Reach, an old suburb in Calcutta." It is said that the old Fort of Tanna was on the site of the house occupied by the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens.

<sup>4</sup> Better known as Omichand, the great banker, who threatened to betray Clive and the English to Seraj-ud-dowlah and was himself outwitted.

Meer Mudun<sup>1</sup> and slew him, and totally defeated and dispersed the Nowwab's Troops.

Another account says that the above successful attack on the Camp of Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah, induced him in February 1757 to conclude a treaty to the greatest advantage of the English but scarcely had this contest terminated when news was received of a War having been declared between England and France and the reduction of the French power became an object of importance to the English. Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah informed the Council of Calcutta that if hostilities were carried into his country by the English, he would assist the French with all his power. However after a vigorous assault, Chandernagore was taken by the English and the Nowwab having shown marks of displeasure at this event it was resolved to depose him by supporting Mir Jafer Aly Khan (who had married the sister of Aliverdy Khan Seraj-ud-dowlah's predecessor). This was followed by a decisive action on the Plains of Plassey in which the Nowwab's Troops were routed in every direction and he was obliged to fly from his Capital in the disguise of a Faquir and was brought to Moorshidabad and beheaded by Meer Jafer's eldest son.<sup>2</sup>

Jafer Aly Khan from Letters having passed between him and Moonshee Nobocrishna did not give battle, but formed an alliance with Colonel Clive who took possession of Moorshidabad and declared Jafer Aly Khan to be the lawful Nowwab of Bengal. With the sanction of Colonel Clive Moonshee Nobocrishna<sup>3</sup> settled the terms of the Soobadary agreement with Nowwab Jafer Ali Khan, and made arrangements for conducting the affairs of the Provinces in concurrence with the Naib Soobadar Nowwab Moozufferjung and fixed an annual Nizamut allowance at 18,00,000 Rupees and the expenses of the Soobadary, &c., at 7,00,000 Rupees making in all 25 lacks of Rupees (some say 24 lacks) and returned to Calcutta with Colonel Clive, and was crowned with the highest esteem and regard of that gentleman for his faithful discharge of the important public duties intrusted to him, after which Colonel Clive proceeded to England assuring Moonshee Nobocrishna that he would return soon with the appointment<sup>4</sup> to a distinguished situation.

In the year 1761 Mr. Vansittart, being appointed Governor of

<sup>1</sup> The only faithful general of Seraj-ud-dowlah. The Hindus claim him as originally a Hindu, which is inconsistent, I believe, with the title of Mir Seraj-ud-dowlah was present at the battle and fled when he heard Mir Madan was killed.

<sup>2</sup> Miran, himself killed by lightning about three years later.

<sup>3</sup> The official accounts say that Mir Jafer employed Jagat Seth as his Agent with the English.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Henry Vansittart was Governor, from July 27th, 1760, to November 1764.



Calcutta, nominated Ramchurun Roy as his Dewau and sent for Nowwab Jafer Aly Khan and Nowwab Mozufferjung from Moorshidabad to Calcutta on account of some faults that they had committed and displaced them from the Musnud and instated Nowwab Kassim Aly Khan Soobadar in their stead. Shortly after Kassim Aly Khan removed his seat from Moorshidabad to Monghyr and treacherously killed all the English gentlemen of Moorshidabad, Patna, Cassimbazar, &c, and also inhumanly destroyed almost all the nobles of Bengal, namely, Royrayn Omed Roy, Maharajah Ramnarain,<sup>1</sup> Rajah Rajbullabha with his son and Jugut Sate with his brother and others, excepting Nowwab Jafer Aly Khan, Nowwab Muzufferjung and Moharaja Doollu Charan who were then in Calcutta.

Afterwards Major Adams<sup>2</sup> went to war against Kassim Aly Khan, accompanied with force<sup>3</sup> and Moonshee Nobocrishna and fought a signal battle at Oady Nullah, for four days successively (some say nine days) and defeated Kassim Aly Khan's Troops and gained victory over him pursuing him across the Nullah, he however fled to Nowwab Shaja-ud-Dowlah at Lucknow. Moonshee Nobocrishna having been employed for three days in the execution of the orders of Major Adam fell sick in consequence of the extreme fatigue and was confined in his Tent on the fourth day when the plundering soldiers of the Nowwab robbed his Tent and attempted to cut him off, but he ran away, and jumped into the Nullah and swam it over and saved his life by joining the British Army. Major Adams having been most arduously employed in this war, was taken dangerously ill, for which reason Moonshee Nobocrishna and Mr. Skinner were bringing him to Calcutta in a boat but this meritorious officer unfortunately died near Calcutta.

In 1765 Lord Clive being appointed Governor-General of India with unlimited powers arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd May and Mr. Vausittart embarked for Europe previously to that without seeing his Lordship, in consequence of the calamities occasioned by his nomination of Kassim Aly Khan Soobadar of Bengal. Lord Clive was pleased to employ Moonshee Nobocrishna confidentially as before and after consulting him reinstated Nowwab Jaffer Aly Khan Soobadar and Mozufferjung Naib Soobadar, after which Moonshee Nobocrishna accompanied Lord Clive as far as Allahabad (some say Delhi) and concluded a treaty with his Majesty Shah Alum, and his Highness Nowwab Shaja-ud-Dowlah to the satisfaction of his Lordship, and obtained from his Majesty on the 2nd Showal 1179 Higeree (A.D. 1765) a dignity of Munsub

<sup>1</sup> Raja Ram Narain, Deputy Governor of Bihar.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, Major Adams.

<sup>3</sup> 2nd August, 1763.



Punjhuzaree,<sup>1</sup> three thousand Suwars or Horsemen Title of Rajah Bahadoor Palky Jhalerdar Toogh, Nukarah, &c., and also from his Highness valuable Khelats and other marks of honor and on the same day a Munsub of one thousand five hundred Suwar and Title of Roy were conferred on the above mentioned two eldest brothers of Rajah Nobocrishna, who then proceeded with his Lordship to Benares and Azeemabad and consecrated an Image of the Deity Shiva in the Temple of Visweswora, and effected the settlement of the Province of Benares with Moharaja Bulvant Singh and that of the Province of Behar with Moharaja Setab Roy and came back to Calcutta with his Lordship.

One day as Lord Clive was engaged in the Council Chamber in consultation on the subject of rewarding the useful services rendered by Rajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor, a Persian Letter in answer to that of Lord Clive arrived from the Soobadar of Arcat, and his Lordship desired Rajah Nobocrishna to read and explain that Letter and he, finding the contents thereof to be adverse to his interests, remained silent for a moment but was obliged to interpret it on being urged by his Lordship. The substance of it was as follows: "It is my wish also that the war with English Company being ended and a treaty concluded with them, both the Powers continue in good terms, but Rajah Nobocrishna (who manages the Company's affairs, being the son of Dewan. Ramchurn, the associate of my enemy Mouneeruddeen Khan) will obstruct the intended negotiation for which reason it is needless to make mention of Peace during the continuance of Rajah Nobocrishna."

The subject of the above Letter being explained to Lord Clive, he desired Rajah Nobocrishna to await in a room adjoining the Council Chamber for a moment who thereupon was alarmed at the probability of his dismissal, but on the contrary, his Lordship having consulted with the Council, called Rajah Nobocrishna and said thus: "Why did you not inform me so long that you were of such a noble family? The Company have derived great benefit from your services and laborious undertakings. Not knowing the rank of your descent we could not show you the respect due to it. From this day, we appoint you Dewan to the Hon'ble Company and the title and Robe of Honor, &c., shall be conferred upon you shortly."

In the 1180 Higeree (A.D. 1766) Lord Clive was pleased to get a Furman or Mandate from his Majesty Shah Alum granting Rajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor a dignity of Munsub Shush Huzary,<sup>2</sup> Four thousand

<sup>1</sup> *Munsub Punjhuzaree*, a title bestowed with a khilat of 5,000 rupees value *Palky Jhalerdar Tope*, a fringed and covered palankeen. *Nukarah*, the right to have a kettle drum.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, 6,000.

Suwar, and Title of Moharajah and to bestow upon him a gold Medal with a Persian Inscription, as a Testimonial to all India of the regard which Lord Clive and the Hon'ble Company had for his faithful and honest services, and a *Khelat* of ten *Parcha*<sup>1</sup> with Precious Garland of Pearls, *Chowkurah*, *Jeggah*, *Sirpech*, *Murussa*, &c.; and also Shield, Sword, Elephant, Horse, *Jhalerdar Palky*, *Assa*, *Sotta*, *Bullum*, *Choury*, *Morechul*, *Ghury*, &c., and allowed him a Guard of Sepoys to watch his Gate and fixed to him a monthly salary of 2,000 Rupees, upon which Moharajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor thankfully represented to Lord Clive that through his Lordship's benevolence he was not under the necessity of receiving from the Hon'ble Company such a large sum per mensem but that a monthly allowance of Rupees 200 might be fixed hereditarily to preserve the character of his family; and his Lordship accordingly complied with his representation and kindly handed him to his conveyance on an Elephant and the Moharajah came home in a grand procession scattering Rupees all about him and received the sum of 200 Rupees every month from the General Treasury during his life-time, but it was stopped after his death.

In the year 1767 Lord Clive gave the charge of Government to Mr. Varelst<sup>2</sup> and proceeded to England and Moharajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor continued in the capacity of political Dewan to the Hon'ble Company and discharged every part of his duties to the utmost satisfaction of Mr. Varelst. At that time the old mother of the Moharajah died and he performed her *Sraddha* or obsequies at such an immense sum of money that no *Sraddha* of the kind has before or after been made by any person. On hearing this, the Members of the Council informed Mr. Varelst that Moharajah Nobocrishna having expended all his money in the celebration of his mother's funeral rites, distributed in alms many Lacs of Rupees belonging to the Hon'ble Company's Treasury in his charge. After the completion of the *Sraddha* when the Moharajah went to visit Mr. Varelst, he told him in jest saying: "I am informed that you lost your sense and have expended the whole of your wealth as well as several Lacs of Rupees belonging to the Company's Treasury in the

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, of ten pieces. The *Khilat* or dress of honour was composed of different pieces and the number of the latter was graduated in accordance with the honour intended to be bestowed. *Chow Kurah*, a four cornered cap. *Jeggah*, a feather on the *Serpaith*, which is a bund clasping the forehead. *Murussa*, a turban. *Assa*, a straight silver staff. *Sotta*, a shorter silver rod with a bent handle. *Bullum*, an arrow. *Choury*, a silver rod with a horse-tail attached. *Morechul*, a silver rod with peacock feathers. *Ghury*, a kind of plate which was supposed to break when poisoned food was placed upon it. These were manufactured at Ghore, near Candahar.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Harry Varelst was Governor, from January 29th, 1767, to December, 1769.



performance of your mother's obsequies." Moharaja Nobocrishna, as soon as he heard the above, locked up the Treasury (then called Money Godown) and left the key on the table of Mr. Varelst, soliciting him to remove his doubts by sending for the person who accused him together with one of the Members of the Council and desiring them to examine and receive the Cash in Balance at the Treasury, upon which Mr. Varelst endeavoured to pacify the Moharaja by using expressions of politeness and wished him to depart in the temper he came, but the Moharaja said that if the Cash at the Treasury was not examined such measure would degrade his character. Mr. Varelst said to the Moharaja: "I am well acquainted with your character and conduct, there is no doubt but the Cash is in the Treasury;" notwithstanding which, the Maharaja replied saying: "As long as the Cash shall remain unexamined the imputation both on you and me shall increase." Finding the Moharaja inflexible, Mr. Varelst sent a Counsellor to the Treasury who examined the Cash account and found a surplus of 7,60,000 Rupees belonging to the Moharaja and apprized Mr. Varelst of it, who was very much ashamed, apologized and delivered back the key of the Treasury to the Moharaja, but the Moharaja declined receiving the key saying, when you were informed of the embezzlement on my part, you could disgrace me immediately by summoning and detaining me until you had examined and received the Company's Treasure, but, instead of doing so, you have kindly preserved my character. In your absence no other Governor will do me so much favour, for which reason I think it proper to resign to you all the high and important offices of the Hon'ble Company, which I have the honour to hold and not to do service any more from this day.

On the next day, Moharaja Nobocrishna Bahadoor removed all the public offices which he had in his house to Mr. Varelst, namely, Moonshee Dufter (Persian Secretary's Office), Aruz Beguy Dufter (Office of the Individual presenting all Petitions and representing such as may have been made verbally), Tuhseel Dufter of 24-Pergunnahs, Collector Office of the District of 24-Pergunnahs, Maul Adaulut of 24-Pergunnahs (Financial Court of that district), Cutchery of Jota Mala (a tribunal trying causes relative to tribe or caste), &c., and remained unemployed, devoting the remainder of his days to Religion and preparing himself for future life.

Moharaja Nobocrishna Bahadoor presented a valuable spot of ground for the erection of Saint John's Church, the present cathedral, without accepting the sum of 45,000 Rupees offered by the Council for the same and constructed a Highway known by the name of Rajah's Jan-gal or Dike from Behala near Calcutta to Coolpy—about 16 coss in



length—at his own expense of upwards of one Lac of Rupees conformably to the wish of Lord Clive and constructed a wide road leading to his dwelling-house, called Rajah Nobocrishna's Street, by purchasing grounds at a considerable cost and paved and repaired it at his own expense during his existence, and rendered great assistance in establishing House Tax in Calcutta and obtained a Talookdary Grant for Mowza Sootanooty, Bagbazar and Hogulcoondy in 1778 from the Hon'ble Company in exchange for Mouza Nowparah, &c., belonging to him, whereby most part of the respectable and opulent native gentlemen of Calcutta became his tenants, and made a settlement for the District of Burdwan in 1780 and preserved the sources of Government Revenue as well as the Estate of Moharajah Dheraj Tejchunder Bahadoor during his minority. He supported and assisted his numerous kindred and relations as well as respectable Cooleens or individuals of eminent descent and Pundits or learned men of Bengal of renown and encouraged all kinds of Arts and Sciences and gratified the wishes of Actors, Dancers and Singers from different parts of the World. He was the leader of fashion and model of imitation to the native community of this Metropolis and received the first reverence as well as Chaplet and Sandal before others at any Assembly he or his family was present agreeably to the Hindu custom. His house was honoured with the presence of almost all the former Nowwabs, Soobadars, Royrayns, Governor and Rajahs. He died on the 22nd November, 1797, leaving a large Estate, both real and personal, amounting to one crore of Rupees more or less, and two legal heirs or representatives, *viz.* :

1st, Baboo Gopeemohun Deb, who was third son of Moharajah Nobocrishna's eldest brother—Ramsundra Deb, and adopted by the Moharajah for his son, agreeably to the Hindu Law, and 2nd, Moharaja Rajcrishna Bahadoor, who was born some years after the adoption and died on the 19th of August, 1823. Gopeemohun Deb has only one son named Radhakant Deb (who is the Author of the Bengalee Spelling Book, and Sanscrit Dictionary, entitled Sabda Calpa Druma and a Director of the Vidyalaya or Hindu College, Member of the Calcutta School Book Society, Secretary and Member of the Calcutta School Society and Vice-President of the Agricultural Society). Maharaja Rajcrishna has left eight sons, of whom Baboo Sivacrishna Deb is the eldest.

*Note by Babu Nilmani Mukerjea, dated 24th July, 1899.*

“About 30 years ago, when I visited the English School at Sarisa, near Diamond Harbour as Deputy Inspector of Schools, I met some members of the Bose family of that village, and our conversation turned on one occasion upon the antecedents of Maharaja Nabakrishna Deb. I

was informed that the mother of Nabakrishna had come of the Sarisa Bose family and that young Nabakrishna used to visit his maternal uncle's house now and then.

“When Colonel Clive halted at Fulta on the Hughli, on his expedition to re-capture Calcutta from Nowab Sirajoodowla, he was put to great trouble for want of provisions. Nabakrishna was then staying with his maternal uncles at Sarisa. Having received news of Clive's difficulties, he began to collect rice, ghee, live stock, &c., and succeeded in getting a decent supply through the interest of the Bose family, who possessed great influence in that part. Young Nabakrishna had then a presentiment that he would make or mar his fortune, though his relatives were not very sanguine about the success of his adventure; they had then misgivings and endeavoured to dissuade him at first, but he was not a man to be deterred from an undertaking on which he had his heart.

“He then started for Fulta which lay about 6 miles from Sarisa presented himself before Clive who was struck by his pre-possessing appearance and resourcefulness, and accepted whatever provision he had brought with great joy. Nabakrishna followed the expedition up the river, and rendered useful service to his employer Clive by bringing provisions as far as Budge-Budge, where Manickchand, the Nowwab's Governor of the local Fort, showed some fight. Since that time, Nabakrishna who was well-versed in Persian, the lingua-Franca of India at that time, and had a smattering of English, was employed by Clive as his Munshee and rose step by step into high favour, till at last in 1765, when the Emperor of Delhi conferred the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, on the East India Company, he played a prominent part by acting as interpreter between Clive and the Emperor, for which he was eminently fitted on account of his knowledge of Persian and English.”

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*The Secret Words of the Cūhrās.*—By Rev. T. GRAHAME BAILEY, B.D.,  
M.A., *Wazīrābād.*

[ Read 8th January, 1902. ]

Like other tribes, which from the practice of generations, have become addicted to evil deeds, the Cūhrās have a secret vocabulary which greatly facilitates the commission of crime and equally hinders its detection. In their case the special words are connected chiefly, on the one hand with thieving and house-breaking, and, on the other, with the eating of cattle which have been found dead, and consequently with the means employed to ensure a moderately good supply of such dead animals. Throughout this article the secret words will be in italics.

Without a knowledge of these words one cannot become thoroughly acquainted with the Cūhrās or with their ways of thought and action. In order to get right to the heart of things let us accompany an expedition which has as its object the plundering of some rich man's house. Some *chur̄m* (thief), who always keeps his eyes open has discovered a *kuḍḍh* (house), belonging to some *Rār̄kā* (Hindū) or *Ghir balā* Musalmān). He seeks out another *Kālā* (thief) from among his own people, the *Rūr̄ge* (Cūhrās), or he may find an obliging *Bhātū* (Sāsī) ready to help him. Having painted in glowing colours the richness of the house in *bhīm̄te* (rupees) and *baḡelē* (do.) and *harjīye* (paise) and *thēlē* (a kind of ornament), he says ' *calō gul lāiyē* (let us break into the house). We shall follow these men, as on a dark moonless night they set out. Having reached the house they produce their *ṭombū* (iron instrument for house-breaking, an oriental jemmy) and set to work. They take the precaution of placing by their side several *chikāre* or clods of earth with which to assail any unwelcome intruder. The hole is finally made and the thief leaving outside his *kār̄kī*, stick, and *paintrī* or *cākhal*. (shoes), and telling his *litārā* (confidant) to keep a sharp look out, enters the house. If he finds no one inside he will venture to light a *ghasāi* (match). Suddenly a small clod of earth drops near the house-breaker; this is the *neolā* (piece of earth thrown as a warning of impending danger). He looks round in alarm and hears

the whispered words “*kajjā cāmdā ī*” (a jāṭ is looking). This interruption in his *gaimī* (thieving) he feels to be most inopportune. He feels still more ill at ease when he hears another hoarse whisper “*ṭhip jā* (hide yourself) *palwē hōjā*” (get to one side). He calls back “*kaiṅkar kar* (throw a clod of earth) *lōth lai sū*” (beat him or kill him) and emerges from the house. The *neodī* (theft) has not prospered. The two thieves flee by different ways to their homes, and next day discuss with great astonishment, bordering on incredulity, a report which has got abroad that a *kajjā* has been attacked by two Cūhṛā *churṃ* (thieves) who were engaged in *lāllī* (robbery) and has almost *lug gayā* (died).

An account given me of an event which took place in a town in which I was staying will serve as an introduction to the subject of cattle poisoning and carrion eating.

“Aj ik iththē ḍāhḍī sōhwī tē ṭomī Kaūsī lug gai. Te kisē  
To-day a here very fine and fat cow died and someone  
*Rārķēā* dē koḷ *pōlkē* *nūkar* kitī bhaī *Riā* wiccō

to-the-Hindūs having-gone accusation made that out of the Cūhṛās  
kisē jā *tiārī sairī*, jā *lānjī māri*, jā kisē tarā

someone either poison gave or poisoned-iron-point smote or in some way  
nāḷ *ganḍ* ditti. Tē *Rārķēā kathāyā* sī bhaī asī na inhā nū

killed. and the Hindu said that we neither to-them

*khānjarā tilṃṇ* dēāgē tē na inhā nū *līprā sairāgē*  
the carrion to eat will give and not to them the skin will give.

Each company of Cūhṛās is supposed to possess at least one *rukḥm*, or cattle poisoner. It is his business to arrange for the poisoning of suitable animals. He charges six annas for a cow and eight annas for a buffalo. The poison is made up into little balls, white, and black, and green, the black and green being more potent. One tola put into the food of a cow is sufficient to cause death in 24 hours, but a buffalo requires two tolas. They say that a horse will not take food with the poison in it. For this reason they kill horses with poisoned sharp-pointed instruments, which are made in two sizes; the smaller can be concealed in the hand and is called a *lānjī*, the larger is a short stick with the poisoned iron point affixed to the end, and is called *chaggī*.

It is extremely hard to get Cūhṛās to admit any knowledge of these practices or even of the secret words. After speaking to a considerable number of the people I have come to the conclusion that a fair proportion of them are genuinely ignorant of the less common words of their vocabulary. Militating somewhat against this is the fact that they, one and all, delight in the songs sung by their *giyānis*, which contain a proportion of secret words. There is little doubt



that this Pashtō, as they call their special phraseology is better known in some places than in others, and in all cases it is extremely probable that those men are best acquainted with it who habitually give themselves up to criminal pursuits. The Sāsis call their own specially secret dialect Fārsī. It is hardly necessary to point out that in neither case is there any connection with Pashtō or Persian.

Unlike the Sāsis the Cūhrās have no grammar of their own. They use ordinary Panjābī, inserting, when there is need for secrecy, their private words which others will not understand. If it be objected that their hidden vocabulary is too meagre to allow them much freedom in this exercise, it may be answered that the subjects in connection with which they desire secrecy are very limited, and it is wonderful how far it is possible, even with a few unknown words, to mystify the uninitiated.

Sometimes to disguise an ordinary word the letter 'm' is inserted. Thus a little boy said to me—"uh *Kūtrā Ghirbalā dē skamūl pōlā jā,*"—that boy (to the) Musalmāns' school gone has." Here 'skamūl' is used for 'skūl.'

One of my informants amusingly but forcibly illustrated the unwillingness with which Cūhrās will tell strangers anything about their argot. He confided in me only when all doors were shut, and even then the slightest sound used to make him start and look round to find out if anyone was listening or watching.

The following song, which sings the delights of carrion eating, will give some idea of the verse current among these people.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Maddar</i> Pīr pahārī carhiā<br>Khilqat mātthā tēkdī. | 1. Lo! St. <sup>1</sup> Thigh has risen on<br>high <sup>2</sup><br>The people bow their heads. |
| 2. <i>Sundī</i> Māī akkaṛ bhannē<br>Culhēdē wicc lētdī.     | 2. Mother Cutlet <sup>3</sup> twists and turns,<br>I' the fireplace as she lies.               |
| 3. <i>Giclī</i> Māī jhand khalārē<br>Dandā wallō wekhdī.    | 3. Mother kneejoint's grizzling <sup>4</sup><br>now,<br>And looking towards the teeth.         |

<sup>1</sup> Observe the canonisation in the first couplet and the dignity accorded in the second and third.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, has been elevated to the cooking pot.

<sup>3</sup> Akkaṛ bhannā means to stretch as in yawning, hence to walk stiffly and proudly. Here it refers to twisting under the action of the fire. For *sundī* and *giclī* see vocabulary.

<sup>4</sup> Jhand khalārā, used of hair standing on end, here of splitting up and separation of meat.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 4. Illā jhurmaṭ pā liā<br>Kā bahṇ banērē                   | 4. Kites have formed a circle<br>round,<br>Crows sit upon the roof.                     |
| 5. Jaṭ jo puchdā Cūhrīē<br>Ghar kī hāi tērē.               | 5. Asks the farmer 'Cūhrī, say<br>what is there in thy house?'                          |
| 6. Caudhri nikkē dī ganḍ hai<br>Wadḍē dē phērē.            | 6. "The younger son's engage-<br>ment, Sir, <sup>1</sup><br>The marriage of the elder." |
| 7. Maṭ bharāsā chadḍiā<br>Cūhrī phērē cauphērē.            | 7. The pot sends forth a savoury<br>steam,<br>The Cūhrī bustles round.                  |
| 8. Bhanni hōi sainḍkī<br>Cūhrī bhānyīā <sup>2</sup> phērē. | 8. Broken is her vessel now<br>She hands round <sup>2</sup> marriage<br>food.           |
| 9. Pāṭi hōi taingṇī<br>Walpain cauphērē.                   | 9. Torn also is the Cūhrī's skirt,<br>Round and round she goes.                         |
| 10. Khālō mēriō kuṛmō <sup>7</sup><br>Kōhli dē bērē.       | 10. "Eat away my <sup>3</sup> hearties all<br>Fragments from the breast."               |
| 11. Chaili de wicc sukdē,<br>Khuṛdumbe <sup>3</sup> bērē.  | 11. In the basket, see, are drying<br>Fat <sup>4</sup> delicious morsels."              |

Another pair of couplets relate a practical joke played by a Cūhrā.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Ghuṭ ghaṭkē ganḍaṭ baddhā<br>Ottē thabbā parāli dā  | The bundle bound I tight and<br>fast ( <i>i.e.</i> , bundle of carrion).<br>On top a bunch of rice stalks<br>placed (to hide the carrion). |
| Kajjē dē hatth maī dē ṭoriā<br>Tattā tattā tāri dā. | By a farmer's hand I sent it home.<br>Hot and ready for soup.  |

"Here we have an Oriental version of "beautiful soup, so rich and green, waiting in a hot tureen." The farmer must have been a Hindū to account for the Cūhrā's glee at getting him to carry the carrion.

<sup>1</sup> The Cūhrī (female of Cūhrā) displays a facility in saying the thing which is not.

<sup>2</sup> Bhānyīā, food given on the occasion of a marriage; the host gives it expecting to receive as much or more when he in turn is guest at a marriage feast. The delicate humour of comparing the joys of eating carrion to the rejoicings at a wedding will be appreciated.

<sup>3</sup> The fathers of the girl and boy to be married are 'Kuṛm' to each other. Here 'Kuṛm' (pl.) includes all the guests who have come with the 'Kuṛm.'

<sup>4</sup> A fat-tailed sheep is called 'dumba;' 'Khuṛdumbā' means 'full of fat,' rich like the tail of a 'dumba.'



The following refers again to a carrion feast—

Lāl lāl kandhī lāyā.

The red is thrown to the wall  
(red = the blood of the dead  
animal).

Citṭe dā dōgā cāḥidā.

The white is placed in the pot  
(white = the flesh).

Ghar sādē thāna latthā.

In our house there's a thāna to-day  
(referring to the congregation  
of kites and crows watching  
the carrion).

Wagyārā nahī chuṭkārī dā.

There's no time even for labour  
that's forced.

There's a fifth line to this rhyme, but it has an obscene meaning.

The following vocabulary will be of some interest. The connection between the Cūhṛā words and those of Qāsāis, Gamblers, and Sāsīs is worth noting.

#### VOCABULARY.

##### STEALING.

*chikāra*, clod of earth.

*cāmnā*, watch (used also by gamblers in general).

*chāpelnā*, hide.

*churṃ*, thief.

*gul lauṇā*, break through a house  
(*san mārṇā*).

*gaimī*, theft (*cf.* Qasāi argot  
*gaimbī*, theft, *gaimbā*, thief).

*kaḷā*, thief.

*kudḍh*, house.

*kaiṅkar karṇā*, strike with a clod  
of earth.

*kārki*, stick.

*lāllī lauṇā*, steal ( ? *cf.* Sāsī *lālli*,  
night, Arabic *lāil*).

*litārā*, confidant.

*nēolā*, throwing earth to warn  
thief.

*nēōḍī*, theft.

*paintrī*, shoes (left outside), *cf.*  
Sāsī *paṇī*.

*thipṇā*, hide oneself.

*tōmbū*, weapon for breaking into a  
house.

##### Poisoning.

*chaggī*, a short stick with poison-  
ing iron point affixed.

*dhārki*, knife.

*gand dēṇa*, kill.

*gōḷī*, poison ball.

*lānjī*, a small *chaggī* (see above)  
which may be concealed in  
the hand.

*rukḥm*, professional poisoner.

*tiārī*, poison.

*thīmā*, poison.

##### Human Beings.

*bhātū*, Sāsī *cf.* Sāsī *bhattū*.

*ghirbalā*, Musalmān.

*kajjā*, Jāt used also for Europeans  
and others (a word used by  
Sāsīs).

*kūtrā*, boy (*kūtri*, girl).  
*rārkā*, Hindū.  
*tōmī*, feminine of Ghirbalā.  
*rūṅgā*, *rēōṅā* and *rī*, all Cūhrā.

*Animals.*

*ardlī*, buffalo.  
*bad*, pig (used also by other Panjābīs).  
*cailī*, little goat, kid.  
*kaūsī*, cow.  
*khanjalā*, buffalo.  
*kurumā*, horse.  
*kōrtā*,  
*khutringā*, } donkey.  
*rēwal*, dog.

*Food eating, etc.*

*dhīmā*, guṛ (Sāsī *dhūlā*).  
*guls*, lassī.  
*hundak*, food.  
*kūndṇā*, eat.  
*mitkā*, guṛ.  
*nibal*, ghī.  
*nirkā*, water.  
*pakhsat*, food, roṭī.  
*tilmṇā*, eat.

*Carrion, etc.*

*anjāla*, heart.  
*āndrā*, entrails.  
*batlī*, fat remains.  
*bukkā*, part of the side.  
*caura*, thigh.  
*cūl*, lower half upper fore leg.  
*ḍīṭhā*, carrion.  
*ghērā*, part of entrails.  
*ghanērī*, upper part of side.  
*giclī*, flesh round kneejoint.  
*janṇū*, upper half lower hind leg.  
*jagaṛ*, carrion.

*kaunā*, back of neck.  
*kāṇā*, upper half, upper hind leg.  
*kangī*, part of lumbar vertebrae.  
*khānjarā*, carrion.  
*khuraṛā*, flesh on front part of lower half of leg.  
*kōhlī*, breast.  
*liprā* skin, cloth (in Qasāi's argot *liprī* = skin).  
*lukrā*, the part along the spine.  
*maddar*, thigh.  
*morā*, pieces of breast.  
*minj*, fat.  
*miny*, brain.  
*murkan*, part of shoulder.  
*nēōrī*, fat.  
*paṭrī*, lumbar vertebrae.  
*pōtā*, round about anus.  
*phar*, shoulder.  
*paṭṭhā*, small of back.  
*rukṛā*, part of side.  
*sundī*, an oblong narrow slice of meat.  
*surkayg*, lower half of lower leg.  
*ṭikiyā*, upper half, upper fore leg.  
*totīā*, upper half, lower fore leg.  
*gōlū*, lower half, upper hind leg.  
*tarī*, soup (connected with Urdū tar, wet).  
*lās*, soup.

*General.*

*almnī* = kind of cow = sickness.  
*ābrṇa*, come, arrive (cf. Sāsī *asrṇā*, Qasāi *aparṇā*, Panj. *aparṇā*).  
*burkṇā*, huqqa (used also by Sāsī).  
*beī kūl*, keep quiet ('shut up,' used also by Sāsī. See *kūlṇa*).  
*bagēlā*, money, rupee (cf. Sāsī *bagēlī* = eight anna bit).  
*bhīmṭā*, rupee (used by gamblers in general).



*dhāṇḍā*, evil, worthless, bad.

*ghasāī*, lucifer match.

*harjīyā*, paisa, pice.

*kathāṇā*, say. It is noteworthy that the Panjābī words gal, katth, bāt (all meaning 'word' 'matter') have a verb formed from each of them. But while batāṇā is used in Panjabī proper, kathāṇā is used among by Cūhrās, and galāṇā is found among hill people in the direction of Camba.

*kūlṇā*, do (used also by Sāsīs).

*kērmṇā*, kill.

*kuurūā*, huqqa.

*kōkā*, intrigue.

*ōthṇā*, beat, kill (Sāsī lōhṇā, Kashmīri lāyun, cf. Urdū laganā, Panjābī laṇā).

*lugṇā*, die (used by Sāsīs).

*nēpaṇā*, seize (Panj. napaṇā, napṇā).

*nūkarṇā* accuse.

*nūkar*, accusation.

*pōlṇā*, come, go.

*palwā*, side (cf. Urdū pahlū).

*pachikkā*, bad, ugly.

*sairṇā*, give.

*sōhwā*, fine, fat.

*tōmā*, fine fat.

*thēlā*, ornament worn round neck.

*ṭēlṇā*, give.

*ṭēlnī*, turban.



*Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh: Tibetan Text, Translation and Notes.—By the late DR. KARL MARX, Moravian Missionary at Leh, Ladak.*

[Read 4th December, 1901.]

Introductory remark by the Rev. Professor Gustaf Dalman, D.D., Ph.D., Leipzig, Germany.

Under the above title, in Vol. LX, of this Journal, pp. 97-135, and Vol. LXIII, pp. 94-107, translations and partly texts have been published from three manuscripts, once in the hands of the late Dr. Karl Marx. But the main part of the third document (called C-MS.) was still wanting. Now I am so happy to be able to put even this end of the history of Ladakh before the readers of this Journal. *Mrs. Theodora A. Francke*, of Leh, sister-in-law of Dr. Karl Marx, has completed the work by giving the translation of C-MS. from the point, where the history of Ladakh was left in the last publication. The whole of C-MS. is preceding this translation.\*

*English translation.—By MRS. THEODORA A. FRANCKE.*

Then the Wazir on his way back left the Ladakhi boundaries. During winter the Ladakhi king and his ministers made the following bad plan: "We shall not keep to our former promise, according to which we are to send taxes, but we shall begin war (send soldiers)!"

\* In Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. II, February 1902, p. 30, my name is mentioned in connection with the publication of the late Dr. Marx's three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh! This is a greater honor than I deserve. Our thanks for this publication are entirely due to Dr. Marx. Even as regards the third MS. (C-MS.) published in this number of the journal, the preparation of the Tibetan text is his own. The language of C-MS. is not exactly that described in my Ladakhi grammar, ante, Vol. LXX, part I, Extra Vol. 1901. The language of my grammar is that of daily life whilst that of C-MS. is the style of modern Ladakhi letter-writing, which leans more or less towards the classical language. Because a summary of the first part of C-MS. has already been given in Vol. LXIII, mostly on pages 106 and 107, the accompanying translation gives only the second part of C-MS.

A. H. Francke.



Next year the Wazir quite suddenly, coming through *Balldar* arrived in *Zangskar*. Then he went through *Kharnag* and *Shang* with his soldiers and arrived at *Leh* before anybody knew of it.

The (old) king's son, the king *Chogsprul*, went through *Drangtse* and *Wamle* to *Spiti*; one or two months later *Chogsprul* died there.

*Chogsprul's* first wife's son was *Jigsméd-choskyi-senge-migyurkunga-nambar-gyalwai-Lha*.

The second wife's son, who is now living at *Mashro*, was *Stan-shrung-yurgyal*.

Then the Wazir sent the (old) king *Dondrub-Namgyal* out of the castle, took all the treasures and riches and ordered the *Leh* minister *Ngorub-Standzin* to be proclaimed king. He also built the old *kila* (fort) at *Skara* near *Leh* and made the *Tanadhar Magna* and *Janda-Sing* captains. There he left altogether 250 men.

*Ngorub-Standzin* the *Raja* had to issue all orders and to send the taxes, amounting to 18,000 Rupees, without fail to the *Maharaja*. The Wazir himself and the other soldiers took the father-king, *Bangkapa* and other noblemen, about 20-30, along with them to fight against *Baltistan*.

After having fought against the *Baltis* he (the Wazir) took all *Baltistan* and returned home. He sent the father-king back to *Leh* together with the *Ladakhi* noblemen.

The noble father-king was seized by small-pox in *Baltistan* and half-way back he died. His body was burned (given to the fire) at *Stock*.

Then the *Raja Ngorub-Standzin* reigned for three to four years. He sent the taxes to *Jammu*; but as he did not agree with *Magna*, the *Tanadhar*, the latter wrote, calumniating him, to the Wazir.

Therefore after four years the Wazir came again to *Leh* with his soldiers; he sent the *Raja* out of the castle and said, that the taxes had not been paid satisfactorily, and that he would punish him severely. "Now I am going to make war with *Tibet*, and you will have to go with me!" But when the *Raja* replied: "I would rather die than go!" The Wazir became very angry and imprisoned the *Raja* in the fort.

Noble young *Sodnam, Sgolam Khan* of *Chushod*, the minister of *Basgo* and many other *Ladakhi* noblemen he took along with him up to *Ngari-sgorsum* to the war.

He (the Wazir) made the *Tanadhar Miya* responsible for the Government (all the orders) of *Ladakh* and *Meta Basti Ram* was sent to fight against *Rutog* with five hundred soldiers. *Basti Ram* fought against *Rutog* and took it.

The Wazir went off with seven thousand men through *Gar*. He

fought and gradually got as far as *Purang*s. At a place called *Purangstoyo* the Wazir threw up trenches. At the same time the Tibetans also arrived at *Purang*s. In the castle of *Purang*s called *Dagla* there were about one hundred and fifty *Dogras*. Against those the Tibetans fought and killed several; some had to flee, and when the Tibetans attacked the castle, they took it.

Then the Wazir fought several times during a month and a half in a desultory way. One day, after that time, the Tibetan warriors, with their officers and all fighting men, made a desperate (not caring for death or life) attack at daybreak on the Wazir's trenches.

About noon one of the Tibetan bullets hit the Wazir's left shoulder and the Wazir fell down from his horse (on the ground). The Wazir still held a sword in his right hand. The Tibetans knowing that the Wazir had been hit (by a bullet), not minding their lives (speak of dying), attacked the Wazir's trenches. Then one of the Tibetan horsemen ran to the Wazir and meeting him, pointed his spear at (the borders of) the Wazir's heart, thrust the spear and the Wazir died.

When the sun was near setting, the Wazir's trench was destroyed. They (the Tibetans) killed as many *Dogras* as they could and took as many prisoners as possible. Many of the *Dogras* fled, firing backwards towards the Tibetans (hereto).

Then when the Tibetans had taken some men prisoners, they went back to their own camp. The next morning the Tibetans sent to *Lhasa* by a post all the details about the Wazir's death and how his head (and neck) had been cut off and so on.

On the following day, the Tibetans imprisoned all whom they had seized, among them the *Ladakhi* minister of *Basgo*, the young noble *Sodnams*, the noble *Sgolamkhan* of *Chushod*, besides 18 men and 30 *Dogra* officers and men. One hundred Tibetans accompanied them on their way towards Tibet.

The Tibetan army went as far as *Gar* with its General to try the prisoners. After one month they went back to Tibet. One officer with 300 soldiers remained at *Gar* for one year.

The *Dogras* who had fled arrived at *Leh*; so did those who were in *Rutog*, when they heard of the Wazir's death.

After one or two years the *Ladakhis* rebelled against the *Dogras*, summoning for war Lower and Upper *Ladakh*, *Nubra*, *Baltistan* and *Khapulu*. All these together sent about two thousand five hundred soldiers. They blockaded the *kila* and the *Chaon* (fort) at *Leh*. In the *kila* (fort) there was the *Tanadhar Magna*, and about 50 *Dogras*, and in the *Chaon* fort there was a *Komidhan* and about 300 *Dogra* soldiers.

The *Ladakhis* made their trenches surrounding the two forts.



For one month, they had only little fighting. Then there arrived a Tibetan, called *Pishi*, who was the head of the bowmen, together with about 100 men, to assist the *Ladakhis*. He took up his quarters in the *Leh*-castle.

After that, there arrived from Kashmir *Dewan Harichand* and the Wazir *Ratun*, together with about 7,000 men, marching towards *Ladakh*.

When people at *Leh* heard that the *Dewan* and the army had reached *Khalatse*, they all held a council and agreed on fleeing, because *Dewan Harichand* had so many soldiers, cannons, etc., with him.

The king and minister and the chief of the bowmen fled in the direction of the upper *Indus* valley, together with one hundred men. The *Ladakhi* soldiers fled to their own villages.

After two days the *Dewan* and the Wazir arrived at *Leh* with their men. They destroyed all the idols that were in the castle and monastery, not leaving even a single one.

The king, the minister and the men, accompanying them, had reached *Drangtse-lungs-Yogma*.

The day after this, more soldiers from Tibet arrived at *Lungs-yogma*, together with the minister *Ragasha* and *Zurkhang*, chief of the bowmen, accompanied by 3,000 men. When they all were assembled, they dug trenches.

The *Dewan* and the Wazir also took their men with them and going north, arrived at *Dorkhug*.

There the Tibetans heard a rumour (about their arrival). Then the chief of the bowmen, *Zurkhang*, together with one thousand soldiers, went and fought against the *Dogras* at *Dorkhug*.

During the first battle on the plateau of *Dorkhug* about 30 *Dogras* were killed, and *Zurkhang*, the head of the bowmen, returned to *Lungsyogma*; then the *Dewan* and the soldiers also went to *Lungs-Yogma*.

There were two hills on either side of the water. The *Dewan* and the Wazir divided their army and had their camps on these two hills. As the Tibetans had made their trenches on the plateau, there was no fighting until the Tibetans came out from behind their walls.

The *Dewan* and the Wazir with their men, working in turns, dammed up the water in the valley. As the Tibetans could not remain in the middle of the water, they were obliged to come out from their trenches and flee; so, they were conquered.

Then the *Dogras* seized all those Tibetans that were left and took them to *Leh*.

The Tibetan minister *Ragasha*, and some of the army who waited, were killed by the *Dogras*.

The minister *Zurkhang* and the chief of the bowmen, called *Pishi*, both were also seized and taken to *Leh*.

The Tibetans and Dogras lived in peace (good order) without any war ever since; the annual trade going on as before according to the contract made (with the Dogras).

The Tibetan minister *Zurkhang* and *Pishi*, the head of the bowmen, then went back both being the leaders of the Tibetan army.

The *Dewan Harichand* re-installed all the Tibetan ministers and promised to establish again the *Ladakhi* king and queen with their court.

From *Gangsri* in Tibet there used to be given several men as servants to the *Ladakhi* king which he (the king) gave into the hands of the *Dewan Harichand* and the Wazir, and then went to his castle.

Not to a single nobleman the power, which he had possessed during the old king's reign, was left. But the *Dewan Harichand* and the Wazir said: "Only the minister *Rigdzin*, who was the servant of the late Wazir *Zorawar*, who died at *Purang*s, shall remain for ever, what he was before: the servant of the Government!" and transmitted to him all the Government work of *Ladakh*.

Then the *Dewan* and the Wazir both took the *Ladakhi* noblemen, among whom there were the *Leh* minister *Ngorub Standzin*, *Ajo Gonpo*, *Lhadagtsering-stobgyes*, along with them and returned to *Jammu*.

In *Ladakh* they left the minister *Rigdzin* and *Magna* the *Tanadhar*, together with the soldiers in the *kila* fort.

I think, it is all true, which has been said, from the first page to this.

## ༥༥ བུ་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ། །༥༥

ཨོ་ནས་ལོ་མང་མ་འགྲངས་བར་ལྟ་ཟེར་གྱི་ལོ་རིམ་ཟོར་ལྟར་དམག་  
 མི་སྟོང་ལྔ་བཅུ་ལྟ་ཅམ་བྲིད་ནས། ཀམ་ཏེ་ལྟར་ལྟ་རན་མན་འདྲི་རྒྱུད་སྲུ་བྱ་ལ་ཐོན།  
 དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་དེ་གསན་ནས་ལ་དྲུགས་ཁོངས་ན་དམག་སྐྱལ་བྱས་ནས། དམག་  
 མི་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་དང་ཉོག་པ་བཀའ་སློན་དམག་མགོ་བྱས་ཤིང་ཕུ་རིག་དཀར་ཅེ་



ཅུ་དམག་ལ་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་ལྷོན་དམག་མི་དང་བཅས་དཀར་ཅེ་  
 ཅུ་བསྐྱེབས། ཡང་ཕུ་རིག་ཁོངས་ན་ཡང་དམག་མི་ལྟ་བུ་ཅམ་བསྐྱེས། །དཀར་  
 ཅེ་ལང་མཁར་ཅེ་ཅུ་སིང་དམག་དང་ལ་དུགས་པའི་དམག་མི་བཅས་ཀྱིས་པན་  
 ཚུན་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས། ཉི་མ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་པན་ཚུན་འཐབ་རེས་  
 ལྟ་ཅམ་བཏངས། ལ་དུགས་པ་སྲད་ཆེ་བ་ཅམ་བྱང་ནས་སིང་པ་མང་བ་བསད།  
 དེའི་རིང་ལ་ལ་དུགས་སྟོད་གཤམ་ལུམ་ར་བཅས་ནས་ཀྱང་དམག་སློན་བསྐྱེལ་  
 ནས། དམག་མི་ལྟ་བུ་ཅམ་དང་། དམག་དཔོན་ལ་སྐྱེལ་སློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་  
 བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། བང་ཁ་པ་བཅས་ཉིན་མཚན་མེད་པར་ཕུ་རིག་ལ་དམག་སློན་ལ་  
 བཏངས་ནས། ཁོང་རྣམས་ཉིན་གཅིག་གིས་ལང་མཁར་ཅེ་ལ་མ་བསྐྱེབས་ཏེ།  
 དམག་མགོ་ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་ལྷོན་ལ་སིང་པའི་ཏུ་བྲག་པོ་ག་ནས་གོངས་པས། ལ་  
 དུགས་པའི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྐད་ཅིག་ཀྱང་སྲད་མ་ཐུབ་པར་སོ་སོར་གར་  
 སོང་མེད་པར་ཤོར། །ཕུ་རིག་པ་དམག་མི་དང་ལ་དུགས་པ་དམག་མི་བཅས་ལྟ་  
 བརྒྱ་དུག་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་ཞིག་ཤོར་ནས་སང་ཉིན་སྡེ་ཕོག་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་དམག་སློན་ལ་  
 སོང་བའི་སྐྱེལ་སློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཙུར་བསྐྱེབས་ནས། སིང་དམག་  
 མང་བ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དང་། ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་ལྷོན་གོངས་ཚུལ་དང་། དམག་མི་རྣམས་  
 གར་སོང་མེད་པར་ཤོར་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཞིབ་པར་ཞུས། །སྐྱེལ་སློན་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་  
 གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསམ་པ་ལ་སིང་དམག་མང་བས་འཐབ་ན་མི་ཐུབ། ཕྱི་འགྲོས་བྱས་ན་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུན་འཕོག་པར་བསམ་ཞིང་། དེ་ཉིན་ཅི་བྱེད་པར་དགོས་མ་  
 ཤེས་པར་དེར་ལུས། །སིང་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྲད་སྐར་ཡོད་པའི་ས་གནས་ནས་  
 ཚུར་གོས་གང་ཡང་ཡོང་མ་ཐུབ་པར་འདུག་ནས། ཀྱིར་མི་སྟོང་ཕྱག་བཅོ་ལྟ་





བསམ་ནས། ཕྱི་འགྲོས་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཐག་བཅད་ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་ལན་གསལ་ཙམ་  
 ཡང་མ་བཏང་བར་དམག་མི་དང་བཅས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཡོངས། ། ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་ལ་  
 དྲགས་ཀྱི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་བ་ཚོར་ནས། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཡང་རྩེར་ཡོངས།  
 ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་རེའི་སྡོན་ལ་རྩེར་ཡོངས། ། ལྷ་ཟེར་  
 དང་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་རེའི་རྗེས་མ་བཅས་ཡོངས་ནས། རིམ་བཤ་  
 སླེལ་དུ་བསླེབས། དེ་བར་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་འཐབ་མི་མ་གཏོགས་མི་མདའ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་  
 རྒྱབ་མི་མ་བྱུང་བར་སླེལ་དུ་བསླེབས་ཏེ། སླེལ་ཀར་བཅོ་བྲག་ནང་དུ་དམག་བྱང་  
 བཏབ་ནས་དེར་འདུགས། ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་བྱ་ཐབས་མེད་པར་སོང་ནས་ལྷ་  
 ཟེར་ལ་མགོ་དགས། ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀར་བཅོ་ལ་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་ས་ལྲམ་ལ་ཕེབས།  
 ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱི་ཏུ་འཐབ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གདོང་བསྐྱུས་བྱས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ས་ལྲམ་  
 སྡོན་དུ་བྱས། དེ་ནས་ཕན་རྩལ་གཉིས་འགྲིག་ནས། ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དང་  
 ཅི་ཡོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རང་བྱུག་བྱས་ཤིང་། ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལ་སྲིད་  
 ལ་ལ་དྲགས་ནས་ལོ་རེ་བཞིན་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་སྟོང་སྐྱུག་དགུ་རེ་ལོ་ལྷར་འཆག་མེད་  
 འབྲུལ་རྒྱ་བྱས་ཏེ། ཆད་དོན་བཅོན་པོ་བྱས་པས་ལྷ་ཟེར་དམག་མི་དང་བཅས་  
 ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། \* ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་  
 སོང་ཚར་བ་དང་། དགུན་ཐོག་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྡོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གྲོས་ངན་བྱས་  
 ནས། སྡོན་འབབ་གཏོང་རྒྱའི་ཆད་དོན་ལ་མ་གནས་པར་འབབ་མ་བཀལ་བར་  
 དམག་བཏང་རྒྱ་བྱས་ནས་བཞུགས། ། ཕྱི་ལོར་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཏུན་མེད་ལ་པལ་ལྷར་རྒྱུད་  
 ནས་ཟངས་དཀར་ལ་བེང་། དེ་ནས་མཁར་ནག་དང་ཤང་རྒྱུད་ནས་དམག་མི་དང་  
 བཅས་ཐོན་ཏེ་ཡོངས་ནས། སྐྱུས་ཀྱང་མ་ཚོར་བར་སླེལ་དུ་བསླེབས། ། རྒྱལ་

བོའི་སྐས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཚོག་སྐུལ་གྲང་ཅེ་ནས་ལྷ་ལེ་རྒྱུད་སྤི་ཏི་ལ་ཤོར་ནས་བསྐྱོད།  
 ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་གཉིས་དེར་བཞུགས་ནས་མཚོག་སྐུལ་གྲོང་ས། མཚོག་སྐུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་  
 མོ་ཆེ་བའི་སྐས་ནི་འཇིགས་མེད་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སེངྒེ་མི་འབྱུང་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་པར་  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་ལྷ་དང་། རྒྱལ་མོ་རྒྱུང་བའི་སྐས་ནི་ད་ལྟ་མང་སྤོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཟུན་སྲུང་  
 གཡུ་རྒྱལ་ལགས། །དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མཁར་  
 རྣམ་པའ་ལྷེ་གཏེར་མཛོད་དང་མོར་ཡོད་ཚད་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོར་སྐྱེལ་སྐོན་པོ་  
 དངོས་གྲུབ་བཟུན་འཇོན་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་ནས་བྲི་ལ་བཏགས། མིང་ལ་ར་རྒྱ་དངོས་  
 གྲུབ་བཟུན་འཇོན་འབོད་དུ་བཅུག། །དེ་ནས་སྐྱེལ་དགའ་རའི་ཀྱི་ལུ་རྩིང་པ་  
 བཅིགས་ནས། མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་དང་། རྒྱན་ཏ་སིང་གཉིས་དམག་མགོ་བྱས་ཏེ།  
 དམག་མི་ཕྱེད་དང་སྐུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅས་སྲུ་བཞག། །ར་རྒྱ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བཟུན་  
 འཇོན་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ། ཏུ་ཀུམ་ཅི་ཡོད་ར་རྒྱ་ལ་བཏང་ནས། ལོ་ལྟར་འབབ་ཀྱིར་  
 མོ་སྤོང་སྐག་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་འཆག་མེད་མ་ཏ་ར་རྒྱ་ལ་འབྱུལ་རྒྱ་བྱས། །ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་  
 དམག་མི་རྣམས་དང་བྲུ་བྲུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་དང་གཞན་ཡང་མི་དྲག་ཚོས་ཉི་  
 རྒྱ་སྐུམ་ཅུ་ཅམ་བྲིད་ནས། སྐུལ་ཏི་ལྷན་ལ་དམག་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། དེ་ནས་སྐུལ་ཏི་དང་  
 འཐབ་ནས་སྐུལ་ཏི་ལྷན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལོན་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། ཡང་བྲུ་བྲུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 དང་ལ་དྲགས་པ་དྲག་རིགས་རྣམས་སྐྱེལ་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏངས། །བྲུ་བྲུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་  
 མཚོག་ལ་སྐུལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་དུ་འབྱུམ་པ་བསྐྱམས་ནས་རྩེར་ཕེབས་ཏེ་ལམ་བར་ལ་  
 གྲོང་ས་ནས་སྐུར་ཏོག་ཏུ་མེ་ལ་སྐུལ། །དེ་ནས་ར་རྒྱ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བཟུན་འཇོན་ལོ་  
 གསུམ་བཞིའི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་ཤིང་། འཇམ་སྐུལ་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱང་བཀལ་གྱིན་  
 ཡོད་པ་ལས་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་དང་ར་རྒྱ་མི་འཆམ་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ཐ་ན་དར་གྱིས་ལྷ་



ཟེར་ལ་སྒྲུན་སྤྱི་མང་པོ་གྲིས་པར་བརྟེན་ནས། ལོ་བཞིའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཡང་ལྷ་ཟེར་  
 དམག་མི་དང་བཅས་སྤྱི་ལ་དུ་ཡོངས་ནས། ར་རྩུ་མཁར་ནས་ཕབ་སྟེ། འབབ་མ་  
 ཚང་ཟེར་ནས་ཚད་པ་མང་པོ་ལེན་ནས། བོད་ལ་དམག་འབྱེད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ཏེ་རང་  
 འགོ་དགོས་ཟེར་ས། །ར་རྩུ་ཡིས་ད་ཤི་ནའང་མི་འགོ་ཟེར་བར་བརྟེན་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་  
 ཁྲིས་ཏེ། ར་རྩུ་གྱི་ལྷ་རུ་བཙོན་ལ་བཅུག་སྟེ། །ཉོ་ཉོ་བསོད་ནམས། རྩུ་ཤོད་པ་སྒོ་  
 ལམ་ཁན། བ་སྒོ་བཀའ་སྒོན་དང་གཞན་ཡང་ལ་དུགས་གྱི་དུག་རིགས་མང་པོ་  
 ཁྲིད་ནས། རྩུ་ད་མངའ་རིས་སྒོར་གསུམ་ལ་དམག་བྱེད་ས། ལ་དུགས་གྱི་དུགས་  
 བམས་ཅད་མི་ལྷ་མག་ན་བྲན་དར་ལ་ཁག་བཀའ། །ཡང་མི་ཏ་བྲས་ཏི་རམ་ལ་  
 དམག་མི་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་བཏང་ནས་རུ་བྲོག་ལ་དམག་ལ་བཏངས་ཏེ། བྲས་ཏི་རམ་  
 གྱིས་རུ་བྲོག་ལ་དམག་བཏང་ནས་རུ་བྲོག་ལེན་སོང་། །ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་དམག་མི་  
 རྩུ་ད་སྤྱི་བཏུན་དང་བཅས་སྒྲར་རྒྱུད་ལ་དམག་འབྲལ་བཏང་ནས། རིམ་པས་ལྷ་  
 རང་བྲལ་བསྐྱེབས། །ཡང་ལྷ་རང་ཏེ་ཡོ་ཟེར་བའི་གནས་སུ་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་དམག་  
 སྒྲར་བཏབ། །དེ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་པར་བོད་པའི་དམག་མི་ཡང་ལྷ་རང་དུ་  
 བསྐྱེབས་ནས། ལྷ་རང་དུག་ལ་མཁར་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་མི་ཕྱེད་དང་གཉིས་བརྒྱ་  
 ཙམ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལ་བོད་པས་དམག་བཏང་ནས་སིང་པ་ཚོད་ཅིག་བསད། ཚོད་  
 ཅིག་ཤོར་ནས་དུག་ལ་མཁར་ལ་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚངས་ནས་བོད་པ་ལ་བྲོབ། དེ་  
 ལས་རིམ་བཞིན་སྒྲོ་བ་ཕྱེད་དང་གཉིས་གྱི་རིང་ལ་ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་འབྲལ་རིས་མང་ཙམ་  
 བཏངས། དེ་ནས་སྒྲོ་བ་ཕྱེད་དང་གཉིས་སོང་བ་དང་། ཉིན་ཅིག་ལ་བོད་དམག་  
 ལྷས་གྱིས་ཤི་སྤོག་ལ་མ་ལྟ་བར་དམག་དཔོན་དང་དམག་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཉི་མ་རྩེ་ཤར་  
 དང་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱི་དམག་སྒྲར་ལ་འབྲལ་རིས་ཆེ་བ་བཏང་ནས། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཙམ་ལ་

ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱི་དཔུང་ལག་གཡོན་པར་བོད་པའི་མི་མདའ་ཕོག་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་དྲ་  
 བོག་ནས་ས་སྤྱིང་དུ་སྤྱང་། ད་ཅུང་ཡང་ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱིས་ལག་གཡས་སུ་རལ་གྱི་ཁར་  
 ནས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་མི་མདའ་འཕོག་པར་གཤམ་ནས།  
 ཤི་ལྷས་བཏང་སྟེ་བོད་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱི་དམག་སྐར་ནང་དུ་ཚངས་དེ།  
 བོད་པའི་དྲ་དམག་ཅིག་གིས་མདུང་ཁར་དེ་ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱི་ཐད་དུ་བརྒྱགས་པ་དང་ལྷ་  
 ཟིང་དང་ཐུག་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱི་སྤྱིང་མཚམས་སུ་མདུང་བརྒྱབ་པས་ལྷ་ཟིང་གི།  
 དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་གསལ་ལ་ཁད་ལ་ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱི་དམག་སྐར་ཆག །སིང་པ་བསད་ཐུབ་  
 ཚད་བསད། བརྒྱང་ཐུབ་ཚད་བརྒྱང་། །ཅི་མང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྩེ་མི་མདའ་  
 འཕང་གིན་ཤོར། །དེ་ནས་བོད་པས་ཚོད་ཅིག་བརྒྱང་ནས་ཁོང་རང་གི་དམག་  
 བྱང་དུ་ལོག། །དེ་ཡི་སང་ཉིན་ལ་བོད་པས་ལྷ་ས་ཅུ་ལྷ་ཟིང་གི་རྩེ་ལ་དང་མགོ་སྐྱེ་  
 ལེན་རྩེ་ལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་རྩེ་ལ་ཞིབ་པར་འདུག་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཏངས། ཡང་དེ་ཡི་རྗེས་  
 མ་ཞག་ལ་བོད་པས་བརྒྱང་བའི་མི་རིགས་ལ་དུགས་པ་བསྐྱོ་བཀའ་སྒྲོན། ཅོ་ཅོ་  
 བསོད་ནམས། རྩེ་ཤོད་པ་ཇོ་སྐྱོ་ལམ་ཁན་དང་བཅས་པ་མི་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་མ་དང་།  
 སིང་པ་དཔོན་གཡོག་དང་དམག་མི་བཅས་མི་སྐྱུ་ཅུ་ཅུ་མ། དེ་རྣམས་བཙོན་པའི་  
 རྩེ་ལ་དུ་བྱས་ནས། བོད་དམག་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་གཅིག་དང་སྐྱུག་ནས་བོད་དུ་ལམ་དུ་  
 བཅུག། །ཡང་བོད་པ་དམག་དཔོན་དང་དམག་མི་ཡོད་ཚད་སྐར་ཐུག་ཅུ་གཅིད་  
 ལ་ཡོངས་ནས། སྐར་དུ་སྐྱབ་གཅིག་འདུག་ནས་བོད་ལ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། དམག་  
 མི་སྐྱུ་བརྒྱ་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག་ བཅས་སྐར་དུ་ལོ་གཅིག་གི་རིང་དུ་འདུག་  
 སོང་། །སིང་པ་ཤོར་རིགས་རྣམས་སྤེལ་དུ་བསྐྱེབས། །ལྷ་ཟིང་གི་བའི་སྐད་  
 ཆ་ཐོས་ནས་ཅུ་ཐོག་ན་ཡོད་པའི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཤོར་ནས་བསྐྱེབས། །དེ་



ནས་ཡང་ལོ་གཅིག་གཉིས་སོང་བ་དང་། ལ་དྲགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དམག་བསྐྱེད་  
 རྣམས་སིང་པ་ལ་ངོ་ལོག་བྱས་ནས། ལ་དྲགས་གཤམ་སྟོད་ལྷུ་མ་ར། སྤལ་ཉི་ཁ་  
 སྤལ་ལྷ་བཙམ་གྱི་དམག་མི་སྟོང་ཕྱག་ཕྱེད་དང་གསུམ་ཙམ་འཛོམ་ནས། སྤལ་གྱི་  
 ལྷ་དང་། ཆ་ཚོན་གཉིས་ལ་འཕྲབ་ར་བཙུགས། །གྱི་ལྷ་ན་མག་ན་ཕ་ན་དར་དང་  
 བཙམ་སིང་པ་ལྷ་བཙུ་ཙམ་དང་། ཆ་ཚོན་ན་ཀུ་མི་དན་དང་སྤྱག་ནས་པལ་ཁན་སི་  
 པ་སྤུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་གཉིས་ལ་མཐའ་བསྐྱོར་ནས་ལ་དྲགས་པའི་  
 དམག་བྱང་ཕབ་སྟེ། རྩ་བ་གཅིག་གི་བར་དུ་འཕྲབ་དེས་ཁ་ཤམ་པ་དངས། །བོད་  
 རྣམས་མདའ་དཔོན་པོ་ཉི་དང་བཙམ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ཙམ་ལ་དྲགས་པའི་ར་  
 མདའ་ལ་ཡོངས་ནས་སྤལ་མཁར་དུ་འདུགས། །དེ་རྗེས་ཁ་ཚུལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་རྡེ་  
 རྒྱན་ཉ་རི་ཙུ་དང་། རྩ་ཟེར་ར་རྒྱན་གཉིས་བཙམ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་ཕྱག་བདུན་ཙམ་  
 བྱིད་ནས་ལ་དྲགས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཡོངས་ནས། དེ་ནས་རྡེ་རྒྱན་གྱི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཁ་  
 ལ་ཚེ་རུ་བསྐྱེབས། །དེ་ལྟར་སྐད་ཆ་སྤལ་དུ་ཚོར་བས་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱིས་གོས་བྱས་  
 རྣམས། རྡེ་རྒྱན་དང་མཉམ་དུ་དམག་མི་དང་། ཉོབ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡོད་པས། རྒྱལ་  
 རྩོན་དང་བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་དང་བཙམ་པ་རོང་ལམ་ཕྱོགས་  
 ལ་ཤོར། དམག་མི་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཤོར། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་  
 སོང་བ་དང་རྡེ་རྒྱན་རྩ་ཟེར་གཉིས་དམག་མི་དང་བཙམ་སྤལ་དུ་བསྐྱེབས་ནས།  
 མཁར་དང་དགོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གསུང་ཕྱགས་དེན་རྣམས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལུས་མེད་  
 བཤིགས། །ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་རྩོན་ཤོར་མི་རྣམས་གང་ཚོའི་ཀྱངས་ཡོག་མར་  
 བསྐྱེབས། །དེའི་རྗེས་མ་ཞག་ལ་བོད་པའི་དམག་རྩོན་བཀའ་རྩོན་ར་གྲ་ཤ་དང་  
 མདའ་དཔོན་རྩུར་ཁང་གཉིས་དང་བཙམ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་ཕྱག་གསུམ་ཀྱངས་ཡོག་

མར་བསྐྱེབས་ཏེ། དེར་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས་ནས། དེར་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས་  
 འདུག། །རྩེ་ཕྱོད་དང་ཕྱ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དམག་མི་རྣམས་བྲིད་ནས་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་  
 ལྷུང་དོར་ཁག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེབས། །བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྐད་ཆ་དེ་ཐོས་ནས་མདའ་  
 དཔོན་རྒྱུ་ཁང་དང་། དཔག་མི་སྣོང་སྐྱག་གཅིག་བཅས་དོར་ཁག་ཏུ་སིང་པ་དང་  
 འཐབ་པར་བཏངས་ནས། དོར་ཁག་ཐང་ལ་འཐབ་རེས་གཅིག་སོང་བས་སིང་པ་  
 ལུམ་ཅུ་སྐོར་བསད་ནས། མདའ་དཔོན་དང་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཀྱངས་  
 ཡོག་མར་ཡོངས། དེ་ནས་རྩེ་ཕྱོད་དང་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱངས་ཡོག་མར་བྱོར་  
 ནས། ལུ་ཕན་ལྷོ་གྱི་རི་དོག་གཉིས་ཡོད་པས། རི་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁར་རྩེ་ཕྱོད་དང་།  
 ཕྱ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སོ་སོར་བགོས་ནས་དམག་བྱང་བཏབ་ནས་འདུག། །བོད་  
 དམག་རྣམས་ཐང་དུ་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས་ཡོད་པས། བོད་པས་ཕྱིར་ཐོན་ནས་  
 འཐབ་ལ་མ་བྱས། །རྩེ་ཕྱོད་ཕྱ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རེས་མོ་བྱས་ནས་སིང་པའི་  
 ཡམ་བྲེད་ལ་རོང་བཀག་བཅུག་ནས་ལུ་བསྐྱེལ། །བོད་པའི་དམག་རྣམས་ལུ་  
 དཀྱིལ་དུ་འདུག་པར་མ་བྱབ་པས། དམག་སྐར་ནས་ཕྱི་ལོག་ཏུ་ཤོར་དགོས་བྱུང་  
 བས། བོད་དམག་ཕམ། །དེ་ནས་བོད་དམག་ལྷུས་རིགས་ཚང་མ་སིང་པས་  
 བཟུམ་སྟེ་སྐལ་དུ་བསྐྱེབས། བོད་པ་བཀའ་རྒྱུན་ར་གྲ་ཤ་དང་ཡམ་བྲེད་ལ་ལ་  
 འགོར་ནས་སིང་པས་བསད། བཀའ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱུ་ཁང་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་པོ་ཤི་  
 གཉིས་ཀྱང་བཟུང་ནས་སྐལ་དུ་བསྐྱེབས། །དེ་ནས་བོད་པ་དང་སིང་པ་གཉིས་  
 འདི་ནས་ཕྱིན་དུ་བཟང་བྲལ་སོང་ནས། འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་སྐར་བཞིན་ལོ་ཕྱག་པ་  
 དང་། གཞུང་གཏོང་ཆད་བྱས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱུ་ཁང་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་  
 པོ་ཤི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བཅས་བོད་དམག་རྣམས་བོད་ལ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། །རྩེ་ཕྱོད་



ཉ་རི་ཅུ་གྱིས་བོད་པ་བཀའ་སློན་རྣམས་དང་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྐུ་འཁོར་  
 ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་གཏོང་ཆད་བྱས་ནས། བོད་གངས་རི་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་ཞིག་ལ་  
 དུགས་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ལ་བཏང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་རྗེ་ལྷན་ཉ་རི་ཅུ་དང་།  
 ལྷ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས་སླེལ་མཁར་དུ་ཕེབས། །དེ་ནས་ལ་དུགས་  
 ལ་སྐར་ཁངས་རྒྱལ་དུས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དྲག་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་དབང་མེད་པར་བྱས་ནས།  
 སློམ་སྐུ་རྗེ་ལྷན་ཉ་རི་ཅུ་དང་ལྷ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སློན་རིག་འཛིན་སློན་ཕུ་  
 རང་དུ་ཤི་མཁན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་གྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་དང་སེར་ཁར་ལ་ཡང་སྐུ་  
 ཕྱི་འགྲུར་མེད་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་དུ་ཀུམ་ཚང་མ་བཏང་  
 ཉས་བཀའ་སློན་ལ་བསྐོས། །དེ་ནས་དེ་ལྷན་ལྷ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་  
 སྐུ་དྲག་སླེལ་སློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བལྟན་འཛིན་དང་། ཨ་ཇོ་མགོན་པོ་དང་། བསྐྱབ་  
 དག་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་བཅས་ཁྲིད་ནས་འཇམ་སྐུ་ཅུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བསྐྱོད། ལ་དུགས་  
 ལ་བཀའ་སློན་རིག་འཛིན་དང་། མག་ན་ཐ་ན་རར་དང་གྱི་ལུ་ཅུ་སི་པ་བཅས་  
 བཞག་གོ།

ཤོག་ལོགས་དང་པོ་ལ་འེ་ནས་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ནི། ཨི་ནས་ཟེར་བའི་དོན་  
 ཡིན་ཚོད་འདུག།



*Triloknāth*.—By J. PH. VOGEL, ESQ.

[Read 8th January, 1902.]

In the course of a summer-tour in the Kāngra District I had the opportunity of making some notes, which may help to elucidate the connection between the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara and the brahmanical god Çiva.

An endeavour has been made to explain the former as the Buddhist counterpart of the Hindū deity Brahmā, chiefly on account of iconographical observations.<sup>1</sup> This connection however seems *à priori* highly improbable, considering the place occupied by these deities in the Pantheon of both Religions. The Bodhisattva in its origin the vague creation of monastic contemplation—in order to obtain so prominent a place in the Mahāyāna system, must have assumed the shape and attributes of the much-honoured and beloved Çiva, not of Brahmā, himself merely the personification of an abstract conception, who by his passiveness never appealed to the popular imagination. The close relation between Avalokiteçvara and Çiva has lately been vindicated by M. A. Foucher.<sup>2</sup> The following facts connected with the name of Triloknāth will, I believe, corroborate the same view.

One of the most famous *tīrthas* of the Western Himālayas is Triloknāth, situated on the left bank of the Candrabhāga river, some thirty-two miles below the junction of its constituents, Candra and Bhāga. Though geographically belonging to Patan, which is the name of the lower part of Lāhul, the place has been included in the territory of Cambā. Its inaccessibility, no doubt, enhances greatly the merit resulting from a pilgrimage. Moorcroft<sup>3</sup> when passing through Lāhul on his way to Bukhāra met “two half-starved Hindu fakirs: one of them had come from Chapra, the other from Ougein: both were going on a pilgrimage to Triloknāth.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. A. Waddell in J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 57 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Etude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde Paris, 1900, p. 172 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Travels, I, p. 193 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> Kāngra Gazetteer, Part III, p. 18. It is therefore strange to find that only three pages further on in the same volume the word *Triloknāth* is said to indicate



Since the construction of the Central Asian trade road the number of pilgrims must have considerably increased. When travelling in Kullū one often meets *sādhus*, who after visiting the hot springs of Maṇikarn in the Pārbatī valley, cross the Rotang-pass and wander down “the wild and willowed shore” of Bhāga and Candrabhāga in order to reach the celebrated *tīrtha*. When I visited the place on the 17th August it happened that the annual *melā* was just going on. So I had a good opportunity of satisfying myself that the deity of this place is equally honoured by the Buddhists of Lāhul, Ladākh and Basāhir as by the Hindūs of Cambā, Kullū and other parts. The variety of type and dress displayed by the numerous pilgrims would be highly interesting to the ethnologist. Though their devoutness is of at somewhat peculiar sort, manifesting itself chiefly in dancing and drinking, the question rises: Who is the *devatā*, who attracts people so different in race and religion to his remote and inaccessible shrine?

It has already been stated by the Rev. Mr. Heyde, late of the Moravian Mission at Kyelang, that the Triloknāth of the Candrabhāga valley is no other than the Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara.

An inspection of his image fully confirmed this statement. The position of the legs (*mahārāja-līlā*) at once suggests a Bodhisattva, though it is noticeable that not the right but the left leg is hanging down. The six arms have the following *mudrās* and *lakṣaṇas*: R. upper *abhaya*, R. middle *akṣamālā*, R. lower *vara*, L. upper *triçūla*, L. middle (resting in lap) *sarpa*, L. lower *maṅgalakalāça*. The number of arms, their position and attributes seem rather exceptional, if compared with the Nepalese miniatures, discussed so ably by M. Foucher. The absence of the *padma* especially would almost raise a doubt as to its identity with Avalokiteçvara. But from the same author it appears that the number of arms is anything but fixed and that six-armed images of Avalokita are not unknown.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, there is the *varamudrā*, a main characteristic of this Bodhisattva, whilst the snake also occurs among the attributes of one of M. Foucher's miniatures (Pl. IV, 6). To remove all doubt it will only be necessary to state that the image of Triloknāth in its *mukūṭa* shows a cross-legged figure: the Dhyāni-buddha Amitābha. The image is of white marble, a material, which I did not find used anywhere else in the Kullū sub-division,

“the Hindu Trinity” and explained as “the three lords of the world.” The Hindu Trinity occupies a larger place in the imagination of the West than in the religious belief of India. Sanskrit *Trilokanātha* of course can only mean “Lord of the three worlds.”

<sup>1</sup> Foucher, l.c., p., 97 *sqq.* Cf. Waddell, l.c., pp. 58 and 79 No. 12.

though miniature images of painted marble are occasionally met with in Lāhul.

It is a curious circumstance, that the abode of the Bodhisattva is a regular *ṣikhara* temple of moderate size, said to be founded by the Pāṇḍavas! This tradition it has in common with every ancient shrine in the District. It simply indicates the antiquity of the building and the fact that its origin is unknown. Of one shrine, which is supposed to be older than the others, not the foundation, but the restoration is attributed to the Dharmarāja and his brothers. It is that of yvālāmukhī.

As to the Triloknāth temple the sanctum is combined with a plain oblong structure, covered by a wooden sloping roof with gilt pinnacles. A similar combination is regularly found with Viṣṇu temples in the Kullū valley.

In that part of Lāhul which is known as Patan the transition between Lāmāism and Hindūism is gradual, but this is by no means the case on the Kullū side. Here the mid-Himālayan range marks a very distinct boundary between the two religions. Any one who has crossed the Rotang-pass must have been struck by the contrast in climate, scenery and population, between the Candra and the Upper Biās valley.

It has been asserted and seems generally accepted by the European inhabitants that Buddhism was once prevalent in Kullū. Captain Harcourt in his in many respects valuable book<sup>1</sup> on the sub-division, which for some years was committed to his charge, is of the same opinion. The arguments, on which his conviction is based, are the frequent occurrence of the Buddhistical wheel on temples besides the effigies of Buddhistical animals, birds and snakes, and the ceremony of "the swinging rope." As to the first I may remark that locally the ornament referred to is mostly explained as representing the sun and moon, and shows more resemblance to a conventional *padma* than anything else. But even if it were meant to be the *cakra* it should be borne in mind, that the wheel is by no means a purely Buddhistic emblem.<sup>2</sup> As to the curious ceremony of a man sliding down a rope stretched from the top of a precipice, it is practised at Nirmand on the Satlaj.<sup>3</sup> But this place though for political purposes included in Kullū does not belong to the valley geographically. It was witnessed, Captain Harcourt says, by one of Major Montgomerie's pandits in Potala fort outside

<sup>1</sup> Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti (London, 1871), p. 205 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Grünwedel. Buddhistische Kunst in Indien (Berlin, 1900), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Harcourt, l.c., p. 318 sqq.



Lhasa, but this alone is no reason for styling it Buddhistic. At the utmost it might be called lāmāistic, and in that case we ought probably to look upon it as a part of the aboriginal worship, certainly not as an ingredient of the "thin varnish of Mahāyāna Buddhism."<sup>1</sup> For in other non-Buddhist tracts of the Himālaya the ceremony of the swinging rope appears to exist. Moorcroft<sup>2</sup> found it practised at Srīnagar, the capital of Garwāl.

The most plausible explanation I can offer is, that it is a survival of human sacrifices, the prevalence of which in former times in Kullū and Lāhul is indicated by popular tradition.<sup>3</sup> But in this peculiar case the victim instead of being actually killed, had to undergo a risk that endangered his life. An offering was thus made to the deity who might decline or accept the sacrifice according to her divine pleasure. In 1856 the latter happened, *i.e.*, the man was killed and since then the practice has been prohibited. I am given to understand, however, that the ceremony still takes place, but on such a small scale that the man's life is not imperilled. If my hypothesis be true, it offers a curious instance of the tenacity of religious customs, which are still preserved after having entirely lost their original significance.

I have digressed on this subject, because during a stay of nearly two months in Kullū, I did not meet with any real traces of Buddhism, such as topes, images, inscriptions or even popular traditions. There is one exception only, which is of special interest for my present subject, *viz.*, an image of Avalokita, known as Triloknāth, at Kalāt on the Biās.

In three places in the Kullū valley there are hot springs: at Manikarn on the Pārbatī, a tributary of the Biās, at Basisht opposite Manāli and at Kalāt, halfway between this place and Katrain. In each of these spots the phenomenon has been connected with popular worship. Manikarn is the chief *tīrtha* of Kullū, now a centre of *Viṣṇu bhakti*, though originally as appears from the *Māhātmya* belonging to Çivaism. Basisht has received its name from the *Rṣi Vasiṣṭha*, the Saint being worshipped as the guru of Rāma, who has a stone *ḡikhara* in the same place. At Kalāt there is a plain village-temple, dedicated to Kapila Muni. When Vasiṣṭha was carrying the precious water from Manikarn to the place, which was destined to bear his name, he passed Kapila, who ceasing his *tapas* for a moment snatched from him a few drops and thus gave its origin to the hot spring at Kalāt.

The image of Kapila Muni is made of *aṣṭadhātu*. This circumstance deserves notice, because nearly all metal images, which I found

<sup>1</sup> Waddell : Lamaism, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Travels, I, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Harcourt, l.c., p. 325. Kāngra Gazetteer, Part III, p. 17.

in Kullū, belong to Viṣṇu-worship, and for this reason, are of a comparatively recent date, both having been introduced in the seventeenth century under patronage of the Kullū Rājās. The shrine of Kapila contained some more images of the same material: Rām Candar, Sītā Caturbhuj, Rādhā and Hanūman.

But besides, there was a small image-slab, much effaced and apparently, of considerable age. It showed a six-armed figure, but its attributes were unrecognisable. Only the *vara-mudrā* of the lower right hand was plainly visible, while in one of the left hands there was something like a staff, which might have been either a trident or a snake. The *āsana* was exactly like that of the Avalokitas of Lāhul. Moreover, there was a second figure in *dhyāna-mudrā* on the head. The *pūjārīs* had never noticed the latter and when it was pointed out to them, they declared it to be Lakṣmī! The image itself, however, they knew by the name of Triloknāth and admitted that it represented the same deity as that worshipped in Lāhul. It seems highly probable, that Avalokita was originally the main object of worship at Kalāt and was superseded by the Brahmanical Muni, who still grants him a subordinate place in his shrine. The material of the image in any case tends to show that it was not imported but belongs to the spot.

The same curious mixture of Hindūism and Lāmāism as is found at Triloknāth in the Candrabhāga valley, is met with in Rawālsar, the famous *tīrtha* of Mandi, the hill-State stretching along the middle course of the Biās. Here in an absolutely Hindū country we find Padmasambhava,<sup>1</sup> the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, worshipped not only by Lāmās who have their own *Gan-pa* here, but equally by Brāhmanas, who call him *Rṣi Lomaça* and even possess a *Māhātmya*, in which the local legend is given in its Brāhmanic version. But for my present subject it is of more interest, that in Mandi Town we meet again with the name Triloknāth, but here to indicate—Çiva. The preponderance of Çivaism in Mandi is the more striking, when entering the State from the Kullū side, where Viṣṇuism, though by no means the popular worship—has been made the State-religion by its Rulers of the seventeenth century. In Mandi Çiva is worshipped under his well-known symbol, the *linga*, but besides the images of *Çiva Pañcavakra* or *Pañcānana* are remarkably numerous. It is worthy of notice, that the five faces of this deity are not placed in one row as is mostly the case with polycephalic statues but in such a way, that the fourth face is on the reverse side of the slab which is otherwise quite plain and the fifth on the top of the image-slab. Thus when seen in front only

<sup>1</sup> Not *Padma Pani* as given in the Gazetteer, Part III, p. 18.



three faces are visible. I may also note that according to a local *purohita* the five faces of Mahādeva indicate the five *Dhyānas*.

The images of *Śiva Pañcavaktra* without exception are ten-armed in accordance with the number of faces. The attributes and *mudrās* are rather divergent and not always easy to identify. The following belong to three different images in Mandi Town:—

I	R. upper	<i>Khaḍga</i>	L. upper	<i>triṣūla</i>
	„ 2D	<i>sarpa</i>	„ 2D	<i>gadā</i>
	„ 3D	<i>ayukṣa</i>	„ 3D	<i>ghaṇṭā</i> or <i>kalāṣa</i>
	„ 4TH	<i>vara</i>	„ 4TH	broken
	„ 5TH	broken	„ 5TH	<i>Śakti</i> (viz., <i>Pārvatī</i> )
II	R upper	<i>triṣūla</i>	L. upper	<i>cakra</i>
	„ 2D	empty	„ 2D	<i>ḍamaru</i>
	„ 3D	<i>ṣankha</i>	„ 3D	<i>vādāna</i>
	„ 4TH	<i>akṣamālā</i>	„ 4TH	<i>kalāṣa</i> (and <i>Śakti</i> )
	„ 5TH	?	„ 5TH	<i>sarpa</i>
III	R upper	<i>tricūla</i>	L upper	<i>ḍamaru</i>
	„ 2D	<i>abhaya</i>	„ 2D	<i>cakra</i>
	„ 3D	<i>dīpa</i> (?)	„ 3D	<i>sarpa</i>
	„ 4TH	<i>akṣamālā</i>	„ 4TH	„
	„ 5TH	<i>vādāna</i>	„ 5TH	<i>kalāṣa</i> (and <i>Śakti</i> ).

As a rule the *devatā* is represented seated on its *vāhana* the bull *Nandi*, while *Pārvatī*'s *vāhana* the lion is standing behind it, the head turned in the opposite direction.

It will not escape notice that the attributes of *Śiva Pañcavaktra* are partly the same as those of *Triloknāth-Avalokiteśvara*. Snake trident and vessel are common to all images. Also the rosary which may be conjectured to have occupied the fifth right hand of the first described image. Even the *vara* and *abhayamudrās* occur though not regularly. The occurrence of the rosary and vessel as attributes of *Śiva* considerably weakens one of the chief arguments in favour of the connection between *Brahmā* and *Avalokita*, viz., the similarity of their attributes. I have only to add that in one of the oldest temples of Mandi situated on the right bank of the *Biās* *Śiva Pañcavaktra* is worshipped under no other name than *Triloknāth*.

Now travelling down the *Biās*-valley into *Kāngra* proper, again the name *Triloknāth* is met to designate a village (also called *Trilokpūr*) and *tīrtha*, about two miles east from *Kotla*. This shrine "is not a building, but a naturally formed cave. Water charged with mineral matter, dropping from the roof, has at the far end of the cave produced two large stalactites and stalagmites, which meeting midway now form

two pillars. The roof and floor of the rest of the building are covered with masses of stalactite and stalagmite."<sup>1</sup> Besides these numberless *svayambhū lingas* there is in the centre of the cave, as chief object of worship, a *linga* of white marble, which is *pañcavaktra* and thus forms a link between the *linga* and the image just described.

The substance of the present paper may be briefly stated thus: that in the Candrabhāga valley and also on the southern side of the mid-Himālayan range on the upper Biās Triloknāth is the name by which the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is indicated, while along the lower course of the Biās river the same name is assigned to Śiva, represented either as a *linga* or as a five-faced statue, which in its attributes shows a marked resemblance to some of Avalokita's images.

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Rodgers. Revised List of Objects of Archaeological interest in the Punjab (Lahore, 1891), p. 43.



*Notes on two Coins of the Sunga Dynasty.*—By COL. C. E. SHEPHERD.

[ Read 6th November, 1901. ]

In Vol. XLIX, Part I of 1880 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are two papers on coins of the Sunga dynasty, one by Mr. A. C. Carlleyle describing some coins of the dynasty collected by H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.I.E., F.S.A., etc., and a second paper by Mr. Rivett-Carnac himself giving a further description of such coins. In neither paper, however, is mention made of Dhruva Mitra or Rudra Gupta made as belonging to this dynasty. I send two casts showing one coin of each of these Kings.

The three symbols above the name are identical with those on the coins of Agni, Bhumi and Phaguni Mitra in the papers above alluded to so that Dhruva Mitra and Rudra Gupta undoubtedly belonged to the same dynasty; the style of the coins is similar, the name and symbols of the obverse having evidently been struck with a square die and the reverse has the Buddhist much the same as that shewn in some of the coins in Plates VII and VIII of the papers above alluded to. These two coins were obtained at a village near Rāmanagar from the ruined site of Ahichhatra. A more detailed description is as follows:—

DHRUVA MITRA.

Coin of medium size, and of mixed metal having a brassy lustre with however two spots of coppery colour showing on the reverse side, as



if the metals were not thoroughly mixed. The coin has two splits, one very slight, made most likely during process of manufacture.

*Obverse.*—Square depression with the three symbols in line above, and name below.

*Reverse.*—Buddhist railing with traces of uprights at each end and an upright in the centre but what is at the top of this is undecipherable.

RUDRA GUPTA.

Coin of same medium size, also of mixed metal, but the mixture not uniform, the copper more largely predominating in one half the coin.



*Obverse.*—Square depression with the three symbols in line above and name below.

*Reverse.*—Buddhist railing, on the left corner an upright ending in a trident, in the centre an upright rather higher than the left-hand one and having a ... near the top, on the right traces of an upright but too deleted to decipher.

Both these coins I believe to be rare.





*A short Notice of a Persian MS. on Gaur.*—By H. BEVERIDGE, Esq.

[ Read 6th November, 1901.]

The attention of students of the history of Bengal is hereby drawn to a thin folio in the India Office Library, p. 1541, No. 2841 of Dr. Ethé's catalogue. It is an account of the buildings and inscriptions at Rajmahal Gaur and Panduah, and it also has a chapter containing a list of the rulers of Bengal from the days of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It is the result of local investigations made by Shyām Prasād in November and December, 1810, when he visited Gaur, etc., in attendance on Major Francklin. The report was drawn up for Major Francklin and appears to be the source of the information given in Francklin's Journal of which good use has been made by Mrs. Ravenshaw and Mr. Grote in Ravenshaw's Gaur. Most, if not all, the inscriptions quoted in the notes to that work are to be found in Shyām Prasād's report. The latter does not contain much that is new about Gaur or Panduah, but as it is a very small work—only thirty-two pages of Persian, and is our earliest topography of Gaur, I beg to suggest that it should be published in our Society's Journal. For this purpose it would be advisable to borrow the original from the India Office. Shyām Prasād tells one story about Firūz Shāh's Minār which is new. He says that the builder was one Pirir and that when Firūz Shāh visited the Minār after its completion Pirir said to him that he could have made a still finer column. This enraged the King, who said: "Why didn't you then?" and had him toppled down from the summit.

In Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 53, the inscription on the tomb of a child is given. This is also given by Shyām Prasād, and it is interesting to observe that the child must have been the son of the Ṭāhir Muḥammad who wrote the *Rauzat-Ṭāhirin*. Ṭāhir Muḥammad's work shows unusual knowledge of Bengal, and this inscription helps us to understand how he got his information. In the list of the Kings of Bengal we find Shyām Prasād giving Qadir Sen as the original name of Sultān Jalāl-ud-din whom he calls the son of Kāshī, or (Kāsī) Rai. It may be remembered that Buchanan, who got his information from Francklin, also gives Qadir Sen as Jalāl-ud-din's name.

The really new part of Shyām Prasād's report seems to be his first chapter which gives an account of Rājmahal. So far as I know the particulars he gives have not been recorded elsewhere, though there is an account of Rājmahal in Buchanan.

*The Khojas of Eastern Turkistan.*—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., I.C.S.,  
retired.

[Read August, 1901.]

Mr. Ney Elias remarks in the preface to his account of the Khojas, published in the supplement to our Society's Journal for 1897, that Mr. R. B. Shaw appears to have used another book besides Muhammad Sadiq's, but that he has been unable to find it. Had that excellent man been alive, he would have been pleased to learn that the missing manuscript is almost certainly in the Oxford Indian Institute. It appears to be one of two Persian MSS. which were presented to the Institute in December 1880 by General Younghusband who is a connexion of Mr. Shaw. Both of these MSS. give the genealogy of the Khojas and describe the coming of Kamālu-d-din Majnūn from Medina to Farghāna, &c., but the one which best corresponds to the "other book" of Mr. Shaw is a well-written octavo bearing the Institute-library number 294. It is called the *Anīsu-t-tālibīn* (Friend of inquirers), and appears to have been written by Shāh(?) Mahmūd son of Mīrzā Fāzil Jarās (جراس) about 1049 A.H. It is divided into two parts, one giving the history of Āli and sundry Imāms and the other describing the Khojas. It describes Makhdūm-i-Ā'azim and gives his proper name as Maulānā Aḥmad Khwājagī Kāsānī. Compare Mr. Elias' note, p. 5 of the Introduction where he says that the name Aḥmad Khwāja has evidently been taken by Mr. Shaw from the "other book," for it is not mentioned by M. Ṣādiq.

The other MS. is called *Jāmā-al-Maqāmāt* (collection of assemblies) and bears the Institute-library number 309. The author appears to be Ābū-al-baqā, son of Khwāja Bahāu-d-dīn, and grandson of Makhdūm Ā'azim, and also nephew of Princess Māhim. He appears to have resided in Yārkand and to have been in the service of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Jahān. He records the death of a Yūlbārs Khan and appears to have composed his book in the beginning of 1026 A.H., though the copy was made in 1030 or 1040. The book is an elaborate biography of Makhdūm Ā'azim and is divided into three chapters. The first gives an account of the material and spiritual descent of the Makhdūm; the second records his sayings, and the third, which is much the longest, gives an immense number of his miracles. I could not find that any of them were interesting except one relating to Bābar, and which gives the circumstances under which he composed a quatrain quoted by Abūl Fazl, and another, the last in the book, which records the reformation of an opium-eater of thirty years' standing. The author says in his



preface that anecdotes and conversations of the Makhdūm had been recorded by his disciples Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Mullī Qāsim Kātib, but that they had not been gathered into one place. Hence the title of his work. Apparently the author was ordered to compose his work by Maulānā Dost, a disciple of the Makhdūm. The MS. is a small, thick octavo well-written and well preserved. Both MSS. describe Kamālu-d-din Majnūn's marriage with the daughter of Sulṭān Īliq Māzī of Farghana, the birth of Burhānal-maujidīn, and his succeeding his father-in-law on the throne. Their accounts correspond with the beginning of Mr. Shaw's epitome p. 31, l.c., and they are probably the sources of M. Ṣādiq's book which was written in 1768. The Anīsu-t-tālibīn calls Sulṭān Īliq Māzī the grandson of Sulṭān Satūq Bughra Khān which is also Mr. Shaw's statement. It may interest students of Central Asian history to know that Mr. Shaw's English papers, and also his MS. of Muḥammad Sadiq Kāshgharī (in Turkī) are in the Oriental department of the British Museum. In the same press in the Institute-library which contains the two MSS. above described there is a shelf full of Turkī MSS. One of them is a history and another is a biography of Ḥazrat Afāq.<sup>1</sup> These MSS. also were presented by General Younghusband. The Shaw papers in the British Museum were presented by Mrs. Younghusband.

<sup>1</sup> See appendix to Shaw's epitome, l.c. and Dr. Bellow's history of Kāshghar, Yarkand Report, p. 176.

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*A short Note on the Date of the Death of Nūr Quṭb 'Aalam.—By*  
H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ.

[Read 6th November, 1901.]

In a note published in the J.A.S.B. for 1892, Part I, p. 124, I stated that a book in the possession of the guardian of Nūr Quṭb's throne at Pandūā was said to give 7 Zī-l-qāda 818 as the date of the Saint's death. Lately I have found this date confirmed by the Mirāt-al-asrār, B.M. MS. Or., 216, which on p. 479b gives the date as 10 Zī-l-qāda 818 and also gives the same chronogram "*Nūr buūr shud.*" This is interesting for the Mirāt-al-asrār was written in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.) and the difference in the day of the month seems to show that the guardian's book and the Mirāt are independent authorities. The Mirāt has a long biography of the Saint, and another of his father.

*The Invention of Chess and Backgammon.*—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY.

[Received 2nd April, 1902. Read in March, 1902.]

There appears to be much uncertainty regarding the origin of the game of chess. One who has written on the subject asserts, that “The date of its inception no one has discovered, and the question remains to this day a vexed one. Periodically something turns up to bury all former suppositions in the matter, and the day of its birth is put back a few thousand years.”

A German Professor however is said to have “discovered from the last excavations on the pyramids of Sakkara, a wall painting in which an Egyptian king, Teta, is represented playing chess with a high official.” This monarch is stated to have reigned about 3,700 B.C.; while another Professor corrects this chronology, and puts it back some six centuries to 3,300 B.C.; so that, according to this last surmise, the game of chess is very old indeed, and must have been known in the once mysterious land of Mizraim *only* about 5,205 years ago. But all this is absurd.

The game of chess is mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and may be found in some stanzas occurring in the writings of two Kash-mirī authors, Ratnā-kara and Rud-rāṭa, the first of whom lived in the first half of the ninth century A.D., and the other in the second half, and in their writings the game is called “*Chaturanga*, or the Four Membered (Army).”

Abū Rihān, the Berūnī or Foreigner, as he is called (the “Albērūnī” of Europeans—*al* is merely the Arabic article answering to ‘the’), who wrote in the reign of Sultān Mas’ūd of Ghaznih, says it was well-known in his time, early in the eleventh century A.D.—1030 to 1038.

But the earliest mention of the game in Sanskrit writings, as far as we know, is in the first half of the seventh century A.D., in a work entitled “*Harsha-karita*” said to be the earliest attempt at historical romance in that language, which was translated by Professor



E. B. Cowell of Cambridge a few years since; but chess is only referred to therein as *known* in Hind, not the time of its inception.

I shall now proceed to show how, when, and why it was invented.

Among the events of the year 353 H., which commenced on the 1st of August, 946, of the Christian era, just nine hundred and fifty-five years ago, the death is recorded of Abū-Bikr Muḥammad, known as Sūl-uṣ-Ṣūli, or Ṣūl, who was a native of a place called Ṣūli. He was a man of vast erudition, and proficient in most of the sciences and learning then cultivated, including chronology and the traditions of the prophet, Muḥammad, and was the author of several works. He was moreover, the greatest chess-player then known, and was famous as such throughout the Musalmān countries. His skill and proficiency in this game, in consequence, became a proverb; and when anyone attained great skill therein, people used to say: "So-and-so is a perfect Ṣūl at chess," or "He is as proficient as Ṣūl before him."

On this account an idea arose among some persons, that Ṣūl was himself the inventor of the game; but this was totally incorrect. It was invented by the sage, Sahsih or Sihssih, or Sis as it is written by different foreign, *i.e.* non-Hindī, authorities—but it is a Musalmān corruption of the purely Hindī name of Sahasī, son of Dāhir, whose family, in after years, became rulers of Sind, and which Sahasī was also known under the by-name of Laj-Lāj. He is said to have invented it for a Rai or Rājah of the territory of Sind, named Bhalit, by some called Baghil, who was famous under the name or title of Sheram. The reason of its invention is said to have been because Ard-shīr, son of Bābak, of the Sāsāniān dynasty of Īrān-Zamīn, or the ancient Persian empire, had invented, long before, the game of *Nard* or Backgammon.

Ard-shīr Bābakān having invented it, the game was also sometimes called *Nard-i-shīr*, after him. He devised a chequered cloth (both it and chess are still played throughout the East, on a chequered cloth, which folds up, instead of on a board, as with us) containing twelve divisions or compartments according to the twelve solar months of the Persian year and the *mukrahs* or counters with which *Nard* was played, corresponded with the number of days of the lunar month of the Fire-Worshippers or Ancient Persians; and one half of the counters were white and the other half black, because one half the month has moonlight nights, and the other half dark ones. The moves from one division or space to another he likened to the decrees of destiny, which vary and change, are turned and inverted, in the life of every human being, the fate of each one differing from that of another.

So, after this game of *Nard* or Backgammon had been invented,

it was received with the utmost interest and delight; and after it had become generally known, the people of Fārs (Persia proper) used to make a great boast of it, and to exult over those of Sind adjoining them. On this account the ruler of Sind is said to have sent for the sage Sahsih (Sahasī) and to have commanded him to try and invent some other game, which should entirely surpass this boasted Persian game of *Nard*, but to be also played like it, on a chequered cloth, and which among the wise, should be considered much more intellectual, and to require much greater skill, and far deeper thought, to play successfully.

But some centuries elapsed between the time of Ard-shir Bābakān, who was the first monarch of the fourth or Sāsānīān dynasty of ancient Persia, and that of Nūh-shirwān, who was the first of the fifth or Akāsirah dynasty, and in whose reign the Rai or ruler of Sind is said to have sent him a set of chess-men, and a chequered cloth to play it on, as presently to be related.

In the Sindī, as well as in the Hindī dilects, the name of this game is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *Ohaturan̄*, signifying 'artful,' 'cunning,' and also 'variegated,' 'bi-coloured,' 'tesselated,' 'chequered'; which is said to refer to the several members, pieces, or component parts, a mere figure of speech referring to the elephant, the horse, the chariot, and the foot soldiēr, common man, or pawn. The Persians rejected the short *u* in the word, and called it Shatrang, while the 'Arabs styled the game Shatranj.<sup>1</sup>

The statement regarding its invention, contained in a famous old book, entitled "Nafāyis-ul-Fūnūn," or "Precious Things in Science," is as follows.

Sahsih (Sahasī), also known as Laj-Lāj, son of Dāhir, which latter was one of the ancient rulers of Sind (and the last of the Rais or

<sup>1</sup> An amusing scene occurred on one occasion with reference to the pronunciation of the name of chess, at a Court of Requests at Poonah in 1851 of which I was a member, when the Assistant Bāzār-Master, who acted as Interpreter to the Court, mistook the word Shatrang—Chess—for Shatranjī—a Carpet. A native, one of the professed chess players, had made a claim on a young Queen's officer totally ignorant of the language, for money lost to him while playing chess, and which the Interpreter rendered, "*money, the price of a carpet.*" When the President was about to give the claim in the native's favour—and the Interpreter had had ample time to correct his mistake, had he known of it—I ventured to observe that the Interpreter had made "a slight mistake," and that the claim was not for a carpet, but for money lost at chess, and which, on being again asked, the native confessed. On this the President, a hot old Colonel, thundered out to the claimant: "Get away you insolent rascal! I have a great mind to order you a flogging, coming here and taking up the time of the Court with your gambling claims!"



kings of Sind, who fell in battle fighting against the 'Arabs, when they subdued that territory in 94 H.—712-13 A.D.—, was also called Dāhir), was the inventor of the game. Two reasons are given why it was invented. One is, and apparently the most authentic one, that among the ancient rulers of Sind, Rai Bhalit,<sup>1</sup> by some called Rai Baghil, who was very warlike, and who was never contented unless leading his troops against some one, and carrying on wars against his neighbours, at last became afflicted with some painful disorder which precluded him from sitting a horse, or on an elephant; and as he was passionately fond of military operations, and “setting squadrons on the field,” he assembled together the sages, and all the most sagacious and ingenious persons of his court and of Sind, and addressed them, saying: “As you are all aware that I am afflicted with this complaint, I desire that you would devise some contrivance, whereby, without being obliged to sit on horse-back or on an elephant, I may still be able to occupy myself in (the semblance of) warfare; so that I may divert my thoughts from brooding over this disorder afflicting me, and thereby obtain some relief.”

Sahsih (Sahasi), otherwise Laj-Lāj, son of Dāhir, then came forward, and having made his obeisance, represented, saying: “I have in my possession an expedient whereby this difficulty may be solved and remedied, and the Rai obtain the alleviation he seeks.” Thus saying, he arose, and having gone to his own dwelling, he soon returned, bringing along with him the game of chess complete, a cloth to play it upon, and the chess-men, all of which he had invented. The other wise men there assembled greatly applauded Sahsih for his invention, and considered that *nard* or backgammon was not to be compared with it; while Rai Bhalit, was so transported with delight, that he declared to Sahsih, saying: “Demand of me, O sage whatever thou mayest desire, and I will grant it unto thee.”

Sahsih, thanking the king, replied: “If the Rai shall be pleased to grant what I ask for, well and good, otherwise it is as he may please to command. I merely ask that a single grain of wheat may be placed on the first square of the chess-cloth, and doubled every time on each

<sup>1</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī who wrote the “*Murūj-uz Zahab wa Ma'ādīn-ul-Janāhir*—” “*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*”—and described the state of the countries of the east and the west, about 332-33 H. (945 A.D.), in his 7th Chapter, records, that Dab-Shalīm, one of the kings of Sind, who wrote the famous book, “*Kalilah and Damnah*,” was succeeded by another king named Bhalit, who reigned 80 years; and other writers, including the “*Gardaizi*,” state that, in his time, the book in question, and the game of chess and the means of playing it, were despatched to Nuh-shīrwān, as mentioned farther on.

succeeding one. For example; on the first square one grain of wheat on the second two, on the third, four, and on the fourth, eight, and so on; and when the number of squares on the cloth shall have been computed after this manner, be pleased, O Rai! to command that that quantity of wheat be made over to me.”

When Rai Bhalit heard this, as he supposed, modest request, he exclaimed to those present in his assembly, in the most contemptuous manner: “I was desirous of bestowing upon him something of great value, and he has instead, merely asked for the most insignificant and paltry thing possible!” To this Sahsih replied: “This is the request that I desire to make, if the Rai shall be pleased to grant it, I do not desire anything more, and shall be quite satisfied with that.” The Rai, who imagined he had gone out of his wits, commanded that what he had asked for should be given to him. But when the revenue officials began to make their computation, in order to carry out the Rai’s commands, they, in a great fright, despatched one of their number to his presence, who represented saying: “In the whole of our country such a quantity of wheat cannot be obtained as would be required to carry out the Rai’s commands respecting Sahsih.” When Rai Bhalit heard this statement, he was filled with amazement, and could not credit it; and he commanded that all the revenue officials should be summoned before him, and show how they arrived at, as he conceived, such an absurd conclusion.

When the revenue officials, with very long faces, appeared before him, he required them to show how they made out that there was such difficulty, nay impossibility, in complying with what Sahsih had asked for; and what they thought it would be advisable to do under the circumstances. They replied, that if the wheat produce of the whole world could be collected together, it would not come up to the quantity required to carry out the Rai’s command. On hearing this, Bhalit was still more amazed than before, and he felt certain that they could not be speaking the truth; and he commanded that they should proceed to prove their statement clearly and fully. A number of arithmeticians accordingly assembled together for the purpose; and after making their calculations, declared that it was beyond the power of anyone to comply with Sahsih’s request. The way in which they proceeded to prove this was, that, having placed one grain of wheat on the first square, and doubling the number each time, when they reached the sixteenth, it was proved that the quantity then amounted to 32,760 grains of wheat, which is equal to 5 *sers*;<sup>1</sup> and when the nineteenth square was reached,

<sup>1</sup> A weight varying from one pound to one pound fourteen ounces in different parts.



a *mann* was required, which is equal to 40 *sers*. Going on calculating in this manner by the time they came to the fortieth square, the quantity required was 2,970,152 *manns*, which the revenue officials computed to be the produce of one city with its dependent lands and villages, according to the revenue custom in those parts; and they then began to calculate by cities. For the fiftieth square it was found that the produce of 1,024 such cities would be required; for the sixtieth square, the produce of 1,048,576 cities; and for the sixty-fourth or last square, 16,777,216 cities! But, taking the surface of the whole earth into account, if there should be one city on every square mile even, there would not be sufficient to furnish the quantity of wheat required to carry out the promise given to Sahsih, much less the cities and their lands and villages contained in the Rai's dominions. Hearing this astonishing statement, Rai Bhalit turned his face towards Sahsih and exclaimed: "O sage! thy genius and sagacity in inventing this game of chess are as nothing compared with the astonishing kind of reward which thou hast chosen for it."

As it was found thus to be impossible to comply with Sahsih's request, whether he received or accepted any other reward, the chroniclers do not say. Be this as it may, Rai Bhalit used to be constantly occupied in playing the game up to the time of his death. When this took place, there was no heir to succeed him on the throne, save his wife, who was then pregnant by him. Consequently, his widow, in concert with the chief men of the country, proceeded to administer its affairs until the period arrived for her being delivered; and she gave birth to a male child. She gave him the name—not a *title* here—of *Shāh*; and used to devote herself to his bringing up, and to his education. During his childhood and early youth, she continued as before to carry on the affairs of the country; and when *Shāh* grew up, he, inheriting his late father's warlike spirit, began to undertake military expeditions; and he brought the whole of his father's territories, some of which had been seized by enemies during his minority, completely under his sway. In whatever direction he turned his arms he used to be successful, until after some time had passed away, in one of his more distant expeditions, he was dangerously wounded in an encounter, and died of his wounds.

There was no one about the court who could venture to break this sad news to his mother, and acquaint her with the fate of her son, until one of the chief men, who was a proficient in the game of chess, which her late husband, Rai Bhalit, used so much to delight in, agreed to acquaint her. When he reached the presence of the *Rānī*, he found her in a state of great anxiety and despondency, and her mind much disturbed on account of the prolonged absence of her son. Although he was well

aware of the reason, he inquired of her the cause of her affliction, and the disturbed state of her mind, waiting for an opportunity to acquaint her with her son's fate. She replied: "It is now a long time that no news has been received of Shāh, my son, and nothing appears to be known as to the cause thereof, or what may have befallen him; and this surely is enough to make his mother's heart sad." The great man replied, saying: "It should be known to the Rānī, that from the hardships and dangers attending distant expeditions there is no remedy, and no avoiding them, nor the anxieties, uncertainties, and reverses attendant on the exercise of sovereign power, and the conduct of military affairs." He then managed to lead the conversation to the invention of the game of chess for the amusement and diversion of the late Rai, her husband, which interested her so much, that she requested him to go at once and bring the chess-men and the cloth to play it on, and teach her how the game was played. He did so accordingly; and he continued to teach her for some days, in such wise that she soon gained some expertness therein, while, at the same time, it diverted her mind from constantly brooding over the non-receipt of authentic tidings of her son.

She was one day engaged in playing the game with this great man, and was winning, the superiority being on her side, when all at once she called for the Shāh or King; and as her opponent's Shāh had no move left on the board or cloth, she exclaimed: "Shāh māt," which, literally, means, "Shāh is undone," "overthrown," or "destroyed." The great man, now finding the opportunity he sought, replied: "May the life of the Rānī be prolonged, but it is now some time that this very mishap occurred to Shāh, her son, as is here shown; and no one dared to break the sad news; but now it has been pronounced from her own lips." The truth now flashed upon her, and the fate of her son she thus learnt by means of the game of chess; and though she was greatly distressed, as may naturally be conceived, the delicate manner in which it was imparted, tended, in some measure, to alleviate her affliction and sorrow, and to enable her to resign herself to the inevitable and irrevocable.

There is, however, another account respecting the manner in which the news of her son's death was imparted to the Rānī, as I before mentioned. It is, that when Rai Bhalīt found his end approaching, he named his only son, Gau, then a mere boy, his successor, and soon after died. On account of his youth he was then incapable of being intrusted to carry on the affairs of government, and, consequently, the chief men of the kingdom held counsel together, and deemed it advisable to confer the government on the late Rai's brother, Gau's uncle, who was named Dambīr, and made him Regent, until such time as Gau should be capable of assuming the reins of authority.



As soon as Dambīr became firmly established in possession, and affairs had assumed a settled state, he married the widow of his late brother, the mother of Gau; and she in due course of time bore him a son, who was named Talchand. Not long after Dambīr also died, and the twice widowed mother of these two sons by her two husbands, was left to administer the affairs of the country, until her eldest son should be capable of doing so, and she accordingly assumed the reins of Government. But as her two sons grew up, rivalry arose between them, which continued to increase, until, at last, when they had attained near unto man's estate and years of discretion, they began openly to quarrel for the possession of the sovereignty. Notwithstanding that their partizans and supporters and well-wishers endeavoured to pacify them, and bring about a reconciliation between the rivals, their efforts were of no avail, and, at last, the two brothers came to an open rupture, and hostilities ensued between them. Having mustered their followers, they come to an encounter, during which, the forces of Talchand took to flight, leaving him on the field among his adversaries. He was mounted on an elephant, and was unable to get out of the *mélée*, and manfully stood his ground. His brother's forces had so completely surrounded him, indeed, that his elephant could not move one way or other, and his escape was entirely cut off; and in this helpless state he died of pride and chagrin. His mother was overwhelmed with grief at his loss, and would not be comforted; and it was with great difficulty that she could be prevented from ascending the funeral pyre with the corpse of her son, Talchand.

Gau, her eldest, sent a message to his mother, in order to clear himself from the supposition that he had caused his brother to be put to death, and at the same time, besought her to abandon the idea of destroying herself; that he had had nothing to do with his brother's death, which had happened in the manner related above. Gau then directed the sages of Sind to adopt some means of demonstrating to his mother how Talchand was situated at the time of his death; and this one of them succeeded in doing by means of the game of chess, in which he had managed to interest her. He took the chess-men and chequered cloth, and showed her how the game was played. In the course of the game the Shāh Bādshāh, or Shāh, the King, on the board or cloth, became *shāshdār*, or unable to move, and the Foot-men, the Elephant (the Bishop of Europeans), the Horse-man (the Knight or Chevalier), and the Wazīr or Queen, surrounded the Shāh Bādshāh or King, on all sides, when the players exclaimed: "Shāh māt" or "Shāh, the King, is undone or destroyed," and having no move left, and no means of flight or retreat, he perished accordingly, and the game was won.

The wise men who were present during the playing of the game, now succeeded in showing the Rāni that this game represented the situation and positions of Gau and his brother, Talchand, on the occasion of the latter's death, after being deserted by his followers, and being left on the field completely surrounded by his opponents; that Gau himself never moved from his position in the slightest degree; but that his forces had made Talchand "*shāshdār*" or unable to move; and that Talchand, finding himself in this position, out of his great pride, and the chagrin at the helpless state he found himself in, died, and thus became "Shāh Māt" or undone—Check-mated.

The Rāni thus became convinced as to the cause and manner of her son Talchand's death; and she was satisfied in her mind that Gau had not slain his brother. She now learnt the game, and began herself to play it; and whenever the "Shāh Māt" came about, she would melt into tears at the remembrance of her son's fate; and Gau now became ruler of the country.

It is from these words "Shāh Māt," that the words "Check Mate" are derived, showing how words in the course of ages, handed down, too, from one race of people to another, become vitiated. The word "Māt" is derived from the Arabic *māta*, "he is dead"; and is used in Persian to signify 'conquered'; 'subjected,' 'reduced to the last extremity,' etc. Both Shāh and Bādshāh mean a king or sovereign, but the former word is given as a name to a man, as well as being used as a title, but the latter very rarely so, as in the title and names of the famous Saljūk sovereign, Sultān Malik Shāh, all three words being of the same meaning; but the first is his title, and the latter his name, Malik Shāh. The word "Rukh," likewise, which Europeans call the Rook or Castle, has various meanings, one of which is the name of the fabulous bird of the "Arabian Nights," and other eastern romances and traditions (but vitiated into "Roc"), and after which word, "Rukh," eastern lexicographers say, one of the pieces in chess was named.

It remains now to be mentioned how and in what manner the game of chess was first introduced into Īrān-Zamīn or the ancient Persian empire.

That part of western Hind or India lying nearest to Persia, which at present constitutes the province of Sind, and the southern part of the country of the Panj Āb or Five Rivers, at the period in question, and for a long time after, was well peopled, and in a flourishing condition. The Mihrān of Sind, the great river known as the Great Mihrān, or Hākṛā, or Wahindah, and now known as "the Lost River of the Indian Desert," or more correctly, the Dried up Hākṛā, flowed through the middle of the country and fertilized it. The Sindhu, or Indus of



the Greeks, was at that period but a tributary of the Mihrān or Hākṛā and united with the Panj Āb or Five Rivers, giving name to the present territory so called, three days' journey below, or to the southward of Multān. Sind had at a very early period, formed part of the empire of the Persians; and in the time of the Kaiānīān, or third Persian dynasty, in the reign of Gushtāsif, Bahman, his grandson, and subsequent successor, led an army into Sind and Western India. He reduced Sind completely, and some portion of India adjoining it; and in the district of Sind known as Būdah, he founded a city, which he named after himself, Bahman-Ābād or Bahman-Nih, which the people of Sind, in their dialect, call Bahman-No, or Bahman's City—*ābād* and *nih* both meaning a city in the ancient Persian. The ruins of this city of Bahman still remain; but English writers, under the erroneous idea that the name must refer to the Sanskrit word Brahman, and unacquainted with the past history of those parts, have turned it into Brahman-ābād—a purely Sanskrit name with a purely Persian termination, a wholly impossible combination.

Bahman, known as “Dirāz Dast,” or “the Long Armed,” is the Longimanus of the Greek writers. He is entitled Kai Ard-shīr, who married Hadassah or Esther, the Isrā'ilī, a direct descendant of Tālūt or Saul, king of Isrā'il; and to Bahman, the Isrā'ilis owed their delivery from captivity.<sup>1</sup>

Thus in the time of Nūh-shīrwān, the first monarch of the fifth or Akāsirā (the plural of KISRĀ) dynasty, known as “The Just,” the territory of the rulers of Sind extended into the northern Panj Āb of the present day, to the then southern boundary of the Kash-mīr kingdom, which then extended over the whole of the alpine Panj Āb and beyond; on the east it adjoined Hājput-ānah; northwest to the Khwājah Amarān range; and west over great part of Mukrān. The then rulers of Sind were not under the direct control of the Persians; but they acknowledged the supremacy of the Persian monarchs, and paid a small tribute in virtue thereof.

Shortly after Nūh-shīrwān had reached his capital, Istakhur of Fārs or Persia proper, on his return from an expedition against the Khākān of the Turks, an envoy reached his court from the Rai of Sind bringing presents for the KISRĀ, Nūh-shīrwān, including several elephants; and among other curious things, a set of chess-men, and a cloth on which to play the game. The envoy also brought a message from his sovereign, the Rai of Sind, to the effect that, if the sages of the KISRĀ, Nūh-shīrwān's court could discover how this game was

<sup>1</sup> See my “Mihrān of Sind,” in the “Journal,” Vol. LXI., Part III. for 1892, and “Extra Number,” for 1895.

played, which game one of the sages of Sind had invented, he would be ready to give up his territory and his treasures to him; but, if they could not, it would be unworthy in him to acknowledge Nūh-shīrwān's superiority, or pay tribute to him in future; and it would be unjust and unbecoming in him, the Kistrā, under such circumstances, to entertain the idea of enforcing it by invading his territory; and further, in case any of the Kistrā's wise men had invented any thing of the kind, that he would be pleased to send it to him." This message, therefore, was equivalent to a wager, that he would stake his territory and wealth against Nūh-shīrwān's claim to suzerainty over Sind and the extortion of tribute, and that the sages of Persia could not discover how the game of chess should be played; but, in this, the Rai of Sind was "Check Mated" at his own game, as will presently appear.

I must here retrace my steps for a moment, to refer to the famous Minister of Nūh-shīrwān, the sage, Būzur Jamhir.

One night in the early part of his reign, Nūh-shīrwān had a dream, which greatly disturbed him. He beheld himself seated on the throne, with a goblet of wine in his hand, and was about to quaff some of its contents when a hog, which was seated at his side unperceived, snatched the goblet out of his hand, and drank of the contents. He caused the wise men of his court to be summoned to his presence; and when they were assembled he related to them his horrid dream, and requested that they would interpret its meaning to him. All were at a loss to explain it, until after a short time, one of the Mūbids or Priests of the Gabrs or Fire Worshippers, brought to Nūh-shīrwān's presence, a young man, a native of Marw of Khurāsān, who had lately been studying at Balkh, where was the great Ātiṣh-Kadah or Temple of the Gabrs, who was named Abūzur Jamhir, or Būzur Jamhir, to interpret the monarch's dream, which still disturbed him greatly. The dream having been told him, he, after some consideration, explained it. He said: "In the Kistrā's *ḥaram* (vul. "harem")—which contained upwards of one hundred ladies, the sisters and daughters of kings and petty rulers—there is one lady, the daughter of the Malik or king of Chāje (the ancient name of Farghānah) of Turkistān; and along with her, in the disguise of a slave girl, there is a youth, and he is on terms of intimacy with her." This interpretation amazed all present; and Nūh-shīrwān commanded that investigation should at once be made, and that all the ladies and female attendants of the *ḥaram* should be brought before him one by one; and the young man, the Khwājah, Būzur Jamhir, was in attendance. He detected the youth disguised as a female slave; and he, along with his paramour, was forthwith put to death.



From that time forth, the favour of Nūh-shīrwān was bestowed upon the young Khwājah, whose esteem he acquired, and who rose to high rank, soon becoming his chief minister. At last, according to the chronicler, Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihaqī, who wrote about the year 450 H. (1058 A.D.), Būzur Jamhir fell into disfavour, because he abandoned the faith of Zurtusht (vul. "Zoroaster"), and became a convert to Christianity. Nūh-shīrwān cast him into prison in consequence; and notwithstanding the tortures to which he was subjected by "The Just" monarch—in this instance sufficiently Unjust—to get him to recant, he would not do so. He held out, and eventually became blind, and totally so, as it was supposed, from the tortures to which he had been subjected; but others say he was blinded by Nūh-shīrwān's command.

To return to the envoy from the ruler of Sind, and the game of chess. Nūh-shīrwān, and the learned men of his court, never having seen anything of the kind before, were, of course, quite unable to understand the game, and were at a loss to explain it. At this time Būzur Jamhir had been deprived of his sight, which Nūh-shīrwān is said to have greatly regretted when too late; but the sage was still in confinement. He was now sent for; and when he entered the presence of Nūh-shīrwān the latter expressed his regret for what had been done. Būzur Jamhir replied: "When a king becomes angry with a servant, it behoveth him to deprive the servant of something or other, in order that, should his sovereign subsequently relent, and show compassion towards his servant, he may be able to restore it to him again; but the blessing of sight cannot be thus restored when once destroyed." Nūh-shīrwān was quite abashed at these words, and felt completely humbled; and the sage continuing, said: "But through the auspicious fortune of the king, my sovereign, a little sight still remains in his servant's eyes." Having expressed his delight at hearing these words from the mouth of the sage and returning thanks to Heaven that he was not totally blind, Nūh-shīrwān had the envoy from the Rai of Sind called in; and when he entered, the chess-men and the cloth were produced for Būzur Jamhir to look at, and to discover, if he could, how the game was played. Būzur Jamhir, after examining the chess-men, said to the envoy: "Come along with me that I may play a game with thee." The envoy accompanied him accordingly; and ranging one half the chess-men on the cloth, he waited to see what Būzur Jamhir would do. He ranged his chess-men exactly after the same manner; and the Sindī envoy commencing to move, Būzur Jamhir followed him in his moves. He lost the first game, but improved on the second, which was a drawn game, and beat the Rai's envoy in the third, and checkmated him!

The sage subsequently, in the retirement of his prison, improved

upon the game of *Nard* or Backgammon. He did not invent it, as some have supposed; for it had been known long before, as I have already shown. But, in former times, before Būzur Jamhir improved upon it, the dice were but two, on each of which were fifteen marks or dots, which being added up made thirty, and the game was single. Būzur Jamhir added one dice more, and five other *mansūbahs* or points, as now used; and when he had completed his improvements, a complete set was despatched to the ruler of Sind, as he had requested. What the upshot of the Rai's challenge was respecting the game of chess has not been recorded.

The names of the seven *mansūbahs* or points in *Nard* or Backgammon, as improved by the sage, Būzur Jamhir, are, 1. *Kād*, which means quantity. 2. *Ziyād*, increase or growth. 3. *Satārah*, veil, curtain, star or fortune. 4. *Hazāran*, thousands. 5. *Khānah-gīr*, holder or possessor of the house or compartment. 6. *Tawīl*, long prolix, tall; and 7. *Mansūbah*, plan, project, scheme, or game.

The Arabian prophet, Muḥammad, was born in the fortieth year of the reign of the Kistrā, Nūh-shīrwān; and the historian, Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihaḳī, previously quoted, who states that Būzur Jamhir had become a Christian, says, that the sage, shortly after these events, died from the effects of the ill-treatment he had been subjected to; and that a year after his death, Nūh-shīrwān himself, "departed to the Fire-Temple below," after a reign of forty-seven years, when Muḥammad was in his seventh year, 576 A.D. He died a natural death, and was never deposed, as Gibbon tells us; but his son and successor, Hurmuz, was.

The pieces in the game of chess were, at first, wooden figures having the human form; and what is known now as the King, was then called *Shāh Bādshāh*, from *Shāh* son of Rai Bhalīt. The Castle or Tower of the present was then styled the *Rukh*, after that fabulous bird, as before mentioned; the Bishop of the present day, was then the *Fil* or *Pīl* (f and p are permutable) or Elephant, and was sometimes called the Camel; the Knight or Chevalier was known as the *Faras*, or *Asp*, signifying a Horse; the Queen was styled *Farz*, or *Farzīn*, or *Farzī*, or *Farzān*, and also *Wazīr* or Minister; and the Pawn or Foot-soldier or Common Man, was called *Piyadah* as those words signify. "*Shāshdār*" means "Confounded," "Distressed," "Astonished," "Useless for a square," "Tied up;" and "*Shāh Māt*," as before mentioned, means "*Shāh Bādshāh*, or *Shāh*, the King, is reduced to the last extremity, conquered," etc.

The names used in India differ somewhat, most of them being derived from the Sanskrit language.



The wise and accomplished Khalifah, Al-Māmūn, son of Harūn-ar-Rashīd, composed some lines on chess, which literally are as follow :—

“ Upon a square of red-dressed leather,  
Two friends, for generosity well-known,  
Re-call war to mind, and thereon stratagems invent.  
Without the guiltiness of shedding blood therein,  
This assaults that, and that assails this ;  
And the eye of vigilance sleepeth not.  
Behold the ingenious foes ! how skilfully they move  
Between two hosts, without banner or drum.”

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*Bābhan*.—By MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHASTRI.

[Read 5th March, 1902.]

There are in Behar and in Benares a class of men known as *Bābhans* or *Bhui-hārs*. Their position in Hindu society is extremely anomalous. They claim to be *Brāhmans* but no good *Brāhmans* such as the *Kanojia* and *Sarayūpāriyā* treat them on equal terms. They would neither inter-marry with them nor eat with them. On seeing a *Brāhman* a *bābhana* makes his obeisance, saying: "*Paon lagi*," (I touch your foot), the *Brāhman* does not nod in return but pronounces a benediction as he would do to an inferior caste.

The high position attained by some members of this class, such as the *Mahārājās* of *Hatna*, *Tikāri*, *Betia*, and in the North-Western Provinces of Benares has raised them in the estimation of the Hindus, and some of them now claim to be *Brāhmans* and profess to be students of *Yajurveda*. But the professors of other *Vedas* too are not rare.

The anomalous position held by these has long attracted the attention of scholars. The *Pandits* think that they are *Mūrdhā-bhīktas* a class between *Brāhmans* and *Kṣatriyas*. So they bow to the *Brāhmans* and *Brāhmans* pronounce benediction on them. They offer a curious problem to these engaged in the investigation of castes and occupations of Indian people.

I was struck the other day to find in the *Asoka* inscriptions, the term *Bābhan* used several times as a corruption of the word *brāhmana* in the pillar inscriptions. In one place it is used with the *Ajīvikas* a well-known sect of ascetics in ancient India whom *Kei* identifies with the *Bhāgavatas*. In another place it is used in connection with the *Çramaṇas*, Buddhist monks.

Now the question is, why is the *Asoka* corruption, *i.e.*, Buddhist Corruption, of the word *Brāhman* be the proper name of a peculiar class of men who claim to be *Brahmans*, whose claim is not admitted by *Brāhmans*?

In Hindu Sanskrit works we often hear of *Brahmana Çramaṇas*,



*i.e.*, those who were Brahmans once but had become Çramaṇas and lost their Brāhmanhood, but still they are called Brāhmans.

From these two facts I have been led to conclude that the Bābhans were Brāhman-Buddhists who lost their caste and position in Hindu Society, but on the destruction of Buddhism are again trying, though unconsciously, to regain the old position they enjoyed 2,000 years ago.

Leaving the safe ground of philology if I am permitted to speculate a little, I believe I have got the derivation of the word Bhūmi-hāra. After the fall of Buddhism these Bābhans misappropriated the rich monastic lands and from that fact they are called Bhumi-hāra. The word Bhumi-hāra is not a Sanskrit word. It is not to be found in any Sanskrit Dictionary. It is a Sanskritized form of the Hindi word Bhumi-hāra, the misappropriator of land.

The geographical distribution of the class (Bābhan) favours the theory of their Buddhistic origin. They are to be found in western Bihar and eastern Koçala countries where Buddhism originated and lingered longest.



*Note on a find of Copper Coins in the Wun District, Barār.—By*  
 MAJOR WOLSELEY HAIG, *First Assistant Resident, Haidarābād.*

(With Plates I and II.)

[Read 5th March, 1902.]

In 1900 some labourers working in a field at Dhanaj in the Dārwha Ta'alluq of the Wun District found a number of copper coins buried under the soil. The matter was reported and 1,227 coins were recovered. I have examined these coins and find that they are, with a few exceptions, coins of the later Mughal emperors from the Élicpūr mint. The following descriptive catalogue of them forms a supplement to the late Mr. Rodgers' paper on Mughal copper coins published in Vol. LXIV (Part I) of the Society's Journal. There are a few Dakanī coins which will be specially noticed.

I. The first coin which I shall notice is the most interesting, and, I believe, the rarest in the find. It is a copper coin of Kalimu'llāh Shāh, the last Sultān of the Bahmanī dynasty. This Sultān ascended the throne in 1525 A.D., and died in 1527 without ever having really reigned, being for a considerable part of the interval between his accession and his death a fugitive. His coins are not, however, so rare as might be supposed, as money was, I believe, minted in his name even after his death. Muḥammad Azīz Mirzā of Haidarābād has some specimens of this coin in his collection, and I have one.

I have illustrated this coin (pl. I, No. 1). I read the inscriptions on the coin as follows—

الله	الله
كليم	بنصر
السلطان	المويد
البهمني	

II. The second coin which I have illustrated is one of which I have not been able to decipher the inscriptions. From the appearance and style of the coin I think it must be attributed to one of the later Quṭb Shāhī Sultāns of Gulkunda. I form this opinion from the arrangement of the words السلطان on the reverse, (pl. I, No. 2).



III. No. 3, pl. I, No. 8, pl. I and No. 22, pl. II are illustrations of what I believe to be specimens of the same coin. I am unable to give a satisfactory reading of the inscriptions. The words *السلطان* are legible on the obverse and on two specimens the name of the mint town ( *حیدرآباد* ) preceded apparently by *ضرب* appears on the reverse. After comparing these coins with other specimens in the collection of the Rev. H. B. Hyde I attribute them to Sultān ‘Abdu-‘llāh Quṭb Shāh, the fifth Sultān of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty.

IV. No. 4, pl. I, is an illustration of a copper coin of Jahāngīr. On the obverse nothing but the Emperor’s title is legible. On the reverse what I take to be the name of the mint appears, but I am unable to decipher it.

V. There are two Mughal copper coins of the Sūrāt mint. One is of the same type as Nos. 67 and 68, pl. XVII, J.A.S.B., part I, Vol. LXIV. These coins, though illustrated, were not described by Mr. Rodgers. I do not know to which Emperor they are to be ascribed.

VI. The next Sūrāt coin is one of Shāh Jahān, struck in the eleventh year of his reign. This coin is of the same type as No. 32, pl. XIV, J.A.S.B., part I, Vol. LXIV. I need not therefore illustrate it.

VII. No. 5, pl. I, is a coin of Aurangzib ‘Ālamgīr I, struck at the Ēlicpūr mint. The execution of the die of this coin is very rude. The “teeth” of the letter *ش* are separated from one another, as is sometimes the case in the copper coins of the later Mughals. The date of the coin is A.H. 1114, and my reading of the inscriptions is as follows—

( عالم گير )

شاه

پادشاه

۱۱۱۴

ک

( سکهٔ مدار )

ضرب

ایلیچپور

فلوس

VIII. (1). No. 12, pl. I, is a dated coin of Aurangzib ‘Ālamgīr I, from the Ēlicpūr mint. The date is A.H. 1112. There are three coins of this type. I have illustrated the best specimen. I read the inscriptions as follows—

( لمگير )

پادشاه

۱۱۱۲

س

فلو

ایلیچپور

(2). No. 11, pl. I, is also a dated coin of 'Ālamgīr I, from the Ēlicpūr mint. Though it bears the same date as the coins mentioned in the last paragraph the type is somewhat different. I have therefore illustrated it. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالم (گیر)	ایلچپور
پادشاه	
ی	
سکہ مبار ۱۱۲ (۱)	فلوس

(3). No. 18, pl. II, is an illustration of another dated coin of Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr I, from the Ēlicpūr mint. There are two coins of this type. The unit in the date on the coin illustrated is not clearly legible. I take to be ۵. The coin not illustrated bears the date 1114. I read the inscriptions as follows—

عالمگیر	ضرب
۱۱۱۵	ایلچپور
پادشاه	
ی	
سکہ مبار	فلوس

(4). There are 253 coins of the Ēlicpūr mint which I attribute to Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr I. They are undated and the only title or name which appears on them is عالمگیر. The style of the inscriptions leads me to ascribe them to Aurangzīb rather than to 'Azizu-'d-dīn 'Ālamgīr II. These coins which are illustrated in Nos. 19 and 20 (pl. II) are of two types. In No. 19 the title is divided thus عالم گیر, while in the other it is within as one word عالمگیر. I read them as follows—

(19)	عالم گیر	ضرب
	پادشاه	ایلچپور
	ی	
	سکہ مبار	فلوس
(20)	عالمگیر	ضرب
	پادشاه	ایلچپور
	ی	
	سکہ مبار	فلوس

IX. (1). No. 14, pl. I, is a coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I, bearing the date 1122. It is also described, if my reading is correct, as having been struck at the Ēlicpūr mint in the third year of the reign. Shāh



'Alam Bahādur succeeded his father in A.H. 1118 so that the third year of his reign would begin in 1120. It may be that the reign was sometimes reckoned from the date on which Shāh 'Ālam overcame his brother, Kām Bakhsh (Zī-l-Qa'dah 3, A.H. 1120), or from the date of his victory over his brother Muḥammad A'zam Shāh in A.H. 1119, in which case the third year of the reign would have extended into 1122. I read the inscriptions as follows—

بہادر	ب
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور ۳
۱۱۲۲	فلوس

Under the د of بہادر there is an ornament.

(2). No. 15, pl. II, is another coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I, of the Ēlicpūr mint, bearing the date 1120. The inscriptions are as follows—

شاه عالم	۲ ایلچپور
۱۱۲۰	فلوس

Under the last two letters of 'Ālam there appears to be an ornament similar to that on the coin last mentioned. The figure 2, representing the year of the reign is clearly legible on the reverse of this coin, which follows the ordinary reckoning of the years of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur.

(3). Nos. 9 and 10, pl. I, are two coins of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I, both of the Ēlicpūr mint but of slightly different types. No. 9 is dated 1121. There is no date on No. 10. The inscriptions on the reverse of the coins are differently arranged. There were four of these coins in the find, two of each type. I read the inscriptions as follows—

(9)	ضرب
۱۱۲۱	فلوس
شاه عالم بہادر	ایلچپور
(10)	ایلچپور
شاه عالم	فلوس

(4) There are seven coins of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I, all of the Ēlicpūr mint and all dated 1121. These coins are similar in type to the coin illustrated (No. 52) in plate XV, Vol. LXIV, Part I, of the Journal, and there is no need for me to illustrate them here.

X. (1). There are sixteen dated coins of Muḥammad Shāh, all of the Ēlicpūr mint and all practically of the same type. The only variation is that the date appears in one example (1141) above the ش in the word پادشاه while in the other fifteen coins the date is immediately below that letter. Of these coins fourteen bear the date 1139 and two the date 1141. The year of the reign appears on the reverse of seven of those bearing the former date and one of those bearing the latter. No. 6, pl. I, is an illustration of one of these coins. The inscriptions are as follows—

محمد	
شاه	
پادشاه	۹
۱۱۳۹	ایلچپور
ک	
سکهٔ مبار	فلوس

(2). No. 13, pl. I, is another coin of Muḥammad Shāh, dated the twenty-third year of the reign. This is a coin of the Ēlicpūr mint but differs slightly from the coins mentioned in the preceding paragraph. There are two coins of this type, the other being dated in the nineteenth year of the reign. The inscriptions are as follows—

محمد	۲۳
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکهٔ مبار	فلوس

(3). There are 117 undated coins of Muḥammad Shāh in this find, all of the Ēlicpūr mint. I have not thought it necessary to illustrate these coins as they are exactly similar to Nos. 6 and 13 (pl. I), except that they bear no date. The inscriptions are as follows—

محمد	
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکهٔ مبار	فلوس

XI. No. 7, pl. I, is a coin of Aḥmad Shāh the son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh. There are 48 coins of this type, all undated and



all from the Ēlicpūr mint. These coins so much resemble those of Muḥammad Shāh that they can be distinguished from them only by the tail of the *alif*, the first letter of احمد or by the ح in احمد being unconnected with any previous letter. I have chosen the best specimen for illustration. The inscriptions are as follows—

احمد	
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکه مبار	فلوس

XII. There are 23 coins attributable either to Muḥammad Shāh or to Aḥmad Shāh. They are similar in type to Nos. 6, 7 and 13, pl. I, but bear no date. The inscriptions on these coins are incomplete and it is impossible to say to which reign they belong. The name is either احمد or احمد but it is impossible to say which.

XIII. No. 16, pl. II, is an illustration of a dated coin of 'Azizū-d-dīn 'Ālamgīr II. There are four of these coins, all of the Ēlicpūr mint. Two bear the date 1172 one bears the date 1173 and the unit in the date on the fourth is not clearly legible, but is either 2 or 3. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالمگیر	
۱۱۷۳	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکه مبار	فلوس

XIV. (1). No. 17, pl. II, is a dated coin of Shāh 'Ālam II, minted at Ēlicpūr. It bears on the reverse the figures 78, which I take to be the last two figures of the date 1178. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالم	
شاه	۷۸ ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور ( ۱۱ )
ک	
سکه مبار	فلوس

(2). No. 21, pl. II, is a coin of Shāh 'Ālam II, of the Ēlicpūr mint. There are seven of these coins on which the year of the reign is legible and seventy-four coins exactly similar to them in type, except that

the year of the reign is either wanting or illegible. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالم	۱۱
شاه	ضوب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکه مبار	فلوس

XV. There are 734 coins the inscriptions on which are either imperfect or illegible, so that it is impossible to assign them to any Emperor, but they are all copper coins of the later Mughals from the Ēlicpūr mint.

The Dhanaj find contains, I think, a fairly complete collection of Mughal copper coins from the Ēlicpūr mint. I am not aware when that mint was established but there are no Ēlicpūr coins in the find earlier than the reign of Aurangzīb. There are also no coins of the reigns of Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukhsiyar, Rafī'u-d-darajat and Rafīu-d-daulah. It is probable that none of these Emperors except, perhaps, Farrukhsiyar, coined at Ēlicpūr.







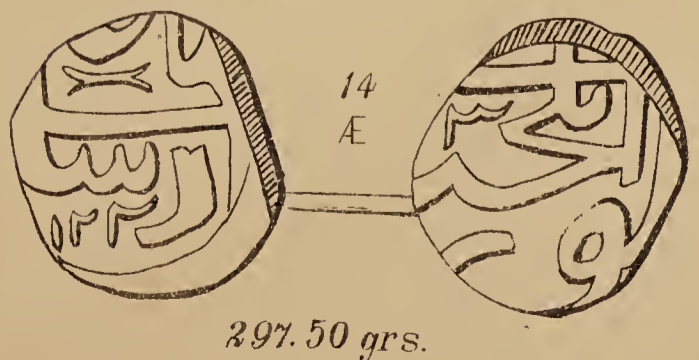
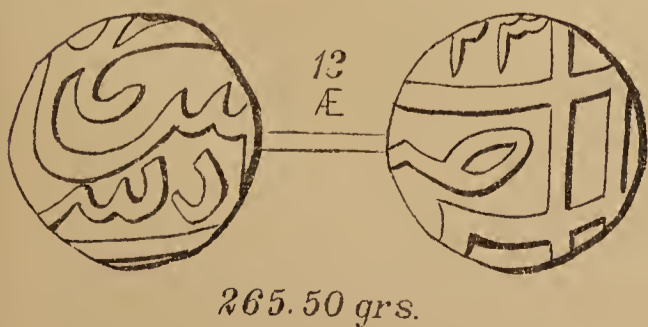
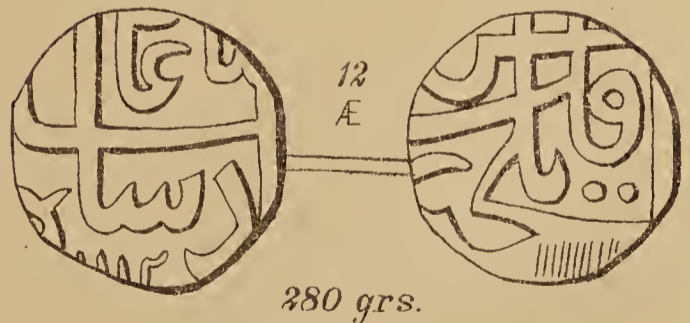
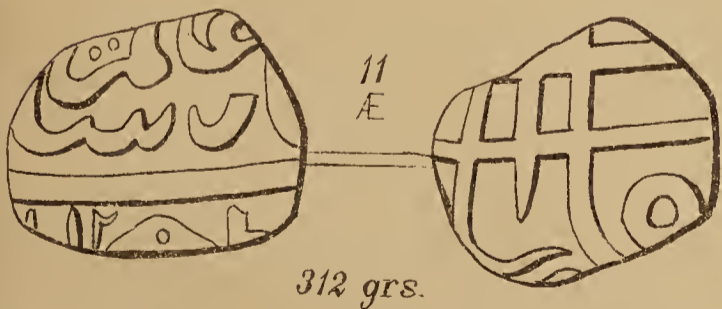
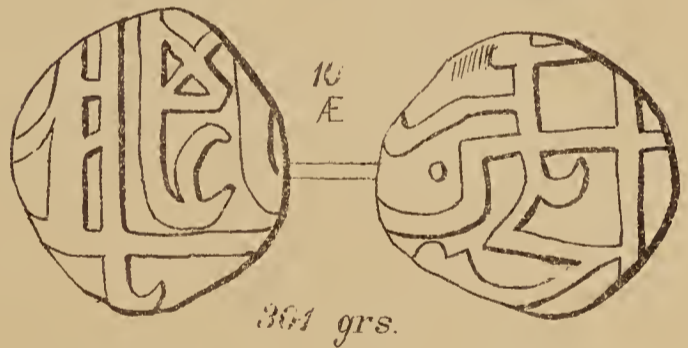
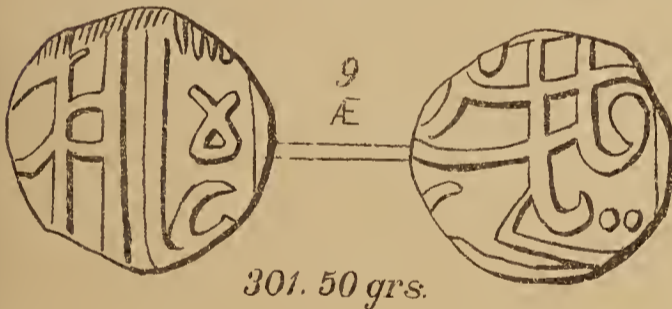
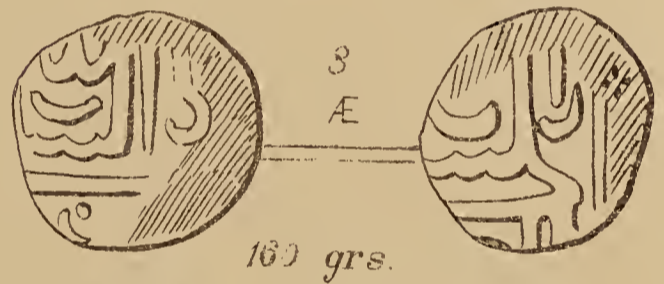
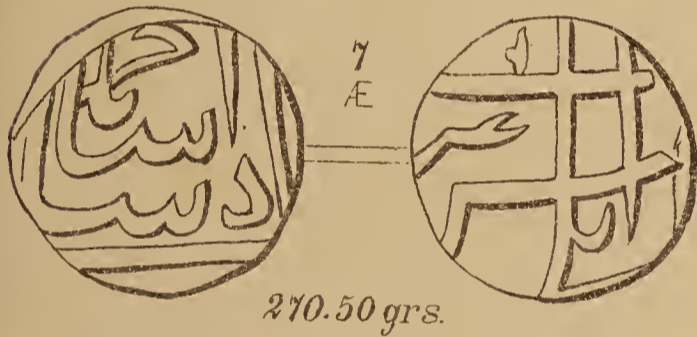
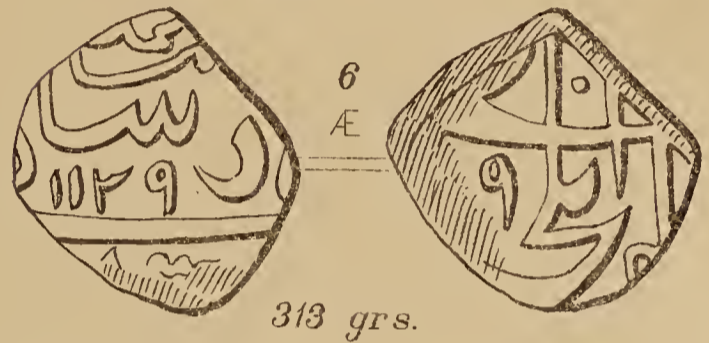
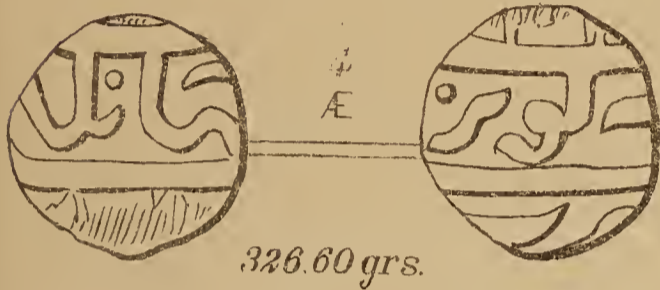
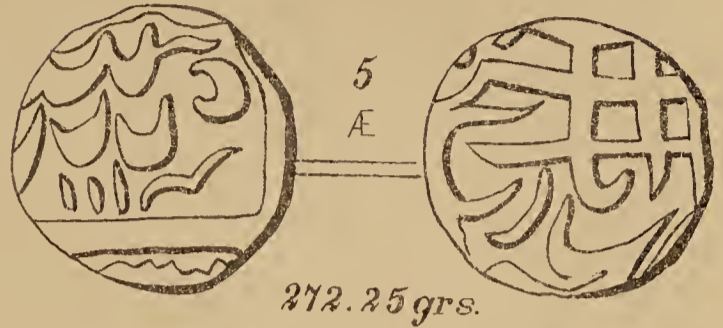
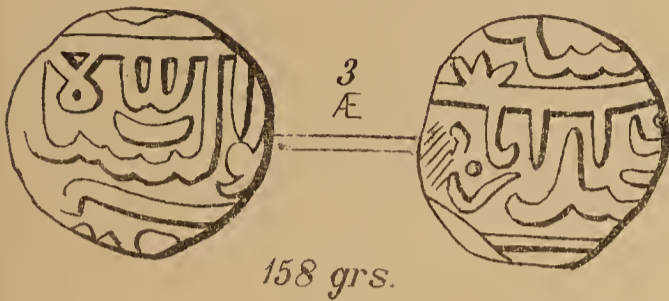
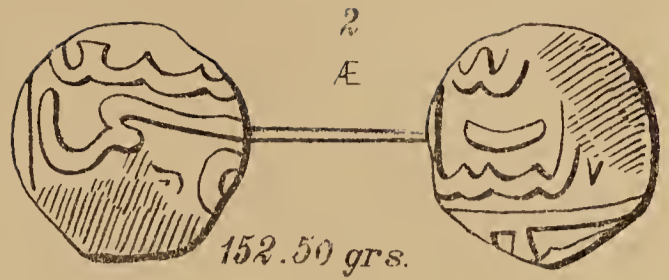
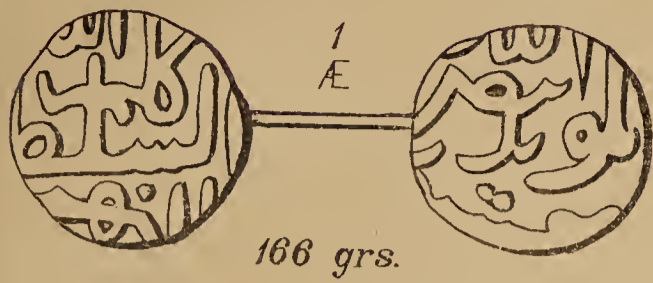
*Postscript to Mr. Theobald's paper (Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 2, p. 38, 1901.)*

Since writing the above I have acquired a silver 'Purāṇa' with the figure of a Rhinoceros on it. This animal will therefore remain on the list of animals on those coins.

I find too that by some inadvertence, the Rhinoceros has been excluded from the list of animals found on copper coins, though I had already figured it in my paper (J.A.S.B., 1890., Part I, p. 217, fig. 14) which figure was from a copper coin of Ujain. The Rhinoceros may therefore be inserted in the list on p. 71 as 55 A., that being its proper place among animals.

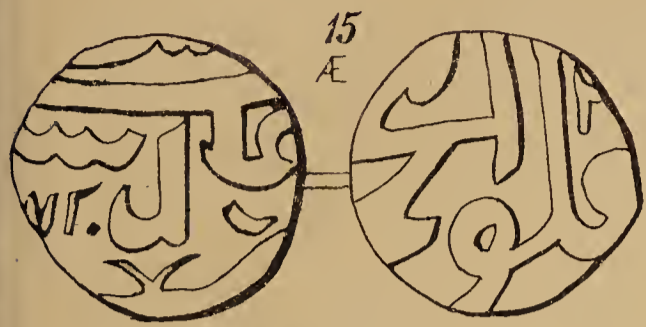






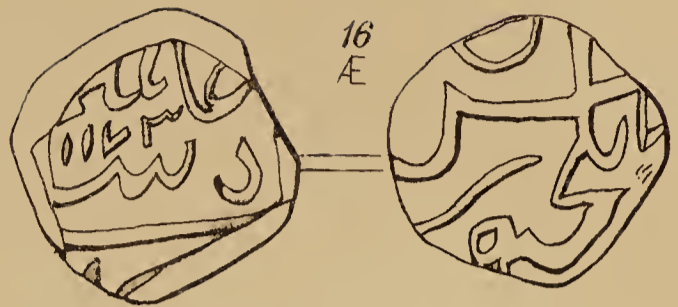






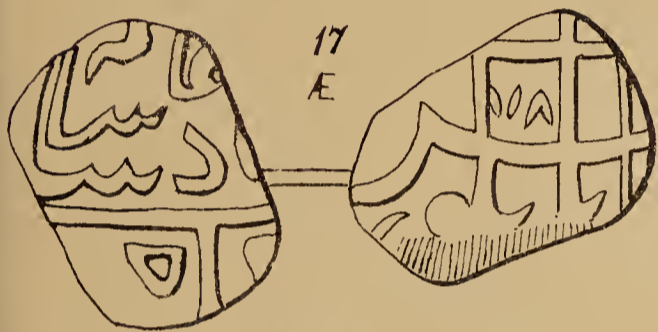
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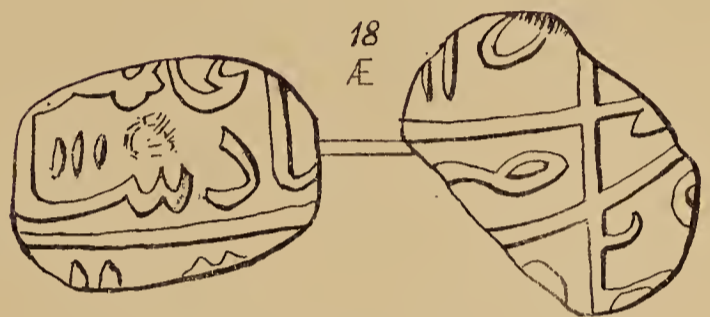
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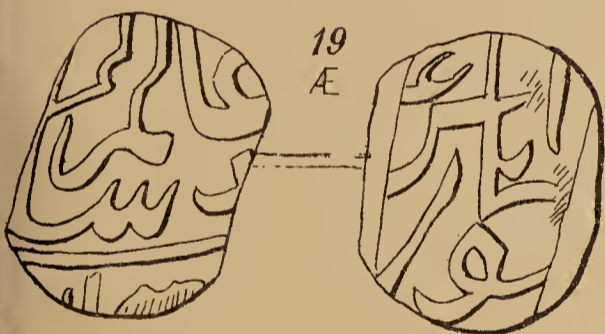
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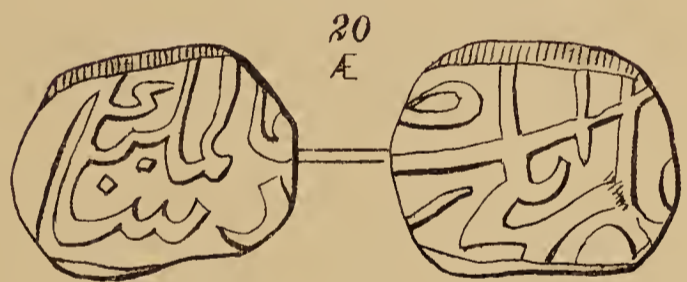
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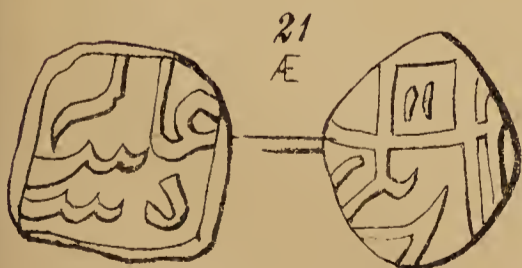
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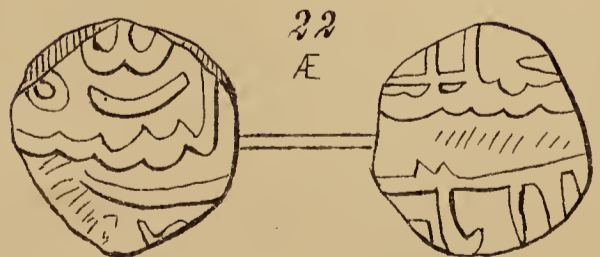
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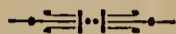




# JOURNAL

OF THE

## ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 2.—1902.

*Notes on the Dialect of the Kangra Valley, with Glossary of words peculiar to the Kangra District.*—BY THE LATE EDWARD O'BRIEN  
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF KANGRA.

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

#### *Singular.*

Nominative	...	...	Main, "I."
Accusative	}	...	Minjo, "me, to me."
Dative		...	
Agent	...	...	Main, "by me."
Ablative	...	...	Minjo te, "from me."
Locative	...	...	Minjo vich, "in me."
			Minjo upar, "on me."

#### *Plural.*

Nominative	}	...	...	Assán, "we."	
Agent					
Accusative	}	...	...	Assán jo, "us, to us."	
Dative		...	...		
Ablative	...	...	...	Assán tea, "from us."	
Genitive	...	...	...	*Mhárá Mháre Mhári } "our, ours."	
					Assán vich, "in us."
Locative	...	...	...		

The second Personal Pronoun is declined as follows :—

#### *Singular.*

Nominative	...	...	Tú, "thou."
Dative	}	...	Tijo, "thee, to thee."
Accusative		...	
Agent	...	...	Tain, "by thee."
Ablative	...	...	Tijo tea, "from thee."

---

\* This is like the Márwári forms of Hindi, cf. *Mánwári...Mháro*, "our, ours."



Genitive	...	...	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Tera} \\ \textit{Teri} \\ \textit{Tere} \end{array} \right\}$	“of thee, thine.”
Locative	...	...	<i>Tijo vich,</i>	“in thee.”
<i>Plural.</i>				
Nominative	...	...	<i>Tussán,</i>	“you.”
Dative	}	...	<i>Tussán jo</i>	“you, to you.”
Accusative		...		
Agent	...	...	<i>Tussán,</i>	“by you.”
Ablative	...	...	<i>Tussán te,</i>	“from you.”
Genitive	...	...	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{Tumhárá} \\ \textit{Tumhári} \\ \textit{Tumháre} \end{array} \right\}$	“of you, yours.”
Locative	...	...	<i>Tussán vich,</i>	“in you.”

The Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun is declined as follows :—

*Singular.*

Nominative	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Eh,} \text{ “this, he.”} \\ \textit{Eh,} \text{ “this.”} \end{array} \right.$	
Accusative	}	...	<i>Is jo,</i>	“this, to this.”
Dative		...		
Agent	...	...	<i>Ini,</i>	“by this.”
Ablative	...	...	<i>Is te,</i>	“from this.”
Genitive	...	...	<i>Is da,</i>	etc., “of this.”
Locative	...	...	<i>Is vich,</i>	“in this.”

*Plural.*

Nominative	...	...	<i>Eh,</i>	“these, they.”
Accusative	}	...	<i>Iná jo,</i>	“these, to these.”
Dative		...		
Agent	...	...	<i>Ina ne,</i>	“by these.”
Ablative	...	...	<i>Ina tea,</i>	“from these.”
Genitive	...	...	<i>Ina da,</i>	“of these.”
Locative	...	...	<i>Ina vich,</i>	“in these.”

EXAMPLE.

*Eh sach galánde jø asá jie narásá mare.*

They say this true, that the hopeful lives, the hopeless dies.—  
*Kángra Proverb.*

The Interrogative Pronoun *Kyá* “what?” is declined as follows :—

*Plural.*

Nominative	...	...	<i>Kyá,</i>	“what?”
Dative	}	...	<i>Kajo,</i>	“for what?”
Accusative		...		

Ablative	...	...	<i>Kes tea</i> , "from what?"
Locative	...	...	<i>Kes vich</i> , "in what?"

## EXAMPLE.

*Rátí de hanḍhne dí kyá phal paeú.*

*Jangháñ dá núr guáe Rám.*

Of wandering on foot at night what fruit did you get?

You spoiled the splendour (literally, light) of your legs, Oh Ram!—*Marriage Song.*

The Interrogative Pronoun *Kuṇ* "who?" is thus declined:—

*Singular.*

Nominative	...	...	<i>Kuṇ</i> , "who?"	
Dative	}	...	...	<i>Kus jo</i> , "whom," "to whom?"
Accusative				
Ablative	...	...	<i>Kus tea</i> , "from whom?"	
Genitive	...	...	{ <i>Kus da</i> <i>Kus di</i> <i>Kus de</i> } "of whom?"	
* Agent	...	...	<i>Kuni</i> , "by whom?"	

*Plural.*

Nominative	...	...	<i>Kuṇ</i> , "who?"	
Dative	}	...	...	<i>Kinán jo</i> "whom" "to whom?"
Accusative				
Ablative	...	...	<i>Kinán tea</i> , "from whom?"	
Genitive	...	...	{ <i>Kinán da</i> <i>Kinán di</i> <i>Kinán de</i> } "of whom?"	
Agent	...	...	<i>Kinán</i> , "by whom?"	

*Terá mungíá dupattá kini rangí ditá.*

By whom was your green dupattá dyed?—*Marriage (Kángra).*

REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *Oh* "that," "she," "he," "it."

*Singular.**Plural.*

Nominative	<i>Oh</i> , "he"	...	<i>Oh</i> , "they."		
Dative	}	...	...	<i>Unán jo</i> , "them, to them."	
Accusative					
Agent	...	<i>Uni</i> , "by him"	<i>Unán</i> , "by them."		
Genitive	...	{ <i>Us da</i> <i>Us di</i> <i>Us de</i> }	"of him"...	{ <i>Unán da</i> <i>Unán da</i> <i>Unán de</i> }	"of them."

\* *Kini* is also in use for the agent.



CORRELATIVE PRONOUN *Seh*.

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Nominative	.. <i>Seh</i>	"that, the same,"	<i>Seh</i> .
Dative	... }	<i>Tis jo</i>	... .. <i>Tinán jo</i> .
Accusative	... }	<i>Tis jo</i>	... .. <i>Tinán jo</i> .
Agent	... <i>Tini</i> ...	... ..	<i>Tinán</i> .
Genitive	... }	<i>Tis da</i>	... .. <i>Tinán da</i> .
	... }	<i>Tis di</i>	... .. <i>Tinán di</i> .
	... }	<i>Tis de</i>	... .. <i>Tinán de</i> .

RELATIVE PRONOUN *Jo*.

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Nominative	... <i>Jo</i> ,	"who, which "	... .. <i>Jo</i> , "who, which."
Dative	... }	<i>Jis jo</i> ,	"to whom, to which."
Accusative	... }	<i>Jis jo</i> ,	"to whom, to which."
Agent	... <i>Jini</i> ,	"by whom "	... .. <i>Jinhán</i> , "by whom."
Genitive	... <i>Jis da</i> ,	"of whom "	... .. <i>Jinhán da</i> , of whom.
Ablative	... <i>Jis tea</i> ,	"from whom."	<i>Jinhán tea</i> , "from whom."

## EXAMPLES.

*Seh apni máü dá bará laḍla he.*

He is a great darling of his mother.

*Tis di junasa bari laráki he.*

His wife is very quarrelsome.

*Main vakil bhi kitá. Tini dhavve máre, kichh uttar tini bhí nahin kitá.*

I engaged a vakil. He consumed (my) money, (but) he did not even make any answer.

*Jinhán musadián da bal, tinhán bhare perú pal.*

Those who have the assistance of the officials, have their grain receptacles (*perú pal*) full.

*Jinhán jo, Rajea, tera trán.*

Those to whom, Oh Raja, is your help.

*Tinhán de ghar na khán na manje bán.*

To their houses is neither food nor strings for their beds.

## PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES OF KIND.

<i>Adehá,</i>	"such," "like this,"	Hindi,	<i>Aisá.</i>
<i>Tadehá,</i>	"such," "like that,"	„	<i>Waisá.</i>
<i>Jadehá,</i>	"like which," "as,"	„	<i>Jaisá.</i>
<i>Kadehá,</i>	"like what," "how,"	„	<i>Kaisá.</i>

## EXAMPLES.

*Adehá guár koi mere dekhne vich nahín aea.*

No fool like this came within my experience (within my seeing).\*

*Seh sáhab kadehá he.*

What is that sahib like ?

*Jadehá aglá thá tadeha hí he.*

As the former was like that exactly is he.

AUXILIARY VERB *Honá*, "to be."

## Present.

## Singular.

*Maiñ hán,* "I am."

*Tú he,* "you are."

*Oh he,* "he is."

## Plural.

*Assán hán,* "we are" (hu).

*Tussán hán,* "you are" (hu).

*Seh hán,* "they are" (hin),

## Future.

*Maiñ hongha,* "I will be." *Assán honghe,* "we will be" (bhole).

*Tu hongha,* "thou wilt be." *Tussán honghe,* "you will be" (bhole).

*Seh hongha,* "he will be." *Seh honghe,* "they will be" (bhole).

The past *tha*, "was," is like Hindi.

*Aj mere boṭi kamán pichhe ke rahi gae háñ*

To-day my <sup>cook</sup><sub>kitchen</sub> servants have remained behind. (*Kángra*).

*Tussán aj kal kia pahrde háñ ?*

What are you reading nowadays ?

*Eh Rájpút halke háñ.*

These are low Rájpúts.—(*Kángra*).

*Kasora ri wífe bari khundar he.*

Kasorá's daughter is very handsome.—(*Gádi of Dharamsála*).

*Aṭháhún te páhile jo sahib thú so khará thú.*

The sahib who was before him, he was good.

Pronominal Adverbs of direction like *idhar* "hither," *udhar* "thither," *jidhar* "whither," *tidhar* "thither," *kidhar* "whither," seem to be wanting in Jándari.†

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\* This would be in Gádi :—*Mhá gowár mere herne má ná á*  
No fool like this came within my seeing.  
(Observe—"herna," to see,  
"ma" for *manj*, in,  
"a," 3rd singular past tense of *áná*, "to come"=*áyá*).

† Jándar or Jhándar is the term used by the Gaddis for the country net included in their country, the Gadderan. [It literally means 'cotton-clothed,' i.e., the people not dressed in woollen garments like the Gaddis.]



## PRONOMINAL ADVERB OF MANNER.

<i>Proximate Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Relative.</i>
<i>Iháñ, "thus."</i>	<i>Jiháñ, "as."</i>
<i>Correlative.</i>	<i>Interrogative.</i>
<i>Tiháñ, "so."</i>	<i>Kiháñ, "how?"</i>

## ADVERBS OF TIME.

- Agáháñ, "before,"* (Hindi *ágé*), also *ageñ*.  
*Aj, "to-day,"* as in Panjábí.  
*Kal, "to-morrow, yesterday."*  
*Parsón, "the day before yesterday, or the day after to-morrow."*  
*Chauth, "the fourth day past or future, counting to-day as the first day, tomorrow or yesterday as the second, &c.*  
*Panjoth, "the fifth day."*  
*Chioth, "the sixth day."*  
*Pachahan, "after, afterwards."*  
*Phiri, again."*  
*Bhiágá, "in the morning."*  
*Bárambár, "repeatedly."*  
*Kadi kadái "sometimes, rarely."*  
*Nit, "continually, always."*  
*Pápi lok Paharie pathar jinháñ de chit.*  
*Ang maloá kadí kadái, nain maloá nit.*  
 The mountain people are wretches, whose hearts are stone. They join bodies rarely, they are always joining eyes.—*Song.*  
*Hun, "now."*

## ADVERBS OF PLACE.

- Nere, "near."*  
*Pár, "over, across."*  
*Uár, "this side," uár-pár.*  
*Wál, "to, towards." Tahsildáre wál já, "go to the Tahsildár."*  
*Aresi paresi, "on both sides," "all around." (Hindi—ás pás).*  
*Paráhan, "on that side." (Hindi—Pare).*  
*Uráhan, "on this side." (Hindi—Ure).*  
*Ándar, "within," and báhar, "without," are as in Hindi.*  
*Agáhan, "before."*  
*Pacháhan, "behind."*  
*Taiṭhe, Taiṭhí, "there."*  
*Taiṭhi Gádi saite galá bátá karí.*  
 There with a Gadi I talked.—(*Dharamsalá*).  
*Handará, "elsewhere." So apní zamín chaddí handara na gahnde, "they abandoning their laud do not go elsewhere."*

## PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF TIME.

<i>Proximate Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Remote Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Relative.</i>
<i>Hun, ibhen, "now,"</i>	<i>Then.</i>	<i>Játú, "when."</i>
<i>Correlative.</i>		<i>Interrogative.</i>
<i>Tálú, "then."</i>	...	<i>Kálú, "when."</i>

## PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF PLACE.

<i>Proximate Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Remote Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Relative.</i>
<i>Ithú, "here."</i>	<i>Othú, "there."</i>	<i>Jithu, "where."</i>
<i>Ithe (Kutlehr).</i>	...	...
<i>Correlative.</i>		<i>Interrogative.</i>
<i>Títhú, "there."</i>		<i>Kuthú, "where?"</i>
<i>Taithe, "there."—(Gádi).</i>		

## MARRIAGE SONG.

*Rátí da handhná jo chhadí deh, Kahná.*  
*Hun hoeá gharbári, Rám.*  
*Ageñ tú thá, Kahná, hálú guálú.*  
*Hun hoeá gharbári, Rám.*

Give up wandering at night, Oh Kahna !  
 Now you have become a married man, Oh Ram !  
 Before you were, Oh Kahna ! a ploughman and a cowherd !  
 Now you have become a married man, Oh Ram !

*Mahrián dá sang chhadí, chhaddí deh, Kahna.*  
*Hun hoeá gharbári, Rám.*

Abandon, abandon the society of Gujar women, Kahna.  
 Now you have become a married man ! Oh Rám !

*Mahar* is a Gujar and *Mahari* a Gujar-woman.

## THE NUMERALS.

1, <i>Ik.</i>	11, <i>Giára.</i>	21, <i>Ikí.</i>	31, <i>Ikatri.</i>
2, <i>Do.</i>	12, <i>Bára.</i>	22, <i>Baí.</i>	32, <i>Batri.</i>
3, <i>Tre.</i>	13, <i>Tehrá.</i>	23, <i>Treí.</i>	33, <i>Tetri.</i>
4, <i>Chaur.</i>	14, <i>Chaudá.</i>	24, <i>Chaubi.</i>	34, <i>Chautri.</i>
5, <i>Panj.</i>	15, <i>Pandrá.</i>	25, <i>Panji.</i>	35, <i>Panjatri.</i>
6, <i>Chhia.</i>	16, <i>Solrá.</i>	26, <i>Chhabi.</i>	36, <i>Chhiatri.</i>
7, <i>Sat.</i>	17, <i>Satára.</i>	27, <i>Satai.</i>	37, <i>Satatri.</i>
8, <i>Ath.</i>	18, <i>Athára.</i>	28, <i>Athai.</i>	38, <i>Athatri.</i>
9, <i>Nau.</i>	19, <i>Uni.</i>	29, <i>Unathi.</i>	39, <i>Untáli.</i>
10, <i>Das.</i>	20, <i>Bih.</i>	30, <i>Trihi.</i>	40, <i>Cháli.</i>

## SONGS.

Songs sung by women at weddings of Brahmans, Rájputés and Khatri in Kángra—



*Assáñ bachháí kálí kamalrí jí,*  
*Kurameñ bachháí sutranjí jí ;*  
*Tussáñ ai baho angañe*

We have spread black blankets jí,  
 The opposite party in marriage (Kuram) have spread carpets jí ;

Come you and sit āown in the courtyard.

[ *Note.*—In marriage parties the bride's family are "kurame" to the bridegroom's party and the bridegroom's party are "kurams" to the bride's. There is no English word which expresses the relationship.]

*Kí tussáñ mangde tukrá,*  
*Muchrá kí tussáñ sári de bhukhe the.*

*Assáñ mangde kurame diá dáriá,*  
*Lei chubáre baiṭhe the.*

*Question.*—What morsel do you want ?

A piece, or are you hungry for the whole ?

*Answer.*—We want the wife of the Kuram,

They took her and were sitting in the upper storey.

#### GENEROSITY.

*Máli Sáli sakke bhai,*  
*Thikria rí dál banái ;*  
*Chalande gidar tíre lae.*  
*Sáli balandá bhujjí khání ;*  
*Máli balandá kání lissé há ;*  
*Kání jo pujání.*

Máli and Sáli were two own brothers,  
 They cooked a dish of dál ;  
 They shot a running jackal with an arrow.  
 Sáli says " Let's eat it fried ;"  
 Máli says " The one-eyed woman is ill ;  
 " Let's take it to the one-eyed woman."

Song on Rája Sansár Chand, Katoch Rájpút of Kángra, marrying a pretty Gaddí woman whom he saw herding her cows.—(Dharamsála)—

*Gaddí chāre bakriáñ,*  
*Gaddín chāre gāe ;*  
*Gharrá bhaje sapriáñ,*  
*Binná khādhe gāe.*  
*Her jawan ruía,*  
*Rája Gaddin biáhe.*

The Gaddí was grazing his goats;  
 The Gaddí woman was grazing her cows;  
 Her *gharra* was broken on the rocks,  
 The cows ate the pad (worn between the head and the jar on it).  
 Seeing her young face,  
 The Rájá married the Gaddin.

—————  
 JHÁNDAR SONG.

1. *He.—Pussi, pussi,  
 Kajo russi,  
 Láhúla giá manáná ;  
 Chal pussi bhat khána.*  
*She.—Jáná juráná,  
 Main nahín anda.*
2. *Púni nahín mukdí ;  
 Tand nahín trutdi ;  
 Sas nahín akhdi  
 Jo pánie jo jáná.*  
 The ball of wool never comes to an end.  
 The thread never breaks;  
 My mother-in-law never says  
 "Go for water."

—————  
 SAHNU MALI'S SONG.

Gaddí song—

- (1). *Súhi, súhi pagri na lání,*
  - (2). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
  - (3). *Manhú balale je lilári,*
  - (4). *Baṭi ri jhinjan mangání,*
  - (5). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
  - (6). *Piṭi teri katerá khalṛú ?*
  - (7). *Láliá Tundiá bo !*
  - (8). *Pete kase-rá halarú ?*
  - (9). *Sáliá Tundiá bo !*
  - (10). *Pete máli-ra halarú.*
  - (11). *Sáliá Tundiá bo !*
  - (12). *Kugti-rá teká na lená,*
  - (13). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
  - (14). *Káli, kála, daglá na láná,*
  - (15). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
  - (16). *Manhú balale je há Tekadár,*
  - (17). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
- (1). A red, red *pagri* do not put on,
  - (2). Oh Máli Sahnú !



- (3). People will say you are a dyer ;
- (4). Bring rice of Bhaṭí.
- (5). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
- (6). Oh, what is the skin on your back (full) ?
- (7). Oh Lálá Tuncí !
- (8). In your womb whose child is there ?
- (9). Oh Sálí Tundí !
- (10). In your womb is Málí's child,
- (11). Oh Sálí Tundí.
- (12). Do not take the farm of Kugti,
- (13). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
- (14). A black, black coat do not put on,
- (15). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
- (16). People will say he is a farmer,
- (17). Oh Málí Sáhnu !

(Note.—(2), “Málí Sáhnu,” (7), “Lálá Tundiá,” (9) “Sálí Tundí.”  
Málí, Lálá and Sálí are the names of the persons.  
Sáhnu and Tundí are the names of their castes.

(3), “Balale ” is the 3rd person plural, future tense,  
from balna, “ to say.”

*Het*, s. f., remembrance, memory. “ Abe het ai minjo,” no re-  
membrance came to me.

#### THE WOOING OF SAMBHÚÁ

1. *Sambhúá méré múriyá dá nát !*
2. *Sambhúá dherá* <sup>(2)</sup> *hai láí.* <sup>(1)</sup>
3. *Dherá hoi láí bo meri ján !*
4. *Sambhúá dherá hoi láí.*
5. *Kanaka* <sup>(3)</sup> *ri roṭi, ghiú, dál,*
6. *Sambhúá khái kari já,*
7. *Khái kari já bo meri ján !*
8. *Dohaṛ dindi* <sup>(4)</sup> *bachháí,*
9. *Sambhúá soi kari* <sup>(1)</sup> *já,*
10. *Soi kari já meri ján !*
11. *Sambhúá soi kari já,*
12. *Kálá jíná* <sup>(5)</sup>, *ḍorá* <sup>(6)</sup> *hachhí* <sup>(7)</sup>, *choli* <sup>(8)</sup>
13. *Ammá meri ! Sambhúá áyá bo.*

1. Oh Sambhú, my first dancer !
2. Oh Sambhú ! be slow (*i.e.*, stay here).
3. Be slow, my life !
4. Oh Sambhú be slow.
5. Eread of wheat, *ghi* and *dál*,
6. Oh Sambhú ! eat before you go : (literally “ having eaten  
go.”)

7. Eat before you go, my life !
8. I am spreading a shawl.
9. Oh Sambhú, sleep before you go : (literally “ having slept go.”)
10. Sleep before you go, my life !
11. Oh Sambhú ! sleep before you go,
12. (With) a black like girdle (and) a white frock,
13. Oh mother ! my Sambhú has come.

- Notes.*—(1). “ Hoi lai,” “ khái kari,” and “ soi kari ” are the conjunctive participles from the verbs “ hona,” “ kháná ” and “ soná ” respectively. In Hindi these forms would be “ ho karke,” “ khá karke ” and “ so karke.”
- (2). “ Dhera ” is the Hindi and Panjabi “ dhirá,” “ slow,” whence comes “ dhiraj,” “ slowness,” “ dhirtái,” “ patience ” and other derivatives.
- (3). “ Kanaka.” The short *a* at the end of “ kanak ” is added to nouns ending in a consonant to prepare them for receiving the case affix *rá*.
- (4). “ Díndi ” is the present participle feminine, from “ dinda,” “ to give. ”
- (5). “ Jina ” is the pronominal adjective of similarity and corresponds to “ jaisa ” in Hindi.
- (6). “ Đorá ” is the cord of black wool the Gaddí winds round his waist. Gaddí women also wear it, and the “ đorá ” is used as a binder by women after child-birth.
- (7). “ Hachhí ” is the feminine of the adjective “ hachhá,” “ white.”
- (8). “ Choli ” is the capacious woollen frock worn by Gaddí men and women. It is secured round the waist by the “ đorá.” The “ cholí ” comes down to the knees on men and to the ankles on women. The “ đorá ” round the waist makes a large body in the “ cholá ” above the waist. The body is called the “ khokh,” and forms a receptacle for very miscellaneous articles, such as a number of newly born lambs, bread, and wool for spinning.

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#### THE GADDI GIRL'S CHOICE OF A HUSBAND.

1. Tá búđhrú jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.
2. Sojre chúnđe rand bholí ho.
3. Tá chákará jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.
4. Hak pánde uđhí jánde ho.
5. Tá dúr-desí jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.



6. *Gorú chugánde jo deni ho.*
  7. *Tá rojí jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.*
  8. *Sajre chúnde rand gahlí ho.*
  9. *Bhede charánde jo dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.*
  10. *Khokh bhare lelá más ho.*
  11. *Bhedá de puhála nú jo dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.*
  12. *Píthi jo delá cholú ho.*
1. To an old man do not give me, father, do not give me, father.
  2. I shall be a widow while my hair is (still) freshly done.
  3. To a servant do not give me, father, do not give me, father.
  4. A call comes—He gets up and goes (and leaves me).
  5. To one who lives far away do not give me father, do not give me, father.
  6. To one who grazes a herd of cattle give me.
  7. To a sick man do not give me, father, do not give me, father.
  8. I shall become a widow while my hair is (still) freshly done.
  9. To a herder of sheep give me, father, give me, father.
  10. He will bring me his pocket full of meat.
  11. To a tender of sheep give me, father, give me, father.
  12. He will give me a frock for my back.

*Notes.*—In translating this song all the “tás” and all the “hos” should be omitted. They are without meaning.

“Jo” in the first, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, and twelfth lines is the sign of the dative case.

“Chách” in Gádí and “cháchú” in the valleys of Kángra is a common word “father.”

The meaning of the second and eighth lines is—“If you marry me to an old or a sick man I shall be a widow before my hair, which was done for my wedding, is ruffled,” *i.e.*, I shall be a widow before my wedding dress is worn out.

“Bholi” in the second line is the feminine third person singular future, from “bhona,” “to be.”

“Gorú” in the sixth line means a herd of horned cattle.

“Khokh” in the tenth line is the body of a Gaddí’s frock which is made into a pocket by the frock being tightly bound at the waist with a woollen rope called “dorá,” which passes several times round the waist. The “khokh” is used to carry miscellaneous articles. The wearer’s dinner may be seen in it or even half a dozen new-born lambs or kids.

“Gáhli” in the eighth line is the feminine third person singular future, from “gáhná,” “to go,” “to become.”

“Lelá” in the tenth line is third person singular future, from “lena,” “to bring.”

“Delá” in the twelfth line is third person singular future, from “dena,” “to give.”

“Cholú” is the woollen frock worn by both Gaddí men and women. It is made very capacious and loose, secured round the waist with a black woollen cord called “dorá.” The “cholú” comes half down the thigh on men and to the ankles on women.

— — — — —

THE SONG OF RAJA GOPI CHAND.

1. *Chanan chaukí bo rúpí jhariyáñ Rájá Gopi Chand naháe.*
2. *Tá amar bholá bo aghná chándí bargá, thenđi búnd kathoñ áe.*
3. *Tá chhaje bo baithí matá Nain Bantí nain bhari, bhari roe.*
4. *Tá phirí uparhún dekhe Rájá Gopi Chand, tá matá Náin Bantí roe.*
5. *Tá kúní hí dití, matá, tijo galiáñ ? Kúní bole mande bol,*
6. *Tá nahíñ bo dití, beṭá, minjo galiáñ, na bole mande bol.*
7. *Tá kúní bo herú, matá, mande nain ? Us de nainán kadháñ.*
8. *Tá na bo herú minjo, beṭá, mande nain, na koi galiáñ de.*
9. *Tá jaisi káyá, beṭá, terari taisi báwal tere.*
10. *Tá jal bal maṭiáñ ho gían húi bhasamáñ dherí.*
11. *Tá síkh deñ, matá, meri páie umar káyá.*
12. *Tá jog dhiáyá Ráje Bharthari, pái umar káyá.*
13. *Tá jog bo dhiáná mo, matá, meri páni umar káyá.*
14. *Tá jog bo dhiáyá Ráje Gopi Chande pái umar káyá.*

1. On a seat of sandal wood, with silver ewers, Rájá Gopi Chand was bathing.
2. “The heaven is clear like silver, whence do the cold drops come ?”
3. Sitting in the balcony his mother, Nain Banti, was weeping bitterly.
4. Then again Rájá Gopi Chand looked up. His mother Nain Banti was weeping.
5. *He.*—“Who gave, mother, to you abuse ? Who spoke evil words ?”
6. *She.*—“Neither was given, son, to me abuse : nor were spoken evil words.”
7. *He.*—“Then who looked (at you), mother, with evil eyes ? His eyes I will tear out.”
8. *She.*—“No one looked at me, son, with evil eyes, nor gave me abuse.
9. (“It was thinking that) as your body is, so was your father’s.”
10. “He was burned and became clay. He became a heap of ashes.”
11. *He.*—“Then give me advice, mother, make my body immortal.”
12. *She.*—“Rájá Bharthari became an ascetic. He made his body immortal.”



13. *He.*—*I should become an ascetic, mother. I should make my body immortal.*
14. *So Rája Gopi Chand became an ascetic. He made his body immortal.*

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A SONG.

1. *Nahlá dí tán Jati Lubáno jo chkalí, chhalí puchhdí.*
2. *Tá dublá tún kit gúne hoiá ho.*

(A Jati of the valley chaffing, chaffing, a Lubána asks).  
*She.*—For what reason have you become lean ?

- 
3. *Tá ek tán bo tútú, bo gorie, Jamúá dá kálá ho.*
4. *Tán dúje bo tán tútí balrí prít ho.*

*He.*—First, oh fair one, the Jammu revenue is deficient  
*(i.e., I cannot pay the revenue).*

Secondly, the love of a girl is broken off *(i.e., I have been jilted).*

- 
5. *Tán dheḍu bálú deni hán Lubánúán.*
6. *Bharí deni hán Jammúán de hále ho.*
7. *Tán navví, navvi láni hán prít ho.*

*She.*—Then you must sell your ear-rings and nose-ring,  
 Lubána.

You must pay in full the Jammu revenue.

Then you must get a new, new love.

- 
8. *Tá pahile bo tán hále bo Lubánuán dheḍú bálú deni hán.*
9. *Dúje hále math dí janjírí ho.*

*She.*—Then at the first instalment, Lubána, you must sell  
 you ear-rings and nose-ring.

And at the second instalment the forehead chain.

- 
10. *Tá amhá bajhún rahní hán, Lubánúán.*
11. *Bápú bajhún rahní hán.*
12. *Túdh bájkún dhún bo mádhúni ho.*

*She.*—Then you must remain without mother, Lubána,

You must remain without father.

Without thee I am silent *(i.e., sad).*

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A SONG.

*Uchí, uchí marhiá merá srí thákar scndá ;*  
*Rádhá báii jhulándí hán,*

*Krishna.*—*Tá tú kajo ruṭhi ruṭhi merí Rukmaní Rádhá ;*  
*Tudh bin níndr na aundí háñ,*

*Rádhá.*—*Tá darániáñ mochrú, jiṭháníáñ mochrú,*  
*Mú gorí mochrú nahí háñ.*

*Krishna.*—*Tá tú mat ruṭhín, ruṭhín merí Rukmaní Rádhá ;*  
*Rádhá jo mochrú le dena háñ.*

On a high, high eminence my Lord God is sleeping ;  
 Rádhá is fanning a breeze.

*Krishna.*—Why are you pouting, pouting, my Rukmani Rádhá ?  
 Without you sleep does not come.

*Rádhá.*—My younger sisters-in-law (have) shoes, my elder  
 sisters-in-law (have) shoes ;  
 I fair-complexioned (have) no shoes ;  
 (To me fair is no shoe, literally).

*Krishna.*—Do not pout, pout, my Rukmaní Rádhá !  
 To Rádhá I will give shoes.  
 (Literally—To Rádhá shoes are to give).

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A DITTY.

<i>Khasam marie</i>	...	...	If a husband die.
<i>Dal bal karie.</i>			
<i>Khind ṭuṭe...</i>	...	...	If a blanket is torn,
<i>Ṭali paie...</i>	...	...	Put on a patch,
<i>Ambar ṭuṭe...</i>	...	...	If heaven splits,
<i>Kiá siná...</i>	...	...	How can one sew it ?
<i>Yár mare ...</i>	...	...	If a lover die,
<i>Kiá jíná...</i>	...	...	How can one live ?

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*Glossary of Words peculiar to the Kangra District.*

Aj (aj), to-day.

Akhoka, adj., of this year, akho, as in “ akhoki chhalí parok, chhalí thaun kharí hin,” “ this year’s maize is (*lit.*, are) better than last year’s.”

Alá, a bird’s nest. “ Kas pakhrue da álá hai ? ” (Of what bird is that the nest ?)

Alhía = Amaltás. (Lambagráon).

Ambar, sky.

Amri, *bârání* land, cf. *otar*.

Andarwár, the court-yard of one or more houses. (Saloh).

Ang, *relationship*. (Shahpur). “ Tahsildáre kane tis dá ang hai,” (he is related to the Tahsildár).

Angujha, “ not hidden,” “ known.” (Saloh).

Ankhiá, trouble : “ Mitr dusman ankhiá de waqat pachháne,” (Friend and enemy are distinguished at the time of difficulty). (Kángra).

Apan, but.

Ate, and.

Aunda, *drain*, a small drain cut across a field to drain it (= *chalra*).

Awán, áwáná, the court-yard of a house. (Hamírpur).

Bachálná, destroy, injure. (Kángra).

Badhna, to cut = Vadhna. (Bandla).

Bagar, a kind of grass, used for fodder and for ropes, *Andropogon involutus* and *Ercophorum cornosum* (Stewart); cf. gáo-dhan málá.

Bagur, s. f., air, wind. (Kutlehar).

Bahri, year.

G. Báhú, fore-quarter of a sheep. (Dharmśála).

Bái, a covered spring. “ At the bái is the camp of Harjála.”  
Also a woman’s nipple. (Garli song).

\* Words to which G. is prefixed are peculiar to the Gádi dialect.

Báj, ploughed land. (Kaloha).

Bajhi, "except."

Bajog, loss.

Bajrothi, hard, strong, used of hard, round stones in a river-bed as opposed to the soft sandstone of the cliffs; cf. kasarál. (Baragráon).

Bakhán, ease, comfort.

Balad, in the south of the District, *i. e.*, in Hamírpur and Dera, "balad" is used for bullock. In Pálampur, Kángra, and Núrpur dánd is used.

Balná, tell, speak.

Banj, excommunication. "Tujjo banj pá ditá" (I have excommunicated you).

Banná (=Samalu) *Vitex negundo*, Stewart, 166.

Barañ, subst. masc. or verb, rain or to rain.

Baruṭhi, the court-yard of a house = *dalán*, cf. áwán. (Hamírpur)

Barsará (spelt barsálá), rainy season.

Bása, a hamlet when high up on a hill.

Basáh, trust.

Básand, ploughed land = *taraddadi*. (Garlí).

Basdi, a hamlet. (Kutlehar).

Basinda, a hamlet.

Basúntí, *Adhatoda Vasica*, Stewart, 164.

Bat, a road.

Baṭ, s. f. egg.

G. Bát, wind, as in "baṭá bát jalurá" ('a great wind is blowing')

Bat, upper millstone. Thali, under millstone. (Bhawarna.

Batrá, 1½ times, of interest. (Kutlehar).

Batti, a measure = two sérs pakka.

Baurá, sown.

Behand, capable of cultivation (cf. behan).

Beis (=bido,) a willow. Stewart, 206—8.

Bekanú, a wether.

Beṛá, a cluster of houses, a hamlet. (Dhatwál).

Beṭari, wife.

Bhájná, be broken, as in "had bháji-go," (the bone was broken)

Bhakṛári, a mallet for crushing clods.



- Bhalel, fibre made from the bark of the *dhaman* tree. (Baragrón).
- Bhangan, the name of a fish : (Bhadpur), Biás.
- Bhanná, break.
- Bhanor, see darohlá.
- G. Bharakh, s. f. hunger.
- Bharautá, a clod-crusher. (Nadaunti).
- Bhedu, a sheep generally, also a ram.
- Bher, an ewe.
- Bhet̥h, a precipice. (Alampur).
- “ Bhitán dei dea,” shut the door (*lit.*, the planks, used here as a door).
- Bhukrán, a clod-crusher. (Dera).
- G. Biár, wind, as in “ bari biár jaluri ” (a great wind is blowing).
- Bido, see beis.
- Bij, lightning when it strikes (it is said), while bijli = the flash.
- Bilangan, a clothes' horse, a stick suspended by two ropes from the eaves of a house.
- Bir, a ridge between fields. (Daro).
- Birla, broad.
- Biul, see dhaman.
- Boglú, a Gaddi's purse of untanned skin.
- Bohar, the upper storey in an agriculturist's house. (Sujánpur).
- Búhlá, adj., low, depressed. (Nagrota).
- G. Bujazú, tinder.
- Bun, adv., below, as in “ bun gích top ” (go down and search).
- Chach, father.
- Chakona, square.
- Chalca = aunda, *qu. vide.* (Malán).
- Chamal, the plant which children call “ Jack-in-the-box ” (Garli).
- Chamba, *Michelia campaca*, Stewart, 5.
- Chamṛá, skin (of cattle).
- Chámri, skin (of a man),
- Chatráṭi, mahser, cf. kakiáru. (Dera and Sujánpur).
- Chhalu, a lamb.
- Chharola, a stile.

Chhiri, wood.

Chhopa, vaccination.

Chhú, the six-sided cactus.

Chhú-nali, water-cress.

Chhubba, the rope with which a load of grass is tied.

Chhumb, a stack of maize. (Kutlehar).

Chirindi, ? maple.

Chírná, to split.

Choi, a stream, a torrent.

Chorná, to strip, to skin.

Choü, a stream,—"Is jiminiá ki tre choü lagde, tap nau hans;" (to this land three streams are attached, there are nine months for the water). (Kángra).

Chunchal, a sort of blackbird with a blue tinted plumage in the sun.

Chura, parched rice.

G. Churiáti, hind quarter of a sheep. (Dharmśála).

Dah, courtship, as in "meri dah karni" (make love to me)

Dadhuní, hive.

Dagúlá, grape-vine, and Dhuṛa, grape.

Dand, tooth.

Danga, a stone wall.

Dangu, a scorpion.

Darohla, the multicorn, domesticated tree-bee; cf. bhanor, the unicorn, wild tree-bee.

Dera, crooked, as "deri lakṛi" (a crooked stick).

Dháman = Bíúl (*Gervia oppositifolia*, Stewart, 27).

Dhak-dhak, little by little.

Dharírná, to drag.

Dherá, sun.

Dherá, day (=dhiárá).

Dhíngará, Hind. arhar, a kind of pulse, *Cajanus Indicus*. (Rámgarh)

Dhiotra, a daughter's son.

Dhirna, to drag. (Chaumukha).

Dhíú, a tree with large leaves; bears a fruit. *Artocarpus integrifolia*. (Lodhwan).



Dhiu, daughter.

Dhor, bullock.

Dhura, *vide* Dagula.

G. Díná, to cross (a pass, river, etc).

Dolna, to tremble.

Dond, a wood-pigeon.

Dote, to-morrow.

Dudhár, a hut in the cultivated land for the purpose of being near the fields.

Etki, this time, now.

Gá, cow.

Gabe, between.

Gaḍi, a sheaf of rice. (Saloh).

G. Gahná, to go.

Galáná, to speak.

Gáo-dhan málá, a rope of *bagar* grass and mango leaves suspended across the path to a cowshed to avert cattle-disease. (Baragráon).

Gappí, chatterer, flatterer, as in “Katochári di parol, Ghálakári jo ata, Gappiári jo Chole (*i. e.* chával”), (at the doorway of a Katoch helpers get flour, flatterers get rice).—*Proverb.*

Gar, fort.

Garáká, a clap of thunder.

Garju, thunder.

Garna, *Carissa diffusa*, Stewart, 42, very like karaunda, which is *Carissa carandas*.

G. Gaülá, langur.

Ghálak, helper.

Ghálná, to help.

Ghálki, help.

G. Gharangar, saddle of a sheep. (Dharmśála).

Ghirini, the bird which makes bottle-shaped nests. (Saloh).

Gharu, a precipice.

Ghuará, a stack of rice-straw. Kángra.

Gid, the name of a fish, (Bhádpur), Biás.

Gidli, name of a fish. (Dera and Sujánpur).

God, an eel-like fish, *Mestacemblus armatus*. (Dera and Sujánpur).

Gobrú, son.

Gorá, white, fair (of people).

Gorú, a herd of cattle, as in “ tere goru kate tahar hin ? ” (how many head are there in your herd ?)

Gotar, tribe (restricted to the descendants of one ancestor).

Grá, town.

Gulu, a cob of maize from which the grain has been picked.

Gulú, a cob of maize with the grains on. (Lodhwan),

Gurlu, the sweet viscous matter deposited by insects on the leaves and flowers of the mango in spring. (Rajhún).

G. Hachhá, white (of things and animals).

Hákhar, eye.

Hákhí, a glance.

“ Duhí janie di hákhí lagí,” (the glance of two lovers met) (Garli song).

Hand, ploughing the standing crop of rice “ Hand Hár mahine hunghe” (the rice will be ploughed in Hár), cf. ur.

Hath, hand.

Hath-lopa, groping—karná, to grope. (Kángra).

Hatiára, a wretch, a murderer.

Hera, *shikar*.

Hí, yesterday, as in “ Hí aun kachari jo na go,” (yesterday I to kutcherry did not go).

Hiún, snow.

Hiúnd, Hiúnda, winter, as “ akhoke hiúndá manj tusso apní bahrá bakrí kaṭhi charni hin ? ” (where will you graze your sheep and goats this winter ?) (Dharmśála).

Hiúnwát, snow-blindness.

Iji, mother.

It, a brick.

G. Jabará, an old man.

Jalára and pallá, names of blights.

Jálú, when.

Janglá, yoke. (Bhawarna).

Jání-mání, *Nolens volens*.

Japhloṭa, croton tree, *Jatropha curcas* (Stewart's Punjab Plants, page 196). (Kángra).



Jar, fever, as in “jar khít ichhurá ha” (fever and ague have come).

G. Jeli, hard.

Jhauntú, axe.

Jhotá, a male buffalo.

Jhumb=a stack of Indian corn. (Lambagráon). cf. *chhumb*.

Jilha, dumb. (Kángra).

Junás, a wife. (Hamírpur).

Ká, crow, pl. ká (apparently, “mate ká hin”) (there are many crows).

Kahlá, quarrel.

Kajo, why? (Garli).

Kak, uncle, -i, aunt (*i.e.*, father's younger brother or his wife = patriá).

Kakiáru, mahser (=chatráti.) (Dera and Sujánpur).

Kakri, cucumber.

Kalbelán, the time between sunset and dark, evening.

Káma!, *Rottlera tinctoria*, Stewart, 197. The red powder which forms on the capsules is called *kamilá* and is used for dye, worms and itch.

Kan, ear.

G. Kandá, a flock, (Dharmśála) as in “tussere kaude manj ketari bahrá bakri hin?” (how many sheep and goats are there in your flock)?

Kandá, a thorn.

Kandi, water beetle.

Kandúbá, a hedgehog. (Baragráon).

Kaniár, (Kotla-Núrpur)=Amaltás, Stewart, 62.

Kanonian, parched Indian corn.

Kaphí, tinder (=bujazú).

Karál=Kachuar. (Kángra).

Karará, hard.

Karkará, iris, with broad leaves and purple bluish flowers (Triund, Dharmśála).

Kas, a stack of rice, square or oblong (Saloh); cf. kunu. (Saloh).

Kasákra, a crab. (Dehlu in Mandi).

Kasar, swarm.

Kasarál, soft, used of the soft sandstone which is rapidly worn into tracks by the feet of men or cattle (Baragráon); cf. kasari, and bajrothi.

Kasari, sick. (Baragráon).

Kasma!, *Berberis aristata*. Rasot is made of the root of the *kasma!*.

Kaur, a weed with a yellow flower (Lodhwan), observed in fields, generally in February and March.

Kawar-gandal, a plant of the aloe kind, ? *Aloe perfoliata*, Stewart, 232.

Kendu, *Deospyros montana*, right bank of Biás.

G. Khadna, call.

Khádú, a ram.

Khakhiar, the name of a fish, in Urdu Mahaser. (Bhadpu on Biás).

Khaktú, a chip, splinter.

Khaláh, locust.

Khal-dará, resin of the *chíl* (*Pinus longifolia*), Darini.

Khalri, skin (of a sheep or goat).

G. Khandá, a flock.

Khara, good.

G. Kharál, hair.

Kharat, loss.

Khárí, basket.

Khareru, foot and mouth disease; (also called *bara-rog*).

Khatta, sour.

Khauhrá, father-in-law.

G. Kheflá, a porcupine (= sehli).

Khilí, land fallen out of cultivation.

Khil-sál, rent for uncultivated land.

Khílá, cold.

Khikharna, to teach.

G. Khokha, the receptacle above the *dora*.

Khuchná, to have sexual intercourse with.

Khuchíná, pass, verb, from foregoing.

Khuká, dry.



Khukh, puff-ball, Stewart, 268.

Khunni, name of a fish. (Biás).

Kí and jo, dative affixes, as in "Debi Chand here kí chalia," (Devi Chand went to shoot).

Kichh, something=kuchh.

Kirá, snake.

Kiu, common bean. (Lodhwan).

Kochbi, or kochpi (Dadh), a large landing net. (Kángra).

G. Kod, a fair.

Kokrá, blue rock pigeon (Mundhi) ; (*vide parara*).

Koṭhlá, a clod-crusher. (Kángra).

Kuále, kuál, slope. (Bangar).

Kukṛele-da-thá, a stack of maize stalks. (Saloh).

Kukṛiálá, maize-stalks without the cobs. (Lanj).

Kuli, girl.

Kunu, a stack of rice, round with a peaked top, cf. kas (Saloh).

Kundh, a large stack of wheat.

Kundla, a stack of grass.

Kupáh, cotton.

Kurká, name of a fish. (Dera and Sujánpur).

Kutār, dog.

Kuṭ-phát, land cultivated after an interval of 2 or 3 years (Lanj).

Láhá, s. m., a landslip.

Láhar, land in which rice is not grown.

Lahṛ, a ram used for breeding.

Laira, Sawan.

Lak, waist, "Mera lak dole" (my waist swings,")

Láná, fine or smooth, as "píthá láná há" (the flour is fine).

Le, thistle. (Lodhwan).

Líndak, tail of cattle only. (Baragráon).

G. Linguṇí, a sheep's tail (cf. lingtí, in Kuluhi).

G. Lodhá, blood, of an animal.

Lo, light, as in "lo kar," (make a light).

Loda, inoculation.

Lunj, wages for picking cotton. (Tíra in Kutlehar).

Lurná, fall.

Mahe, buffalo.

Mach, a kind of toothless rake, made with a curved blade and a handle, for levelling muddy land.

Makhar, a swarm of bees.

Makhir, honey.

Maná, flying fox. (Sujánpur Tíra), =mancháñ. (Kotla).

Máran, *Ulmus campestris*. Stewart, 210. (Nagar in Kulu).

Masarín, potentilla. (Triund, Dharmsála).

Matá, too much, excess.

Megh, rain.

G. Molná, to meet, to be joined, to be procured, as in "minjo Núrpur manj ik dhár mola há," (I have got a range in Núrpur).

Mugi, a square receptacle made of mud and straw.

Múh, mouth.

Mund, head.

Múnakh, husband.

Ná, name.

Nacharohí, the fourth day.

Nagar, town.

Nakaraj, the day before the day before yesterday.

Nál, river.

Naund, a masonry tank as in "Thural ka naund."

Napílná, to wring, (clothes, &c.).

Nar, stone.

Nilri, blue jay. (Malán).

Nimán, slow.

Oban, an umbrella of leaves on a bamboo frame (=pohrú at Darini). (Hamírpur).

Osna, descend.

Otar, *báráni* land, cf. amri.

Páhú, tenant.

Pakhrúa, a bird.

Palla, see *jalara*.

Pánsará, *Wendlandia exserta*, Stewart, 17.

Pararu, a small stack of wheat.



Paraj, the day before yesterday.

Paraṇ, foot.

Paraṛa, blue rock pigeon (Mundhi), *vide* Kokrá.

Pariála, *Erythrina arborescens*. A tree with large leaves, thorns, and knotted (?) bark. At Pundar in Núrpur I saw some wandering tribe making broad bands of this wood, which they made up in rolls and used for making the hoops of sieves.

Parohí, the day after to-morrow.

Parol, s. f., the gateway of a house.

Parora or Porora. Tree with long pointed glabrous leaves.

Patar, leaf.

Páṭhá, name of a fish. (Kángra).

Patriá, father's younger brother, and Patrer, -i, *his* children.

Patru, a water-plant with leaves like sorrel. (Lodhwan).

Per-bhári, *lit.* heavy-footed, "pregnant."

Peru, a large basket consisting of a cylinder with narrowing mouth and a hole near the bottom for taking out the grain stored in it.

Phátú, a shingle for roofing (Darini).

Phúka, life, soul, as in "Parmesar ki kripa mere ghar vich chár *phúke* hain" (by the favour of God there are four persons in my house).

Piche, behind.

Pipal, red pepper. (Hamírpur).

Pirna, to get ready, as in "piro merí pálké," (get ready my palanquin). (Song).

Piúlá, yellow.

Prabhú, red bear (Kothi Kohar Sowar).

Pragra, light, as in "pragra pá," (make a light).

Prasan, thread as it is spun, *i.e.*, as from wool it becomes thread and is wound upon the spindle.

Pugna, to arrive.

Puṭhi, prep. and adv., up, above, upon, as in "puṭhi mat gáche," (do not go up).

Rana, queen bee.

Ridhi, spur of a mountain. (Rihlu).

Rukh, tree.

Rurhu, s. m. fixed rent = *P. Chakota*.

Sahensar paen, *Asparagus racemosus*, Stewart, 233. (?=thousand root).

Sakhná, unladen, empty.

Sakoi, drought, "Is baras sakoi bari hai, hun assan thelu pa dehe," cf. thelu.

Samalu, see Banná.

Sandh, a bull.

'Ghirthni rand ni, Jhotá sandh ni.' A Ghirthni cannot become a widow any more than a male buffalo can become a bull.—*Proverb.*

Sandh, a standing place in shade for cattle.

Sangrá, narrow.

Sapar, a cliff, or rock.

Sat, cold, cool.

Satha, always.

G. Sathri, a bundle of rice, cut but not yet tied. (Saloh).

Sauká, the state of having a rival wife. "Sauke par jána main ne manzur nahin kiá," (I did not consent to go on the condition of being a rival wife), Hansu vs. Mt. Koko.

Se, the functions of a barber, a shave. (Kángra).

Sehli, a porcupine. Punjabi, *seh*; in Gádi, Kheílá. Sansk. ?

Sel, bark-fibre. (Baragráon).

Sik, lead.

Sinna, wet.

Sirigná, ground-bee.

Sít, (Gádi, khít) ague.

Sitak, bark of a tree. (Baragráon).

So, placenta.

Soa, slight rain. (Rajhún).

Sotna, to glean, sweep, or collect by sweeping. (Lanj).

Sukáman, a parasitical plant. I have only seen it growing on mango trees. Fleshy leaves. I cannot trace it in Stewart. (Núrpur).

Sunái, needle.

Sup, a winnowing basket of bamboo. *Chhaj* is a winnowing basket made of the *tili* of *kána* grass. Sup in Urdu, see Fallon, *sub. voce.*

Sutrájan, marigold. (Hamírpur).

Tabar, a head (of cattle). (Dharmśála).

Tálu, then.



Tan, a *machán*.

Tap, see under *thelu*.

Tarpandi, crooked (morally).

Tasiá, trouble, annoyance, (in Gádi, tasiá), as in “ mainá tusso saite takrár kari-leo, tussa roz roz minjo kajo tasiá dinde há ? ” (I made a promise with you, why do you daily give me trouble ?) (Dharmśála Gádi).

Tai, father's elder brother, fem. tei, and tair, -i, are his children.

G. Taulá quick (also Jándri).

Taundi, s. f., hot season. (Garli).

Thainá, a deposit, “ yih meri thainá hai,” (this is to be kept for me).

Thák, s. f., an obstacle.

Thale, prep., below.

Thali, nether millstone. (Bhawarna).

Thelu, a flat piece of wood placed in a water-course to make the flow of water even in order to divide it equally amongst the smaller channels by means of pieces of wood (*tap*) fixed in the *thelu*.

Thil, snail.

Thula, thick.

G. Thúngár, parched grain.

Trámbá, copper.

Trikh, thirst.

Tuka, a cob of maize without the grain. (Lodhwan).

G. Tundi, sheep's trotter, cf. *thudú* in Kuluhi.

Undrar, a hamlet.

Unsán, a spindle held in the hand. (Dharmśála Gádi.)

Úr, planting rice by hand, “ assan nađen úr bhi-lei-chhadia,” (we have planted the rice by hand in the marshes), cf. *hand*.

Usáhal, fr. osná, a descent.

Usina, ascend, as in “ muhún thoñ nañ usíndhá, maṭha maṭha ilán ” (by me it cannot be ascended, I will come slowly). (Dharmśála Gádi) ; cf. osná.

*A Contribution to the History of Western Bundelkhand.*—By C. A.  
SILBERRAD, I.C.S.; B.A., B.Sc.

[Received 7th May 1902. Read May, 1902.]

The following is a translation of the first third of a History and Geography of Bundelkhand by Diwān Bijhe Bahādur Mazbūt Singh, Bundela Thakur of Nanora in the Bānsī pargana of the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhansi district. The author is a leading durbari of the sub-division and one of the chief Bundelas of the Jhansi district, and a remarkably intelligent gentleman. He is the present head of the family of the Jakhlon Thakurs whose fortunes he traces. The tract with which this portion of the history is concerned is the Lalitpur sub-division, the Orchha state and the Chanderi pargana of Gwalior, together with some of the neighbouring territories. It gives a fairly clear and concise account of the rise of the Bundelas and their doings in this tract. The history goes on to give an account of Panna and the rest of Eastern Bundelkhand but this portion is little more than an abstract of the Chatharprakash, a translation of the whole of which forms the bulk of Pogson's 'Bundelas.' The second part of the book is entitled 'Geography' and gives brief descriptions of the states and districts of Bundelkhand, containing little or nothing new; and also lists of the animal, vegetable and mineral products of Bundelkhand, which are interesting as giving the local names of many things that are quite unknown to Watts' 'Dictionary of Economic Products,' and which I hope to be able to identify.

The portion, the translation of which forms this paper gives an account of some events of, it is true, mainly local interest, but which I do not remember having seen elsewhere related. The notes added will, I think, enable most of the localities to be identified. All dates are according to the Christian era unless otherwise specified.

The first translation was done by Khwāja Muhammad Zafar, Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools at Lalitpur, and my acknowledgments are due to him for the performance of a tedious task. This translation was revised by myself, and I have discussed doubtful points with the author.



*A Portion of the History of Bundelkhand.*—By DIWĀN BIJHE BAHĀDUR  
MAZBŪT SINGH.

Several works on the history of Bundelkhand are already in existence. But not one of them can claim to be so comprehensive as to contain a sketch treating of the geography of the whole of Bundelkhand as well as showing the revenue and population of all parts of the province.

Nor do any of the existing works contain genealogical tables showing the names of all the Bundela Rajas and Chiefs and tracing their lines of descent and exhibiting the causes which led to the separation of the various families from the original stock.

Nor again is there any information forthcoming as to the extent of the entire province; and as to what portions of it are occupied by the Bundelas and by the Chiefs of other tribes, respectively, and what portions are under the direct control of the British Government.

Lastly, other historians have on many doubtful points, contented themselves with the suggestions of their own ingenuity.

It was with a view to supply these wants that at the instance of Major John Liston, Deputy Commissioner of Lalitpur, I Diwān Bijhe Bahādur Mazbūt Singh, Bundela Thākur and Jāgirdār, undertook to prepare this history of Bundelkhand with the assistance of Mr. Quinton, Commissioner of Jhansi, and the Political Agent, Bundelkhand States. It is intended that the book shall summarize all the narratives of events chronicled by writers of various generations best acquainted with the Bundela families. Abstracts and extracts from the following works will also find place in the work:—"History of India" (Hindi); "Vishan Purana" (Hindi); "Kawi Paria" (Hindi); Varsingh Charitra (Hindi); Chhatra Prakāsh (Hindi); "Bundel Charitra" (Hindi); "Geography of the Central Provinces"; Krishn Narain's "History" (Urdu); "Wākiāt-i-Bundelkhand" (Urdu); "Imperial Gazetteer of Bundelkhand."

Besides this I am a native of this part of the Provinces and am myself closely connected with the Bundela dynasties, and have received my legends from my ancestors, and have seen many old writings and inscriptions on buildings, etc.; my account may therefore be relied on.

In India as the majority of men know Hindi I have compiled this work in that language that it may be the more easily read. It is divided into two parts (1) History, and (2) Geography.

Bundelkhand is the portion of India bounded on the north by the Jamna, the south by the Narbada, the east by the Tons and the west by the Kāli Sindh. During the period when Raja Udhisthira was reigning in India, Sisupāl was the Raja of Bundelkhand and the country was then called Chen-Desh. For several generations Sisupāl and his



sons ruled over it; but later it fell into the hands of Raja Karam of Oudh. This Raja erected a building at Kalinjar and removed the city of Chanderi<sup>1</sup> from its site in the time of Sisupāl to the foot of Geru hill and dug a tank called Parmeshwar. He built a fort at Geru hill and made it a military station. At a distance of about seven miles from modern Chanderi ruins of temples, etc., still indicate the site of the Chanderi of the time of Sisupāl these are known as Burhi (old) Chanderi.<sup>1</sup> In a history edited by Munshi Krishn Narain it is mentioned that the kingdom of Raja Karam extended from Oudh to Mau Mand-sowar<sup>2</sup> and for several generations the Rajas of this dynasty ruled over it. Somi, the last Raja of this line, left his kingdom and fled to Kachh and Bhuj. Jamna Deva—succeeded him and became king of Chen-desh. There is a legend that the marks of the hoofs of his horse are to be seen on stones in Chāndpūr,<sup>3</sup> Chandrapur<sup>4</sup> and Sironj<sup>5</sup>; the only foundation of truth probably being that he was Raja of this part of the country and made Chanderi his capital. He claimed supremacy over all the countries from the Jamna to the Narbada, and from the Chambal to the Tons. About this time Bhārat Raja of Ujjain conquered Central India, but soon after becoming an ascetic was succeeded by his brother Bikram, who from that date assumed as one of his titles, Raja of Chen-desh. He was a powerful and wise monarch and is said to have ruled over the whole of India. Chen-desh was the centre of his domain, and his kingdom was known as Madh-desh or the Central region.

It is clear from the Vishnu-purana that Nāg-banshi Kshattris were ruling over the land from the Jamna to the Narbada and from the Chambal to the Ken. But it is impossible to determine the exact dates of their reigns. The "Imperial Gazetteer" gives the following dates:—

0 Raja Bhim-nagar.	100 Brahapat.
25 Kharjor.	125 Nagendra.
50 Dharamwats.	150 Biaghranaga.
75 Asank danamar.	175 Basunag. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Gwalior 18 miles west of Lalitpur. Old Chanderi is eight miles N.-W. of modern Chanderi and its numerous ruins are almost buried in jungle.

<sup>2</sup> Near Ujjain.

<sup>3</sup> An almost deserted village in pargana Balabehat (district Jhansi) 16 miles S.S.-W. of Lalitpur). There are numerous ruins of Chandel buildings (temples, horses, etc.,) for an account of which see Babu Chandar Mukarji's "Report on the Antiquities of Lalitpur."

<sup>4</sup> In pargana Dogaha (district Sagar), 20 miles N.-E. of Sagar.

<sup>5</sup> A considerable town in Tonk, about 32 miles S. of W. of Bina Railway Station on the I.M. Railway.

<sup>6</sup> The names in this list are spelt slightly differently. (See "Gazetteer" N.-W.P., Vol. I, p. 3).



In 215 Devanāg, the last King of this dynasty, ascended the throne. In his reign Toraman, the general of Raja Gopāl, who was a Kachhwāha by race invaded Eran<sup>1</sup> in 243 and conquered all countries from Bhopal to Eran. Toraman's son subdued Gwalior at the same time. In 358 Devanag abdicated and went to Narwar<sup>2</sup> and was succeeded by Sursen, who was a descendant of Toraman. He (Sursen) built the famous fort of Gwalior in 285.

An ascetic told him that his descendants would govern the kingdom for 400 generations. Gwalior has been a capital since that time. The descendants of Sursen ruled over Central India for a long time. In 593 the Raja of Kanouj invaded the kingdom and conquered the whole except the cities of Gwalior, Chanderi and Narwar. But the Kachhwāhas soon recovered their authority. But in the meantime Thakur Chandh succeeded in seizing several villages near Mahoba.<sup>3</sup> The descendants of this Thakur were called the Chandels.

The 84th and last Raja of the Kachhwāha dynasty was Tej-karan whom Dhandeva the historian calls Krishn Narain. About 933 the Parihar dynasty rose into importance and invaded and conquered Gwalior. Krishn Narain or Tej-karan left the capital and went to Dhūndhār,<sup>4</sup> but his descendants removed their residence to Narwar and Indurki.<sup>5</sup>

The first King of the Parihar dynasty was Vajradama, who subdued Central India. Meanwhile the Chandels of Mahoba were gaining power. Vajradama was followed successively by Raja Kirat, Raja Bhūvanpāl I and Raja Padhpāl. In 1093 Bhūvanpāl II succeeded Mahipāl who, in 1161 was succeeded by Raja Madhusudan, but even before his accession the Chandels had got possession of the whole kingdom except Gwalior, which after his death fell into the hands of Tomar Thakurs in 1232. The events connected with Chandib and his descendants will now be chronicled. It has already been mentioned that during the reign of the Kachhwāha Thakurs Chandib got possession of Mahoba and Kanouj, and while Kings of the Parihar dynasty were reigning his descendants over-ran the whole kingdom.

After the death of Chandib his son Wakipat<sup>6</sup> assumed the title of

<sup>1</sup> In Sagar district (pargana Khemlasa), on the Bina river, 6 miles S. of Bina Railway Station (I.M. Railway). (For an account of the ruins here see Cunningham's Archæological Reports).

<sup>2</sup> In Gwalior on the Sindh river 40 miles S.-W. of Gwalior.

<sup>3</sup> One of the chief seats of Chandel rule in Hamirpur district.

<sup>4</sup> Near Jaipur.

<sup>5</sup> 32 miles W. N.-W. of Jalaun in Gwalior State.

<sup>6</sup> Probably identical with Vakpati.

Raja and annexed Ajegarh. His son Bijai conquered Chatharpur,<sup>1</sup> Mau,<sup>2</sup> Chanderi, etc., and was succeeded in order by Jaso-Dharm Deva, Bijaipāl, and Kirat-Varam. The last King Kirat-Varam, wrested Panna and Shahgarh<sup>3</sup> from the Gonds. After Kirat-Varam, Jaya-Varma, Solakshan and Prithur-Varma ascended the throne in succession. In 1118 Govind-Chand succeeded Prithwi-Varma and subdued the whole of Central India subverting the Parihar dynasty which at that time retained possession of Gwalior and a few other villages only.

Nar-Varam succeeded in 1163 and was followed in 1167 by Parmol. In 1209 Narhar succeeded, in whose reign the Gonds, Lodhis, Ahirs and others rose and divided the kingdom, and the dynasty was consequently enfeebled. The last King was Bhoj-Varam, grandson of Parmol, whose reign was a continual struggle with rebels, by whom he was sometimes defeated and whom he at others subdued. During his nominal reign Bir Bundela rose into power and got possession of Mau,<sup>4</sup> Mahoni,<sup>5</sup> Kalpi and Kalinjar. He repeatedly defeated Bhoj-Varma and finally overthrew the Chandel dynasty.

Several buildings of the time of the Chandels are still found in Kalinjar, Mahoba, Deogarh<sup>6</sup> and Madanpūr<sup>7</sup> bearing inscriptions in Hindi.

After the overthrow of the Chandel dynasty that of the Bundelas was established. It is said that long before this Gharwar Kshattris, who were Suraj-bansis by descent ruled in Kāshi (Benares). The last King of Gharwār was Chait-karan whom Krishn-narain calls Birbhad. In the *Bundel-Charita* it is stated that the total revenue of his kingdom was one crore of rupees.

Birbhad had five sons:—(1) Ishri, also called Rāj Singh, (2) Hansrāj, (3) Mohan, (4) Mān, and (5) Jagdās or Pancham. The last was his father's favourite. In his lifetime the Raja divided his kingdom among his five sons giving half to the four elder, and half to

<sup>1</sup> Probably the capital of the State in the Bundelkhand Agency of that name.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the town 10 miles N.-W. of Chatharpur.

<sup>3</sup> A town in the Sagar district (pargana Shahgarh) 40 miles N.-E. of Sagar.

<sup>4</sup> Said by the author to be probably Mau-Ranipur in the pargana of that name (district Jhansi), 40 miles E. of Jhansi, but I am rather inclined to believe it is the Mau mentioned in note 14.

<sup>5</sup> As to this place I am not sure, there is a Mahoni in Gwalior adjoining a Mau in Jalaun district on the Pahnj 23 miles S.-W. of Jalaun Town.

<sup>6</sup> In pargana Balabehat (district Jhansi) 19 miles S.-W. of Lalitpur, on the Betwa, for an account of the ruins, see Cunningham's *Archæological Reports* and Babu Chandar Mukarji's *Report on the Antiquities of Lalitpur*.

<sup>7</sup> In pargana Maraura (district Jhansi) 36 miles S.-E. of Lalitpur—for an account of its Antiquities; see the works quoted in note.



Pancham, a division which not unnaturally caused ill-feeling between Pancham and his elder brothers, with the result that on the death of the Raja in 1170 Pancham was expelled and his dominion equally divided among the four brothers.

On the loss of his kingdom and wealth, he was in great distress, and he went to Bindhachal,<sup>1</sup> where on the first of Sāwan Sambat 1228 (1171 A.D.) in order to gain a victory over his brothers and recover his kingdom he practised the most severe asceticism in honour of the goddess Bindhāsni or Durga. For several days he took neither food nor water and continually chanted prayers; but without avail, on the eighth day, however, he sat within a circle of fire and on the ninth day standing on one leg prayed to the goddess, but still without avail. On the last day he resolved to offer his head to the goddess as a sacrifice, but before this consummation was reached the goddess cried: "Thou wilt enjoy the happiness of a King." Pancham asked her to appear before him and to give him some sign that he would defeat his brothers and regain his kingdom. The goddess gave no answer. Pancham resumed his religious chants, took his sword and tried to cut his throat, but the goddess thereupon appeared and cried: "Victory, Victory, Thou wilt be victorious and become Raja of a kingdom, and thy descendants will rule over Central India." When Pancham was about to behead himself and the goddess saw that a drop of blood fell from the cut to the ground, she cried: "Budit or Bundela (a drop)" and blessed him saying that his descendants would be called Bundelas hereafter, and then disappeared, Pancham collected a force, defeated his brothers, seized the kingdom and made Benares his Eastern Capital. The descendants of Pancham's four brothers are still called Gahrwār Thakurs.

Pancham was blessed with a son and according to the direction of the goddess, named him Bir-Bundela. It is said that during the reign of Bir Bundela, Shahāb-ud-din Ghori invaded India and decisively defeated Jai Chand Raja of Kanouj about 1195. Munshi Krishn Narain mentions in his book that in compliance with the orders of his father Bir Bundela fought a battle with Tatār Khan Afghan, in which 72 officers of the Khan's force were wounded; Bir Bundela himself shot 300 men with his own bow. This defeat actually stopped the Khan's further advance. It may therefore be inferred that it was in the time of Pancham that Shahāb-ud-din Ghori conquered India.

In 1214 Bir Bundela ascended the throne on the death of his father, who had reigned 49 years. He was able to extend his sway over several neighbouring kingdoms to the West, North and South. In 1231 he

<sup>1</sup> The famous shrine five miles West of Mirzapur.



subdued Kālpi and Mahoni and after defeating Bhoj Varam Chandel annexed Kalinjar. Bir Bundela gained a complete victory over the Gharwārs of Marra<sup>1</sup> and extended his conquests to Rewa, Oudh and the Doab. These conquests are related in detail in the Bundelā Charitr.

He was succeeded by Karan-Tirth, who married the daughter of Nimrāna Chauhan. Karan-Tirth obtained his name in consequence of having built a tirth or temple, which is still esteemed one of the famous temples of Benares. He offered Kashi or Benares to the Brahmans. His son Arjun Pāl came to Mahoni in 1313; and Toar of Gwalior gave him his daughter in marriage. From the Kabpriya and Kharsingh-Charitr it appears that he was the first Raja who made Mahoni his capital and ruled over Kalpi, Mau, Mahoni, and Kalinjar. He had three sons:—(1) Birbal, (2) Sohanpāl, and (3) Dayapāl. The Imperial Gazetteer<sup>2</sup> states that in 1263 Raja Arjunpāl sent his son Sohanpāl to Kateragarh<sup>3</sup> and that the fort was surrendered to him; on his death he was succeeded by his eldest son Birbal. He gave a few villages to Sohanpāl who had married the daughter of a Dhandera of Ganeshkhera.<sup>4</sup> Sohanpāl not being satisfied with his share of the inheritance went to Nāga the Kanghar Raja of Kurār,<sup>5</sup> with 45 sepoy and 13 sowars. In the Bundel-Charitr it is related that he asked Nāga to help him in taking his share from his brother; this Nāga promised to do on condition that he would eat, drink, and inter-marry with him; Sohanpāl was very much enraged at this suggestion and was about to leave Kurār, but hearing of his intention Nāga formed a plot to forcibly detain him, and compel him to accede to these proposals. Sohanpāl hearing thereof fled from the court, and went to Mukatman Chauhan, who was a descendant of Dhandera Deva and commanded 4,000 men on behalf of Nāga. Him he requested to assist him against his brother, but Mukatman refused saying that he would remain neutral.

After this Sohanpāl, leaving his small force behind, went alone successively to the Salingars, Chauhāns and Kachhwāhas, and told his story to them. But none of them offered to assist him. However a Panwār Thakur, named Panpal, Jāgirdar of Karhara,<sup>6</sup> offered assistance and the two conspired to remove Raja Nāga by stratagem from his

<sup>1</sup> This the author says is in the Mirzapur district near its Western border.

<sup>2</sup> Gazetteer of N.-W.P. I, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Better known as Katera, the seat of a jagirdar and titular Raja in pargana Mau (Jhansi district) 26 miles S.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>4</sup> In Gwalior 16 miles W. of Jhansi.

<sup>5</sup> In Orchha 20 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>6</sup> In Gwalior 27 miles W. of Jhansi.



kingdom, which was worth 13 lakhs. It was agreed that Sohanpā should go to Kurār and pretend to accept Raja Nāga's conditions of inter-marriage, etc., and invite the Raja and his relatives to his house. Sohanpāl went to Kurār and did as agreed on. After a time Raja Nāga, with his brothers and ministers, came to Sohanpāl's house, whereupon Panpal arrived with 300 Kshattris, and as soon as Raja Nāga and his followers had sat down to eat Panpal Panwār and Sohanpāl Bundela fell upon and slaughtered all the Kanghār chiefs, and immediately seized the fort of Kurār.

In this way on Wednesday the 2nd of Kartik Sambat 1345 (1288 A.D.) Sohanpāl became Raja of Kurār, and appointed Panpal and Mukatman as ministers. He said to them:—"As no Kshattri in the time of my distress gave me help except you no other save yourselves shall marry into my family."<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly he gave his daughter in marriage to Panpal and as dowry a village named Itaura<sup>2</sup>, to his younger brother Dayapāl as a jagir of one lakh. From this time the Kshattris were divided into three different classes of Bundelas, Panwārs and Dhanderas. The total revenue of the whole Bundela territory was 26 lakhs of which half was possessed by Bir-Bal and the rest by Sohanpāl.

Sohanpāl had two sons, Sahjendra and Rām, of whom the elder Sahjendra succeeded him in 1299. He also had two sons, Nānak Deva and Saunak Deva, of whom the former succeeded in 1326. His sons were Prithwi Rāj and Indra Rāj of whom Prithwi Rāj succeeded in 1360. Prithwi Rāj framed good laws for his subjects, subdued the Bundelas of Birbal's and Dayapāl's families and performed a "yag" named Maheshri<sup>3</sup> in Kurār. He was blessed with two sons, Madnipāl<sup>4</sup> and Kisāb. In 1400 Madnipāl succeeded and left three sons named Arjun Deva, Māl and Bhimsen. On his death in 1443 the eldest Arjun Deva succeeded. The "Kabpriya" speaks highly of him as having had read

<sup>1</sup> The account of the origin of the Bundelas and the overthrow of the Kanghar Raja of Kurār here given, is very different from, and much more creditable to the Bundelas than that given in the Gazetteer of the N.-W.P. (I, 20), whence it would appear that the overthrow of the Kanghars preceded the origin of the Bundelas. The account given in Crookes "Tribes and Castes" (II, 163) is intermediate between the two, but would seem to be certainly incorrect as regards the mention of a Raja of Panna, as Panna was first made the seat of a Raja by Chatharsal about 1675 A.D. At this time that part of the country was in the hands of the Gond.

<sup>2</sup> In pargana Jhansi, 13 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>3</sup> A sacrifice of goats to Mahadeo after certain preliminary offerings and ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Gazetteer N.-W.P. (I. 21). Rām Chand was the son of Prithwi Rāj and Madnipāl his son.

to him the four Vedas and the religious Puranas, and offered 16 Māhadān<sup>1</sup> to Brahmans. He had two sons named Malkhān and Satrsāl. In 1475 Malkhān succeeded his father and showed himself a powerful and wise prince. In 1482 he fought with Bahlol Lodi,<sup>2</sup> and dying in 1507 left eight sons, Partāp-Rudr, Sāh, Jait, Jogajīt, Baryār Singh, Bhao Singh, Kharagsen, and Birchand, of whom the eldest Partāp-Rudr succeeded to the throne. He annexed part of the kingdom of Ibrahīm Lodi<sup>3</sup> yielding a revenue of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  crores, Ibrahīm being engaged in a struggle with Bābar. On Bābar's becoming emperor and returning in 1514<sup>4</sup> after conquering the kingdom of Medni Rai Raja of Chanderi he only succeeded in recovering Kalpi from Partāp-Rudr, and appointed him to rule the rest of his kingdom. On the 13th Baisakh 1587 Sambat (1531 A.D.) he founded the city of Orchha, and made it a military station. He was a famous hunter, and it is related that after reigning 24 years he met his death in this way; one day while hunting the jungles near Orchha he heard a cow cry out in pain, and going to see what had happened found that it had been seized by a lion. He fired but missed, and finding it impossible to reload, attacked the animal with a sword and succeeded in killing it, but not before it had so mauled him that he only survived long enough to reach his palace (1531).

He left nine sons by his three wives, of whom the eldest Bhārti-Chand succeeded him. The second brother Madhkur Sāh, lived with him and assisted in the administration. The third brother Udajīt got Mahoba. The fourth Amān Dās received Patori,<sup>5</sup> the fifth Prāgdās obtained Haraspur,<sup>6</sup> the sixth Durgādās, Durgapur,<sup>7</sup> the seventh Chandaudās, Katera,<sup>8</sup> the eighth Ghansāmdās, Maigawan,<sup>9</sup> and Bhārat-Rai, Kurār.

Raja Bhartichand built the beautiful temple of Chaturbhuj-Bhagwān in Orchha.

<sup>1</sup> The author tells me this is any great gift. A Māhadān of gold is not less than 32 māshas, (*i.e.* 214 grs. or about £2-0-0); an elephant, a maiden, a complete house, all one's possessions, are other examples.—(This would seem to imply a very much higher value of gold than at present).

<sup>2</sup> Reigned 1451-1488.

<sup>3</sup> 1517-1526.

<sup>4</sup> 1514 Keane (*History of India* I. 102) gives 1527 A.D. for this event.

<sup>5</sup> The author cannot tell me where this is and thinks it probably an error.

<sup>6</sup> In Pargana Bansi (Jhansi district) 16 miles N. of Lalitpur. There are here two large Chandel tanks, (one ruined).

<sup>7</sup> In Datā, 6 miles S. of Datā.

<sup>8</sup> See note 23.

<sup>9</sup> In Orchha 11 miles S.-E. of Mau-Rānipur.



In 1544 Sher Shāh,<sup>1</sup> having temporarily defeated Humayun and thus become Emperor of Delhi, attempted the conquest of Bundelkhand. In accordance with the order of the Raja, Madhkur Sāh with 5000 selected cavalry attacked the enemy's forces, and though he suffered heavily succeeded in getting possession of the enemy's standard, and so steadily harassed his army that he was forced to retire.

The Emperor Sher Shāh beseiged Kalinjar and annexed the neighbouring country. During the siege the Imperial Magazine caught fire and exploded, killing the Emperor. In 1545 his son Selim Shāh ascended the throne and in his reign Bhartichand took Kalinjar. This success of the Bundela Chief Selim Shāh was compelled to overlook as he was at that time engaged in a contest with Humayun and also with his own brothers. He had indeed once sent a small detachment from Gwalior, which was compelled to retire without even crossing the Sindh. Bhartichand extended his kingdom till it stretched from the Tons to the Sindh and from the Jamna to the Narbada, and yielded a revenue of two crores. From about this time this part of India was known as Bundelkhand—the country of the Bundelas.

In 1551 Bhartichand performed Bājpai-yug<sup>2</sup> at Tongāran.<sup>3</sup> As he had no son he was succeeded on his death in 1552 by his next brother Madhkur Sāh, who proved a wise and pious prince, learned in the Shastras and laws. He was specially a follower of the two-handed Narsingh-Bhagwān whom he worshipped morning and evening. He was also a man of great valour and simplicity, often riding out unattended. His love of justice was such that however important the question at issue might be he would not utter judgment without first consulting the code of Manu. The Delhi Emperor attacked him on several occasions but without success; these attacks were during Akbar's minority conducted with insufficient forces; when he however succeeded to full power he sent a large and well-equipped army under Niamat Khān. The Raja advanced as far as Baroni<sup>4</sup> and there met the Imperial army, a severe engagement followed resulting in the retirement of Niamat Khān. Akbar then sent Ali Kūli Khān with a second force. To meet this Madhkur Sāh despatched his eldest son

<sup>1</sup> Assumed the Empire of Delhi 1542, and was killed at the siege of Kalinjar 1545.

<sup>2</sup> This the author tells me may be offered to any deity; it lasts for 21 days during each of which various ceremonies and offerings are performed culminating in a sacrifice of 21 goats on the 21st day and the gift of various things including seven elephants.

<sup>3</sup> Close to Orchha.

<sup>4</sup> In Datiā, 5 miles W. of Datiā town.

Rām Sāh with an army of 36,000. The armies met at Bhanrer,<sup>1</sup> and Ali Kūli Khan was repulsed and so much harassed that he retired leaving horses and equipage which fell to the Bundelas. His father was so pleased at the generalship displayed by Rām Sāh in this campaign that he increased his powers. Akbar made a third attempt to subdue the Bundelas, sending Jam Kūli Khān who however was likewise defeated at Chelra.<sup>2</sup> After this battle the Raja appointed his second son Horal-Rao Commander-in-Chief, and his third son Dulhar-Rao governor of the fort and treasury of Orchha. His fourth and fifth sons Ratansen and Indarjīt respectively he made ministers of Rām Sāh. His four remaining sons Saikh Partāb Rao, Har Singh Deva, Birsingh Deva and Satrijīt being still quite young continued their education. In 1568 another unsuccessful invasion of Bundelkhand was made by Sheikh Kūli Khan, a general of Akbar. But in 1574 the Emperor sent Seiyid Muhammad Bāra at the head of a larger and better equipped force to conquer Bundelkhand. This the Raja's eldest son advanced to meet and a battle was fought on the Sindh, in which Rāmsāh was defeated and compelled to retire to Orchha followed by the Imperial army. The Raja himself then marched out of Orchha and another battle was fought, wherein in spite of the valour displayed by the Raja, and his sons and brothers, the Bundelas suffered defeat. The Raja's brother Amān Dās was killed, and Orchha surrendered. This disaster was followed by the loss of all his territory from Gwalior to Sironj. But nevertheless he succeeded in recovering his power to some extent, and in driving the Muhammadans from Orchha and Karhara<sup>3</sup> and making himself master of Bundelkhand proper. Akbar was not content with his partial success, and in 1633 sent a large army under Sadik Khān by way of Narwar. Madh Kur Sāh collected 50,000 men and marched towards Karhara when he engaged the invaders. In the battle the Bundelas were defeated with the loss of 7,000 of their number, and Horal Rao son of the Raja was among the slain, and his brothers Prāgdās and Durgadās were wounded. As a result Orchha was recovered by the Emperor. Previous to this invasion the Kachhwāha Governors of Rampura<sup>4</sup> and Lahir<sup>5</sup> had made an alliance with Sadik Khān; but in spite of this the Raja laid siege to Orchha in 1636 in the course of which siege his son Satrijīt was killed. Raja Biharimal's brother Raja Rāj Singh Kachhwāha was at this time in

<sup>1</sup> In Gwalior, 19 miles E. N.-E. of Datiā town.

<sup>2</sup> Said to be in Datiā State.

<sup>3</sup> See note 26.

<sup>4</sup> In Pargana Mādhogarh (Jalaun district) 18 miles N.-W. of Jalaun.

<sup>5</sup> In Pargana Indurkhi (Gwalior) 25 miles W. of Jalaun.



the camp of Sadik Khān. The Emperor sent an order through him re-instating Madhkur-Sāh, who thus returned to Orchha and governed the country again. But this policy of lenience proved a failure as regards the interests of the Emperor and soon after Akbar was obliged to send another expedition under Seiyid Raju Bāra Khān.<sup>1</sup> The Raja despatched Indarjīt to meet it and he succeeded in defeating the Muhammadans who were driven back. In 1584 Prince Mirza Murād himself, the Khān Khānām Wazir, Raja Durga, Raja Jagannāth and Raja Rām Chandar renewed the attack. It is related in Firishta's history that when the Prince arrived near Orchha, Madhkur Sāh opposed him at the head of 50,000 men. The engagement which followed lasted 9 hours, and in it 5,000 Bundelas and 1,200 Sawars were killed and Rām Sāh, Ratan Sen and Indarjīt, three sons of the Raja wounded. His whole force fled but the Raja refused to retire, and with 300 horsemen armour-clad, charged the left flank of the Imperial army where Murād was commanding in person. He succeeded in wounding Murād so that he fell from his horse and lost his arms; Madhkur Sāh said to him "Why are you lying on the ground? Get up, take your weapons and fight." The prince answered, "Why do you not kill me now you have the chance?" The Raja replied, "I am a Kshattri, it is contrary to the custom of Kshattris to kill a weaponless man." Murād was so struck at this that he exclaimed, "I pardon you." The Raja said "I will make peace if you promise to restore my kingdom to me." Murād replied. "Such part of the kingdom as has been in your possession up to this date shall be restored to you and a sanad to this effect shall be given to you, but you will have to accept conditions." The battle then ceased; and the Raja entertained the Emperor's army for several days and showed great hospitality. Murād gave him a sanad bestowing on him the kingdom on condition that he should assist the Emperor with 7,000 Sawars when the latter required them for war. After this the Imperial army advanced towards the Deccan to invade the dominions of Chānd Bibi (generally known as Chānd Sultāna).<sup>2</sup>

Madhkur Sāh entrusted his kingdom to his eldest son Rām Sāh, and to his grandson Bhupāl Rao he gave Chainpur<sup>3</sup> in Jagir; the latter was the son of Horal Rao the Raja's second son, who had been killed in battle. Bhupāl Rao founded Bhupāl which was called after his name.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless identical with the 'Seiyid Raja of Barbā, of Gazetteer, N.-W.P. I, 556.

<sup>2</sup> Of Ahmadnagar.

<sup>3</sup> Said by the author to be in Bhupal near the Narbada, S. of Sāgar town and S.-E. of Bhupal.

Dulhar Rao the third son of Madhkur Sāh received Shivapuri<sup>1</sup> in Jagir; the favourite son Ratan Sen, Ghor-Jhāmai<sup>2</sup> the fifth Indarjit, Nad-kachuwa;<sup>3</sup> the sixth Partāp Rao, Kūnch; the seventh Har Singh, Bhasneh;<sup>4</sup> the eighth Birsingh Deva Baroui.<sup>5</sup> Madhkur Sāh during his whole life only once visited the Emperor, on all other occasions on which he was summoned he sent his son Ratan Sen with 7,000 Sawars. His total revenue was two crores and ten lakhs. After a reign of 38 years he died in 1583<sup>6</sup> having attained the age of 80 years.

At the time of his death his eldest son Rām Sāh was at the court of the Emperor at Delhi; the Emperor after condoling with him bestowed upon him the kingdom of his deceased father. The other members of the family who considered that they had rights to parts of the dominion brought forward their claims and two years passed before these were all settled. Finally such of them as had acquired their rights under Madhkur Sāh were continued them and their names and lands separately entered in the records. They were not entirely independent however, as the Raja enjoyed certain rights of supremacy as head of the family. The names of the sub-divisions are as follows:—(1) of the Kachhwāhas Rampūra (2) Raghubansis Patua Kachai<sup>7</sup> (3) Gonds Bilahra<sup>8</sup> (4) Dāngis, Garh Pahra<sup>9</sup> (5) Panwars Konahra, (6) Gonds Barī;<sup>10</sup> besides these grants he gave to the Dhanderas Sāhabād,<sup>11</sup> and to the Gantum clan Garhakota.<sup>12</sup> Lastly Bihat,<sup>13</sup> Beona<sup>14</sup> Kathera and Mahēwa<sup>15</sup> were given in jagir to four Bundela Thakurs.

Besides these estates of the brothers of the Raja and the four jagirs just mentioned, Kālpi and Bhanrer were given to Abdullah and Hasan Khān respectively. They were jointly bound to provide a total force of 7,000 Sawars for the Emperor in time of war. There were in this way altogether 22 sharers in the kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Better known at Sipri.

<sup>2</sup> In Sāgar district, some 27 miles S. E. of Sāgar.

<sup>3</sup> In Gwālior 5 miles N.-E. of Pichhar and 27 S.-W. of Jhansi.

<sup>4</sup> In pargana Garotka (Jhansi district) 36 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>5</sup> See note 42.

<sup>6</sup> The Gazetteer N.-W.P. (I, 556) gives 1593.

<sup>7</sup> The state in the Baghelkhand Agency S.-E. of Kalinjar.

<sup>8</sup> In Sāgar district, 13 miles S. of Sāgar.

<sup>9</sup> In Sāgar district 6 miles N. N.-W. of Sāgar.

<sup>10</sup> Said by the author to be near Cheripur (note 50).

<sup>11</sup> Said by the author to be between Guna and Narwar, in Gwālior.

<sup>12</sup> In Sāgar district, 26 miles E. of Sāgar.

<sup>13</sup> The Jagir of that name on the borders of Jhansi and Hamirpur, (not of course as bounded at present).

<sup>14</sup> Said to be in Jalaun district.

<sup>15</sup> Said by the author to be near Kalinjar.



In 1592 Birsingh Deva raised an insurrection, in which he was assisted by Indarjīt and Partāb Rao. They wrested Bhānṛer and Pawain<sup>1</sup> from Hasan Khān, Karhara and Berchha<sup>2</sup> from Harduar Panwār, and Irichh<sup>3</sup> from Abdullah. On learning of this Akbar despatched Daulat Khān, whom Rām Sāh joined. The Raja reduced Birsingh Deva to terms and brought him to Daulat Khān, and then returned to Orchha, while Daulat Khān went on to the Deccan accompanied by Birsingh Deva and the Rajā's eldest son Sangrām Sāh. But before long Birsingh Deva on the pretence of hunting returned to his home in Baroni against the orders of the Imperial Commander. Daulat Khān marched after him, but on seeing that he was assisted by Bhupāl Rao, Partāp Rao and Indarjīt, abandoned the idea. Shortly after this Akbar arrived at Narwar by way of Gwalior, and directed Raja Rām Sāh to either present before himself Birsingh Deva and Indarjīt, who had in the interval stormed the forts of Narwar and Gwalior, or punish them severely himself. Rām Sāh with the aid of the Kachhwāhas and Pathāns went to Baroni, and after a few days' resistance succeeded in expelling Birsingh Deva thence. In this contest however Jugrup Kachhwāha a man of some note, was killed. As soon as Rām Sāh withdrew Birsingh Deva recovered possession of Baroni. But he very soon left it finding it not a safe place for him so long as Akbar and Rām Sāh were his enemies. He accordingly went to Prayāg to see Selīm (known as Jehāngir after his accession). He was a son of Akbar and at that time Sūbadar of Allahabad and in revolt against his father. Selīm received him with great favour and directed him to murder Abul-Fazl, who was then returning from the Deccan. This he accordingly did, and on the 9th Kātik 1660<sup>4</sup> (A.D. 1603) killed the famous minister, midway between Narwar and Antri.<sup>5</sup> Akbar was greatly enraged at the murder, and sent many chiefs under Tirpur Kshattri with a powerful force to capture Birsingh Deva; this force he ordered Sangrām Sāh the son of Rām Sāh to accompany. Birsingh Deva was besieged in the fort of Irichh, but after a few days' resistance, fled by night and went to Prayāg. Selim received him with great favour and promised to make him Raja of the whole of Bundelkhand as soon as he should ascend the throne. Birsingh Deva lived for a short time in Prayāg, and then returned to Bundelkhand, where joining with Sangrām Sāh he openly

<sup>1</sup> Probably in Gwalior on the Sindh river 15 miles N.-W. of Datia.

<sup>2</sup> Probably in Gwalior between Pachhor, Narwar and Bhārwar.

<sup>3</sup> In pargana Motli (Jhansi district) 39 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>4</sup> Keane (*History of India*, I, 141) gives 13th August 1602.

<sup>5</sup> 11 miles S.-E. of Gwalior.

revolted and expelled Hasan Khān from Bhānṛer and Kharag Rao from Lachūra.<sup>1</sup> The brother of Kharag Rao, who had been killed at the time of his expulsion, appealed to the Emperor, who ordered Indarjīt to proceed with a powerful army, promising to give him the whole of Bundelkhand if he should defeat Birsingh Deva and Rām-Sāh. Indarjīt begged that the Emperor himself should accompany the force, and would have obeyed the Imperial order, but that he was unwilling to ruin his eldest brother and make himself master of the kingdom. The Emperor dismissed him and sent Tirpur Kshattri with a large army to Orchha. When the general reached Gwalior, Rāj Singh and Rām Singh Kachhwāhās, the Bhadoriya Raja,<sup>2</sup> the Chauhan Raja and the Jāts<sup>3</sup> joined his camp. As soon as the army reached Datia, Hasan Khān and Khwāja Abdullah joined it. In 1602 on the bank of the Betwa close to Orchha the conflict took place. The battle lasted several days between the Bundelas under Sangrām Sāh, Indarjīt Partāp Rāo and Birsingh Deva on the one side, and the Imperial army on the other. Sangrām Sāh was killed, but the Bundelas were victorious. Indarjīt being specially distinguished for his gallant conduct in taking the enemy's standards. Raj Singh Kuchhwāha who was with Tirpur's force, was wounded and captured by Birsingh Deva, but Rām Sāh sent him back to the Emperor's army with respect and honour. Tirpur Kshattri, after remaining quiet a few days at Bhāṛer, collected a fresh army there; but in the meantime Akbar had died and Selim had succeeded assuming the title of Jehāngir. In 1604<sup>4</sup> he summoned Birsingh Deva, who with Bhārat Sāh the grandson of Rām Sāh and Indarjīt went to Delhi. The Emperor bestowed on him the title of Maharaja and gave him a sanad appointing him ruler of the whole of Bundelkhand. The three returned to Irīchh and Birsingh Deva offered his companions his condolences on the loss of their dominions. After this Indarjīt went on an expedition with the Emperor's forces, and told Rām Sāh of Birsingh Deva's appointment; he straightway went to Irīchh where Birsingh Deva received him as he had always hitherto done; but a misunderstanding soon occurred and Rām Sāh returned to Orchha and both parties prepared for war. By the order of Jehāngir, Khwāja Abdullah Jāgirdār of Kalpi, and Haidar Khān came to the assistance of Birsingh Deva, who was also joined by Partāp Rāo and the

<sup>1</sup> Now known as Ghāt Lachūra, 11 miles N.-E. of Mau-Rānipur in Jhansi district.

<sup>2</sup> The ancestor of the present Bhadoria Rajā of the Agra district.

<sup>3</sup> Of Gohad, ancestors of the present Raja of Dholpūr.

<sup>4</sup> This is obviously a mistake, as Jahangir succeeded in 1605.



Bundelas of Kathera. Birsingh Deva marched towards Orchha where he was opposed by Rām Sāh's forces under Bhupāl Rāo and Indarjīt. In the battle that ensued Indarjīt was wounded and the army of Orchha struck with panic fled. Bhupāl Rao with a small detachment forced his way into the fort, and continued to assist Rām Sāh. Negotiations were opened and Rām Sāh agreed to meet Khwāja Abdullah, who, however, treacherously made him prisoner and carried him to Delhi, where the Emperor received him with respect, but in order to stop further quarrels kept him captive for several years. By 1604<sup>1</sup> Birsingh Deva was supreme throughout the whole of Bundelkhand having reduced all the 22 chiefs who had participated in the kingdom. In 1608 after the Emperor had firmly established his power he released Rām Sāh and bestowed on him the Jāgir of Bār<sup>2</sup> yielding a revenue of three lakhs. The kingdom of Birsingh Deva contained 81 parganas and 12,500 villages; the total revenue was two crores. According to the Bundelkhand-Charite it was bounded on the North by the Jamna, on the South by the Narbada, on the West by the Chambal, and on the East by the Tons.

Birsingh Deva was well acquainted with the Dharam Shāshtra and laws generally. He was mindful of the sin he had committed in usurping his brother's kingdom, and feeling great remorse, in penitence made nine pilgrimages, and offered innumerable sacrifices. In Bindraban alone he presented 81 maunds of gold, a gift remembered to the present day. At Datia he built a grand palace at a cost of Rs. 36,90,980, which is still a notable structure. On one occasion by order of the Emperor, he attacked and overcame the Rajas of Rewa and Narwar. In 1613 he erected a temple in Bindraban at a cost of 30 lakhs. He performed the Tāraian Birt,<sup>3</sup> and listened for seven days to the recitation of the Māha-purana. He was famed for his strict justice; in this connection it is told of him that one day his eldest son Jagat Deva when hunting, allowed his hound to kill a Brahma-chāri or hermit. On hearing thereof the Raja summoned his son to him, and put him to death for having caused the death of an innocent devotee.

He constructed the famous tanks of Bir Sāgar<sup>4</sup> and Barwa Sāgar<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almost certainly wrong, see preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> In pargana Bānpūr (Jhansi district) 17 miles N.-E. of Lalitpur. The ruins of a fort and palace and several Muḥbaras still mark this former seat of rule.

<sup>3</sup> This is a penance which consists in fasting by day for a month, only eating when the stars are visible.

<sup>4</sup> In Orchha, 12 miles S. S.-E. of Orchha town.

<sup>5</sup> In Jhansi district, 12 miles E. of Jhansi.

and many others—in all 52. About 1682 when Shāhjahān ascended the throne of Delhi, Birsingh Deva again revolted. The Emperor's forces defeated him and captured Orchha. He then with 10,000 Sawars commenced a guerilla war in which he was well seconded by Jujhār Singh and his own sons and brothers. After a year of this the Emperor restored the kingdom to the Bundelas, but offered it to Jujhār Singh. The Raja had ten sons:—(1) Har Deva, (2) Pāhar Singh, (3) Bhagwān Rao, (4) Kishor Singh, (5) Tursi Dās, (6) Rai Singh, (7) Krishn Dās, (8) Partāp Singh, (9) Mādho Singh, and (10) Chandar Bhān. He gave them respectively jagirs as follows:—(1) Taraoli,<sup>1</sup> (2) Tehri,<sup>2</sup> (3) Khargāpur,<sup>3</sup> (4) Semra,<sup>4</sup> (5) Palera,<sup>5</sup> (6) Baragaon,<sup>6</sup> (7) Chirgaon,<sup>7</sup> (8) Kūnch, (9) Jaitpur,<sup>8</sup> (10) Kakarbai.<sup>9</sup> Each jagir was of such a size as to yield a revenue of one lakh.

In the spring of 1627 Birsingh Deva died and was succeeded by Jujhār Singh, who distrusted all the Bundelas and made some alterations and reductions in the Jagirs. His brother Chandarbhān entered the service of the Emperor and was appointed a Commander of 800 sawars and 1,500 foot. About 1631 Jujhār Singh in accordance with an order of the Emperor, went to Choragarh to fight on his behalf, and left his brother Har Deva at Orchha in charge of the kingdom. On his return, suspecting an intrigue between his wife and Har Deva, he questioned her, the Rāni replied, "as he is your brother I love him, there is nothing else between us." The Raja said, "if you are true obey me and poison him." The Rāni obeyed, but felt such remorse that she poisoned herself too. The Raja mourned her death deeply, and in 1632 performed the ceremony of Agmarshanyug to purge himself of the sin of murdering his brother. Munshi Harnarain, an historian, says that Har Deva after his death, appeared as a spirit and revealed to many that Jujhār Singh had poisoned him to prevent his succession, being himself childless. As soon as Shāhjahān heard of this he issued a proclamation directing altars to be erected in honour of Har Deva and the dethronement of Jujhār Singh. Bāki Khān was directed to enforce this order and went to Orchha with a strong force, but was defeated

<sup>1</sup> In Orchha, 27 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>2</sup> The present capital of Orchha state.

<sup>3</sup> In Orchha 20 miles E of Tehri.

<sup>4</sup> In Orchha, 14 miles S. of Orchha.

<sup>5</sup> In Orchha, 18 miles S.-E. of Mau-Rānipur.

<sup>6</sup> In pargana Jhansi, nine miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>7</sup> In pargana Moth (Jhansi district) 17 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>8</sup> The former state of that name west of Mahoba now part of the Hamirpur district.

<sup>9</sup> In pargana Garotha (Jhansi district) 50 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.



and returned to Delhi. In 1633 Shāhjahān despatched Muhabbat Khān from Agra, Khān Jahān,<sup>1</sup> from the Deccan and Khwāja Abdullah from Prayāg. These three armies converged on Orchha, and a severe conflict took place in which Salivahan the son of Champat Rai Jagirdar of Mahewa was killed. In the night after the battle when both armies were in their camps, Champat Rai took with him a body of Jujhār Singh's troops and unexpectedly fell upon the enemy. Bāki Khān and Shabar Khān the general were both killed, but in spite of the loss of their leaders the Imperial army gallantly opposed the Raja's forces and succeeded in separating the Raja from his allies; finally Jujhār Singh was completely defeated and fled to the Deccan, but fell ill and died in Gondwāna. Champat Rai continued a guerilla warfare, while the Imperial army returned to Delhi, and in 1635 the whole of Bundelkhand except Datia and Chanderi was annexed. For six years no one was appointed Raja of Orchha, and during the anarchy consequent thereon Champat Rai continued to ravage the country; he collected many of the late Raja's army, possessed himself of Orchha, plundered Sironj, captured Bhilsa and defeated the Sūbadar of Ujjain. In short he ravaged the country from Jhansi to Mahewa. In 1633 Shāhjahān sent an expedition commanded by Muhammad Shāh, Wali Bahādur Khān, Nausher Khān, and Abdullah Khān. Champat Rai was besieged in the fort of Orchha, and after a gallant resistance was defeated and his brother Pāhar Singh was sent for from Dhamoni<sup>2</sup> and set up in his place. He was not however entrusted with the whole of Bundelkhand, but only with such a portion of it as yielded a revenue of 60 lakhs, for Datia and Chanderi had long before this been annexed and made over to other rulers. Besides these two, several other small states were retained. Champat Rai succeeded however in escaping from the besieged fort, and continued his ravages as before.

Pāhar Singh had two sons Sujān Singh and Indraman. In 1651 Sujān Singh was installed as Raja on the death of his father. The famous tank at Arjār<sup>3</sup> was constructed in his time. The Imperial Gazetteer states that the town of Rānipūr,<sup>4</sup> which is close to Mau, was

<sup>1</sup> There would seem to be some mistake here, as the only Khān Jahān apparently known at this time was Khān Jahān Lodi, who revolted but was defeated and killed in 1631.

<sup>2</sup> In Sāgar district, 25 miles N. of Sāgar. This was later the most important seat of Muhammadan rule in South-Western Bundelkhand, and there are fine ruins of a very extensive fort externally somewhat of the style of that at Agra, and also ruins of a large walled town. The place now is almost entirely uninhabited and over-grown with jungle.

<sup>3</sup> Half in Jhansi and half in Orchha, 18 miles E. S.-E. of Jhansi.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Gazetteer it was founded by his mother, the Rānī Hiradeva



built by him. He left no heir, and the kingdom passed to his brother Indraman. The latter died after three years in 1673, and his son Jaswant Singh succeeded him, but died in 1686, leaving the throne to his son Bhagwant Singh a minor. The widow of Indraman, Rānī Raj Kunwār, was appointed regent. In 1688, Bhagwant Singh died childless; and accordingly Aghota Singh the son of Bijhe Sāh was summoned from Baragaon in 1689 to be adopted. He was sent to Aurangzeb who approved the adoption and solemnly nominated him. Aghota Singh was a brave, hardworking and wise prince. About 1708 Bālaji<sup>1</sup> Marhätta invaded Bundelkhand and defeated Kamar Ali Khān who had been despatched by the Emperor to oppose him. Thereupon Shāhjāhan<sup>2</sup> ordered Aghota Singh to march against the Marhätta leader. The latter was slain in the first battle, and the army returned to the Deccan. In 1715 Aghota Singh constructed the statue of a man in gold, and presented it to Brahmans. He was then blessed with a child who was named Prithwi Singh. On one occasion Aghota Singh accompanied Bahādur Shāh the Mughal Emperor, to the Panjāb and distinguished himself by gaining a victory over the Sikhs.<sup>3</sup> In his time the power of the Mughal Emperors began to decline, and the Marhättas rose into importance, and repeated attacks were made by them on Delhi. In 1735 Malhār Rao Holkar with 100,000 men marched from the Deccan. Aghota Singh with the Raja of Datia and other of his relatives opposed him, and a disastrous conflict took place near Jhansi. On both sides the killed and wounded numbered about 9,000, but Malhār Rao and his chiefs were slain,<sup>4</sup> and in consequence the army was disheartened and returned. Two months after this conflict in the middle of 1735, Aghota Singh died and was succeeded by Prithwi Singh. During his reign all his brothers and relatives turned against him and Rajendragir who had charge of the fort of Jhansi revolted and took possession of Jhansi and Moth.<sup>5</sup> On the other side the country was ravaged by Gūjars and Kangārs. On the death of Prithwi Singh he was succeeded by his grandson Sānwant Singh. In 1748 Sahū<sup>6</sup> sent an expedition under

in 1678 (Gazetteer N.-W. P., I. 573). There is an inexplicable error in the date somewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably, Bālaji Visvanāth first Peshwa; it is probably meant that an invasion was made at his orders.

<sup>2</sup> This is obviously a mistake, and probably Bahādur Shāh (1707—12) is meant.

<sup>3</sup> This was probably the expedition commanded by Muniān Khān (1710).

<sup>4</sup> This is arrogating too much to the Bundelas, Malhār Rao Holkar was not slain, but was merely checked in 1736 by Saādat Ali Khān Sūbadar of Oudh.

<sup>5</sup> The N.-W. pargana of Jhansi district.

<sup>6</sup> Maharaja of the Marhattas. This event happened in 1742. According to Gazetteer N.-W. P. (I. 30).



Narū Shankar, who defeated the Raja and overthrew his kingdom. At that time the total revenue was Rs. 24,54,264. One-third of the territory including the seven parganas of Pachhor, Karhara, Moth, Garohta, Garwai,<sup>1</sup> Mau, and Jhansi, was annexed by the Marhāttas. The revenue of the ceded portions amounted to eight lakhs. The Marhāttas made Jhansi the head-quarters of the territory and Sheo Rao Bhao was appointed Governor. The Sanyāsis<sup>2</sup> were totally overthrown. Sānwant Singh ruled for eight years over the remaining part of his kingdom, and then died without heirs. His widow<sup>3</sup> adopted Hati Singh, a grandson of Aghota Singh. In 1767 a quarrel occurred between Hati Singh and the Rānī. The army and the ministers siding with the Rānī, Hati Singh fled to Datia, where Indarjīt received him with respect and gave him a handsome allowance. The Rānī after taking Tehri, adopted Pajan Singh the son of Lachman Singh; but in 1772 quarrelled with him also, and Pajan Singh went to Tehri and lived there for one year and a half, while the Rānī continued to rule the country. In 1774 disgusted with this world, Pajan Singh retired to Chitrakot, and devoted himself to religious exercises. The Rānī in the same year then installed Man Singh the son of Amresh of Mohangarh.<sup>4</sup> These continual changes in the selection of a ruler gave Vishn Singh<sup>5</sup> the opportunity to annex Amra<sup>6</sup> and other villages yielding a total revenue of one lakh. The Rānī quarrelled with Mān Singh as she had done with his predecessors; and he retired to Rājgarh. In 1775 Kunwar Bhartichand, the great grandson of Aghota Singh, was adopted. After ruling three years he fell ill and died in 1778. During his illness he had solemnly nominated his brother Bikramajīt as his successor. The state was now rapidly declining, there was great disunion between the various members of the family and the treasury was empty. The troops refused to perform their duties owing to their pay being in arrears. Bikramajīt sold pargana Barwa Sāgar to the Sūbadar of Jhansi, and was thus able to pay the troops. He overthrew the Rajas of Taraoli, Mohangarh,

<sup>1</sup> Now forms the N.-E. part of pargana Jhansi in the Jhansi district.

<sup>2</sup> The author elsewhere states that when Birsingh Deva founded Jhansi fort he garrisoned it with Sanyāsis, whose successors these will probably have been. As to militant Sanyāsis in Bundelkhand, compare the fact (quoted in Crooke's "Castes," IV. 276) that 2,000 Sanyāsis attacked Col. Goddard in his march through Bundelkhand (1778).

<sup>3</sup> Named Mahendra Rānī.

<sup>4</sup> In Orchha, 20 miles N.-W. of Tehri.

<sup>5</sup> Then Raja of Samthar.

<sup>6</sup> In Samthar, 26 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

Semra, Palera, and Jiron,<sup>1</sup> and annexed their territories. He distributed large sums to sink wells and dig tanks. On one occasion he engaged the Gwalior troops, and so utterly defeated them that it is said that not a man survived to tell the tale. After a long and successful reign of 56 years he died at Tehri leaving no heir.<sup>2</sup> In 1834 his brother Mathura Dās was installed, who was succeeded in 1840 by his adopted son Sujān Singh, who also died heirless. In 1853 Hamir Singh was adopted and placed on the throne. He was a debauchee and left no heir; and consequently on his death his brother Partāp Singh succeeded, and is still reigning.

#### *Jagir of Khanya-Dāna.*

The second son of Aghota Singh the Raja of Orchha, was Amresh. He with the help of the Peshwa's force obtained Mohangarh<sup>3</sup> as his share in 1735. He had three sons, Maharāj Deva, Mān Singh, and Nannegir; Mān Singh was adopted by Mahendra Rani,<sup>4</sup> and ascended the throne of Orchha, while Māharāj Deva succeeded to Mohangarh, and a jagir worth one lakh. After the death of Mān Singh his successor Bikramajit attempted to crush Māharāj Deva, who, leaving Mohangarh went to Khanya Dāna. His son and successor Jawāhir Singh negotiated a treaty with the British Government in 1808. He had two sons Pirthipāl and Bijhe Bahādur. In 1844 Mardan Singh Raja of Bānpūr<sup>5</sup> made Pirthipāl Singh a Raja in his kingdom; but he was not recognised by the British Government or the Raja of Orchha. Pirthipāl Singh was succeeded by Gopāl Singh in 1863. He left two sons named Chitthar Singh and Mardan Singh. In 1869 Gopāl Singh died and was succeeded by Chitthar Singh. In 1877 at a grand Durbar held in honour of the Prince of Wales the title of Rao Rāja was conferred on him. Chitthar Singh is still in possession of Khanya Dāna, but has lately changed his name to Durga Singh.

#### *Datia State.*

In 1625 Māharāja Birsingh Deva seated Jujhār Singh on the throne of Orchha, and distributed jagirs to his remaining ten sons, so

<sup>1</sup> In Orchha, 17 miles S. of Orchha town.

<sup>2</sup> Raja Bikramajit entered into treaty with the British in 1812.

<sup>3</sup> See note 102. Elsewhere the author states that Aghota Singh bestowed this jagir on his son in 1703, and that the Peshwa assisted him against Bikramajit of Orchha and gave him a sanad for Khanya-Dana in 1751, the two accounts are not necessarily discrepant.

<sup>4</sup> Widow of Sānwant Singh Raja of Orchha.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 37.



that each son got an estate of one lakh as his share. At that time Bhagwān Rai with two of his sons was at the Emperor's Court as the representative of his father Birsingh Deva. His other two sons Dhurmangad and Sakhat Singh were at Orchha; Birsingh Deva entrusted the list in which the share of Bhagwān Rai was recorded to Dhurmangad. This Dhurmangad was very brave and warlike. It is related of him that after swimming a river he met a lion on the bank which he killed with one blow of his fist. As soon as he received the list showing to what estate his father was entitled he went to Palera<sup>1</sup> and properly administered the country. Har Deva and his nine brothers also took possession of their respective jagirs. When Bhagwān Rai heard of this he returned with the Emperor's permission to Orchha, and asked his father saying, "What order have you for me?" The old Raja replied "Nothing, I have already distributed the kingdom among your brothers and you and given a separate list showing each one's share. The details of your share are with your son Dhurmangad Singh, go and take it from him." Bhagwān Rai not liking to quarrel with his son, asked his father to grant him the grand palace of Datia, four courtiers and 300 horsemen. The Raja did so, and gave him the palace and with it the secret treasure buried there. In 1626 Bhagwān Rai went to Datia with his two sons, Prithwi Rāj and Sabhkaran. On the death of Birsingh Deva he possessed himself of Baroni, which had been allotted for the maintenance of his father. He ruled 21 years and died in 1647. But the *Gazetteer* (of N.-W.P., I. p. 557) states that in 1640 Bhagwān Rai and his brother Beni Dās were killed by a Rājput in battle. In any case on the death of Bhagwan Rai his two sons Prithwi Rāj and Sabhkaran went to Delhi, and petitioned the Emperor to continue to them their father's jagir. But the Emperor was then engaged in despatching an expedition to the west, and could not attend to them. Accordingly the two brothers accompanied the expedition so as to please the Emperor by their valour and gallantry. At the very beginning of the battle the two young warriors charged the enemy at the head of 300 horse. The Imperial forces supporting them vigorously finally gained a complete victory. Prithwi Rāj was killed in the battle and Sabhkaran being wounded returned to Delhi. The Emperor was so pleased with his conduct that he offered him a jagir of 12 lakhs out of the kingdom of Orchha. On hearing this the widow of Prithwi Raj came to the capital, and begged the Emperor to do something for her son Chatharsāl. The Emperor willingly offered Chatharsāl Baroni with a revenue of Rs. 1,25,000 in jagir. From that time Sabhkaran was a jagirdar of 12 lakhs and Chatharsāl

<sup>1</sup> See note 84.

of 1½. Sabhakaran fought 22 battles for the Emperor, and died in 1684. He was succeeded by Rao Dalpat Rao, who built a fort in Datia. In 1707 there was a quarrel between Āzam Shāh and Bahādur Shah.<sup>1</sup> On Āzam's side were only 22 Rajas, while all the remaining Rajas of India were on that of Bahādur Shāh. The latter marched from Delhi to attack Agra. Rao Dalpat Rao was in command<sup>2</sup> of Āzam's Shāh's force and advanced with the 22 Rajas to oppose the enemy's army. The battle took place at Jaju a village close to Agra. The struggle was severe and each side lost 21,000 men, amongst whom was Rao Dalpat Rao, who had bravely maintained his position till his death. It is said that one day he had shot 400 arrows. He left three sons Bhārtichand, Rām Chandar, and Prithwi Singh. Of these Rao Bhartichand succeeded his father in 1708. He died in 1711 and was succeeded by his younger brother Rām Chandar. He was very strong and well-versed in astronomy and literature. At the time of his succession his son Rām Singh was a full grown man. The Raja quarrelled with him and exiled him. He accordingly took up his abode in Chanderi. During his exile he maintained himself by selling his furniture, ornaments, etc. After a short time he was blessed with a son whom he named Gumān Singh. He, at the age of twenty, had a son named Indarjit. The horoscope of this child was sent to Rām Chandar, who was then at Delhi. He scrutinized it and predicted that all the forefathers of the child would die within the year, but that the child would be pious and prosperous. Rāmchandar paid little heed to the prediction, and threw the horoscope into the fire. But the misfortunes foretold soon began to appear. Not long after this he was ordered by the Emperor Muhammad Shāh<sup>3</sup> to subdue Bhagwān Rao Khichhi. Rām Chandar offered 108 cows and a maund of gold to Brahmans and set out with 1,000 horse. He was then 95 years of age but still wore his helmet and armour and could strike a mighty blow. The battle took place at Korajahānābad. Just before the battle he was reinforced by 7,000 men from Datia. Riding on his elephant he commenced the attack, and succeeded in driving the enemy from the field to the gate of the fortress, but being struck by a bullet fell dead in the howdah. A Thakur who was seated by him had the presence of mind and courage to put on the helmet of the deceased Raja, and ordered the army to advance. The troops stormed the fort and set up their standard on it. Bhagwān Rao Khichhi with a handful of men escaped by another road. After the victory the army

<sup>1</sup> The quarrel as to the succession on the death of Aurangzeb.

<sup>2</sup> The commander was Zulfikar, commander of the army of the Deccan.

<sup>3</sup> 1719—1748.



performed the funeral ceremonies and returned to Delhi. Bahādur Shāh greatly mourned the death of the old warrior, and sent for his son to bestow on him a khilat and suitable rewards, but he was unable to come on account of illness. Within two years Rām Singh and Gumān Singh also died, and the Rāni of Rām Singh in 1746 installed Indarjīt who was then a minor. She constructed the Sita tāl in Datia. The Mughal power was now rapidly declining. In 1748 Nāru-Shankar<sup>1</sup> marched from the Deccan to invade Bundelkhand. The Raja was still but a mere child and the Mahrāṭṭa general forced his ministers to surrender him pargana Bhanṛer. Pargana Ālampur<sup>2</sup> was at the same time given to Holkar. About 1819 Indarjīt bestowed a jagir of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs in Samthar on Debi Dhar Rājdhār, and at the same time much alms; he also heard the recitation of 18 Puranas. He built the town of Indargarh<sup>3</sup> naming it after himself. He died in 1752 and his son Satarjīt succeeded him. In 1788 when Māhajīt Singh was going from the Deccan to Delhi, he met Satarjīt on his way, and such a friendship sprung up between them that they treated each other as brothers. In 1793 Pundit Gopāl Rāo invaded Bundelkhand at Mahādajī Sindhia's order, which however was approved by the Emperor Shāh Ālam. He first attacked Datia on the 13th Phāgun (March 1794) with 12 companies of infantry, 8,000 horse and 96 guns. The Raja came out from Datia with 10,000 foot and 30 guns. In three days 700 men and eight chiefs of the Raja, and 7,000 men of Gopāl Rao were killed or wounded. The Peshwa's general at Jhansi, Sheo Rao Bhao, persuaded the Raja to purchase peace by promising the Pundit to present him with something which he said in reality he would not have to pay. At the same time he advised Gopāl Rao to retire, which he said he could do without loss of glory. Both parties acted upon his advice, and fighting ceased, and Sindhia's general returned to the Deccan. In 1797 Sindhia<sup>4</sup> again sent a force of 20,000 foot and 50 guns under Ambhaji Ingliā. This army reached Bhānṛer and in the month of Phāgun (March 1798) overcame and killed 200 horse and foot and five officers who held Kanjoli<sup>5</sup> on behalf of the Raja; the artillery was also captured. In Cheit (April) he besieged the Raja's son who was in the fort of Seonrha<sup>6</sup> with a garrison of 12,000 men. For eight months the firing was incessant. Finally Sindhia's force attempted to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> This pargana consists of several isolated portions imbedded in Gwalior territory a short distance west of Jalaun district; and is still held by Holkar.

<sup>3</sup> In Datia, 12 miles N. N.-E. of Datia town.

<sup>4</sup> This must be Daulat Rao Sindhia, as Mahādajī Sindhia had died in 1794.

<sup>5</sup> A place in the neighbourhood of Indargarh.

<sup>6</sup> In Datia on the Sindh River, 40 miles N.-E. of Datia.



storm the fortress. The garrison after first pouring a volley into the attackers, sallied out and drove them back a mile or so. Both sides lost some 6,000 men, but Ambaji abandoned the siege and retired towards the Kachhwāha country.<sup>1</sup> In 1800 Bāli Rao came with 16 battalions of infantry, 7,000 horse and 80 guns. A severe conflict took place at Bilahri.<sup>2</sup> Raja Satarjīt,<sup>3</sup> Raja Jai Singh, Raja Durjan Sāl, Diwan Chithar Singh of Jakhlon,<sup>4</sup> Rao Dalil Singh, Jargoji Lakhpoji,<sup>5</sup> and other Bundela chiefs advanced with 4,000 men to oppose him. But defeat or victory is in the hands of Providence, Raja Jai Singh, Diwān Chithar Singh and Dalil Singh were beaten off and withdrew to their respective dwellings, and Durjan Sāl retreated to Bhāurér. But Satarjīt and Jargoji Lakhpoji continued to stoutly oppose Sindhia's forces close to Seonrha, where they were joined by Lāl Sāh and many other Kachhwāhas. Durjan Sāl returned from Bhānrer. Finally another battle was fought and Bāli Rao defeated.

In 1801 Daulat Rao Sindhia sent an army of 5,000 horse, four battalions of infantry and 18 guns under Pīrū Sāh<sup>6</sup> to reinforce Bāli Rao. As soon as he got near Seonrha the Bundelas attacked him at the pass (ghāti). After twelve hours' fighting the Raja's force yielded and fled in all directions. But Satarjīt with his 30 selected horsemen charged the left flank of the enemy's army, and wounded Pīrū Sāh with his spear. But one of the chiefs of Sindhia's force gave him a severe cut on the head with his sword, which would have caused him to fall from his horse had he not been caught by Wali Panwār, and with the help of Rohāz Khān and other troopers carried off safely into the fort. The Raja died the same evening and his funeral ceremonies were performed. He was succeeded by Pārīchat.

In consequence of the death of General Pīrū, Sindhia's army retreated and in 1802 a treaty of peace was concluded with Sindhia. Pārīchat was a great statesman and beloved by both his subjects and his army; but he had no heir. One day he found a child in the jungle whom he adopted and named Bijhe Bahādur, and on his death on the 3rd Magh 1893 (A.D. 1839) this son succeeded him. Bijhe Bahādur fought with Sindhia at Daboh,<sup>7</sup> but soon after becoming insane died

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, the present Jalaun district.

<sup>2</sup> 10 miles W. of Datia in Gwalior.

<sup>3</sup> Called Chatharsāl in *Gazetteer*, N.-W.P., I. 409.

<sup>4</sup> In pargana Lalitpur, Jhansi district, 11 miles S.-W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>5</sup> Probably identical with Lakhevā-dādā.

<sup>6</sup> Better known as M. Perron.

<sup>7</sup> The chief town of the pargana of that name in Gwalior, 30 miles W. S.-W. of Jalaun.



on the 8th Katik 1914 (October 1857 A.D.) Bhagwān Singh the son of Diwān Mahewaran Singh was adopted and succeeded on the 3rd Aghan (December). He is still in possession of the Rāj, and has received the title of Lokendra Māharāja from the British Government.

#### *Chauderi State.*

Madhkur Sāh's eldest son Rām Sāh was the Raja of Orchha, but his brother Birsingh Deva dethroned him by order of the Emperor Jahāngir in 1604.<sup>1</sup> Rām Sāh continued to resist for some time but was finally captured and brought before the Emperor by Abdullah Khan in 1605.<sup>1</sup> He was received and treated with respect, but to avoid chance of future disturbances the Emperor detained him in Delhi as a State prisoner. Meantime Birsingh Deva made himself the master of all Bundelkhand. During the absence of Rām Sāh, his grandson Bhārat Sāh and other numerous relations continued in arms and succeeded in seizing Patheri. After several days' fighting Birsingh Deva regained it, but Bhārat Sāh was far from being finally subdued, and captured Dhamoni shortly after. In 1608 the Emperor released Rām Sāh and gave him in jagir Bār<sup>2</sup> and the surrounding country valued at three lakhs. He made Bār his capital and collected all his relations there. He had eleven sons and seven grandsons; his eleven sons were (1) Sangrām Sāh (2) Hari Dās; (3) Bithul Dās; (4) Mohan Rao; (5) Tirbhuan Rao; (6) Sujān Rao; (7) Bhāwat Rao; (8) Mukatman; (9) Balbhadr; (10) Makund, and (11) Kunwarju. Of these the eldest Sangrām Sāh had been killed long before in the battle of Orchha. The remaining ten sons, and seven sons of Sangrām Sāh came to Bar and settled there. Sangrām Sāh's sons were:—(1) Bhārat Sāh, (2) Krishn Rao, (3) Rūp, (4) Kīrat, (5) Dhārū; (6) Chandar Hans; (7) Mān. So large a family was maintained by a territory yielding but three lakhs per annum. In 1612 Rām Sāh died and his grandson Bhārat Sāh succeeded him. In 1616 Bhārat Sāh defeated Godarām, who was governor of Chauderi on behalf of the king of the Deccan and seized the town. In the same year he met Mirza Shāh Jahān on his way to the Deccan under the orders of the Emperor, and told him the story of the storming of Chauderi, at which Shāh Jahān was pleased and granted him a sanad.

Bhārat Sāh built the present fort of Tālbehat in 1618, and divided

<sup>1</sup> See note 74, the dates are obviously a year or two too early.

<sup>2</sup> See note 76.

his kingdom into four parts:—Dudhai,<sup>1</sup> Haraspur,<sup>2</sup> Golakot<sup>3</sup> and Kāngarh.<sup>4</sup> At that time his dominion was valued at 9 lakhs, of which he gave shares to his brothers:—to Krishn Rao several villages in Bānsi<sup>5</sup> yielding a revenue of Rs. 75,000, he built the fort which still exists there, and also Raor in Lalitpur city, which includes a fine well<sup>6</sup> and is now occupied by the Municipal School; to Diwān Rūp villages in pargana Bijrotha<sup>7</sup> worth Rs. 12,000; to Diwān Kīrat, Kakarua<sup>8</sup> with a revenue of Rs. 12,000, to Chandar Hans Jāmandāna<sup>9</sup> valued at Rs. 10,000; to Diwān Dhārū, Karesra<sup>10</sup> worth Rs. 12,000 in jagir; and to Diwān Mān, Barodā<sup>11</sup> with a revenue of Rs. 4,000.

After Bhārat Sāh, Debi Singh ascended the throne at the age of 16.<sup>12</sup> He was renowned in astronomy, medicine, literature, and the law (Dharmshāstra) and was at the same time an excellent shot. In 1665 he accompanied an expedition which was sent by the Emperor to subdue Kābul. There he lost 15,000 horse, and his Diwān Udebhān,<sup>13</sup> but ultimately the Imperial army was victorious. The Emperor being pleased with him granted him the following parganas in Bundelkhand:—Garola, Khemlasa, Rahatgarh, Etawah, Basoda, Udepūr, Bersia, Bhilsa, Sironj and Mālthon.<sup>14</sup> With this addition the revenue of the kingdom of Chanderi totalled Rs. 24,00,000.

<sup>1</sup> In pargana Bālabehat (Jhansi district) 19 miles S. of Lalitpur. There are a large number of Chandel ruins and a large Chandel tank here. For description see Mukarji's "Report on the Antiquities of Lalitpur" and Cunningham's "Archaeological Reports."

<sup>2</sup> See note 35.

<sup>3</sup> An old deserted fort lying East of Isagarh in Gwalior.

<sup>4</sup> On the Betwa in Gwalior, 23 miles S.-W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>5</sup> In pargana Bānsi (Jhansi district) 12 miles, N. of Lalitpur.

<sup>6</sup> The well is a large baoli on which is an inscription dated 1628 A.D.

<sup>7</sup> A large village in Talbehat pargana (Jhansi district) 19 miles N. of Lalitpur, still held by his descendants.

<sup>8</sup> In Lalitpur pargana (Jhansi district) 3 miles S. W. of Lalitpur; the descendant of the original grantee has recently been sold up.

<sup>9</sup> Jāmandāna Kalan, in Lalitpur pargana (Jhansi district) 12 miles S. by W. of Lalitpur. Still held by his descendants.

<sup>10</sup> Karesra Kalan, pargana Talbehat, (Jhansi district) 28 miles N. of Lalitpur. Still held by his descendants.

<sup>11</sup> Baroda Dāng, pargana Bānpūr (Jhansi district) 18 miles N. N.-E. of Lalitpur. Still held by his descendants.

<sup>12</sup> In 1646.

<sup>13</sup> An ancestor of the author.

<sup>14</sup> This tract forms the S.-W. of the Sāgar district and the native territory adjoining it.

Garola, Khemlasa, Etawah and Mālthon are now in Tahsil Khorai Sāgar district.

Rahatgarh is in Sāgar Tahsil, Sāgar district.



In 1679 Debi Singh fought successfully in Bengal<sup>1</sup> constructed the Singh Sāgar lake and founded the village of Singhpūr. The tank and village are both near Chanderi and still in existence. He built the Singh bāgh in Tālbehat which still exists but in ruins. Debi Singh died in 1717 at the age of 87, leaving three sons, Sahju, Senapati and Durag Singh. They all went to Delhi that the Emperor might select the successor, Bhanu the priest, who was at that time regent, recommended Sahju as being the eldest son, but Aurangzeb suspecting his choice sent for Rao Gomat and Rao Hada the two generals of the late Raja and asked them who was the lawful heir. They said that Sahju was an illegitimate son, Senapati a grandson whom the deceased Raja had adopted, and that Durag Singh alone was born from the Rāni. The Emperor accordingly nominated Durag Singh as successor. He gave pargana Kanjia<sup>2</sup> to Sahju with the title of Raja. To Senapati he gave Bhāngarh<sup>3</sup> with several other villages worth in all about Rs. 12,000 per annum. But Durag Singh was made suzerain over both. While making these grants Aurangzeb retained Bersia for himself and appointed Dost Muhammad, who had recovered Malwa for the Emperor from the Mahrāttas, its Superintendent. This is the man who subsequently established the kingdom of Bhupāl.

In 1728 Raja Durag Singh defeated Bāgha Banjhāra.<sup>4</sup> In 1732 Sankār Rao came from the Deccan with 10,000 horse to attack Chanderi. But the Raja defeated and killed him at the Singhpur pass, and plundered his cavalry.

On the death of Durag Singh his son Durjan Singh succeeded in

Basoda and Udepur, are South of Bina, the former a station on the I. M. Ry. Bersia the most Western part of Bhupāl.

<sup>1</sup> At the orders of the Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> Till 1861 part of Gwalior, then exchanged for pargana Chanderi and other territory, and now forming the N.-W. corner of Khorai Tahsil (Sāgar district).

<sup>3</sup> In Khorai tahsil (Sagar district) 20 miles N. N.-W. of Khorai.

<sup>4</sup> The story of Bāgha, and of some clan of the Banjārās is thus related by the author. "A Rāja of Asanagar near Bikanēr was bitten by a snake and Jāti a Jaini Guru promised him recovery if he and his people turned Jains; this he agreed to do and recovered. But some of his subjects refused to obey his orders to become Jains and left his state resolving henceforward to have no settled abode lest they should be again forced to do as they had just done; they thus became Banjārās. Bāghā was the son or grandson of the leader of these secessionists, and is said to have had 2,000 armed followers and 12,000 head of cattle. Hitherto these Banjārās had paid dues, etc. on entering different states, but Bāgha and his followers refused to do so, and though on several occasions attacked by the Imperial troops had been unsuccessful till this occasion. But the legends of Bāghā are numerous; the criminal fraternity of the Sanorias have a legend that the first grant of 12 villages in Lalitpur and Orohha was for killing this same Bāgha.



1733.<sup>1</sup> In his time Govind Bundela<sup>2</sup> of Sāgar seized Garolā, Mālthōn, Khemlasa and Rahatgarh. In 1735 Malhār Rao invaded Bundelkhand with an army of 100,000 and defeating Durjan Singh, annexed Bhilsa, Sironj, Udepūr, and Basoda, and erected a fort on the boundary, which he called after his own name Malhārgarh.<sup>3</sup>

Durjan Singh left four sons, Mān Singh, Zorāwal Singh, Sūba Sahib and Dhīraj Singh. Of these Mān Singh succeeded him. During his reign<sup>4</sup> Pandit Nāru Sankar came from the Deccan, and annexed half the country comprising Mungaoli, Sahrai, Piprai,<sup>5</sup> Kanjia and Isāgarh. Mān Singh gave Pāli<sup>6</sup> to his brother Zorāwal Singh, Bamori<sup>7</sup> to Sūba Sahib, and Bānpūr<sup>8</sup> to Dhīraj Singh. He had two sons Anrudh Singh and Hati Singh. Mān Singh built the fort of Mahroni,<sup>9</sup> and dying in 1760 was succeeded by Anrudh Singh. Rao Hati Singh, who lived with him, acted as his deputy rather than as a minister. In 1775 Anrudh Singh died, leaving a son named Rām Chandar, who was only a boy, at the time. Hati Singh did not place Rām Chandar on the throne, but himself ruled the country as regent. The Rāni suspecting Hati Singh's intentions, fled one night with the boy and 50 sawars to

<sup>1</sup> The dates given here for the accession of the Rajas of Chauderi are very different from those in the *Gazetteer N.-W. P. (I. 350 et seq.)*. They are:—

Raja.	According to the author.	According to the <i>Gazetteer</i> .
Debi Singh ...	... —1717	1646—1663
Dūraj Singh ...	... 1717—1733	1663—1687
Durjan Singh ...	... 1733—	1687—1733
Mān Singh ...	... —1760	1733—1746
Anrud Singh ...	... 1760—1774	1746—1774

I have not so far been able to explain the discrepancy.

<sup>2</sup> Better known as Govind Pundit, the Mahratta leader who assisted Chathar Sāl when nearly overwhelmed by the Muhammadans, and whom Chathar Sāl rewarded with one-third of his kingdom.—(1731). Ancestor of the Rajas of Jalaun, Jhansi and Gursarai.

<sup>3</sup> In Gwalior on the Betwa on the Western border of the Sāgar district.

<sup>4</sup> Probably 1748 (see p. 24).

<sup>5</sup> Sahrai and Piprai are both near Mungaoli in that part of Gwalior which borders the N.-W. portion of Sāgar district.

<sup>6</sup> In pargana Bālabehat (Jhansi district) 15 miles S. of Lalitpur, still held by his descendants.

<sup>7</sup> Bamori Kalan, pargana Lalitpur, district Jhansi, 7 miles S. S.-W. of Lalitpur. His descendants have lost possession of the village.

<sup>8</sup> In the pargana of that name (Jhansi district) 22 miles E. of Lalitpur. Dhīraj Singh's descendants no longer hold it, but possess in jagir Gadiāna (10 miles N.-E. of Lalitpur) and a few other villages.

<sup>9</sup> Head-quarters of the tahsil of that name in the Jhansi district, 23 miles E. S.-E. of Lalitpur.



Achalgarh,<sup>1</sup> and took up her abode at Chaudhri Kirat Singh's house. He immediately sent a letter to Jākhlon whence Diwān Dhurmangad Singh started with 500 men and arrived at Achalgarh. In addition to his own men he collected 50 horse from among the Zamindars and 100 sepoy of the Chaudhri's. Thus with 100 horse and 600 foot behind him he reached Chandheri, and set up Rām Chandar in the presence of Hati Singh. Kirat Singh was made regent and Dhurman-gad Singh Commander-in-Chief. Hati Singh withdrew to the fort of Tālbehāt, and prepared to fight. After a while Rām Chandar's force arrived there and a conflict ensued which lasted several months. Ultimately Rām Chandar proved victorious and gave 16 villages including Masora<sup>2</sup> to Hati Singh. In 1778 Rām Chandar was firmly seated on the throne. In 1783 he put to death Hati Singh and a Brahman of Tālbehāt; remorse however came upon him, and he was so much afraid of their spirits which haunted him, that he made pilgrimages to all the shrines of India, but all without avail. Finally he visited Ajudhya, where, finding a refuge from his fears he spent the remainder of his days. During his absence from the kingdom one of his relatives named Devaju Panwār, collected a portion of the revenue and sent it to the Raja for his maintenance.

Meantime<sup>3</sup> Ābha Sāhib sent an expedition under Morupanth from Sāgar to overthrow the kingdom of Chandheri. There marched out to meet the Marhāttas of the Bundelas Rao Umrao Singh of Rajwāra<sup>4</sup> with 2,000 men, Diwān Chithar Singh of Jākhlon with 1,500, the Chaudhri of Achalgarh with 1,000, and Durjan Sāl Khichhi with 500 horse; these all assembled at Lalitpur. A battle was fought between Lalitpur and Panari<sup>5</sup> which lasted the whole day, 500 men of Chithar Singh's were killed, and he himself wounded. The battle was indecisive and both parties returned to their homes.

Rajā Ram Chandar had four sons Parjapāl, Mūr Pahlād, Bāwan-pāl and Chithar Singh. In 1802 he appointed Parjāpāl to succeed him and sent him from Ajudhia to Chandheri. He subjugated all the Bundelas, but was killed in the battle of Rajwāra.<sup>6</sup> He was succeeded by Mūr Pahlād. In his time a Frenchman named Jean Baptiste Filose,

<sup>1</sup> In Gwalior, 10 miles N. of Mungaoli.

<sup>2</sup> Masora Khurd, 3 miles, S.-E. of Lalitpur.

<sup>3</sup> 1787.

<sup>4</sup> 3 miles, N.-E. of Lalitpur.

<sup>5</sup> A village 2 miles, N.-E. of Lalitpur.

<sup>6</sup> *Sc.* the battle just mentioned. In the *Gazetteer* (I. 351). Parjapāl is said to have been murdered, but the author tells me he, when young, met survivors from the battle who relate that Parjapāl was wounded in the battle and survived it 15 or 20 days dying in Lalitpur where a Mukbara in his honour stands now.

who was a general of Sindhia's attacked Chanderi in 1811. On his way to Chanderi he conquered the jagirdars of Geora,<sup>1</sup> Bānsi, Kotra,<sup>2</sup> Nanora,<sup>3</sup> Barwār,<sup>4</sup> Rajwāra, Mahronī, Jākhlon, Deogarh, etc., and arrived at the capital. Raja Mūr Pahlād fled to Jhansi. But Diwān Bakht Singh and Kunwar Umrao Singh his two brothers, together with the jagirdars of Jākhlon, held the fort for three months. At last through the treachery of a Thakur of Silgan<sup>5</sup> it fell into the hands of Jean Baptiste Filose. Tālbehat was next attacked and captured after a siege of three months. In 1812 Sindhia's general gave 31 villages<sup>6</sup> to Mūr Pahlād, and reduced the remainder of the kingdom of Chanderi to submission. In 1828 all the Bundelas together with the Raja determined to overthrow the sovereignty of Sindhia, and sent a Vakil to the Agent to the Governor-General of India in Banda with a complaint that Sindhia was forcibly depriving them of their kingdom. In 1830 Col. Filose came from Gwalior and the Mīr Munshi from Banda to reconcile the two parties. It was settled by treaty that one-third of the kingdom, valued at Rs. 1,65,631 per annum should be retained by Raja Mūr Pahlād, and the remaining two-thirds be given over to Sindhia. From that date Mūr Pahlād was known as Raja of Bānpūr. After his death his son Mardan Singh succeeded him in 1842. He [rebelled in the mutiny and his territory] was [confiscated and himself] granted a pension of Rs. 9,600 per annum. At present his grandson Nirwe Singh residing in Datia, receives a pension of Rs. 500 per month.

Sangrām Sāh the son of Raja Rām Sāh had seven sons. The reign of Krishn Rao one of these seven sons, will now be described. In 1612, when Maharaja Rām Sāh died in Bar his grandson Bhārat Sāh succeeded him. Krishn Rao was the son of the first Rāni, but being younger than his step-brother, was passed over for the throne, and appointed to assist in the administration at head-quarters. As soon as Chanderi fell into the hands of Bhārat Sāh he distributed "Haks"—(rights, estates) to his brothers. But Krishn Rao refused to take his 'hak' and came to Lalitpur under pretence of collecting revenue. From Lalitpur he sent a representative to Shāhjahān petitioning him to

<sup>1</sup> Pargana Tālbehat, Jhansi district, 33 miles N. N.-E. of Lalitpur.

<sup>2</sup> 21 miles N. N.-W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>3</sup> On the Betwa 18 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>4</sup> 6 miles W. N.-W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>5</sup> 3 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur; the man's name was Budh Singh, not of Chanderi as stated in the *Gazetteer* (I. 352). The author tells me he actually met him in his youth.

<sup>6</sup> The chief of which was Kelgawan 23 miles N.-E. of Lalitpur.



grant him the 'hak' to which he was entitled as son of the first Rāni. The Emperor ordered Bhārat Sāh to give him one-eighth part of the kingdom. He accordingly granted his brother a jagir of Rs. 75,000 in Bansi together with Raor and a garden in Lalitpur city. The ten uncles and four brothers of Bhārat Sāh, who had been made separate shareholders in the kingdom were made subject to Krishn Rao. From this time the descendants of Krishn Rao have been known as the "Bānsi-walas." They were entitled to take their seats on the right hand in Durbar, and were invested with the right of installing the Raja. Krishn Rao built a fort in Bānsi and a well in Raor, where is now the Lalitpur Municipal School. He had three sons Bishan Rai, Udebhān and Dalīp Narain, and died in 1643 when he was succeeded by Bishan Rai. Udebhān accompanied Debi Singh (Raja of Chanderi) to Kābul with an expedition sent by the Emperor of Delhi, and was killed there with 50 horsemen. As a remuneration the Emperor gave his son Makund Singh the title of Diwān, and presented him with a horse and two swords in addition to 58 villages in pargana Etāwah.<sup>1</sup> Makund Singh kept this jagir separate from that which had been granted him by his grandfather Krishn Rao. His uncle Bishan Rai was annoyed at this and confiscated his 'hak'; Makund Singh complained against him to Māhārāja Debi Singh, and the discussion continued for some years, until finally in 1683 it was agreed that the petitioner should get villages worth Rs. 27,000 from the jagir.<sup>2</sup>

Diwān Makund Singh had two sons, Dāl Singh and Naraingir; to the former he gave pargana Etāwah, and to the latter the Bānsi villages. After having done this he went to Delhi, and accompanied the Imperial army commanded by Subharām to Kandahār where he was killed in 1760. Maharāja Debi Singh gave the title of Diwān to Dāl Singh and Naraingir and confirmed them as jagirdars of Etāwah and Datia respectively.<sup>3</sup>

In 1735 Malhār Rao Holkar<sup>4</sup> came from the Deccan and killed Dāl Singh. His son Dhan Singh then left Etāwah and went to Datia.<sup>5</sup> In 1737 Abulfazl, an Imperial general, attacked Chanderi and a battle was fought at Datia in which Diwān Naraingir and 300 sepoy were slain. After his death his son Dhurmangad Singh succeeded him.

<sup>1</sup> Now part of Khorai Tahsil in Sāgar district.

<sup>2</sup> These villages lay in the S.-W. of Lalitpur sub-division, around Jākhlon, Deogarh and Datia, at which last named is a ruined fort on the Betwa three miles above Deogarh.

<sup>3</sup> See note 168.

<sup>4</sup> See page 23.

<sup>5</sup> Near Deogarh (note 169).

The latter had six sons, Bakht Singh, Umrao Singh, Chithar Singh Udiajit, Nirpat Singh, and Rājagir.

Dhur Mangad Singh took great interest in improving the jagir, and also in religious matters. During his life he entrusted the whole of the affairs of the jagir to Chithar Singh and Bakht Singh, making Jākhlon the chief place in his jagir; but himself left his family and retired into the Sidh-Gupha<sup>1</sup> with two or three men and became a devotee. Shortly after this he died (in 1794) and his sons divided the jagir between them. Chithar Singh and Udiajit received  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shares and Diwān Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh one share only. Diwān Bakht Singh built a fort at Nanora while Kunwar Umrao Singh and Udiajit erected forts at Baroda<sup>2</sup> and Dudhai respectively, both of which are now in ruins. Chithar Singh also built a fort at Chapra,<sup>3</sup> and a temple to Ganesh in Jākhlon. He was both war-like and fortunate. In 1785 he wrested Sahrai,<sup>4</sup> Isagarh, Sarai<sup>5</sup> Chachonra<sup>6</sup> etc., in all 12 parganas, from the Peshwa. The annual revenue of the 12 parganas was not less than 7 lakhs. He had an escort of 50 horsemen, and 1,500 sepoy who always attended him. On several occasions he helped the Rajas of Panna, Datia, Dholpur, Bajranggarh<sup>7</sup> etc. It was he who repulsed the formidable attack of Morupanth of Sāgar in 1787 and saved the kingdom of Chanderi. In 1807, Udiajit died and Chithar Singh in 1808. His brother Diwān Bakht Singh outlived him. In 1781 Dādu Bāba of Malhārgarh, who was one of the Peshwa's governors, unsuccessfully attacked Piprai.<sup>8</sup> In 1795 Sindhia's army with a strong force of artillery came from Pīrghāt<sup>9</sup> to attack Piprai, but was repulsed by Bakht Singh. In 1800 Bāli Rao, a general of the Peshwa, with 12,000 men attacked Jākhlon; the battle lasted the whole day. By evening Diwān Chithar Singh arrived from Deogarh and in the next day peace was negotiated and Bāli Rao went to Tori.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A cave in the cliff under the fort at Deogarh over-looking the Betwa, it contains a rock cut inscription recording that Sohanpāl took Kurār in Sambat 1345 (1288 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> Baroda Swami, 3 miles E. of Nanora, still held by the descendants of Kunwar Umrao Singh.

<sup>3</sup> 8 miles S. S.-W. of Chanderi.

<sup>4</sup> See note 151.

<sup>5</sup> Is Nai Sarai in Gwalior 26 miles N.-E. of Guna.

<sup>6</sup> In Gwalior 38 miles S.-W. of Guna.

<sup>7</sup> Now in Gwalior 6 miles S. of Gwalior.

<sup>8</sup> This Piprai is in pargana Bālabeht (Jhansi district) 19 miles S. by W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>9</sup> On the Narain river in the extreme south of pargana Bālabeht.

<sup>10</sup> In Gwalior 5 miles N.-E. of Mungaoli and 7 miles S.-W. of Deogarh.



In the beginning of 1812 Sindhia's general Colonel Filose, with eight battalions and 200 horse attacked Chanderi. Maharaja Mūr Pahlād being unable to defend it fled to Jhansi, and Diwān Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh opposed him. At first the general besieged the fort of Nanora whence Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh, after bravely maintaining their position with the help of 60 sepoy for eight days, fled. Colonel Filose attacked Jākhlon a second time in 1812. Diwān Bakht Singh maintained a resistance the whole day, and in the evening retreated to Deogarh. After eight days the colonel followed him there, and after three more days fighting drove Bakht Singh to Chanderi. Mūr Pahlād then fled to Jhansi leaving his fort to be defended by Bakht Singh. The siege was carried on for several weeks but in the end through the treachery of a Thakur<sup>1</sup> the town was surrendered. Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh held out in the fort of Chanderi till provisions ran short, when they fled to Piprai.<sup>2</sup> Sindhia's general followed them there but being defeated, on the same day went to Pāli,<sup>3</sup> and halted there with his army. Another battle was fought at Dudhai and the colonel was beaten off. He then returned to Lalitpur and leaving two companies there started to Tālbehāt. In 1813 Diwān Bakht Singh attacked Lalitpur and after driving out Sindhia's troops plundered the town. As soon as he heard of the expected return of Colonel Filose he marched out and opposed him at Tenta,<sup>4</sup> but being defeated went to Nanora and after a short time to Jāmandāna<sup>5</sup> and there cut up 200 of Sindhia's Sāwars. In 1814 a skirmish took place at Amrodh<sup>6</sup> and the colonel was compelled to retire with the loss of four companies. In the same year Bakht Singh fell ill; a vakil was sent and a peace concluded by which the colonel granted him his former jagir. The Diwān died soon after at Tehri, and was succeeded in the jagir by his son Diwān Gambhīr Singh aged 13, with his uncle Umrao Singh as guardian. In 1821 Siām Rao was appointed governor of the district on behalf of Sindhia. He confiscated the muafi in Malhārgarh, which yielded an annual income of Rs. 1,300. Diwān Bahādūr Gambhīr Singh marched out to oppose the confiscation, and encountered Siam Rao at the head of a small force. The fight lasted six hours and resulted in the repulse of Siam Rao, who withdrew to Malhārgarh; Diwān Bahādūr was however wounded. After this a series of small fights ensued between him and Sindhia's

<sup>1</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> See note 180.

<sup>3</sup> See note 152.

<sup>4</sup> 16 miles N. of Lalitpur.

<sup>5</sup> Jamandāna Kalan. See note 137.

<sup>6</sup> Said by the author to be near Pachhor in Gwalior.



forces, full details of which cannot be given in order; they will accordingly be merely summarized. On one occasion Siām Rao came to Parāsari,<sup>1</sup> whence being defeated, he retired. On another occasion he attacked the village of Pāli, and after 15 days' fighting was repulsed. He once besieged the fort of Nanora, and captured it in 15 days; but a few days later there was another fight at Kāli Dūn<sup>2</sup> in which he was defeated and driven back. He was then superseded by Mādho Rao, but the new Governor was defeated at Bikrampūr,<sup>3</sup> and forced to retreat. Soon after he unsuccessfully attacked Diwān Bahādur at Bhuchera,<sup>4</sup> but was driven off to a distance of four miles. He was next repulsed at Khānd.<sup>5</sup> After this another of Sindhia's officers Lachman Rao attacked Nanora, and an engagement occurred which lasted for 15 days. Another battle was fought at Gahora,<sup>6</sup> and Diwān Gambīr Singh, being defeated, fled to Datia.<sup>7</sup> Lachman Rao again came at the head of two companies and 500 horse, and Diwān Bahādur with several Bundela chiefs opposed him; fighting lasted eight days; both sides lost 500 men and Sindhia's army withdrew to Lalitpur. Finally a treaty was concluded by which the 'hak' was restored, and Diwān Bahādur secured the treatment to which he considered himself entitled on the occasion of an interview. In addition to this Diwān Bahādur had fights with several other Rajas and jagirdars:—the Rao of Rajwāra, Raja of Orchha, Rao of Khanyadāna, jagirdar of Murwāri,<sup>8</sup> jagirdar of Gora,<sup>9</sup> and the jagirdar of Kisalwāns.<sup>10</sup> As early as 1813 he had fought Colonel Filose at Garhākota. In 1828 he dug a tank at Jākhlon.

In 1829, when Bikramajīt Raja of Orchha wished to regain Chanderi by paying the charges of the Gwalior Contingent, he appointed his son Mardan Singh commander of his army, and Umrao Singh of Rajwāra, and Umrao Singh of Jākhlon as his advisers. Diwān Gambhīr Singh was made a general and Bakshi Bakht Singh of Tālbehat was put in charge of the cavalry. The campaign began by an attempt on the part of Bakshi Bakht Singh to storm Mahroni, but in this he was prevented by the arrival of a force of Sindhia's with two light guns, and accord-

1 On the W. bank of the Betwa opposite Deogarh.

2 In the Bālabehat pargana a few miles S.-E. of Dudhai.

3 In Gwalior 4 miles S.-E. of Chanderi.

4 23 miles N.N.-E. of Lalitpur.

5 A rocky hill N. of Bhuchera.

6 In Gwalior 3 miles N.-W. of Isagarh.

7 See note 169.

8 9 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur.

9 In Gwalior 9 miles N. N.-E. of Chanderi.

10 The author cannot say where this is, beyond that it is not the Kisalwāns on the Betwa 17 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur.



ingly retired to Khiria,<sup>1</sup> but not before Tilok Singh of Gurha<sup>2</sup> had been killed in the fighting. Sindhia's troops did not follow them to Khiria as it was in Orchha territory. After this Diwān Bahādūr Gambhīr Singh with a large body of Thakurs plundered Kalyānpūra,<sup>3</sup> and was only persuaded not to advance to Lalitpur by a handsome present from the bankers of that town. Diwān Bahādūr accordingly left Lalitpur and marched north encamping on the bank of the Kherār nadi at Burenro,<sup>4</sup> near Jakhora. A detachment of one company of foot, one of artillery and one of cavalry arrived at Sirsi.<sup>5</sup> Diwān Bahādūr Singh met them at the head of 1,000 foot. As soon as Mardan Singh heard of this he went to his assistance, and by two hours after sunrise Sindhia's force was defeated and fled into Sirsi. The Bundela army went to Tālbehat, and attacked the fort, cannonading continuing day and night. But when Sindhia's force from Lalitpur had joined that from Sirsi and both pressed the Bundelas, they left Tālbehat and retired to Bijrotha.<sup>6</sup> At this time an order was received from the Agent to the Governor-General that fighting was to stop, and the matter to be left for the decision of the Supreme Government.

In 1812 Colonel Filose from Gwalior, the Mir Mūnshi from the Agency and Nanneju Thakur from Tehri met at Sindwāha,<sup>7</sup> and there the Batota treaty was framed. Diwān Bahādūr Gambhīr Singh and Kunwar Umrao Singh were allowed to retain possession of their previous shares. In 1838 the fort at Nanora which had been destroyed by the colonel, was rebuilt. In 1839 Diwān Bahādūr Gambhīr Singh died, and was succeeded in the jagir in the same year on Chait B. 11 by his son Diwan Bijhe Bahādūr Dalip Singh. He was a skilful rider, wise, a good scholar in the Shāstras, and devoted himself to the worship of Gopālji. He died at Banpūr in 1905 on Magh S. 11 (1849) and was succeeded by Diwān Bijhe Bahādūr Mazbūt Singh (the author of this book). Till 1863 he was a child, but early in 1864 edited the Bind-prakāsh in Hindi, a book which contains extracts from all the Shāstras and Puranas, and which is of great use to scholars of the Veda. In 1865 he rebuilt the fort at Nanora, which had been destroyed by

<sup>1</sup> In Orchha, 4 miles N.-E. of Mahroni.

<sup>2</sup> 6 miles E. of Mahroni.

<sup>3</sup> In pargana Lalitpur (Jhansi district) 8 miles E. of Lalitpur.

<sup>4</sup> A small village on the Kherār Nadi 2 miles N. of Jakhora which is 17 miles N. N.-W. of Lalitpur.

<sup>5</sup> 4 miles S. S.-E. of Jakhora.

<sup>6</sup> See note 135.

<sup>7</sup> 18 miles S.-E. of Lalitpur; there are here the tombs of some members of the family of Major Alexander, a French officer serving in Sindhia's army, and whose descendants held the neighbouring village of Jaria in jagir.

Sindhia's force. In 1868 he constructed a tank in Karrana<sup>1</sup> and more recently another smaller one in Gudūwal.<sup>2</sup> In 1874 he began a garden in Jākhlon which still exists, and which with God's help shall be improved. In 1876 he edited a manual named Nitchandar in very simple Hindi, which can be used by all religions.

<sup>1</sup> In Gwalior 6 miles S. of Chanderi.

<sup>2</sup> On the Betwa, 11 miles W. of Lalitpur.





*Faqīr Khayr-ud-Din Muhammad, the Historian of Shāh 'Ālam.*—By  
E. DENISON ROSS, PH.D.

Our information with regard to the historian Faqīr Khayr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī is principally derived from what he himself tells us in the course of his works. Of these, so far as I am aware, three only have hitherto been known to scholars, namely: 1. The *'Ibrat-Nāma*, or "Book of Warning" described in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. III, p. 946, and in Sir H. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VIII, pp. 237-254. 2. The *Jaunpūr-Nāma*, a History of Jaunpūr, described by Rieu *loc. cit.* Vol. I, p. 311; 3. The *Balwant-Nāma*, described by Sir H. Elliot *loc. cit.* Vol. VIII, p. 416, which is another title for the *Tuḥfa-i-Tāza*, translated, by F. Curwen and printed by the Allahabad Government Press, 1875. Of the first of these works the late Dr. Chas. Rieu wrote as follows: "The *'Ibrat-Nāma* is the fullest and most accurate account we possess of the chequered career and troubled times of Shāh 'Ālam, and it has all the value of contemporary record, penned by one who had taken an active share in some of the principal transactions of the period, and was personally acquainted with the most prominent actors on the scene."

The *Jaunpūr-Nāma* contains the history of the town of Jaunpūr from the middle of the 14th century down to the time of Akbar. It was written for Mr. Abraham Willard, as was also the *Tuḥfa-i-Tāza* (or *Balwant-Nāma*), which contains an account of the Rājās of Benares.

The details concerning their author which we derive from these works are very meagre, and only cover a period of about eight years. There is, however, another work by Faqīr Khayr-ud-Dīn in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which throws much new light on the author and his personality. This little book, which only comprises 45 folios, is called by the vague title of *Tazkirat-ul-'Ulama* or "Lives of the Learned" and is divided into three *faṣls* and a *khātima*.



*Faṣl I.* Contains a short sketch of the history of Jaunpūr.

*Faṣl II.* Notices of eminent men. This section contains quotations from such well-known works as the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-shāhī* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*.

*Faṣl III.* An account of the Foundation of the Madrasah of Jaunpūr, and the methods adopted for bringing together in that city students and scholars.

*Khātima.* Concerning the author.

It is this *Khātima* or "conclusion" which contains the fresh light on our author to which I have referred, and which forms the staple of the present article. In it Khayr-ud-Din also gives a complete list of his works up to the time of writing, that is A.D. 1801 (A.H. 1216). The list is a long one, amounting to upwards of 30 works, and concerning most branches of Mohammedan lore. It is strange that so few of them should have reached posterity. Of all these works, the one whose disappearance (or perhaps non-appearance, for he speaks of it as incomplete) is to be most regretted is the *Kitab-i-'Ālam-Āshūb*, "A History of Hindustan from the time of the advent of the great King of Iran down to the time of Amīr-ul-Umara Mirzā Najaf Khān."

I have decided to print the text of this *Khātima* and in this place merely to sum up the principal events in the author's career which are to be derived from the available sources above enumerated.

Faqīr Khayr-ud-Din Muḥammad was born in Allahābad in A.D. 1751. He began his studies at the age of eleven, and completed his course in five years, under the instruction of Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn Mūsavī of Aurangābād, who was held in the highest esteem, we are told, by rich and poor in Allahabad. In A.D. 1771 his master died, and Khayr-ud-Din proceeded to Jaunpūr to study under Maulana Muḥammad 'Askarī, with whom he read many works. In Jaunpūr he also gave lessons and began at his time to write books. At the end of sixteen months he returned to Allahabad, where he began to teach in his own Madrasah. Shortly after this, however, in A.D. 1772, the district of Allahabad was placed by the "Great Sahibs," under the charge of Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Dawla, who confiscated the stipends and endowments of all teachers and shaykhs: and Khayr-ud-Din was consequently compelled to close his Madrasah. He threw himself on the mercy of the "Great Sahibs" who took him into their employ and charged him with important duties. The next twenty years of his life he seems to have spent partly in the service of Shāh 'Ālam, partly in the employ of various English and native officials, and partly in teaching in Allahabad or Benares. In 1783-4 we find him employed as confidential agent by Mr. James Anderson, the British Resident in the camp



of Scindhia. In 1785, owing to a severe illness, he took leave of Mr. Anderson and returned to Allahabad. "He then attached himself to the fortunes of the Shāhzāda Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son of Shāh-jahān, whom he assisted in his attempt to seize upon the Delhi Government, and by whom he was treated, according to his own statement, as the most trusted friend and adviser."<sup>1</sup>

In A.D. 1787 he proceeded to Lucknow: and after some time again returned to Allahabad. In 1793 his then master, Mr. Trevis, was appointed Judge of Jaunpūr, and Khayr-ud-Dīn accompanied him thither. After few months, however, Mr. Trevis was transferred to the Appellate Court at Benares, and was succeeded in Jaunpūr by Mr. Abraham Willard, whose service Khayr-ud-Dīn now entered. There is, however, a discrepancy in the dates here, for the *Jaunpūr-Nāma* says that Mr. Willard was appointed in 1796, whereas according to the *Tazkirat-ul-'Ulama* he must have succeeded to the Judgeship of Jaunpūr in 1793 or 1794.

Khayr-ud-Dīn spent the last years of his life in Jaunpūr, in the enjoyment of a Government Pension granted in recognition of his faithful services in negotiation with the Mahrattas.

He died about the year A.D. 1827.

The following is the complete text of the *Khātima*:—

خاتمه در شمه از سرگذشت مؤلف ذرّه بيمقدار فقير خيوالدين محمد بتاريخ دوازدهم ماه صفر سنه يکھزار يکصد شصت و پنج هجري در بلده اله آباد لباس هستي پوشيد در سنه يازده سالگي سرشته تحصيل علوم بدست آورد کتب درسي از هدايت ذانهايت دبعرضه پنج سال در حلقه دانش افضل الفضلاي اکمل الکملای سيد محمد حسين موسوي اورنگ آبادي که در شهر اله آباد مسجد خلائق و مرجع شاه و گدا بود گذرانيد و بحضور آنجناب بتدريس طالبان علوم مشغول شد چون در ماه ذي حجه سنه يکھزار يکصد هشتاد و پنج آنحضرت فوت کرد در خود يارای استقامت شهر اله آباد نيفت متايش فضل و کمال مولانا محمد عسکري جونپوري و مهارت و معرفت وی در علم بلاغت شنیده ديوانهوار در عين برشکال عازم جونپور شد و زياده از شنیده ديده کتاب فرآند بلاغت تصنيف ملا محمود جونپوري و شرح چغمني علم هيئته زان حضوت اکتساب نمود و مسلم الاصول را از خدمت مولانا ابوالخير خلف مفتي ثناءالله استفاده کرد و در جونپور نيز بتدريس طالبان و تصنيف کتابها مشغول بود بعد انتضای شانزده ماه از جونپور باله آباد مراجعت کرد و در مدرسه خود نشسته بتعليم طلبه علوم پرداخت چون در سنه یک هزار یک صد هشتاد و شش هجري صوبه

<sup>1</sup> Rieu *loc. cit.* Vol. III, p. 946, from the 'Ibrat-Nāma.

قله آباد از طرف صاحبان عالیشان بکار پوزدازان نواب شیخاع الدوله مقرر شده بو طبره  
 خود معاش مدرسان و مشایخان اله آباد را نیز ضبط فرمود طالبان علم مدرسه  
 این فقیر بسبب تنگی معاش برخاستند فقیر نیز باستصواب خود بعزم رفاقت صاحبان  
 بدر شناس بی اندیشه زاد از مدرسه برخاست و فیضها از رفاقت صاحبان عالیشان  
 ابرداشت ثروت و جاه بسیار یافت و بکارهای عمده مامور شد و از کجا بکجا رسید  
 و چها چها دید مدتی همنشین شاه عالم بادشاه و نواب آصف الدوله وزیر الممالک  
 مرحوم بود نواب وزیر مغفور تولیت امام بارة کلان و تدریس مدرسه نو ساخت برای  
 این فقیر تجویز نمود و بکمال خواهش از اله آباد بلکه نو بود از انفاق بعضی مشیرانش  
 انفاق نشد آخر الامر هوای تدریس در دل این فقیر پیچید نالی چند در اله آباد  
 و بنارس بتدریس پرداخت آخر الامر در سنه یکهزار دو صد نه هجری در هر چهار  
 سرکار عدالت هندوستانیان موقوف گردید و صاحبان عالیشان جج و رجستر مقرر شدند مستر  
 ثرویس که جج چونپور شده بود بسبب توسلی که این فقیر از عزت بخدمت او داشت  
 همراة بچونپور آورد بعد چند ماه او در اپیل بنارس رفت و بجای او مستر ولد جج چونپور  
 شدند بملاحظه قدر دانیدها سایه نبط دنبال آن خورشید خصال گرفت و باسد آنکه \* ع \*  
 شاید شب ما هم سخری داشته باشد \* رفاقت او را سرمایه رفعت و عزت خود دریافت  
 الحمد لله که شب انتظار این فقیر به پایان رسیده و صبح اقبال از افق طالع دمیده نوید  
 قدم مالک الملک دریا دل ابر نوال خداوند جاه و جلال گورنر جنرل لارڈ مارکوئس لارڈ  
 مارنک تین بهادر دام اقباله دل را بالی و زبان را نیور پدید آورد \* بیت \*

آهن چو پیارس آشنا شد      فی الحال بصورت طلا شد  
 خورشید نظر چو کرد بر سنگ      تحقیق که لعل بی بها شد

این فقیر تا حال تمایف بسیار نموده و جناب اقدس قبول خاطرها بخشیده چنانچه  
 در علم صوف فواید حسن و مباحث حسن و در علم نحو فواید النحو و فواید الحسن  
 و مصطلحات النحو و حدیثیه بر شرح ملک و در علم منطق شرح تهزیب و شرح  
 تصورات سلم و در علم حکمت فلسفی جواهر و زواهر متن و شرح آن نقد الجواهر  
 در عبارت عربی و ترجمه آن در عبارت فارسی و مقدمات اربعه در تحقیق مسئله علم  
 و مسئله جعل و مسئله ربط حادث بالقدیم و مسئله جبر و اختیار بکمال خوبی و تازگی  
 بقلم آورد و در علم بلاغت ملخص و شرح آن نقد البلاغت در عبارت عربی  
 و نگین و صاف و شواهد البلاغت شرح ابیات عربیه در غایت توضیح قلمی ساخت  
 و در فقه و فرائض کتاب خیر المسائل و منهج الفرائض و در علم حدیث خیر المسائل  
 و در علم کلام نقد الکلام و در علم عقائد کتاب علم الهدی و کتاب خیر المسائل  
 و وسیله النجات و مظهر الغرائب و عین الایمان تألیف نمود کتاب عین الایمان را



بفرمایش خواجه عین الدین که از عهد ناظران ممالک محروسه وزیر الممالک بود نوشته او بکربلای معلی فرستاد علمای آن مکان پسند نمودند و چند سطر در تعریف آن بطرز شهادت نگاشتند و کتاب خوراق قادریه حسب خواهش حضرت شاه عالم بادشاه در عبارت فارسی تالیف نمودم و در صله آن شقه بدستخط خاص و رعایت اعزاز و احترام باین فقیر رشید و رساله برهان امامت و لطائف الابرار حسب فرمایش نواب وزیر نواب آصف الدوله مرحوم تالیف نمودم در جائزه برهان امامت نواب وزیر الممالک مرحوم پنجهزار روپیه باین فقیر بخشید و این رساله بسبب حسن قبول در تمام دیار هندوستان مشهور گردید کتاب مجالس المؤمنین میونورالله شوستری را که کم از دو صد جزو کلان نباشد در یک ماه عبارت فارسی صاف انتخاب نمود و خیرالمجالس نام نهاد و رساله نادر دلپسند در علم تهذیب الاخلاق آنچنان نوشت که یک لفظ عربی بافراوان و ترکیب در آن یافته نمی شود و در علم تاریخ و سیر کتاب سراستان مشتمل بر عجایب حکایات عدالت و شجاعت و تدبیر سلاطین هندوستان در عبارت فارسی و کتاب گلزار اسرار در لطائف و آداب فقرای این دیار نوشت و کتاب عالم آشوب مشتمل بر سوانح تمام ممالک محروسه هندوستان از سال ورود بادشاه قهرمان ایران تا وفات امیر الامرا مرزا نجف خان به عبارت رنگین تالیف نمود هنوز این کتاب باختتام نرسیده موقوف بر خواهش خداوند است و کتاب عبرت نامه در احوال سلطنت شاه عام و کوائف مختاران سلطنت او و آغاز و انجام هریکی و جزای بد کرداری که غلام قادر خان یافت تصنیف کرد و کتاب جونپور نامه و کتاب تحفه تازه مشتمل بر حالات ناظران بذارس و راجه های آن تا خراج چیت سنگه و بندوبست جدید که کار پردازان سوکار کمپنی انگریز بهادر حسب الحکم نواب گورنر جنرل بظهور آورده بفرمایش مستر ابرهم و لند بهادر جج ضلع جونپور بسک تحریر کشیده و کتاب گوالیار نامه مشتمل بر حالات راجه های آن ضلع و استحکام و ارتفاع حصار گوالیار و کار نامه که پیچر بروس در تسخیر آن بظهور آورده در حصار تالیف در آورد و سوای آن دیگر کتب و رسائل که بفرمایش صاحبان عالیشان تصنیف کرده تفصیل آن معمول بر خود ستائی می شود این قدر هم برای آن نوشت نا ظاهر گردد که این بیمه دار نیز لیاقت در آمدن در حلقه علما دارد و بهره از علوم و فنون حاصل کرده است و الا مشک آنست که خود بوید نه که عطار وصف آن گوید آمید از جاب اقدس آن دارد که چون در سایه عنایات خداوند جهان و جهانیان امیر ممالک محروسه هندوستان زنده نو آئینان عظیم الشان دام اقباله چندی دیاساید و با طوطیان چون بلاغت طرح همراهی اندازد تصنیفات و تالیفات خود را بذکر جمایش بیدارید و فضائل و حسنات آن ذوالفضل و الاحسان را زنده جاوید گرداند \*

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد که از رفعت همین نامه مرا کرد  
نه بینی زان همه یک خشک برجای بنائی عنصری مانده است بر پای  
مجیب الدعوات این والی الملک حامی الفضلا را پیوسته در حفظ و حمایت خود  
داشته فرمان روای برو بحدود دارد و تمامی ممالک محروسه هندوستان را از لوی  
حکومت وے بیدارید موالیان در دولتش مقبول و مدعیان بارگاه عالیش منکوب  
و مخدول باشند \*

سخن بمدح تو آراستن غرض این است که پیش اهل خود منصبی بود ما را  
و گرنه منقبت آفتاب مشهور است چه حاجت است بمشاطه روی زیبا را  
باستصواب و استمزاج قدر دان سخن و قدر شناس جوهر هر فن مستر ابوهم و لند جمع  
ضلع جونپور این فقیر طبع آزمائی کرد و این عجائب حالات را از کتب سلف در عرصه  
قلیله بر آورده بتاریخ بست پنجم ص ۸۰ ستمبر سنه یکهزار هشتصد یک عیسوی مطابق  
پانزدهم ص ۸۰ جمادی الاولی سنه یک هزار دو صد شانزده هجری در حیز تحریر آورد مسبب  
الاسباب تاثیر قبول بخشید و مقبول طبع شریف خداوند جهانیان سازد \*



*The Licchavi race of ancient India.*—By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA,  
M.A., M.R.A.S.

Since time immemorial, India has been hospitable to foreign races. In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas we read of warlike races entering India from outside, getting admittance into Hindu Society, and being absorbed in one or other of the four great castes of the Indian people. In this paper, I shall give an account of a race that came into our country, in about the 8th century B.C., and gradually identified itself with the Kṣatriya or military caste of Northern India. This race is called Licchavi. The Pali chroniclers have so designated it. In the Brahmanic Sanskrit works the race has been called Nicchivi. The Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra<sup>1</sup> of the Northern Buddhists designates it as Lit-savi. In the ancient inscriptions the variant form Licchivi is found sometimes to have been used, while the Tibetan authors have occasionally named it as Li-tsa-byi.

In the well-known Hindu Socio-religious institute called Manusamhitā the Nicchivis have been reckoned among the Vrātya Kṣatriyas. Manu says: <sup>2</sup> “From the Vrātya Kṣatriyas are born the following, viz.: Jhalla, Malla, Nicchivi, Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa and Draviḍa.”

Now let us examine the meaning of the word Vrātya used by Manu. The word Vrātya has been defined in the Hindu ṅāstras as signifying one who has lost caste through non-observance of the ten principal Hindu ceremonies (saṃskāras) especially of investiture with the sacred thread. This definition of the word Vrātya shows that the Licchavis, though included in the Kṣatriya caste, did not in the time of Manu wear sacred threads nor observe any of the ten principal rites enjoined in the Brāhmanic ṅāstras. In fact they were even then regarded as foreigners, and as such did not conform themselves to the rules of Hindu

<sup>1</sup> Suvarṇa-prabhāsa Sūtra, chap II.

<sup>2</sup> Manusamhitā, chap. X, verse 22.

Society. They were however even then regarded as a respectable people. In the Jātaka<sup>1</sup> of the Sutta-piṭaka, which is a most ancient Pali canonical work of the Buddhists, we read of a barber's son, who desired to marry a Licchavi girl, but was severely reproached by his father for setting his mind on such forbidden fruit as a high-born lady of the Licchavis.

Sanang Setsen, in his history of the Eastern Mongols, says that the Sākya race was divided into three sections, *viz.*, Sākya the great, Sākya the Licchavi, and Sākya the mountaineer. Alexander Csoma de Koros has recorded the same triple division of the Sākya race from Tibetan sources, and has said that Sākya is identical with Scythian. The Licchavis must on this supposition be regarded as a branch of the Scythian race.

Samuel Beal<sup>2</sup> observes that the scene found at Sānchi (in the Bhupal State) probably refers to the Stūpa raised by the Licchavis over their share of the relics of Buddha. The appearance of the men shows they were a northern race; their hair and flowing hair-bands and musical instruments agree, according to Beal, with the account given of the people of Ku-che. It is stated both in the Pali and Northern Buddhist books that the Licchavis were distinguished for their bright-coloured and variegated dresses and equipages. All the evidence seems, in the opinion of Beal, to point to these people being a branch of the Yue-chi.

I am inclined to believe that the Licchavis came into India immediately from Nisibis, which was, according to Ptolemy, one of the most notable towns of Aria (near modern Herat). In the Manusamhitā the Licchavis are called Nicchibis which, in my opinion, correspond exactly to the Nisibis<sup>3</sup> of Ptolemy. The northern parts of Aria were, according to him, possessed by a people called Nisaioi or Nisibi. I further suppose that the same race has been called by Arrian as Nysaioi. Arrian<sup>4</sup> observes that the Nysaioi were not an Indian race but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos. The district in which he planted his colony he named Nysaia, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. These stories about Dionysos are of course but fictions of the poets. Nysa the so-called birth-place of the wine-god has, however, been identified by M. de St. Martin with the existing village called Nysatta on the northern bank of the rivers of Kabul. Wilson identifies it with, Nissa north of Elburz mountains, between Asterabad and Meshd.

<sup>1</sup> Sigāla Jātaka of the Pali Jātaka, edited by Dr. Fausboll, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Beal's Buddhistic Records, Vol. II, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 263, 267, 306, 308, 309, 324, 328.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 178-79.



This place, he adds, ought to be of Median or Persian foundation, since the nomenclature is Iranian, the name of Nysa or Nisaya, which figures in the cosmogonic geography of the Zend Avesta, being one which is far spread in the countries of ancient Iran. Megasthenes in the 4th century B.C. found in India a race called Nesei. This, I believe, was the same as Nicchibi or Licchavi.

Looking at the celebrated canonical Pāli scripture, called Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, supposed to have been rehearsed in the first Buddhist council in 543 B.C., we obtain an interesting account of the Licchavis and seven other cognate clans, unitedly called Vajjis. The Licchavis are there represented as living in Vaiśālī corresponding to the modern village of Besārḥ, in the Muzaffarpur district. In the first chapter of the work, we find that the great Monarch Ajāta-çatru, of Magadha, (Behar), the then paramount ruler of India, builds a fort at Paṭali-grāma and sends two of his Brāhmaṇa ministers to consult Buddha, as to the feasibility of subduing or driving out the Licchavis and other Vajjian tribes. Buddha replies to them, saying that so long as the several clans of the Vajjis remained united, they would be invincible. However, in the course of three years (*i.e.*, in 540 B.C.) the aforesaid monarch, Ajāta-çatru, brought about such a disunion among the several clans that they became very easily conquered. In chap. VI of the afore-mentioned Mahāparinibbāna Sutta we find the Licchavis claiming and actually receiving one-eighth part of the relics of Buddha's body. It was in 543 B.C. that Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, and it was in the same year that the relics of his body became distributed among the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Mallas of Kusīnagara, and others. One of the most interesting facts to be noticed in connection with this episode is that the Licchavis are described there as claiming Kṣatriyaship. They are stated there as sending messengers to Kusīnārā, saying: "Bhagavān Buddha was a Kṣatriya, we, too, are Kṣatriyas, so we, too, deserve a part of the relics of Bhagavān's body." Another interesting fact to be noticed is that the Licchavis had, at the time, a republican form of government; they had then no kings, but simply obeyed the orders of their elders.

In the Mahāvamsa, the well-known Pāli chronicle of Ceylon, compiled in 431 A.D., we find the descendants of the aforesaid Ajāta-çatru reigning in Magadha up to the year 471 B.C. It was in this year that a member of the Licchavi race was installed in the sovereignty of Magadha. It is a curious fact, of Indian history, that the Licchavis, who were looked down as outcastes up to the year 540 B.C., succeeded, so soon as in 471 B.C., to see one of their members elected monarch in

**The Licchavis regarded as enemies by the Ruler of India.**

parinibbāna Sutta, supposed to have been rehearsed in the first Buddhist council in 543 B.C., we obtain an interesting account of

**The Licchavi dynasty ruling over India.**

ed in 431 A.D., we find the descendants of the aforesaid Ajāta-çatru reigning in Magadha up to the year 471 B.C. It was in this



the capital city of Magadha. In spite of all efforts on the part of Ajāta-çatru and his successors, against the Licchavis, the latter held their own in India, and succeeded in securing the good feelings of the people here. This member of the Licchavi race, who was elected sovereign over Magadha, is named Śiśunāga, the founder of a dynasty called Śiśunāga. He is stated in the Mahāvamsa to have at first been Prime-minister to King Nāga-dāsaka, the last royal descendant of Ajāta-çatru. There are several atthakathās, or Pali commentaries, on the Mahāvamsa preserved in the ancient monasteries of Ceylon. In the atthakathā of the priests of the Uttara-Vihāra of Anurādhapura it is recorded that Śiśunāga was a great statesman, and belonged to a very respectable family of the Licchavis. He reigned in Magadha for eighteen years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years. Kālāsoka had ten sons, who ruled the empire for twenty-two years. It was during the conjoint administration of the sons of Kālāsoka that the Nanda dynasty became powerful in India, and usurped the sovereignty of Magadha. This is a very brief account of the Śiśunāga dynasty, supplied by the celebrated Pāli Mahāvamsa of Ceylon. The Viṣṇupurāṇa of the Hindus gives a slightly different account. We have found that, according to the Mahāvamsa, the Śiśunāga kings reigned for only 68 years, from 471 B.C. to 403 B.C. But according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book IV, Chap. XXIV) they ruled over Magadha for 362 years, beginning their reigns a little earlier than at the date fixed by the Mahāvamsa. It is scarcely desirable to enter here into any controversy on the subject, but I must say that though the members of the Licchavi race exercised sovereignty over Magadha for a short period only, they left a distinguishable mark in the religious and political history of India. In the Manu-Saṃhitā we have seen that the Licchavis did

The Licchavis leaving a distinguishable mark in the religious history of India.

not strictly observe the Brahmanic rites. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, on the other hand, describes them as devotees to Buddha and his religion. In the well-known Divyā-

vadāna (Chaps. III and XI) of the Buddhists of the Northern School we find the Licchavis faithfully serving Buddha on special occasions. In the Cullavagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka, and in the Mahāvamsa, we find that, though followers of Buddha, they did not observe the Buddhist discipline to the letter. It was they who in 443 B.C., having declared some ten indulgences as being allowable to priesthood, brought about the first schism in the Buddhist Church known as the Mahāsaṃgīti heresy. Ten thousand Licchavi priests received on this occasion the penalty of degradation. In spite of all these, we must acknowledge the Licchavis to be the wisest and most learned representatives of the Buddhist



community of old. In the celebrated canonical Pali scripture, called *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (Book III) we read of two Licchavi youths named Abhaya and Paṇḍita-Kumāraka holding very high metaphysical discussions with Ānanda, while in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chap. XCIX) the Licchavi princes of Vaiśālī are mentioned as being the typical examples of those who live in peace and harmony. The famous Buddhaghōṣa of the 5th century A.D., in his Pāli commentary on the *Dhammapada* (Chap. XVI, verse 7), cites an anecdote in which Buddha is made to hold a very high spiritual conversation with the Licchavi priests of Vaiśālī.

The political influence which the Licchavis attained in India did not cease with the termination of their sovereignty in Magadha. It is true they were succeeded by kings of the Nanda dynasty, but the people continued to respect them as rulers. The Buddhist works, of both the Northern and Southern Schools, have uniformly designated them as Kumāras, *Kumāra* being a hereditary title of the Licchavis. Now the word *Kumāra* is a synonym for Rāja-putra and signifies a prince. In the *Gayā* copperplate Inscription of Samudra-Gupta, we find that, in about 320 B.C., the celebrated Indian emperor, Chandra Gupta, married Kumāra-devī, who was daughter of a Licchavi prince.<sup>1</sup> "That the Licchavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the early Guptas is shown by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter."

It is curious that kings of Nepal, Tibet, Ladak and Mongolia, too, trace their descent from the Licchavis. In accordance with the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Nepal, and the inscriptions published in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vols. IX, XIII, and XIV), we find that the Licchavis gradually attained such a great power and honour in Nepal that they became regarded there as a branch of the *Surya-vaṃśa* or solar race. The Nepal kings carry their descent from the sun and come down to Daśaratha. After Daśaratha there are said to have been eight kings in lineal succession, and then there was the illustrious Licchavi. After Licchavi there were some kings and then was born the illustrious king Supuṣpa. The 24th in descent from him was Jaya-deva I, who has been treated by Bhagavan Lal Indraji as the first historical member of the Licchavi family and the founder of the Nepal branch of it. After Jaya-deva I there were eleven kings and then came Vṛṣa-deva, Saṃkara-deva, Dharma-deva, Māna-deva, Mahī-deva, and Vasanta-deva. It is unnecessary to enumerate here the numerous kings who succeeded Vasanta-deva.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings*, p. 256.



But it is essential to state here that all the kings, succeeding Jaya-deva I, belonged to the Licchavi race. Jayadeva I reigned in Nepal about 330-355 A.D. There was intermarriage existing among the Licchavi families of Nepal and the ruling families of Magadha, Gauḍa, etc. The inscriptions present us with several instances of double government in Nepal. Thus Amṣu-varma and Vṛṣa-deva were simultaneously ruling in two different places of Nepal. Amṣu-varma, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen-thsang, belonged to the Licchavi race, reigned in Nepal 635-650 A.D. That the Licchavi tribe was one of great antiquity and power, in the direction of Nepal, is shown by the writings of Fa-hian and Hwen-thsang, which connect them with events that preceded the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. The Licchavi conquest of Nepal is assigned to Newarit, whose age is unknown. Nothing need be said here about the Licchavi rulers of Nepal descending from the sun. All the powerful rulers of India have claimed their descent from either of the two mythical personages named the Sun and the Moon. I consider Sūrya-varṃśa and Candra-varṃśa as terms of compliment, which were rightly bestowed on the ruling families of India and outside. If there is any honour indicated by the term Sūrya-varṃśa, that honour was pre-eminently deserved by the Licchavi rulers of India and Nepal, and it is not at all surprising that they actually received it.

The first king in Tibet was Nya-khri-tsan-po who, according to the Tibetan books, belonged to the Licchavi race.

**The Tibet branch of the Licchavi race.** The 27th in descent from him was Lha-tho-tho-ri, and the 32nd was Sran-tsan-gam-po.

This last King, who reigned in Tibet, in 627 A.D., had two principal wives—one being taken from China and the other being the daughter of Amṣu-varma, the Licchavi king of Nepal.

The rulers of Mongolia and Ladak do likewise claim descent from the Licchavi race. But so many changes have taken place in the ruling families of Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, Ladak, etc., that it is at present impossible to trace unmixed Licchavi blood in the people of those countries.

Nothing is definitely known to us of the fates of the Indian branch of the Licchavi race that lived in the early

**The Indian branch of the Licchavi race.** centuries of Christ. With the revival of

Brahmanism in India, in the 7th century A.D., there occurred a thorough re-organization of ancient castes. The Licchavi kingdom of Vaiśālī began probably to accept Brahmanism at this time, and we are not surprised to read the records of Chinese pilgrims (such as those of Hwen-thsang), who say that in the 7th century A.D., Buddhism was on its decline in Vaiśālī and heretical doctrines



were much prevailing there. Since the 7th century A.D. there have taken place in India so many reconstructions of the ancient castes, made partly on the principle of ethnological, partly philological, partly socio-religious and partly political and other divisions that it is at present impossible to discover a single drop of Licchavi blood in India, without the help of chemical analysis. It has already been said that Vaiśāli, in which the Licchavis lived in ancient days, corresponds to modern Basārh in the Muzaffurpur district. They gradually dispersed over different places in the districts of Goruckpore, Shahabad, Champaron, etc. It is therefore not altogether improbable that some of the people of the military caste of these districts may bear some remote relationship to the Licchavis of old. Writers of Indian history have not yet made even mention of the Licchavi race in their respective works. The present paper of mine, though extremely meagre, will, I hope, serve to draw the attention of scholars to the investigation of the history of this once most powerful race of India.

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*The Vrātya and Saṃkara Theories of Caste.*—By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀ-  
BHŪṢAṆA, M.A., M.R.A.S.

No institution has exercised a greater influence upon the interests of mankind than that of caste. There was caste among the Egyptians, Colchians, Iberians, Medes, Persians and Etrureans; and in the New World it was found among the Peruvians and Mexicans. It existed among the earliest Attic tribes and Spartans whose trades and occupations were almost all hereditary. The laws of caste also prevailed among the Saxons. It is, however, in India that the caste system has reached its highest development, while in most other countries it has gradually ceased to exist. In India there is a permanent separation of classes with hereditary professions assigned to each, and the most ancient documents regarding the origin of caste are to be found here. As the subject is being scientifically investigated by the Director of Indian Ethnography, I shall in the following pages give only a very brief outline of Vrātya and Saṃkara castes making only an incidental mention of the original castes.

I. ORIGINAL CASTES.

According the Hindu Çāstras, castes may be classified as (1) mūla (original), (2) vrātya (fallen), and (3) saṃkara (mixed). In India there are four original castes, viz. : Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra. Manu\* says :—

“The Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, and the Vaiçya castes are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Çūdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth caste.”

The duties enjoined on the four castes are thus stated by Vaçiṣṭha† :—

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\* ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

चतुर्थं एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः ॥ ( मनुसंहिता १० । ४ ) ॥

† षट् कर्माणि ब्राह्मणस्य अध्ययनमध्यापनं यजनं याजनं दानं प्रतियहस्येति ।



“The Brāhmaṇa must study, teach, offer sacrifice, act as a priest, and give and accept gifts. The Kṣatriya should study, offer sacrifice, give gifts, and govern and protect people. The Vaiçya should study, offer sacrifice, give gifts and should cultivate lands, conduct trade, tend cattle and may adopt the profession of usury. The Çūdra should only serve the aforementioned three castes.”

According to the Rigveda\* these castes sprang from Brahma the Supreme Being, in the following way :—

“The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth, the arms were made Kṣatriya, his thighs were what is called Vaiçya, and the Çūdra sprang from his legs.”

*Seven Dvīpas.*

These four castes existed in six out of the seven dvīpas that were known to the ancient Hindus. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa † we read :—

त्रीणि राजन्यस्य अध्ययनं यजनं दानं शास्त्रेण प्रजापालनं स्वधर्मस्तेन जीवेत् ।  
एतान्येव त्रीणि वैश्यस्य कृषिवाणिज्यपाशुपाल्यकुसीदश्च । एतेषां परिचर्या  
शूद्रस्य ॥ ( वशिष्ठ संहिता, २५ अध्यायः ) ॥

\* ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीत्

बाहू राजन्यकृतः ।

ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः

पद्भ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ॥ ( ऋग्वेद १० । ६० । १२ ) ॥

† जम्बु-द्वीपः ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या मध्ये शूद्राश्च भागशः ।

इज्या-युद्ध-वणिज्याद्यैर्वर्तयन्तो व्यवस्थिताः ॥ ( विष्णुपुराण २ । ३ । ६ ) ॥

सप्त-द्वीपः ।

आर्यकाः कुरवश्चैव विविंशा भाविनश्च ये ।

विप्र-क्षत्रिय-वैश्यास्ते शूद्राश्च मुनिसत्तम ॥ ( विष्णुपुराण २ । ३ । १७ ) ॥

शाल्मल-द्वीपः ।

कपिलाश्वारणाः पीताः कृष्णाश्चैव पृथक् पृथक् ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैव यजन्ति तम् ॥ ( विष्णुपुराण २ । ४ । ३१ ) ॥

कुश-द्वीपः ।

दमिनः शुश्रिणः खेहा मन्देहाश्च महामुने ।

“In Jambu-dvīpa (India) there live Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra. In Plakṣa-dvīpa these four castes are named, respectively, Ārya, Kuru, Vivim̃ça, and Bhāvin. In Çālmala-dvīpa they are designated as Kapila, Aruṇa, Pīta, and Kṛṣṇa respectively. In Kuça-dvīpa they are called, respectively, Damin, Çuṣmin, Sneha, and Mandehā. The Puṣkara, Puṣkala, Dhanya, and Tiṣpa castes (that represent, respectively, the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra) inhabit the dvīpa called Krauñca. In Çāka-dvīpa the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra are, respectively, named as Maga, Maçaka, Mānasa, and Mandaga. In the seventh, called Puṣkara-dvīpa, there is no superiority or inferiority among men.”

*Ārya.*—In the above we have found that the Brāhmaṇas called *Aryas* lived in Plakṣa-dvīpa, probably identified with Ariana (the land of the Arii). Aria (bounded on the north by Margiane and a part of Baktriane, on the west by Parthia and Karmanian desert, on the south by Drangiane, and on the west by Paropanīsadai) was a small province included in Ariana, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia.

*Damin, etc.*—The Damins were the Brāhmaṇas of Kuça-dvīpa (probably identical with Serike mentioned by Greek writers and inhabited by Damnai and other tribes). Çālmala-dvīpa in which the Kapila Brāhmaṇas, and Krauñca-dvīpa in which the Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas lived cannot be identified with accuracy.

I do not know whether there is any particular class of Brāhmaṇas

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्राश्चानुक्रमोदिताः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २ । ४ । ३६) ॥

क्रौञ्च-द्वीपः ।

पुष्कराः पुष्कला धन्यास्तिष्यास्तत्र महामुने ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चानुक्रमोदिताः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २ । ४ । ५३) ॥

शाक-द्वीपः ।

मगाश्च मशकाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥

मगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठा मशकाः क्षत्रियास्तु ते ।

वैश्यास्तु मानसा ज्ञेयाः शूद्रास्तेषां तु मन्दगाः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २ । ४ । ७०) ॥

पुष्कर-द्वीपः ।

सत्यान्वृते न तत्रास्तां नोत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।

न वर्णाश्रमधर्माश्च न नद्यो न च पर्वताः ॥ (कूर्मपुराण ४७ अः) ॥



that are specially designated as *Ārya* in India, and whether the *Aiyar* Brāhmaṇas of Madras have anything to do with the *Ārya* Brāhmaṇas of Plakṣa-dvīpa. The Kapila Brāhmaṇas that live in Surat, Broach, Jambusar, etc., cannot also with any degree of certainty be identified with the Brāhmaṇas of that name that lived in Çālmala-dvīpa. I have also got no document to identify the Poṣkaraṇa Brāhmaṇas of Marwar, Gujerat, Bikanir, Ramgarh, etc., with the ancient Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas of Krauñca-dvīpa. But fortunately for us the Maga Brāhmaṇas that lived in Çāka-dvīpa can, with a pretty accuracy, be identified with the Brāhmaṇas of that name that live in Behar and other provinces of India.

*Sāka-dvīpi Brāhmaṇa.*

Maga was the name of the Brāhmaṇas of Çāka-dvīpa. In the Sāmba and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas the Magas are described as a class of Brāhmaṇas who descended from the disc of the Sun. In the Purāṇas\* the name Maga is thus derived:—

“The blessed Sun-god is called Ma, and these Brāhmaṇas in virtue of their worshipping Ma are called Ma-ga.”

Regarding the origin of the Maga Brāhmaṇas we find in the Purāṇas (such as Sāmba and Bhaviṣya) an interesting story, the substance of which is given here: Priyavrata, son of Svāyambhuva Manu, was monarch over seven dvīpas. After his death his son Bhavya became king of Çāka-dvīpa. He constructed a golden image of the Sun and also built a temple for the idol. But as there were no Brāhmaṇas competent to consecrate the idol he prayed to the Sun-god himself for doing the work. Then the Sun became absorbed in deep meditation and eight Brāhmaṇas suddenly issued out of his body. Immediately after birth they addressed the Sun as father and devoted themselves to the study of the Vedas and Upanishads. Thereafter the Sun-god asked the king to make over the temple to the charge of these Brāhmaṇas, who became worshippers of the Sun. On account of their worshipping *Ma* (the Sun) they became styled *Ma-ga*.

Their migration to India is thus described: Once Sāmba, the son of Bhagavān Çrī-Kṛṣṇa, became overtaken by leprosy. Finding no other means of averting the evil he approached Nārada and mournfully related to him the particulars of his disease. Nārada advised him to worship Mitra (the Sun). Accordingly he built a golden statue of the

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\* मकारो भगवान् देवो भास्करः परिकीर्तितः ।

मकार-ध्यान-योगाच्च मगाह्येते प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ (साम्ब-पुराण २७ । २८ ।

भविष्यपुराण १४४ अः ) ।



Sun and a temple for it. He used to offer worship to the statue every day. By the grace of Mitra, Sāmba became cured of his leprosy. The place in which he worshipped the Sun was called Mitra-vana (the Sun-grove) in the Punjab. Then Sāmba became desirous of consecrating the temple and continuing worship of the Sun. Finding that the Brāhmaṇas in India were incompetent to do the work, Sāmba consulted with Nārada and Gaura-mukha about the matter. They advised him to bring Brāhmaṇas from Çāka-dvīpa for worship of the Sun. Accordingly, with the consent of his father, Sāmba proceeded to Çāka-dvīpa riding on Garuḍa. There were eighteen principal families of Maga in Çāka-dvīpa. At the earnest request of Sāmba, members of all these families came to Jambu-dvīpa (India) and settled in a city built by Sāmba called Sāmba-pura (Multan). The temple of the Sun was entrusted to them. They consecrated and offered daily worship to the statue. In the seventh century A.D., Hwen-thsang saw in Multan a magnificent temple with a golden statue of the Sun richly adorned, to which kings of all parts of India sent offerings. From Multan the Magas came to Magadha and gradually scattered themselves all over India. The celebrated astronomer, Varāhamihir, who was a Sāka-dvīpi Brāhmaṇa,\* was one of the nine gems in the court of Vikramāditya.

#### *Maga and Magi.*

According to the celebrated Greek geographer Ptolemy† there lived in India in the second century A.D. a class of Brāhmaṇas called *Brakhmanai Magoi*. The country occupied by these Brāhmaṇas was about the Upper Kaveri, and extended from Mount Bettigo eastward as far as the Batai. According to Mr. J. Campbell *Brakhmanai Magoi* of Ptolemy meant 'sons of Brāhmaṇas,' that is, Canarese Brāhmans, whose forefathers married women of the country, the word *Magoi* representing the Canarese *Maga*, 'a son.' Lassen supposed that Ptolemy, by adding *Magoi* to the name of these Brāhmaṇas, meant to imply either that they were a colony of Persian priests settled in India, or that they were Brāhmaṇas who had adopted the tenets of the Magi; and expresses his surprise that Ptolemy should have been led into making such an unwarrantable supposition.

In my humble opinion the *Brakhmanai Magoi* mentioned by Ptolemy were the same as the Maga Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Purāṇas. The word *Magos* was a very honourable title, being equivalent to "Venerable"

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\* *Vide* Utpala's commentary on the *Vrihat-Saṃhita*, and also Dr. Kern's preface to his edition of the book.

† McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 170.



or "Doctor." It was given by the Akkadians, the primitive inhabitants of Chaldaea, to their wisemen, whose learning was chiefly in what we now call astrology and magical arts. The word is found in cuneiform inscriptions. It was adopted by the Semitic inhabitants of Babylon, and from them by the Medians, Persians, and Greeks. The question as to why the Brāhmans of Çāka-dvīpa were designated Maga has been and may still be answered in many different ways. Some scholars have identified the Çāka-dvīpi Brāhmans called *Maga* with the Median priesthood called *Magi*. I am inclined to suppose that the word *Maga* was a mere title of honour bestowed upon the Brāhmans of Çāka-dvīpa under circumstances purely political. It is known to most of us that the title *Majumdār* (or *Majmu-dār*) borne by some very respectable classes of the Hindus is a Mahomedan word (composed of Arabic *Majmu* and Persian suffix *dār*) signifying a record-keeper. I would in the same way believe that the Brāhmans in the north-western frontier of India got the designation *Maga* from the Persian or other foreign rulers.\* It is a well-known fact that the Indian Brāhmans have been designated by Greek-writers as *Sophists*. Are not *Maga* and *Sophist* identical in meaning?

#### *Position of Sāka-dvīpa.*

Now it is necessary to add here a few words about the probable modern site of Çāka-dvīpa. Çāka-dvīpa may with pretty accuracy be identified with Sogdiana; at any rate the latter was included in the former. The river *Ikṣu*, that according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book II Chapter IV) flowed through Çāka-dvīpa, is, in my opinion, identical with the *Oxus* that according to Ptolemy separated Sogdiana from Baktriana. The name Sogdiana† exists to this day, being preserved in Soghd, which designates the country lying along the river Kohik from Bokhara eastward to Samarkand. The records of Alexander's expedition give much information regarding this country, for the Macedonian troops were engaged for the better part of three years in effecting its subjugation.

The Mahābhārata‡ helps us in determining more exactly the site

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\* Referring to the Indian people living beyond the Indus, Arrian in his *Indika* (McCrindle p. 179) observes:—

"They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed."

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 277.

‡ तत्र पुण्या जनपदाश्चत्वारो लोकसम्मताः ।

मृगाश्च मशकाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥ ४५ ॥

of the original home of the Maga Brāhmins. In the Bhīṣma-parva, Chapter XI, we find that in Çāka-dvīpa the Brāhmins lived in the province of Mriga (Mṛga), Kṣatriyas in Maśaka, Vaiçyas in Mānasa, and the Çūdras in Mandaga. Mriga mentioned in the Mahābhārata is undoubtedly a Sanskrit name for Margiane mentioned by Greek writers. Pliny says (lib. vi c. xvi) that Margiane was noted for its sunny skies and vines grew there in abundance. It lay confronting a tract of country in Parthia, in which Alexander had built Alexandria. The ancient city of Margiane \* is represented by modern Merv.

#### *Sāka-dvīpi Kṣatriya.*

The province called *Maśaka* of Çāka-dvīpa, described in the Mahābhārata as inhabited by Kṣatriyas, was no doubt the same as *Maisoka* (in Hyrkania) mentioned by Ptolemy.†

The Kṣatriyas of Maśaka (in Çāka-dvīpa) referred probably to the Massagetai that lived in Margiana, Sogdiana and Sakai, etc. The Massagetai are mentioned by Herodotus (lib. i, c. cciv.), who says that they inhabited a great portion of the vast plain that extended eastward from the Kaspian. He then relates how Cyrus lost his life in a bloody fight against them and their queen Tomyris. Alexander came into collision with their wandering hordes during the campaign of Sogdiana as Arrian relates (Anab. lib. iv cc. xvi, xvii).

#### *Antiquity of Sāka-dvīpa.*

It should also be noted here that Marakand (मार्कण्ड), now called Samarakand, which was the metropolis of Sogdiana (Çāka-dvīpa), was

मृगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठाः स्वकर्मनिरतास्तथा ।

मशकेषु तु राजन्या धार्मिकाः सर्वकामदाः ॥ ४६ ॥

मानसाश्च महाराज वैश्यधर्मोपजीविनः ।

सर्वकामसमायुक्ताः शूरा धर्मार्थनिश्चयाः ॥

शूद्राश्च मन्दगास्तत्र पुरुषा धर्मशीलिनः । ४७ ॥

( महाभारत, भीष्मपर्व, ११३ अध्यायः ) ॥

\* McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 264.

† Arrian in his Indika (second century A.D.) observes:—

“In the dominions of the Assakenoi there is a great city called Massaka (probably the same as Maisoka, Masaka, or Massoi), the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm” (McCrindle, p. 180).



well known to the ancient Hindus. In the Vedic literature mention has been made of countries that lay even far off from Samarkand and Merv. In the Rigveda (7—18—19) we find mention of Yakṣu, which is probably identical with the Oxus. In 10—34—1 of the Rigveda mention has been made of the mountain called Mujavat, where Soma plants grew abundantly and at the foot of which lay (according to the Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 120—19) the lake called Sailodā, from which sprang the river also called Sailodā. This river is the same as Silis marked on geographical maps as Jaxartes (ukert Geographie der Griechen and Romer, vol. iii, 21, p. 238), which falls into the sea of Aral. In the Rāmāyana\* we find that the people called Uttara-Kuru lived on both banks of the river Sailodā. The Uttra-Kurus, mentioned by Ptolemy as Otterokorrhai in Eastern Turkestan, have been described in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa of the Rigveda† thus:—

“In the north, on the other side of the Himālayas, there are the countries called Uttara-Kuru and Uttara-Madra. The people living there use ablution for attaining Brahmahood. The people who make religious bathing in this way are called Virāj.”

In the above we have found that the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, which flowed respectively through the southern and northern extremities of Sogdiana (Çāka-dvīpa), were actually mentioned in the Rigveda—the oldest document of the Hindus. While frequent mentions have been made in the Vedic literature of the people who performed sacrifices, etc., round the Caspian Sea and Sogdiana, we do not there come across a single passage making even the slightest allusion to the people of southern or middle India. It is an undeniable fact that the forefathers of the Brāhmaṇas came from the North-West, settled themselves in Brahmāvarta (the Punjab), and gradually migrated towards the south. I therefore would conclude that the Çāka-dvīpi Brāhmans are the

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\* तं तु देशमतिक्रम्य शैलोदा नाम निम्नगा ।  
उभयोस्तीरयोस्तस्य कौचका नाम वेणवः ॥  
ते नयन्ति परं तीरं सिद्धान् प्रत्यानयन्ति च ।  
उत्तराः कुरवस्तत्र कृतपुण्यप्रतिश्रयाः ॥

( रामायण, किष्किन्ध्याकाण्ड, ४३। ३७ ) ॥

† तस्माद् एतस्याम् उदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा  
उत्तरकुरव उत्तरभद्रा इति वैराज्याय ते अभिषिचन्ते । विराडित्येतान् अभि-  
षक्तान् आघच्छते ॥ ( ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, ८। १४ ) ॥

remnants of the most ancient Brāhmins\* that chanted the hymns of the Vedas and Upaniṣads in the land of Āryas in the North-West. The designation *Maga* (wise) acquired by them from Persian or other foreign rulers does not in any way detract the sanctity of these noble Brāhmins of old.

In the Purāṇas Ṣāka-dvīpi Brāhmins have been described as worshippers of the Sun. There is nothing strange in this description. All true Brāhmins are worshippers of the Sun. I give here a translation of the Vedic hymn called *Gāyatrī*,† which is obligatory on all best Brāhmins of India to recite every day. It runs thus:—

“I adore that excellent lustre of the Sun-god that sends us intelligence.”

*Graha-vipra.*

On the authority of the *Brahmayāmala*‡ (chap. xiv) some

\* Referring to the region comprising Sogdiana and Bactriana, Heeren (*Asiatic Nations*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 424) writes:—

“It stood on the borders of the gold country, ‘in the road of the confluence of nations,’ according to an expression of the zend-avesta; and the conjecture that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilization, seems highly probable.”

† ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वस्तस्वितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।

धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॐ ॥ ( ऋग्वेद ३-६२-१० ) ॥

‡ शरद्वीपे च वेदाम्निः शाकद्वीपे च सिद्धकः ।

भूमध्ये च ब्रह्मचारी दैवज्ञो द्वारकापुरे ॥

द्राविडेषे मैथिले चैव ग्रहविप्रेति संज्ञकः ।

अङ्गदेशे धर्मवक्ता पाञ्चाले शास्त्रिसंज्ञकः ॥

सारस्वते शुभमुखो गान्धारे चित्रपण्डितः ।

तीरहोत्रे तिथिविप्रो नाटके ऋक्षसूचकः ॥

उद्याने ज्योतिषी विप्रो ब्रह्मले विधिकारकः ।

वभ्राटे योगवेत्ता च निटाले देवपूजकः ॥

राठ्ठ देशे उपाध्यायो गयायां तन्त्रधारकः ।

कलिङ्गे जानविप्रः स्याद् आचार्यो गौडदेशके ॥

( ब्रह्मयामल, १४ प्र पटल ) ॥



scholars\* have asserted that the Graha-vipras (whose occupation consists in the science of planets) belong to a certain branch of the S'āka-dvīpi Brāhmins. The *Kula-pañji* (family-record) of a certain class of Graha-vipras does, in fact, corroborate the assertion. Jyotiṣ ṣāstra (the science of time and planets) is indeed regarded in the Sūryya-siddhānta as having been first propounded by a person † who descended from the disc of the Sun (Ṣāka-dvīpi Brāhmaṇa?). On the other hand, I should add here that the ancestors of other Graha-vipras ‡ were the same as those of other classes of Brāhmins in India. Referring to the Indian Brāhmins, who are designated as Sophists, Arrian § (in the second century A. D.) observes:—

“To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a Sophist is allowed to practise that art.”

## II. VRĀTYA CASTES.

In the previous section we have found that each of the four original castes had to observe certain religious rites enjoined on it by Ṣāstras. Those members of the first three castes who would not observe these rites, specially those who failed to invest themselves with the sacred thread at the proper time, had to be degraded from their community. These unfortunate members were called *Vrātyas* or fallen. *Vrātya* is thus defined to be a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiṣya who has lost caste through non-observance of Ṣāstric rites. In the *Manu-saṃhitā*|| the word *Vrātya* is thus defined:—

“Those children whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the Sāvitrī (investiture with the sacred thread), one must designate by the appellation *Vrātyas*.”

\* In this connection *vide* Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Sāstri in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, December 1901, and Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu in *Banger Jātiya Itihāsa*.

† न मे तेजःसहः कश्चिद् आख्यातुं नान्ति मे क्षणः ।

मदंशः पुरुषोऽयं ते निःशेषं कथयिष्यति ॥ ( सूर्यसिद्धान्त, १ । ६ ) ॥

‡ The Sarajupāri Graha-vipras came to Bengal from Oudh (*vide* their *Kula-pañji*).

§ McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 209.

॥ द्विजातयः सवर्णासु जनयन्त्यव्रतांस्तु यान् ।

तान् सावित्री-परिभ्रष्टान् ब्राह्म्या इति विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

( मनुसंहिता १० । २० ) ॥

In the Vedic literature; however, the word *Vrātya* bears a wider signification. There we find that all people—whether natives of India or foreigners—who were not within the pale of Brāhmanic civilization were also included among the *Vrātyas*. In the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda (chapter 17, section 4) the Kauṣitakis \* have been specially noted as *Vrātya* and *Yajñāvākīrṇa*. The 17th chapter of the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda † begins with the description of the following myth regarding the *Vrātyas* :—

“When the Devas ascended to Svarga some of their fellow-brethren still wandered on earth as *Vrātyas*. These latter being afterwards desirous of joining their fortunate brethren, came to the spot whence they had ascended to Svarga, but owing to their ignorance of the hymn (Vedic), they could not accomplish their object. The Devas, sympathising with their less fortunate brethren, asked Maruts to teach them the necessary hymn. The *Vrātya* Devas, having thus learnt the hymn called *Ṣoḍaśa* with the metre called *Anuṣṭubh*, ascended subsequently to Svarga.”

The above, I think, is a mere allegorical way of describing how foreigners became from time to time incorporated in the society of Brāhmins by learning the Vedic practices.

I have already referred to the fact that most parts of Central and Western Asia were known to the Hindus. In the 5th Book of the Atharva-veda ‡ we further find that to the Brāhmins of ancient India,

\* एतेन वै ... .. तस्मात् कौषीतकीनां न कश्चन अतीव जिहीते यज्ञावकीर्णा हि ॥ ३ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । ४ । ३) ॥

† देवा वै स्वर्गं लोकम् आयंस्तेषां देवा अहीयन्त ब्राह्म्यां प्रवसन्तस्त आगच्छन् यतो देवाः स्वर्गं लोकम् आयंस्तेन तं स्तोमं न कन्दोऽविन्दन् येन तान् आप्श्यं स्ते देवा मरुतोऽब्रुवन् एतेभ्यस्तं स्तोमन्तच्छन्दः प्रायच्छत येन अस्मात् आप्रवानिति तेभ्य एतं षोडशं स्तोमं प्रायच्छन् परोक्षमनुष्टुभं ततो वै ते तानाप्नुवन् इति तेभ्य एतं षोडशं स्तोमं प्रायच्छन् परोक्षमनुष्टुभं ततो वै ते तानाप्नुवन् ॥ १ ॥ (ताण्ड्य-महाब्राह्मण १७श्च अध्यायः) ॥

‡ ओको यस्य मूजवन्त ओको यस्य महावृषाः ।

यावज्जातस्तकमं स्तावानसि वल्लिकेषु न्योचरः ॥ ५ ॥

गन्धारिभ्यो मूजवद्भ्योऽङ्गेभ्यो मगधेभ्यः ।

प्रैष्यं जनमिव शेवधिं तक्मानं परिदद्मसि ॥ ४ ॥ (अथर्वसंहिता ५।२२) ॥



Gandhāris, Mūjavants, Çūdras, Mahāvṛṣas and Vāhlikas in the North-West were not less known than the Angas and Magadhas in the east.

In the 15th Book of the Atharva-veda called Vrātya-kāṇḍa\* the Vrātyas have been greatly extolled. Thus we read :—

“He, in whose house a learned Vrātya puts up for a single night, acquires mastery over all the pious people of this world. He, in whose house he resides for two nights, becomes chief among all the pious people of the sky. He earns all the virtues of heaven, in whose house a learned Vrātya resides for three nights. He is certainly destined to be supreme among the virtuous of the virtuous, in whose house the learned Vrātya becomes guest for four nights. He will certainly gain immeasurable virtue, in whose house the Vrātya will live for innumerable nights.”

The Vrātya Kāṇḍa† of the Atharvaveda ends thus :—

“I bow down to the Vrātya in the west by day and to the Vrātya in the east by night.”

Māgadhas or the people of Behar have been repeatedly mentioned in the Vrātya Kāṇḍa. As the Vrātya people referred to in the Vedic literature cannot, owing to distance of time, be identified with the people of modern India I shall illustrate my theory of the Vratya castes by references to the Manusamhita, &c., the present recensions of which were, according to scholars, prepared about the 1st century A.D.

\* तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्म्य एकां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ १ ॥

ये पृथिव्यां पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ २ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्म्यो द्वितीयां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ३ ॥

ये अन्तरिक्षे पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ ४ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्म्यस्तृतीयां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ५ ॥

ये दिवि पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ ६ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्म्यश्चतुर्थीं रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ७ ॥

ये पुण्यानां पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ ८ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्म्योऽपरिमिता रात्रीरतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ९ ॥

य एवापरिमिताः पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ १० ॥

(अथर्वसंहिता १५ प्र काण्ड, २ अनुवाक) ॥

† अह्ना प्रत्यङ् ब्राह्म्यो रात्र्या प्राङ् नमो ब्राह्म्याय ॥ ५ ॥ (१५।२) ॥

Manu affords us a pretty long list of the Vrātya people. In his list of Vrātya Brāhmanas\* we find the following people :—

*Vrātya Brāhmaṇa.*—“From the Vrātya Brahmaṇa spring the wicked Bhr̥jja Kaṇṭaka, the Āvantya, the Vāṭadhāna, the Puṣpadha, and the Ṣaikha.”

In reality these people were distinctly foreign or aboriginal races.

*Avantya.*—Referred to in Baudhāyana (1, 2, 13) was probably the name of the Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Avanti (Ujjain). The probable reason of the Āvantyas being designated Vrātyas is that they were greatly influenced by Buddhism. Avanti, which formed the western part of the great kingdom of Malwa, was ruled by the eldest sons of the Buddhist emperors of Magadha. Thus Aśoka, who was emperor of Magadha, had at first been ruler of Avanti. So also was Aśoka's son Mahinda prince of Avanti. It is a well-known fact that the priests of Avanti took a prominent part in the great second Buddhist convocation about 443 B.C. In fact, Brāhmanism did not properly flourish in Avanti until about 71 B.C., when it declared independence of Malava. We can therefore fairly conjecture that the inhabitants of Avanti were called Vrātyas, owing to their leaning towards Buddhism.

*Vāṭa-dhāna.*—Enumerated among the northern tribes, is probably the same as Veṭhadina or Veṭha-dīpa described in the canonical Pali works. According to the Maha-parinibbāna-sutta the Brahmaṇas of Veṭha-dīpa were devotees to Buddha and his religion. In chap. VI of the work it is distinctly stated that, on the demise of Buddha in 543 B.C., the Brāhmaṇas of Veṭha-dīpa claimed and actually received 8th part of the relics of his body on which they built a great stūpa. Veṭha-dīpa was situated in or near the district of Sahabad. We can thus well imagine why the Vāṭa-dhānas or Brāhmaṇas of Veṭha-dīpa were called Vrātyas.

*Vrātya-Kṣatriya.*—Among the Vrātya-Kṣatriyas † Manu includes

\* ब्राह्म्यात् तु जायते विप्रात् पापात्मा भृञ्जकरटकः ।

आवन्त्य वाटधानौ च पुष्यधः शैख एव च ॥ ११ ॥

(मनुसंहिता, १० अः).

† भृल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद् ब्राह्म्यान्निच्छिविरेव च ।

नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविड एव च ॥ २२ ॥

शूनकैस्तु क्रिया लोपादिमाः क्षत्रिय जातयः ।

दृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ ४३ ॥

(मनुसंहिता, १० अः) ॥



the Jhalla, the Malla, the Nicchivi, the Naṭa, the Karaṇa, the Khasa, and Draviḍa. He further says: "In consequence of the omission of sacred rites and of their not consulting Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Çūdras; viz., the Paundrakas, the Auḍras, the Draviḍas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavanas, the Çakas, the Pāradas, the Pahlavas, the Cīnas, the Kirātas, and the Daradas."

It is scarcely necessary for me to observe here that most of the tribes mentioned by Manu as Vrātya Kṣatriyas were foreigners. A few there are who were aborigines of India. Regarding each of these tribes a short note is added below:—

*Jhalla*.—This tribe still lives in Northern India under the name of Jhāl.

*Malla*.—The Mallas were a Buddhist people that, according to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, lived in Pāvā and Kusināra in the district of Goruckpore. Megasthenes and Pliny mention them as Malli,\* in whose country was mount Mallus, bounded by the Ganges.

*Nicchivi*.—The same as Licchavis, who, according to the Mahaparinibbāna-sutta, lived in Vaiśāli (moden Basārḥ) in the district of Muzaffarpore. They were powerful in the 5th century B.C. Samuel Beal is inclined to identify them with a branch of the Yue-chi race † that lived in the western border of China. But I think the Nicchivis were the same as Nisibis or Nysaioi mentioned by Ptolemy and Arrian. They lived in Nysa, or Nissa north of Elburz mountains, between Asterabad and Meshd. In the 4th century B.C., Megasthenes saw in India a race called Nesei (probably the same as Nisibi, Nicchivi, or Licchavi). In the Ballāla-charita chap. XVIII, the Nicchivis have been regarded as pure Kṣatrāyas and designated as Nikubhas.

*Naṭa*.—The Nats, ‡ who, according to Wilson, correspond in their habits with the Gipsies of Europe, live in the districts of Bhagalpore, Gazipore, Oudh, Marwar, Kattywar, &c. The Naṭas were, I think, a branch of the nomadic people of Sakai (in Central Asia).

*Karaṇa*.—The Karaṇas were probably the same as the people of Khaurana who, according to Ptolemy, lived in Skythia in Central Asia. The word Korano that is found inscribed on old coins is probably the same as Karaṇa. According to Samuel Beal § Korana and Kushāna are

\* McCrindle's Megasthenes, p. 135.

† Beal's Buddhistic Records, Vol. II, p. 67.

‡ Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, p. 387, and Vol. II, p. 227.

§ Kanishka was king of the Yuei-chi, and the rise of his dynasty is placed by Chinese authors in the 1st century B.C. On his coins he is styled in the corrupt

only different forms of the same word. Now the Kushāna tribe, to which King Kanishka belonged, has been designated by Chinese authors as Kwei-shwang, which was a branch of the very powerful race called by Chinese writers as Yuechi that lived in Central Asia on the Chinese borders. It is therefore not altogether improbable that Karaṇa, Korana, Kushāna, Kwei-shwang, and Khaurana were names of one and the same tribe that lived in Central Asia.

Now Karaṇa is the name of a well-known Indian caste. People belonging to that caste live in various parts of India, occupying social position below the Rajputs.

The people called Karaṇa also live in the eastern hills of Assam, in Burma, and Siam.

*Khasa*.—The Khasas came from Kasia (Kashgar?) in Skythia (in Central Asia) and settled in large numbers in the Upper Punjab, where they were, according to the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon, subdued by Aśoka about 260 B.C. They were chief among the mountain tribes that, according to the Rājatarangiṇī, bordered on Kāśmīra.

McCrindle observes:—

“Baber knows also that a people of the name of Khas is indigenous to the high valleys in the neighbourhood of the eastern Hindu-Koh; and with every reason, we attach to this indigenous people the origin of the name of Kāshgar, which is twice reproduced in the geography (of Ptolemy) of these high regions.\*

The Khasas live in great number in Northern India under the name of Khas or Khasiya. Referring to the Khasiyas, Rev. Mr. Sherring† observes:—

“This is an extensive tribe of Rajputs inhabiting the hill country of Garhwāl, Kumaon, and Dehra Dūn. Their right to the rank of Rajputs is questioned by some Hindus.....The natives of Kumaon look upon the Khasiyas as the oldest inhabitants of the province.”

*Dravida*.—The Dravidians of Southern India, consisting of innumerable tribes of diverse social positions, have been collectively designated as Kṣatriyas (Vrātya) in as much as they were noted for their valour even before the rise of the Andhra, Chola, Pāṇḍya, and other dynasties.

Greek legends as Kanyski Korano, and in the Bactrian Pali legends and Mani Kyāla inscription he is called Kanishka the Kushāna, or “of the Gushāna family” connecting him with the tribe called by Chinese Kwei-shwang. Korano and Kushāna are only different forms of the same word. (Beal’s Records, Vol. I, p. 56, note.)

\* McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 394.

† Sherring’s Hindu Castes and Tribes, Vol. I, pp. 242-43.



*Paundraka*.—The ancient people of Puṇḍra-bardhana corresponding to modern Dinajpur and Maldah in Northern Bengal. The worst specimens of the Paundrakas still live in Northern Bengal under the name of Pūdo.

*Audra*.—The people of Orissa.

*Kāmbōja*.—The Kāmbōjas were the people that inhabited the Hindu Kush mountain, which separates the Giljit valley from Balkh.

*Yavana*.—Probably the Bactrian Greeks. The Yavanas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva, Chap. 32) and Viṣṇupurāṇa, etc.

*Čaka*.—The people of Sakai bounded on the west by Sogdiana, on the north and east by Skythia, and on the south by Imaos (Bolor chain). According to Ptolemy\* the country of Sakai was inhabited by nomads. They had no towns, but dwelt in woods and caves. The principal tribes living in Sakai were (1) Karatai, (2) Komaroi, (3) Komedai, (4) Massagetai, (5) Grynaioi Skythai, (6) Toornai, (7) Byltai, etc.

*Pārada*.—Pāradas were probably the people of Paradene in Gedrosia (Baluchistan).

*Pahlava*.—Probably the people of Parthia. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva, Chap. 32). In the Viṣṇu-purāṇa† they are described as a Vrātya Kṣatriya race conquered by Sagara and sentenced by him to wear beards. The Vallabhi gowalas of the present day may perhaps be traced to the pastoral tribes of the Pahlavas.

*Cīna*.—The people of China.

*Kirāta*.—The Kirātas are a flat-faced people (decisively Mongolian in appearance) that are very numerous in Sikkim, east Nepal, Darjeeling, etc. According to Ptolemy Kirrhadia or the residence of the Kirātas lay in the east-north-east frontier of India notably in modern Tipperah. But in reality Kirrhadia included Sylhet, Assam, Kooch Behar and Rungpore too. McCrindle‡ observes:—

“Although the Kirāta, long before the time in which he (Ptolemy) lived, had wandered from their northern fatherland to the Himālaya and thence spread themselves to the regions on the Brahmaputra, still it is not to be believed that they should have possessed themselves of territory so far south as Caturgrāma (Chittagong), and a part of Arakan. We can therefore be scarcely mistaken if we consider the inhabitants of this territory at that time as a people belonging to further India, and

\* McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 283-84.

† Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa, p. 375.

‡ McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 193.

in fact as tribal relatives of Tamerai, who possessed the mountain region that lay back in the interior . . . .”

*Darada.*—The Daradas, mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Rājataranṅinī, were the people of Dardistan. They inhabited the mountain region which lay to the east of the Lambatai and of Souasteneg and to the north of the uppermost part of the course of the Indus along the north-west frontier of Kāsmira. McCrindle\* observes:—

“This was the region made so famous by the story of the gold-digging ants first published to the west by Herodotus (lib. iii, ccii) and afterwards repeated by Megasthenes, while version of it is to be found in Strabo (lib xv, ci 44), and in Arrian’s Indika (sec. 15) and also in Pliny (lib. vi, cxxi and lib. xi, cxxxvi).”

*Vrātya Vaiçya.*—Referring to the Vrātya Vaiçyas Manu says:—

“From the Vrātya Vaiçya caste are born Sudhanvan, Cārya, Kārūṣa, Vijanman, Maitra and Sātvata.”

Nothing is known about the people mentioned here. A little that is known about Kārūṣa is noted below.

*Kārūṣa.*—The people called Kārūṣa are mentioned in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (Book II, Chap. III). In the Mahābhārata we find that King of Karūṣa† attended the sabhā of Yudhiṣṭhira. Some identify Kārūṣa with a part of the district of Shahabad, but I think the people called Kārūṣa were the same as Calissae that, according to Megasthenes (McCrindle, p. 137), lived beyond the Ganges.‡

From the above it is evident that the people of Parthia, Paradene, Balkh, Sakai, Skythia, Sériké, China, Dardistan, Nepal, Sikkim, Behar, Orissa, Northern Bengal, Southern India, Kirrhadia, etc., have all been called Vrātyas or non-observers of Vedic rites. In fact the foreigners and aborigines who were not followers of Brāhmanism were called Vrātyas.

\* McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 107.

† शिशुपालः सहस्रतः कारुषाधिपतिस्तथा ।

दृशीणां चैव दुर्द्धवाः कुमारा देवरूपिणः ॥ २६ ॥

(महाभारत,सभापर्व ४ अः)

‡ Mr. Pargiter observes:—

Kārūṣa, therefore, was a hilly country and lay south of Kasi and Vatsa between Cedi on the west and Magadha on the east, and enclosing the Kaimur hills, which are part of the Vindhya; that is, it comprised all the hilly country of which Rewa is the centre, from about the river Ken on the west to the confines of Vihar on the east. It would have touched Chedi on its north-west and Dasarna on its west (Journal, A. S. B., Part I of 1895, p. 255-56.)



*Vrātya-stoma*.—In the first paragraph of this section the distinction between a pure caste and a Vrātya caste has already been indicated. It now remains to give a short account of the sacrifice by which a Vrātya could be admitted into a pure caste. In the Tāṇḍya-pañcaviṃṣa Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda this sacrifice called Vrātya-stoma has been described at length. It is of various kinds, of which two may be mentioned here. The first, called *Hīna-vrātya*, was a sacrifice that was performed for the conversion of the unfranchised people, and the second, called *Gara-gir*, was that for the re-admission of the degraded ones.

The people called Hīna-vrātyas\* are thus described in the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa: “Verily the Hīna-vrātyas are those who wander on earth as Vrātyas do not practise Brahmacharya, do not till land, nor carry on trade.”

The *Gara-gir*† (lit. ‘swallowers of poison’) are thus described:

“Those are called *Gara-gir* who eat the food to be eaten by Brāhmaṇas, who though not abused complain of being abused, who punish those not deserving punishment, and who though not initiated speak the language of the initiated.”

In the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda and Crāuta-Sūtra of Lāṭyāyana it is stated that the Vrātya householder who wishes to perform the Vrātya-stoma‡ should secure a turban, a whip, a small

\* हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यां प्रवसन्ति नहि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्यां षोडशो वा एतत् स्तोमः समात्पुमर्हति ॥

२ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ अः, १ खण्ड) ।

† गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यञ्जन्यमन्नमदन्ति अदुग्धवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाजः अदण्डान् दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति..... ॥ ६ ॥

(ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । १) ॥

Vide in this connection Rājārām Rām Krishna Bhagavat’s article named “A chapter from the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa” in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX of 1895-97.

‡ उष्णीषञ्च प्रतोदञ्च ज्याहोडञ्च विपथञ्च कलकास्तीर्यः कृष्णशं वासः कृष्णवलक्षे अजिने रजतो निष्कस्तद् गृहतेः ॥ १४ ॥

(ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । १) ॥

वलूकान्तानि दामतूषाणीतरेषां द्वे द्वे दामनी द्वे द्वे उपानहौ द्विषं हितानि अजिनानि ॥ तद् गृहपतेरित्येतत् सर्वं गृहपतिराहरेत् त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ १८ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । १ १५ ॥

bow (without arrows), a chariot (with boards), a cloth (with black borders), two pieces of woollen garment, a silver coin, a pair of black shoes (with ears), thirty-three cows, etc.

As soon as the sacrifice is performed he should give these things to his old brethren who still remain Vrātyas or to a contemptuous Brāhmaṇa of the province of Bihar (Brahma-bandhu Magadhadesiyāya). It is further stated that there should be at least thirty-three Vrātyas for performing this sacrifice. When such a sacrifice was performed the Vrātyas, having secured the rights and privileges of the twice-born castes, might afterwards learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices, receive presents and dine with Brāhmaṇas without being required to submit to penance. This is a very brief account of the Vrātya theory. It is, however, necessary to add here a few words about the “contemptuous Brāhmaṇs” of Vihāra (Magadha) who used to accept the gifts given by Vrātyas. I suppose these Brāhmaṇas are now-a-days called Agradānis.

*Agradāni Brāhmaṇa.*—According to the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa the Agradānis are a class of degraded Brāhmaṇas who receive presents or take things previously offered to the dead. In the present days the Agradāni Brāhmaṇas receive in the Preta Ṣrāddha or obsequious ceremony such presents as sofas, wooden shoes, calves, gold pieces, sesamum seeds, &c. They also receive all gifts in the Prāyaścitta (or the ceremony for expiation of sins). Now, this *Prāyaścitta* is nothing but a Vrātya-stoma. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Agradāni Brāhmaṇs of the present day are descendants of those Brāhmaṇs of Vihar (Brahma-bandhu Magadhadesīya) who used to accept gifts from the Vrātyas in the days of composition of the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrahmaṇa and Lāṭyāyana Ṣrauta-Sūtra.

It is very difficult to say at what period the Vrātya-stoma became stopped in India. Perhaps the real truth is that it was never stopped. It still continues in a modified shape under the name of *Prāyaścitta*. But the rigidity of the Hindu society of modern times forms a strong contrast to the flexibility of that of the ancient days. Social exclusiveness perhaps commenced in India with the Mahomedan invasion of the country in the 9th century A.D.; for, even as late as about the 7th century A.D. the Huns and other foreigners had been incorporated in the Hindu society and ranked as Kṣatriyas.

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ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणानि ये ब्राह्मण्यया अविरताः स्युः ब्रह्मबन्धवे वा  
मगधदेशीयाय यस्मा एतद्दति तस्मिन्नेव मृजाना यन्तीति ह्याह ॥ १८ ॥  
(लाट्यायनीये श्रौतसूत्रे ८ । ६) ॥



## III. SAṂKARA CASTES.

In later Sanskrit works the word *Vrātya* is very seldom found. The term that repeatedly occurs here is *Saṃkara*. It is thus defined by Manu\* :—

“By adultery committed by persons of different castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by neglect of the duties prescribed by *Sāstras*, are produced children who are called *Varna-Saṃkara* (or simply *Saṃkara*).”

Thus, according to tradition, *Saṃkara* signifies those castes that are said to have been produced by a mixture of different castes. As the mixture can take place in innumerable ways the number of mixed castes is unlimited. Thus the four original castes by intermarriage can give rise to twelve mixed castes. These twelve by mixture among themselves and with the four original castes may produce hundreds of other castes. In this way the mixed castes may be multiplied infinite-fold. This is a very brief statement of the traditional theory. My own theory about the *Saṃkara* is quite different. In my opinion, the *Vrātya* and other people, having entered the hierarchy of *Brāhmaṇas*, were called *Saṃkara*. The *Saṃkaras* were, in fact, the people (foreigners or aborigines) who entered the *Brāhmanic* society at a comparatively late time. Let me illustrate my theory by reference to the *Saṃkara* castes mentioned in the *Manusāhitā* (Book X). The *Saṃkara* castes which, according to Manu, were produced from parents of different castes are shown below with a short note of mine appended to some of them :—

*Ambaṣṭha*—is, according to Manu, son of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Vaiśya* mother. But in all probability the *Ambaṣṭha* is identical with the tribe called *Ambautai* that, according to Ptolemy, lived in *paropanisadai* (in *Ariana*) in the eastern part of the *Hindu Kush* mountain. Lassen thinks that these *Ambautai* may have been connected in some way with the *Ambastai* that lived round the country of *Bettigoi*. The locality of the *Ambastai* is quite uncertain. In Yule's map they are placed doubtfully to the south of the sources of the *Mahānadi* of *Orissa*. According to McCrindle† the *Ambastai* represent the *Ambaṣṭha* of Sanskrit, a people mentioned in the *Epics*, where it is said that they fought with the club for a weapon. In the time of Alexander tribes of *Ambaṣṭhas* lived in the *Punjab* (McCrindle's *Megasthenes*, p. 149).

*Niṣāda*.—According to Manu, son of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Sūdra* mother. But in reality *Niṣāda* was the name of an aboriginal people of

\* अभिचारेण वर्णानामवेद्यावेदनेन च ।

स्वकर्मणाञ्च त्यागेन जायन्ते वर्णसङ्गराः ॥ २४ ॥ (मनुसंहिता १० अः ।

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 160-161.



India mentioned in the Nirukta (3-8). In the Lātyāyana-Ḍrauta-Sūtra (8-2-8) mention has been made of *Niṣāda-gramas* (villages possessed by Niṣādas). In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā kāṇḍa 50) we find that Guha, the lord of Niṣādas, who reigned in Srīngaverapura was so pious that he showed hospitality to Ramachandra during his exile in the forest. Some say Srīngaverapura lay in Berār; others think it was situated in the neighbourhood of the district of Mirzapore, while a third class of scholars identify it with Sungroor.

*Pārasava*.—Same as Niṣāda.

*Ugra* (Āguri).—Son of a Kṣatriya father and Sūdra mother.

*Āvrīta*.—According to Manu, son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Ugra mother. Avrīta is perhaps the same as Abaortæ that, according to Megasthenes, lived beyond the Indus towards the Caucasus. McCrindle (Megasthenes, p. 149) observes:—

“The Afghan tribe of the Afridis may perhaps represent the Abaortæ.”

*Abhīra*.—According to Manu, son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Ambaṣṭha mother. In reality the Abhīras (the Ahirs of common speech) were the pastoral tribes that inhabited the lower districts of the north-west as far as Sindh. The country of the Abhīras was called Abiria (in Indo-Scythia) that lay to the east of the Indus above where it bifurcates to form the delta. Some scholars maintain that Abiria was the same as Ophir of the Christian Scriptures.\* According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book IV, Chap. 24) the Abhīras conquered Magadha and reigned there for several years.

*Sūta*.—According to Manu, son of a Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother. But Sūta was perhaps the same as Setæ that, according to Megasthenes, lived in the neighbourhood of Dardistan.

*Vaidehaka*.—According to Manu, son of a Vaiçya father and Brāhmaṇa mother. But Vaidehakas were perhaps a tribe of the aborigines of Videha (Darbhanga).

*Caṇḍāla*.—According to Manu, son of a Sūdra father and Brāhmaṇa mother. This was in reality the name of the ferocious aborigines of India

*Māgadha*.—According to Manu, son of a Kṣatriya mother and Vaiçya father. This was probably an aboriginal tribe of Behar.

*Kṣattri*.—According to Manu, son of a Sūdra father and Kṣatriya mother. But according to Greek writers† the people that held the territory comprised between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Biyas) were the Kathaioi (or Kṣatriaioi) whose capital was Sangala. The name is still found spread over an immense area in the north-west of India, under forms slightly variant. A tribe of the Kṣattris named

\* McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 140.

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 157-58.



Kāthis, issuing from the lower parts of the Punjab, established themselves in Surāṣṭra, and gave the name of Kāthiabaḍ to the great peninsula of Gujerat.

*Āyogava*.—According to Manu, son of a Sūdra father and Vaiśya mother.

*Dhigvaṇa*.—According to Manu, son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Āyogava mother.

*Pukkasa*.—According to Manu, son of a Niṣāda father and Sūdra mother.

*Kukkuṭaka*.—Son of a Sūdra father and Niṣāda mother.

*Svapāka*.—Son of a Kṣatri father and Ugra mother.

*Veṇa*.—Son of a Vaidehaka father and Ambaṣṭha mother.

*Sairandhra*.—Son of a Dasyu father and Āyogava mother.

*Maitreyaka*.—Son of a Vaideha father and Āyogava mother.

*Kaivarta*.—According to Manu, son of a Niṣāda father and Āyogava mother. But the Kaivartas were perhaps a tribe of the original inhabitants of Bengal, etc. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyākāṇḍa 83) they are described as moving in cow-carts and (in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa 84) as possessors of five hundred boats.

*Mārgava*.—The same as Kaivarta.

*Dāṣa*.—The same as Kaivarta.

*Kārāvāra*.—Son of a Niṣāda father and Vaideha mother.

*Andhra*.—According to Manu, son of a Vaidehaka father and Kārāvāra mother. The Andhras were perhaps the same as Andharæ mentioned by Megasthenes as living near the upper Narmadā (McCrindle, p. 138).

*Meda*.—Son of a Vaidehaka father and Niṣāda mother.\*

*Pāṇḍusopāka*.—Son of a Caṇḍāla father and Vaideha mother.

*Āhiṇḍaka*.—Son of a Niṣāda father and Vaideha mother.

*Sapāka*.—Son of Caṇḍāla father and Pukkasa mother.

*Antyāvaśājin*.—Son of Caṇḍāla father and Niṣāda mother.

In the above we have found that the so-called mixed (Saṃkara) castes are not mixtures of different castes, but are integral races of people whose ancestors were either aboriginal inhabitants of India or intruders from outside. I may also cite here a few instances of castes that had previously been regarded as Vrātyas, but in later days were reckoned as Saṃkaras. We have already seen that the Karaṇa, Paṇḍraka, Malla, &c., were regarded by Manu as Vrātya Kṣatriyas. But in later Sanskrit

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\* The Monghyr inscription, which belongs to the earlier part of the 8th century, also names the *Meda* as a low tribe of this region (Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 126, Calcutta, 1788), and, what is remarkable, their name is found joined to that of the Andhra, precisely as in the text of Manu (McCrindle's Megasthenes, pp. 133-134).

works they have been regarded as mixed castes. Thus in the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* the *Karaṇa* is mentioned as having been born of a *Vaiçya* father and *Sūdra* mother, the *Paundraka* from a *Vaiçya* father and *Çuṇḍi* mother, and the *Malla* from a *Leṭa* father and *Tibara* mother. The *Bharjjakaṇṭakas*, who, we have seen, were regarded by *Manu* as *Vrātya Brāhmaṇas*, have been described in the *Gautama Saṃhita* (Chap. IV) as a mixed caste born from a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Vaiçya* mother. The *Yavanas*, who were regarded by *Manu* as *Vrātya Kṣatriyas*, have been described in the *Gautama-Saṃhitā* as a mixed caste born from a *Kṣatriya* father and *Sūdra* mother. The *Kirāta* mentioned in the *Manusāhita* as *Vrātya Kṣatriya* has been described in the *Ballala-charita* as a mixed caste born from a *Vaiçya* father and *Brāhmaṇa* mother.

*Sarāka*—The *Sarākas* returned in the Government Census as a Jain or Buddhist sect have been mentioned in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* as a Hindu caste born of a *Jolā* father and *Weaver* mother. In reality the *Sarākas* are immigrants from *Serike* (in Central Asia). The Jain sect called *Saraogie* is perhaps identical with the people called *Sorgae*\* that, according to *Megasthenes* (in the 4th century B.C.), occupied a tract of country lying above the confluence of the *Indus* with the stream of the combined rivers of the *Punjab*. According to Jain accounts, *Saraogies* are descendants of those *Rajputs* and *Vaiçyas* who were converted to Jainism by *Acharyya Jina-sena* in *Khandela* (north of *Jaipur*) in the year 643 after *Mahāvira*, *i.e.*, in 116 A.D. *Sorgae* therefore in the 2nd century A.D. advanced as far south as *Jaipur*. I do not find any intimate relation between the *Saraogies* and *Sarākas*. However, both might perhaps have come from *Serike* (in Central Asia), one through the north-western frontier and the other through the north-eastern.

*Kaiwarta, &c.*—The *Kols*, who are evidently an aboriginal wild people of India, have been designated in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* as a mixed caste born of a *Leṭā* father and *Tibara* mother. The *Kaivartas*, who were perhaps the original (and once very powerful) inhabitants of *Bengal*, have, we have seen, been described in the *Manusāhita* as a mixed caste born from a *Niṣāda* father and *Āyogava* mother, but in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* as that born from a *Kṣatriya* father and *Vaiçya* mother. The *Āndhra*, *Chola*, and *Pāṇḍya* tribes of the *Dravidian* people became in course of time reckoned as pure *Kṣatriyas*. The *Tāmila* tribe of *Draviḍa* made several inroads into *Ceylon*, and the 5th century A.D. five *Tāmila* kings successively reigned in the island. The *Tāmils* came towards the north, too, and the *Tāmbuli* caste of *Bengal* was perhaps formed by them. I think I need not cite any more examples to establish my theory of *Saṃkara* castes

\* *McCrimdley's Megasthenes*, p. 149.



*Origin of Saṃkara Castes.*—It should be observed here that in the primitive stage of the Hindu society, when the foreigners and aborigines first came in contact with each other, intermarriage among different castes did perhaps prevail. The Brāhmaṇa could marry girls of all the four castes, the Kṣatriya of three castes, the Vaiçya of two castes, and the Sūdra of his own caste only. The children born of parents of different castes generally got the rank of their father. Manu\* discusses the point thus :—

“69. As good seed, springing up in good soil, turns out perfectly well, even so the son of an Āryan by an Āryan woman is worthy of all the sacraments.

“70. Some sages declare the seed to be more important, and others the field; and again others assert that the seed and the field are equally important; but the legal decision on this point is as follows :—

“71. Seed sown on barren ground perishes in it; a fertile field also, in which no good seed is sown, will remain barren.

“72. As through the power of the seed, sons born of animals became sages who are honoured and praised, hence the seed is declared to be more important.”

Regarding the distribution of assets among the sons born of wives of different castes, Manu† lays down :—

“Let the son of the Brāhmaṇi wife take three shares of the estate, the son of the Kṣatriyā two, the son of the Vaiçyā a share and a half, and the son of the Sūdrā may take one share.”

Intermarriage is of two kinds: *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma*. The former is that in which a man of a higher caste marries a woman of a lower caste, and the latter is quite reverse of the former. Manu's laws concern themselves with *anulomaja* children. There is no definite law regarding the *pratilomaja* children. They get the rank of either of the parents according to expediency. Thus, the *Anulomaja* and *Pratilomaja* children did not constitute the Saṃkara castes, but became absorbed in one or other of the four original castes.

The anuloma marriage sanctioned by Manu and other lawgivers prevailed at a time when each of the four original castes possessed the power of assimilating in itself people of the other castes; nay, all people—foreigners or aborigines. In course of time the four original castes, having lost this power of assimilation, became stereotyped. At that stage the foreigners and aborigines had to perform the purificatory ceremony called *Vrātya-stoma* before they could get admittance into society of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, or Vaiçya. The four castes which had

\* G. Buhler's *Manusāmhita*, Book X (translated in S.B.E. series).

† G. Buhler's *Manusāmhita*, Book IX.



in the beginning been living organisms became by and by dead crystals, and there came a time when even the *Vrātya-stoma* became insufficient for the incorporation of outsiders. At this stage each tribe of unfreighted people, after being admitted into the Hindu society, formed a caste of its own. In this way innumerable castes (wrongly called *Saṃkara* or mixed) became formed. In the present age of civilization the so-called *Saṃkara* castes are in their turn tending towards mergence in the four original castes and each man is trying to trace his descent from the earliest *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiçya*, or *Çūdra* forefather. It is probable that in course of time the entire Hindu population of India will be absorbed in the four original castes for whom alone duties, etc., were prescribed by *Sāstras*. But the defect of the matter lies in the fact that the fourfold classification of castes does not completely suit the present condition of the Hindu society.

From what we have found here it is evident that the traditional *Saṃkara* process of birth exists in mere theories, but does not correspond to actual facts. No caste ever came into existence in the way presupposed by the traditional theory. I do not include here among the *Saṃkaras* those people who in the early stage of the Hindu society were born from parents of different castes; for, they did not constitute a fifth caste, but used to become incorporated in the caste of their father. It is, however, undeniable that even in the present day there are some rare instances of the father and mother being of different castes, but in those cases the children get the rank of either of the parents. In Darjeeling I met with several instances in which the *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Chatri* mother gave birth to children that were *Chatris*, but I never met with a single instance in which a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Chatri* mother gave birth to a child that produced a third caste. Though the *Saṃkara* process of birth is an absolute myth, it must be admitted that the theory of *Saṃkara* castes expounded in the *Brāhmaṇic Sāstras* is indeed very grand. The *Brāhmaṇa* legislators by tracing the four original castes from the different limbs of *Brahma* the Supreme Being and then deriving all other castes from a mixture of the four thoroughly established the unity and common footing of all the members of the Hindu society. All castes, from *Brāhmans* to *Chaṇḍālas*, are shown to be directly or indirectly connected with the Supreme Being and the gradations of honour existing among the members of different castes are also duly maintained. But it should be observed here that the *Vrātya* theory was very much simpler, for it assumed only four classes of people. The *Vrātya* people, having performed the *Vrātya-stoma*, could freely mix with members of the four pure and original castes on terms of equality.





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# NOTES

ON THE

## BASHGALĪ (KĀFIR) LANGUAGE.

COMPILED BY

COLONEL J. DAVIDSON, C.B., I.S.C.

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## SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION ADOPTED.

### A.—PERSIAN OR HINDŪSTĀNĪ LETTERS.

ا	a	د	d	ش	sh	ل	l
ب	b	ذ	ḍ	غ	gh	م	m
پ	p	ر	r	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ژ	r̄	ک	k	و	w
ث	ṭ	ز	z	گ	g	ه	h
ج	j	ژ	zh			ی	y, etc.
چ	ch	س	s				
خ	kh						

### B.—VOWEL SOUNDS.

a	as in America.
ā	„ „ father.
â	„ „ fall.
e	„ „ French <i>était</i> .
ē	„ „ mate.
i	„ „ pin.
ī	„ „ pique.
u	„ „ bull.
ū	„ the oo in fool.
o	„ „ first o in promote.
ō	„ „ second o in promote.

If a vowel is nasalised, as in the Hindūstānī word for “in,” or the French word “bon,” the sign ~ is placed over the nasalised vowel.

In quotations from different authors, their system of transliteration has not generally been changed.

Where a consonant is doubled it is pronounced with greater force.





## PREFACE.

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AT the latter end of my two years' duty in Chitrāl, in March 1898, I prepared, during the short periods of leisure at my disposal, a vocabulary of 1,744 sentences from English into the Bashgalī Kāfir dialect and portions of a short grammar, with the aid of two of the most intelligent Kāfirs of Kāmdēsh and the Bashgal Valley who could be obtained, *viz.*, Shēr Malik and Gul Mir (a man with at least one alias), both of whom are well known to Sir George Robertson.

The services of Taman Khān, an intelligent Chitrālī, were secured to assist in these translations. No *bonâ fide* Kāfir, conversant with either Urdū, Persian or Pushto, or in fact any language except his own and a little Chitrālī, was available. Both the Kāfirs employed knew a few words of, but could not converse at all readily in, Urdū, and had a very useful knowledge of Chitrālī. Taman Khān understood Urdū and Persian well.

Before commencing this task I had studied the Khōwār or language of Chitrāl. As the Kāfirs mix more freely with Chitrālīs than with any other race, those residing in the eastern portion of Kāfiristān pick up a certain amount of the Chitrālī language, and several of their idioms—in the Bashgalī dialect at all events—are identical with those of the Chitrālī or Khōwār. Every one of the sentences now published [except 12 taken from other sources marked (¶)] was taken down by me personally: some were frequently gone over, on successive days, to insure as much accuracy as possible.



The Kāfir dialects are not written. There are no Kāfir books, and it is generally said there are no rock inscriptions in the country which would help to throw any light on the origin of the language. It would be interesting to find the rock inscription, ordered to be set up by the Emperor Timūr, referred to in Appendix I, if it is in existence.\* Sir George Robertson (1896) and Dr. Wolff (1861) mention a rumour that some rock inscriptions exist in the country, and Colonel Gardner states he saw some about 1826 A.D. The popular Kāfir sentiment regarding writing and reading will be found recorded in sentence No. 1129. The Kāfirs, however, have a legend that, at one period of their race, they practised reading and writing.

It seems desirable that the language, as it is now used, should be mastered, for the Afghān rule must result in its becoming largely modified.

As a consequence of the conversion of the Kāfirs to Mahomedanism, which will take place to a large extent within a few years, very many of their manners, customs, and religious and social ceremonies will undergo a great change. Indeed it is hardly too much to predict that, as no written records exist of the Kāfir languages, in a few

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\* Since the above was printed "The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, London, 1900, has been published.

The following is an extract from pages 291, 292 :—

"I intend to make the Fort of Kullum (which is situated in the heart of Kāfiristān in the most impregnable part of the country, owing to its strong position) the military station for the main body of my army on the northern frontier.

. . . . .

"It will be interesting to my readers to hear a stone was found at the gate of the Fort of Kullum, on which these words were engraved :—

"The Great Mogul Emperor Timour was the first Muslim conqueror who vanquished the country of this unruly people up to this point, but could not take Kullum, owing to its difficult position."

years, the new rulers of the country will have swept into oblivion the very names of some of their ceremonies, deities, and customs, so that these will be lost to all possibility of research. Thus the Persian words *rōza*, fast; *khudā*, God; *bihisht*, Heaven; *dūzakh*, Hell, have been grafted into the language, and are largely used.

It is believed that the *Bashgali* dialect, with minor modifications, is understood by most of the *Siāhpōsh* *Kāfirs*.

The people of *Kāfiristān* do not generally speak of themselves, nor of their language, as *Kāfir*. They are known amongst themselves as belonging to certain clans or valleys, such as *Bashgalī*, "a man who resides in the valley of *Bashgal*"; *Waigulī*, "a man of the *Waigul* district," and the language they speak is also similarly designated.

It is very hard, if not impossible, to render by English letters the correct pronunciation of many of the words, especially some of the nasal sounds. Sir Alexander Burnes gave his opinion that it was impossible for an Englishman to pronounce some of the *Kāfir* sounds. Among the most difficult to pronounce are some of the second persons plural of the future, imperative, and conditional of several verbs.\*

It is impossible that this collection of sentences and grammar can be free from mistakes, as, in some cases,

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\* If it is thought by an European critic that the spelling herein adopted in words such as *drgr*, *mṛisth*, *prēlr*, is defective, it may be mentioned that, according to the Oriental notions of orthography, all words like "stick," "stamp," "string" are in need of a vowel. According to their notions the proper spelling would be, "istick," "ishtamp," "ishtring"; the initial "i" appearing to them as indispensable, as some vowel appears, to our Western perceptions, desirable, in the three *Kāfir* words above quoted.



possibly the Kāfirs did not exactly understand the nature of a sentence, the translation of which was desired, as well as for the following reason : Sometimes a sentence, of which the Kāfir translation was needed, would be carefully explained to the Kāfirs by the Chitrālī employed, and apparently well understood. One of them would give his rendering. The other would frequently object, stating it would not be so spoken in his village, etc., etc. Thereupon a heated altercation would arise, lasting a long time, without any agreement being arrived at. In such cases the rendering which seemed more likely to be correct has been accepted. From these sentences, and from many others taken down, but not printed, a short Bashgalī Grammar has been prepared.

The language will be seen to resemble Urdū in construction. It has many Persian and Sanskrit words.

In the following pages the transliteration is that laid down for the Linguistic Survey, Government of India, 1898. Our letters, however, appear unfitted to represent certain Kāfir sounds.

If the language appears a simple one, owing to the brevity of its grammar, and sterile as to the number of words, it may be remarked that, as is the case in Chitrālī, the idioms are extremely numerous. It would probably take any person a considerable time, under the most favourable circumstances, to speak the language idiomatically correct.

The leisure at my disposal did not permit of my making the grammar more complete than it is, the material for preparing these papers being collected during the intervals of more important duties. Efforts were made, without success, to elucidate many principles of grammar

other than those now produced. It was impossible to obtain from the Kāfirs employed, with any degree of certainty, information regarding many points on which it was sought. As I am not a linguist, it seemed to me that the leisure available for this work would be utilised better in procuring a large number of sentences on every day topics and in simple form, than in endeavouring to solve grammatical intricacies which, with men such as the Kāfirs, might have taken up a great deal of time with possibly very small result.

The amount of time taken up and the difficulties and disappointments experienced in endeavouring to elicit grammatical and other linguistic information, from such very unsophisticated men as are the Kāfirs, are described in Surgeon-Major Bellew's lecture at the United Service Institution, India, 1879; Dr. Leitner's similar lecture of 1879; Dr. Leitner's "Dardistān" (1877); and Sir George Robertson's "Kāfirs of the Hindūkush." Dr. Leitner's opinion was that the difficulties in the way of finding out the rules of Kāfir grammar were insuperable.

Dr. Trumpp in his article in the Royal Asiatic Society Journal, 1862, remarks on the absence of aspirates in the Kāfir language. Sir G. Robertson informs me he tried to teach some Kāfirs to pronounce a few English words, such as "happy," "hard," but found it impossible. In my vocabulary of sentences a few will be found.

As is the case in some other languages, notably Turkish, the attention paid by the Kāfirs to certain intricate rules of euphony, which must be puzzling to any one not born in the country, is very remarkable.

Sir G. Robertson, in his manuscript notes, remarks on the great difficulty experienced owing to the apparently



erratic way in which the Kāfirs inflect words for the sake of euphony, “which they must have at all hazards, eliding words, adding suffixes and affixes, and cutting off syllables whenever there is a difficulty of pronunciation. They try to make the smallest possible number of words express their meaning. They express their meaning to a great extent by gesture, intonation of the voice, and laying particular stress on some syllable, or word in a sentence.”

The same word will not always be found spelt in an uniform way in my collection. Many letters are interchangeable, thus  $z = ds$  or  $ts$ , as *zīm*, *dsīm*, *tsīm*, snow;  $j = zh$  or  $ch$ , as *manjī*, *manchī*, man; *jārlm*, *zhārlm*, I will kill. Letters are often transposed, as *bagrām*, *bar-gām*; *katrawor*, *kartawor*; *brōbur*, *barābar*, *bōrbur*. In words such as *pshtarak* the  $p$  is often dispensed with. For the sake of euphony or scansion, words undergo a great variety of changes, thus, “a man” may be *manjī*, *manchī*, *mōsh*, *mochī* and even *munshī*; “very much” may be *bluk*, *biluk*, *biliuk*, *bilugh*; “good,” or “well,” is *lē*, *less*, *lesst*, *lessta*. Short vowels are sometimes lengthened, and long ones shortened; sometimes a syllable is dropped, and at other times one is inserted, thus, “female” may be *strī*, *shtrī*, *shtarī*, *shtārī*, *ishtrī*; “to-day” may be *pshtarak*, *shtarak*, *shtak*, *stak*, *stag*; “for the sake of,” *dugā*, *gā*, *tkā*, *kē*, *dē*; for “he,” or “it is,” there are at least ten words, and for “he,” or “it becomes,” at least six words.

In very many words I found it impossible to decide whether the vowels should be long or short, whether certain vowels should be nasalised or not, and whether, in certain words, the  $r$  and  $t$  should be hard or not. Great varieties of pronunciation were met with.

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The same difficulty was experienced by Azīmullah, a good Persian scholar, mentioned on page 165, Appendix I.

It has been stated in London newspapers that the easiest route for an army attempting to invade India from the North of the Hindū Kush would traverse the centre of Kāfiristān; it may, therefore, be desirable that, for military reasons alone, something regarding the language of the country should be known.

I have to acknowledge my great obligations to Dr. Grierson, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service, for much assistance kindly given me in preparing these papers, and for placing a great many documents at my disposal.

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# GRAMMAR.

## (I) ARTICLE.

1. There is no Article in the Bashgali corresponding with our Indefinite Article; when desirable the cardinal *eo*, one, can be used.

## (II) SUBSTANTIVES.

2. The Substantive has two genders, masculine and feminine, but the rules regarding gender are not universally followed. Whether the varieties of gender are natural only, or grammatical as well, I cannot state positively.

Some Nouns which appear feminine are as follows: —

<i>amu,</i>	house.	<i>khunzā, kunzā,</i>	princess.
<i>argru,</i>	ceiling.	<i>miok,</i>	mouth.
<i>basnā,</i>	clothing.	<i>māroī,</i>	stick.
<i>brunz,</i>	lawn.	<i>parr,</i>	apple.
<i>burī,</i>	bread.	<i>pott,</i>	road.
<i>dāo, dār,</i>	wood.	<i>shū,</i>	rose.
<i>dārī,</i>	beard.	<i>tokum,</i>	numda.
<i>gāo,</i>	cow.	<i>tūs,</i>	chopped straw.
<i>gol,</i>	country.	<i>ushp,</i>	horse.
<i>ishtrī,</i>	woman.	<i>yūs,</i>	grass.
	<i>zhū,</i>		hair.

Adjectives ending in *a, l, m, n, r*, used with the above words, also tenses of verbs ending in *l* or *a*, undergo certain changes. This is not, however, universally the case. Some sentences of the vocabulary will be found to contradict this rule. They are, however, all recorded exactly as rendered, at the time, by the Kāfirs employed to translate.

3. The use of *neo, nāh*, male, and *ishtrī*, female, is very common to indicate natural gender, as *neo ushp*, horse; *ishtrī ushp*, mare.



4. The following examples show that a feminine seems recognised :—

<i>manchī-ē ušhp brī,</i>	A man took a horse.
<i>ishtrī mrī,</i>	A woman has died.
<i>sh̄talē khunzā mrlī,</i>	Perhaps the Queen will die.
<i>māṛī perongī,</i>	The stick is broken.
<i>iā brā jugūr āwrī,</i>	My brother took a wife.

In the above instances the terminal of the Verb has been changed from *ā* to *ī* to agree with the feminine Noun. Two examples contradicting the above are in the sentences, namely—

<i>ušhp mrā,</i>	The horse died.
<i>gāo mrā,</i>	The cow died.

5. Dr. Trumpp was doubtful whether Nouns and Adjectives had any gender; he says “so much is clear that the terminations of Adjectives do not change according to the gender of Substantives.” Sir George Robertson says he is uncertain whether any feminine is really recognised, but he is sure that some changes are made in Adjectives in connection with the Substantive which they qualify, perhaps only for the sake of euphony.

6. The Substantive has the following states in declension :—

- (i) The Subject, *viz.*, Nominative or Agent.
- (ii) Genitive (of), dative (to), ablative (from, etc.), locative (in, etc.).
- (iii) Accusative.
- (iv) Vocative.

7. The Nominative singular and plural are often identical.

8. The Oblique cases are formed by adding certain post-positions (see para. 63) to the inflected cases.

9. The Nominative or Agent precedes the Accusative and Verb; as *tos't piṭr to latrī psetai*, thy father lost thy property.

10. Whether the Bashgalī (like the Arabic and Sanskrit) recognises the Agent (instrumental) case or no, in sentences where transitive Verbs are used in the Past Tenses, or whether it follows the Persian construction, is not clear. By the Agent\* form. is meant the idiomatic inversion of the sentence, by which the Verb is rendered passively, and agrees in

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\* The Agent case is the case with *nē* in Urdū, when the post-position *ko* is not used with the Noun, which is the object.

gender with the real object, if any, the object (accusative) becoming the subject and being rendered in the Nominative. When no Nominative is expressed the Verb is impersonally in the singular masculine form. Thus “he killed the horse” would become “the horse was killed by him.” Dr. Trumpp came to the conclusion that the Agent was used in the dialect of which he wrote; that in the singular it was not inflected (being identical with the Nominative); and that in the plural it took the termination *ẽ*. Dr. Grierson thinks the Agent is used in Bashgali. I applied very many test sentences and sometimes found it apparently used and at other times not. The following sentences seem to show the Agent is used :—\*

- |                                    |                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>iã brá jugūr awrĩ,</i>       | My brother took a wife.       |
| 2. <i>zhĩ marẽ iãst urr̃ brĩ,†</i> | A kite took off my partridge. |
| 3. <i>manchĩ-ẽ iã ushp̃ brĩ,</i>   | A man took off my horse.      |
| 4. <i>manchĩẽ wish̃ ptess,</i>     | The man gave medicine.        |
| 5. <i>õts host sũsnĩ awarĩ,</i>    | I brought a handkerchief.     |

The following seem to show that the Agent is not used, or, at all events, the Agent is the same as the Nominative :—

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>mehar band̃ krissã,</i>             | The ruler has imprisoned him.  |
| <i>marĩr̃ jawãr̃ iãrã,</i>             | The boy has eaten Indian corn. |
| <i>Aoghãnr̃ digar̃ pilĩngĩ̃ kress,</i> | The Afghãns have done injury.  |
| <i>mehar̃ shtrĩ̃ awarĩss,</i>          | The ruler took a wife.         |

11. Khãn Sãhib Abdul Hakĩm Khãn,‡ who has made some translations into Bashgali, informs me he thinks the Agent is not used. He has favoured me with translations of the following test sentences :—

- |                                |                                    |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Thou hast made my cloth dirty, | <i>Tu ãsta basenã mul̃ krã.</i>    |
| She has cooked my food,        | <i>Aske ãgẽ butĩ karã.</i>        |
| Who has caught the thieves?    | <i>Shtãr̃ ku wanẽmiã ?</i>         |
| We have caught one thief,      | <i>Emã ẽ shtãr̃ wanemia.</i>       |
| He has washed my dirty cloth,  | <i>Aske ãsta mul̃ basenã nigã.</i> |

\* The following examples occur in Sir G. Robertson's manuscript papers: *manchĩ uzhur̃ dugã jugūr̃ awrĩ*, the man has brought a woman for medicine, and *Utah̃ ano awrã*, Utah has brought ghi.

† In another instance, viz., *zhĩ marẽ damĩtĩ gwã*, the kite having caught (it) went, *zhĩ marẽ* is masculine, and, if so, in example 2 *brĩ* seems to agree with *urr̃*.

‡ His transliteration differs from mine in some words.



He has cleaned my gun,  
 Who has given you medicine?  
 I hear your speech now,  
 I yesterday heard your speech,  
 You yesterday said some words to  
 Chānlu,  
 When you arrived yesterday I had  
 not eaten my food,  
 My brother had killed his daughter  
 when I arrived,  
 My daughter had eaten the fruit  
 when Mirak came yesterday,  
 He fired two guns,  
 You men have brought good wood,  
 Thou hast killed my cock,  
 The father killed his own son,  
 The father is killing his own son,  
 The horse has eaten all the grass,  
 The horse is eating the grass,

*Aske īsta tapka sagāya.*  
*Tō gē dāriu ku ptesesh?*  
*Ō tu vari ishtrak kar tēnum.*  
*Ī tu vari dus sangāisi.*  
*Dus Chālu tā tu kai mār nazush*  
*ba.*  
*Tu dus preishtā ī yash na*  
*yāressi.*  
*Ō parimdā īsta bra askesta jus*  
*jārissī.*  
*Dus Mirak āzittā īsta jū kach-*  
*wech yārissi.*  
*Aske du tapka barkstara.*  
*Shā manchiā lē dao averestai.*  
*Tu īsta nai-kakak jāriā.*  
*Tot amu piṭras jāriā.*  
*Tot amu piṭr jārana.*  
*Ushpe sundi yus yārissī.*  
*Ushpe yus yuno.*

12. In mentioning the difficulty of ascertaining, for a certainty, whether the Agent form is used or not, it may be noted that there are many parts of India where the Agent form is not understood, and not used by the country folk, who are very far more advanced in grammatical notions than are the Kāfirs.

13. The genitive has often no suffix,\* being recognised merely by apposition, the Noun, which is in the genitive, being placed before that which governs it; as—

*Mirak amu,*

The house of Mirak.

*Ushp kudūm,*

The work of a horse (grooming).

Sometimes the suffix *i*, *ē*, *iē*, *st*, *est*, *es* or *s* is applied, as *manchī-est*, of a man; *mehr'st pattī*, letter of the Ruler.

\* Kāfirs often dispense with suffixes and post-positions when the meaning is quite clear without them.

Sometimes the Chitrālī form of genitive is used, adding *o* to the Nominative, as—

<i>sirkāro</i> , of Government.	<i>bidīo</i> , of heart.
<i>tōttio</i> , of father.	<i>wū-o</i> , of sister-in-law.

A common form of Genitive is to add *wā* to certain compound words, such as *āl bidī-wā*, of great heart (generous); *digar zira-wā*, of bad heart; *shtal warī-wā*, of true word; *lattrī-wā*, (man) of property; *drushtī-wā*, (man) of poverty; *kāno-wā*, (a place) of trees, (shady); *lē bidī-wā*, (man) of good intention.

Where we use a Genitive the Kāfirs often use a Dative; thus, in place of "a horse's bridle" it is very usual to say "horse-to bridle."

14. The Dative, Locative, and Ablative are formed by adding the suffixes *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, or *ō*, together with *tā̃*, *stē*, *mēsh* or some other of the post-positions mentioned in para. 63. The Ablative is sometimes formed by adding *ē̃* to the Nominative, as *eo gujarē̃*, in one day; *tarwochē̃*, with a sword; or *ā*, as, *peshāniā*, on (your) forehead; *dushtā*, on (your) hand. In the Dative, the suffix *tā̃* is often dispensed with. Sometimes the suffixes *ā*, *ē*, etc., are not used, or short vowels are used in place of long ones.

15. The Accusative or Objective is often the same as the Nominative. Some words add *a*, *ē*, *e*, or, (as in Khowār,) *o* for the Accusative, or change the terminal, if a short vowel, into *ē* or *o*, as—

work,	<i>kudūm</i> ,	Accusative,	<i>kudūma</i> .
horse,	<i>ushp</i> ,	„	<i>ushpē</i> .
snow,	<i>zīm</i> ,	„	<i>zīmo</i> .
head,	<i>pshai</i> ,	„	<i>pshaiō</i> .

16. The Vocative is usually formed by adding *ā* or *o* to the Nominative, as *tōtt-ā*, father! Sometimes it is the same as the Nominative, some Interjection, such as *hē*, preceding it.

17. The Nominative plural is often the same as that of the singular, but sometimes *ān*, *ēn*, *īn*, or *on*, is added.

18. The inflected cases plural (as in the Chitrālī) end in *ān* or *ōn* or *on*.



## EXAMPLES.

19. **Manchī**, man.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	<i>manchī</i> ,	<i>manchī</i> or <i>manchīān</i> .
Gen.	<i>manchī-est</i> , <i>manchī-s</i> ,	<i>manchīōn</i> or <i>manchīōn'st</i> .
Dat.	<i>manchī-ē tā̃</i> ,	<i>manchīōn tā̃</i> .
Acc.	<i>manchī-ē</i> ,	<i>manchīōn</i> .
Agent (?)	<i>manchī-ē</i> ,	<i>manchīōn</i> (?).
Abl., Loc.	<i>manchī-ē stē</i> , etc.,	<i>manchīōn stē</i> , etc.
Voc.	<i>manchī-ā</i> ,	<i>manchī-ā</i> .

**Ushp**, horse.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	<i>ushp</i> ,	<i>ushp</i> .
Gen.	<i>ushpē</i> , <i>ushpo</i> ,	<i>ushpān</i> .
Dat.	<i>ushpē tā̃</i> ,	<i>ushpān tā̃</i> .
Acc.	<i>ushpē</i> ,	<i>ushpān</i> .
Agent (?)	<i>ushp-ē</i> (?),	<i>ushp</i> .
Abl.	<i>ushpē stē</i> , etc.,	<i>ushpān stē</i> , etc.
Voc.	<i>hē ushp</i> ,	<i>hē ushp</i> .

**Tōtt**, father.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	<i>tōtt</i> ,	<i>tōtt</i> .
Gen.	<i>tōtt's</i> , <i>tōtti</i> , <i>tōttio</i> ,	<i>tōttān</i> , <i>tōttān'st</i> .
Dat.	<i>tōttē tā̃</i> ,	<i>tōttān</i> (?) <i>tā̃</i> .
Acc.	<i>tōtt</i> ,	<i>tōttān</i> (?).
Agent (?)	<i>tōtt-ē</i> (?),	<i>tōtt</i> (?).
Abl.	<i>tōtt stē</i> , etc.,	<i>tōttān stē</i> , etc.
Voc.	<i>tōttiā</i> ,	<i>tōttiā</i> .

## (III) ADJECTIVES.

20. The Adjective ordinarily precedes the Noun, as *ál wōtt*, big stone; if used as a predicate, it follows, as *tā tōtt brá sang dígar ess*, your clan is all bad.

21. It sometimes undergoes inflection of case to correspond with its Substantive as *shī siūm*, an old carpet; *siūmē kālē tã*, in an old fort.

22. Several Adjectives were recorded by me as ending in *l, m, n, r*, such as *ál*, big; *siūm*, old; *shingīr*, pretty, and, when in company with certain Substantives, adding *a, ē, ī*, presumably for the purpose of gender. Adjectives ending in *ā* change the *ā* to *ī* for the feminine, or, at all events, occasionally, for the sake of euphony.

The following are examples:—

<i>ál mosh</i> ,	big man.	{ <i>állī parr</i> ,	big apple.
		{ <i>kartī állī ushp</i> ,	long, big horse.
		{ <i>állā amu</i> ,	big house.
<i>digr manchī</i> ,	bad man.	<i>digrī putt</i> ,*	bad road.
† <i>drgr lū</i> ,	long root.	<i>drgrī ushp</i> ,	long horse.
<i>drgr warī</i> ,	long story.	<i>drgrī argrū</i> ,	long log.
<i>kazhīr wakī</i> ,	white lamb.	{ <i>kazhīrī gáo</i> ,	white cow.
<i>ál kazhīr wōtt</i> ,	large white stone.	{ <i>kazhīra ushp</i> ,	white horse.
		{ <i>kazhīrī dārī</i> ,	white beard.
		{ <i>kazhīrī zhū</i> ,	white hair.
<i>shingīr</i> ,	pretty.	{ <i>shingīra dare-</i>	pretty garden.
		<i>stān</i> ,	
		{ <i>shū shingīra ess</i> ,	rose is pretty.
		{ <i>shingīra brunz</i> ,	pretty lawn.
		{ <i>shingīra basná</i> ,	pretty clothes.
		{ <i>shingīra pīsh</i> ,	pretty flowers.
<i>wishtrī taman</i> ,	wide trousers.	<i>wishtrī putt</i> ,	wide road.

\* The Adjective qualifying *putt* is sometimes masculine.

It has been suggested to me that the first *r* is pronounced like the Sanskrit vowel *r̄*.



<i>zhil bhīm</i> , wet ground.	{	<i>zhilī burī</i> , wet (uncooked) bread.
		<i>zhīla yus</i> , wet (green) grass.
		<i>zhīla dār</i> , wet (green) wood.

The following instances are contrary to the above rule:—

<i>brā shingorā assā</i> ,	the brother is handsome.
<i>ushp shigil assā</i> ,	the horse is fast.

Possibly the rule, as in Khowār, is that males are Masculine and natural females Feminine, and all others Neuter, but, whatever rule may be made out, there appear examples to show that it is not regularly followed.

23. Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān has obliged me with translations of the following thirteen sentences to test the existence of inflections of Adjectives to agree with Substantives. Certain Adjectives which I found to end in *īr* in the Nominative Masculine Singular, end, in his translation, in *era*; and the word *āl*, big, is rendered by him as *ōla*.\* Words like *kazhera*, when used to qualify Nouns naturally feminine (such as cow, mare), generally change their termination in these examples into *i*, but all other Adjectives ending in *n*, *a*, *k*, undergo no change.

Thy beard is white,	<i>tus dari kazhera assa.</i>
My hair is white,	<i>īsta dru kazhera assa.</i>
My daughter is not pretty,	<i>īsta jū vizheri n'aza.</i>
My bull is white,	<i>īsta azhē kazhera assa.</i>
My cow is white,	<i>īsta gā kazheri assa.</i>
My mare is white,	<i>īsta ishtri ushpa kazheri assa.</i>
My horse is white,	<i>īsta ushpa kazhera assa.</i>
Our horses are all white,	<i>imāsta ushpa sundi kazhera ashta.</i>
Take the saddles off all the white horses,	<i>sundi kazhera ushpā dā zina wakshā.</i>
All your horses are very fat,	<i>shāsta sundi ushpa biliuk karṭa ashta.</i>
That little girl is very dirty,	<i>aske parmenstuk juk biliuk mulchun bissa.</i>
That big boy is dirty,	<i>aske ōla āri mulchun azia.</i>
All our mares are very fat,	<i>imāsta sundi ishtri ushpa biliuk karṭa ashta.</i>

\* If he is right, a portion of my para. 22 is wrong. In Sir G. Robertson's manuscript collection there are many adjectives ending in *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, as *kazhīr*, *shatram*, *damtōl*, etc.

24. Many Adjectives are formed from the Noun of Agency of the Verb, as follows :—

1. <i>less kudūm kul,</i>	good work doing, industrious.
2. <i>widarl,</i>	fearing, timid, cowardly.
3. <i>pott zarl,</i>	road knowing, guiding.
4. <i>ziān karōl,</i>	loss-making, destructive, malicious, harmful.
5. <i>lālu kul,</i>	song making, singing.
6. <i>less ushp p'tsir nishēl,</i>	on a horse good sitting, equestrian.
7. <i>tarwochē wīl,</i>	sword beating.
8. <i>p'putt lattrē rangal</i> <i>(ngal ?),</i>	on road property taking, highway robber.

The above can be used as Substantives or Adjectives: thus No. 2 is either timid or a coward; No. 3 is guiding or a guide; No. 7 sword smiting or an executioner.

25. Adjectives formed in English from a Substantive, by adding *y* or *ly*, such as foxlike, foxy, etc., are formed in Bashgalī by adding to the Substantive either *chōr*, or *ayūr*, or *agyūr*, *pirstha*, *purstha*, *prishtha*, as—

<i>wrikē,</i>	fox;	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{wrikē ayūr,} \\ \textit{wrikē purstha,} \end{array} \right\}$	foxy, clever.
<i>krūz,</i>	dog;		<i>krūz chōr,</i>

#### DEGREES OF COMPARISON.

26. The Comparative is formed by using the Positive together with the Ablative case (post-position *tā̃*, *stē*) of the Noun to which it refers, as—

<i>Mirak drgr manchē assā,</i>	Mirak is a tall man.
<i>Mirak Chālū tā̃ drgr azz,</i>	Mirak is more tall than Chānlu.
<i>tū kur iā̃ kurē tā̃ āl ess,</i>	Your ass is bigger than mine.
<i>emā manchē pachan warē tā̃</i> <i>damtōl asht,</i>	Our men are braver than the enemy.
<i>inā sē po sē stē kachwach</i> <i>chāgh ess,</i>	This year fruit is scarcer than last year.

27. The Superlative is formed by using a Noun of multitude or quantity with the Positive, as, *Bastē sundē manchōn tā̃ damtōl azz*, Bastē is the most powerful of all men,



## (IV) PRONOUNS.

28.

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

I,  $\tilde{i}$ ,  $i\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{o}ts$ .      Thou,  $t\bar{u}$ .

The Personal Pronouns, which we use with Verbs, are omitted by Kāfirs. In the Dative and Accusative they are almost always understood. In the vocabulary of sentences they have been more often inserted than would be the case colloquially.

Ots,  $\tilde{o}$ ,  $\tilde{i}$ , I.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	$ots, \bar{o}ts, \tilde{o}ts, \tilde{o}, i\tilde{a}, i\bar{a}, \tilde{i}, \tilde{i}$ ,	$em\acute{a}$ .
Gen.	$\tilde{i}, \tilde{i}, i\tilde{a}, i\tilde{a}'st, \tilde{i}sta,$	$em\acute{a}, em\acute{a}s't.$
Dat.	$i\tilde{a} t\tilde{a},$	$em\acute{a} t\tilde{a}.$
Acc.	$\tilde{o}ts, \tilde{o}, i\tilde{a}, \tilde{i},$	$em\acute{a}.$
Agent (?)	$\tilde{i},$	$em\acute{a} (?).$
Abl.	$i\tilde{a} m\tilde{e}sh, etc.,$	$em\acute{a} m\tilde{e}sh, etc.$
Voc.		

## Tū, thou.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	$t\bar{u}, tu, to, t\bar{o}.$	$sh\acute{a}.$
Gen.	$t\bar{o}, t\bar{o}'st, tus\bar{a}, t\bar{u}s\bar{a}, t\bar{u}s\bar{e}, t\bar{o}st\bar{a},$	$sh\acute{a}'st.$
Dat.	$t\bar{u} t\tilde{a},$	$sh\acute{a} t\tilde{a}.$
Acc.	$t\bar{u},$	$sh\acute{a}.$
Agent (?)	$t\bar{u},$	$sh\acute{a}.$
Abl.	$t\bar{u} m\tilde{e}sh, etc.,$	$sh\acute{a} m\tilde{e}sh.$
Voc.	$t\bar{u},$	$sh\acute{a}.$

29.

## DEMONSTRATIVES.

Inā, anī,      he (this).  
 Ikīā, askā, akī, iyē, izhē,      he (remote).  
 Inā, anī,      he, this.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	$in\bar{a}, an\bar{i},$	$amn\acute{a}.$
Gen.	$an\bar{i}o,$	$amn\bar{i}\bar{a}n,$
Dat.	$an\bar{i} t\tilde{a},$	$amn\bar{i}\bar{a}n t\tilde{a}.$
Acc.	$an\bar{i},$	$amn\bar{i}\bar{a}n.$
Agent (?)	$an\bar{i},$	$amn\acute{a}.$
Abl., Loc.	$an\bar{i}-m\tilde{e}sh,$	$amn\bar{i}\bar{a}n m\tilde{e}sh.$
Voc.		

**Ikiā, ikia, ikya, askā, akī, iyē, izē,** he, that.

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	<i>ikiā, akī, iyē, izē,</i>	<i>amkī, amgī, amgīān.</i>
Gen.	<i>ikī, akīo, ikīost, īo,</i>	<i>amshī-est.</i>
Dat.	<i>akīyē, akīo tā,</i>	<i>amkīān tā.</i>
Acc.	<i>akī, askē,</i>	<i>amkīān.</i>
Agent (?)	<i>akī-ē,</i>	<i>amkī.</i>
Abl.	<i>akīo-mēsh,</i>	<i>amkīān mēsh.</i>
Voc.	<hr/>	

Both *inā* (this) and *akīā* (that), if used with words ending in *m*, are liable to take that terminal, as, *inām bagrām*, (in) that village.

30. In addition to the ordinary Pronouns of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, as above declined, certain pronominal suffixes, that is to say, letters or syllables, affixed at the end of words, take the value of Pronouns and are used instead of our Possessives, as—

<i>tōttī,</i>	my father.	<i>piṭran's,</i>	his sons.
<i>tōtt-chī,</i>	thy father.	<i>piṭress,</i>	his son.
<i>tōtt's,*</i>	his father.		

31. The following are samples of pronominal suffixes used with Transitive Verbs in the Past Tenses, or sometimes with Intransitives:—

<i>iā tū ē tang ptā'sh,</i>	I gave <b>thee</b> one rupee.
<i>ī tū ē tang dā karṣi'sh,</i>	I lent one rupee to <b>thee</b> .
<i>tū ī shodr karā'sh,</i>	I made <b>thee</b> my servant.
<i>ōts tū dū wōr giṅṅi karā'sh,</i>	I twice have told <b>thee</b> .
<i>ī tū winā'sh,</i>	I have beaten <b>thee</b> .
<i>kūi tū ī shodr karā'sh, kūi</i>	} Ever since I made <b>thee</b> my ser-
<i>dī n'vinosā'sh,</i>	
<hr/>	
<i>tū ōts n'ptā'm,</i>	Thou gavest not to <b>me</b> .
<i>tū iāst dugā ōsh karṣa'm,</i>	Thou hast looked out for <b>me</b> .
<i>tū iā digrī ushp kai ptās'm ?</i>	Why gavest thou a bad horse to <b>me</b> ?
<i>tū iā tā "ē tang prēlom"</i>	} Thou to <b>me</b> hast promised "I
<i>krās'm,</i>	

\* See foot-note to sentence 726.



<i>tū ikīē ptā,</i>	Thou gavest to <b>him</b> .
<i>tū ikīē vinā (vinossā),</i>	Thou hast beaten <b>him</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>ikīē ōts ptā'm,</i>	He gave to <b>me</b> .
<i>mīhrē askā kudūm iā tã</i>	The Ruler gave that job to <b>me</b> .
<i>wiliās'm,</i>	
<i>ikīē ōts vinās'm (vinoss'm),</i>	He beat <b>me</b> .
<i>ikīē iāst shai winā'm,</i>	He beat <b>my</b> head.
<hr/>	
<i>kū tū ptā'sh-i ?</i>	Who gave to <b>thee</b> ?
<i>ikī tū ptā'sh,</i>	He gave to <b>thee</b> .
<i>ikī tū vinā'sh (vinossi'sh),</i>	He beat <b>thee</b> .
<i>tū tã dārū kū ptā'sh ?</i>	Who gave medicine to <b>thee</b> ?
<i>manchī tū tã kyā gijjī karā'sh ?</i>	What word did the man make to <b>thee</b> ?
<hr/>	
<i>inā ikī dū tang ptā,</i>	He (this man) to <b>him</b> (that man) gave two rupees.
<hr/>	
<i>emā tū pōch tang ptā'sh,</i>	We gave <b>thee</b> five rupees.
<i>emā tū vinā'sh (vinossi'sh),</i>	We beat <b>thee</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>emā ikī usht tang ptā,</i>	We gave <b>him</b> eight rupees.
<i>emā ikī vinā (vinossā),</i>	We have beaten <b>him</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>shā ōts sutt tang ptā'm,</i>	You gave <b>me</b> seven rupees.
<i>shā ōts vinā'm (vinossa'm),</i>	You beat <b>me</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>shā ikī yanits tang ptā,</i>	You gave <b>him</b> eleven rupees.
<i>shā ikī vinā (vinossā),</i>	You have beaten <b>him</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>amnā ōts trits tang ptā'm,</i>	They gave to <b>me</b> thirteen rupees.
<i>amkiān ōts vinā'm (vinossa'm),</i>	They have beaten <b>me</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>amkiān tū sapits tang ptā'sh,</i>	They gave to <b>thee</b> seventeen rupees.
<i>amkiān tū vinā'sh (vinossi'sh),</i>	They have beaten <b>thee</b> .
<hr/>	
<i>amnā ikī nēits tang ptā,</i>	They gave to <b>him</b> nineteen rupees.

32. In the Present or Future Tense of a Transitive Verb, terminals are not used with it to indicate the Pronouns which may be the object, thus :—

<i>ōts askīē vinom, vilom,</i>	I beat or shall beat him.
<i>ōts tū vinom, vilom,</i>	I beat or shall beat you.
<i>tū ẽ vinj, vilosh,</i>	Thou beatest or wilt beat me.
<i>tū ikīē vinn, vilā,</i>	Thou beatest or wilt beat him.
<i>ikīa tū vinn, vilā,</i>	He beats or will beat thee.
<i>ikīa ẽ vinn, vilā,</i>	He beats or will beat me.

In the above instances, the Verb follows the examples of terminations given for the ordinary conjugation of the Indicative Present and Future.

33. The Reflexive Pronoun which answers to the English word “self,” as in “himself,” is *yot zara* or *yōt zara*, and is used thus :—

<i>iã yōt zara,</i>	I myself.	<i>emã yōt zara,</i>	we ourselves.
<i>tu yōt zara,</i>	thou thyself.	<i>shã yōt zara,</i>	you yourselves.
<i>(tōtt) yōt zara,</i>	(my father)	<i>amnã yōt zara,</i>	they themselves.
	himself.		

Sometimes *m̄* is used, as *Mirak m̄ krā*, Mirak himself made.

#### 34. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

His own,	<i>amo, amo'st.</i>
Your own,	<i>yo'st.</i>
Their own,	<i>amsh̄o'st.</i>

#### 35. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

Who, which, what ?	<i>kāch̄i ?</i>
How many ?	<i>ch̄i, chē, chuk, chok ?</i>

**Kū, kāchī, kett, who ?**

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	<i>kā, kāchī, kett.</i>	<i>kāchī.</i>
Gen.	<i>kū, kā'st, ku'st, kāwo.</i>	<i>ku'st, kā'st.</i>
Dat.	<i>kū tã.</i>	<i>kett tã.</i>
Acc.	<i>kū.</i>	<i>kāchī.</i>
Agent (?)	<i>kāchī, kū.</i>	<i>kāchī.</i>
Abl.	<i>kā m̄sh̄.</i>	<i>kett' m̄sh̄.</i>
Voc.		



## RELATIVE PRONOUNS:

36. Relative Pronouns are hardly used.

Verbal Participles, which are used where we should use Relative Pronouns, seem to contain the Relative Pronoun, *e.g.*, Where is the man who took the news? Where is the news-taking man? *shū awēl mōch korār ess?* That is the odour of a dog which has died (of a dead dog), *ikē mṛisht krūī digar gun azz.*

Some Relative Pronouns are *kai*, whoever, whatever; *kettā* (*manchī*) (the man), who.

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

37. The following are some Indefinite Pronouns:—

<i>gijjē,</i>	some one.	<i>kā, achok, chok,</i>	some.
<i>kō,</i>	any one.	<i>ajik,</i>	so many.
<i>wārā,</i>	another.	<i>kāchī na,</i>	not any.
<i>biluk, biliuk, bilugh,</i>	many.	<i>yo narē,</i>	one each.
<i>kā—kā,</i>	either—or.	<i>yo zarē,</i>	by myself.
<i>yo kūrē,</i>	one by one.	<i>azhik,</i>	so much.

## (V) VERBS.

38. Verbs are Neuter, Active, and Passive.

They have two Numbers, Singular and Plural. They are generally placed at the end of a sentence. They have four Moods, *viz.*:—

Infinitive, Indicative, Imperative, and Conditional.

39. The Infinitive appears always to end in *sth* (or *stha* or *st* or *sta*), as, *awēsth*, to bring; *yosth*, to eat; *lushtisth*, to burn or be frost-bitten. If *stha* or *sta*\* is the terminal, not *sth*, the *a* is very short, hardly discernible, and is always elided if the word following it commences with a vowel. In the following it is taken for granted that the Infinitive ends in *sth*. By rejecting the above termination a root is obtained (which has often been borrowed from various languages) from which the several Tenses are formed. If the root ends in a way which will render the affixes hard to pronounce, it undergoes some slight change, as *lushtisth* to burn, root, *lusht*, which, in some of the cases, becomes *luzh*.

40. The Infinitive is very often used as a Verbal Substantive. It is then inflected in the Singular—(it is not used in the Plural)—by a long *ā*, (which answers to *dugā*, *tkā*, for the sake of), being added, as *yosthā*, for the sake of eating, *nizhisthā bōn giats*, fetch us a seat for the sake of sitting on; and by adding *ē* or *ī* and using one of the many post-positions given in para. 63, as *lunishtī mēsh*, by the falling. It can be used in the following way: *ikiē visth ass*, it is (appropriate) to punish him.

41. The Participle Present, or Active Participle, or Derivative Substantive, or Noun of Agency, *e.g.*, “doing,” is formed from the root by adding *n* or *l*, as, (good work) doing (man), (*lē kudūm*) *kul* (*manchī*), *nishin*, sitting. It may also be used in the Future or Past Tense, as, “the man who sang, or is singing, or is about to sing” are represented by “song-making,” *lālu kul*. It takes the place of a Relative Pronoun, as, “the man who took the news has come,” *shū awēl manchī āyo*. It can be used as an Adjective, as, song-making (man), *lālu kul*, or a song maker, singer; *ushp wetsu amchōl*, horse’s shoe fastening (farrier). When used as an Adjective, it changes gender, to agree with the Substantive which it qualifies, as, *piltīl-ī ushp*, a falling horse.

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\* In Sir G. Robertson’s manuscript collection the Infinitives end in *sta*, but he is “doubtful whether they are really Infinitives or a form of ‘from eating,’ ‘from going,’ etc.”



42. The Participle Past or Conjunctive Participle—(having eaten)—is usually formed from the root by adding *ātī*, *ētī*, *ītī*, *ōtī*, *ūtī*, or *tī* or *dī* only, as, *nishātī*, having sat, *yū-tī*, having eaten, *achūn-dī*, having run, *wanam-dī*, having caught. It is used as the equivalent of a Verb followed by a Conjunction, as *burī yūtī gwā*, having eaten food he went, or, he ate his food and went, or, as soon as he had eaten his food he went. The termination is sometimes *ta*, *tā*.

43. The Indicative Present—(I am doing)—is formed from the root by adding (together with a consonant or a vowel, for euphony, if necessary) *nam* or *nom*, *tam* or *thum*, or *am*; as, *kunam*, I am doing, *widartam* or *widaram*, I fear.

It is often used in a Future sense. Its terminals are—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>am.</i>	<i>mish</i> , <i>mā</i> .
2. <i>nj</i> , <i>nch</i> , <i>ch</i> , <i>sh</i> , <i>njī</i> , <i>nchī</i> , etc.	<i>ēr</i> , <i>ūr</i> , <i>ōr</i> , <i>ār</i> , <i>īr</i> .
3. <i>nn</i> , <i>tt</i> , <i>ttett</i> .	<i>nt</i> , <i>nd</i> , <i>tt</i> , <i>ttett</i> .

44. The Future—(I will or shall take)—is formed from the root by adding *lom*, as, *awēlom*, I will take.

Its terminals\* are—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>lom.</i>	<i>mish</i> , <i>mā</i> .
2. <i>losh</i> .	<i>ōr</i> , <i>ēr</i> , <i>īlr</i> , <i>ēlr</i> , <i>ōlr</i> , <i>ūlr</i> .†
3. <i>lā</i> .	<i>loh</i> , <i>lā</i> .

The terminal *lā* becomes *lī* when used with feminine nouns.

45. The Imperfect—(I was doing, I used to do, I would do, I would have done)—is formed from the root by adding *azzam* or *assam*, preceded, if necessary, by some consonant (*n* and *r* being favourites) for euphony, as, I was doing, *ku nazzam*. Its terminals are—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>azzam.</i>	<i>azzamish</i> .
2. <i>azzish</i> .	<i>azzār</i> .
3. <i>azzī</i> .	<i>azzī</i> .

46. Past Indefinite—(I made or have made)—is formed from the root by adding *ā*, or *āh*, or *ōh*, or *o* (sometimes for euphony *on*), preceded, if

\* I never heard the terminal *lik* which Dr. Trumpp gives.

† The *l* is sometimes not pronounced; sometimes the pronunciation is *ēnlr*, *ōnlr*, *ūnlr*, if such a sound can be pronounced by Englishmen.

necessary for euphony, with a consonant, as *awesth*, to bring, root *awē*, past *awērā*. When used with a feminine Substantive it changes its termination to agree with it, as, the man died, *manchī mrā*; the woman died, *ishtrī mrī*. *Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān* says he thinks there is no form, such as “he has eaten,” “he has gone,” as the *Bashgalis* only know the past in the sense “he ate, he went, etc.”

47. Pluperfect—(I had done)—is formed from the root by adding *issī*, as *amjissī*, I had put on clothes.

48. The second person singular of the Imperative is generally formed from the root by adding a long vowel (preceded by a consonant, for euphony, if necessary), as *shiwē*, sew thou; *namō*, show thou; *kshī*, do thou; *iō*, eat. Where the root is a monosyllable ending in a long vowel, such as *prē*, that becomes the Imperative. The remaining tenses of the Imperative seem almost the same as the Future.

49. The Conditional—(if you do, when you shall do, when you shall have done)—is formed by adding *bā* to the Present, Future, or Past: as *karbā*, if I should do; *enjī bā*, if you go. Sometimes *tān* is used in place of *bā*; and, for sake of euphony, some slight change of letters, so as not to clash with *bā* or *tān*, takes place.

50. The Interrogative is formed usually by adding *ā*, *iā*, or sometimes *ī*, as—

<i>tū purjitish-ā</i>	<i>ōts shtār assum-ā?</i>	dost thou think I am a thief?
<i>tū ettishī-ā?</i>		art thou going?
<i>tū ko ptā'sh-ī?</i>		who gave thee?

51. Phrases such as “at the time of my going” (a form of Gerund), are rendered thus, *ī en dā (tā)*.



52. The following are samples exemplifying the rules commencing at paragraph 39 :—

	TO RUN.	TO GIVE.	TO REST.	TO TELL LIES.	TO EAT.	
Infinitive .	<i>achūnasth.</i>	<i>prēsth.</i>	<i>otisth.</i>	<i>mizhōsth.</i>	<i>yusth, yosth, iasth.</i>	
Root . . .	<i>achūn.</i>	<i>prē.</i>	<i>oti.</i>	<i>mizhō.</i>	<i>yū.</i>	
Participle Present, Verbal noun, etc.	<i>achūnam.</i>	<i>prēl (?)</i>	<i>otin.</i>	<i>mizhōl.</i>	<i>yūl.</i>	
Participle Past.	<i>achūndī.</i>	<i>prētī.</i>	<i>otītī.</i>	<i>mizhētī.</i>	<i>yūtī, zhūtī.</i>	
Indicative.	Present .	<i>achūnam.</i>	<i>prēnam.</i>	<i>otinam.</i>	<i>mizhōnam.</i>	<i>yūnam.</i>
	Future .	<i>achūnlom.</i>	<i>prēlom, prom.</i>	<i>otilom.</i>	<i>mizhōlam.</i>	<i>yūlom.</i>
	Imperfect .	<i>achūnazzam.</i>	<i>prēnazzam.</i>	<i>otinazzam.</i>	<i>mizhōnazzam.</i>	<i>yūnazzam.</i>
	Past .	<i>achūniā.</i>	<i>ptā.</i>	<i>otiniā.</i>	<i>mizhiā.</i>	<i>iyā, iārā.</i>
	Pluperfect	<i>achūnissum.</i>	<i>ptāssiam.</i>	<i>otinassam.</i>	<i>mizhessiam.</i>	<i>iārissam.</i>
Imperative	<i>achūnō.</i>	<i>prē.</i>	<i>otī, otīō.</i>	<i>mizhō.</i>	<i>īō, āyū, yō, yū.</i>	
Conditional .	<i>achūnambā.</i>	<i>prēlombā.</i>	<i>otinambā.</i>	<i>mizhētān.</i>	<i>yūnambā.</i>	

53. Transitive Verbs are formed from Intransitives, and Causals from Transitives, by lengthening the final vowel, or sometimes by inserting *ā, ē, ī, ō, o*, before the termination *sth*, as—

<i>piltisth,</i>	to fall.	<i>piltāosth,</i>	to cause to fall.
<i>amjisth,</i>	to put on clothes.	<i>amjōsth,</i>	to clothe.
<i>pashisth,</i>	to light.	<i>pashiōsth,</i>	to cause to light.
<i>wisth,</i>	to rest.	<i>wiāsth,</i>	to cause to rest.

54. The following are samples of the conjugations of certain verbs. Each was taken down separately from the men employed, after a number of sentences had been worked out, showing the use of each Tense:—

INFINITIVE, *esth*, to be.

INDICATIVE.

Present.		Imperfect.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>adzum,* assum</i> <i>azzum.</i>	} 1. <i>azumish̄.</i>	1. <i>azzum, assium.</i>	<i>azzumish̄.</i>
2. <i>azzish̄, oshish̄,</i> <i>assī, oshī,</i> <i>ashī.</i>		2. <i>azzush̄.</i>	<i>azār.</i>
3. <i>assē, assiā, assā,</i> <i>ass, azs, ezā,</i> <i>azzā, assett ess,</i> <i>essā, ai, asēl.</i>	} 3. <i>hosth, aisht,</i> <i>asht, ai,</i> <i>ista, assēl,</i> <i>etasal, asth.</i>	3. <i>azzī, essi, wōs.</i>	} <i>azzī, or azam-</i> <i>mē.</i>
		<i>n'aisī</i> is commonly used for “was not.”	

IMPERATIVE.

*osh*, be thou.

CONDITIONAL.

Singular.	Plural.
1. <i>ashimbā.</i>	<i>azumishbā.</i>
2. <i>ashībā.</i>	<i>azērbā.</i>
3. <i>azhībā.</i>	<i>azzabā.</i>

After an adjective, the 3rd person singular or plural is often *wai, ā, or zā*; *as, zor wai*, are strong; *spāhī digar ā*, soldiers are bad; *chō manchīzā*, how many men are there?

“Is not” is often rendered *n'ai*.

“This is it,” *īnaz*.

\* Compare the Sanskrit of this tense *asmi, asi, asti, smas, stha, santi*.



INFINITIVE, *busth*, to become.

1. Part. Pres., *būl*.  
 2. „ Past, *butī, bŭtī, bītī, bitī, bissī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>būnam, bunam.</i>	<i>būmish, bumish.</i>
2. <i>būnjī, buch.</i>	<i>būr.</i>
3. * <i>būnn, bonā, būtt, buttett, bosel, būttā, bā, bitto, buttaser.</i>	<i>būnd, bund.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>būlom, bulom.</i>	<i>būmmā.</i>
2. <i>būlosh, bulass.</i>	<i>būlōr.</i>
3. <i>būloh, bulā.</i>	<i>būloh, bulā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>būnazzam, bunazzam.</i>	<i>būnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>būnazzish.</i>	<i>būnazār.</i>
3. <i>būnazzī.</i>	<i>būnazzī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>bā'm.</i>	<i>bāmish.</i>
2. <i>bā'sh, bōsh, bozhā.</i>	<i>bōr.</i>
3. <i>bā.</i>	<i>bā.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>bissium.†</i>	<i>bissiumish.</i>
2. <i>bissish.</i>	<i>bissār.</i>
3. <i>bissī, bistai.</i>	<i>bissī, bistai.</i>

\* Does it become? *botasalā?*  
 It is well, *lesta balā.*

† Also *bosam, bosish*, etc.

8.

IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>bummá.</i>
2. <i>bō.</i>		<i>būr.</i>
3. <i>bā, bá, billiē.</i>		<i>bulā.</i>

9.

CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>bimtā, bulazzambá.</i>		<i>bimistá, bomazzibá.</i>
2. <i>bishtá, bulazzishbá.</i>		<i>bīrdá, bulāzrbá.</i>
3. <i>bittā, bulazzibá, bulazh- bá.</i>		<i>bittā, bulazzibá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *ēsth*, *esth*, or *gūsth*, to go.\*

1. Part. Pres. (?)
2. „ Past, *gītī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ennam, anam, aietam, ettam.</i>	<i>ēmish, ētimish.</i>
2. <i>ēnjē, ētish.</i>	<i>ēr.</i>
3. <i>ann, enn, ettett.</i>	<i>encl, ettett, ettessel.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ēlom, ēlam.</i>	<i>ēmā, ēmish, etimish.</i>
2. <i>enjā, ēlosh.</i>	<i>ēr.</i>
3. <i>ennā, allon, ēlā, ellā, afzio.</i>	<i>ellā, allā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ēnazzam.</i>	<i>ēnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>ēnazzish.</i>	<i>ēnazzār.</i>
3. <i>ēnazzī.</i>	<i>ēnazzē.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>gā'm.</i>	<i>gāmish.</i>
2. <i>gā'sh.</i>	<i>gār.</i>
3. <i>gawā, gūs.</i>	<i>gawā, gyē.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>gūssām.</i>	<i>gūssamish.</i>
2. <i>gūssish.</i>	<i>gūssēr.</i>
3. <i>gūssā.</i>	<i>gūstai.</i>

\* It is believed some of the tenses are derived from *esth* and some from *gūsth*.

8.

IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>ēmá, ūm.</i>
2. <i>prets, ī, iē.</i>		<i>iēr.</i>
3. <i>ellā.</i>		<i>ellā.</i>

9.

CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>gūmbá.</i>		<i>gūmishbá.</i>
2. <i>gūjbá.</i>		<i>gūr<b>ṛ</b>bá.</i>
3. <i>gūbá, gaiebá.</i>		<i>gūbá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *kusth, korusth*, to do or make.

1. Part. Pres., *kul, kaṛōl*.
2. „ Past, *kusth, (?) katī, ktī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kunam, kotam, kaṛōnam,</i> <i>kshām, kom.</i>	<i>kummā.</i>
2. <i>kunjī, kashī, kshonji.</i>	<i>kūr.</i>
3. <i>kunn, kutt, kuttēt, kolann,</i> <i>kōr.</i>	<i>kuttēt, kund.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kulom, kalom, kaṛōlom.</i>	<i>kummā.</i>
2. <i>kulo<sup>sh</sup>.</i>	<i>kūr.</i>
3. <i>kulā.</i>	<i>kulā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kunazzam.</i>	<i>kunazzamī<sup>sh</sup>.</i>
2. <i>kunazzī<sup>sh</sup>.</i>	<i>kunazzār.</i>
3. <i>kunazzī.</i>	<i>kunazzī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. } 2. } <i>kaṛā, kaṛo.</i> 3. }	} <i>kaṛā, kaṛo.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>kṛissā, kṛissī.</i>	<i>kṛissā, kṛissī.</i>
2. <i>kṛissā, kṛī<sup>sh</sup>tai.</i>	<i>kṛissā, kṛī<sup>sh</sup>tai.</i>
3. <i>kṛissā, kṛī<sup>sh</sup>tai.</i>	<i>kṛissā, kṛī<sup>sh</sup>tai.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>kummá.</i>
2. <i>ksh̄.</i>	<i>ksh̄r.</i>
3. <i>kulā.</i>	<i>kulā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>karbá, kulaibá.</i>	<i>kummabá (?)</i> .
2. <i>kulojbá, kunjībá, kshon- jībá.</i>	<i>kurbá (?)</i> .
3. <i>karbá.</i>	<i>kulabá (?)</i> .



INFINITIVE, *mṛisth*, to die.

1. Part. Pres., *mṛl* (?).
2. „ Past, *mṛisth*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mṛēnam, mṛētam, mṛethum.</i>	<i>mṛēmā.</i>
2. <i>mṛenjī.</i>	<i>mṛēṛ.</i>
3. <i>mṛēnn, mṛētt.</i>	<i>mṛend, mṛett.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mṛlom.</i>	<i>mṛēmish.</i>
2. <i>mṛlōsh.</i>	<i>mṛēṛ.</i>
3. <i>mṛlā.</i>	<i>mṛēlā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mṛēnazzam.</i>	<i>mṛēnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>mṛēnazzish.</i>	<i>mṛēnazār.</i>
3. <i>mṛēnazzī.</i>	<i>mṛēnazzī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mṛā'm.</i>	<i>mṛāmish.</i>
2. <i>mṛā'sh.</i>	<i>mṛār.</i>
3. <i>mṛā.</i>	<i>mṛā.</i>

There is also a form *mṛisht azzum*, am dead; remainder as *azzum*. (See page 19.)

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mṛissam.</i>	<i>mṛissamish.</i>
2. <i>mṛissish.</i>	<i>mṛissār.</i>
3. <i>mṛissā.</i>	<i>mṛistai, mṛishtā.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>mṛēmā.</i>
2. <i>mṛē.</i>		<i>mṛēr, mṛē̃r.</i>
3. <i>mṛēlā.</i>		<i>mṛēlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mṛambā.</i>		<i>mṛamizhbā.</i>
2. <i>mṛojbā.</i>		<i>mṛē̃bā.</i>
3. <i>mṛabā.</i>		<i>mṛabā.</i>



INFINITIVE, *mizhōsth*, *mijōsth*, to tell lies.

1. Part. Pres., *mijōl*.
2. „ Past, *mijētī*.

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mizhōnam.</i>	<i>mizhōmish.</i>
2. <i>mizhōnjī.</i>	<i>mizhōr.</i>
3. <i>mizhōnn.</i>	<i>mizhend.</i>

---

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mizhōlam.</i>	<i>mizhōmā.</i>
2. <i>mizhōlash.</i>	<i>mizhōlr.</i>
3. <i>mizhōlī.</i>	<i>mizhōlā.</i>

---

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mizhōnazzam.</i>	<i>mizhōnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>mizhōnazzish.</i>	<i>mizhōnazzār.</i>
3. <i>mizhōnazzī.</i>	<i>mizhōnazzī.</i>

---

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mizhiā'm.</i>	<i>mizhiāmish (?)</i> .
2. <i>mizhiā'sh (?)</i> .	<i>mizhiār.</i>
3. <i>mizhiā.</i>	<i>mizhiā.</i>

---

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>mizhessiam.</i>	<i>mizhessī.</i>
2. <i>mizhessī.</i>	<i>mizhessār.</i>
3. <i>mizhestai.</i>	<i>mizhestai.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>mizh</i> ammá.
2. <i>mizh</i> ō.		<i>mizh</i> ōlār.
3. <i>mizh</i> ōla.		<i>mizh</i> ōlā.

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. } <i>mizh</i> ētān* (?)		} <i>mizh</i> ētān (?)
2. }		
3. }		

\* Probably in the few instances where the termination *tān* is shewn for the Conditional tense, there is also a form ending in *bā*, similar to those shown in the conjugations of *busth*, *esth*, *kusth*, etc.



INFINITIVE, **lushtisth**, to be frost bitten.

1. Part. Pres., *lushtil* (?).
2. „ Past, *lushtītī*.

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>luzhēnam.</i>	<i>luzhēmish.</i>
2. <i>luzhenj.</i>	<i>luzhēr.</i>
3. <i>luzhēnn.</i>	<i>luzhēnd.</i>

---

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>luzhēnēlom.</i>	<i>luzhēlemā.</i>
2. <i>luzhēnēlosh.</i>	<i>luzhēlr.</i>
3. <i>luzhēnellā.</i>	<i>luzhēnellā.</i>

---

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>luzhēnazzam.</i>	<i>luzhēnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>luzhēnazzish.</i>	<i>luzhēnazzār.</i>
3. <i>luzhēnazzī.</i>	<i>luzhēnazzī.</i>

---

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>luzhengam.</i>	<i>luzhengāmish.</i>
2. <i>luzhengash.</i>	<i>luzhengār.</i>
3. <i>luzhengā.</i>	<i>luzhengā.</i>

---

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>luzhengossam.</i>	<i>luzhengossamish.</i>
2. <i>luzhengossish.</i>	<i>luzhengussār.</i>
3. <i>luzhengossā.</i>	<i>luzhengusthai.</i>

---

\* The root is *lusht* or *luzh*, the tenses being formed accordingly.

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>luzhēlemā.</i>
2. <i>lushē.</i>	<i>luzhēlēr.</i>
3. <i>luzhēnellā.</i>	<i>luzhēnellā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>lushtimtān.</i>	<i>lushtemishtān (?)</i> .
2. <i>lushtichtān.</i>	<i>lushtērtān (?)</i> .
3. <i>lushtinntān.</i>	<i>lushtinntān (?)</i> .



INFINITIVE, **nizhisth**, **nishisth**, or **nishisth**, to sit.

1. Part. Pres., *nishīn*, *nishēl*.
2. „ Past, *nishītī*.

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhēnam</i> .	<i>nizhēmish</i> .
2. <i>nizhenj</i> .	<i>nizhēr</i> .
3. <i>nizhēnn</i> .	<i>nizhēnd</i> .

---

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhēlom</i> , <i>nishīlom</i> .	<i>nizhēmā</i> .
2. <i>nizhēlosh</i> .	<i>nizhēlr</i> .
3. <i>nizhēlā</i> .	<i>nizhēlā</i> .

---

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhinazzam</i> .	<i>nizhinazzamish</i> .
2. <i>nizhinazzish</i> .	<i>nizhinazzār</i> .
3. <i>nizhinazzī</i> .	<i>nizhinazzī</i> .

---

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nishiā'm</i> .	<i>nishiāmish</i> .
2. <i>nishiā'sh</i> (?).	<i>nishiā</i> .
3. <i>nishiā</i> , or <i>nishīn azz</i> .	<i>nishiā</i> .

---

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhēnassim</i> .	<i>nizhēnassamish</i> .
2. <i>nizhēnassish</i> .	<i>nizhēnassār</i> .
3. { <i>nizhēnassī</i> .	{ <i>nizhēnassī</i> .
<i>nizhēnistai</i> .	{ <i>nizhēnistai</i> .

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>nizhēmá.</i>
2. <i>nizhē.</i>	<i>nizhēlr.</i>
3. <i>nizhēlā, nizhā.</i>	<i>nizhēlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhēlambá.</i>	<i>nizhēlamishbá.</i>
2. <i>nizhēlazhbá.</i>	<i>nizhēlrbá.</i>
3. <i>nizhēlabá.</i>	<i>nizhēlabá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *piltisth*, to fall.

1. Part. Pres., *piltīl*.
2. „ Past, *piltētī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltēnam.</i>	<i>piltēmā.</i>
2. <i>piltanj.</i>	<i>piltēr.</i>
3. <i>piltann.</i>	<i>piltand.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltīlom.</i>	<i>piltīlēmā.</i>
2. <i>piltīlosh.</i>	<i>piltēlr.</i>
3. <i>piltīlā.</i>	<i>piltīlā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltinassam.</i>	<i>piltinassamish.</i>
2. <i>piltinassish.</i>	<i>piltinassār.</i>
3. <i>piltinassī.</i>	<i>piltinassī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltiā'm.</i>	<i>piltiāmish.</i>
2. <i>piltiā'sh.</i>	<i>piltiār.</i>
3. <i>piltiā.</i>	<i>piltiā.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltissam.</i>	<i>piltissamish.</i>
2. <i>piltissish.</i>	<i>piltissār.</i>
3. <i>piltissī.</i>	{ <i>piltissī,</i> <i>piltistar.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>piltilēmā.</i>
2. <i>piltī.</i>	<i>piltēlār.</i>
3. <i>piltilā.</i>	<i>piltilā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. <i>piltimdān.</i>	<i>piltimishtā</i>
2. <i>piltishtā.</i>	<i>piltīrdā.</i>
3. <i>piltiltā.</i>	<i>piltiltā,</i>



INFINITIVE, *achūnasth*, to run.

1. Part. Pres., *achūnam*.
2. „ Past, *achūndī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>achūnam</i> .	<i>achūnamish</i> .
2. <i>achūnanj</i> .	<i>achūr</i> .
3. <i>achūnann</i> .	<i>achūnand</i> .

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>achūnlom</i> .	<i>achūlammā</i> .
2. <i>achūnlosh</i> .	<i>achūnlr</i> .
3. <i>achūnlā</i> .	<i>achūnlā</i> .

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>achūnazzam</i> .	<i>achūnazzamish</i> .
2. <i>achūnazzish</i> .	<i>achūnazzār</i> .
3. <i>achūnazzī</i> .	<i>achūnazzī</i> .

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>achūniā'm</i> (?).	<i>achūniāmish</i> .
2. <i>achūniā'sh</i> (?).	<i>achūniār</i> .
3. <i>achūniā</i> (?).	<i>achūniā</i> .

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>achūnissam</i> .	<i>achūnissamish</i> .
2. <i>achūnissish</i> .	<i>achūnissār</i> .
3. <i>achūnissī</i> .	<i>achūnissī</i> .

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>achūlammá.</i>
2. <i>achūnō.</i>		<i>achūnlār.</i>
3. <i>achūnlā.</i>		<i>achūnlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>achūnambá.</i>		<i>achūnamishbá.</i>
2. <i>achūnashbá.</i>		<i>achūrbá.</i>
3. <i>achūnabá.</i>		<i>achūnabá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *otisth*,\* *utisth*, to remain.

1. Part. Pres., *otin*, *utin*.
2. „ Past, *otit̄i*, *utt̄i*, † *uttā*.

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>otinam</i> .	<i>otimmish</i> .
2. <i>otinj</i> .	<i>otār</i> .
3. <i>otinn</i> .	<i>otind</i> .

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>otilom</i> .	<i>otimmā</i> , <i>otilammā</i>
2. <i>otilosh</i> .	<i>otilr</i> .
3. <i>otilā</i> .	<i>otilā</i> .

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>otinazzam</i> .	<i>otinazzamish</i> .
2. <i>otinazzish</i> .	<i>otinazzār</i> .
3. <i>otinazzī</i> .	<i>otinazzī</i> .

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>otiniā'm</i> , <i>uttā</i> .	<i>otiniāmish</i> .
2. <i>otiniā'sh</i> .	<i>otīr</i> .
3. <i>otiniā</i> .	<i>otiniā</i> .

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>otinassam</i> .	<i>otinassamish</i> .
2. <i>otinassish</i> .	<i>otinassār</i> .
3. <i>otinassī</i> .	<i>otinassī</i> .

---

\* The first letter throughout the verb is sometimes *u*.

† This is found in the sense of “that which remained; the leavings.”

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>otimmá.</i>
2. <i>otī, otīō.</i>	<i>otīlār.</i>
3. <i>otīlā.</i>	<i>otīlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>otinambá.</i>	<i>otinamizhbá.</i>
2. <i>otinazhbá.</i>	<i>otīrbá.</i>
3. <i>otinabá.</i>	<i>otinabá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *iasth, yosth, yusth, yūsth*, to eat.

1. Part. Pres., *yūl*.
2. „ Past, *yūtī, zhūtī*.

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>yūnam, aietam.</i>	<i>yūmish.</i>
2. <i>yūnjī, yūchī.</i>	<i>yūr.</i>
3. <i>yūnn, yūtt, yūttett.</i>	<i>yūnd, yūtt, yūttett.</i>

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>yūlom.</i>	<i>yūmā.</i>
2. <i>yūlosh.</i>	<i>yūr.</i>
3. <i>yūlā.</i>	<i>yūlā.</i>

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>yūnazzam.*</i>	<i>yūnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>yūnazzish.</i>	<i>yūnazzār.</i>
3. <i>yūnazzī.</i>	<i>yūnazzī.</i>

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>iyā, iārā (?)</i> .	<i>iāramish (?)</i> .
2. <i>iārā.</i>	<i>iār.</i>
3. <i>iārā, iyā, iyāsh.</i>	<i>iārā.</i>

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>iārissam.</i>	<i>iārissamish.</i>
2. <i>iārissish.</i>	<i>iārissār.</i>
3. <i>iārissī.</i>	<i>iārissī.</i>

---

\* In this tense the letter *l* sometimes takes the place of *n* as *yūlazzam*, etc.

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>yūmá.</i>
2. <i>iō, āyū, yō, yū.</i>	<i>yūr.</i>
3. <i>yūlā.</i>	<i>yūlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>yūnambá.</i>	<i>yūmiš<b>h</b>á.</i>
2. <i>yūnjbá.</i>	<i>yūr<b>h</b>á.</i>
3. <i>yūnabá.</i>	<i>yūndabá.</i>



INFINITIVE, **ngūsth**, to take.

1. Part. Pres., *ngal*.
2. „ Past, *ngātī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ngānam</i> .	1. <i>ngāmish</i> .
2. <i>nganj</i> .	2. <i>ngār</i> .
3. <i>ngann, ngatt</i> .	3. <i>ngand</i> .

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ngālom</i> .	1. <i>ngāmá</i> .
2. <i>ngālosh</i> .	2. <i>ngālr</i> .
3. <i>ngālā</i> .	3. <i>ngālā</i> .

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ngānazzam</i> .	1. <i>ngānazzamish</i> .
2. <i>ngānazzish</i> .	2. <i>ngānazzār</i> .
3. <i>ngānazzī</i> .	3. <i>ngānazzī</i> .

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ngūtā'm</i> .	1. <i>ngūtāmish</i> .
2. <i>ngūtā'sh</i> .	2. <i>ngūtār</i> .
3. <i>ngūtā</i> .	3. <i>ngūtā</i> .

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ngūtūssam</i> .	1. <i>ngūtūssamish</i> .
2. <i>ngūtūssish</i> .	2. <i>ngūtūssār</i> .
3. <i>ngūtūssī, ngūtastai</i> .	3. <i>ngūtūssī, ngūtastai</i> .

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>ngāmá.</i>
2. <i>ngā.</i>		<i>ngār.</i>
3. <i>ngālā.</i>		<i>ngālā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ngūtambá (?)</i> .		<i>ngāmabá (?)</i> .
2. <i>ngūllazzibá (?)</i> .		<i>ngālrábá (?)</i> .
3. <i>ngūtabá.</i>		<i>ngūtabá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *prēsth*, to give.

1. Part. Pres., *prēl* (?).
2. „ Past, *prētī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>prēnam.</i>	<i>prēmá.</i>
2. <i>prēnjī.</i>	<i>prē̃r.</i>
3. <i>prētt, prēnn.</i>	<i>prēnd.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>prēlom, prōm.</i>	<i>prēmá.</i>
2. <i>prēlosh.</i>	<i>prē̃l̃r̃.</i>
3. <i>prēlā.</i>	<i>prēlā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>prēnazzam.</i>	<i>prēnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>prēnazzish.</i>	<i>prēnazzār.</i>
3. <i>prēnazzī.</i>	<i>prēnazzī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ptā'm.</i>	<i>ptāmish.</i>
2. <i>ptā'sh.</i>	<i>ptār.</i>
3. <i>ptā.</i>	<i>ptā.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>ptāssiam.</i>	<i>ptāssamish.</i>
2. <i>ptāssish.</i>	<i>ptāssār.</i>
3. <i>ptāssī, ptustai.</i>	<i>ptāssī, ptustai.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>prēmá.</i>
2. <i>prē.</i>	<i>prēlr.</i>
3. <i>prēlā.</i>	<i>prēlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>prēlombá.</i>	<i>prēlomishbá.</i>
2. <i>prēloshbá.</i>	<i>prēlōrbá.</i>
3. <i>prēlābá.</i>	<i>prēlābá.</i>



INFINITIVE, *awēsth*, to bring, to take.

1. Part. Pres., *awēl*.
2. ,, Past, *awītī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>awēnom, awētum.</i>	<i>awēmish.</i>
2. <i>awēnj.</i>	<i>awēr.</i>
3. <i>awēnn, awētt.</i>	<i>awēnd, awēttett.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>awēm, awēlom.</i>	<i>awēmá.</i>
2. <i>awēlosh.</i>	<i>awēlr.</i>
3. <i>awēlā.</i>	<i>awēlā, awēttett.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>awēnazzam.</i>	<i>awēnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>awēnazzish.</i>	<i>awenazzār.</i>
3. <i>awēnazzī.</i>	<i>awēnazzī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>awērā'm.*</i>	<i>awērāmish (?).</i>
2. <i>awērā'sh.</i>	<i>awērār (?).</i>
3. <i>awērā, awaristhai.</i>	<i>awērā, awaristhai.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>awarissam.</i>	<i>awarissamish (?).</i>
2. <i>awarissish.</i>	<i>awarissār (?).</i>
3. <i>awarissī.</i>	<i>awarissī.</i>

\* *Awēra* or *arwara*, and pluperfect *awarissam* or *arwarissam*.

## 8. IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>awēmā.</i>
2. <i>giats, gats.</i>	<i>gatsār.</i>
3. <i>awēlā.</i>	<i>awēlā.</i>

## 9. CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>awarāmbā.</i>	<i>awarāmi<sup>h</sup>bā.</i>
2. <i>awarījbā.</i>	<i>awarē<sup>r</sup>rbā (?).</i>
3. <i>awarābā.</i>	<i>awarābā.</i>



INFINITIVE, **amjisth**, to put on clothes.

1. Part. Pres., *amjil*.
2. „ Past, *amjītī*.

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>amjinam.</i>	<i>amjimish.</i>
2. <i>amjinj.</i>	<i>amjīr.</i>
3. <i>amjitt, amjinn.</i>	<i>amjind.</i>

---

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>amjilom.</i>	<i>amjimā.</i>
2. <i>amjilosh.</i>	<i>amjīlr.</i>
3. <i>amjilā.</i>	<i>amjilā.</i>

---

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>amjinazzam.</i>	<i>amjinazzamish.</i>
2. <i>amjinazzish.</i>	<i>amjinazzār.</i>
3. <i>amjinazzī.</i>	<i>amjinazzī.</i>

---

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>amjiā'm.</i>	<i>amjiāmish.</i>
2. <i>amjiā'sh.</i>	<i>amjiār.</i>
3. <i>amjiā.</i>	<i>amjiā.</i>

---

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>amjissim.</i>	<i>amjissimish.</i>
2. <i>amjissish.</i>	<i>amjissār.</i>
3. <i>amjissī, amjistai.</i>	<i>amjissī, amjistai.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>amjimmá.</i>
2. <i>amjū.</i>		<i>amjīlār.</i>
3. <i>amjīlā.</i>		<i>amjīlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>amjilambá.</i>		<i>amajimmabá</i>
2. <i>amjīloshbá.</i>		<i>amjīlrbá,</i>
3. <i>amjilabá.</i>		<i>amjilabá.</i>



INFINITIVE, **pshīsth**, to grind.

1. Part. Pres., *pshīl* (?).
2. „ Past, *pshītī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>pshīnam.</i>	<i>pshīmish.</i>
2. <i>pshīnj.</i>	<i>pshīr.</i>
3. <i>pshīnn.</i>	<i>pshīnd.</i>

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>pshīlom.</i>	<i>pshīmá.</i>
2. <i>pshīlosh.</i>	<i>pshīlr.</i>
3. <i>pshīlā.</i>	<i>pshīlā.</i>

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>pshīnazzam.</i>	<i>pshīnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>pshīnazzish.</i>	<i>pshīnazzār.</i>
3. <i>pshīnazzī.</i>	<i>pshīnazzī.</i>

## 6. Past Indefinite --

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>pshā'm.</i>	<i>pshāmish.</i>
2. <i>pshā'sh.</i>	<i>pshār.</i>
3. <i>pshā.</i>	<i>pshā.</i>

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>pshīssam.</i>	<i>pshīssamish.</i>
2. <i>pshīssish.</i>	<i>pshīssār.</i>
3. <i>pshīssi.</i>	<i>pshīssi.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>pshīmá.</i>
2. <i>pshī.</i>		<i>pshīlār.</i>
3. <i>pshīlā.</i>		<i>pshīlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>pshīnambá.</i>		<i>pshīmishbá.</i>
2. <i>pshīshbá (?)</i>		<i>pshīrbá.</i>
3. <i>pshībá.</i>		<i>pshībá.</i>



INFINITIVE, **wisth**, or **visth**, to beat.

1. Part. Pres., *wīl*.
2. „ Past, *wītī*.

## INDICATIVE.

## 3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>winom</i> .		<i>wimish</i> .
2. <i>wich, winj</i> .		<i>wīr</i> .
3. <i>winn, witt</i> .		<i>wind</i> .

## 4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>wilom</i> .		<i>wimā</i> .
2. <i>wilosh</i> .		<i>wilōr</i> .
3. <i>wilā</i> .		<i>wilā</i> .

## 5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>winazzam</i> .		<i>winazzamish</i> .
2. <i>winazzish</i> .		<i>winazzār</i> .
3. <i>winazzī</i> .		<i>winazzī</i> .

## 6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>winā'm</i> .		<i>wināmish</i> .
2. <i>winā'sh</i> .		<i>winār</i> .
3. <i>winā</i> .		<i>winā</i> .

## 7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>winossam</i> .		<i>winossamish</i> .
2. <i>winossish</i> .		<i>winossār</i> .
3. <i>winossī</i> .		<i>winossī</i> .

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>wimâ.</i>
2. <i>wî.</i>	<i>wilôr.</i>
3. <i>wilâ.</i>	<i>wilâ.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>winambâ.</i>	<i>winamishbâ (?)</i> .
2. <i>winoshbâ.</i>	<i>wîrbâ (?)</i> .
3. <i>winabâ.</i>	<i>winabâ.</i>



INFINITIVE, **nizhōsth**, to cause to sit; to set.

1. Part. Pres., *nizhōl* (?).
2. ,, Past, *nizhōti* (?).

---

INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhōnam.</i>		<i>nizhōmish.</i>
2. <i>nizhōnj.</i>		<i>nizhōr.</i>
3. <i>nizhōnn.</i>		<i>nizhōnd.</i>

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4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhōlom.</i>		<i>nizhōlmá.</i>
2. <i>nizhōlosh.</i>		<i>nizhōlr.</i>
3. <i>nizhōlā.</i>		<i>nizhōlā.</i>

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5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhōnazzam.</i>		<i>nizhōnazzamish.</i>
2. <i>nizhōnazzish.</i>		<i>nizhōnazzār.</i>
3. <i>nizhōnazzī.</i>		<i>nizhōnazzī.</i>

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6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nishēā'm.</i>		<i>nishēāmish</i> (?).
2. <i>nishēā'sh.</i>		<i>nishēr.</i>
3. <i>nishēā.</i>		<i>nishēā.</i>

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7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhōnassam.</i>		<i>nizhōnassamish.</i>
2. <i>nizhōnassish.</i>		<i>nizhōnassār.</i>
3. <i>nizhōnassī.</i>		<i>nizhōnassī.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1.	<i>nizhāmmá.</i>
2. <i>nizhāō.</i>	<i>nizhōr.</i>
3. <i>nizhālā.</i>	<i>nizhālā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>nizhālezambá.</i>	<i>nizhālazamishbá.</i>
2. <i>nizhālezishbá.</i>	<i>nizhālezr̃bá.</i>
3. <i>nizhālezibá.</i>	<i>nizhālezibá.</i>



INFINITIVE, **piltōsth**, to cause to fall; throw down.

1. Part. Pres., *piltōl* (?).
2. „ Past, *pilteīti*.

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INDICATIVE.

3. Present—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltōnam.</i>		<i>piltōmá.</i>
2. <i>piltōnanj.</i>		<i>piltōr̃.</i>
3. <i>piltōnn.</i>		<i>piltōnd.</i>

4. Future—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltōlom.</i>		<i>piltōlemmá.</i>
2. <i>piltōlosh.</i>		<i>piltōlōr̃.</i>
3. <i>piltōlā.</i>		<i>piltōlā.</i>

5. Imperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltōnassam.</i>		<i>piltōnassamish.</i>
2. <i>piltōnassish.</i>		<i>piltōnassār.</i>
3. <i>piltōnassī.</i>		<i>piltōnassī.</i>

6. Past Indefinite—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltēā'm.</i>		<i>piltēāmish.</i>
2. <i>piltēā'sh.</i>		<i>piltēār.</i>
3. <i>piltēā.</i>		<i>piltēā.</i>

7. Pluperfect—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltōssum.</i>		<i>piltōssumish.</i>
2. <i>piltōssish.</i>		<i>piltōssār.</i>
3. <i>piltōssī, piltōstai.</i>		<i>piltōssī, piltōstai.</i>

8.

## IMPERATIVE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1.		<i>piltōmmá.</i>
2. <i>piltāō.</i>		<i>piltōlār.</i>
3. <i>piltōlā.</i>		<i>piltōlā.</i>

9.

## CONDITIONAL.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
1. <i>piltōmbá.</i>		<i>piltōmabá (?)</i> .
2. <i>piltōshbá.</i>		<i>piltōrbá (?)</i> .
3. <i>piltōbá.</i>		<i>piltōlabá (?)</i> .



55. The following are some forms of a defective or irregular verb **aōsth**, to come :—

having come,	<i>att̄.</i>	Imperative,	<i>ats</i>
it comes or	} <i>afziā.</i>	come,	} <i>pr̄ets.</i>
will come,		if you come,	<i>anj̄bā.</i>
he comes,	<i>ann, awettett.</i>	we are coming	} <i>atsomā.</i>
I came,	<i>aiyōsam.</i>	or will come,	
thou camest,	<i>aiyōsh, osh, hāu.</i>	they come,	<i>att̄ett.</i>
he came,	} <i>aiyo, ozz,</i> <i>ess, adsā,</i> <i>afziā.</i>	they have	} <i>afziā, osth,</i> <i>osthai,</i> <i>âyū.</i>
		come,	

56. "To be able," **busth**, is used by adding it to the root of a verb, supplemented by a letter for euphony if desired, as, to catch, *damisth*; I cannot catch, *dam-en na battam.*

I cannot enter,	<i>en na battam.</i>
I cannot pull,	<i>kshon na battam.</i>
you cannot run,	<i>achūn na banj.</i>
you can kill,	<i>jār bachā.</i>
he cannot make,	<i>kon n'buttett.</i>
thou wilt not be able to go,	<i>n'pā balosh.</i>
I cannot go,	<i>n'iam banam.</i>
he cannot go,	<i>pilingēn na batt.</i>
we cannot see,	<i>emā wār n'bammā.</i>

57. "To have" is rendered thus: I have two horses, to me two horses are, *iā dū ūshp asht*. A form *wās*, "has," is sometimes heard, as *tapak wās*, he has a gun; *dush n'wāsam*, I have no blame. This word has many parts which seem to come from an infinitive *wāsth*.

## PASSIVE.

58. The passive form of the verb is not very often used. The following are samples :—

My arm is broken,	<i>iã duĩ peṭangwā.</i>
The stick is broken,	<i>mãrĩ peṭongĩ.</i>
My ankle is broken,	<i>grik peṭangūs.</i>
The bow is broken,	<i>drōn peṭangūs.</i>
The bridge is broken,	<i>sū peṭangess.</i>
My saddle will be broken,	<i>zĩn peṭang ellā.</i>
The leg will be broken,	<i>nanden peṭanlā.</i>
I am beaten,	<i>ōts vina vina karessam.</i>
Thou wilt be beaten,	<i>tu vinagan ungalosh.</i>
He would have been beaten,	<i>ika vinagan ungalazĩ.</i>
We have been beaten,	<i>emã vinagan ungutussĩ.</i>
Grass is eaten up,	<i>yūs yūti laga biss.</i>
You will be killed,	<i>shã jãra elār.</i>
He was killed,	<i>aska jãra gwā.</i>
Ten soldiers were killed,	<i>duts spāhĩ tapã gwā.</i>

The last eight of the above were obtained by Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān.



## (VI) INDECLINABLES.

59.		ADVERBS OF TIME.	
afterwards,	{ <i>ptior</i> , <i>ptiwar</i> , <i>ptibar</i> , or <i>pāmē</i> .	hitherto,	<i>starak wīk</i> .
all together,	<i>ē wōr</i> .	immediately,	<i>sapp</i> , <i>zapp</i> .
always,	<i>parē wōr</i> .	last year,	<i>pō</i> , <i>pō sē</i> .
at any time,	<i>kai wōs tā̃</i> .	late,	<i>drē</i> .
at last,	<i>pēlik</i> .	never,	<i>kū̃i na</i> .
at what time ?	<i>kõi ?</i>	once,	<i>ē wōr</i> .
back again,	<i>dī</i> , <i>wā</i> .	rarely,	<i>achok wōktā</i> .
before,	<i>shaiyē</i> .	separate,	{ <i>kūrē̃ kūrē̃</i> , <i>kūrē̃</i> <i>kūrē̃</i> , <i>yo nirikē̃</i> .
by night,	<i>radar</i> .	since when ?	<i>kũi stē ?</i>
daily,	<i>sang gujr</i> .	some day or	} <i>kũi wōs tā̃</i> .
day after to- morrow,	} <i>attrī</i> .	another,	
day before yesterday,		} <i>nottrē</i> .	sometimes,
each day ; daily ; in a day,	} <i>eo gujrē̃</i> .		soon,
early, or soon,		} <i>shangyē</i> .	ten times,
early morning,	} <i>kuiā̃</i> .		to-day,
ever,		} <i>kũi</i> , <i>kũi wōs tā̃</i> .	to-morrow,
formerly,	} <i>shangyē zamā-</i> <i>na tā̃</i> .		twice,
henceforth,		} <i>pāmū</i> .	two days hence,
			when ?
		yesterday,	<i>dūs</i> , <i>dus</i> .

60.		ADVERBS OF PLACE.	
anywhere,	<i>kōr</i> .	in front of,	<i>nirgō</i> .
around,	<i>p'banūr</i> .	here,	<i>anī</i> , <i>anic</i> .
back,	<i>wā</i> .	high up,	<i>chīr</i> .
back again,	<i>dī</i> .	inside,	<i>attēr</i> .
down hill,	<i>brūlē</i> , <i>buru</i> .	low down (a valley),	} <i>nīr</i> .
down stream,	<i>vinrēnī</i> .	near,	
downwards,	<i>wār</i> , <i>wao</i> , <i>yūr</i> .	outside,	<i>baṛ</i> , <i>berū̃</i> .
far,	<i>badūr</i> .	somewhere,	<i>kōr</i> .
in front,	{ <i>panoī</i> , <i>nashtar-</i> <i>wāi</i> .		

on this side (of a river, etc.),	} $\tilde{v}r.$	there,	<i>akī, akīyē, hatt.</i>
on that (the far) side (of a river, etc.),	} $p\tilde{e}r.$	up hill,	<i>atōre.</i>
this way,	<i>inā pōr, anī pōr.</i>	up to,	<i>katī.</i>
that way,	<i>akī pōr.</i>	whence,	<i>kōr stē.</i>
		whereabouts,	<i>kett.</i>
		which way ?	<i>korār ?</i>

61. ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS OF QUANTITY.

how much ?	<i>chī, chok, chuk.</i>	very	{ <i>bilūgh, bilugh,</i> <i>bīlūk.</i>
this much,	<i>igiak.</i>	to a small extent,	<i>achok.</i>
so many,	<i>azhik.</i>		
so much,	<i>azhisto.</i>		

62. ADVERBS OF SIMILITUDE.

aloud,	<i>kāgrē.</i>	separately,	{ <i>kūr kūr, kūr</i> <i>kūr.</i>
certainly,	<i>buasht.</i>	somewhat, a	} <i>achok.</i>
even,	<i>dī.</i>	little,	
forcibly,	<i>kartē.</i>	slowly, by stealth,	<i>chillē.</i>
for nothing,	<i>giā, gijā.</i>	surely,	<i>nashtontī.</i>
how ?	<i>kaikotē, kāktī ?</i>	therefore,	<i>ikiē dugā.</i>
like this,	<i>ajik.</i>	verily,	<i>buasht.</i>
like to,	{ <i>agyūr, purst,</i> <i>agūr.</i>	violently,	<i>kōtē, kartē.</i>
loudly,	<i>kotē.</i>	well,	<i>lē, lesstaka.</i>
not,	<i>na, nā, noh.</i>	wherefore ?	<i>kai dugā ?</i>
otherwise,	<i>giā.</i>	why ?	{ <i>kyē, kai dū,</i> <i>kyū, kaikotē ?</i>
perhaps,	<i>shtalē, ingol kā.</i>		

63. POST-POSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONS.

after,	{ <i>ptiwar, ptior,</i> <i>tibar.</i>	behind,	(see "after.")
around,	<i>pachūr, p'banūr.</i>	between,	<i>p'minj, p'mich.</i>
at the time of (going),	} ( <i>piliang</i> ) <i>tā.</i>	beyond,	<i>pār.</i>
before,		<i>p'miōk.</i>	by, in act of,
		by reason of,	<i>tā.</i>
		in front of (thee),	( <i>tū</i> ) <i>p'nishar.</i>



POST-POSITIONS AND PREPOSITIONS—*continued.*

for sake of,	{	<i>dugā</i> , sometimes	of,	<i>tā̃</i> .*
		pronounced very rapidly like <i>tikā̃</i> , <i>kā̃</i> , <i>gā̃</i> ; sometimes <i>ā</i> is used as a suffix to Infinitives as <i>yusthā</i> , for sake of eating.		on,
from,	{	<i>stē</i> , <i>ste</i> , <i>stē̃</i> .	on account of,	<i>tā̃</i> .
		<i>b</i> as a prefix, as <i>b'bhīm</i> , in the ground; or <i>p'</i> or <i>pa</i> ; <i>tā̃</i> ; suffix <i>ē</i> ; <i>mē̃</i> , <i>mī̃</i> .	outside of,	<i>bē</i> , <i>begū</i> , <i>berū</i> , <i>bar</i> .
in,	{	<i>p'mijhū</i> .	together with,	<i>tā̃</i> .
			towards,	<i>pōr</i> , <i>ba</i> (as a prefix).
in midst of,	{	<i>piōl</i> .	under,	<i>pagiōr</i> , <i>pagūr</i> .
			instead of,	<i>wīk</i> .
near to,	{	<i>chiwōl</i> , <i>tawarē̃ tā̃</i> .	upon,	<i>pagūr</i> , <i>tā̃</i> .
			up to,	<i>wīk</i> .
			with (in company),	{ <i>mē̃sh</i> , <i>mīsh</i> .
			with (by means of),	{ <i>wārē̃</i> , <i>wṛā̃</i> , <i>wṛē̃</i> .
			with (by means of),	{ <i>mēsh</i> , <i>mīsh</i> , <i>mēsh</i> .

64.

## CONJUNCTIONS, ETCETERA.

The Kāfirs appear to dispense with conjunctions as much as possible. The construction of the language avoids them. Some seem borrowed from the Chitrālī.

also,	}	<i>dī</i> .
even,		
and,		<i>ojē</i> ; <i>jē</i> .
not,		<i>nā</i> , <i>na</i> , <i>naī</i> , <i>noh</i> .
if,		<i>ka</i> .
otherwise,		<i>ka-na</i> .
or,		<i>te</i> .

yes. Although in an affirmative reply to such a question as "Has Widing come?", "yes" is sometimes rendered by the Chitrālī word "*dī*," it is usual to reply "He has come" or "Widing has come."

\* The post-position *tā̃* is sometimes *tā* or *tār*.

65.

## INTERJECTIONS.

Movements of the hands, etc., are very largely used to express feelings of surprise, annoyance, etc.

alas,	{	<i>hai hai,</i>	for shame,	<i>thū thū.</i>
		<i>uterestā.</i>	have a care,	<i>tarāchī bo.</i>
be silent,		<i>chūsh̄t osh̄.</i>	it is well;	} <i>lesstā balā.</i>
bravo,		<i>shamash̄.</i>	all right.	
good-bye and	}	<i>so enjī.</i>		
good luck,				

66.

## (VII) NUMERALS.

## CARDINALS.

1. <i>ē, eo, yu, yō.</i>	19. <i>nēits.</i>
2. <i>dū, duī.</i>	20. <i>witsī, watsa.</i>
3. <i>trē.</i>	21. <i>witsī eo.</i>
4. <i>sh̄to.</i>	30. <i>witsa duts.</i>
5. <i>puch, pōch, pōj.</i>	40. <i>du witsī.*</i>
6. <i>shu.</i>	50. <i>du witsī duts.</i>
7. <i>sutt.</i>	60. <i>trē witsī.</i>
8. <i>ush̄t.</i>	70. <i>trē witsī duts.</i>
9. <i>non.</i>	80. <i>sh̄to witsī.†</i>
10. <i>duts, dots.</i>	90. <i>sh̄to witsī duts.</i>
11. <i>yanits.</i>	100. { <i>pōch witsī, but sometimes</i>
12. <i>dits.</i>	{ <i>sh̄er is used.</i>
13. <i>trits.</i>	200. <i>duts witsī.</i>
14. <i>sh̄trits.</i>	300. <i>pachits witsī.</i>
15. <i>pachits.</i>	400. <i>azār.</i>
16. <i>shets.</i>	1000. { <i>diu azār je duts witsī</i>
17. <i>sapits.</i>	{ <i>(sometimes azār is used).</i>
18. <i>ashtits.</i>	2000. <i>puch azār.</i>

The Kāfirs, it will be seen, like the tribes of the Russian Caucasus, count by twenties.† Sir George Robertson informs me that, in the high figures, their counting is not only very rapid but remarkably accurate, in spite of the apparent drawback.

\* The following numerals, differing from the above, are in the Collection of the Reverend Worthington Jukes, viz., 40, *dust*; 50, *twā dits*; 60, *chatwāts*; 70, *pachwāts*; 80, *shotsa*; 90, *sudat*; 100, *huzhuts*.

Note a French similarity "quatre vingt."



## ORDINALS.

67. The Ordinals are formed thus :—

<i>panishr</i> ,	first.	<i>wits̄ ptiwar</i> , (?)	twentieth.
<i>panishr stē ptibar</i> , (?)	second.	<i>pōch wits̄ ptiwar</i> , (?)	hundredth.
<i>trē ptiwar</i> , (?)	third.		

68. Duplication is expressed thus :—

<i>dū ē pōr</i> ,	two-fold.	<i>duts ē pōr</i> ,	ten-fold.
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69. Distributive Numerals :—

<i>yo narik</i> ,	} one by one.	<i>yo trā trē</i> ,	three by three.
<i>yo kūrē</i> ,			
<i>yō dodun</i> ,	two by two.	<i>yō chashton</i> ,	four by four.

70. Fractions, etc.—

<i>chillai</i> ,	quarter.	<i>tinch</i> ,	half.
	<i>erangst</i> ,		a pair.

## (VIII) MISCELLANEOUS.

71. The following are some of the ordinary weights and measurements :—

<i>manna</i> ,	2½ seers, (5 lbs.)	<i>ē dusht</i> ,	{ elbow to end of
<i>kazhē</i> ,	15 „ (30 lbs.)		middle finger.
<i>sh̄to kazhē</i> ,	60 „ (120 lbs.)	<i>ē giats</i> ,	neck to ditto.
<i>drisht</i> ,	span.	<i>ē lambar</i>	{ from shoulder to
<i>maro dusht</i> ,	{ elbow to end of		ditto.
	clenched fist.	<i>ē potten</i> ,	a pace.

72. The following are divisions of the day :—

<i>gūrūm ettā</i> ,	{ cock crow,	<i>radhar (rōtar)</i>	} midnight.
	dawn.	<i>brābar</i> ,	
<i>ruch bā</i> ,	daylight.	<i>grish̄ painjē</i> ,	{ from 3 P.M.
			till evening.

<i>sū ptī,</i>	{ time of the sun's appearance.	<i>sū chunzlī,</i>	sunrise.
<i>yazhī-wēl,</i>		morning.	{ evening twilight, sun-down.
<i>grish-bā,</i>	noon.	<i>patramjuk,</i>	
<i>sū tsāwen bibā,</i>	{ sunset.		
<i>sū puēlī,</i>			

73. CARDINAL POINTS.

North,	{ (no word, unless "to- wards the Great Bear," <i>prusht pōr,</i> is used).	East, sunrise way,	<i>sū chunzlī pōr.</i>
		West, sunset way,	{ <i>sū puēlī pōr,</i> <i>sū puesth pōr,</i> <i>sū puettan pōr.</i>
South,	(no word).		

74. The following information is given by the Reverend Worthington Jukes :—

DAYS OF THE WEEK.

<i>dilkār,</i>	Sunday.	<i>sawer wasa,</i>	Wednesday.
<i>shpah,</i>	Monday.	<i>namāch wasā,</i>	Thursday.
<i>attrī,</i>	Tuesday.	<i>agar,</i>	Friday.
	<i>sād wasā,</i>		Saturday.

THE MONTHS.

There are twenty days in a month, and eighteen months (360 \* days) in a year.

<i>nilon,</i>	1st month of a year.
<i>shūt,</i>	2nd ditto.
?	3rd ditto.
<i>palrāna,</i>	4th ditto.
<i>badi pāsha,</i>	5th ditto.
<i>karīna,</i>	6th ditto.
<i>nakīrwa,</i>	7th ditto.
<i>mālā,</i>	8th ditto.
<i>wāgcha,</i>	9th ditto.

\* Mr. C. Rose, after making enquiries, says there are 380 days in a year, viz., 200 summer days and 180 winter days. There are seven days in a week, and Friday is a day of rest.



THE MONTHS—*continued.*

<i>wariān sherwa,</i>	10th	month of a year.
<i>ses kra,</i>	11th	ditto.
<i>wutsa satkiya,</i>	12th	ditto.
<i>aiyo,</i>	13th	ditto.
<i>mār wāra,</i>	14th	ditto.
<i>drīn,</i>	15th	ditto.
<i>mansia, (?)</i>	16th	ditto.
<i>do mansia, (?)</i>	17th	ditto.
<i>watta,</i>	18th	ditto.

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## SENTENCES.

## ENGLISH-BASHGALĪ.

## A

1. He is a very *able* man. *Ikā̄ \* biliuk damtōl manchī ess.*
2. Chitrāl is *above* Brōz (*i.e.*, up stream). *Shdrāl Brōza tā̄ chīr ess.*
3. By an *accident* Mirak's gun went off and Basti was hit. Basti died. It was not by design that Mirak killed Basti. *Mīrak tapak bējaṛ bar odsī Basti tā̄ preptī. Basti maṛā. Mīrak tinj bitī Basti n'jāriā.*
4. My whole body *aches* much. I cannot go. *Iās sundī jitt bilugh bradzott. N'pā banom.*
5. The Chār wēlo also says his head *aches*. *Chār wēlī dī iās shai bradzott kutt.*
6. This year all the fruit is *acid*. *Inā sē sundī kazhwaj cheno a<sub>sh</sub>t.*
7. The dog is *across* the river. *Kūrī poh pēr's.*
8. My horse is very *active*. *Iā̄ ushp bilugh damtōl ess.*
9. This egg is *addled*. *Inā aikūn (azhā) pak<sub>kh</sub>hēl biss.*
10. By going there what *advantage* is there ? *Akī gusthā kai ōd bā ?*
11. That man's *advice* is not good. *Ikā̄ manchī varī less n'ess.*
12. My father is a good man: his *advice* is good. *Iā̄ tott. le manchī ess: ikī varī less.*
13. Break this wood with an *adze*. *Inā dār woshī mēsh peṭṭ.*
14. Come *after* me. *Iā̄ ptiōr (ptiwar, or tibar) ats.*
15. Come *after* five days. *Pōch wōs ptiwar ats.*
16. We three will go *after* four days. *Emā troi manchī sh<sub>h</sub>to wōs ptiwar ēmish.*
17. Stay here. Come *after* ten days. *Anīo nishē. Duts wōs ptiwar ats.*
18. In the *early afternoon* (noon to 3 P.M.) it is very hot: in the *late afternoon* (3 P.M. to evening) it is cool. *Grishbō bilugh tapī ess: grish-painjī shillā bā.*

\* As Kāfirs use the fewest possible words to express their meaning, they would, in talking to one another, omit many of the pronouns and post-positions which have been given in these sentences.



19. What is your father's *age*? *Tōtta tã chok sē bissā ?*
20. My father is considerably *aged*. *Iã tōtt bilūgh manjar ess.*
21. To *agree* to my words is good for you. *Iã warī wagā : tū lestabalā.*
22. *Agriculture* is good for man. *Ptul kudūm karbo manchī lesta-balā.*
23. I have no *ailment*. *Iā bradzo n'assum.*
24. My father has no *ailment*. *Iã tōttia kai bradzo nēss.*
25. Silence ! my brother is *aiming*. *Chūsht ōshī ! iã brá topik damitt.*
26. To-day the *air* is cold. *Psh̄tarak (sh̄tarak or sh̄tak) dumish-tatt : sh̄il bā.*
27. In my valley to-day there is no *air*. *Emā b'gul sh̄tarak dumī n'ish̄tatt.*
28. *Alas!* my son is dead. *Hai hai ! iã piṭr marā.*
29. That sepoy is very *alert*. *Inā spāhī bilugh damtōl ess.*
30. This is the place where ducks *alight*. *Jallai amnī nish̄tett.*
31. *All* my horses have died. *Iã ushp sang marā.*
32. *All* we will go. *Emā sang emish.*
33. *All* the men have gone. *Manchī sang gawā.*
34. On that hill there is *always* snow. *Askē badō sundī zīm ess.*
35. The Mehtar *allowed* it. *Mehr manchīē varī damitt.*
36. Do you *allow* me to depart ? *Iã purugul bosellā ?*
37. I, having paid my respects to the Mehtar, am *allowed* (have got my leave) to depart, and am going. *Mehr salām gaitī ēlom : purū grosam.*
38. Are you going *alone* ; or does your brother go with you ? *Tū parkī afzōshā ; tū brá dī afzio ?*
39. My son will *also* go. *Iã piṭr dī afzio.*
40. I don't walk : I *always* ride. *Ōts pottm n'aietam : sang ushp mēsh ēlom.*
41. This is *amazing* work. *Inā kudūm lē varī ass.*
42. *Among* them one is a thief. *Amnio p'mīch eo sh̄tār ess.*
43. To be *angry* is not good, *Mash̄ikr boh less noh.*

44. Don't be *angry*: I will give you bread. *Tū kabā na bō: ōts burī prēlom.*
45. Yesterday my father became very *angry*. *Dus tōtt bilugh mashoghott.*
46. If you go, I will be *angry*. *Tū gujbā iā burubiz bolam.*
47. I won't go: don't be *angry*. *Ne ēlom: burubiz n'kshl.*
48. My brother has gone: my father is very *angry*. *Iā brā gwā: iā tōtt bilugh burubiz kutt.*
49. My *ankle* is broken. *Iā grik prētangess.*
50. My brother has not come: another man has come. *Iās brā n'aiyo: ē var manchī aiyo.*
51. When he asked me, what *answer* gavest thou? *Inā kuttātom tū kā walach?*
52. I gave *answer* "I am sick" (my body aches), moreover I *answered* "Thou liest." *O waliosam "jitt bradzōt."*  
*Ō walatom "tū larich."*
53. Here there are many *ants*. *Amnī gū lē asht.*
54. In winter *ants* don't bite. *Zawōr gū n'chagōtitt.*
55. In spring *ants* bite much. *Wizdōr-gū bilugh chagōtitt.*
56. There are verily *ants*; but they don't bite. *Amnī buasht gū asht; n'chagōtett.*
57. I am very *anxious*; my father must die. *Ots wūshātātum; tōtt marett.*
58. Is there (*any*) *bhūsa* (chopped straw) there? *Hatt tūs assā?*
59. Come here *apart*. *Anī parkiē ats.*
60. Does the enemy *appear*? *Mashūbata warantam?*
61. This *apple* is sweet. *Inā parṛ aruz ess.*
62. How many men *are* there in this village? *Inām bagrām cho manchīzā?*
63. The Afghān soldiers *are* bad. *Aoghānī spāhī digarā.*
64. Why *are* they bad? *Kyū digar essā?*
65. This year *apricots are* sour. *Inā sē sarren chinai bā.*
66. My *lower arm* is broken. *Iā dūi pētangawā.*
67. On my *upper arm* is a boil. *Iāst gotrā tā pōnduk bā.*
68. In my *armpit* is a boil. *Iāst kachkarā pōnduk bā.*
69. In the Afghān *army* there are a hundred men. *Aoghānī sain pōnj watsa manchī essā.*



70. Walk up and down *around* my house. *Inā p'amū barēla palgā.*
71. The dog keeps watch *around* my house. *Krūi inā p'amū palangett.*
72. Bring my bow and *arrow*. *Iāst drōn shūr giats.*
73. If you eat *arsenic*, you will die. *Skā yūlosh mrlosh.*
74. *Ascertain* : have the coolies come ? *Aīshkshī : barwai awettett ?*
75. I have *ascertained* : the coolies have not come. *Aīsh krā : barwai n'afziā.*
76. Go to that house ; *ascertain* well. *Ikiā p'amū wigī aīsh kshī.*
77. The *mountain-ash* wood is strong. *Tūr dār dang ess.*
78. Take away the fire *ashes*. *Ango tā assā gaiē.*
79. Bring so much *ashes*. *Azhik assē giats.*
80. How much *ashes* shall I bring ? What are you *asking* ? *Chuk assē awēm ? Tū kai aīsh kuch ?*
81. The *aspen* tree wood is useless. *Romēn dār kai ūd n'ess.*
82. This *ass* is not good. *Inā kur less n'ess.*
83. I have fallen ; give me *assistance*. *Ots lunissā ; iā lestā kshī.*
84. Thou art giving me *assistance* ; I will give thee a present. *Tū iā litrā prēchī ; ōts tū gā lesta kulom.*
85. Yesterday I gave thee much bread. *Atest* thou it ? *Dus ōts bilūgh bor pta'sh. Tū sundī iārā ?*
86. I was very hungry, and *ate* it all. *Iā bilūgh āttā bissī sundī iyā.*
87. Thou art very foolish : why *atest* thou all of it ? *Tū bilūgh charagh ess : kyā sundī iyānā tū ?*
88. Look ! the enemy makes an *attack* (has come on). *Aīsh kshī. Pachan warī afzio.*
89. The dog *attacked* me. *Krūi iā tā atursiā.*
90. He is a quiet man : don't *attack* him. *Naluzo manchī ess : kai n'amniō.*
91. Make an *attempt* to carry out this intention. *Inā warī kuttā kshī.*
92. You don't make an *attempt* to follow this up. *Tū inā warī nai kutt koshī.*

93. In *autumn* the leaves fall. *Shāro por viyanyā.*
94. *Autumn* is the time for reaping wheat. *Shāra bā katī erwemā.*
95. This year many *avalanches* have come down. *Inā sē turus lē āyā.*
96. In the spring many (*avalanches* of) stones fell. *Wasut vōtt lē afziā.*
97. That man is very *avaricious*. *Ikīā manchī bilugh dang ess.*
98. *Avoid* tobacco. *Tamkio lestā (?) kshī.*
99. *Avoid* meat five days; you are ill. *Pōj wōs ano lestā (?) kshī; tū bradso osish.*
100. I *await* my son. *Ots iā piṭr aish kuttam.*
101. At the time for prayer *awake* me. *Namāj bibā iā betsō.*
102. My son is asleep: *awake* him. *Iā piṭr pshuiss: betsō.*
103. My *axe* has become blunt. *Iā pets dura biss.*

**B**

104. My *back* aches. *Iā tā ptī bradzott.*
105. Go *back*! bad man! *Tū digar manchī assish! anī ats!*
106. If you will come *back*, I shall kill you. *Tū dī ats anjibā, jārlam.*
107. You are tired: I shall give you a *back*. *Tū gatrā bissish: tū achu kalom.*
108. The *Afghāns* are *bad* men. *Aoghānī manchī digar asht.*
109. In that *bag* is cloth. *Stā pashtuga tā lattri asht.*
110. Bring my *bag* here. *Iā pashtuga anī gats.*
111. A thief has taken off my *bag*. *Shtāro pashtug brā.*
112. The coolies have brought my *baggage* here. *Anī barwai lattri arwristai.*
113. That man is *bald*. *Stā manchī kurr ess.*
114. The polo *ball* is lost. *Chkri piz biā.*
115. That man is *bandy legged* (?) (limps). *Stā manchī kuttātt.*
116. On the *bank* of the river there are many flowers. *Āo tawarē pīsh lē ai.*
117. The dog is *barking*: thieves have come. *Krūi raṭṭatt: shtār ayasar.\**

\* This form is probably for euphony in connection with the word preceding it.



118. This year wheat is bad; *barley* is good. *Inā sē gum digara bā ; rits lesta bā.*
119. Make a *basket* for me. *Iã dugẽ kawā kshē.*
120. I want a big *basket*. *Iã ál kawā ūd ess.*
121. Here last year there was a *battle*. *Inā pō ē shuj biss.*
122. The *Badakhshi* fights (makes *battle*) well. *Tāzhī shuj lesta kulai.*
123. My horse is a *bay* colour. *Iã ushup pilir ess.*
124. I see a *beacon* on the hill. *Bado ango varion.*
125. Light a *beacon* on that hill. *Ikīā bado ango kshē.*
126. What is in the bird's *beak*? *Marangatsē noshpā kai etsal ?*
127. Take care! that *beam* is not strong. *Tarāchī bō ! Ikīā argrū less ness.*
128. There are clouds. We cannot see the constellation of the *Great Bear*. *Nāru ess. Prusht n'warion butt.*
129. Are there *bears* in the forest? *Ba ben its assē ?*
130. My foot pains: I cannot *bear* it. *Iã tã kūr bradzott : dōr na butt.*
131. That man's *beard* is become white. *Stā manchī tã dāri kazhīra bissā.*
132. I am *beaten*: I will *beat* thee to-morrow. *Ots vina vina kařesam : dalkiẽ tu vilom.*
133. That bird is *beautiful*. *Ikīā marangats shingar aiets.*
134. I am tired: get my *bed* ready. *Gatrā butī ayā sum : prusht gaiets.*
135. I have brought a *bed*; there is no *bedding*. *Prusht awārā ; ashtrith n'aiesht.*
136. In *Bumboreth* there are many *bees*. *Māmreth mācherik lē asht.*
137. *Bees* will sting. I am afraid of them. *Mācherik aturshilā : widerthum*
138. Go thou *before*, I will follow. *Tū nashtar wai bō, õts piturai-salam.*
139. What does that man *beg*? *Ikīā manchī kai awegutā ?*
140. He is not a bad man: he is a *beggar*. *Ikīā manchī digar n'ess : naluz wās.*
141. Sit *behind* me on the horse. *Tū ushpa tã iã ptiora nishē.*

142. After eating food don't *belch*. *Yā zhūtī pshuikbut n'kshī.*
143. I place no *belief* in him. *Ō ikīā warīa n'patītom.*
144. Thou liest! I don't *believe* thee. *Tū laraichī! tū warī n'patītom.*
145. I have eaten too much: my *belly* aches. *Shō le iarō: ktol bradzott.*
146. Brōz is *below* (down stream from) Chitrāl. *Bruz Shtrālo stā nīr ess.*
147. My walking stick is become *bent*. *Iās manuī dūr biss.*
148. My father is here: and *besides* him no one. *Iā tōtt anī ess: wārā kāch n'ess.*
149. We have bhūsa and *besides* nothing else for horses. *Emā tā ushp dugē tūs ass: wārā n'aiesht.*
150. Is the Afghān or Chitrālī soldier the *better*? *Aoghān spāhī lest ai na Bilian lest ai?*
151. *Between* Chitrāl and Brōz there is no village. *Shdrāl Bruz p'mij grām n'aiesht.*
152. *Beware!* the dog will bite you. *Taraichī bō! krūz aturshilon.*
153. *Beyond* Drōsh there is no cultivation. *Dryus pār kujhī n'aieshta.*
154. The *big* dog is amiable; the small dog bites. *Āl krūz less: parmen krūz aturshilon.*
155. On the *Shāwal* pass there are no *birds*. *Shāwalo bado marangats n'aiesht.*
156. Give me a *bit* of meat. *Iā dugē achok bitā gats.*
157. Put a *bit* in my horse's mouth. *Iā ushp ashī lazhom giats.*
158. The horse *bites*; don't go near. *Ushp analā; tavarāz n'ai.*
159. The *black* horse fell yesterday. *Zhī ushp dus lunī.*
160. Fetch me two *blankets* from the house. *Pamu stha iā dugē dū jil gaiets.*
161. *Bleed* him from his forearm. *Ikīā manchī duī tā luī bekshā.*
162. In the spring a strong wind *blew*, and the fruit is damaged. *Wazut damu bilugh ushtiā; kazhwazh nadziā.*
163. The old man is *blind*. *Purdik kār ess.*
164. My pugri has *blood* on it. *Chadrā luī tapola biss.*
165. Spring has come; the trees are *blossoming*. *Wasut biā: amnī sirēn pizh bā.*



166. *Blow* the fire hard. *Angā kotē̃ pārchīō.*
167. The wind *blows* very fast. *Dumī lē ishtett.*
168. *Blow* out the light. *Chirāgh yāsē.*
169. My knife has become *blunt*. *Iā̃ chaku duru biss.*
170. He is a very *boastful* man. *Inā manchī bilugh wīsh̄tawal ess.*
171. Take care! there is a *bog* ahead  
of you. *Tarā̃chībō! Vott (?) athalon.*
172. My leg has a *boil* on it. *Kūr apsiss.*
173. For making tea *boil* water. *Chaī ksh̄h̄ : āo tipāo.*
174. There is a *bone* in my dog's  
mouth. *Krū̃ p'ash̄h̄ attiss.*
175. My *bow* is broken. *Ī drōn peṭṭangus.*
176. Give this *box* to the coolie. *Inā sanduka manchīē prē.*
177. What is this *boy's* age? *Inā marirē major kai ess?*
178. That man has no *brain*: he is  
foolish. *Stā mustā ness : bē̃r ass.*
179. Break a *branch* of that tree. *Iki shtom chur peṭā.*
180. In order to get some *brass* I  
am going to Chitrāl. *Dara waiētum : Shdrāl aiētum.*
181. The Government soldiers are  
all *brave*. *Sarkāro spāhī sang zūr wai.*
182. *Bravo!* don't be tired! *Shamash! N'gatribōla.*
183. Thy ass is *braying* loud;  
listen! all the asses are  
*braying*. *Tū kur bilugh rārā kutt : kor  
ktī! Sang kur rārā kuttett.*
184. Get *bread* for my coolies. *Iā̃ barwai dugē yashī giats.*
185. If you won't give me *bread*,  
I will die. *Tu ī̃ boṛ n'prenjībā ōts mṛlom.*
186. Do not *break* my box. *Iā̃ adrē n'pitzen kshē.*
187. If you *break* the wood, I shall  
be very angry. *Tu dār peṛinjībā ōts kabā balom.*
188. My box is *broken* (break). *Iā̃ adr pitzen biss.*
189. My father has *broken* (break)  
his leg. *Iāsī tōtt kūr peṭṭ ons.*
190. If you fall, your leg will  
*break*, as you are fat. *Tu lunelosh nanden peṭanlō, tu āl  
ktol manchī assish.*
191. Go slow: let the horse take  
*breath*. *Chillā ats : ushp sh̄us kalon.*
192. The Chār wēlo gives *bribes*. *Chār wēlī wārā lettrī prett.*

193. Make *bricks* for my house. *Iã amu dugẽ mrai puru kshĩ.*
194. My girl *is a bride*. *Iã jũz noi bazisnã prẽlom.*
195. To make a *bridge*, get beams. *Sũ tamu katĩ giats.*
196. The *bridge* is broken. *Sũ peṭang ess.*
197. In my country there are no wooden *bridges*. *Emã gul tã dão siu n'asht.*
198. My horse's *bridle* is broken. *Iã ushp tã lazhom peṭangess.*
199. *Bring* a broom, clean this place. *Skã giats, inãni jagã skã.*
200. *Bring* bread for me and fetch grass for the horse. *Iã dugã bor gats; ushp dugã yus gats.*
201. I fell; my stick *broke*. *Õts piltam; mãri parengi.*
202. My arm is *broken*. *Iãsi dusht perongã.*
203. Thy *brother* has fever. *Tũ brã ontsatt.*
204. My *brother* is dead. *Iãsi brã mṛã.*
205. I *brought* one load of grass; my brother *brought* two loads. *ĩ e bõr yus awãrã; iãsi brã dũ bõr yus awãrã.*
206. My father is a very strong man: he has *brought* three loads of grass. *Iãsi tõtt biluk karwã manchĩ ess: troi bõr yus awãrã.*
207. The woman is bringing a basket, and the men have *brought* stones. *Jugũr kawã awett, sai wõtt awãrã.*
208. The Chãrwẽlo is a *brutal* man. *Chãrwẽli mashu-wã manchĩ ess.*
209. My *buck wheat* is not ripe. *Iã zhum n'piess.*
210. There are many *bugs* in this bed. *Inã prushtĩ tã guzr lẽ asht.*
211. *Build* a house for me here. *Iã dugã anĩ amu kshĩ.*
212. All my *bulls* have died. Chãnlũ's *bull* is very fat this year. *Iã ashu sang mṛishtã. Chãlu nah ashu inã sã bilugh kart ess.*
213. On the ground I found a flat *bullet*. *Inã bhĩma tã epol toch baduĩ goĩ.*
214. Many men are gathered for the *burial*. *Bilugh manchĩ kãnai dugã ayã.*
215. *Burn* that long stick. *Ikã drangai shtan lushẽ.*
216. *Bury* that corpse. *Ikã mṛishta kãna satẽ.*
217. A bird is sitting in the *bush*. *Dsulĩ tã marangats nishĩn ess.*



218. This *butter* is not clean. *Inā nurī shtā n'biss.*  
 219. *Buy* a rupee's worth of cloth. *Ē tang digrī māri prēti giats.*

## C

220. The white cow's *calf* is dead. *Kashīrī gāo utser marā.*  
 221. *Call* the old man. *Purduka walō.*  
 222. The *camel* is a bad animal. *Shtur digar kor ess.*  
 223. My horse is very fat and *can-*  
*not go.* *Iā ushp bilugh kartā biss, n'pā*  
*bann.*  
 224. You are a bad man : you take  
*no care.* *Tū digar manchī assish : tū kuduma*  
*tin na kuch.*  
 225. Have a *care!* don't throw  
*down my load.* *Tū kushulwā kshī! (Tarāchī bō!)*  
*iā bōr viār n'utē.*  
 226. That man is very *careless*  
*(foolish).* *Ikīā manchī bilugh bēṛ ess.*  
 227. In that village is there any  
*carpenter?* *Ikyā bagrom dāo sella sē?*  
 228. The *carrier* has fallen into the  
*river.* *Barwai pō-ē lunis.*  
 229. I am tired ; I won't *carry* a  
*load.* *Mirak will carry the*  
*load of two men.* *Gatrabissum ; bōr n'awētum. Mirak*  
*dū manchion bōr awelā.*  
 230. The *cat* has grown lazy and  
*won't catch* mice. *Pshīāsh bēṛī biss ; mussu na*  
*damitt.*  
 231. *Catch* that horse's bridle. *Ikyē ushpē lazhom damē.*  
 232. All the *cattle* of this village  
*have died.* *Inā bragom gāo sang mṛā.*  
 233. Put the big *cauldron* on the  
*fire.* *Al tol ango p'tsiru watē.*  
 234. What is the *cause* of your  
*anger?* *Tū kā kapā bosh?*  
 235. In that *cave* a dog is sitting. *Patel karoh krūz nishīn ess.*  
 236. *Cease* this work. *Inā kudūma bekshī nishē.*  
 237. The *ceiling* of my house is  
*bad.* *Inā p'amū argru digrī biss.*  
 238. That is a *celebrated* carpenter. *Bilugh lé dāo sell ess.*  
 239. The *chaff* (chopped straw) is  
*all bad* from rain. *Sang tūs agol tā digrī biss.*

240. The *chain* of my door is broken. *Iã dũ tã chimã pêtanguss.*
241. Bring a *chair* for sitting on. *Nizhisthã bõn giats.*
242. This cloth is not to my taste; change it. *Inã latirĩ iã shotik n'bã; nmělã kshã.*
243. This *charcoal* is bad: it doesn't burn. *Inã pē less n'asht: na parchitt.*
244. To-day I will give *charity*, perchance my father will not die. *Ōts shtarak gāno telam, shtalẽ tōtt n'mrlã.*
245. On my brother's *cheek* is a boil. *Iã brã naskor absiss.*
246. Bashgalī Kāfirs won't eat *cheese*. *Katã kilār n'yulã.*
247. This year all the *cherries* are sour. *Inã sē sang gilos chinosh.*
248. My *chest* aches. *Iã zira bradzott.*
249. My hen has ten *chickens*. *Iã istrĩ kakok duts kur asht.*
250. My *child* is very ill. *Iã marĩ bilugh bradzo asht.*
251. I have no *chimney* to my house. *Iã p'amu dawōk n'asht.*
252. I fell; my *chin* is broken. *Lunissam; aklĩ prōr biss.*
253. The *Chitrālĩ* soldier is not a bad man. *Bilian spāhĩ digar n'ai.*
254. My chest is big; that *choga* is tight. *Iã ōr wishtr ass; shugã aron butt.*
255. Here are two *chogas*: choose one. *Anĩ dũ shugã asht: eo gaiē.*
256. In my *clan* are many men. *Emã tōtt brã lē asht.*
257. There is no *clay* here to make bricks. *Anĩ mrai kusth dugã palol n'ess.*
258. Your hand is dirty; *clean* it. *Tũ doĩ mol biss; dirē.*
259. Thy father's speech is *clear*. *Tã tōtt warĩ less.*
260. That boy is very *clever*. *Stã marĩ bilugh kashul ess.*
261. That *cliff* is bad: don't go near. *Ikĩ shtĩ digar ess: atkhĩ n'iyē.*
262. About 3 P.M. we will *climb* the hill. *Grish biznor ūm.*
263. I cannot *climb* this hill. *Ots inã bado n'ai iam banam.*



264. To make a *cloak* fetch some black cloth. (¶) Budzun *kusth dugã zhī zapp gats.*
265. Bring two *clods of earth* for me. *Iã dugã dū palelsh̄t giats.*
266. This *cloth* is very thick. *Inã zapp bût ess.*
267. My *clothes* are dirty; wash them. *Iã bazisnâ mol bistai; nizhē.*
268. There are many *clouds*; perhaps it will rain. *Nāru bût ess; ingol kã agōl bōlan.*
269. Clean my *coat*. *Iã shugã lesst ksh̄.*
270. Who has killed my *cock*? *Iãst nai kakkak kũ jāriss?*
271. To-day the breeze is very *cold*. *Starak gujr bilugh dumī yuds.*
272. This year there is no snow and no *cold*; it is quite warm. *Starak sē zīm dī na ess, shillā n'ess; tōp ess.*
273. On account of the snow my feet are *cold*. *Zīm-o-tã kūr pitsenwā.*
274. The sun is set: it has become *cold*. *Sū pār lang biã: shillā bā.*
275. I have eaten too much and have *colic* (i.e., my *stomach is swollen*). *Bilugh borī iār; ktol apsiss.*
276. Collect the *sepoys* and *coolies* to-morrow at dawn. *Spāhī barwai dalkiē attrī wasnāo (wasankrō) (?).*
277. Sir! the *coolies* are *collected*, but the *sepoys* have not come. *Sāhibo! barwai wasn westai spāhī noh osth.*
278. What is the *colour* of your father's horse? *Tottchī ushpē koṛ kāsth ezz?*
279. The asses, horses, and *coolies* have all come. *Kur, ushp, barwai sang ayā.*
280. The *sepoys* *complain* that the Chār-wēlo is a very cruel man. *Spāhī kâsettett Chār-wēlī bilugh mashū oss.*
281. I *considered* the enemy had fled. *Ōts wush̄tatāsum mashu warī mikiā.*
282. *Converse* slowly; say every word separately. *Chillē walō; parē warī kūrē kūrē walō,*
283. Call a man to *cook* my food. *Iã burī āsh kūrīk ē manchī osh̄tī giats.*

284. The *coolie* is fallen in the river :  
he is drowned in the water. Barwai *po-ē luniss : áo p'mich*  
*pizbiā.*
285. I have no *cord* to fasten the  
box. *S andok giristh dugã kanik n'aiesht.*
286. This is a dry year : the *corn* is  
dried up. *Inā sē damkol wā : gum lushingwā.*
287. I saw a *corpse* in my field this  
morning. *Ināsh ptul p'mich ē manchi*  
*m̄rish̄t wariā'm.*
288. My brother is very *corpulent*,  
and can't walk. *Iã brá âl ktol oss ; n'palangett.*
289. In my village there is my  
brother's *cotton crop* and no  
one else's. *Iã bagrom iã bráo karbosh asht ;*  
*wārā n'aiesht.*
290. I want medicine for my father ;  
he *coughs* much. *Iã tōtt dugã ushu wagattam ; bilugh*  
*kasitt.*
291. *Count* the coolies : how many  
are there ? *Barwai gīrē : chē manchē asht ?*
292. My *country* is very pretty ; it is  
highland (cold). *Emá gol bilugh shingarē ass ; shil*  
*ass.*
293. My *cousin* has seven bulls. *Tōtti piṭr (?) sott ashu ai.*
294. Is your brother's *cow* white or  
black ? *Tū brozhī gâo kashērī izhā, zhī azzā ?*
295. My *cowherd* is a very bad man. *Iã gâo patsā (psawai) bilugh digar*  
*manchē ess.*
296. That *crag* is very steep : a horse  
cannot go. *Stā ktī ukar ess : ushp na batt.*
297. That boy got *cramp* in the  
water owing to the cold. *Stā liliwak poi tã shillē dūr bitī*  
*ass.*
298. He is a thief. See ! he is  
*creeping* like a dog. *Sh̄tār ess. Aīshī ! krūz chor sh̄to-*  
*kuroett.*
299. From the *crest* of the hill  
*Drōsh* appears in view. *Bado shaiē stē Dryūs warantus.*
300. Forgive my *crime* ; I am a  
poor man. *Iã varī (?) bakshiō ; õ garib assum.*
301. My walking stick is *crooked*. *Iãst manoī sh̄kori biss.*
302. This year there is much rain ;  
my *crop* is spoiled. *Starak sē bilugh agol prētt ; ptul*  
*digar bā.*
303. On *crossing* the pass the wind  
was very bad. *Bado shai tã dumī bilugh digar bā.*



304. In this valley there are many *crows*. *Inā gūla tã kor̄ le asht.*
305. Your cock *crows* much. *Tū nai kakkak bilugh kasitt.*
306. The Commissariat *bābū* is a very *cruel* man. *Commissariat bābū bilugh kart ess.*
307. My pony's *crupper* is broken, so he can't go down hill. *Iā ushp tã prampor bradzi petan-gess; iã dugã ushp buru palangen na batt.*
308. A big stone came down and *crushed* my leg. *Āl vōtt atsitī iãst kūr peṛiss.*
309. Why does that small boy *cry* out? *Ikyā parmen marir̄ kaido zhutt?*
310. Spring is the good time to *cultivate*. *Krujā shisthā wosut less.*
311. The *Kāfirs'* *cultivation* is celebrated. *Katō kruzhi bilugh lesst ess.*
312. That man is very *cunning* (fox class). *Ikīā manchī iwrakī ayūr ess.*
313. Get me a metal *cup* to drink water. *Pashku giats: āo pīnam.*
314. I am ill: therefore call a doctor to *cure* me. *Bradzo assum: iã dugã wokshhal giats, aīshkshī kom.*
315. My *custom* is not to smoke tobacco; I take snuff. *Tamkio kusth iã chur n'ess; nazor kolum.*
316. *Cut* a stick for me with a knife. *Iã dugã kato mēsh manoī petan.*
317. The soldier *cut* my leg off. *Spāhī iāsī kūr pēṭess.*
318. The *Chār wēlo* gave me an order to *cut* your hand off. *Chār wēlī hukm ptās'm tū duī pēṭegā.*

## D

319. My father killed the *Chār wēlo* with a *dagger*. *Iã tōtt Chār wēlī katō vītī jiōn (?) (jāriā).*
320. *Daily* bring me a little milk. *Sang gujr iã dugã achok zū giats.*
321. This ground is *damp* and not fit for pitching (causing to stand up) tents. *Inā bhīmī zhil ess; jilamā wotasth digar ess.*
322. The men of this village *dance* badly. *Inā bragom manchī nōt digara kuttett,*

323. My father *dances* well. *Tōtt nōt lesta kutt.*
324. That precipice is *dangerous*,  
don't go near. *Inā thurus digar ess, tavararā n'ai.*
325. Owing to an eclipse of the  
sun, it is *dark*. *Sū garo yaristhē dugã andhar biss.*
326. My *daughter's* age is 13. *Iã jū terits biss.*
327. To-day I go to Chitrāl; every  
*day* I shall do a march. *Starak gujr Shdrāl aietum; eo gujrẽ  
ē wōs pott kalom.*
328. The sun melts the snow by  
*day*. *Gujr zīmo sū tipāt.*
329. To-morrow at *daylight* let me  
go. *Dalkiẽ ruzh bibâ elom.*
330. My donkey is *dead*, my horse  
is *dead*; I can't lift the load. *Iãst kur mriissā, ushp dī mrā; bōr  
ngā n'balam.*
331. My uncle last year was very  
ill: now he is become *deaf*. *Iãst jisthā poē bilugh bradzo wās:  
starak asangā biss.*
332. The ford is *deep*; we can't  
cross. *Ātr guru ess: patren na bamish.*
333. The chārbu (Chitrālī head  
man of village) is a very  
*deep* (fox class) man. *Uru bilugh vrikī pirstha manchẽ  
ess.*
334. The Badakhshānī army *de-*  
*feated* the Chitrāl army. *Tajī sarīen Bilian sarī psiā.*
335. Our army, being *defeated*, fled. *Emāst sarī gatrā bitī mikiā.*
336. That *defile* is good for fighting  
the enemy in. *Ikīā arūnī gol pachan warī shush  
kusthā less.*
337. Go quickly: don't make *delay*. *Achūnam iē: drē n'kshē.*
338. The village is far: don't *delay*  
here. *Grām badūr ess: pott drē n'kshē.*
339. The coolies *demur* and say we  
can't carry loads. *Barwai lařettett: warī walettett bōr  
n' awēmā.*
340. The road is steep: we should  
*descend* from the horses. *Pott tchkur ess; ushp tã wāwo  
etsatī emâ.*
341. Your horse is falling: you had  
better *descend*. *Tōst ushp piltalī: wā osth lesta  
balā.*
342. Let go! this business is not  
*desirable* for you. *Kudūm nai kshē! tū kar miok (?)  
ness.*
343. The men of that village are  
*destitute*. *Ikīā bagrām manchī bilugh drushiti-  
wā asht.*



344. Our enemy is very *determined*, and will not fly. Look! they have fled. *Emá pachanwarī bilugh damtōl manchī asht, n'mukettett! Aīsh kshī! mikiā.*
345. That fellow is a regular *devil*. *Ikīā manchī bilugh yūsh ess.*
346. Have you ever seen the *devil*? *Tū kuī yūsh warainsā?*
347. I have not seen the *devil*; even my father has not seen him. *Iā yūsh n'warainsā; tōtt dī n'warains.*
348. In my country there is no *dew* in the summer. *Emá gol tā wīzdor mēh n'butt.*
349. I have had *diarrhœa* three days. *Troi wōs butt iā bazira padrē ū prētt.*
350. If you have had *diarrhœa* many days, you will surely die. *Shtal latta wōs bā padrē ū prētt tū nashtontī mrlosh.*
351. The Chār wēlo has *died*: all the men are very glad; my brother also *died* to-day. *Chār wēlī mṛiss: sang manchī shātinistā (?); shtarak gujr iāsī brā dī mṛā.*
352. Yesterday my horse fell on the road and *died*. *Dus iā ushp p'putt piltiā maṛiā.*
353. There is a *difference* (quarrel) between those two men. *Amnī dū manchī kilwariān asht.*
354. Yesterday there was a *difference* between me and my brother. *Dus iā brā iā kilā bissī.*
355. Don't take that road; it is *difficult*. *Askā potta tā n'iyē; digar ess.*
356. I ate a lot of rice early this morning and it is not being *digested*. *Puruchkāl bilugh butt iāsht; bru afziā.*
357. That boy's clothes are very *dirty*. *Askā maṛiṛ basnā bilugh mul bistai.*
358. All the men of that village are *discontented*. *Ikīā bagrām manchī sang kushān n'aiesht.*
359. I *dislike* that man. *Ikīā manchī iā dugā digar ess.*
360. At the time of my *dismounting* from my horse, I slipped and fell. *Ushp tā wāo atsatam, piltiosam, luniosam.*
361. My brother's *disposition* is very good. *Iā brā āl bidī-wā assa.*

362. Why are these two men *disputing*? *Amnī dū manchī kā kilā kuttett?*
363. In this *district* are many cows. *Inā b'gol bilugh gāo asht.*
364. Take this flour; *divide* it among yourselves. *Inā brē ngā; yā p'mich bata kshēr.*
365. In our valley there is a *diviner*. He is a very old man. He is a true speaker. (¶) *Emā b'gol ē pshar ess; bilugh manjar ess; shtal warī walann.*
366. Don't *do* this business: it is undesirable (not the custom). *Inā kudūm n'kshī: chor n'ess.*
367. I fear I am dying: call a *doctor*. *O widerthum m̄rethum: wokshal giats.*
368. The *dogs* of that village are very fierce. *Ikīā bagrom krūi bilugh digar ai.*
369. Is your's a male or a female *dog*? *Tōst nah krūi ya shtarī (ishtrī) krūz ess?*
370. You have put too large a load on that *donkey*. *Igē kurē pa ptī bilugh bōr kress.*
371. The thief broke one plank of my *door* last night. *Dus radar iāst dū bitil shtār pētiss.*
372. That man is a thief: I have no *doubt* of it (*i.e.* besides him *no one else is the thief*). *Ikīā manchī shtār ess: wārā shtār n'asht.*
373. I have a *doubt* whether or not he is a thief. *Shtār ess adugosā, tinch n'ess.*
374. The coolies have gone *down* (stream). *Barwai vinrēni ettett.*
375. Take *down* the load from the horse's back. *Ushpē pa ptī bōr waokshō.*
376. Get four coolies to *drag* the beam. *Shtowa manchiān walō argru wa-kshol.*
377. My horse is very thirsty; he *drinks* much. *Iāst ushp bilugh áo \* pig biss; bilugh áo pitt.*
378. Don't *drink* much water; (otherwise) you won't be able to travel. *Bilugh áo na pí: n'pā bilosh.*

\* Same idiom as in Chitrāli.



379. An ass has come to my field ; *Ē kur iāst ptul p'mich adsā ; iō drive him out. tarāzho.*
380. No snow fell in the winter, so *Ziwōr zīm n'ptā ; ikīā dugā duma there is a drought. sē bā.*
381. My cow fell in the river, and *Iāst gāo po-ē lunī, piz biā. is being drowned.*
382. The Mehtar comes ! Beat a *Mehar aiyo ! dōtt wār. drum.*
383. My brother is a drunkard for *Troi sē biss iāst brā tin pin. three years.*
384. You have brought green wood ; *Tū zhilā dār awēsh̄tai ; drī dār fetch dry wood. gaiets.*
385. I myself have seen that the *Iā wariā panilē jallai nish̄nistai. ducks have alighted on the river.*
386. In front of the Mehtar's house *Mehar p'amu tā nirgo putt tā ttsit is a lot of dung on the road : bilugh ess : skā mēsh̄ skā. brush it away with a broom.*
387. There is much dust on account *Dumī shtett : paṛiss bilugh butt. of the wind.*
388. A dwarf has come to ask food. *Ōr manchī aiyo ; burī aiśh̄ kutt.*
389. Where do you dwell ? Why *Tū kōr gol tā sâch ? Anī kai have you come here ? osh ?*
390. Last year I dwelt in Kām- *Pō Kāmdēsh̄ assium ; inā sē Kunisht dwell in Rambūr. alossam.*
391. I am poor ; my dwelling is *Ōts garīb assum ; iā amu achok ai. small.*
392. That man has dyed his beard. *Stā manchī dārī zār korish̄tai.*
393. I have had dyspepsia for two *Dū sē biss boṛi na bajit jarand. years.*
394. I have eaten too much orial's *Arorwē ano bilugh̄ iāro bilugh̄ shur flesh and have much lāsett. dysentery.*
- E**
395. Give each coolie one rupee. *Parē barwai iārī tang prē.*
396. An eagle came down from the *Badistē zhī marē attī iāst kakkak sky, and caught my fowl wanamdī brā. and took it off.*

397. Owing to cold, my *ear* pains. *Shillē tā kōr bradzott.*
398. To-morrow we will go *very early*. *Dalkiē emá kuiyē emá.*
399. This year snow fell *early*, so it is little. *Inā sē zīm kuiyā ptā, iā dugā zīm chak ptā.*
400. There is a hollow here : fill it up with *earth*. *Anō dudiēm ess; palol utushtī parakshī.*
401. Last night there was an *earthquake* : I was much frightened. *Rador indrish ptā : ō bilugh widaram.*
402. To-morrow do we go *east*, (sun-rise way), or west (sun-go-down way) ? *Dalkiē sū chunzli pōr ētimishā, nai sū puēli pōr ētimishā ?*
403. Yesterday we went *east* ; to-morrow we will go west. *Dus sū chunzli pōr gānish; dalkiē sū puēli pōr emá.*
404. Yesterday's road was difficult ; to-day's is *easy*. *Dus pott digar essī ; starak gujr pott less.*
405. Before marching, to *eat* much is not good. *Pilingstett tā shaiyē bilugh iasth less ness.*
406. It is five years since we have had an *eclipse* of the sun (since a shadow has eaten the sun). *Pōj sē bā sū garo n'yāriss.*
407. Don't go near the *edge* of the built up pari ; you will fall. *Ushtī pachur pazhē n'ai ; piltilosh.*
408. You don't make an *effort* ! How can you learn ? *Tū bibidī n'kshonjī ! Tū kāktī zaronlosh ?*
409. The Chārweḷo is angry because the Kāfirs won't produce *eggs*. *Katā azhao n'prend Chārweḷi kapā bitī.*
410. This man is a great thief ; *eject* him out of the house. *Iyī manchī bilugh shtār ess ; iyē p'amu stē nuksāo.*
411. That man is my *elder* brother. *Stā manchī iāst jisht brá oss.*
412. That cauldron is *empty* : the water leaks out. *Ikā tol kār biss ; áo be afziā.*
413. *Empty* out the water of this ewer. *Inā pashku tā áo uchar kshī.*
414. Very well, Sir ! I have *emptied* the water out. *Sāhib ! lē ! áo uchar krā.*



415. When you have *ended* your work, come to me. *Koī kudūm pūshabā iā tā aets.*
416. Our men are few; the *enemy's* men are many. *Emá manchī achok aesth; pachanwarī lē aesth.*
417. Certainly, our men are few; but they are more *energetic* than our enemy. *Shtal, emá manchī achok aesth; pachanwarī tā damtōl aesth.*
418. The *English* soldiers are very good men. *Prang spāhī bilugh lē manchī asht.*
419. I have eaten *enough*: it is not good to eat more. *Bēs iārā: lē iāsth less ness.*
420. Why hast thou *entered* my house? I gave thee no leave. *Tū kā dugā p'amū attā gā-s-ash? iā hukm n'ptā.*
421. Your *entire* clan is bad. *Tā tōtt brā sang digar asth.*
422. Get me a beam *equal* to this. *Iā dugā ikīā argrū pristha argrū giats.*
423. The enemy shut me in a house, but I *escaped*. *Pachan warī p'amū attā attotiss: bāti mikiosam.*
424. I am bound, but I hope to *escape* in the evening. *Attotinissam, bibidī bibā salkawar mikalom.*
425. *Every* man of this village is a thief. *Inā bagrām sang manchī shtār ai.*
426. The Chār wēlo is a very *evil* man. *Chār wēlī bilugh dagar manchī ess.*
427. In this village there is not *even* one *ewe*. *Inā bagrom p'mich eo dī pashku n'ai.*
428. In our village my brother is a thief, and *except* him no one. *Emá bagrom p'mich iā brā shtār ess, wārā n'ai.*
429. This cloak is not good; *exchange* it. *Inā shugā less n'ess; nmelā kshī.*
430. Thou liest! There is no *excuse* for thee. *Tū larēchī! tū kai nelus n'ess.*
431. Stay thou here! *Expect* me! *Tū anī otī! iā aish kshī.*
432. The right *eye* of my brother aches. *Iā brāo datziē achiē bradzott.*

433. My brother's *eye-brow* got burnt by the lamp. *Iã bráo tremchuk achẽ-patṭã lush-ingostai.*
434. Lift up your *eye-lid*; show your eye. *Achẽ-ktelik wāro; achẽ oksh.*

F

435. On that man's *face* is a black mark, so big. *Stã manchĩã mukã tã azhisto zhĩ nishãn ess.*
436. If our luck is bad, we shall *fail* to climb the hill. *Shtalẽ ï nasib n'azilabã, ashtrẽ tã ùwẽ n'balem.*
437. The Chitrãlis say that on Tirich Mir there are many *fairies* and nothing else. *Bilian manchĩ walettett Missarmin wutr (vetr) bilugh ash wārã n'aiesht.*
438. The Mehtar's *falconer* fell in the water and died. *Mehr marapsawai poi-ẽ lunẽtĩ mrã.*
439. Take care! If you *fall* into the water, you will die. *Trãchĩ bõ! Tũ poi etish tũ mrlosh.*
440. That wall will *fall*, don't approach it. *Iyẽ chá witalã, torẽ n'ai.*
441. Much rain has *fallen* this year. *Starak p'sẽ bilugh agol ptã.*
442. Last year much snow has *fallen*. *Põ bilugh zĩm zimitã.*
443. This year there is a quantity of snow; to-day snow has not *fallen*. *Starak sa bilugh zĩm ess; starak gujar zĩm n'ptã.*
444. My dog has *fallen* into the water. *Iã krũĩ poi gwã.*
445. In my country is a *famine*. *Iã gul tã bilugh àtt ess.*
446. My brother is more *famous* than that man. *Iã brã stã manchĩ tã bilugh damtõl lẽ manchĩ ess.*
447. From Chitrãl, both Shoghõt and Gairath are equally *far*. *Shdrãl stẽ Shogoi Gairath tĩch badũr asth.*
448. Sit near me; don't sit *far* off. *Iã tawarẽ nishẽ; badũr n'nishĩ.*
449. Chitrãl is near, Drõsh is *far*. *Shdrãl tawarẽ, Dryus badũr ess.*
450. In our village there is no *farrier* (horse shoe-fastener). *Emã bagrom ushup wetsã amchol n'aiasth.*
451. Your horse is very *fast*; mine is slow. *Tũ ushp bilugh shatramĩ ess: iã ushp n'pã balas.*



452. It is three years since I turned Musalmān; I keep the *fast*. *Trē sa bā ō muzalmān biṣṣam; pochētr ngānam.*
453. The time is near for breaking the *fast*. *Pochētr perīsth tur ess.*
454. My horse has become *fat*, and can't go. *Iā ushp kartab ess: pā n'batt.*
455. My *fate* is bad; your *fate* is good. *Iāst miuk digar ess; tō miuk lesst ess.*
456. My *father* and mother are dead: I am left alone. *Iāst tōtt nūn mṛā: ōts parkī (kūr) edsam.*
457. You are *fatigued*: I will give you a back. *Tū gatrabā assish: achu kulom.*
458. Don't flee to Badakhshān, there is no *fear*. *Badakshā mē na mugō, kā widegh na ess.*
459. I *fear* my enemy will kill me. *Ōts widarnam pachan warī ī jārlā.*
460. Why have they run away? They have run away from *fear* of thieves. *Kaiko maikiyā sar? Shtār dugē vidraitī mukiā.*
461. My brother *feigned* dead, and escaped by night. *Iāst brā mṛalogom (?) viz-hom (?) radur mikios.*
462. My father *fell* on the road. *Iāsi tōtt pott piltiā.*
463. Thy father *fell* into the river. *Tū tōtt baglo (b'gol-o?) piltiā.*
464. The *female* is usually cleverer than the male. *Jugur manchī todī bilugh kshul ess.*
465. *Fetch* four men to make a bridge. *Sūi postho shtowa manchīān gaiets.*
466. I have *fetched* four men. *Iā shtowa manchī awārā.*
467. This year many men have died of *fever*. *Starak sa randsōl bitī bilugh manchī mṛā.*
468. My father is very ill; he has *fever*. *Iāsi tōtt bilugh bradzo ess; unsatt.*
469. *Fever* has had hold of me for four days; my body aches. *Shto wōs bā ondsil ī andsitī; jidd bradsonn.*
470. Last year very few men died of *fever*. *Pō achok manchī randsol bitī mṛsī.*
471. The Ashrath valley men are useless for *fighting*. *Asrett b'gol manchī shōch kushth dugē digar ai.*
472. This year *figs*, apples, and peaches are sour. *Inā sē tā kiwitt, parr, tsiren chinai.*

473. That man's *figure* and my brother's *figure* are the same. *Ikīā manchī wishirworh iāst brá wishirworh eo ašht.*
474. Take this ewer, *fill* it with water. *Inā pashku nātī (ngātī?) áo para kshi.*
475. Your house is *filthy*; of course you will get ill. *Tū amu mol ess; shtalē tū bradzo-wo bolass.*
476. I found (*find*) these clothes on the road. *Am bazisná potto wariām.*
477. Thou art a very *fine* man. *Tū bilugh lē manchī ess.*
478. I have nine *fingers*; you have ten. *Ī non angur ai; tū tā duts angur ai.*
479. When you have *finished* work, I will give you food. *Tū koi kudūm poišhabā, anjē prēlom.*
480. Cut down two *fir* trees for making the bridge. *Sū testh dugē dū ruganā peṭṭi giats.*
481. The *fire* is too much, subdue it. *Angā bilugh ess, wāltī kshē.*
482. Make a *fire*-place in my house. *Iā p'amu angā-kutān kshē.*
483. There is no *fire*. *Angā ness.*
484. For the purpose of making a *fire*, fetch wood. *Angā koṛ dār apsió.*
485. There is no *firewood* here; how can I make a fire? *Anē watesth dār n'ai; kāktī angā kom (kulom)?*
486. My soldiers are very *firm* and will not flee. *Iā spāhē bilugh zorawā ai, n'mukelā.*
487. This man came *first*; that man was second; Mirak was third. *Inā manchī panishār oss; stā manchi ptiwar oss; Mirak troi wostha oss.*
488. Our people consider *fish* unlawful (as a dead thing) to eat. *Emā manchī áo matsa yosth dugē muldār ess kuttett.*
489. This business is not *fit* for a Mehtar. *Inā kudūm mehrē less ness.*
490. The enemy's men carry a very big white *flag*. *Pachan warī manchī bilugh ál kashēr tuppduw wanamess.*
491. The *flames* of that fire have got up very high. *Askā angā bās ublindī enn.*
492. This country is *flat* like a hand. *Inā watan dashpar purstha diwar ess.*



493. In thy house are many *fleas*, but in winter they don't bite. *To p'amu pakkī bilugh asht ; ziwōr n'yüttett.*
494. I am afraid of the Diwānbegī, for that reason I am *fleeing*. *Diwānbegī widarnam, giaktī mukonam.*
495. If I *flee* on the road, the Mehtar's sepoy will catch me. *Iã p'pott mukinjebâ mehr spāhi wanamelā.*
496. The enemy has *fled*. *Mashu warī mikiā.*
497. In Ranbūr there are no *flies* in winter. *Zawōr Māmret tawarik n'aiesht.*
498. That man is *floating* on the river (having inflated his stomach). *Ikīā manchī poiē ktol ūrktī nosh kōr.*
499. A *flock* of my goats has come on the hill. *Ī poshtrē dizho dom titti afziā.*
500. From the melting of snow, the river is in *flood*. *Inā zim wilitī gol âo bilugh afziā.*
501. Having taken a load of wheat and ground it, bring the *flour*. *Ē bōr gum ngātī pshetī brē giats.*
502. On the Gangalwatt pass the *flowers* are pretty. *Gāgra wott bado pagur puṭik shingir ai.*
503. Last year my mare gave a *foal*. *Pō sē iãst ushpē ishtrī ushp karaīs.*
504. This year my mare is not in *foal*. *Starak sē iãs ushp shalī n'ess.*
505. Bring *fodder* for my horse and cow. *Iãs ushp iã gáo dugē yūs gats.*
506. You go in front; let him *follow*. *Tū nashtarwai bō ; ikī ptiwar atsalā.*
507. You stay here and get *food* ready. *Tū anōo nishē ; ishâ tyor kshī.*
508. My brother is a very *foolish* man. *Iã brâ bilugh chattā manchī ess.*
509. Yesterday my *foot* was frost-bitten on the pass. *Dūs badu iã kūr lushtiā.*
510. Do you want a *foot* man, or a horse man? *Tū kūro manchī aīsh kuchīā, ushp-o-sir manchī aīsh kuchā ?*
511. I heard the thief's *footfall*. *Shtārē kūr chut p'kōr gawā.*
512. For sake of my small child get *clothes*. *Iãst permenstuk parmire (marire) dugē basnâ giats.*

513. We won't carry loads for *nothing*. *Emá gijjã bōr n'ngāmá.*
514. Is a gun good or a sword? *Tapak less ai tarwach less ai? Iã dugẽ tapak less.*  
For me a gun is good.
515. Sir! the soldiers are damaging our crops. *Forbid* them. *Sāhib! Spāhī emá ptul marmurī kuttett. N'kshīr kshī.*
516. I *forbade* them, but they don't obey (take counsel). *Ôts amno tã n'kshīr krā; varī n'wagattett.*
517. Turn him out of the house with *force*. *Askā manchī kartẽ p'amu stẽ tarzhār.*
518. Send me a guide to show me the *ford*, for the water in the river is quite low. *Âotre (tūr) warõsth dugẽ pott zārĩ ã manchī namō, gologh (golo āo) bilugh chāgh ess.*
519. Come! let us *ford* the river. *Prēts! emā p'âotre patrem.*
520. This man is not of my valley, he is a *foreigner*. *Inā manchī emá b'gol manchī n'ess, wārā manchī ess.*
521. On your *forehead* there is blood. What has happened? *Tū p'mino loĩ nissis. Kai biss?*
522. On your horse's *forequarters* there is mud: make it clean. *Tū ushp ziritiliã tã shur tapol biss: dirē.*
523. Between *Urgūch* and *Ranbūr* there is a very big *forest*. *Argich Konisht p'mijhu ál zsul assā.*
524. I have *forgotten* the order which the *Mehtar* gave me. *Askā kudūm Mehr iã tã wiliāsīm p'mishtīã.*
525. Thou art a very *forgetting* man; don't *forget*. *Tū bilugh p'mishtal manchī assish; n'p'mishtal.*
526. If I *forget*, may God give me punishment. *Shtalẽ ôts p'mishtalom Imrā bapdĩ azhalā.*
527. The *Chitrāl* new *fort* is stronger than the old fort. *Shdrāl noi kãlo siūmē kãlo tã lesst ass.*
528. How many *foster* brothers have you? *Tū chok chir\* brã hōst?*
529. That child is not my *foster* child. *Ikīã parmen iãst chir piṭr n'ai.*
530. I have ten *foster* sisters. *Iã duts chir sūs ai.*
531. Two *Sāhibs* are coming; I am sure they will want two *fowls*. *Dū sāhib pott tã atsand; ô purjanam dū kakkak ragand.*

\* Chitrālī idiom.



532. Last night a fox came and took off all my fowls. *Dus p'tramjuk wriḡi attī sang kakkak brā.*
533. To-day it is not cold : water will not freeze. *Starak shīl n'ess : áo shē n'tilā.*
534. The water of the river is frozen. *Inā gol tã áo shē tin ess.*
535. This fruit is stale; get fresh fruit. *Stā kazhwajh ami istai; less kazhwajh gyats.*
536. That man is my friend; he is not a thief. *Askā manchī iãst suli azzā; shtan n'ess.*
537. To frighten him I said "many thieves have come"; only one thief has come. *Ikā manchī widarosth dugē gijjē karṣē "bilugh shtār osthā"; ē shtār haiss.*
538. All the frogs are dead from cold, not one is left this year. *Shillē tã mārūk sang mristai, inā sē eo dī n'asht.*
539. I am blind, I can't see; go thou in front. *Ôts kār assum, n'wřantum; tū nash̄tar waibō.*
540. The frontier between Chitrāl and Badakhshān is very cold. *Badakshā Shdrāl stē p'mich sirtā shīl ess.*
541. There is no hoar frost this year, nor black frost. *Inā sē mēh n'ess, shē dī n'ess.*
542. There is a cold wind on the pass; don't go! your ear will be frost bitten. *Bado yuts dumī ess; tū n'ai! tū kōr lushtilā.*
543. What are you sulky about, that you make frowns? *Tū kai kapā bissish, miōk andr̄ kriss?*
544. Is that ewer full of water or milk? *Inā pashku tã áo parē karṣā zū parē karṣā?*
545. All the men of my village are assembled for the funeral of my father. *Iã tōtti kănē dugē iã bagrām manchī sang wasanristai.*

## G

546. All the boys of my village are playing (making a game). *Emā bagrām sang marir̄ mishī kuttett.*

547. Two donkeys have come into my *garden* and done much harm. *Ī b'durestān dū kur attī bilugh najiss.*
548. The hill is very steep; the horse is *gasping*. *Inā do bilugh ukrī ess; ushp shūskett.*
549. My forefathers have lived in this village for four *generations*. *Emā tōtt wāo inā bagrom shtowa alo biss.*
550. My grandfather was a very *generous* man (*great heart man*). *Iā wāo bilugh āl bidi-wā manchī assī.*
551. The Aiyūn men can't make *ghī* (*clarified butter*). *Angār manchī ano tyor kōn na battet.*
552. The Afghān soldiers came and took away four *girls* from my village. *Aoghānī spāhī osth emā bgrom stē shtowa juk brā.*
553. My horse's *girth* has got loose; tighten it. *Iā ushp tā mushtē jinjil biss; wishtē.*
554. If you do well, I will *give* you five rupees. *Tū lē kudūm karbā pōch tanga prēlom.*
555. If you *give* me bread, I shall be happy. *Tū boṛ prēnjibā ōts kujhēl balom.*
556. I have *given* him seven rupees. *Iā ikī sott tang ptā.*
557. The *glacier* is very bad this year, we can't cross it. *Starak sē inzarīn bilugh digar ess, awī na bam.*
558. Buy for me (*bring me having given money*) two looking *glasses* from the bazar. *B' bzār stē marī prētī dū tare iā dugē gats.*
559. *Go on!* (*horse*), my horse is very lazy. *Prēts! ushp bilugh beru ass.*
560. To-morrow I will *go* to Chitrāl. *Dalkiē ōts Shdrāl ēlom.*
561. To-day you will *go* to Gairath. *Shtarak tū Gairath ēlosh.*
562. The day after to-morrow we will *go* to *Shishī*. *Attrī emā Shīshī ēmish.*
563. They will *go* to Brōz. *Amnā Broz enda.*
564. *Go* thou to Chitrāl. *Shdrāl ī.*
565. Let them *go* to Chitrāl. *Shdrāl ellā.*



566. The *bābū* has come to buy *goats*, but my son's goats are all dead. *Bābū gash marī prētī ngūsth dugā aiyo, iā piṭr gash sang mṛā.*
567. *God* is kind (great); perhaps my father won't die, I think. *Imrā āl ess; shtalē iā tōtt n'mrlā washitam.*
568. The *War god* is very good to the *Kāfirs*. (¶) *Kato manchī dugē Gish bilugh lē asht.*
569. How long have you had *goitre* (been *goitred*) ? *Tū chi sē biss gur bītī ?*
570. In my country is much iron, but not *gold*. *Emā gul tā chemu lē asht, sōn n'ai.*
571. That farrier is a very good man. *Ikīā ushp watsā amchol manchī bilugh damtōl manchī ess.*
572. The *Chitrālī* houses are good. *Bilian amu lest ai.*
573. In your country why do women carry the household *goods*, and men march empty handed ? *Shā gul tā kai dugē jugūr trasu lattri ngand, mōch kai dugē tsuiē ettett ?*
574. This *gorge* (tight valley) is a good place to stop the enemy. *Pachanwarī band kusth dugē ikīā aṛunī gol lest ess.*
575. I dislike the *governor* of this country. *Inā watan tā nanwṛī iā dugē digar ess.*
576. In my country it is not usual to *graft* apples on pears. *Iā gul tā paṛṛ je tong giṭu kosth chur n'ess.*
577. Do peaches come from seed or from *grafting* ? *Āru attī mēsh botasalā giṭu karbā botasalā ?*
578. Get one rupee's worth of *grain* for our horses. *Eo tangē pul ushpē dugā gats.*
579. My *grandfather* and *grandmother* are both dead. *Wāo wāi sang mṛā.*
580. The *grapes* of my garden are very big. *Iā bdrīstān dros āli pul ess.*
581. Bring green *grass* for my horse ; he won't eat hay (dry grass). *Iā ushp dugā zhila yus gats ; darī yus n'yūtt.*
582. I am very *grateful* for the kindness which you have done me. *Tū bilugh mihrbānī karṣam ; ōts bilugh shamash kut'am.*

583. That boy goes towards his father's *grave*. *Ikiā marir tōtts pshin tā pretann.(?).*
584. The traveller has brought his horse to *graze* in my garden. *Wischiō amu ushpē iāst dristān marmarī kusth dugā arwarā.*
585. My donkey is *great*; your donkey is *greater* than mine. *Iā kur āl ess; tū kur iā kurē tā āl ess.*
586. You are very *greedy*; don't eat too much food. *Tū bilugh āl ktol-wā assish; burī shirēn n'āyū.*
587. Spring is come: all the trees have become *green*. *Wosut bā: sang stūm por bā.*
588. My goats are *grey*; my brother's goats are all black. *Iā gash kazhir ess; brā-o gash sundī zhī asht.*
589. Why *grievest* thou? Thy horse is ill, but to me hope is he will not die. *Tū kā dugā zhuchi? tū ushp bradsowai, iā barē assabā n'mrlī.*
590. Sir! all night we have been *grinding* corn at the mill, and the *bābū* won't give us a copper. *Sāhib! emā parochī pul p'apshē pshissī, bābū ē paiz n'prēnn.*
591. I know nothing about horses; send for the *groom*. *Ō ushp kudūm n'zārtam; ushp patso walō.*
592. The horse is dirty with sweat; *groom* him with a wisp. *Ushp bilugh ashpā biss; kshē mīsh kshē.*
593. My horse is rolling from side to side on the *ground* and groaning, perhaps he has a pain in his belly. *Iā ushp palol tā uchpu palangett, shtārt, ō purjanam ushpē tā ktol bradzot.*
594. This *ground* is very damp, and not fit for standing up (erecting) tents. *Bhīm bilugh zhil ess, jilamā ucharesth less ness.*
595. My boy has *grown* big. *Iā piṭr āl biss.*
596. My crop *grows* well on the ground this year. *Starka sē iāst shir ptul tā warand.*
597. Get a sharp man to *guard* my property. *Iāst aspāp trāchī bō dugā lesst damtōl manchī gaits.*
598. Mir Hamza is my *guest*; it is unlawful to kill him. *Miramza iāst wichā ess; jāristh less ness.*
599. My tooth is broken and my *gum* is wollen. *Iā dutt peṭang ess; dodmōss apsiss.*



600. The Amīr's soldires have come and taken away all the Kāfir guns. *Kābul Amīro spāhī āyā Katōst tapak sāng brā.*
601. My country men make gun-powder here. *Iā watan tā manchī anī dāru tyor kuttett.*
602. A gust of wind came and took away all my clothes. *Dumī allangitī atsitī ī sundī bas-nā brā.*

## H

603. I don't smoke tobacco; it is not the habit of my ancestors. *Tamkio n'ksholam; tōtt wāo chor ness.*
604. From the hail of the heavens my crops are damaged. *Badist azhir attī dugā iāst ptul digr bā.*
605. The hair of the head of my father has become grey. *Tōtti shē zhū kazhīra bistai.*
606. The goat's hair is good for making carpets. *Gash zhū zhō kusth dugē lessta buttett.*
607. This is a big apple; I'll give half to you, and half to your son. *Inā ālī parṛ ess; chillai tū prom, ē chillai tū piṭr prom.*
608. We are all tired; we will halt here. *Emā sang gatrā bosamish; anīo wasemā.*
609. In that hamlet there are ten houses. The enemy is in this hamlet. *Ikīā bagrom dotsam amu ai. Inā mashu bagrām ess.*
610. Call a blacksmith; tell him to bring a hammer. *Barī walo; samtonn awēlā.*
611. You are a fool, you don't know the difference between right hand and left. *Tū chaṭṭa assish; tū pachūr dusht kō dusht n'zhārtish.*
612. A thief cut off my hand. *Shtār iāsī dui peṭiā.*
613. Bring a handful of grain for my horse. *Iāst ushp dugā ē gor pul gats.*
614. I have brought two red handkerchiefs from Peshāwur. *Ots dū zīr hōst susnī Peshār stē awarissī.*
615. The handle of my axe is broken. *Iā petdrī dōn peṭangess.*

616. *Hang* my pugri on the branch of that tree. *Iãst sharr ikĩã kãna tsã tã bar-pachargo psã (?)*.
617. If you are *happy*, I am contented; if you are angry, I am discontented. *Tũ kuzhãn ashĩbã õ dĩ kuzhãn assum; tũ kapã oshĩbã õ dĩ kapã azzum.*
618. This hill is very *hard*. *Inã pashu bilugh dagar ess.*
619. I fear thee; thou art a very *hard* man (of a bad heart). *Õ vidarnom; tũ digar bidĩ-o manchĩ assish.*
620. The Maulais don't eat *hare's* flesh. *Maulai manchĩ rakũs ano n'chash-and.*
621. Is your *harvest* good this year? *Starak sã tã katĩ less tuiã ?*
622. This year my *harvest* is not good. *Starak sã iãsi katĩ less n'ai.*
623. The *harvest* is very early this year; last year it was late. *Starak sã gompõk kuiyẽãyã; põ sã gompõk drẽãyã.*
624. My brother *has* a gun. *Iãsi brã tapik wãs.*
625. The Bashgalis *hate* the Afghãn priests. *Aoghãnĩ mullã katõ kẽ (?) mish ess.*
626. I *have* a sword but not a gun. *Tarwaj wãsam; tapik na wãsam.*
627. The Chitrãlis *have* not got a gun. *Bilian tapik na wãi.*
628. The Kãfirs don't keep *hawks*. *Katã marẽ na umattett.*
629. It is three months that my cow is eating *hay* (dry grass), so she has become thin. *Trẽ mõs biss iã gáo dari yũs yutt: dađar biss.*
630. Bul *Khãn* hit me on the *head* with a stick; it pains much. *Bulkhãn manoĩ mẽsh iã pshai wanã's; bilugh bradzõtt.*
631. Gumãra is the *head* of our clan. *Gumãra iã tõtt brã tã nanwřĩ ass.*
632. The *head man* is very ill and seems on the point of dying. (¶) *Jash t bilugh bradsõ-wã ess; tyor mřlã.*
633. The horse's *headstall* is broken; he is going loose in the stable. *Ushpẽ yangut peťangã; ushp amu uchpo afzett.*
634. The manure has got in a big *heap* here. *Anĩ bilugh tsũ ulettĩ biss.*



635. I *heard* the sound of a gun ; *Tapkē wanisthā iā p'kōr gwā : tū*  
 didn't you *hear* it ? *p'kōr n'gwā ?*
636. On the *hearth* are many ashes : *Iā postao assā lē ass : skā mesh*  
 sweep them up with a *skā.*  
 broom.
637. Inside this fort is much *heat* : *Kālo tā atūr tāb le butt : dumī*  
 there is no wind. *ness.*
638. Take away this *ghī* and *heat* *Ano ngātī tapētī giats.*  
 it, and then bring it back.
639. The coolies say our loads are *Barwai warī kuttett emā bōr gāno*  
 very *heavy* ; we cannot go. *ai ; emā ē na bam.*
640. Make a *hedge* of thorns around *Iā ptul pachūrē tarīn watarawa (?)*  
 my field. *kshīr.*
641. Yesterday I walked much ; *Dūs bilugh pilingam ; iāst kurktā*  
 my *heel's* skin is come off. *cham peṭangwā.*
642. The *Kāfirs* have never heard *Katō tā p'kōr n'gosā dsudsuk assā*  
 of a *Hell*. *katī.*
643. The *Kāfirs* do not know (the *Katā dsudsuk ojē bihishte (badiste)*  
 difference between) *Heaven\** *n'zārtett.*  
 and *Hell*.
644. Give me *help* ; I am tired ; I *Iā mēsh puru kshī ; gatrā bosam ;*  
 am done up ; I can't lift my *anō wopsanasum ; iā bōr ngā*  
 load. *n'battam.*
645. All my fowls are *hens*, I have *Iā sang ishtrī kakkak aiesth ; ē dī*  
 not even one cock. *nai kakkak n'aiesth.*
646. Get out ! *Henceforth* I won't *Prēts ! Īē ! p'starak stē p'amu*  
 see you at my house. *n'wṛantam.*
647. Pīr *Khān's* son is the *hench-* *Pir Khān piṭrs mehr burī churz*  
*man* (or food distributor) of *ojē Mīr Khān mehr ano kchāl*  
 the *Mehtar*, and *Mir Khān* *ess.*  
 is his cook.
648. Last year a *herd* of ibex was *Pō sē marish ē dom inā bado p'khur*  
*herding* on this hill top. *dom tiness.*
649. Come *here*. I'll whisper some- *Ani ats. Tū warī p'kōr ajholam.*  
 thing (some word) to you.

\* It appears there are no words, except the evidently Persian words, for heaven and hell.

In "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul" (Elphinstone) the words "Burryle boola" and "Burry duggar boola" are given for heaven and hell. *Lē bola* means "is good," and *digar bola* "is bad." In the *Bashgalī* there is a word *barē* which means "fate, hope, luck."

650. Flee by night ; *hide* in the day time. *Radhar mugō ; gajr chusht eshtin-ājē.*
651. Let us *hide* here ; the enemy shall not see us. *Anā attā bamā ; pachan warī n'vrēlā.*
652. *Hide* me in such a place that the Chārweḷo shall not see me. *Ĩ attkī attē kshī Chārweḷī n'vrēlā.*
653. This hill is *high*, but not very steep. *In dō dargrin assiā, urkrī n'assiā.*
654. In the *highlands* it is always cold ; down low it is hot. *Sarētā parē wōr shallā bonā ; badūrē tabī buttā.*
655. This *hill* is not very stiff ; that mountain is very steep. *Inā ashtr āl n'ess ; ikīā dō bilugh urkrī ess.*
656. I can carry your load *down-hill*, but cannot take it *up-hill*. *Ots tū bōr brūlē ngā balam, atōrē ngā n'balam.*
657. We have marched much, but, up to now, the top of the *hill* does not come in sight (or we can't see). *Bilugh piliangsamish, pstarak wik dō shai n'waroins (wār n'bamā).*
658. *Hill-men* are very powerful. Men of the plains are very small hearted. *Atōr manchi bilugh karwā asht. Badeore manchī parmenstuk zira mēsh asth.*
659. On the other side of that white *hillock* is my house. *Igē kazhīrī pit tibar iā amu ess.*
660. The *hilt* of your sword is so small I cannot clutch it. *Tū trowōch misht parmenstuk, damen n'battam.*
661. The horse of *him* is lame. My horse is lame and to-morrow I shall *hire*. *Igiē ushp kutātt. Iā ushp kutuss ; dalkiē ushp ngālom.*
662. On the *hind-quarters* of my black horse are two white spots. *Iā zhī ushp ptibr tā dū kazhīr prōts ess.*
663. My horse is lame : to-morrow I shall *hire* another animal. *Iā ushp kutātt ; dalkiē wārē ushp wagalom.*
664. *Hitherto* I have had no illness. *Iā starak wik kai bradzo na biss.*



665. My horse doesn't stand still; I can't dismount. *Hold* him. *Iã ushp otĩ na batt ; õts wãwats n'battam. Wanamã.*
666. Take care! There is a *hole* in front of you: come back. *Taraĩchĩ bõ! tũ p'nishr kadr ess: ptior ats.*
667. The enemy are hidden in the *hollow*: I have seen them with my own eyes. *Pachanwarĩ bugdrẽ p'mish attã bistai: yost achẽ vrẽ wariãm.*
668. In that forest are *holly* trees and no other. *Askã pashuĩ tã wanzĩ kãno asth, wãre kãno n'aiesth.*
669. The Afghãns have eaten all my *honey*. *Aoghãni manchĩ emã sundĩ mãrchĩ iãr.*
670. Thou art a thief! Thou hast no *honour*. *Tũ shtãr assish; tũ kai jirik n'ess.*
671. From pulling at a *hookah* too much, my head aches. *Chillam bilugh kshaiesth dugã, iã tã shai brãdzott.*
672. I *hope* my father will arrive here at sundown. *Iã bapdi ess tõtt sũ pinjebã allonn.*
673. Yesterday I shot with a gun an ibex which had only one *horn*. *Dus tapkẽ witĩ mirish jãronn (?) : e shĩ wãssiã.*
674. There are so many *hornets* in my house, I can't enter it. *Iã p'amu azhik bamo asht, atto en n'battam.*
675. Thy *horse* is a male. *Tõst ushp nãh ushp ess.*
676. My father's *horse* is a female. *I tõtto ushp shtarĩ ushp ess.*
677. The Mehtar gave me a *horse* and a mare. *Mehr e neo ushp e ishtrĩ ushp ptãs'm.*
678. Why have you given me a bad *horse*? *Tũ iã digrĩ ushp kã ptãs'm!?*
679. Don't give me a stumbling *horse*. *Iã piltalĩ ushp n'gyats.*
680. Is a male *horse* good? Or a female? *Shtarĩ ushp less ass nãh ushp less ess?*
681. The female *horse* is lazy. *Shtarĩ ushp dangar ess.*
682. A male *horse* is very fast. *Nãh ushp bilugh shigil ess.*
683. In every Kãfir village there is a maternity *hospital*. (¶) *Sundĩ katõ grãm e pshar ezz.*
684. Here there is no snow, it is *hot*, and good for tents. *Anĩ zim n'ess, tabĩ ess, jilamã dugã less ass,*

685. My *house* is very far, but your *house* is very near. *Iã amu biliuk gujr ess, tũ amu tawarẽ ass.*
686. In this village how many *houses* are there ? *Inã bagrom chok amu assil ?*
687. My brother's *house* is very dirty. *Iã brã amu bilugh mul ess.*
688. *How much ghĩ* shall I bring ? *Chok ano awēlom ?*
689. Why is that man *howling* ? *Ikĩã manchĩ kai dugã chã witt ?*
690. I am very *humble*. *Õts bilugh drushĩ-wã assum.*
691. In my country *bulls* have no *hump*. *Iã gul tã ashẽ kũ n'aiesht.*
692. That *hunch-backed* man is the son of a *mullah*. *Ikĩã wão mushtar mullã piṭr ess.*
693. Thanks to keeping the fast, I am very *hungry*, and have become very thin. *Pochētr ngutesth dugã, ãttã bissam : biluk daḍr bissam.*
694. The *Mehtar* has come to *hunt* (make sport). *Mehar shurṭr kusth dugã aiyo.*
695. The doctor is clever and won't *hurt* you. *Tapip biliuk ushukul assiã, tũ nẽ bradzãott.*
696. That woman says "my *husband* is dead." *Askã jugũr giḡḡ kuttã " iãst mōsh mṛiss " kuttã.\**
697. The *Ibex* are not here; they have gone to the high hills. *Mirishen anẽ n'aiesth ; ãl dõ tã gwã.*
698. I have seen no *ice* anywhere this year. *Inã sē shie kõr n'warĩãm.*
699. I have an *idea* that this year there will be much heat in summer. *O woshtettam inã sē wazdõr biliuk tãp bolã.*
700. Thou art *idle* ; this is not time for sleep. *Tũ yush assish ; inã wēl pshu wēl n'ess.*
701. From excessive laziness thou hast become an *idiot*. *Tũ biliuk pshwik oss ; askẽ dugã tũ charṛã bissish.*

\* The last word of the sentence seems pleonastic: see also sentences Nos. 868, 1055, 1081, 1177, 1422, 1423, 1483, 1522. There are other sentences of similar construction (e.g., 819, 930, 1356), in which this last word is not used. This is one of the many points on which the Kāfirs, who were employed to translate, disagreed.



702. *If you go, I will go. If you don't go, I also won't go.* *Tū enjī bā ñ dī ēlom; tū n'enjī-bā ñ dī n'ēlom.*
703. *Thou art ill: come with me to hospital: I'll give thee medicine. My brother also is very ill.* *Tū bradso oshī: ī mēsh ozhumā tā ats: ñts azhur prēlom. Iāsī brā dī biluk bradso ass.*
704. *Very well; I am coming immediately.* *Lē; ñts sapp ēlom.*
705. *He is a very impudent fellow.* *Ikīā manchī bilugh chaṭṭā ess.*
706. *In my house my child (only) is left behind, and no one else.* *Iāst p'amu attā iāst piṭr azs; wārā n'ai.*
707. *You are a very independent fellow, I will punish you (beat).* *Tū bilugh to chitt\* tā manjī ashī, tū wilom.*
708. *You are a very industrious fellow.* *Tū biliuk kudūm kul manchī assish.*
709. *I am an inhabitant of Brōz.* *Ñts Brōz wārī assum.*
710. *The Afghāns have done much injury here.* *Aoghānī manchī anī bilugh dagar pilingī kars.*
711. *I did not kill Mir Khān, I am innocent (have no crime).* *Ñts Mirkhān n'jāriss, kā dush n'wāsam.*
712. *A coolie has fallen head downwards and is quite insensible.* *Ē barwai shiē yūr bītī piltiss; biluk bēṛā biss.*
713. *Inside my box is a lot of paper.* *Adrē tā atēr bilugh ptī ai.*
714. *What do you intend? Shall we go to-morrow or not?* *Tū kai bidī ess? dalkiē ēmā ta n'ēmā?*
715. *According to your intention (as you please).* *Tō chitt.\**
716. *I don't intend (my heart is not).* *Iā chitt n'ess.*
717. *To irrigate my fields I will make a water channel,* *Parēst dugā ptul tā yō epamā.*
718. *I want iron to make an axe.* *Padrī karosth dugā chimr ñsh kotam.*

\* Apparently a Chitrālī idiom (707, 715, 716).

719. There is not one *ironsmith* in *Angār eo dī baṛi n'aiesht.*  
Aiyūn.

J

720. You are a very *jabbering* man. *Tū biluk warī walal manchē assish.*

721. *Jackals* make a great noise at *Shiāl radhar bilugh chá witt*  
night.

722. There is honey in the *jar.* *Kunī tā atūr mārchē assā.*

723. My *jaw* is broken by my fall-  
ing. *Lunisthi mish akilattī peṭangwā.*

724. He is a very *jealous* (bad  
heart) man. *Ikā manchē bilugh digar zira-wā*  
*manchē ess.*

725. It is not good for boys to *jest*  
too much. *Marir mēsh bilugh mishishth less*  
*n'ess.*

726. My brother gives a lot of  
*jewels* to his wife. *Iā brā shtrissē\* gaṛ lē prētt.*

727. This year there is no *juice* in  
the apples (not *juicy*). *Inā sē paṛṛ aruzwai n'bistā.*

728. The *junction* of the *Luttkhū*  
and *Mastūj* rivers is a  
plain, not a gorge. *Mastij gol áo Lutkui gol áo ē pur*  
*bitta tā diwar ass, arunī gol*  
*n'ess.*

729. The wood of the *juniper* burns  
very well. *Sarēz dāo angā karbā lessta par-*  
*chitta.*

730. The *Mehtar* has *just* come  
from *Broz.* *Mehr Broz tā starak aiyo.*

731. Do me *justice!* I am in-  
nocent. *Iā isop kshī! ô dush n'wásam.*

K

732. The *Kāfir* language is very  
hard to learn. *Katō warī biluk n'zārasth assā.*

733. I am off on a journey. *Keep*  
this box for me. *Badur samiritsam. Inā adrē iā*  
*dugā ütē.*

734. Why have you not *kept* some  
bread to-day? *Achok boṛ pstarak kyā na awitārā?*

735. I was very hungry, so I *kept*  
none. *Biliugh áttā bissī, giaktī n'awitārā.*

\**Ishtrī-s-ē,*

wife-of him-to.



736. My servant has lost the *key* of my box. *Iāst shodr iāst adrē askuē psess.*
737. Why do you *kick* my horse? I will *kick* you. *Tū kai dugā iā ushpē pā vich; tū pā vilom.*
738. If you *kick* me, I will beat you with a stick. *Tū iā pā vichi ō tū manoiā wilom.*
739. I have an intention to *kill* you. *Iā chitt bitto tū jārlom.*
740. You are a very *kind-hearted* man. *Tū bilugh lē bidiwā manchē assish.*
741. To show *kindness* to a snake is not a good policy. *Bibimst mēsh mishishth lest kudūm ness.*
742. The *king* has taken a bride. *Mehr shtrī awariss.*
743. In my *kitchen*, food is being cooked for all the men. *Iā burī kutan amu tã sang manchian dugā anjē tyor kuttett.*
744. A *kite* came down and took off my chickor. *Zhī marē oz iāst urr brī.*
745. A stone hurt my *knee*, as I was marching yesterday. *Dus piliang tã zān pa wott pūpta. (?)*
746. Get a *knife* to cut meat. *Ano peṭasthā kato giats.*
747. What art thou *knitting*? I am *knitting* a choga. *Tū kai oshich? Ōts shugā oshinam.*
748. My rope has got *knotted*. *Iā kanik gittangus.*
749. What is your name? What is your father's name? I do not *know*; my father does not *know*. *Tā kyā nām ess? Tōttā kai nām ess? Iā shū ness; tōttio shū ness.*
750. I do not *know* the Chitrāli language. *Ō Bilian warī n'zārlsam.*
751. I do not *know* Umrā Khān. *Ōts Umrā Khān n' jārlsam.*

## L

752. For men to do *labour* is good. *Manchian dugā kudūm kshē less.*
753. Get a *ladder*, I'll go on to the roof. *Chik giats, pkrūm ēlom.*
754. My hens have *laid* four eggs to-day. *Iā ishtrī kakkak starak shtōwa azio karistā.*

755. All the water of the lake is frozen. Panilē āo sundi she tin ass.
756. My white lamb is lame to-day. Iā kashīr wakī strak gujr kuttātt.
757. My horse is lame; all our horses are lame. Iā ushp kuttātt; emā sundī ushp kuttāttett.
758. A lammergeier came down from the sky and took off my cock. Zhī marē badist tā wō āyo kakkok damītī gwā.
759. Why does not my lamp give a light? Iā tel kaikotī ruch n'buttosal?
760. My land is not good for barley. Iā bhīm rīts dugā less n'ess.
761. All the land is useless (not arable). Sang bhīm n'utkor ess.
762. Is the land around your house cultivated or waste? Tū p'amu ptior bhīm ābād assett zajīr assett?
763. Is your house on the high lands or low lands (valley)? To pamu sirtan tā sett shor tā assē?
764. The Kāfir language is very sweet. Katō warī bilugh aruzwā essā.
765. This horse is small: get a large one; for my father is a large man. Inā ushp parmenstuk ess: āl ushp giats; iāsī tōtt bilugh āl manchī assā.
766. Last night I went to Broz. Dus rador Bruts gūssam.
767. Last month I was ill, now I am well. Pō-ē mōs bradzowā assium, starak adugē assum.
768. He made many excuses; at last he took his load. Ikīā manchī bilugh tutī ptā; pēlik bōr ngūtā.
769. You have come late: there is no load for you. Tū drē aiyosh: tū dugā bōr n'aiesht.
770. You have come late (inopportunely). The Mehtar has not leisure to hear your (written) petition. Tū malāl\* botī aiyosh. Mehr tū patī kōr kusth dugā shotik n'ess.
771. Why are you laughing? The Diwānbēgī is angry. Tū kai dugā kanich? Diwānbēgī mashu kolann.

\* As in Chitrālī.



772. Adjoining my house is a very pretty lawn and fruit trees. *Ī pamu ptior bilugh shingira brunz ass ; kachwach kāno dī asht.*
773. My horse is very lazy ; yours is fast. *Iā ushp n'pā baless ; tū ushp shatramē ess.*
774. The dog is lazy and does not bark. *Krūz digar ess ; n'raṭṭatt.*
775. I shall get off my horse ; you lead it. *Ō ushp tā wāo atsolam ; tū ngātētī giats.*
776. Lead thou ; I will follow thee. *Tū panoi bō ; ō tū ptiwar atsolam.*
777. You four men lead ; we four will follow. *Shā shtowa manchī panoi bōr ; emā shtowa manchī ptior atsomā.*
778. Get lead to make bullets. *Purik kuthē dugā tūch giats.*
779. If we kill the enemy's leader, all will flee. *Emā pachanwarī-ē jasht jārlmā pachanwarī manchī mukēlā.*
780. The enemy's leader has fled. *Pachanwarī jasht mukiss.*
781. I can't learn the Chitrālī language : it is very difficult. *Bilian warī pilangon (?) n'battam : biluk zur assā.*
782. To make (sew)ubboos bring some ibex leather. *Wetso shewesth dugā mareshin chiom gats.*
783. Why hast thou gone ? I did not give thee leave. *Tū kā gā-osh ? Iā pur n'grussish.*
784. Come back ! I do not give thee leave to depart. Break up this wood : then I will give thee leave. *Anī ats ! Tū purū n'ngattam. Dār pētē ; tū samīlam.*
785. We shall leave Chitrāl at daylight to-morrow. *Dalkiē emā ruch bibā Shdrāl stā emā.*
786. At time of starting leave the yellow dog behind. *Samrī bā zīr krūz tarā kshī.*
787. Summer has gone ; the leaves of the tree are falling. *Wizdōr gwā ; shtōmatā por wiazīā.*
788. A horse will go, but it must be led. *Ushp ailī, wanamdī barēbā.*
789. The Mehtar has eaten his food ; this much meat is left. *Mehr yash iāro ; ajik yash uttā bistai.*
790. Why is Pīr Khan left behind ? He is not ill. *Pirkhān kai dugā wopsin ess ? Bradzo n'oss.*

791. My right *leg* aches; my left *leg* is all right. *Iāst pchūtar chōn bradzott; kōwar chōn lesst ass.*
792. To-day I have no *leisure*; come to-morrow. *Starak iā wōm n'ess; dalkiē ats.*
793. I will *lend* you one rupee for two months. *Tū ē tang dū mōs tā dā kulom.*
794. I *lent* you one rupee last year, you have not given it back. *Pō sē i ē tang dā karsish, tū o n'ptā'm.*
795. Chānlu killed a large *leopard* on the mountain yesterday. *Dus Chālū bado shai āl jut jāriss.*
796. Don't bring so much *ghī*; bring *less*. *Ajik ano n'gyats; achok giats.*
797. A load of my grass has fallen into the river. *Let* it alone. *Iāst ē bōr po-ē gwā. N'cho; piz bilā.*
798. A man has brought you a *letter* of the Mehtar. *Manchī tū dugā Mehr'st patī awariss.*
799. What is the use of telling *lies*? *Mizhosth kai ot (od?) ess?*
800. The Chitrālis tell many *lies* (are very lying). *Bilian bilugh mishāl.*
801. Sir! this boy tells many *lies*. *Sāhib! Inā marir bilugh mishott.*
802. If you tell *lies*, I will beat you. *Tū mishoch silibo wilom.*
803. A woman's corpse is lying on the ground; I am sure there is no *life* in it. *Jugūr mṛiss akīō bhīmā wōtriss; ōts wizhanam ikīā tā shū ness.*
804. My house is dark; *light* it. *Iā pamu andhar biss; roch kshī.*
805. The coolies say "our loads are very heavy: *lighten* them." *Barwai gijjē kund emā bor gāwā asht; lugā kshī.*
806. Tell the man to *light* a fire. *Manchī walō angā parchiālā.*
807. I saw the *lightning*; I did not hear the thunder. *Deshpilsal wariām; uderl n'sang-āyā.*
808. These two brothers are exactly *alike*. *Amnī dū brā ē yōr asht.*
809. My *lips* are split with the cold. *Iā yūshṭ shillē tā pētangwā.*
810. *Listen!* I think a thief is coming. *Kōr ktī! bibdī kshām shtār aiyo.*
811. Don't give my horse much grain, give him a *little*. *Iā ushp pul lē n'ētē, achok ptē (?) (prē).*
812. Give me a *little* food. *Iā achok brē prē.*



813. Where dost thou *live*? *Tū kāwo gul tã buch ?*
814. I *live* in Broz. *Ots Brāz nishinissam.*
815. One coolie has brought a *load* of snow. *Ē barwai zīma tã bōr awārā.*
816. Why have you *loaded* my gun? *Iã tapik tū kai soss tã attushiss ?*
817. The *locusts* have done much harm to my crops. *Gushrogu iãst ptul biliuk pīss kriss.*
818. This mountain is very *lofty*. *Iyē bado bilugh opignā ess.*
819. The coolies say "We cannot drag so large a *log*." *Barwai walettett (gijjī kund) "emā ajistuk āl argru kshon n'battamish."*
820. This *log* is very long: cut it exactly in two. *Inā argru biluk drigrī ass : p'mijhū pētang.*
821. My *loin-cloth* is tight; loosen it. *Iã shirr wishtē ass ; jijil kshē.*
822. *Look!* when the coolies appear, tell me. *Aīsh kshī ! koī barwai warībā iã walō.*
823. The men of this village are very poor; no one has a *looking glass*. *Inā bagrom manchī biluk drushṭī-wā manchī asht ; eo dī tarē n'aiesht.*
824. The government soldiers don't wear *loose* clothes. *Sirkāro spāhī frāk zapp n'amjind.*
825. The Chitrālīs let their horses *loose* in this forest in summer. *Bilian manchī wīzdor amshēst ushpān ikīā psōn nachāttett.*
826. My horse's girth is *loose*: tighten it. *Iā ushp trang jijil biss : ikīō wishtē.*
827. I took a herd of goats yesterday on the top of the pass. I have *lost* them all. *Dus gash dōm badō shai awarissī : sang keti psiā.*
828. The coolie says he fell and his *load* is *lost*. *Barwai gijjī kutt ō paltiosam, bōr psiā.*
829. A man is going, a *lotah* in his hand having taken. *Ē manchī kuniyā b'dosh damētī prētt.*
830. Last night a *loud* sound came on my ear. I don't know what can have happened. *Rador kotē warī iã p'kōr gwā. Kai warī bosel iã shū n'ess.*

831. In spring my garden is very lovely. *Bosut wokt tã iã darestã shingira bã.*
832. All the coolies have come : they have done no loss (harm). *Sang barwai aiyã : kai bãpsã n'kris-siã.*
833. I heard the sound of the lowing of the cattle. *Gã arsett : iã sangãyã.*
834. Chitrãl new fort is down low ; the old fort is higher up stream. *Shdrãl noi kãlo nĩr ess ; sium kãlo chĩr ess.*
835. I have sown lucerne seeds here. *Anĩ mushich bĩ ashiss.*
836. Your luck is good ; mine is little. *To barẽ lẽ assiã ; iã barẽ utettĩ ess.*
837. That coolie is not weak ; he is a lunatic. *Stã barwai darẽ n'ess ; ber ass.*
838. My lungs ache from much coughing. *Bilugh kassetum : atũr bradzott.*

## M

839. That man talks much nonsense ; I think he must be mad. *Stã manchĩ bilugh berãn walett ; õ purjitom chatã assel.*
840. The magpie is not a bad bird ; he does not eat up our maize. *Biliankor digar marangats n'ess ; jigor n'yũtt.*
841. I have given money ; if any man is dissatisfied, let him tell me. *ĩ paiz ptã ; kãchĩ manchĩ n'shoti-nestabã, i walã.*
842. My horse's mane (neck hair) has got bad ; he has mange (rubs it). *Ushp tã maroik (marengĩ) tã dro (zho) digar bistai ; changrõt.*
843. You have no manliness, you are become idiotic. *Tũ kai less bidĩ ness, tu chatã bissish.*
844. Much manure is collected near my house. *Iã pamu torẽ biliuk dsul wasan-ristai.*
845. On that hill are many thieves. In my village there is not one thief. *Ikĩã pashĩ tã shtãr lẽ asht. Iã bagrom eo shtãr n'ai.*



846. Is Bragamatal a full day's march to Chitrāl or nearer? It is a two days' march. For a man with a load it is a three days' march. *Bragamatal Shdrāl ē gujr pott ess tawarē ess? Dū gajr pott ess. Barwai bōr ngāti trai gajr pott ess.*
847. What mark is that on your hand? *Tū dush tā kai nizhân ess?*
848. The Markhor have not come down this year from the hill. *Starak sē shāru badō stē yūr n'āyā.*
849. Many men have come for my brother's marriage. *Iā brá jugūr awrī iādugā bilugh manchī wasanristai.*
850. My brother married (took a wife) last year. *Iā brá pō sē jugūr awrī.*
851. Look! Mirak's horse has got bogged in a marsh. *Aīsh kshī! Mirak ushp shur tā wurshīā.*
852. You are master (great)! I am your servant. *Tū âl ashī: ōts tū shodr assum.*
853. What is the matter with you? *Tū kai bissish?*
854. What is your meaning? I can't understand your speech. *Tū kai manīchī; tū warī n'purjosam.*
855. It is three days since I have eaten any meat: so I am hungry. *Troi wōs ano biṭṭā iā n'iār: āttā bā.*
856. My servant coughs much; what medicine is good for him? *Iā shodr bilugh kasett; ikīō dugā kai ushā lestabalā?*
857. My stomach is swelled from eating (I have eaten) too much melon. *Karbiza bilugh iārā iā ktol ālla bā.*
858. The ghī is frozen: melt it. *Ano shē tin ess; ikīē tipāō.*
859. My cloth is torn: sew it (mend it). *Iā bazisnā ushī bistai: ikīā shiwē, (lesta kshī).*
860. My gun is broken; get a carpenter to mend it. *Iāst tapak peṭangess; ikīā less kusth dugā dāo sellē giats.*
861. In Chitrāl there are many mendicants. *Shdrāl kalandarē bilugh asht.*

862. The *merchant* is a great thief and always lies. Sâdawai bilugh shtâr *ess*; *sang wôr ladêl ess.*
863. Be *merciful*: if you are *merciless*, you will go to Hell. Odh bō; tū mash kotish tū *do-zako tã êlosh.*
864. The Mehtar has sent two *messengers* to the Khān of Dir. *Mehr Dīr Khān dū manchī lader krishtai.*
865. At *mid-day* there is great heat. Just at *mid-night* it is cold. Grish bilugh tōp *butt.* Rador *bar-bōr shillā butt.*
866. I am thirsty, I will drink *milk*. Iã *áo pig biss, zu pilom.*
867. Bring the cow to *milk* her. I have *milked* the cow. Gáo *giats, dolamão. Gáo dulê.*
868. The *bābū* says "grind the *barley*"; but there is no *mill*. Bābū *gijjē kutt "rits pshīō" kutt; apshīān n'ai.*
869. The *mill*er says the stone of his *mill* is broken. Apshīān *manchī gijjē kutt apshīān wār peringess.*
870. My *cultivation* is bad: I have no *wheat*, only *millet*. Iãst *ptul digar ess: gum ness, katsā ess.*
871. I have heard that in this *valley* is a *mine* of *lead stone*. Iã *p'kōr gwā inā b'gul ashtrutt tuch kōn ess.*
872. There is much *mist*, and one can't see the *enemy*. *Bilugh mēh biss, pachanwarī warantan n'buttett.*
873. I made a *mistake*; three men have come, not four. Iã *larissā: troi manchī aiyā, shto manchī n'aosht.*
874. *Mix* this *medicine* with *water* and drink. Inā *wushē āo mish suntrō katī pī.*
875. I am very *poor* and have no *money* whatever. *Biliuk kai nowā manchī assum: iã mēsh ē paiz dī n'aiesht.*
876. There are *clouds*, so the *moon* is not well visible. Nāru'ssā, *mōs lesstakā n'waron prētt.*
877. To-morrow *evening* is new *moon*. *Dalkiē salkēn wār noi mōs atsēli.*
878. To-day is half *moon*. *Starak-gajar napūr ess.*
879. It is two days after full *moon*. *Mōs pichis oss bitī dū oss dī biss.*
880. You have eaten much; don't eat *more*; you will be sick (*vomit*). *Tū bilugh iār; wārā n'yū; shtār-chī.*



881. Awake me in the morning; don't let me sleep. Yazhī wēl tã iã bektsá; pshuikan n'ūtan (?).
882. Mosquitoes bite much; I can't sleep. Kō bilugh yūttett; pshōn n'battam.
883. In the summer moths get at the clothes. Wizdōr basnā tã wēk buttett.
884. It is two months since my mother died. Dū mōs biss iãst nōn mṛissī.
885. The road is level now; mount your horse. Pott diwarī ess; ushp p'sir nishē.
886. The mountain is very high. Pashī bilugh ál ess.
887. On the top of the mountain there is much snow. Ashtrē p'sir zīm bilugh ess.
888. Mountaineers are good for carrying heavy loads. Atūr manchī ál bōr ngusth dugã less asht.
889. The road to Urguch is bad; a footman will arrive quicker than a mounted man. Arguich putt digrī ess; ushpo sir manchī tã kūro manchī kuiyã Arguich prāl.
890. In winter the (mouse) mice go somewhere or another. They have come now to light (to the eyes) again. Ziwōr mussā kōr etassal. Starak p'ochen ettett.
891. Mirak and Basti are not alike. Mirak has moustachios and Basti has not. Mirak Basti barbor n'aiesht. Mirak guchī asht Basti-e guchī n'asht.
892. Mirak has a big mouth; Basti has a small mouth. Mirak ashī ál ess; |Basti-e ashī parmenstuk ess.
893. This place is not good for pitching a tent, there is much mud. Anīō jaga jilamā uchasth dugã less ne'ss, bilugh shur ess.
894. There is much wood here. Anī dā lē ai.
895. A mud stream came last year and destroyed my crops. Pō se kūri āyā iãst ptul brā.
896. In my garden there are many mulberries. Iã baristã (b'durestān) kēlik lē asht.
897. In Drōsh there are five hundred government mules. Dryus p'mīsh Sarkāro pōch sher kachor asht.
898. The mule is better than the ass for load carrying in the hilly country. Atūr bōr ngusth dugã kur-ē tã kachor lesst buttett.

899. I am sure Samar has *murdered* Basti; Basti is dead. *Iāst bidī assā Bastī-ē Samar jāriṣṣ; Bastī mṛā.*
900. Dān Malik is a *murderer* and his father and grandfather. They are all bad men. *Dān Malik manchī jārl assā, tōt's dī wāo's dī manchī jārl assā. Sundī digar manchī asht.*
901. The *musicians* made a great noise last night amongst themselves. *Dus radar duṛwā amshīā p'mish biluk rārā kriss.*
902. The *muzzle* of my gun is filled up with mud (in the middle of opening of gun). *Iāst tapkiē ashī tā aturēnī shur biss.*
903. In Chitrāl are many *mynahs*: there are none in the high-lands. *Shdrāl satr marangats lē asht; srētā n'asht.*

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904. An iron *nail* has broken my *finger nail*. *Chimētku nāchē tā mizhē.*
905. Give the *name* of each individual coolie. *Sang barwai kūr kūr nom iā tā walō.*
906. The officer says give me ten *Kāfir names*. Well! listen! (Here follow ten names.) (¶) *Sāhib gijjī kutt iā tā dus Katō manchī nom walō. Lē! kōr ktē! Aror, Bastī, Chālū, Dān Malik, Garak, Karuk, Mirak, Morī, Samar, Widing.*
907. The road is *narrow*: two laden mules can't go abreast (or in pairs). One must follow the other (one in front, one behind). *Putt arunī ess: dū kachor bōr ngātī yāmna bitī ē n'battett; ē panishar bibā ē ptior bibā lessta balā.*
908. This is a *nasty* road. *Inā putt digar ess.*
909. The water is *nasty*: fetch some good water. *Inā ūgh\* nang ess: leo ūgh gats.*
910. This fruit is *nasty* to taste (not luscious). *Inā kajwaj aruzwai n'asht.*

\* Chitrālī.



911. Stay *near* me, for I can't hear your words. *Tū iā tã nishē, tū warī iā p'kōr n'aiett.*
912. Take away the water; I have no *necessity* for it. *Áo giē; áo kã ūd n'ess.*
913. From carrying a load my *neck* aches. *Bōr ngusth dugã kumo bradzott.*
914. There is not a *needle* in our village. *Emá bagrom ē chimchich dī n'aiest.*
915. Our women don't know what sort of thing is a *needle*. *Emá jugūr n'zātett chimchich kai lattrē ess.*
916. My horse *neighs* much: I am sure he is hungry. *Iā ushup biluzh rārā kutt: ō purjitam áttā biss.*
917. Garak is my *neighbour* and is a very stingy fellow. *Garak emá amu vishī ass: bilugh nashatā ass.*
918. Morī has married my *nephew's* daughter. *Morī iā nawōs jus shtarī kriss.*
919. You are a bad lot; I'll *never* forgive you. *Tū digar manchī assish; tū koī dī kai n'prēlom.*
920. Is that *new* snow on the mountain? *Badō s̄kai noi zīm assā?*
921. I haven't seen: I have no *news*. *Iā n'warīs: iā kai shū n'ess.*
922. This month (having) gone, *next* mont I will go to Drōsh. *Inā mōs gaiebā sōr mōsa tã Dryus ettam.*
923. This year has *ting* gone, *next* year I am going to Pesh-āwur. *Inā sē gaiebā sōr sē tã Peshār ēlom.*
924. This road is *nice* for camels. *Inā putt shturē dugã less.*
925. By *night* two thieves came to my house. *Radhar dū shtār ī pamu āyā.*
926. The *noblemen* of Chitrāl are very good men. *Shdrāl āl manchī lē manchī ashth.*
927. You are a *noble* fellow. *Tū biliuk āl bidio (zira-wā) manchī assish.*
928. The coolies are making a great *noise*. The Mehtar can't sleep. *Barwai bilugh zhar̄r kuttett. Mehar pshutī n'yett.*
929. You are talking much *nonsense*. Don't make a noise. *Tū char̄rē (chattē) walētish. Tū zhar̄r n'kshī.*

930. I saw a man yesterday who has no nose. He says a bear tore it off. *Dus manchē wariām nasur n'ess. Manjē gijjē kutt its nasur wākshess.*
931. Inside my nostril is a boil. *Nasur tā atēr apsis.*
932. The coolies have not yet come; but I have seen they are near. *Barwai n'āyā; i wariām turē asht.*
933. You ask a copper from me? I have nothing. Why should I give coppers for nothing? *Tū iā tā paisa awēguchī? iā tā kai n'asht. Tū gijjā kāi dugā paiz prēlom?*
934. Now they have come, but one man is left behind. *Starak āyā: ē barwai ptior otin ess.*
935. In my valley are many nullahs. *Iā watan tā bilugh gul asht.*
936. My fingers are all numb with cold. *Shillē angur shangūr bistai.*
937. The nimda of my saddle is all wet with the horse's sweat. *Zin tokūm ushp khel tā zhilā biss.*
938. Our friends are numerous, and the enemy few. *Emā zotr lē asht: pachan warā achok ai.*
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939. I take an oath I will kill Dan Malik. *Iā shott \*chīm (shutt dibī) Dān Malik jārlam.*
940. You are a bad lot; you obey no one's word. *Tū digar manchē assish; ko warī n'awēguch.*
941. If you offend (make small of me) I'll bring you to grief (evil). *Tū iā parmenstuk kuchī tū digar kalom.*
942. There is no oil for lighting the lamp. *Ptremshuk pashiōsth dugā tēl n'ess.*
943. My clothes are become old. *Iā bazisnā siūm bistai.*
944. Our house has got old (in ruins). *Emā'st amu witriss.*
945. I can't understand the old man's talk; his teeth have fallen and he mumbles; his old woman also doesn't speak clear. *Wāo warī tīsh n'butt; dut waronstai; wā-wā-wā kutt; wāi dī lesst warī na walett.*



946. The wood of the *olive* is very strong for walking sticks, and won't break. Kāo dār manoī kusth dugā̃ less ass; n'p̄rēliss.
947. On the Chitrāl road there are thieves. Bā Bilian puttan shtār ai.
948. On my table a knife is left. Kunā ptsir ktā (kato) wutarst.
949. On my head is a boil. P'shai p'mā̃ju apsiss.
950. On that hill there is no grass. Ikē pashī tã yūs n'ess.
951. Have you done this on purpose or forgetfully? Tū enā kudūm tinj bītī karsā par-marshētī karsā?
952. If I climb a hill, my head aches. Why does your head ache? You don't march on your head; you march on your legs. Ōts badō eila bimbā shai bradzonn. Tostā shai kyā bradzon? Tū shai wrē na anjī, tū kūr wrā anjī.
953. Call up the coolies one by one. Barwai yu kūrē walō.
954. Once I fell into the river, so I fear it much. Ē wōr poi p'mā̃sh lunissam bilugh widarēttum.
955. I was left behind on the top of the pass. For three days I have only eaten wild onions; I had no food with me; I am hungry. Badō shai wopsanossum. Troi wōs koponn iār wārē kā n'iār; bre n'assī; ātta bā.
956. I have brought a donkey load of onions for the sepoy. Ē bōr trashtu spāhī dugā̃ awērā.
957. I have only one horse. Iā ē ushp ass; wārā n'aiesht.
958. Near my house are holly trees only, and no other trees. Inā pamu tawarē wanzī asht, wārē kāno n'aiesht.
959. Mirak is a great hunter; he has killed a big *oorial* to-day. Mirak bilugh shartrī assā; starak gujr āl mirish jāritī āyā.
960. My box is not open. Iā adr gunā n'ess.
961. Bring an axe to open my box. Iā adr gunā kusth dugā̃ pets giats.
962. My opinion is the enemy is about fleeing. Iā baddī ess pachanwarī mikēlā.
963. Chānlū seeks an opportunity to harm my work. Chālū iā kudūm nashisth dugā̃ aish kutt.

964. Be on the watch; seize the opportunity of Widing going out of his house to kill his dog. *Aĩsh kshĩ; Widing pamu begũ bā sōs katĩ krũĩ jār.*
965. On the opposite bank of the river two men are marching even with us. *Poi pēr dũ manchĩ emā mēsh tĩch katĩ ettett.*
966. The Kāfirs are very poor (of no account); the Chitrālis oppress them much. *Katā kai no-wā asht; Bilian biluk utili buttett.*
967. To kill an oppressor is fair. *Utili bul manchĩ jārĩbā less.*
968. You are a great man. I will obey whatever orders you give me. *Tũ āl manchĩ assish; tũ kai manumbā õ kulom.*
969. I gave you an order to bring five men. The head man says there are not five men (available). *Iã tã tẽ pōnj manchĩ gaiet hukm ptāshuss. Jasht pōnj manchĩ n'āio kutoss.*
970. The golden oriole is a very pretty bird and sings sweetly in spring. *Komlik p̄goluk (?) marangats biluk shingur ossā; wosut lesst watsett.*
971. This little boy is an orphan: his father and mother are both dead. *Inā parmenstuk marĩr tsarĩ ess: inā tōtt's dī nriss inā nōn's dī nriss.*
972. Our cows are all grown thin. *Emā gāo sang bilugh daḍar bistai.*
973. My brother killed some man, so he is an outlaw. *Iā brā manchĩ jārĩtĩ chili bitĩ gũs.*
974. Get outside the house; you are a fool. *Pamu bē ī; tũ bēṛ assish.*
975. I owe Chānlũ two rupees. *Õts Chālũ-ē dũ tangē dām assum.*
976. Owls frequent my garden at night. *Rador iã b'darestã bāghrē lē afziã.*
977. This is my own horse. *Inā iã ushp ess.*
978. Do you own an axe? *Wezõ (pots) tũ mēsh assē?*
979. The owner of the house has gone to Peshāwur. *Inā amo wārĩ Peshār gwā.*



## P

980. My arm *pains*; and both my eyes ache. *Iã doĩ bradzott; dũ achiẽ sots kuttett.*
981. The sepoy's are marching in *pairs*. *Spãhĩ yamnã butĩ end.*
982. The Mehtar has built a new *palace*. *Mehar noi nishĩ amu křish̄tai.*
983. Your face is *pale*: I am sure you are ill. *To miok adrã biss: õ purzanam bradso-wã assish̄.*
984. You killed my brother: I won't *pardon* you. *Tũ iã brã jãriss: õ n' pmishtēlam.*
985. Your *parents* are well bred; and why do you take to *thieving*? *Tũ nõn tõtt ãl manchĩ asht; tã kai dugã shtãr bissish̄?*
986. Make this apple into three *parts*. *Inã pãrro trẽ pãrti ksh̄.*
987. The flesh of the hill *partridge* is unpleasant to me; I don't eat it. *Uřrẽ ano iã dugã digar ess; õ n' aietam.*
988. The Lawarĩ (Rãoli) *Pass* (col) is very difficult in winter. *Rãoli-gor pakhtalã ziwor biliuk digar ess.*
989. The Gangalwatt *pass* is harder than the Lawarĩ. *Rãoli-gor pakhtalẽ tã Gãgrĩ-wott pakhtalã digar ess.*
990. I shall *pass* three days at Drõsh̄. *Trẽ gujr Dryus nish̄ilom.*
991. At the foot of the Gangalwatt *Pass* there are only *pasture* lands of the Kãfirs; there is no hamlet. *Gãgrĩ-wott badõ pagũrã Katõ sõn ess; grãm n'ess.*
992. Across the river is a narrow *path*; it is not fit to take a horse. *Põẽ pãr limrai pott ess; ushp pilangõsth pott n'ess.*
993. It is only a goat *path*, not a horse road. *Dushãn pott ess, ushp pott ness.*
994. You are an impatient fellow: have *patience*. *Tũ tupetich manchĩ assish̄: darã ksh̄.*

995. The Pathāns have fixed my *pay* at three rupees per mensem. *Aoghānī iā dugā mos tā trē tanga mājib prēttett.*
996. The *peaches* of Ranbūr are as big as my hand. *Konisht āru iā duī tā brobar āi asht.*
997. All the *pears* this year are sour. *Inā sē sundī tōng gū bistai.*
998. The Hindustānī *people* are very dark. *Hindustān-o manchī biluk zhī asht.*
999. In winter the body gets warm by eating *pepper*. *Zawor morch iārābā jitt tapett.*
1000. You are a *perfect* man! You talk Bashgalī very clearly. *Tū lē mōch assish: tū Katō warī biliuk lē warī kuch.*
1001. Some one is cooking meat; I smell its *perfume*. *Manchī ano pachitt; ano tā gun afziā.*
1002. There are many clouds; I think *perhaps* it will rain; God only knows. *Nāru bissā; shtalē agal prēlā washitam; Imrā jārlann.*
1003. When you have given me leave (*permission to*), I shall go to Ranbūr. *Tū iā koī purū kolaibā Konisht ēlom.*
1004. My horse is all *perspiration* from galloping. *Iā ushp bilugh shagī tā ashpā afziā.*
1005. You are a *pertinacious* fellow. *Tū biliuk sōp sip manchī essish.*
1006. Are there *pheasants* in your forest? *Tū pashur tā bātachol ashtī?*
1007. There are no *pheasants*; but there are lots of monāls. *Bātachol n'aiesht; bābakar le asht.*
1008. Get a *pick* to *pick* out stones. *Wōtt ukshosth dugā wōsh giats.*
1009. My coolie has dropped a blanket: *pick* it up and give to him. *Iās barwai jil wō uktsess: ulēr kshī ikiē prē.*
1010. Give me a *piece* of meat. *Iā achok ano giats.*
1011. The Sāhib wants (has started?) to shoot *pigeons*. *Sāhib kūr jāristhai dugā samriis.*



1012. The (wooden) *pillar* of my house is weak: I think it will fall this year. *Iāst amu shtūan ranzat : ò wishitam inā sē witolilī.*
1013. I have no *pillow*, so I can't sleep. *Potsantestā n'ess, òts pshuik n' battam.*
1014. Who is that man wearing a *pink* shirt? *Ē manchē shhedrukral basná amjistai; ikīō kai nom essā?*
1015. I don't smoke a *pipe* (tobacco). I take snuff. *Òts tamkio n'kshátam; naswūr kunam.*
1016. Who gave you that *pistol*? *Ikīā drun tapē tū ko ptā'shī?*
1017. My goat fell into this *pit* yesterday. *Iā gash dus inā shē tā luniss.*
1018. You have no *pity* on the coolies; and of course they dislike you. *Tū barwai aīsh n'kutish; tū shtale amnīō tā digar assish.*
1019. This place is unfit for *pitching* tents. *Inā bhīm jilamá uchasth less n'ess.*
1020. Our cattle are all dying of the *plague*. *Ēmā gáo bogmā bradzai dugā mrittett.*
1021. Widing is a *plain* (straight) man, and does not lie. *Widing shtal manchē ess, n'ldel assā.*
1022. This *plain* is as broad as the *plain* of Mori. *Inā divarā Morī divarā prishta wishtar ess.*
1023. You have arranged an excellent *plan* for crossing the pass, and I am grateful to you (shall reward and make you glad). *Tū bado ptiwar esth dugā lesst karā; prētī tū kuzhān kalom.*
1024. Send two men to *plaster* the wall. *Dū manchē inā chá charesth dugā samē.*
1025. I want a metal *plate*: not a wooden *platter*. *Iāst dapil awizhess: pashku awizh n'ess.*
1026. The Kāfir boys *play* much games. *Katō parmēr bilugh mishittett.*
1027. The Chitrālis are fond of *playing* music (singing). *Bilian manchē lālu kusth dugā bilugh kuzhān asth.*
1028. Your brother is a *pleasant-faced* man. *Tū brā biliuk shingorā assā.*

1029. If you *please* me, I shall give you a bag of wheat. *Tū i̇ lē zānchibâ tū sē tã gum prēlom.*
1030. We will go to-morrow, or next day, as you *please*. *Dalkiē̇ ētimish̄, attrī ētimishā, to chitt.*
1031. *Please* decide the day for starting on the journey. *Tū latrī giats ; tū ēsth dugã starak matakshi.*
1032. The harvest is bad ; but grass is *plentiful* this year. *Starak sē katī digar ess ; yūs inā sē biliuk ēss.*
1033. The iron of my *plough* is broken ! What shall I do ? *Iã ashu barā tã pōl peṭangess ! kai kalom ?*
1034. The ground is frozen : it is no good to *plough* now. *Bhīm shē tin ess : ashu barā n'aichitt.*
1035. *Pluck* and bring those yellow flowers under that willow tree. *Ikīā pkūsh pgūro ritī pīsh peṭi giats.*
1036. The *point* of your sword is not sharp (has not an edge). *Tū tarwoch chur psio n'ess.*
1037. I don't see the enemy's horsemen ; *point out* with your finger and show me where are they. *Ō pachanwarī ushp sir manchi n'warentam ; kor asht angur warē wārō.*
1038. Some one gave my dog *poison*, and he died this morning. *Gizhē manchi-e iã krūi wish ptēss, starak piāsh mṛā.*
1039. Kāfirs don't play *polo*. *Katā manchi parchev n'mishittett.*
1040. There is not even one *polo ground* in the Bamboreth valley for playing *polo*. *Mamrēt ē dī brun n'aiesht parchev mishisthai dugã.*
1041. *Pomegranates* are good to eat when you are thirsty. *Koī áo pig bibā amārts pits (pisth) lesst butt.*
1042. I think the ducks will light on the *pond*. *Ots babbī kshātam jallai nilē tã attu prēlā.*
1043. I want a *pony*, not a big horse ; for the road is bad. *Iã dugã yābū giats, ál ushp n'giats ; pott digar ess.*
1044. We are very *poor* ; we have no money. *Emá bilugh garib manchī assumish ; paisa n'wāttettamish.*
1045. The *poor* are much afflicted by the high class men. *Ál manchī nālus wariān bilugh digar kuttētt.*



1046. The *poplars* grow on high-lands; Chitrāl is low and they won't grow there. Tārak kāno *sirētā* buttett; *Shdrāl shor. assā, anī n'buttett.*
1047. The fast (Ramzān) is over; it is the feast day: the people are assembled for shooting at the *popinjay*. Pochētr *paoshā*; namāj *biss*; amni *manchī assalā uchasth dugā wasanristai* (assalā *tapkiē wisth dugā wasanristai*).
1048. I will eat *porridge* to-morrow morning; I have a stomach ache, and can't eat meat. *Dalkiē piash okra ashurālom*; ktol *bradzott, ano n'yūlom.*
1049. Divide the bag of wheat in four *portions*: give one *portion* to each coolie. *Inā gum sē tā shtowa bitta kshī*; inā *barwai yo chok prē.*
1050. The head man of this village is become very *portly* (large belly). *Inā bagrom urā bilugh āl ktol-wā assā.*
1051. The sepoy has forgotten his *pouch* in his house. *Spāhī pamu dorinōt pmishtētī āyā.*
1052. *Pour* out the milk from this ewer into the pot, and fill in water instead. *Pashku tā zū ptol tā atiōsh*; *pashku zū piōl āo parī kshī.*
1053. I have left the *powder* for my gun in my house. *Tapik dugā pamu dorī pmishtētī āyosam.*
1054. Why can not you go? You are a *powerful* man. *Tū kyā n'ē banjī? tū damtōl manchī ashī.*
1055. The coolies make *praise* of the Chārwēlo saying "he is a very great hearted man." *Barwai Chārwēli-ē dugā warī kuttett "bilugh āl bidī-wā manchī ess" kuttett.*
1056. This is the fast month: you should say your *prayers* five times every day. *Inā pochētr ngusth mōs assā; eo gujarē pōch wōr namāj kusth less.*
1057. At the time of going, make *prayers*. *Iendā (ien tā) namāj kshī.*
1058. Yesterday I said my *prayers* five times. *Dus pōnj wōr namāj krā.*
1059. To-day we shall travel much; we shall not say our *prayers*. *Shtrak bilugh wichāzmish*; namāj *n'kummā.*

1060. Yesterday I became very tired : *Dus biliuk gatrabamish* : namâj  
I did not say my *prayers*. *n'karā.*
1061. I am a traveller; neither to *Ôts wischio assum*; *wischio dugã eo*  
make *prayers* five times a *gujarẽ põch wõr namâj kusth*  
day nor to keep a fast is *dugã pochêtr ngusth dugã zarur*  
necessary for travellers. *n'ess.*
1062. That *precipice* (or built up *Ikĩã ushtiwã bilugh chikũr assã*;  
pari) is dangerous, and you *tũ pẽ n'balosh.*  
cannot cross it.
1063. Yesterday I gave you a *present* *Dus tũ tã ě tang mihrbãni karsish* :  
of one rupee : to-day I am *starak gujr tũ tã kapã bissum*,  
angry with you and won't *tũ kai na prẽlom.*  
give you anything.
1064. In the *present* year on account *Starak sẽ zĩm lẽ bã yũs lẽ bã.*  
of a good snowfall there is  
much grass.
1065. You have patience ! I am *Tũ mãtã kshĩ ! õts epos diktĩ atsalom* ;  
coming *presently* ; I forgot *achok kudũm p'mishtiss.*  
(I have) a little work (to do  
first).
1066. Shēr Malik has brought some *Shēr Malik sodãgarã tã stẽ biliuk*  
very *pretty* clothes from *shingara basnã kor awarã.*  
the merchant (made and  
brought).
1067. *Previously* to starting don't *Koĩ samarij bá panishr áo dĩ na pĩ*  
drink much water or milk. *zũ dĩ na pĩ.*
1068. You have paid too long a *price* *Tũ ikĩẽ badisná dugã bilugh marĩ*  
for that cloth. *ptã.*
1069. In every Kāfir village there is *Sundĩ Katõ grãm ě utãh ess.*  
a *chief priest*. (¶)
1070. The high *priest* is a man of *Utãh bilugh lattrĩ-wã ess.*  
considerable possessions. (¶)
1071. The *chanting priest* sings very *Debilãla biliuk lẽ lãlu kul ess.*  
well. (¶)
1072. The *prince's* age is twelve *Mehrkrũe dits sẽ biss.*  
years.
1073. The *princess's* age is ten years. *Kunzã jũs dots sẽ biss.*



1074. The prince has killed with his own sword all the *prisoners* on the polo ground. *Mehrkrue sang manē manchī b'brunz-o pagūro amo tarwochī mēsh witē jāristai.*
1075. My horse is hungry: *produce* corn for him. *Iā u<sup>h</sup>hp āttā biss: ikīō dugā pol paidā kshī.*
1076. *Produce* the clothes which I left here yesterday. *Dus iā bazisnā anīo pmishtiasī iā b'doi giats.*
1077. You *promised* you would give me one rupee. *Tū iā tā ē tang prēlom krās'm.*
1078. I have no *proof* that this is my blanket. *Inā jil iāst assē, warants assē, tinch n'bā.*
1079. All my general *property* and *household property* was burned by the enemy. *Pachanwarī iāst sang lattri tūrsūn-lattri lushtīā.*
1080. Thou art too *proud* (a man who knows no one): I think you will surely come to grief. *Tū ko kai n'chamol (?) (jānrl?) manchī assish: ō purjītam tū digar bulosh.*
1081. My servant reports he has got all *provisions* ready for the journey. *Iāst shodr gijjī kutt "putt dugā sang yash wottestai" kutt.*
1082. I want *pubboos* for journeying over the snow: boots are too unyielding and slip much. *Zīm tā pilingisth watsā iā dugā giats; boot dangu buttet silki-ottett.*
1083. Sir! Tauchins are better than *pubboos* for snow; but take care they be soft. *Sāhib! watsā tār pagur palāno lesst buttett; aīsh kshī chil bānd.*
1084. My white *pugrī* is become dirty with the journey. *Iāst kazhīr shar pilingasth tā mul biss.*
1085. Go to the *munshī*: ask for ten men to *pull* this beam. *Munshī tār ī: dots mōsh ugrē kshosth dugā welī kshī.*
1086. We don't eat *pumpkins*, as it is not our custom. Our parents never eat *pumpkins*. *Emā ālo n'yūmish chor ness. Emā nōn dī tōtt dī ālo n'yūlai.*
1087. Sir! this man came and cut my *pumpkins* by night. Give him severe *punishment*, so that he shall never *thieve* again. *Sāhib! ikīā manjī radur iāst ālo shtāraktī pētī briss. Ikīā less katī wī, dī shtār n'kulā.*

1088. You are a thief. I will *Tū shtār assish.* *Tū wilom.*  
punish (beat) you.
1089. That man tells many lies. *Ikīā manchē bilugh mishott.* *Ikīē vī.*  
*Punish him.*
1090. Last night a thief came and *Dus radur shtār attī ĩ kaltacha*  
took off my purse; if I *brā; ashā shtalē wanomalom*  
catch him, I will take away *shion (jion?) nuksalam.*  
his life.
1091. I *purposely* left a dog out- *Ōts purjiti krūz amu beru nachieess;*  
side the house, in hopes a *shtalē jut askīē gaiesth dugā at-*  
leopard will come, and I can *salā, iā tapkiē witi jārlam.*  
shoot him with a gun.
1092. Look! The enemy has fled. *Ōsh kshī! Pachan warī mukiā.*  
Get together all the horse- *Bagrām sundī ushp-warī man-*  
men of the village to pursue *chion wasanrō pachan warī tibar*  
him (or, we will pursue *ēsth dugā (tibar emā).*  
him).
1093. Why are you *pushing* me? *Tū iā kai dugā oren vich?* *Tū iā*  
If you *push* me, I will do *oren vichibā ō tū jārlam.*  
for you.
1094. *Put* this walking stick in my *Inā māroī iā pamu ūtē.*  
house.
1095. My arm aches. I can't *put on* *Iā doī bradzott. Basnā amji n'bat-*  
my clothes. You *put* them *tam. Tū amjiō.*  
on me.
1096. *Puttees* are good for riding in. *Paito ushp sir nishishth dugā lesst*  
*ai.*
1097. In my country boys began to *Emā watan tā dots sē bista mariṛ*  
wear *pyjamas* at ten years *taman amjittett.*  
of age.

Q

1098. My horse is caught in a *quag-* *Iā ushp shur tār woshchiss.*  
*mire.* Get four men to pull *Shtowa mōch ukshosth dugā*  
him out. *gaiets.*
1099. *Quails* are very good to eat; *Yusth dugā krairu less; emā*  
but we can't catch them. *damē n'battamish.*
1100. There is a *quantity* of stone *Anī wōtt lé ai.*  
here.



1101. Why dost thou make a *quarrel* with me? I don't wish to *quarrel* with thee. *Tū kai dugã iã tã utili buch? Ô tū tã utili n'buttam.*
1102. Some one has caused these two brothers to *quarrel*. *Kāchī manchī amnī dū bráson kelle karīyā.*
1103. You are a very *quarrelsome* man; I'll take you before the Kāzi. *Tū bilugh rārā-wā manchī assish; tū kāzī tār ngālam.*
1104. I have heard the *Queen* is very ill, and possibly will die to-day. *Iã p'kōr gwā kunzā bradzo wā assī; shtalē starak gujr mrlī.*
1105. Why do you *question* me? Do you take me for a robber? *Tū iã kai kudoch? Tū purjitišhã õ shtār assumã?*
1106. You go *quickly* and fetch the doctor! I am dying. *Tū sapsip tapip gyats! O mrētam.*
1107. Don't you go too fast; there is a *quicksand* in front of you; you'll be caught. *Tū achūnam n'ai; tū panishr kaḍr ess; tu tikhēlosh.*
1108. Take care! Be *quiet*! you talk too much. *Tarāchī bō! chusht osh! tū biliuk warī walach.*
1109. I am very poor; I have no *quilt*. *Ôts kai no-wā assum; spio n'ess.*
1110. You say everything *quite* true. *Tū sang warī puruketi walach.*
1111. I *quitted* my stick. Let it be! I don't need it. *Iã manoī nachēti ossum. Pisbil-liē! kai ūd n'ess.*
1112. In my *quiver* is not even one arrow; how can I fight? *Iã shtur tã ē dī shūr n'ess; kaikotī pshiman?*
1113. Look! my father plays *quoits* very well. (¶) *Aĩshkshī! Iã tōtt bilugh lē aluts kutt.*

## R

1114. These two brothers are *racing* their horses. *Amnīē dū brá ushp shigiottett.*
1115. The *rafters* of my house are weak; I fear they will fall. *Iã amu pelingiatī peṭanless; õ wezh-anam witlalī.*
1116. My cloak has become *ragged*; I have no money to buy another. *Iã shugā yātsā biss; wārē shugā ngūsth dugã iã tã tang n'aiesht.*

1117. In these days *rain* falls, but not snow. *Starak agal prētt, zīm na prētt.*
1118. If it *rains* to-morrow, I can't go to *Drōsh*. *Dalkiē agal pittabâ Dryusā na balam.*
1119. If *rain* falls, I shall not go. *Agal bibā n'aim.*
1120. If snow falls, I shall stay here ; (but although) *rain* should fall, I shall march. *Zīm pittabâ anī otim ; agal bibā ēlom.*
1121. There is a big *rainbow* to-day, so I don't think it will rain to-morrow. *Starak gujr indrōn chī ptess ; dalkiē agal n'allon ō purjanam.*
1122. My *ram* has eaten some poison in the woods and must die. *Iā mazhurala pson p'mich wish iārs : ō purjonam mrlā.*
1123. In the summer time bears are very *rare* in my country. *Iā gul tā tapī waktā its (rīts) bilugh chāk asht.*
1124. In *Badakhshān* I *rarely* saw any camels. *Badakhshān bilugh achok waktā shtur wariām.*
1125. In winter the *rats* (*big mouse*) all go away. One doesn't know where they can go. *Ziwōr āl muzzā sundī end. Tīnch n'ess korē endabā.*
1126. I have seen with my own eyes that the enemy is hidden in that *ravine*, as an ambuscade. *Iā yost achēn warē ōsh krā ikyē pār pachanwarī bizul attā bistai.*
1127. This *chupatti* is *raw*; why have you not cooked it? Cook it immediately. *Inā burī zhillī ess ; tū kai dugā n'dai ess ? zapp daiō.*
1128. This meat is underdone (*raw*), but it is not my fault, there is not fire enough. *Inā ano nā karch ess, iā shotik n'ess, angā n'ess.*
1129. The *Bashgalis* say it is not good for men to *read* books. Priests should *read* books, and no one else. *Katā manchī gijjī kund manchion dugā parhī ōsh kusth dugā (parhī walan) lesst n'buttett. Mullā parhī walesth dugā lesst buttett, wārā lesst n'buttett.*
1130. Why are the coolies delaying? Why are they not *ready*? *Barwai kai dugā mātā bistai (drē kund)? Kaikotē tyor n'aesht?*
1131. What is the *real* reason why the *Chārwēlo* won't give coolies? *Shtal varī kshī, Chārwēlī kai dugā barwai na prētt?*



1132. Do you *really* go to Chitrāl to-morrow ?  
*Tū dalkiē Shtrāl shtalē ētishā (ēnjā) ?*
1133. My crops are destroyed. There is no-one to *reap* my wheat.  
*Iā ptul digar bistai. Gum urusth dugā eo dī manchī n'aesht.*
1134. What is the *reason* of your going to Asmār to-morrow ?  
*Tū Parish kai dugā dalkiē ētish (ēnjī) ?*
1135. All the men of Kāmdēsh have turned *rebels*, and ejected the priests, and have killed some.  
*Kāmdēsh sundi manchī yagi bistai, sundi mullā tur azhā, ackok mullā jāristai.*
1136. Have you *received* your pay ? I have not yet *received* it, for I shall *receive* it after a month.  
*Tū mājib vrāghuttasā ? Starak na vrāghuttus ; ē mōs ptiwar vrāghalam.*
1137. Don't go near that swamp and those *reeds*. I think the enemy may be hidden among them.  
*Tū ikī shur narukī drigrī yūs tawarē n'ai. Ō purjonam pachanwarī ikīā p'mīsh attā bistai.*
1138. My *reins* are broken ; get a needle and fine thread to sew them.  
*Iā ushp ashī bradsī peṭangess ; chimchich lamṛ pachen gats shusthē dugā.*
1139. My *relations* by marriage and my blood *relatives* have all fled from Asmār for fear of the priests, and have come to Bragamatal.  
*Emā psūr dar emā'st sundī tōtt brā mullā dugā widhertī Parish stē muktī gwā. Bragamatal osthai.*
1140. I am solitary and have not one *relation*.  
*Ots kūr assum ; iā kāchī zōtr n'aiesht.*
1141. The Mahomedan *religion* is very hard : (I can't see) what is the use of keeping a fast.  
*Muzzulmān dīn bilugh zur ass : pochētr ngūsthabā kai faidā butt ?*
1142. The fire is gone out ; *relight* (or *rekindle*) it.  
*Angā yassa ettā ; pashāo.*
1143. I will go a little ahead to look for the enemy. *Remain* thou here until such time as I come back.  
*Ō achok panishr balom pachanwarī ōsh kusth dugā. Iā kuī atsir wīk tū anīo nizhē.*

1144. Alas! one of my coolies has *remained* behind; he has not turned up; I fear the enemy will kill him. *Uterestā! Iāst eo barwai ptiwor utin ess; n'ais; ō widernam pachanwarī manchī barwai jārlā.*
1145. Take away the *remains* of that meat. *Ikā ano uttā bistai ngātī gyē.*
1146. Take this cloth and make me a pair of pyjamas; then bring me the *remains* of the cloth. *Sōn gyē taman kshī; uttā bistai sōn giats.*
1147. If it snows in the morning, we cannot get across the pass: there is no *remedy* (no power; it can't be helped). *Dalkiē yazhī-wēl tā zīm afziā bado shai putrē n'bamā; kōt n'ess.*
1148. Certainly you gave me the order yesterday. I have not *remembered*. Forgive me and don't be angry. *Shtalē tū dūs hukm ptā'm. Iā babdī n'azziā. Mātā kshī: kapā n'bō.*
1149. What do you *request*? You *requested* something yesterday and I gave you one rupee, and now again you *request* something; I won't give you anything. *Tū kai ragach? Tū dus kai lattrī raganasuch.\* Iā tū ē tang ptā'sh, starak dī ragacha? Ō tū kai n'prēlom.*
1150. The Chār-wēlo enquires how many coolies does the officer *require*, and for how many days does he *require* them? *Chār-wēlī kudāt Sāhib chē manchī ragat, chē wōs dī katī ragat?*
1151. Chānlū and Mirak *resemble* one another. *Chālū Mirak ē purstha ai.*
1152. My dog *resembles* your dog. *Iā krūī to krūī erang'st asht.*
1153. Asmār is a good place: I shall *reside* here four years. *Parish lesst gul assā: ōts shtowa sē anī nishīlom.*
1154. The Mehtar does justice, therefore all the subjects *respect* him. *Mehar esop kutt, ikiā dugā meh-ar'st shodr sundī adap kund.*
1155. They are *respectable* people in that village; and neither very poor nor very rich. *Ikā bagrām manchī brōbar manchī asht; bilugh lattrī-wā dī n'asht, bilugh kā-no-wā n'asht.*

\* The syllables *anas* appear to be introduced for euphony.



1156. The Charbū of that village is not at all *respectful* (good doer): he should be punished. *Ikīā bagrām uru manchī dugā lesst kul n'ass: ikīā visth ass.*
1157. You are tired. *Rest* a few days in my house. What time you are *rested*, you can go. *Tū gatrā bissish. Tū dū troi wōs iā pamu wigiō. Tū kuī wigiā izhībā.*
1158. It is a good plan to *rest* one day in every five days. *Pōch wōs tā ē wōs ozhamesth less ass.*
1159. We shall stay in this village for the sake of some *rest*. *Ozhamesth dugā inā bagrām mī nizhēmā.*
1160. In this business what *result* is before you? Even if you kill the Chār wēlo you will never become Chār wēlo. *Inā kudūm p'mīsh tū kai warī ess? Shtalē tū Chār wēli jārlōsh tū Chār wēli n'bulōsh.*
1161. After seven days, I shall *return*, and I will at that time *return* to you your cloak. *Sutt wōs ptiwar pilingīti atsalam, askē wōs tā tu'st shugā tū tā wā prēlom.*
1162. I go towards Asmār and I will never *return*. Good-bye (may you keep well). *Parish pōr ennom. Kuī dī nē atsalom. So-enjī.*
1163. The head man has taken all the *revenue* of this village, and says the villagers have paid none to him. He is a great liar and rascal. *Ikiā bagrām uru sundī shom ngut-astai, warī kuttett "ikiam bagrām manchī shom i na prēttett." Bilugh mishāl mishott; bilugh digar manchī ess.*
1164. If you find my cloak which fell on the road yesterday, I will give you a *reward* of one rupee. *Iā shugā dus p'putt atteliss: tū awēloshbā ē tang giān prēlom.*
1165. My *rezai* (of my bed) is very old. *Iā spī bilugh siūm biss.*
1166. Whenever it rains, I get *rheumatism* in my right arm and left leg. *Kuī agal yūr onzibā pachūtr dusht tā kūwar chū tā wāi prēttett.*
1167. This year there is much *rhubarb* on the hills; it is very fresh and nice for men and goats to eat. *Inā sē badō radsā bilugh ess; manchīēn sharon dugā yusthē dugā lesst ass.*

1168. In my valley there is a quantity of wild *rhubarb*, rok,\* khozla, kalor, and badrai.  
(९१)
1169. A stone rolled down the hill, hit me on the *ribs*, and knocked me over.
1170. My *rice crop* is very good this year and there has been a large quantity of *rice* produced. There is more *rice* than Indian corn this year.
1171. Thou art a *rich* man and I am a man of no account.
1172. You have much *riches*, cattle, goats, and coin, but I am a man of no account.
1173. I don't know how to *ride*, as my house is in the mountainous countries, and there are no horses there.
1174. Chānlū is a very good *rider*, but probably can't climb hills like me (having done like me on hill cannot go).
1175. You lie! why do you demand two rupees? Your *right* (due) is only one rupee.
1176. You are a fool. Why don't you know your *right* hand from your left?
1177. I went to the merchant to buy a *ring*. He says they have not come from Peshāwur.
- Emā b'gul bilugh sabhu, rok, khozla, kalor, badrai asht.*
- Badō stē wōtt yūr aiyo; iā tã pachukru praptā, ōts piltiāo.*
- Inā sē shālī bilugh lesst ess, mā bilugh paidā bolā. Inā sē jowār tã mā bilugh ess.*
- Tū lattri-wā manchī assish, ōts kai no-wā assum.*
- Tū tā bilugh lattri asht bilugh gawā (gāo) asht, bilugh dizhē asht, bilugh tang asht; ōts kai-no-wā assum.*
- Ō ushp p'sir nizhisth nā jānretam; iāst amu atūr ess, akī ushp n'ess.*
- Chālū lesst ushp p'sir nishel assā, shtalē i purstha katī pashū tã ē na batt.*
- Tū mishochī! Tū kai dugā dū tang wagachī (ragachī)? Tū tã ē tang atsili assā.*
- Tū charṛā assish. Tū pachūtr dush kūwar dush kaikotē na jānretish?*
- Angushtī ngūsth dugā saodāgar tã gūssam. Saodāgar gijjī kunn "angushtīen Peshār stē n'āyā" kutt.*

\* These are all vegetables which grow wild on the mountains and are good for food. Their botanical names are not known. *Badrai*, in Chitrālī, is rendered by *simmon*.



1178. The fruit is *ripe* in Drōsh but in Chitrāl it is not yet *ripe*, because cold winds prevail there. *Dryūs kachwach pagistai, Shdrāl starak wīk n'pagistai, ikīā dugā akī bilugh yūts damu ushtett.*
1179. The apricots don't *ripen* this year, for there is no sun-shine. I fear they never will *ripen*. *Inā sē yūr na ess, ikīē dugā serī na pagann. Ō bābdī kshātam kuī dī na pagalā.*
1180. *Rise!* why don't you *rise*? I have awoke you (caused to *rise*) three times: the sun has *risen*, and is clearly visible. *Ushtā! Tū kai dugā n'otich? Troi wōr tū utēash: sū ptī, lesst waron ett.*
1181. Cross the pari (or built up precipice road) by all means (there is no fear); if you go close to its edge, there is a *risk* of your falling (I fear you will fall). *Ushtiwā tā pēr ī, kai widerasth n'ess; ō wideram tū pachūrē ēlosh tū piltilosh.*
1182. The *river* is very full of water. *Gologh (gol ūgh) bilugh ess.*
1183. In summer there is not a ford in this *river*; owing to snow melting, the water reaches up to your chest, and sometimes up to the neck. *Wazdur inā b'gul tā ē dī tūr n'ass; kui zīm vilnabā āo pa chuk wīk bibā, kuī b'garak piu butt.*
1184. The *road* is good. There is no cornice (built up road) between Drōsh and Gairath. A donkey can go; perhaps a horse can go, but a camel cannot go. *Putt lesst ass. Dryus stē Gairath p'mīsh ē dī ushtī n'ai. Kur wēl ass; shtalē ushp-wēlī, ushtar na wēlī.*
1185. *Roast* this bit of ram's flesh for my three coolies. *Inā parmenstuk mazharlē ano pachō iāst troi barwai dugā.*
1186. Chānlū has *robbed* five rupees from Mirak. *Chālū Mirak stē pōch tang shtār kristai.*
1187. That is not the case. Mirak is himself a *robber*, and is too wideawake to allow Chānlū to *rob* even a stone from him. *Inā warī tich na bunn. Mirak mē shtār ass, bilugh kshul manchē ess, Chālū Mirak, stē ē vōtt dī ngā n'batt.*

1188. Yes, you say what is true. *Tū shtalē walanch. Mirak shtār assā, Bastī brōbar damtōl p'putt lattrī ngalā n'ass !*  
 Mirak is only a thief, but he is not a fine *highway robber* like Bastī !
1189. In the spring that big white *rock* will surely roll down the hill some day, and kill some-one. *Wosut wokt askā kazhūr āl vōtt badō pagiōr kuī dī atsalā, ko manchīān jārlā.*
1190. Don't let my horse *roll* on the ground, my saddle will break. *Iā ushp b'bhīm piltisth dugā n'otē, iāst zīn pereng ēlā.*
1191. The timbers of the *roof* of my house are very strong and will last until five years. *Iā pamu pkrum urgru bilugh lesst asht, pōch sē wīk lesst bunn.*
1192. How many *rooms* are in your house ? *Tū pamu chē amo ai ?*
1193. The *root* of that tree is as long as two men. *Ikīā kāno lū dū manchīon pashē drgr butt.*
1194. My *rope* is broken. What shall I do? How can I carry the load without a *rope*? *Iāst kanik perongā; kai kulom? Kanik n'ess, kaikotē bōr ngālam ?*
1195. The *rose* is the prettiest of all the flowers, and its scent is very nice. *Shū sundī pīsh tā shingierai azz, ikios't gun dī lesst butt.*
1196. There are many *dog-roses* (?) in our valley, but no other roses. *Iā b'gul tā tarī pīsh bilugh asht, wārā shū n'aiesht.*
1197. Chānlū is a *rosy* faced man, but Mirak has a very dark countenance. *Chālū gum purstha manchī assā, Mirak zhī kor manchī assā.*
1198. The beams of my roof are all *rotten*, and I fear it will fall some day. *Iā pkrum argru pkhul asht, wider-nam kuī wōs tā vitlēlī katī (?).*
1199. My clothes are very *rough*; your clothes are very soft (thin). *Iā bazisnā bilugh chil asht; tū bazisnā bilugh turungo asht.*
1200. The road between Drōsh and Brōz is very *rough*. *Dryus stē Bruz p'mizhu putt bilugh digrī ess.*



1201. The Commissariat ghī boxes are square; the kegs of spirits are all round, so don't you make any mistake. *Commissariat ano adar shtowa ptī-wā asht; tin pā sundī pandur asht, tū nmēlī n'ngā.*
1202. When you travel to Brōz, go round by our village. *Tū kuī Bruz gujbā emā pamu pabanūr gītī ī.*
1203. Why is my horse rubbing its mane? I think it must have mange. *Iāst ushp kai dugā maroik dro changrott? Ō purjonam ikīo tā arna biss.*
1204. I want a rug, and a numnah, and a carpet, and a goat's hair rug (Chitrālī "pilisk"). *Iā kalin, spī, zalimcha, zhūr p'kār ess.*
1205. I shall ruin you, as you have disobeyed the Mehtar's orders. *Tū Mehar hukm n'ragattā, tū toṛ azhēlam.*
1206. Here used formerly to be a village, but now only ruins are left. *Shangyē zamāna tā anīo grām azzī, starak zanzīr biss, wārā n'aiesth.*
1207. Two men have run away (fled). *Dū sai mukīā.*
1208. I cannot run; last year, when going down hill, I fell and broke my left leg. *Ōst achūn na banam; pō sē badō pagior yūr enazzam piltiām kō-war po pūptā.*
1209. The enemy have all run away, carrying all their own property and leaving one old man only. *Pachan warī sundī mugistai, sundī yost lattrī bṛā; ē purdik ptiwar utiness, wārā kā dī n'aiesht.*
1210. I will give you one rupee. *Ots tū tā ē tang'prēlom.*
1211. I will take eighty Kābulī rupees or fifty Indian rupees for this horse. *Inā ushp dugā shtowa vissī zamāni ngānam dū vissī duts angrēzī tang ragalam (ngānam).*
1212. Rushes are visible there, so I suppose there must be also water near them. *Akī noll waron ettā; ō purjittam akīo tawarē āo dī assā.*
1213. The rust has destroyed my sword. Rub it with sand. *Tsamar iā tarwach digarī krīss. Tsū warē pilsō (marmarī kshī).*
1214. In the rutting season you can kill five markhor in a day. *Epor bibā ē gujar p'mīsh pōch shāru jāṛ bachā.*

## S

1215. To-day is my *Sabbath* (i.e., day of rest) : I am not going to work. (¶) *Starak agar ess: kā kudūm na kalom.*
1216. Get me a *sack* and fill it with barley or wheat. *Iã dugã ē būjē gats; kā rits kā gum būjē tã parē kshī.*
1217. You appear very *sad* to-day; have you lost all your goats? *Starak tū bilugh kapā bissish; tū sundī dīzhā puz bistai?*
1218. My *saddle* is very big and heavy; get me a smaller *saddle*. *Iã zīn bilugh ál dī assā gānowā dī assā; parmenstuk zīn giats.*
1219. *Saddle* the grey horse. I will let the black horse rest to-day. *Kazhīrī ushp tã zīn ptitē. Ots starak zhī ushp wiālam.*
1220. The *saddle cloth* is very old and not fit for a *Chār wēlo*. *Zīn p'tsir bazisnā siūm biss, Char-wēlī dugã less n'ess.*
1221. The cornice is *safe* this year. The *Mehtar* ordered me to set it right. *Inā sē ushtiwa lesst assā. Mehar hukm ptāsam-ish ikyē lesst kshīr.*
1222. For the *sake* of my cow bring a handful of barley: but if you fetch two handfuls it will be better. *Iã gáo dugã ē gōr rits giats: shtalē yamna gōr awarḅā lesstabalā.*
1223. All the *salt* for our valley comes from *Peshāwur*. *Ēmá b'gul dugã sundī zhuk Peshār stē afziā.*
1224. *Saltpetre* is very prevalent in this valley. *Inā b'gul tã kazhish bilugh asht.*
1225. Get a bit of cloth the *same* as this for making a shirt. *Taman kusth dugã ē achok basnā ikyē basnā pursth gait.*
1226. There is much *sand* near the river. *Pō chiwol tã tsu bilugh assā.*
1227. Ever since the water fell, some logs of wood are stranded on the *sand banks*. *Kuī stē áo chok biss bā, áo p'mich bdiwerr gār utinā.*
1228. There are very few *sand flies* this year because of the winds. *Inā sē damu bilugh ushtett, ikyē dugã kishu (?) bilugh chāgh asht.*



1229. Get all the men together sharp to make a *sangar* (breastwork).  
Bangut tyor kushth dugā sundī manchō zapp wasanrā.
1230. Fetch twenty *saplings* and put them into my ground.  
Vissī kanjik awētī i b'bhīom ptē.
1231. I have inspected your work and am *satisfied* with it.  
Tū kudūm ōsh karṣā, bilugh kuzhān assum.
1232. You are eating a lot. Are you not *satisfied* yet? Why don't you rise and wash your hands?  
Tū bilugh burī (anjī) yūchī. Tū ktol n'karṣā? Tū kai dugā n'utinshess? Kai dugā dush n'dariss?
1233. Everything has come in, but they have not brought the *saucepan*; I fear it dropped on the road.  
Sundī lattrī osth, chindor n'awērā; widarnom p'putt tā atlon gwā.
1234. The carpenter has an axe and hammer; but says he never even *saw* a *saw*.  
Dār-sellē tā pedrī assā, kushṭun dī assā; gijjī kutt ōts kuī shiāo n'warins.
1235. What do you *say*? Speak loud; speak slowly; and each word separately and clearly, or I can't understand you.  
Tū kai mārechī? Kāgrē walō; chillē walō; yo nīrikē warī kshī; lesst katī walō; ōts tū warī n'purjitam.
1236. The Chār-wēlo *says* he (the man) is sick.  
Chār-wēlī brads-wāio kuttā's.
1237. The *scabbard* of my sword fell yesterday and is lost.  
Iāst tarwāch wuī dūs atlongai; puz biss.
1238. The Commissariat *scales* are not understood by us and we are robbed in consequence.  
Emā manchān Commissariat tarja nizhān na jānramīsh, ikīā dugā psotr.
1239. There is a *scar* on his hand and a *scar* on his face.  
Ikyē b'dush pror nizhān assā; p'miok dī pror nizhān assā.
1240. This year mulberries are very *scarce*: more *scarce* than last year.  
Inā sē marach bilugh chogh asht: pō sē stē chogh asht.
1241. In my field erect a *scare crow* (a dead man's figure) at the sight of which the birds will flee away.  
Iā ptul p'mīch manchi bmrīsh nizhān kshī, marangats askīō ōsh ktī mugulā.

1242. The *scent* of the dog-rose is nicer than the *scent* of the flower of the apple. *Parr pīsh gun tã tarĩ pīsh gun lesst ass.*
1243. The *scissors* of the tailor are so blunt they won't cut cloth. *Basnã shul trũtsan salĩ duru biss, basnã na peṭann.*
1244. *Scorpions* go somewhere in the winter. Would to God they would not return in summer! *Ziwõr upoh kõr ettabã. Imrã wizr dõr dẽ upoh n'awẽlonn!*
1245. Send two men to *scout*, and give them orders to stay on the road till-evening (sun down). *Dũ manchĩãn namõ shũ kudosth dugã: amkĩ manchĩãn hukm prẽ sai yũr wĩk p'putt nizhẽlã.*
1246. I saw him *scowling* and I am sure he is my enemy. *Iã ikĩẽ manchĩ wariãm miok andhr kunn: õ purjanam iãst pachanwarĩ assã.*
1247. The old woman is *screaming* from fear of the thieves. *Wãĩ pubĩ kutt: shtãr dugã bilugh widarett.*
1248. The *seam* (?) of my choga has become undone. *Iãst shugã wizu biss (?).*
1249. Go and *search* in the village for a ladder, and I shall myself go shortly to *search*. *Tũ prẽts b'grãm p'mich chik õsh kshĩ (õshẽ) õ dẽ õsh kusth dugã zapp anam.*
1250. This is not the *season* for fruit to ripen. *Inã kajwaj pagasth dugã wõkt na ess.*
1251. He came *secretly* by night to my house and took away my coat. *Ikĩã manchĩ radõr chillẽ attĩ iãst shugã brã.*
1252. I am blind and I *saw* (see) nothing last night when Mirak came. *Ots kãr assum; kuĩ Mirak ossabã iã kã dẽ n'wariãm.*
1253. I have sown the *seeds*, but not one has sprouted. *O bhĩm tã bĩ ajissĩ, ẽ dẽ na wõ ass.*
1254. It *seems* to me they are all rotten. *Õ purjinam sundĩ pkhulã bã.*
1255. Have you *seen* Kãbul? No, I have not *seen* it, but my father *saw* it. *Tũ Kãbul wariãn? I n'wariĩns, Iãsi tõtt wariãns.*



1256. Go to the village and *seize* six horses by force. *Ikyē bagrom ī; shu ushp vrangāti giats.*
1257. He says he *sells* clothes only and does not *sell* cooking pots. *Askā manjē gijjē kutt ò bazisná wrēch kuttam paisa ragattam tol na wrēch kunam.*
1258. The Mehtar has *sent* a man bearing a letter. *Mehr ē manchī parhī ngātī namiā.*
1259. The Mehtar has *sent* a basket full of grapes for you. *Mehr chaktá dros parē ktī tū dugā ptossī.*
1260. When the stone hit my head I fell *senseless*. *Kuī iāst shai tã wōtt praptawā òts charṛā bitī piltiām.*
1261. The *sentry* of my tent fell asleep; and a thief came and took my gun away. *Iāst jilamá trāchī manchī pshuttī gussā; shtār ozz; iāst tapik shtār katī gūs.*
1262. You are a useless *servant*. I dismiss you. *Tū digar shodr assish. Tō tōr azhēlom.*
1263. My *servant* is very fat and lazy. *Iāst shodr bilugh kart ass bilugh dangar ess.*
1264. Sir! your *service* is an honorable service and I am proud of it. *Sāhib! Tōst shodarī bilugh lesst ass; iā bilugh ūd bissam.*
1265. Several persons have come for *service*. *Bilugh manchī shodarī kusth dugā osth.*
1266. The sun has not yet *set*: there are many clouds. *Sū na pūgess; nāru bilugh ess.*
1267. Get a needle to *sew* this cloth. *Inā basnā shusth dugā chamchich gats.*
1268. Let us sit in the *shade*; it is very hot. *Tsāwē tã nizhēmā; tabī bilugh butt.*
1269. This is a *shady* place and good to rest in. *Inā kāno-wā bhīm ess; wigasth dugā lesst ass.*
1270. *Shake* the tree, and the fruit will drop. *Kāno ranzāo, kachwach yūr ellā.*
1271. The tree *shakes* with the wind: I have not *shaken* it. *Damu tã kāno ranzann: ī kāno na ranzēi.*
1272. The water of the pond is quite *shallow* and very muddy. *Inā p'nilē áo turungo ass; bilugh mul ess.*
1273. For *shame*! you have no *shame*; I thought to myself you were a good man. *Thū thū! tū jerik n'ass; òts òsh karosh tū lesst manchī assish.*

1274. Don't have false *shame* (about eating); you are hungry: eat to your heart's content. Jerik n'zār; tū áttā biss; less katī ktol kshī.
1275. You are a *shameless* thief; get you gone. Tū jerik na wā, shtār assish; partsī.
1276. I am dead beat. Shampoo my back and legs. Ō wotinam; iāst ptī pchu marō.
1277. Do you know the difference between the *shape* of Mirak and Widing individually? Tū Mirak ajē Widing wizhirwor kūrē kūrē zārchá?
1278. Give me my *share* of the flour, and I am off. Tū ikāā brē baraktī ī gats, ō ēlom.
1279. *Share* this flour between the four men Inā brē shto manjīān p'mish barakshī.
1280. My knife is as *sharp* as my sword. Iāst katā iāst tarwach brobar tsiā assā.
1281. That woman screams; I think *she* is hurt. Askā istrī pubī kutt, ō purjonam ikīē zān biss.
1282. A *sheaf* of corn is worth a seer of milk in our country. Emā gul tār ē gidr gum ē sir zū erangst (ē brobar) ess.
1283. *Shear* the sheep and take its wool to Ranbūr. Inā muzharala brē; ikīē warūk Konisht wik ngā.
1284. The cattle have gone out of the *shed*. Gáo shall stē bar gostai.
1285. I have six *sheep*, a ram and an ewe and a lamb. Iā shu wē asht; ē muzharala assā; ē wez assā; ē wāk assā.
1286. Get me a *sheet* from the merchant. Sodāgar-o tā stē iā dugā ē pujil gats.
1287. A fox came and the *shepherd* caught it. Wrigī osth; patsā mochī wrigī wanamiss.
1288. Why don't the Government soldiers carry *shields*. Sirkār-o spāhī kai dugā kirā na ngattett.
1289. The tailor made my *shirt* last year. It is worn out. Basnā shul pō sē iā digrī shusī; daliss (siūm biss).
1290. Why are you *shivering*? Is it from cold or from fever? Tū kai dugā ditkichī? Tū shillē bissī, tu ranzol assā?
1291. My *shoes* are very thin. Iāst kashk wetzā bilugh turungo asht.



1292. My horse's shoes are very broad. *Ots ushpē nāl (wetzâ) bilugh wishtr assā.*
1293. I don't know how to shoot. I have a bow and arrow but not a gun. *Ôts tapk barūten na zārētam. Iāst drōn je shtor asht; tapk n'ass.*
1294. Get me a handful of wheat from the shops. *Bāzār stē ē gōr gum giats.*
1295. My stick is short. *Iāst mārōi parmenstuk ess.*
1296. The coolie is very short in stature and cannot carry my load. *Barwai bilugh parmenstuk ass; iā bōr ngā n'batt.*
1297. On my shoulder there is a boil. I can carry nothing. *Iā patōs apsiss. Ots kā dī ngā n'battam.*
1298. From carrying the officer's big load yesterday my shoulder-blade aches. *Dus sāhib-ē āl bōr ngutassī; pati bradzott.*
1299. Shout out to Mirak. Say to him that Basti is shouting to him. *Mirak chō wītī walō. Vrī (warī) kshī Bastī tū walonn.*
1300. Show me where does the road to Mastūj go? *Ī wārō Mastīch-ī putt kōr-ā giess.*
1301. I will show you a place where eleven men are hiding with their matchlocks. I can't go: you go and fetch them to me. I went; there is no body in that place. *Ī pazhu wrālom yanits manchī akī amshīest tapkīen ngātī nijinistai. Ots n'annam; tu gītī ĩ gats. Ots gā'm; askā pazhu tā kai n'aiesht.*
1302. Shut the door. *Dū barm kshī.*
1303. The door of his house is shut, and I can't open it. *Ikīē amu dū kach ess, ōts ikiē nuksā n'bannam.*
1304. We have no sickles; how can we cut the wheat? *Emā tā churī n'aiesht; gum kaikotē ruimā?*
1305. Which side of the river shall we march to-morrow? (i.e., shall we go that side or this side of the water?) *Emā dalkiē ēmish; āo tā pēr ēmish āo tā ĩr emishā?*
1306. Samar beat me with a stick yesterday on my side, so my side aches. *Samar dus mārōi mīsh iāst anī winā'm; anī brazott.*

1307. What are you making *sighs* for? Are you tired or ill? *Tū kai dugā shū kshâchî? Tū gatrā bissishā; bradzo-wā ashîā?*
1308. *Silence!* don't speak; only lift your hand up if you see the enemy. *Chusht azhō! na warî kshî; tū kuî pachanwarî warînbâ dusht ū kshî.*
1309. Tell the men to be *silent* and not to say a word. The enemy will hear. *Manjî tâ warî kshî chusht azhō kshîr, ē dî warî n'kshîr. Pachanwarî sangalā.*
1310. The merchants take *silk* and *silver* to Peshāwur. *Sodāgar arshumje aru Peshâr pōr prēnd.*
1311. You are very *silly*; you would never do for a spy. *Tā bilugh bedina-wā assish; tū kuî shū awēn na bachî.*
1312. *Since* I entertained you, did I ever beat you? Never. *Kuî tū î shodr karāsh î kuî tū vinojā? kuî dî n'vinosāsh.*
1313. He is not a *sincere* man: I am sure he is treacherous (liar). *Ikîē manchî-ē zara lesst n'ess: ô purjanam mizhol assā.*
1314. The *sinew* of my leg is cut with a knife. *Iā kūr nūng kaṛo (katā) mish perîss.*
1315. If you are all tired, call Mirak to *sing*; he is a good *singer*. He will cheer us all up. *Shtalē shâ gatrā bissâr. Mirak tâ warî kshî; lālu kulonn; bilugh lesst lālu kul assā. Emâ sundî kuzhāl kulā.*
1316. Last year I did *sink* in the snow. To-day I have *sunk* in the water. *Pō sē zîm yūr gūssam. Starak áo tâ p'mich bissam.*
1317. My *sister* has fever to-day. *Iā sus tâ shtarak ranzul biss.*
1318. My *sister-in-law* has eight sons. *Iā wū-o usht piṛ asht.*
1319. *Sit* on this stone. Don't show your head to the enemy. *Inā vōtt p'sir nizhē. Yost shai pachan warî tâ na wāṛo.*
1320. I am very cold; get a goat's *skin* for me. *Iā bilugh shillā biss; iā dugā wazest chamo giats.*
1321. I can go across the water with an *inflated skin*, but not without. *Âotarmir mîsh áo tâ petrî banam; giā ē na banam.*
1322. Mirak has stolen my *skin-bag* (for carrying flour), *Mirak iāst titsa shtâr ktî brîss.*



1323. A bullet hit the sepoy's skull ; I expect he will die. *Pondrik spāhī pazhē preptā ; ò pur-zhanam mrlā.*
1324. The sky is clear ; I think we can march in the morning. *Dī bilugh shingīr oss ; babbē ess dal-kiē mizhim ēmā.*
1325. The slave has run away from fear of this cruel master. *Loni amost damtōl mochis widarthī mugis.*
1326. I am sure his master will slay him some day or another. *Ō purjanam kuī ikīē mochī's jārlā.*
1327. When I approached the sentry last night, I saw he was sleeping. *Rador kuī pālē tā torē assium ï wariām pshuissā.*
1328. My leg is asleep, I can't stand up. *Iāst pū shingur bunn, ōts uttī na banam.*
1329. The thief cut off the sleeves of my cloak. *Shtār iāst shugā dashṭa prētī brā.*
1330. The ground is frosty and very slippery. Take care ! you will slip. *Bhīm shī tin ass, bilugh silkin biss. Trāchī bō ! tū silkilosh.*
1331. Is the hill a gentle slope or is it a difficult slope ? And, when you have crossed, what is (the slope) on the far side ? *Ikīā ashtar chakūr assā uchangust assā ? Kuī badō shai putarijbā akī pōr kāst azzā.*
1332. Go slowly ; I am done ; let us take breath. *Chillē ï ; ōts utinam ; yū prōzhamā.*
1333. He is a small man ; give him a small load. *Ikīā parmenstuk manchī assā ; ikīē parmenstuk bōr prē.*
1334. My house is small ; yours is large, his house is the largest. *Ī amu prama ess ; tū amu āla ess, ikī amu sundī amu tā bilugh āla ess.*
1335. In your childhood had you small-pox ? I think you are pitted with small-pox in the face. *Tū kuī parmenstuk azzī tu purr bissiā ? Ō purjanam tū purr mugho (miok-o) ashī.*
1336. I smell a nice smell of roses and a nasty smell of a dead dog. *Iā tā tarī pīsh lē gun ann ; mristh krūī digar gun dī ann.*
1337. What does your dog smell ? *Tū krūī kā gun kunn ?*

1338. The dog-rose *smells* sweet. *Tarĩ pish* gun ann. *Mrish̄t'est*  
The corpse *smells* bad. *digar* gun ann.
1339. My house is full of *smoke*. *Iāst amu tā dūm parē assā.*
1340. Why don't you *smoke*  
tobacco? *Tū kai dugā tamkiō n'kusoch?*
1341. My pyjama cloth is *smooth*. *Iā taman basnā chil ess.*
1342. On the march yesterday (at  
the time of marching) a  
long *snake* bit my brother  
in the leg. *Dūs piliangsth wēl tā ál babust aī*  
*iā brá kūr tā atamsh̄i.*
1343. The sepoy *snatched* the fruit  
from my hand and bolted. *Spāhī ī b'dusht tā kachwach wran-*  
*gītī mukīā.*
1344. My head aches from much  
*sneezing*. *Bilugh* kazisth (?) *dugā shai brad-*  
*zott.*
1345. The *snow* is up to our arm-pits.  
How can we cross the pass  
to-morrow? *Zim kachkruī wīk assā. Emā*  
*bado kaikote putr bamā?*
1346. I have been *snow-blind* in both  
my eyes for seven days. *Sutt wōs (gujr) bā iāst zīm dugā*  
*achiē lushtiā.*
1347. If you see the enemy do so  
(like this). *Pachan warī warinbā tū gitā ksh̄i.*
1348. The *soldiers* are very brave  
and shoot straight. *Spāhī bilugh lē damtōl manchī asht,*  
*tapkiē lesst vind.*
1349. So much (so large) loads we  
can't carry. *Ikiā'st ál bōr ngā n'bamish.*
1350. His back aches; put a *soft*  
cloth under it. *Inā chil (?) bradzonn; anī pagur*  
*chilla basnā ptē.*
1351. This cloth is very much *soiled*;  
take it away. *Inā basnā biluk mul asht; nuksā.*
1352. The old man *solicits* a rupee. *Askā purdū ē tang ragatt.*
1353. Some man has come and says  
the *sāhib* wants some flour. *Kā mōch oss gījji kunn sāhib chok*  
*brē ragatt.*
1354. Somehow (from wherever you  
can fetch), you must get  
the horses. *Kōr stē awenjibā ushp tyor ksh̄i.*
1355. Some one must go (one is to  
go). It is your turn,  
moreover, to go. *Ē ēsth azzā: shtalē ēsth tū wōr*  
*assā.*



1356. *Sometimes* he says Mirak killed Bastī: *sometimes* he says Dān Malik killed Bastī. Kāchi gijjē kunn Mirak Bastī jāriss: kachī gijjē kunn Dān Malik Bastī jāriss.
1357. In my house there must be a dark cloak *somewhere*, I don't know where. Emā p'amu korār zhī shugā as-sabā tīch n'ess.
1358. My *son* was wounded and captured by the enemy, but escaped by feigning death. Pachanwarī iā puṭr pṛor kṛiss wanamiss, puṭr marelgō vishtī mugiss.
1359. My *son-in-law* is ill and will surely die. Iāst zamān bradsowā assā shtalē tyor mrlā.
1360. What *sorrow* afflicts you? (why art thou *sorrowful*). Tū kai kapā bitish?
1361. I am *sorry* your son is dead. Tū piṭr mṛiss: ōts kapā bissum.
1362. The man has brought *sour* fruit and *sour* milk. Inā manchī-ē chenai kachwach awariss: ilā awariss.
1363. Have you *sown* the flower (rose) (?) seeds? Tū tarī pīsh bī bhīm tā ajissā?
1364. Get a wooden *spade* and an iron *spade*. Bēo gats: chimbio dī gats.
1365. The horse has eaten his bellyful of grain; and two handfuls of barley are to *spare*. Ushap ktol karūngo pul iār; du gōr rīts uttā biss.
1366. *Speak!* Why are you silent? Are you dumb? Warī kshī! Tū kai dugā chusht azhichī? Tū warī-na-wā ashīā?
1367. The enemy carries *spears* but no guns. Pachanwarīān tā isht asht, tapk n'asht.
1368. That man is a *species* of fox. Ikīā manchī wrigī pūrst manchī assā.
1369. Take this money; *spend* it as you like. Tang ngātī tōst bidī tā vrich kshī.
1370. I shall *spend* the night here; we will go to-morrow. Starak shāo anī wisilom; dalkiē ēmā.
1371. The *spiders* are very plentiful this summer. Inā wazdōr sachung bilugh bund.
1372. *Spinach* is good to eat with meat. Ano mēsh pālak (?) iārabā less bunn.

1373. To *spit* before a headman is very disrespectful. *Jast panishr* sabjun wisth *katrawōr kudūm* *essā*.
1374. He is a very *spiteful* man. *Ikā bilugh* ziān karol *manchē* *essā*.
1375. You have *spoilt* our business. I dismiss you. *Tū emā kudūm* digar kariss. *Tū ō tōr* *azhēlom*.
1376. Get one small *spoon* and one large *spoon* from the bazar. *Bazār stē* bilankochī *gia'ts*, *āl kochī dē* *giats*.
1377. How many black *spots* are on your white dog's back? *Tō'st kazhēr* *krūzē* p'ptē *tā chuk* *zhē* prots *asht*?
1378. He is a yellow dog all over, and not *spotted*. *Iā krūzē* brobar *adr rang* *azzā*; *shtring* *na ass*.
1379. In *spring* this *spring* has much good cold water. *Wasut inā* undsāo p'*mish* *bilugh* *lē yuts* *āo azzā*.
1380. *Sprinkle* water on the fire. *Ikē angā* *tā āo* *azhō*.
1381. If you *sprinkle* earth on the snow, it will melt fast. *Zim tā* p'*sir* *palal* (*mri*) *azhibā* *zapp* *wilinn*.
1382. The *spur* of that hill is easy to climb. *Ikā pazhun* *ēsth* *dugā* *lesst* *ass*.
1383. The *spy* has come, but brings word that the enemy has made preparations to march to-morrow. *Shū awēl* *manchē* *oz*: *shū awerā* *dalkiē* *pachanwarē* *oshtasth* *dugā* *tyor* *ass*.
1384. Let the shape of the sangar (wall) be made *square*, not round. *Inē bangut* *shto* *ptistuk* *kshēr*, *pondr* *n'kshēr*.
1385. The horse ran away from his *stable* last night. *Dus radur* *ushp* *ushp-amu* *tā stē* *puz* *biss*.
1386. The enemy came last night and burnt my *stack* of grass. *Dus radur* *pachan-warē* *osth* *iāst* *yūs* *gott* *angā* *tarā*.
1387. How many *stages* is it from Dir to Chitrāl? *Dīr stē* *Shdrāl* *chē* *wōs* *pott* *assā*?
1388. The fruit is *stale* and dried. *Kajwaj* *less* *n'ass*, *dariss*.
1389. That little boy stole ten *stalks* of corn. *Ikiā* *parmenstuk* *marir* *duts* *gum* *koṛ* *shtār* *kati* *brā*.
1390. The man *stammers* much. *Ikā* *manchē* *bilugh* *supkott*.
1391. The Mehtar is coming; *stand* up. *Mehr* *ann*; *ushtō*.



1392. There are clouds and the *stars* are not visible. *Nāru bilugh ess : rashtā na waṛon end.*
1393. My brother is *starved* to death. There is no one to feed him. *Iāst brā āttā mṛā. Ikīē burī presth dugā kai na asht.*
1394. What is the *state* of your father who is imprisoned by the Amīr? *Amīr tōst tōtt bāndī kṛiss kā'st bitī assā?*
1395. If you will *stay* here two nights, I will make you comfortable. *Tū anī dū rador bulozhbā, ōts tū dugā lesst kasmāt kalom.*
1396. If you *steal* my goats, I will kill you with my gun. *Tū iāst gash shtār kulājbā tū tapkiē vitī jārlam.*
1397. This hill is too *steep* for coolies to carry loads. *Inā badō bilugh uchangiest assā, barwai bōr ngātī badō ū n'bann.*
1398. My father is very *stern*: his own sons all fear him. *Iā tōtt bilugh dang manchī ess; ikīost puṭriness ikīē waṛantī widharānd.*
1399. I got *steps* made in front of my door. *Iāst amu b'dū tā torē ugrām azhiss.*
1400. Get my walking *stick* and my polo *stick*. *Iāst māroi giats paṛchē dī giats.*
1401. The road is very *sticky* from the rain. *Agal osthē dugā pott bilugh shur biss.*
1402. My girths have become *stiff* with the horse's sweat. *Ushp ashpē dugā girī wishtangess.*
1403. The hornet did *sting* my cheek yesterday. *Bāmo dus iāst naskor tā attamshī.*
1404. There is a *stink* here as of a dead dog. *Anī mṛist krūz digar gun ess.*
1405. Lengthen my *stirrup* leather: it is too short. *Iāst ushp tā potā tā drgr kshī : parmenstuk ess.*
1406. The women make excellent *stockings* in Aiyūn. *Angr jugūr bilugh lesst jarob kund.*
1407. He is a thief and has been put in the *stocks* by the Mehtar. *Shtār assā. Mehr gārā mēsh band kṛissā.*
1408. The *stomach* of the boy is swelled from eating too much Indian corn. *Ikīā maṛiṛ bilugh jawār iārā; ikīē ktol bilugh āl biss.*

1409. Collect *stones* to build a house. Wōtt wasanṛāō amu kusth dugā.
1410. Don't go near the falling *stones* (*stone shoot*). Tū akīā watla wōtt tār torē n'ai. (na ī.)
1411. When you go to *stool*, does any blood pass? Kuī tū alkūr gujbā luī annā?
1412. Stop that man and search him to see if he is a thief. Ikīā manchī otīō ikiēst basnā tā ōsh kshī shtār assā.
1413. I shall stop at your house thirteen days till the end of the fast (of Ramzān). Ōts tōst pamu tār trits wōs bulom kuī wīk pochētr na peṭlon ennā.
1414. A violent *storm* came accompanied with hail, and did much harm. Bilugh gānowakti damu ushtiā, azhir dī oz, biliuk nuksān krā.
1415. Mori has become rich and very *stout*. Morī bilugh lattrī-wā biss āl ktolwā dī biss.
1416. Speak always *straight* and true, and don't lie. Tū sundī shtal warī kshī, na mizhāō.
1417. My goats have *strayed*, and I don't know where they may be. Iāst gash piz bā, tīch n'bunn kōr asselabā.
1418. The water of this *stream* is very clear and white. Inā b'gul āo biluk shtā kazhīr assā.
1419. Get a hundred men to make an irrigation cut or *stream*. Pōch vissī manchī wasanṛāō yū kusth dugā.
1420. A mud *stream* came and beat down my crops. Koru ozz iāst ptul pagūr tārīstai.
1421. There is much water in the *stream*. Baglao (b'gul-o) āo less.
1422. Mirak says he will strike Bastī with a *stick*. Mirak giījī kunn "ōts māroī mēsh Bastī wilom" kutt.
1423. The coolie says I have only a bit of *string*, not a thick rope. How can I take the load? Barwai giījī kutt "iā tā lamṛ kanik ass, kartā kanik n'aiesht" kutt. "Bōr kaikotī ngālam?"
1424. This horse is weak: give me a *strong* and large horse. Inā ushp tā kōt n'aiesht, dangariwak assā: kartī ālī ushp giats.
1425. This horse *stumbles* much, I am sure he will fall. Inā ushp zōlazzatt (?), ō purjonam piltalī.
1426. My horse *stumbled* and fell. Iā ushp zōlasti piltiss.



1427. My horse *stumbled* by knocking against a stone, and fell. *Iã ushp wōtt tã pū prēti piltiss.*
1428. This is a very dry year, so the crops are *stunted*. *Inā sē dumā sē bā, ptul dumā parmenstuk bistai.*
1429. *Suddenly* the enemy appeared from the jungle and attacked us. *Pachan warī shū n'azzī tan dã (?) b'zul stē bar osth emá pazhī stē winām'ish (?).*
1430. We *suffer* much from the *Afghāns*, who oppress us. *Aoghānī manchī emá tã biluk zor karond, emá biluk zur bā.*
1431. *Sugar* is very good to eat when it is very cold. *Kuī shillā bilugh bibá gur iārabá lesst butt.*
1432. The coolie is not tired; he is only *sulking* (making a fuss). *Barwai gatrā na biss giān karṭa-wōr kunn.*
1433. In *summer* there is much heat in this village. *Wazdur inā bagrām bilugh tapī bunn.*
1434. The *sun* is not visible owing to many clouds. *Nāru bilugh assā, sū waron na ett.*
1435. This is a *sunny* village, therefore fruit ripens early in the season. *Inā ashperuk grām ass, ikīē dugā kachwach shangīē pagann.*
1436. At *sunrise* we will cross the pass to-morrow. *Dalkiē sū chī presth wokt tã badō putremā.*
1437. At *sunset* I think we shall reach Chitrāl. *Ō purjinam sū pinjebā Shdrāl promā.*
1438. The *sunshine* is hot: let us sit in the shade. *Sū tapī ess: tsawē tã nizhēmā.*
1439. Collect a hundred men and *surround* Mirak's village. Take care you do not let a boy even escape. *Pōch vissī manchīan mēsh Mirak grām pabunor azhō. Trāchī būr ē parmir dī bar na lazar.*
1440. He was *surprised* and therefore fell into the enemy's hands. *Derh bā; ikīē dugā pachanwarī b'dush gwā.*
1441. I have a *suspicion* Bastī will kill Mirak to-night. *Ō babdī kshātam rōtr (radhar) Bastī Mirak jārlā.*
1442. Mix this medicine with water and *swallow* it. *Inā dāru áo mish mazhūra kshī pī.*

1443. The horses are stuck in the *Ushp p'shur tā yūrshā.*  
*swamp.*
1444. You have eaten my bread, so *Tū iāst burī iārissā, ōts shott ku-*  
I swear I won't do you any *lom tū kā ziān na kulom.*  
harm.
1445. There is much *sweat* under *Iāst ushp ktol pagiur bilugh āshpā*  
my horse's belly. *biss.*
1446. My horse has *sweated* much. *Iā ushpē bilugh ashpā baranziss.*
1447. Get a broom and *sweep* the *Sagon giats, iāst jilamá dugā*  
ground for my tent. *bhīm sagāō (skā).*
1448. The tea is very *sweet*, and the *Chaī bilugh machī ass; ikīā kach-*  
fruit is very *sweet* (lus- *wach bilugh arūzāo ess.*  
cious).
1449. My upper arm had a blow *Iāst gotr tā dus prōr biss, apsiss.*  
yesterday and has *swelled.*
1450. My horse is more *swift* than *Iā ushp tū ushp tā shataramī assā.*  
yours.
1451. I can't *swim*. My brother *Ōts nosh kun na banam. Iā brā*  
*swims* like a fish in the *áo matsī purstha nōsh kōr.*  
water.
1452. I can't *swim* without an *Āotrmir mish nōsh ko banam giā*  
inflated skin. *dazhnoshē n' banam.*
1453. Get me a *switch* for making *Ushpē madasth dugā chui giats.*  
my horse go.
1454. My *sword* is very blunt : *Iā tarwach bilugh dūru biss : ikīā*  
sharpen it. *tseo kshī.*
1455. My *sword belt* is very tight : *Iāst tarwach parōsh tā arrīn biss :*  
loosen it quickly. *zapp wishtrī kshī.*
1456. *Sher Malik* is a fine *swords-* *Sher Malik bilugh less tarwochē*  
*man* ; he can easily kill *Morī,* *wil assā ; Morī giāmī prushkurē*  
and think nothing of it. *jārlā.*

## T

1457. My horse has a black *tail.* *Iāst ushp dumrī zhī assā.*
1458. Who *takes* this load ? *Take* *Inā bōra kāchē ngālabasa ? Amnī*  
these four loads to *Drasan.* *shō bōr Drāsan wīk ngār.*
1459. Who has *taken* my load ? *Iā bōr kū brā ?*



1460. A man came and has *taken* my horse by force. *Manchī-ē ozz iā ushp wrangātī bri.*
1461. Don't *take off* your clothes; it is time to be starting. *Tū basnā na nuksāō; piliangsth wokt biss.*
1462. Don't go near that small-pox man; you will *take* the disease. *Ikīā manchī-ē tuk shilā biss; tū torē n'ai; tū tā dī shilā.*
1463. Why do you *talk* so loud? *Tū kai dugā cho wītī walanch?*
1464. Mirak is *taller* than Bastī, and thy father is *taller* than my father. *Mirak Bastī tā drgr ess, ojē tū tōtt iā tōtt tā drgr ess.*
1465. Where the *tamarisk* grows there is sure to be water near. *Kōr hinju (?) bundabā akī āo tyor torē bunn.*
1466. If ever you have fever, it is good to drink *tea*. *Kuī tū tā tapī onzibā chai pisth lesst bunn.*
1467. Get me a man to *teach* me the Bashgalī dialect. *Katō varī ī zārōsth dugā ē manchē ōsh kshī.*
1468. This cloth *tears* very easily; it is not good. *Inā bazisnā zapp drich bunn; less n'ess.*
1469. The boy has *torn* (*tear*) my shirt. *Ikīā parmen marīr iāst digrī drich kriss.*
1470. What are the *tears* in your eyes for? Has any one hit you? *Tū achē tā achu kyē atsand? Kū winozhā?*
1471. *Tell* me, did you see Mirak stealing my shirt? *Iā tā vrī kshī, tū wariām (?) iāst digrī Mirak brā?*
1472. He is *telling* a very long story, but I do not believe him; may-be he is lying. *Ikīā manchī bilugh drgr warī walann; ī ikīā tīch na bunn; mizh-ona shtalē walann.*
1473. *Ten tents* have come from Drōsh for the sepoys. *Duts jilamā spāhien dugā Dryus stē awend.*
1474. You have given me one rupee; I *thank* you. *Tū iā tā ē tang ptā'm; shamash kulom.*
1475. *That* is a very good man. *Askā bilugh lē manchī ass.*
1476. Go *that* way; don't come this way. *Akiā pōr ī; anī pōr n'ai.*
1477. I will give *thee* one rupee. *Ōts tū tā ē tang prēlom.*
1478. *Their* loads are very heavy. *Amkiān bōr bilugh allangā asht.*

1479. Do not beat *them* with sticks. Amno *māroī mēsh* na wī.
1480. Drink your medicine; *then* walk about a bit. Kuī uzha pibá askī wokt tã achok pilingiō.
1481. Go into my house and get *thence* a choga. Iãst pamu attī ÷ akīē stē shugā gats.
1482. I have been: there is not one *there*. Gūssam: akī ē dī shugā n'aesht.
1483. *These* men say they cannot march. Amnā manjī gijjī kund "emá ē na bamá" kutt.
1484. Get me a *thick* stick. Iã dugā kartī māroī giats.
1485. That jungle is very *thick* and dark. Ikīā bzul tã bilugh kāno ashit: ikīē p'mish andhar ess.
1486. You are a *thief*, I shall beat you. It is not true, I am not a *thief*. Tū shtār assish, tū wilom. Shtalī n'ess, iã shtār n'assum.
1487. If you *thieve*, I shall cut your neck. Tū shtār kulaibā girēk peṭalam.
1488. My *thigh* bone was broken last year by falling from a horse. Pō sē ushp p'tsir stē wār ossam: chū peringā.
1489. My brother is very *thin* from fasting. Iãst brā pochētr ngusth dugā bilugh daḍar biss.
1490. Mirak's bull is very *thin*. Mirak ashu bilugh daḍar ess.
1491. My choga is of very *thin* texture. Iãst shugā biliuk turungo assā.
1492. Is this horse *thin*? or thy father's? Inā ushp daḍar assā tochī ushp daḍar assā?
1493. My horse is very small; *thine* is a big horse. Iã ushp biliuk parmen ass; tost ál ushp ess.
1494. *Think* (having made intention) before you speak. Babdi kashīti gijjī (varī) kshī.
1495. I *think* Morī will die this night. O purjonam Morī starak rador mrlā.
1496. I have run from Brōz to Drōsh and am very *thirsty*. Ōts Broz stē Dryus wīk achūnissam; bilugh âo pik bā.
1497. The Chār wēlo's father died *this* day. Chār wēlī-o tōtt starak gujr mṛā.
1498. *This* year we shall go to Drāsan. Shtarak sē emá Drāsan tã emá.



1499. *This stick is large, that stick is small.* Inā dāo ál ess, ikīā dāo parmen ass.
1500. *This village is very large.* Inām grām bilugh ál ess.
1501. *A thorn has run into my foot.* Bubust iā kūr tā atamshiss.
1502. *Those men are all ill.* Amki sundī manchī bradso-wā asht.
1503. *Thou art very tired: rest thou here.* Tū bilugh gatrā bissish; tū anī wigiō.
1504. *Get some thread to sew my clothes.* Iāst basnā shusth dugā pachēn giats.
1505. *Take this wheat and thresh it.* Inā gum ngātī krāmō.
1506. *The water has come on to my threshing floor and spoilt it.* Áo iāst krām-grammā tā oz askīā nazhā.
1507. *There is a boil on my throat.* Iās garak tā apsis.
1508. *Throw me down that stick.* Ikīā mārōi iā tā wē attalāō.
1509. *The enemy has cut off the thumb of Samar's right hand.* Pachan warī Samar pachūr dusht jasht angur periss.
1510. *Did you hear the thunder last night, and feel the earthquake?* Dus radhar wodaranchut tā p'kōr gwā; indrisht tū shū bā?
1511. *Tie this rope for me.* Inā kanik iāst dugā gīrō.
1512. *Widing has killed a tiger.* Widing jut jāris.
1513. *Those pyjamas are too tight, I cannot wear them.* Inā taman bīliuk arar ass, ōts ikī amjī na banam.
1514. *Tighten the girth of my saddle.* Iāst zīn bramishten weshtō.
1515. *On the river bank there are a hundred timbers.* B'gul pōch wissī gāra asht.
1516. *Spring is a good time to sow vegetable seeds.* Wosut shiak bī bhīm tā azhisth dugā less wokt butt.
1517. *It is a long time since you left Peshāwur.* Peshār stē samartī bilugh drē bā.
1518. *I have not time to learn Bashgalī.* Katō warī zārasth dugā wōm na ess.
1519. *How many times have you been to Kāmdēsh?* Tū chī wōr Kāmbragām gūssish?
1520. *Mirak is a very timid man; he won't cross the pass.* Mirak bilugh widharal manchī ass; badō putrēn n'dronn (?).
1521. *There is no tin in our village.* Emā bgrām kallā tuch na ess.

1522. The *tinsmith* says this tin is all bad. Kallā tuch kar gijjē kunn “inā tuch sundī na zhr ett (?)” kutt.
1523. I think you are *tired*. You are dead beat. Lie down awhile. Ōst purjanam tū gatrā bissish. Tū otinosh. Achok chumbō.
1524. I am going to Brōz. Ōts Bruts tā ennam.
1525. Don't go to Chitrāl. Ba Bilan n'ai.
1526. Kāfirs don't smoke *tobacco*. Katā manchī tamkiō n'kshond.
1527. *To-day* rain will surely fall. Starak tyor agal ann.
1528. My *toes* are all frost-bitten. Iās kūir angur sundī zīm tā lush-tistai.
1529. Pull the rope all *together*. Sundī manchī ē wōr kanik kshōr.
1530. *To-morrow* we shall go to Gairath, and the day after to Chitrāl, and the third day to Shoghot. Dalkiē emā Gairath emā; attrī Chandrāl emā; achutt Shogōr emā.
1531. The *day after to-morrow* thou shalt go to Bragamatal. Attrī tū Bragamatal ēlosh.
1532. Put out your *tongue* long out of your mouth that I may see it. Dits azhī tā drgr ktī bar kshī ōts ōsh kulom.
1533. I think it will snow *to-night*. Shtarak radōr zīm tyor prēlā.
1534. You are *too fat*; you cannot run. Tū biliuk kartā ashī; tū achūn na banch.
1535. I fell going down hill, and broke my *tooth*. Badō yūr atsandā (tā ?) piltiām; iāst dutt peringess.
1536. The *sepoys* can't see the road: light *torches* for them. Spāhī putt wran na band: amnā dugā talā pashētī gats.
1537. This boil hurts very much: don't *touch* it. Inā apsisst biliuk bradzott: ikīē tā dusht na pēkshē.
1538. Did the thief go *towards* Chitrāl or *towards* Ashrett? Shtār Chandrāl pōr gwā te Ashrett pōr gūssā?
1539. Go thou *towards* Dīr. Dīr pōr ī.
1540. I see a *tower*. Is it Mirak's *watch tower*? Ōts kutt ōsh kulom. Mirak kutt assā?
1541. I see the *track* of a pony's feet on the road. P'putt tār ushp poh ōsh kulom.
1542. Send me a cunning man to *track* the thief's footsteps. Shtār poh ōsh kusthi dugā iā tā shatrim manchī namō.



1543. Let us set a *trap* to catch a leopard, and do you set a *trap* (make a *small house*) to catch a hawk. *Juṭ wanomasth dūgā̃ posh wonā, marē wanomasth dugā̃ parmenstuk amu kshīr.*
1544. Morī is cunning for setting *traps*. *Morī posh kusth dugā̃ shatrim ass.*
1545. My horse is very tired, he cannot *travel*. *Iā ushp bilugh gatrā bā, na pā bann.*
1546. When shall you *travel* from Drōsh? *Tū Dryus stē kuī samarlosh?*
1547. I see many *travellers* coming from Bragamatal. *Ōts ōsh kalom biliuk wischā manchī Bragamatal stē atsand.*
1548. On the road there is a quantity of snow, so a horse cannot *traverse* it. *Pa putt zīm bilugh ess, ushp na balē.*
1549. By *treachery* Chānlū caught Bastī to kill him. *Chālū Bastī mizhētī wanamiss ikīē jāristh dugā̃.*
1550. Are the sepoys taking *treasure* or powder? *Spāhī khazonn nganda wārē dorē tuch ngandā?*
1551. In my garden there is not even one fruit *tree*. *Iā daristā ē dī kachwach kāno n'aiesht.*
1552. Why is your body *trembling*? Have you fever? Are you cold? *Tū jidd kai dugā̃ ranzott (ditki-ochi); ranzul assa? shillā biss?*
1553. Mirak has played a *trick* on me. *Mirak mizhongai iā tā oss.*
1554. What *trouble* has overtaken you? *Tū kā nalos biss?*
1555. Take the horses to drink at the *trough* or aqueduct. *Ushp ngātī pano áo piāo.*
1556. Get the *trunk* of a tree and hollow it out. *Kāno kaṛu gats; ikīē kandr kshi.*
1557. I want a *trustworthy* man to carry a letter to Dir. *Shtal manchī pkār assā Dir wīk parhī ngusth dugā̃.*
1558. Speak the *truth*, or I will kill you if you don't. *Shtal warī kshī, shtal warī na kunjībā ōts jārlam.*
1559. Mirak is a very *truthful* man: he is not a liar. *Mirak biliuk shtal warī-wā manchī assā; mizhāl n'ass.*

1560. The doctor has come to cut your *tumour*. *Tabib ozz tōst apsiss stē witlosth dugā.*
1561. Your *turban* is dirty; wash it in water. *Tōst sharr mul biss; ikīē áo mish ninjō.*
1562. The *turf* near my house is all dried up. *Iāst pamu torē tā brunz yūs daristai.*
1563. When you reach Chitrāl, *turn* to the right. *Kai Chandrāl parizhbá pachūtr dus pōr i.*
1564. If you kill a man, the ruler will *turn* you out. *Tū manchē jārabā mehar nuksālā.*
1565. The ruler *turned* him out, so he fled to Mastuj. *Mehar askē nuksēyā, Mastich mē mugiss.*
1566. Send a man to *turn* our coolies away towards Bragamatal. *Ē manchi namō emá barwai Bragamatal pōr wetarosth dugā.*
1567. The coolie says it is not his *turn* to carry a load. *Barwai gijjē kutt "bōr ngusth dugā iāst wōr n'ess."*
1568. I *turned* him out of the house, but he has come back again. *Iyē pamu stē tōr krā, dī oz ess.*
1569. To eat too much *turnip* is bad for you. *Bilugh shalum (?) yūsth tū dugā lesst na bunn.*
1570. *Twice* I have told you, but you do not obey me. *Ōts tū tār dū wōr gijjē karosh, tū warī na sanganch.*
1571. The Chārwēlo commits great *tyranny* towards us. *Ohārwēlī emá tā bilugh zur karonn.*

U

1572. Bastī is very *ugly*. *Bastī bilugh digar koṛ manchē assā.*
1573. My *paternal uncle* killed Bastī's son with a sword. *Iāst jash tōtt Bastī puṭress tarwechen vītī jāriss.*
1574. I can't eat *underdone* meat. *Ōts zhilē ano yū n'banam.*
1575. The tower is *undermined*. *Ikīā kutt arkien biss.*
1576. *Underneath* my bed is a black choga. *Iāst prusht tā pagūr zhī shugā assā.*
1577. Do you *understand* what I say? *Tū iā varī zārlazhā?*
1578. *Undo* the knot of my rope. *Iāst kanikī girangusthē nuksāō.*



1579. *Undoubtedly* Mirak killed Basti with an arrow, for I saw him with my own eyes. *Shtalē Mirak Basti kon vītī jāriiss, iā yost achē warē wariām.*
1580. We are very *unfortunate*. *Emā biliuk kā no-wā azzamish.*
1581. That village has been *uninhabited* for sixteen years. *Askā bagrām shets sē bā kāchī na nizhinistai.*
1582. *Unless* you go, I don't go. *Tū na enjī-bā ō dī na ennam.*
1583. *Unload* the barley bags from the horses. *Ushp p'ptī tā rits pashtuk wākshō.*
1584. This is an *unlucky* month for contracting any marriage (make a wife). *Inā mōs shtrī kusth dugā dagar ess.*
1585. Your request is very *unreasonable* (the talk of foolish men). *Tū varī bilugh charṛā manchīan warī assā.*
1586. *Until* you return, I won't plough the land. *Tū atsir wik azhē n'karōlam.*
1587. This is a very *unusual* proceeding (unworkable). *Inā kudūm bilugh nā kusth kudūm assā.*
1588. Are we to go *up stream* to-morrow, or down stream? *Emā dalkiē chīr ēmā, nīr ēmā?*
1589. *Upon* the top of the mountain has the snow melted (gone) yet? *Badō shai zīm starak gūssā?*
1590. *Upper* Maroī is a fine large village. The men of Lower Maroī are a poor lot. *Chīr Maroī bilugh āl grām azzā. Nīrē Maroī manchīan bilugh kā no-wā asht.*
1591. You have put my box on the ground *upside down*. *Tū iāst adr bhīm tā shai yūr tarissā.*
1592. Stop your horse to let him make *urine*. *Ushp otēō āo kūsth dugā.*
1593. Get some medicine for *us*. *Emā dugā uzhā gats.*
1594. *Use* this ointment, and rub it on, just as I tell you. *Ano ngāti, ōts kaikotī wilāmbā giaktī tabal kshī.*
1595. This is a *useless* act, and no good will come of it. *Inā kudūm abas azzā, ikīā mish kā paidā na bunn.*

- V**
1596. Mirak is a very *vain* fellow. *Mirak bilugh* utili manchī azz.
1597. Try as you will, it is in *vain*. *Ikīā kudūm chuk dī karbā kā paidāna ess.*
1598. That *valley* is very narrow, and in winter gets no sun. *Ikīā gōl bilugh arin assā, ziwōr sūna prēnn.*
1599. There is no snow at present in the *Shishi valley*. *Shīshī b'gol starak zīm na ess.*
1600. Our fellows showed such *valour* (fought so much) that the enemy ran away at once. *Emā manchon gittā shuch krā pachanwarī zapp mukiā.*
1601. This ring is very *valuable*. *Inā angushtūn bilugh marī-wā azzā.*
1602. Cease that *vaunting*; people get annoyed by it. *Tū utili-wār bēs kshī; manchī kapā bund.*
1603. The *Bashgalis* don't cultivate *vegetables*. *Katā manchī shak kish na kund.*
1604. The *veins* of the horse stand out owing to his galloping much. *Bilugh achūnisthē dugā ushp lui-kon kartī bistai.*
1605. Why do you not make a *verandah* for your house? *Tū yost amu dugā parē kyē na kunjī?*
1606. I am *very* angry with Bastī. *Ōts Bastī dugā bilugh kapā bissum.*
1607. Chānlū appears *vexed*. Why is he put out? *Ohālū kapā bist waron enn. Kai dugā kapā biss?*
1608. You *vex* me; that's why I am angry with you. *Tū iā gatrā kunjī; ikīē dugā kapā assum.*
1609. In every *village* of the *Bashgalis* is there a tower (one apiece). *Parē Katō bigrām yō narī kutt ashtā?*
1610. The enemy cut down all our *vine trees* with axes. *Pachanwarī wanzo mēsh emāst drosh grīts sundī pēriā.*
1611. The horse is tired, don't use *violence* with him. *Ushp gatrā biss, ikīō mēsh zur n'kshī.*
1612. A *violent* wind is blowing today. *Starak bilugh karwā damu ushtenn.*
1613. *Violet* colour is good for *trousers*. *Taman dugā mulkhen\* rang lesst azz.*

\* As in Chitrālī.



1614. The *violets* have come out (into flower). Mulken *pīsh ū osthai.*
1615. Last night I heard Aror's voice. I am quite sure it was not Widing's voice. *Dūs rador Aror vari chut iã p'kōr gawā. Ō lesst purjanam Widing vari chut n'ozz.*
1616. You ate too much: that's why you are vomiting. *Tū bilugh iārã: ikiē dugã tu baron azinj.*
1617. The *vultures* are seated on the dead horse's carcass. *Parōl mrisht ushp p'tsir nizin ess.*
- W**
1618. We will cross the river by wading. We won't swim. *Emã kūr tūr tã golo tã petrēmã; emã dazhnojī n'ēmã.*
1619. I made a wager with Mirak that in one day I would go from Drōsh to the Shāwal pass top. *Ōts Mirak mēsh dātik kustham\* Dryus ste Shāwal bado wīk ē gujar ēlom.*
1620. I won my wager (wager being made, ate) and Mirak lost it. *Ōts dātik kusth iāron Mirak periã.*
1621. My waist is very small. *Iãst sãnawotan bilugh lamar assã.*
1622. My waist band is left behind in my house. *Iãs shurř iã pamu nachess.*
1623. This cloth is not suited for a waistcoat. *Inã basnãgor kaltachã kusth dugã lesst na ass.*
1624. Wait here until you see with your own eyes that I am returning. *Aniō otī yost achē warē waran wīk ki Sāhib pilingdī ann.*
1625. I shall walk, not ride tomorrow. *Dalkiã ōts kūr warē ennam, ushp psir na ennam.*
1626. The soldier is not walking up and down. *Spāhī n'palengã.*
1627. The wall of my garden fell down last night. *Dus rador iãst nizhão tã chã urriss.*
1628. There are no walnuts on my large walnut tree this year. *Iãst ál iamru kãno inã sē iamru mana na zass. (?)*
1629. Do you want a horse for tomorrow's march? *Tū dalkiē p'putt ēsth dugã ushp raganjã?*

\* Apparently the idioms in this and the next sentence are Chitrālī.

1630. In what *war* did Bastī die? *Bastī gijj pitshun tã mṛã?*
1631. He was caught a *prisoner in war* (enemy caught him). *Pitshun damiã.*
1632. This is a very *warm* place. *An̄o bilugh tapī bhīm assã.*
1633. This fire makes great *warmth*. *Inā angā bilugh tapī kunn.*
1634. Karuk has a *wart* on the thumb of his right hand. *Karuk pachũtr dusht tã jasht angur kachai biss.*
1635. Last year there *was* no snow, so there *was* no grass. *Pō sē zīm n'aisī yūs di n'aisī.*
1636. *Wash* my clothes for me. *Iã dugã basnã ao tã ninjō.*
1637. The *wasp* stung my hand. *Ūshpik iã dusht atamshsh.*
1638. *Watch* over (do sentry duty at) my tent to-night. *Rador iãst jilamã tã palã krō.*
1639. How many *watchmen* shall I put near your camping ground to-night? *Tū jilamã jagã torẽ starak rador chī palã krolam?*
1640. Mirak and Chānlū will divide the *watches* of the night between them. *Mirak je Chālū wōr tētī palã kullã.*
1641. This *water* is not good for drinking. *Inā ao pisth dugã less n'ess.*
1642. Make this *water* hot for making tea. *Chai kusth dugã inā ao tipāo.*
1643. The *water* of this *water-cut* is muddy and not fit to drink. *Inā yū ao zul biss; pisth less na ass.*
1644. Sir! your servant says "I have warmed the *water*." *Sāhib! tost shodr gijjē kutt "iã ao tipess."*
1645. The *water* is very dirty. There is no fire: how can I warm any *water*. *Āo bilugh alūrī ess. Angā n'ess: kaikotī ao tipām.*
1646. How many *water mills* are in your valley? *Tū b'gul chuk apshē asht?*
1647. Which *way* has the enemy fled? This *way* or that *way*? *Pachan warī korār mugistai? Anī pōr mugistai, akī pōr mugistai?*
1648. Shall we go this *way* or that *way* to-morrow? *Dalkiã anī pōr emã akī pōr emã?*



1649. *We* are all very poor. Emâ *sundī kâ no-wâ azzamish.*
1650. The coolies of this village are so *weak* they can't carry the loads. Inâm *bagrām barwai biluk daḍar asht, bōr ngā n'band.*
1651. Do the Bashgalīs wear red shirts? Katā *manchi zīrā digrī amjind?*
1652. How many *weavers* are there in your valley? Tā *gol tã chuk pach kar asht?*
1653. *Weed* the grass out of my vegetables. Shio*k p'mij yūs biss, narē.*
1654. What is that old woman *weeping* for? Ikā *purdik kai dugā z̄hun duzdi z̄hundi?*
1655. The bābū is *weighing* the flour. I saw him *weigh* it yesterday. Bābū *brē turann: dus dī wariām turnajī.*
1656. They don't use stones for *weighing*. Annī *tursth dugā wōtt n'utend.*
1657. There is not one *well* in my country. Iāst *gul tã ēdī âo-duk nā ai.*
1658. You have done your work very *well*. Tū *yost kudūm bilugh lesst kristai.*
1659. Are you all *well*? Shā *sundī aduniyē azzirā?*
1660. Yesterday I *went* to Drōsh, thou *wentest* to Drushp. Dus *ōts Dryos gāsam, tu Drushp gosāosh.*
1661. The day before yesterday he *went* to Ashreth. Nottrē *izē Ashrett gūs.*
1662. The enemy fled to the *west*. Pachanwarī *sū pū ettann pōr mugistai.*
1663. A very cold wind is blowing from the direction of the *west* (setting sun). Sū *pū esth pōr stē bilugh shal damu ushtinn.*
1664. The ground is very *wet*: the sepoys can't encamp there. Bhīm *bilugh z̄hil ass: spahī akiē jilamā uten na band.*
1665. *What* did the spy tell you? Shū *ngal tū tã kâ varī karosh?*
1666. *What* sort of a horse is that? Ikā *ushp kâ'st ushpa azzā?*
1667. *What* for are you angry with me? Tū *kaikotē iā tã kapā bissish?*

1668. The grain of the *wheat* is very small this year. This year there is much fruit. *Inā sē inā gum pul parmenstuk ass. Starak p'sē kachwach bilugh ess.*
1669. Up till *when* did you look out for me yesterday? *Tū dus kuī wīk iāst dugā ōsh karsam?*
1670. *When* did Widing come yesterday? *Dūs Widing kāstē tā oz?*
1671. *When* you see me on the hill top, then go you to your own home. *Kuī badō shai ōts warimbā akī tū yost pamu ī.*
1672. *Whence* comest thou? *Tū kōr stē atsanjī?*
1673. *Where* is Mirak? *Mīrak kōr ass?*
1674. *Whereabouts* is your home? *Tū amu kett azzā?*
1675. *Which* man is talking? *Kāchī manchī warī walann?*
1676. *Which* is your stick? *Kett tū māroī assā?*
1677. *Which way* did Morī travel? *Morī kurār gūs?*
1678. The *Badakhshānī whips* are excellent. *Badakhshān'st ushp-bradzī bilugh lesst bund.*
1679. A *whirlwind* threw down my tent. *Yazh дума ozz iāst jilamá piltēā.*
1680. Don't speak so loud. *Whisper* to me. *Āl vrī na kshī. Iā p'kōr vrī kshī.*
1681. The *white* cow is lame to-day. *Starak kazhīrī gāo kutann.*
1682. *Who* says "Gumāra is a thief"? *Kāchī gijjē kunn "Gumāra shtār ass"?*
1683. *Whose* horse is that? *Ikīā kust ushp assā?*
1684. *Why* are you frightened? *Tū kai dugā widharanj?*
1685. *Why* did your father go to Kābul? *Tōtt kaikotē Kābul gosī?*
1686. Is the road *wide* or narrow? *Putt wishtrī assā arin assā?*
1687. He has put on very *wide* trousers. *Askā manchi biluk wishtr taman anjiss.*
1688. Is that woman a *widow*? *Ikīā jugūr pulatan assā?*
1689. That is a *wild* sort of horse (a thing of the woods). *Ikīā ushp bilugh bzul (p'pshu) lattrī ass.*
1690. There are no *willows* near Brōz. *Bruts torē ē dī ramo kāno na asht.*



1691. My *wife* died yesterday evening. *Dus radōr iā ishtri mrē.*
1692. You are a very *wilful* fellow. *Tū bilugh to chitt tã mōch ashī.*
1693. If you are *willing*, I shall take you into my service for a month. *Tū kshul ashī ōts ē mōs shodr kulom.*
1694. They are making a *window* for my house. *Iāst amu dugā duak-dū tyor kund.*
1695. *Wine* is not good for the Kāfirs : I fear they will get idiotic. *Katō manchī dugā tin lesst n' butt : ōts widharnam charṛā buttā.*
1696. Get me the feathers of that bird's right *wing*. *Askē marangatsē pachūtr urṛ ān-drēparu iā dugā gats.*
1697. The men are *winnowing* the rice, as there is a bit of a breeze. *Manchī shālī babiā azhind, damu achok ann.*
1698. In *winter* the water of this stream is sometimes frozen. *Zawōr inā b'gul āo kuī kuī shē tinn.*
1699. *Wipe* my gun with a cloth. *Iāst tapkiē puch mish skā.*
1700. If you had been *wise*, you would not have eaten unripe grapes yesterday. *Tū kshul bistā tū na pagī kachwach dus na yulozish.*
1701. What is your *wish* in this affair ? *Inā kudūm p'mish tū chitt (bidī) kā'st azz ?*
1702. *With* me who will go across the river ? We will go *with* inflated skins. *Iā mēsh āo tā pār kett ann ? Emā āotrmir mēsh emā.*
1703. The soldier cut my leg off *with* a sword. *Spāhī iāsī kūr tarwāz-ēm peṭiss.*
1704. I can't go *without* you, nor *without* an inflated skin. *Tū n'ai ōts ē n'banam, ōts āotrmir mēsh ennam gyān n'ennam.*
1705. There is no *witness* that Karak took the goats. *Kā shosh n'ai Karak sharṛ (gash) baroktī.*
1706. The *wolf* took off my goat last night. *Dus radōr shall oss iāst gash brā.*
1707. That *woman* is lame. *Ikī jugūr kuttātt.*
1708. The old *woman* is tired, and can't walk on, *Ikī purdik gatrā biss ; pē botten na bann.*

1709. My daughter is a girl (little woman) of ten years. *Iāst jū osh̄t sē bist juk assā.*
1710. Bring wood for making a fire. *Dāo gats angā kusth dugā.*
1711. That wood (orchard, or garden) is very pretty. *Ikīā nizhā biliuk shingiera assā.*
1712. That wood (forest, jungle) is very thick with trees. *Ikīē bannē tā bilugh kāno asht.*
1713. Is our camping ground wooded (shady) or devoid (of trees) ? *Emā jilamā uchasth jaga tā kāno-wā azzā giyān azzā ?*
1714. Fetch wood, let's make a fire. See! two men have just brought wood. *Angā kor dāo giats. Ōsh̄ ksh̄hī ! dū sai dāo awārā.*
1715. The wool of the Badakhshāni sheep is very good for chogas (cloaks). *Badakhshān bakhta muzharla waruk shugā kusth dugā lesst bunn.*
1716. Wonderful! how did you escape? (become alert). *Uterestā ! Tū kaikotī shuā bāsh ?*
1717. It is wonderful: so many earthquakes in one day. *Derbūn varī ess : ē wōs tā egiak indrish ptā.*
1718. Say one word at a time. *Eo narḡē varī ksh̄hī.*
1719. Your work is very hard. *Tū kudūm bilugh zur essā.*
1720. The working men of our house are all ill. *Iāst pamu kudūm-kul manchī sundī bradsowā asht.*
1721. In the whole world there is not a thief equal to Mirak. *In duniyā tā Mirak purstha shtār n'ai.*
1722. The worms have eaten the root of my fruit trees. *Gū iāst kachwach kāno karḡū iāriss.*
1723. The spy says the Mastuj valley is worthless: nothing grows there. *Shū-ngal manchī gijji kutt Mastij gol digar ess : akī kā paidā na butt.*
1724. How were you wounded, by a bullet or sword ? *Tū kā prēr bissish, tarwoch prōr bissizhā, tapkiē pondrik prōr bissishā ?*
1725. I have brought a cloth to wrap around your arm. *Ots tū dusht r'tsir pugusth dugā sharr awārā.*
1726. The sepoy's are wrestling: they are not fighting. *Spāhī alek alokand ; kalā na kund.*



1727. That old man's forehead is very wrinkled. *Askā purdikē miok bilugh shakshiss.*
1728. I fell yesterday, and my wrist is damaged. *Dus piltissam, iāst dusht sachi witrpiss.*
1729. Call a munshī to write a letter for me, as I can't write a letter myself. *Munshī walō iā dugā parhī strasth dugā ; ōts yō zarē parhī strān na banam.*
1730. This work is wrong. *Inā kudūm digar ess.*
1731. This is the wrong side of the cloth ; that is the right side (or outer side). *Inā basnā shu atēr assā ; ikīā barē assā.*

## Y

1732. The yāk carries an enormous load. *Zūgh gāo biluk allangā bōr ngann.*
1733. What are you yawning for? Did you not sleep last night? *Tū kai dugā uzzamanj? Tū dus rador n'pshusiā?*
1734. I shall return after six years. *Shu sē ptibar pilingitī ēllom.*
1735. Fetch me that yellow flower. *Ikīā zarīn pīsh iā dugā gats.*
1736. Are you well? Yes, I am well. *Tū adūniyē ashā? Ō adūniyē assum.*
1737. Yesterday we went to Utsum and you went to Shishī. *Dus emā Utsam gūssamish ; shā Shishī gussēr.*
1738. The day before yesterday they went to Kiār. *Attrī amnā Kiār gyē.*
1739. Mirak has not yet come. *Mirak shtarak wik na ozz.*
1740. I shall make you all contented. *O shā sundī kuzhāl kulom.*
1741. Is your cow young? *Tōst gāo lillik assā?*
1742. My cow is younger than yours. *Iā gāo tū gāo tā lillik assā.*
1743. Your father is a very brave man. *Shā'st tōtt bilugh kshul manchī ess.*
1744. Your (thy) gun is bad. *Tū-sē topik digar ess.*

## APPENDIX I.

The following is a list of some important works which help to throw light on the languages of Kāfiristān. None of these, except the third, written partly under my supervision, were available for reference in Chitrāl, where I prepared the sentences, etc., now published.

ABDUL HAKĪM KHĀN, (KHĀN SĀHĪB), NATIVE POLITICAL ASSISTANT, CHITRĀL.—*Manuscript papers on the Wai-alā dialect, spoken in Waigal, 1900*, kindly lent for inspection by Dr. Grierson.

Of these words, 70 per cent. have a considerable similarity to the corresponding words in my collection, and a large number agree with the Waigulī of Sir H. Lumsden.

The infinitives end in *sta*, and the terminations of some tenses and persons of the verbs, and many numerals, including *puch-vishi* (5 × 20) one hundred, agree with the Bashgalī of my collection.

ABOULFEDA, *Géographie d'.*—*Traduite par M. Reinaud: Paris, 1868.*—Saghānyān se prononce en Persan Djaghānyān. C'est un grand district où l'eau et les arbres abondent. Le nom d'origine en est Saghāni. Le Saghānyān est un groupe de localités situées au-delà de l'Oxus.

AZĪMULLAH, NAIK, 27th Punjab Infantry.—*A collection of Bashgalī-Persian sentences in manuscript in the office of the Brigade Major, Chitrāl, 1897-98.*—The grammar and words agree with my collection.

BABER, *Mémoires de.*—*Traduites par A. Pavet de Courteille.*—Le beuluk de Djagān-serai\* est situé toute à l'entrée de Kāfiristān. (This was written about 1503 or 1504 A.D.)

BELLEW, DR. H. W.—*Ethnology of Afghānistān. Congress of Orientalists, September, 1891.*—A paper of great interest on the Greek influence on the tribes of Afghānistān, the Hindū Kush, and those about the Upper Oxus, Badakhshān, etc.

BIDDULPH, COLONEL.—*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh: Calcutta, 1880.*—The Bashgalī vocabulary (about 350 words) agrees very fairly with the words collected by me. His infinitives are not uniform as to termination, but sometimes end, as in the Chitrālī, in *k*, and in various other ways. His 1,000 is *hazār*.

BIRD, J.—*See LEECH, R.*

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\* Which the Emperor Bābar took from the Kāfirs. On that occasion the Kāfirs of Pich came to their assistance.



BURNES, LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR A.—

(1) *Cabool, a personal narrative, 1842.*

(2) *On the Siāh-pōsh\* Kāfirs. Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal. 1838.*

(3) *On the Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs. Pro. Bombay Geo. Society, 1838.*

He gives a vocabulary of 105 words and 16 numerals, (of which *chal* is 80, and *hazār* 1,000), and 14 short sentences, (obtained from a resident of Waigul), all of which is practically included in Sir H. Lumsden's Waiguli collection.

There is a good deal of difference between his collection of words and mine. His grammar, as shown in the sentences, differs from mine. He says some of the soft labials cannot be pronounced by an European. He gives 24 Pashai words and 8 Pashai sentences, and remarks that the Pashai language is spoken in 8 villages and is very similar to the Kāfir. There is not much similarity between these Pashai words and the words and sentences of my Bashgalī collection.

CAMPBELL, J.—*Lost among the Afghans, 1865.*—The writer states he lived some time in Kāfiristān, but gives no remarks on the language.

CAPUS, G.—*Vocabulaires de langues pré-pamiriennes. Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris, 1889, p. 203, etc.*—At Chitrāl a vocabulary of 139 Siāh-pōsh Kāfir words, 30 numerals and 9 short sentences was prepared. These were evidently obtained from the language spoken at Loudhé (Luttdeh?) in the Bashgal valley, and agree generally with my collection. According to Capus, 1,000 is *ew sarr, ewzarrba*.

He gives a second collection of 114 words and 8 short sentences taken down at Meshed from a slave of Tzoum. Some of these correspond fairly with my collection: others differ. About half agree with the Waiguli of Sir H. Lumsden. In this collection *chal* is 40; *sadd*, 100; *hazār*, 1,000; and *gunei*, wife.

CAPUS, G.—*Le Kafiristan et les Kafirs Siahpouches. Revue Scientifique, Revue Rose. Vol. 43 of 1889 (Paris), pages 1 to 8; 237 to 291; Vol. 44, pages 424 to 432.*—The Greeks did not penetrate into Kāfiristān. He gives a map of Kāfiristān from information by Biddulph and Tanner.

He notes the days of the week are *Agar*, day of rest, and the remainder

\* I heard this word more often pronounced *pōsh* than *pūsh*.

*ēbi*; *dībi*; *trebi*; *chtvobi*; *pouchbi*; *chou* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th?). He records a Kāfir prayer: “*I amatch guich, bilim guicha, haloche patchemichi*,” (of which there is no translation), and a few religious terms of priests, deities, etc.

Cyrus conquered a tribe named *Capicha*, red, on the borders of Ghorband and Panjir. This is perhaps the people who made the wine known as *Capichi* or *Capisa*, renowned about 400 B.C.

CAPUS, G.—*Quatrième Congrès International des Sciences Géographiques, Paris, 1889. Le Kafiristane et les Kafirs Siahpouches*.—This gives a long account of the country, habits, customs, deities, etc.

Tomaschek's words are quoted “*c'est une langue pracrite pure, qui s'est débarrassée des nombreuses inflexions du Sanscrit, et les remplace par une agglutination d'éléments propres. Toutes les langues du Pamir et de l'Hindu Kouch ont de commun la façon de compter par multiples de vingt, de sorte que 70 se dit  $3 \times 20 + 10$ , et 400 devient  $20 \times 20$ . Il faut y voir l'indice d'une base commune non aryenne.*”

CAPUS, G.—*Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris, 1890. Vol. 1, p. 250—272.—Kâfirs Siahpouches*.—The article repeats some of the information given in previous articles above referred to. The Kāfir music noted by him “*est du rythme trois quatre avec un mouvement de valse, et diffère complètement de la mélodie sarte en se rapprochant de la kirghize.*” In the discussion following the lecture it is said “*Si les Kâfirs ont réellement une numération vigesimale, leur langue serait la seule langue indo-européenne ayant une numération semblable.*”

CENTRAL ASIA, *being a review of several books.—Quarterly Review, 1873.*—All the scanty vocabularies professing to represent the languages of the Kāfirs, Kohistānis, Pashais and other pre-Afghān tribes of that mountain country shew a good deal in common with a good deal of divergence. \* \* \* \* \* Hear again the accurate Elphinstone, “*There are several languages (dialects?) among the Kāfirs, but they have all many words in common, and all have a near connection with the Shanskrit. They have all one peculiarity, which is that they count by scores instead of by hundreds, and that their thousand, (which they call by the Persian or Pushtu name), consists of 400 or 20 score.*” It is suggested that the Ashpins of Kāfiristān may be the Aspasi, and the Ashkins the Assaceni of Alexander's historians.

CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER, see FAZL HAQQ.



CUNNINGHAM, SIR A.—*Ladākh, Physical, with notices of surrounding countries, 1854.*—Contains tables of comparison of various Alpine (Himalayan) dialects.

COURT, M. A. (Ancien élève de l'école Militaire de Saint Cyr, and in the army of the Maharājah of Lahore).—*Alexander's exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus. Translated from the French for Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1840.*—His local information is based on the reports of men obtained at Peshāwūr to spy out the country secretly.

He thinks the Mount Mahram, en route from Ashtnagar to Bunēr, and 12 koss from Ashtnagar, may be Mount Meros of Arrian, and Nyssa, the present Achtnaggar, though there are probabilities against it.

It is said one Kirkat, a Kāfir, once ruled the country near Dīr, from which the Kāfirs were ejected by Mahomedans.

It was reported to him that "a city called Massanger, known also by the name of Maskhinē, exists on the Southern Frontier of Kāfiristān close to Baba Kara, 12 koss from Bajaor, and 4 koss from Mount Mahrām. The tribe called Assaceni exists in that country."

DOWNES, E. (C.M.S., Peshāwūr).—*Kāfiristān, an account of the country, Lahore, 1873.*—Contains a collection of 170 words prepared from vocabularies by various persons. The dialect is not stated. The words differ considerably from my collection.

DOWNES, E., and JOHNSON, E. C.—*On the Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs, Church Missionary Intelligencer, Volume X, 1874.*—A summary of remarks on Kāfiristān. The above contains hardly any words in any Kāfir dialect.

ELIOT, SIR H. M.—*History of India as told by its own historians, 1871, Volume III, page 389, "Malfūzāt-i-Timūrī."*—Shows the invasion of the country of the Kators and Siāh-pōshes from Paryān; mentions one village named Shokal and another Jorkal. Their ruler is Adalshu or Udashu. Their language is distinct from Turki, Persian, Hindi, or Kashmīrī. On reaching Khāwak, Timūr repaired an old fort.

Timūr\* ordered an engraver in stone to cut an inscription somewhere on those defiles "to the effect that I had reached this country by such and such a route in the auspicious month of Ramazān A. H. 800" = May 1398.

In Volume II, Appendix, page 407, he thinks the body of troops known as Kators, organised by the Ghaznvide Sovereigns, the Kators of Kāfiristān, and the Kators of Kumāon may be connected.

\* In Colonel Tanner's lecture on the Chuganīs, (R.G.S., London), it is observed that it is quite impossible to make out the geography of Timur's routes in Kāfiristān.

He mentions the Yuetchi (Tartar) invasion over the Hindū Kush into Afghānistān and Peshāwur. Chinese writers say that about 160 B.C. the Yuetchi, (driven out by the Hioung-now), established themselves in Transoxiana.

Shortly after, the Yuetchi chief, Khieou-tsieou-hy, proclaimed himself king of all the countries between the Oxus, Hindū Kush and Little Thibet. Subsequently the Yuetchi Monarch Ki-to-lo descended south of the Hindū Kush to invade India about 200 A.D.

Here we seem to have the origin of the name Kator, \* \* \* \* on the very site of the modern Kāfiristān or land of the Siāh-poshes.

ELPHINSTONE, HON. M.—*Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies, 1839. Appendix C.*—The Caufirs count by scores, not by hundreds. Their thousand, (which they call by the Persian and Pushtu name), consists of 400 or 20 score. This derivation of their language seems fatal to the descent of the Caufirs from the Greeks.\*

FAZL HAQQ and NORULLA.—Afghān Missionaries in Kāfiristān. *Church Missionary Intelligencer, December 1878, p. 724; being a reprint of an article published in 1865.*

This gives a sample of a popular Kāfir song. A man in the village of Shinu has sold his son to Mahomedans. When the boy has grown up, he kills 14 Mahomedans, escapes to his home, and the mother in proud delight sings the following song:—

*Parolē bēlē batō warmē lawē  
Badal lowe bēlē amī batō lou sousawe.  
Ura pras sagor aman batō warmē lawē  
Awār paras dandako partus tatakotawe.  
Pa sheristan gangare sutā.*

“ Well done, my lad! Well hast thou fought!  
My old blood was drying up for grief for thee,  
When thy father sold my high-spirited boy.  
And thou hast killed fourteen men and come home again,  
With the bells tinkling on thy feet.”

This apparently is the language spoken at Shaiderland or Shino Begura, Nikera, etc. It is not stated what is the dialect. It does not tally with my collection.

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\* Mullāh Najib made a vocabulary of Kāfir words which was said to have been translated by Irvine. I have failed to trace this. Some writers have asserted that the Mullāh never penetrated beyond the Nimcha country.



GARDNER, ALEXANDER, COLONEL.—*Memoirs of. London, 1898.*—States the Therbah tribe, who live ten days' march west of Kāfiristān, intermarry with the Kāfirs Siāh-pōsh. Colonel Gardner, about 1826 A.D., visited the Khilti (Kti ?) race of Kāfirs, (outer range and northern crest of Hindū Kush), and got as far as the Ghour-i-pir Nimchu. There were shown to him "two marble inscriptions with Arabic characters engraved on them, said to have been presented by two kings who reigned at Delhi, viz., Mahomed Ghorī, and Shāhbudin Ghorī. There was likewise a large slab of green marble, also with an inscription, said to have been presented by Timūr in person, when he attempted to invade Kāfiristān, but got no further than this point. This memorial was erected in 1398."

\* \* \* \* \*

According to the Pir, Scythia was the original cradle of the Kāfir race, and they claim one of the kings of the dynasty of Cyrus as their founder.

The whole of Badakhshān formerly was held by the Kāfirs.

In 1193, when the Mahomedan Government of India was founded, Kāfiristān was broken up, and Badakhshān was the name given to that part from which the Kāfirs were expelled.

Colonel Gardner again visited Kāfiristān about 1829 A.D., but, unfortunately, the copious notes and diary which he made have been lost. He was informed that, about 1770 A.D., two Europeans (R.C. Missionaries) had resided and died in Kāfiristān.

GHEYN, VAN DEN.—*Le Yidghah et le Yagnobi. Bruxelles, 1883.*—La méthode de numération vigesimale n'est pas d'origine aryenne. Empruntée aux populations autochtones des Khaças (les Haspioi d'Herodote et les Kasioi de Ptolémée) et encore en usage chez les Khajūnas ou Boorishkis des Cantons de Yassin, Hunza, et Nagir, elle a fait invasion dans un certain nombre de dialectes eraniens de l'Hindou Kusch.

GOES, BENTODE.—*Purchas S.; his Pilgrimes, Part III, 1625.*—Although nothing regarding the language is recorded, it states that Benedictus Goes "equipped with a table of moveable feasts till the year A.D. 1610 left Lahore in Lent 1603." When in the neighbourhood of Peshāwur he was informed that "thirtye days off was a Citie named Capherstam (Kāfiristān) into which the Saracens are not permitted entrance, and, if they enter, are put to death. But merchants are admitted their Citie, yet not their Temples. Hee said the inhabitants of that region goe to Church all of them in black \* \* \* Heroby Goes supposed that

they were Christians," an idea which Marco Polo also seems to have entertained.

GRIERSON, G. A. (PH.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.)—*Linguistic Survey, Government of India, Calcutta, 1899. The Kāfir Languages, outlines of Bashgalī, Kalāsha, and Wasī-Veri or language of Veron. (Advanced proofs.)*—The Siāh Pūsh Kāfirs, N. and N.W. of Kāfiristān, all speak varieties of one language, of which the Bashgalī may be taken as a type.

Some of the Kāfir dialects, (those specified by Sir G. Robertson,) show sporadic instances of agreement with the Iranian languages, but the general phonetic structure of most of them is Indian. Their grammatical structure, however, varies from any Indian language. Seven pages are given to the Bashgalī dialect and nine pages to the Wasī-Veri or language of Veron, (which is now written for the first time,) and ten pages to words and sentences in five languages including Bashgalī and Wasī-Veri.

GRIERSON, G. A. (PH.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.)—*Linguistic Survey, Government of India, 1900. Pashai, Laghmānī or Dēhgānī. (Advanced proofs.)*—The Pashai dialect is closely connected with Gewar-bati and Kalāsha, and has interesting points of relationship with Bashgalī and Wasī-Veri.

The infinitive of the verb, as in Khowār, ends in *k*.

The specimen translation of the story of the Prodigal Son seems to me to have far greater affinity to Khowār than to Bashgalī Kāfir.

About 23 per cent. of the words are identical with, and 17 per cent. somewhat similar to, the Waigulī of Lumsden and Burnes, and about 60 per cent. seem quite different.

GRIFFITH, W.—*Journal of travel. London, 1847, Vol. I, p. 458.*—Contains a short account of the Kāfirs from personal interviews near Katoor, (a short way N.W. of Chigar-serai), with Kāfirs from Arunsha, etc., and gives a vocabulary of 64 words. The dialect is not stated. The author says, "the mixture of Hindūstānī names is very curious indeed, particularly those names of things which, from being indigenous, one would suppose would have indigenous names." Some of his words are Chitrālī, others Persian; about one-third of his words agree with mine.

DE GUIGNES.—*Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, etc. 1758.*—Tamerlan fit graver sur les marbres l'histoire de son expédition avec l'époque de l'Hégire et celle dont se servent ces Barbares.

HOLDICH, COLONEL, T. H., C.B., C.I.E., Royal Engineers.—*Geographical Society Journal, Vol. VII, 1896.* "Origin of the Kāfirs of the Hindu Kush."—Major Deane, C.S.I., has lately discovered some strange inscriptions



on stone slabs in the Indus valley, east of Swāt, which have been examined by a Congress of Orientalists who can only pronounce that they are in an unknown tongue. Possibly they may be of a vast age, for the opinion is pronounced that they recall a Greek alphabet of Archaic type, and it is a possibility that the characters inscribed may prove to be the forgotten form of the Nyssoean dialect.

In a verse of a Kāfir war hymn quoted in the article, (one of a classical and Bacchic type), the references show that the Kāfirs owned part at least of Badakhshān, and revered the hill Meros, the mountain of Bacchus near Nyssa.

Kāfiristān has only been partly explored. Who can say what may be discovered in future explorations? The Kāfirs may perhaps in the future be proved to be "the modern representatives of that very ancient Western race, the Nyssoeans, so ancient that the historians of Alexander refer to their origin as mythical."

HUGHES, REV. T. P., and SYED SHĀH, Munshī.—*Account of a visit of the latter to Kāfiristān, Church Missionary Intelligencer, July 1883.*—"Today was the Kāfir Sabbath or Sunday, Aggar. No work is done on this day by men or women." The few Kāfir words which are given, all correspond with those in my collection.

JUKES, WORTHINGTON, REVD. (late of C.M.S.)—*A manuscript vocabulary (about 30 pages) of Kāfir words and sentences, names of men, women, villages, rivers, etc., taken a few years ago, from a Kāfir who had left his country, for Laghmān, six years previously.*—This collection agrees very fairly with mine, though some of the grammatical renderings differ.

In this collection Kāfiristān is rendered by *Katon gil (gol, gul?)* "the Kator valley" (?).

KLAPROTH.—*Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie, 1876, p. 132, etc.*—The language of the Petits Yue-tchi was identical with that of the Kiangs or Thibetans. The ancients knew them as the Indo-Scythians. Their capital was Kian-chy-tching, and their chief abode, south of the Oxus, known as Koei and Gooi.

LASSEN, C.—*Indische Alterthumskunde, 1867.*—Has very interesting chapters on the history of the countries near the sources of the Upper Oxus.

LEECH, R., LIEUT., R.E.—*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, August 1838, and Transactions, Bombay Geographical Society, Vol. I.*—This contains a vocabulary of Pashai words—168 words, 20 numerals, 9 short sentences—

spoken by the inhabitants of Mandal, Chitela, Parena, Kūndi, Seva, Kulmān. About one-sixth agree somewhat with my collection of Bashgalī, and about one-third are common to Urdū or Persian, as, *ghoda*, *ghodī*, horse, mare; *gāl*, abuse; *dāru*, powder; *gom*, wheat.

The numerals 1 to 20 are in many cases almost identical with Persian or Urdū; and one-eighth of the words agree with Lumsden's Waigulī.

Mr. J. Bird observes (Bo. Geo. Soc., Vol. I, p. 403) the Pashai language is of special interest in connection with the Pasiani, who, with the Asii and others, overturned the Greek Kingdom of Bactria 125 B.C. He thinks the languages of Kāfiristān, Pashai, Chitrāl have a common origin in a Sanscrit or Persian language, probably the Zend.

LEITNER, DR. G. W.—*Languages and Races of Dārdistān, 1877.*—Treats of the Kalāsha \* language, not of the dialects spoken by people in Kāfiristān proper.

LEITNER, DR. G. W.—*Lecture on the Bashgalīs and their language.*—*Journal United Service Institute (Simla), 1880.*—This treats of the Kalāsha dialect, *i.e.*, the language spoken by the Kāfirs who reside, not in the Bashgal valley of Kāfiristān, but in Chitrāl territory and are subjects of the ruler of Chitrāl. It has a fairly close resemblance to the Chitrālī dialect or Khō-wār, including the infinitive of the verb which, (as in Khō-wār,) ends in *k*.

LEITNER, DR. G. W.—*Dārdistān in 1866, 1886, and 1893.*—At p. 33 is a Bashgalī prayer in the Kalāsha dialect. It is largely Chitrālī and Urdū. Dr. Leitner says, (in regard to the word Kator), Bāba Āyub, a Khorassānī adventurer, established the Chitrāl dynasty and took the name Kator, whence the dynasty is called Katori. Kator has been said by some to be Kitolo, the king of the great Yuetchi, about 420 A.D., who conquered Balkh.

LEITNER, DR. G. W.—*Kāfiristān and the Khalifa Question, 1895.*—Considers the Kāfirs must be ancient Greeks.

Recently the Afghāns have destroyed over 150 temples with innumerable ancestral carvings showing Greek traditions.

LEITNER, DR. G. W.—*Journal Society of Arts, 1897.*—There is much yet to learn about Kāfiristān. Alexander the Great advancing against Nyssa,

\* Sir H. Rawlinson (Journal R. G. S. XLII of 1872) says the Sanscrit Kalika, "dark-coloured," (from which possibly the word Kalāsha arises), may be the origin of the term *Siāh pōsh* (wearing black) and possibly may be the Calcias of Goes.



the heart of Greek Kāfiristān, discovered its inhabitants to be descendants of very ancient Greeks. The Kāfirs are essentially pagan of the classical type, and more resemble Europeans than any Asiatic race.

LUDWIG, GEORGE VON —.—*Travels through Upper Asia from Kashgār, Tashbalyk, Bolor, Badakhshān, Vakhān, etc. R.G.S., 1866.*—This work has been described by some noted geographers as untrustworthy.

He gives certain Kāfir words, *e.g.*—

<i>Imra amu,</i>	God's house, Temple.
<i>busibo,</i>	bustard.
<i>gabsu,</i>	copper.
<i>danep,</i>	goat's wool cloth.
<i>marilpani,</i>	golden.
<i>yashi,</i>	jasper.
<i>omimir,</i>	spring fog.
<i>Imra bolli ! Gish bolli,</i>	exclamations.

He mentions a dialect known as Gobi.

He says he saw a stone pillar with an inscription on it in the valley of Luimka near Mustopan, (village of the Chashur Gobis). It is not stated what were the characters. Possibly this was not in Kāfiristān.

LUMSDEN, SIR H. B.—*Mission to Candahar, 1860.*—This gives a list of about 1,500 or 1,600 words and 19 short sentences in the dialects of Traieguma \* and Waigul. A great many differ from the Bashgali of my collection. The infinitive of the verb in his collection ends generally in *n*, but sometimes in *m*, *k*, *i* or *h*. This termination being rejected, a root is left which sometimes coincides with the root in my collection, such as that of,—“to catch,” “beat,” “do,” “drink.” He says it is evident many of his words have Sanskrit roots. The article contains no grammar.

MCCRINDLE, J. W.—*Ancient India as described by Ptolemy. Calcutta, 1885.*—The Sakai were located east of the Sogdiani, under Mounts Askani-mia and Komedus, of which the ascent lies in 125°, 43°. Ptolemy describes them, (*vide* Ptolemy's map No. 7), as nomadic, dwelling in woods and caves. Their tribes were the Karatai and Komaroi, both along the Jaxartes; Komedai † residing in mountains; the Massagetai ‡ along the range of the

\* Traieguma in his map is 16 miles north of Chigar Serai, and Waigul is 16 miles further north.

† Some say the Komedai whose valley was located in 130°, 39° were the ancestors of the Kāfirs. A critic in the *Times* says the Kāfirs may be identical with the Sibae of Strabo. See the article Sibae in Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography by W. Smith, D.C.L., LL.D.

‡ Mæso Gothic *Maiza* and Yuetchi *Getæ*.

Askatangas \*; the Graynaio Skythai; Toornai; and Byltai near Mount Imaios, *i.e.*, Baltistān or Little Thibet. The Sakai therefore appear to have been the mountaineers of Kāfiristān, Badakhshān, Shignān, Roshān, and Baltistān. Their boundaries were: west, the Sogdiani; north, Skythia, along the line parallel to the Jaxartes, so far as the limit of the country which lies in 130° E. and 49° N.; east by Skythia along the meridian lines prolonged from thence and through the adjacent range of mountains called Askatangas, as far as the station at Mount Imaios, whence traders start on their journey to Seres, and through Mount Imaios as it ascends to the north as far as the limit to the country, *viz.*, 143° E., 35° N.; south by Imaios itself along the line adjoining the limits that have been stated.

Beyond the valleys at the foot of mountains Askanimia and Komedus and the village which they call Lithinon purgon "stone tower," (lying in 135°, 43°), lies the very long road by which traders pursue their journey towards Seres, Serica (?).

MCCRINDLE, J. W.—*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*. Westminster, 1896.—The districts through which Alexander passed are now called Kāfiristān, Chitrāl, Swāt, etc. "It is more difficult to trace in this than in any other of his campaigns the course of his movements, and to identify with certainty the various strongholds which he attacked \* \* \* A glance at the labyrinth of mountains and valleys which occupy the whole space in question in the best modern maps will sufficiently show how utterly bewildering they must have been to the officers of Alexander, who neither used maps nor a compass, and were incapable of the simplest geographical observations." (Page 61.)

MCNAIR, W. W. (F.R.G.S.).—*Explorations in part of Eastern Afghānistān and Kāfiristān, 1883*.—This gives a vocabulary of about 108 Kāfir words, 28 numerals, and 7 short sentences. The numerals agree with mine, as do half the words, and most of the grammar of his sentences. Some of the words tally with those of Sir H. Lumsden and Sir A. Burnes (Waiguli). Many are different from any Kāfir collection which I have seen, or from Sir A. Burnes' Pashai collection. The monument ordered to be erected by Timūr was reported in 1883 to be in existence between the forts of Pushian † and Kurban.

MASSON, CHARLES.—*Narrative of various journeys in Belochistān, Afghānistān, etc., 1842*, see also in *Bombay Geographical Society's transactions*

\* The central syllable is the Turkish word *Tağh*, mountain.

† If so, it is close to Khāwak and on the fringe of, if inside, Kāfiristān.



*Vol. V.*—It is not until 1399 A.D. that the Siāh-pōsh are recognised by name. He refers to the “Kāfir epocha” which Timur discovered (*vide* Timūr,) and the interest as to whether the Kāfirs still preserve it; and notes the fact that Timur’s Expedition was hardly a conquest, as he had to beat a hasty retreat. He alludes to Baber’s Expedition to Birain (probably Veron), and notes that from that time up to Elphinstone’s Account, 1839, nothing is heard of the Kāfirs, except the erroneous accounts, (1603), by Goes.

MOHUN LALL.—*Travels in Punjab, Afghānistān, etc., London, 1846.*—Contains a notice of the Siah-pōsh Kāfirs, but very little as regards their language.

MOORCROFT (WILLIAM) and TREPECK (GEORGE).—*Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc., etc., Kābul-Kanduz, Bokhāra, 1841.*—The district of Gilgit is inhabited by Dardus, evidently the Dāradas of Sanskrit geography, and Daradœ or Daradrœ of Strabo. They are also no doubt the Kāfirs of the Mahomedans, although they have of late been nominally converted to Islām.

MULLĀH NAJIB.—In “*Kingdom of Cabul*” (Elphinstone) it is stated Mullāh Najib wrote a vocabulary (translated by Irvine) of the language at Kāmdēsh. I have failed to trace it in London.

NORRIS, E.—*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1862.*—This collection of about 90 words obtained from a Kāfir in Tehērān is considerably different from my vocabulary, but about one half agrees, in a measure, with the collection of Burnes and Lumsden. In his collection one hundred is *chal*, and one thousand, *hazār*. His infinitives end in *s*, as, *veeyaus*, to beat.

NORULLA, *see* FAZL HAQQ.

PAUTHIER, M. G.—*Le Livre de Marcō Polo, dictated in 1298. Published, Paris, 1839.*—“Il est voirs que dix journées vers midi loings de Balacian, une province qui s’appelle Bacian, qui ont langue par eus et sont ydolastres et sont brunes genz; ils scevent moult d’enchantement et d’art diabolique. Ils sont malicieuse gent et sage de leur coustumes. Cette province est moult *chaude* (froide?). Leur viande est char et ris.” Pauthier, in a foot-note, argues that Bacian must have been Paschiai\* in Kāfiristān, with its dialect known as Pachai (Bachai). He refers to a statement of the Emperor Bāber regarding a small river “flowing from

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\* Masson thinks this cannot be the case.

the west, which traverses Pich,\* a country of Kāfiristān. When I took Chigar Serai the Kāfirs of Pich came to their aid, men who were great drinkers of wine; they fear neither God † nor man, and are heathenish in their customs." Pauthier says: "the Bacian of Marco Polo and Pich of Bāber are probably one and the same."

PRITCHARD, J. C.—*Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, 1844, Volume IV, Chapter XII, Section V. Of the Siāh Pōsh or Kāfirs of the Hindū Kush.*—Their language is nearly allied to the Sanscrit. The Laghmānī or Dehgānī language is said to be a Kāfir dialect. The Siāh-pōsh, judging from their language, "belong to the Indian race, and the language which has long been a learned and dead language in Hindūstān is still preserved in a peculiar dialect among the mountaineers of the Hindū Caucasus."

There is strong evidence that the Sanscrit language, or a peculiar modification of it, was the idiom of the ancestors of the Kāfir race.

He gives a vocabulary of 23 words of the Siāh-pōsh, which very much resemble the Sanscrit. Twenty of the words are the same as those in my vocabulary of sentences.

This book quotes a communication by Ritter to the Berlin Geographical Society, May 1839, "Einige ethnographische Mittheilungen über die Siāh Pōsh von Alexander Burnes" printed in the "Monatsbericht über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde."

In the latter paper are some remarks by Professor Bopp on specimens of the Siāh Pōsh language.

DE QUATREFAGES.—*Histoire générale de la race humaine, Paris, 1889.*  
—He classifies the Siāh-pōsh as—

Trunc,	blanc ou caucasique.		Famille,	Hindoue.
Branche,	Aryane.		Groupe,	Mamogi.
Rameau,	Indo-Européen.			

RAVERTY, CAPTAIN H. G.—*On the languages of the Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs.*  
—*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1864, p. 267.*—Disagrees with Dr.

\* Pich, is believed to be Kama in modern maps.

† Colonel Yule says the Pashais, though now Mahomedans are reckoned among the aboriginal tribes of the country, which the Afghāns are not.



Trumpp in various essentials. It is not stated which of the Siāh-pōsh dialects he employs. He thinks his collection of about 150 words, and those of Mr. Norris and Sir A. Burnes, tally, generally speaking. Raverty's collection of words and construction of sentences do not agree very well with mine. He gives a short list of words in the Pashai dialect, spoken in the country south-west of Kāfiristān. Nearly all these words are contained in Leech's collection of 1838: about one-third are similar to his (Raverty's) Siāh-pōsh words. About half his Siāh-pōsh words and about half his Pashai words agree with the Waiguli of Lumsden. He says the Pashais are the aborigines of the country.

RAVERTY, MAJOR H. G.—*Kāfiristān and the Kāfir Tribes. Calcutta Review, July 1896.*—Contains an excellent outline of the history of Kāfiristān, the Hinduān-i-Kator and the Siāh-pōsh tribes. The Kāfiris of Tibbat are also referred to.

ROBERTSON, SIR G. S., K.C.S.I.—*Kāfiristān and its People. London, 1895,* and *The Kāfirs of the Hindū Kush. London, 1896.*—The conclusion is arrived at that the dominant races of Kāfiristān, the Katirs Kām, and Wai, are descended from the old original population of East Afghānistān who refused to accept the Mahomedan faith about 950 A.D. Traditions are recorded that the Presuns are an aboriginal race; that the Kām were originally Sālārzais or Koresh; that the Kāfirs extended as far as Swāt, and that the Kalāsh extended to Gilgit. They have no admixture of Tartar blood.

The following is his list of tribes :—

	Katirs of Bashgal Valley,	12	villages.	} Siāh-pōsh.
	Ktī or Katwār,	2	do.	
1. Katirs	Kulam,	4	do.	
	Rāmgalis or Gabaraks, on borders of Afghānistān.	24	do.	
2. Mādugāl,		3	do.	
3. Kashtān or Kashtor,		1	do.	
4. Kām (Bashgāl and other valleys),		7	do.	
5. Istrat,		1	do.	

6. Presun or Viron ; a very ancient people, inhabiting 6 villages, speaking a language different from the Siāh-pōsh, a language which, according to the Kām opinion, "no one can ever learn." They differ from the Wai or Ashkun.
7. Wai ; in 10 villages ; their language differs from the Siāh-pōsh or Presun.
8. Ashkun ; in 2 villages ; their language is somewhat like the Wai.

Safēd-pōsh.

"That the Kāfirs are made up of different races, appears certain : that they have no admixture of Tartar blood seems obvious ; that they came from the west, or at least the great majority of them, is their own fixed idea and is more than probable."

Describing the women's head dress and its appurtenances he says, "I have seen on the brass thimbles short English expressions such as 'For a good girl.' These were the only printed or written words I ever found in Kāfiristan."

ROBERTSON, SIR G. S.—*Manuscript vocabulary of words, outlines of grammar, and sentences, and idioms ; Kāfir into English, 1896-7.*—This is the most comprehensive collection which I have seen, and contains many valuable idioms. I understand that in all essential matters Sir G. Robertson's collection agrees with mine.

SĀDIK ISFAHĀNI.—*Geographical works of.*—No. II.—*Takwīm-al-Baldān.* London, 1832.—This, (written about 1635), mentions Katūr (or Siāh pōshān, the country of persons who wear black clothes), situated on the confines of Kābul.

SYUD SHĀH, Munshī, *vide* HUGHES, REVD.

TANNER, MAJOR.—*Kāfiristān and the Kāfir language.* *Pro. R.G.S., Vol. I of 1879, p. 713.*—The language of the Chuganīs is like that of the Kāfirs.

Mr. W. Jenkins, Assistant to Sir L. Cavagnari in Kābul, was, at the time of his death, employed in working up the language of Kāfiristān.

TANNER, COLONEL H. C.—*Notes on the Chuganīs and neighbouring tribes of Kāfiristān.* *Pro. Royal Geographical Society, 1881, p. 279.*—In the preparatory remarks on the above lecture, Dr. Cust stated that the purely philological portion of Colonel Tanner's notes was reserved to be dealt with by Dr. E. Trumpp (Professor of Munich), and would be published by the Royal Asiatic Society. Colonel Tanner gives a few



sentences "in the language of the Kāfirs as near as I have been able to pick it up." These exhibit 25 words, some of which are Urdū, others Sanskrit. The grammar does not tally with mine. It is not stated what dialect was employed.

By the kindness of Dr. Cust I have been able to inspect Colonel Tanner's collection of manuscript papers on the Dehgāno or Darah Nūri dialect of the Laghmān language and on the language of the Sañu Kāfirs.

The Darah Nūri collection consists of about fifteen foolscap pages of words and sentences. Many words are similar to the Persian; a few only, including the system of numeration, *e.g.*, *painjwea* ( $5 \times 20$ ), are similar to those in my Bashgali collection. The grammar differs from mine, the infinitive ending in *k*.

The collection of specimens of the language spoken by the Sañu or Wām tribe of Lāl Kāfirs, (as taken down from a man of the Chugani tribe), comprises about 170 words and 70 short sentences, as spoken in "Sañu-glam, a town situated at the head of a valley that flows Northward from the Kund Mountains into Darah Pech. The Sañus are enemies of the neighbouring tribes of Katawār Kāfirs, and do not understand their language."

About one-third of the words are very similar to those in my collection. The terminals of some tenses of the verbs (notably the future) agree with my examples.

About half of the words, as shown in a comparative table drawn up by Professor E. Trumpp, who recently saw the collection, agree more or less with the words in his work referred to on p. 182.

About twenty per cent. of the words are similar to corresponding words in the Waigulī collection of Sir H. Lumsden.

Hardly any of the words correspond with the Wasī-Veri or Veron language as recorded by Dr. Grierson.

TERENTIEF.—*Russia and England in Asia. 1875. Translated by Daukes, Calcutta, 1876.*—He gives a specimen of the Bolor or Kāfir language (see Appendix IV). It does not correspond with my collection. Terentief says the Siāh-pōsh style themselves Bolors; he thinks they are descendants of 20,000 slaves (Sklabinoi) who emigrated in 664 A.D. to Syria, and that Russia is therefore specially interested in them, an hypothesis which his translator and other critics consider untenable.

TIMŪR BEG.—*History of, by Cherefeddin Ali; translated into French by Mons. Petits de la Croix.*—Timūr invaded the country of the Ketuers

and Siāh-pōsh in A.D. 1398. The difficulties encountered in getting the horses over the Kāfiristān Hills are well described. Timūr observes : "The infidels of this country were as strong as the giants of the people of Aad; they go all naked: they have a peculiar language hitherto unknown which is neither Persian, nor Turkish, nor Indian, and know no other than this: but for the inhabitants of some neighbouring places, who are found there by chance, and having acquired their language can act as interprēters, no one could understand them. Their kings are known as Oda and Odachouh." On the Siāh-pōsh men promising to abjure idols and embrace the Mahomedan religion, Timūr gave them clothes and encouraged them with affectionate speeches. But these wretches, whose hearts were as black as their garments, fell on one of his regiments, which they almost annihilated. Timūr's army then put to death a large number of the Kāfirs, carrying away women and children. They built towers on the top of the mountain and end of the bridge, with the heads of the traitors who had never bowed the head to adore the true God.

Timūr ordered to be engraved in marble the history of his action, month of Ramadān, A.D. 1398, and he added the peculiar "epocha" which this people used.

The pillar so inscribed gave the greater pleasure to Timūr, as these people had never been conquered by any king, not even by Alexander the Great.

Caouc is mentioned as a town of the Ketuers which Timūr rebuilt.

Besides the words above quoted, he gives no specimens of the language as then spoken.

TOMASCHEK.—*Central-Asiatische Studien: I, Sogdiana, 1877. II, Die Pamir-Dialekte, 1880. Published in the Sitzungsberichte, Imperial Academy, Vienna.*—Has 3 curious ancient maps of the countries which bound Kāfiristān north and east and west. The Kalāsha dialect is the bridge between the cultivated Arnya\* and rough west Kāfir dialects. It has many traces, though rough, of the old Veda dialect. The book has interesting remarks tracing some of the Kalāsha and Bashgalī words to their origin.

TOMASCHEK.—*Art. in Enc. Ersch. and Gruber, 1882 (quoted by Mons. G. M. Capus in "Le Kafiristan et les Kafir Siah-pouches." Revue Scientifique, 1889).*—The Kāfir is a Prakrit language; it has a predilection for nasal vowels, "aspirations et cerebrals," with one peculiarity, *viz.*,

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\* Arnya, the language spoken in Chitrāl, Yassin.



the frequent omission of a final *r*.<sup>\*</sup> The Kāfirs count by twenties, as is the case in all the languages of the Pāmirs and Hindū Kush. Thus they have a common non-Aryan base.

The Kāfir language and Chitrālī, compared with the Prakrit literature of Central India, have conserved some of the most ancient forms of the Aryan epoch.

TRUMPP, REVD. E., D. PHIL.—*On the language of the so-called Kāfirs of the Indian Caucasus. Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX, 1862.*—His opportunities for conversing with three Kāfirs, (which dialect is not stated,) “extended to a few days or rather hours.” The words collected and the grammar, (notably the pronouns, some numerals, and the peculiarity of the future tense of the verb,) differ a good deal from my collection. Burnes, Raverty, and Trumpp are at considerable variance. About 36 per cent. of Dr. Trumpp’s words agree with the Waigulī of Lumsden and Burnes.

Dr. Trumpp remarks, “The Kāfir tongue being a pure Prakrit dialect, separated from its sister dialects since the irruption of Moham-medan power, in the tenth century of our era, is of the greatest importance to Indian philology, as we have a very imperfect knowledge of the common dialects then in use in India. We may fairly infer that the dialect of the Kāfirs has been preserved to us pure or very little altered in the course of time, as the Kāfirs were quite cut off from all connexion with the other Indians, and hemmed in on all sides by impassable mountains, which enabled the fugitive race to defend their independence against all assaults on the part of the savage Pushto tribes which were settling down in their ancient seats.”

Dr. Trumpp thinks the words collected by Sir A. Burnes are not Kāfir words but Kohistānī. He observes that, whereas in the Prakrit dialects of India, the adjective agrees with the substantive in gender and case, the Kāfir seems to incline rather to the Iranian than to the Prakrit of India. He doubts if nouns have any gender; adjectives are not subject to change for gender and case.

He remarks on the rarity of aspirates, showing an affinity to Iranian and Pushto.

He says the instrumental case is used. In the singular it is the same as the Nominative. In the plural it is formed by adding  $\tilde{e}$ .

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\* See Grammar, paras. 22, 23.

UJFALVY, CH. E. DE.—*Les Kafirs Siapochs. Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris, Sér. III. Vol. VI, 1883, p. 621.*—Les soldats d'Alexandre réfugiés dans les régions inaccessibles de la vallée du Kuner sont du domaine de la Fable, comme l'assertion d'un certain savant russe, M. Téréntieff, qui voulait y voir des proches parents des aïeux des Slaves.

\* \* \* \* \* La vérité se dégage de toutes ces fictions et nous voyons que nous avons affaire, dans ces régions, à une espèce de Caucase, où les peuplades les plus différentes d'origine, de type, et de langue, se sont réfugiées pour se soustraire aux hordes barbares qui ont envahi successivement la Bactriane et la vallée de Caboul, etc. Pour le moment il y a quelque chose qui se détache nettement de toutes ces recherches; l'Hindou Kouch constitue une ligne de démarcation absolue entre deux groupes d'Aryens, qui, possédant certains points de contact au point de vue de la langue, sont séparés les uns des autres d'une façon absolue, par rapport à leur type physique. Leur patrie primitive n'a donc pas été dans ces régions et nous avons à chercher maintenant quelles sont les causes de cette similitude de langage à côté d'une dissemblance physique aussi prononcée.

UJFALVY, CHARLES E. DE.—*Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou Kouch. Paris, 1896.*—Contains an interesting account of Kāfiristān, etc. Dārdistān in ancient times was part of the kingdom of the Saces, or Grunaioi of Ptolemy, who adopted the Greek writing. This circumstance explains admirably the traces of Greco-Buddhist sculpture and those of Greek traditions in Baltistān and Kāfiristān.

VIGNE, G. T.—*Personal Narrative of a visit to Ghazni, Kābul and Afghānistān, 1840.*—The Kāfir custom of exposing their dead appears to bespeak for them a descent from the Guebers of Persia. In the appendix is a vocabulary of 50 words and 30 numerals, including "one thousand,"  $20 \times 20$ . Many of the words agree with my collection.

WILFORD, CAPTAIN F.—*On Mount Caucasus. Asiatic Researches, Vol. VI, 1801.*—The term Caucasus, Coh-cas, applied to the mountains extending from India to the Euxine sea. The range was inhabited by Chasas. The mountains north-east of Cabul are the real Caucasus of Ptolemy. Cash-gar, or Chitrāl, (as well as Badakhshān), is in the possession of the Chinese. Cash-gar is also Cashtwār, Katwār or Cuttore, which, however, differs from Kitwer or Catowr, which is 15 miles north-west of Chigerseraī.

WOLFF, REVD. J. (D.D., LL.D.).—*Narrative of a Mission to Bokhāra, 852.*—The language of the Kāfir Seeah-posh s seems to be derived from the Sanskrit. A list of 9 words follows, most of which are in my collection.



“ Upon the heights of Badakhshān, (the border land between Badakhshān and Kāfiristān), are four free tribes of Israel, those of Naphtali, Dan, Zebulon, Asher.”

WOLFF, REV. J. (D.D., LL.D.)—*Travels and adventures of, 1861.*—“The Kāfir Seeah-posh call themselves “Seema.” Wolff cannot help thinking they are the remnants of the tribes of Israel, for the Jews in Bokhāra, \* \* \* \* \* (who assert that they belong to the ten tribes), say that these Kāfir Seeah-posh are their brethren, whose ancestors had entirely forgotten their law and fallen into idolatry, but into the ancient idolatry of the Philistines.” They call God “Imrah,” and worship the figure of a fish called Dagon. They have in their mountains the ten commandments written in stone, and their women observed the law of purification.

WOOD, JOHN.—*Journey to sources of the Oxus, 1872.*—He concludes that the Kāfirs are probably of the same race as the Tājiks, the points in which they differ being the result of physical causes, not of blood.

YULE, COLONEL H., C.B.—*In preface to “Journey to source of Oxus, (Wood), 1872.”*—This gives a description of the expulsion of the Yuetchi Thibetans, about 162 B.C., by the Hiongnu to the Valley of Ili; and, about 1 A.D., one of their princes Kueishwang extends his rule over certain countries south of the Hindū Kush—(the Indo-Scythic dominion). About 300 or 400 A.D., the Yuetchis or Yethas revive: a great warrior, King Kitol or Kitaur, conquers five nations north of Peshāwur, including Swāt, and probably including Kāfiristān.

## APPENDIX II.

*Translation of 2 Samuel xii, verses 1 to 6, in Persian, Pushto, Badakhshī, Khowār (Chitrālī), and Bashgalī.*

## PERSIAN.

1. Wa Khudāvand Nathan rā nazd-i-Dāūd firistād wa nazd-i-wai āmada aorā guft ki dar shaharē dū mard būdand yakē daulatmand wa dīgarē fakīr.

2. Wa daulatmand rā gosfand wa gāo bī nihāyat bisyār hūd.

3. Wa fakīr rā juz ek māda barraē kochak na būd ki ān rā kharida wa parwarish dāda hamrāh wai wa pīsarān ash buzurg mē shud az khūrāk-i wai mē khord wa az kāsa-i-o mē noshīd wa dar aghosh-ash me khwābīd wa dirāe ash mīsl-i dukhtar būd.

4. Wa musāfirē nazd-i ān mard-i daulatmand āmad wa aorā haif āmad ki āz gosfandān wa gāwān i khud ba girad tā ba jihat-i musāfirē ki nazd-i wai āmada būd muhayyā sāzad; wa barra-i ān mard fakīr rā girifta barāe ān mard ki nazd-i wai āmada bud muhayyā sākht.

5. Angāh Khashm-i Dāūd bar ān shakhs afrūkhta shuda ba Nathan guft Khudāvand kasam kasē ki in kār rā kardā ast mustājib-i katal ast.

6. Wa chūn ki in kār rā kardā ast wa hech tarahum na namūda barra rā chahār chandān bāed radd kunad.

## PUSHTO.

1. Nō Khudāvand Nāṣān Dāūd tah wāstāwuh, aw haghah waraghē wartah wuh ye wēl chi pah yawa kkhahr kkkh dwa sarī wū; lah dagho dwāro nah yo daulatmand aw bul khwār wuh.

2. Aw haghah daulatmand bēhadda dērē mēgē aw ghwā laralē.

3. Aw haghah khwār hēts shai nah lārah magar yawa warūkē ērrai chi dah pērodilē aw sātālē wah; aw haghah lah dah aw da dah lah tsāmīno sareh lowe shiwe wah; da dah lah nawarai ye khurala aw lah kāsī ye tskkhala aw da dah pah ghēg kkkh bah tsamlāstala aw da lūr pa shān ye wah.

4. Nō haghah daulatmand sare lah yo musāfir rāghē; nō haghah lah khpulo gadūro aw lah khpulo ghwāo lah ākhistalo nah zra sawe ukar che haghah musāfir che dah lah rāghalē wuh tiyārē ukar e; nō da haghah



*khwār sari ērrai ye uniwulah aw-haghah sari lah chi walah rāghale wuh tiyāra ye kralah.*

5. *Nō pah haghah sari bāndi da Dāūd khapagī dērah garma shwula aw Nāṣān tah ye uwi chi Yahwah hai dē chi daghah sare chi dā kār ye kare de zoī da marg de.*

6. *Aw da haghah ērri di tslor gūna war ugarzawi tsaka chi dah dā kār ukar au zra sawe ye u nah kar.*

#### BADAKHSHI.

The people of Badakhshān are stated to have adopted their present language during the last few centuries only. Until a few centuries ago it is said the Kāfirs ruled in Badakhshān.

The similarity of the Badakhshī language to Persian will be apparent from the translation of verse 3 of the preceding, kindly sent by Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān.

3. *Az hamu luchik ghair az yak khurd barra chizē na būd ki hamu rā parwarish karda ba amrahi-e khudish o bacha ā ish kalān mē shud az nāne hamu mē khurd ba kasa-ish āb mē khurd ba baghal-e hamu khab mē kard ba hamu dukhtar e khud wāri būd.*

KHOWĀR, translated by Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān.

1. *Khudāi Nathan o Daud o nasa weshēstai hassa hattogho nasa giti liu prai i shahra ju mosh astani i wāli quwating birai i wāli chān birai.*

2. *Hassa quwating o kēri o chi lyutpongi be-nehāyat bo birani.*

3. *Hassa chān mosh o i tseq istri werkhu o sar ghair khor kya rakh no astai hattogho wāgh diti gani tan ta ha-lē astai hattogho o chi tagho gizhawan sum hal bītī borda oshoi hattogho jibarm-ār jiba oshoi ochi hattogho ghāna pia oshoi hattogho bits to poraoshoi oche toggo te jūro chaga saria oshoi.*

4. *I musāfir hassa quwating o nasa hai; quwating hatte giru musāfir o pachin tan kērian ochi lyutpongiān sar kya rakh gāni kushiko no khoshētai; hassa chān mosho werku o gani hassa musāfir ki giru oshoi hattogho te prai.*

5. *Hatte wakht Daud-o qahar hassa mosh-o-te hai, Nathan-o-te reitai, Khudāi o gōl kā ki haia korm kori asur hatte mosho mārīko bash.*

6. *Hassa mosh ki haia kōrmo toggo hardi no puli ki kori asur hattō werkhu o sar chōr hissa ziād kori haottggo te achi diār.*

BASHGALĪ, translated by Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān.

1. *Imrā Nathan-e Daud tā namia: aske asket-tā giji karas*  
 God Nathan David to sent: he him to speech made.  
 “ e grom tā du manje azamme, e manji ārā azi, e kānowa  
 “one city in two men were, one man rich was, one of no account  
 azi.  
 was.

2. *Aske ārā ste turtsō share gozhare belyuk azamme.*  
 That rich(one) to flocks(?) goats cows(?) many were.  
 3. *Aske kānawāni manje e isltri waki azi,*  
 That of-no-account man to one female lamb was  
*wāre kā na azi, aske, māri preti,*  
 other anything not was, it, money having given,  
*ingāti dor bisi aske mēsh aske ste pitra mēsh*  
 having taken nourished (?) him with him of children with  
*ōlu bunazi; aske ste yuwā tā je aske ste karudā pīnazi; aske*  
 big grew; him of food and him of cup did drink; him  
*ste pazhī pshunazi; aske ste ju bamri azi.*  
 to bosom in did sleep; him to daughter like was.

4. *E vischā aske ārā manje tā ōze; aske ārā manje*  
 One traveller that rich man to came; that rich man  
*amoste turtsō sharā dā gozharā dā aske vischā gō*  
 own of flocks(?) goats of cows of that traveller for  
*pretstagē bidile na kra; aske nāluzwa manje ste waki*  
 to give (?) not made; that poor man from lamb  
*ingāti amu tā ōziste manje pta.”*  
 having taken house to having come man (to) gave.”

5. *Aske wēl tā Daud-e aske manje patsir wazhe kra.*  
 That time at David that man upon wrath made.  
*Nathan tā wilaya “Imrā dugō ku inē kudum karessa-bā*  
 Nathan to said “God for! he who this work shall have done  
*janastaz.\**  
 shall die.

6. *Aske gitē kudyum karessaba je shizhik na*  
 He (who) such work can have done and mercy not  
*zarness shto parē aske perla.”*  
 knew four fold to him shall give.”

\* *jāristh az* (?) to kill is appropriate, see paragraph 40.

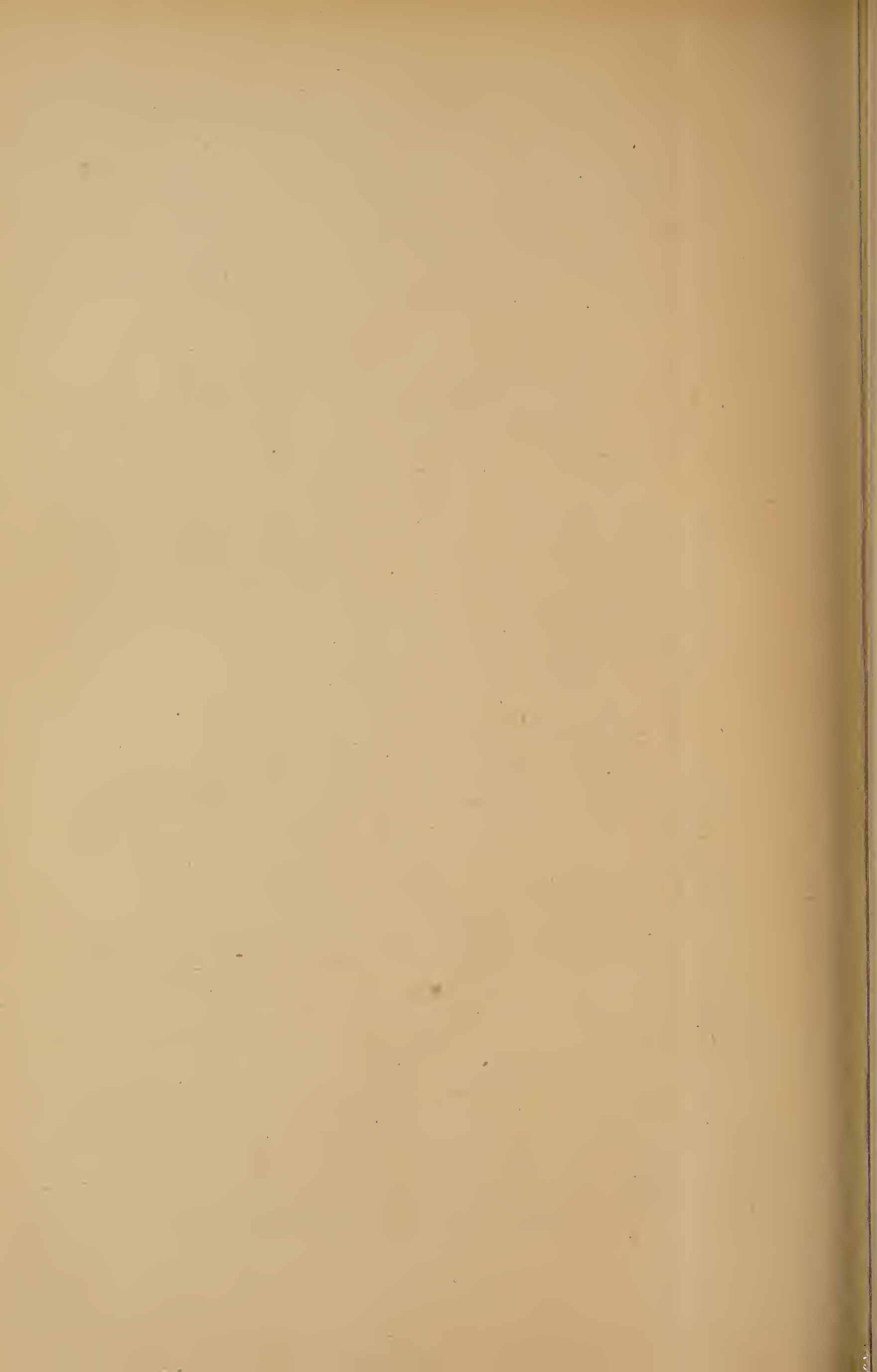




ve Kāfir dialects.

Kāfir dialect (E. Morris).	Traiegunama Kāfir (Sir H. Lumsden).	Kalāsha Kāfir (Leitner).	Thibetan.	Sanscrit.	Turkish.	Greek.
īar	gudda	gordokh	būngū	khara	khār	onos
...	eu; zu	...	swā	yavaḥ	ārpa	krithe
erār	brāh	baya; bay	spun	bhrātā	birāder	phrator
...	goieta	gak	bā, bālang	gauḥ	īnak	bous
avali	dubli	tshnu	bumo, srasmo	putri, duhitā	kiz	thugater
soon	tsun	sheon	khyi	kukkurah, svā	kyūpek	kuon
jeen	achi	ētsh	mig, spyan	akshi	ain	omma, ophthal- mos
aula	fara	bābū	pha, yab	tātāḥ	bābā	pater
pay	kor	kurr	rkangpa, zhabs	pādah ( <i>hand</i> , karaḥ).	ayāk	pous
ee	ain; ai	angār	mē	agniḥ	ātish	pur
ana	...	moss	sha	māsa, anna	ēt, lāhm	kreas
...	chok	tshui	shra, spu	kesaḥ	tūē	kome
poah	goah	hashsh	sla	asvaḥ	āt	hippos
nor	hai	aya	mā	mātā *	nīnah	meter, maia
...	wuh	lōn	tshā	lavaṇam	tūz	hals
sus	sus	bāba	achhe	svasā	kizkar- dāsh	eores, kasis
...	tāvrāh	...	skarma	tārā, riksham	sitārah	aster
yar	an	ūg	chhu	āpaḥ, uda	āb	hudor
ūn	gum	...	tro	godhūma	gāndum	puros
ishi	mushai	strija	bhomo	stri	kāri	gune





## APPENDIX III.

Samples of twenty words in every day use in eighteen languages or dialects, including four or five Kāfir dialects.

English.	Circassian.	Pushto.	Persian.	Kho-wār (Chitrālī).	Wakhī.	Sarīq Qōli.	Shighnī.	Sanglichī.	Minjānī.	Bashgali Kāfir.	Wasī-veri or Veron dialect (Grierson).	Kāfir dialect (E. Norris).	Traieguma Kāfir (Sir H. Lumsden).	Kalāsha Kāfir (Leitner).	Thibetan.	Sanscrit.	Turkish.	Greek.
Ass	...	<u>kh</u> ar	<u>kh</u> ar	gordokh	khar	<u>sh</u> er	markab	khār	kara	kur	kōru	nīar	gudda	gordokh	būngū	khara	khār	onos
barley	...	orbushē	jāo	siri	yurk	chushj	joshach	vurvuth	kasak	rits	...	...	eu; zu	...	swā	yavaḥ	ārpa	krithe
brother	sshā	wror	birādar	brār	vrut	vrōd	brād	vurd	...	brā	wayeh	berār	brāh	baya; bay gak	spun	bhrātā	birāder	phrator
cow	shkā	ghwā	gāo	leshū	ghu	zāo	istaor	ghāo	ghaoda	gāo	gūth	...	goieta	gāk	bā, bālang bumo, srasmo	gauḥ	īnak	bous
daughter	supshāz	lūr	dukhtar	jūr	dhagd	ghats	ghats	adagh	loghda	jū	lushu	davali	dubli	tshnu	putri, duhitā	kiz	thugater	
dog	khā	-spai	sag	reni	shach	kūd	kod	kod	ghālb	krūi	keruk	soon	tsnn	sheon	kukkuraḥ, svā	kyūpek	kuon	
eye	neh	starga	chashm	ghich	chozm	tsem	chhen	sām	chām	achien	izhī	ajeen	achi	ētsh	mig, spyan	akshi	ain	omma, ophthal- mos pater
father	tāt	plār	pidar	tatt	tāt	pid	dād	tat	tāt	tōtt	yā	taula	fara	bābū	pha, yab	tātāḥ	bābā	pater
foot	tlako	pkkha	pā	pong	pudh	pedh	pād	pūd	palah	kūr	tē	pay	kor	kurr	rkangpa, zhabs	pādah ( <i>hand</i> , karaḥ).	ayāk	pous
fire	māhzwā	ōr	ātish	angār	rakhnig	yūts	yāts	roshnai	yūr	angā	anekh	ee	ain; ai	angār	mē	agniḥ	ātish	pur
flesh, food	lī	ghwakkha	gusht	pushūr	gusht	gukht	goft	pūdaf	ghosh	ano	...	ana	...	moss	sha	māsa, anna	ēt, lāhm	kreas
hair	shhatsah	wekkhtah	mū	pūr	shafsh	khād	daks	ghunyāk	pogha	zhū	zhui	...	chok	tshui	shra, spu	kesaḥ	tūē	kome
horse	sheh	ās	asp	istor	yash	vurj	varcha	vorak	yasap	ushp	iri	gooah	goah	hashsh	sla	asvaḥ	āt	hippos
mother	yān	mor	mādir	nan	(nān	anā	nan	nan	...	nōn	nan	mor	hai	aya	mā	mātā *	nīnah	meter, maia
salt	zogho	mālga	namak	trapp	nimak	nimaj	...	namdgha	namalgha	zhuk	...	...	wuh	lōn	tshā	lavaṇaṇ	tūz	hals
sister	tshiyākh	khōr	khwāhir	ispūsar	khui	yākh	...	ikhva	yakhva	sus	siusu	sus	sus	bāba	achhe	svasā	kizkar- dāsh	eores, kasis
star	aoshāgho	storai	sitārah	istāri	stār	khturj	ishtirz	ustūruk	astari	rashāo	ishtikh	...	tāvrah	...	skarma	tārā, riksham	sitārah	aster
water	psū	oba	āb	ūgh	yupk	khats	shads	vik	yasagha	āo	āveh	yar	an	ūg	chhu	āpaḥ, uda	āb	hudor
wheat	kitsipish	ghanum	gandum	gōm	ghidim	zandam	zandum	ghandam	ghandam	gum	...	gūn	gum	...	tro	godlūma	gandum	puros
woman	shīz	kkhadza	zan	kimēri	kond	ghin	zind	koch	zinga	ishtri	westi	mishi	mushai	strija	bhomo	stri	kāri	gune

\* Prakrit for maternal grandfather, *nāṇio*; Hind, *nānā*.





## APPENDIX IV.

*The Lord's Prayer in the Bolor (Kāfir), language (Terentief), and remarks on the Bolor Country.*

The following is a translation, as given in "Russia and England in Central Asia," (M.A. Terentief), of the Lord's Prayer into the "language of the Bolors or Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs." It does not agree with the Waiguli or Bashgali dialect as recorded in any book which I have seen. \* There are no diacritical marks.

*Babo vetu osezulvini. Malipatve egobunkvele egamalako. Ubukumkani bako mabuphike. Intando yako mayenzibe. Emkhlya beni, nyengokuba isenziva egulvini. Sipe namglya nye ukutiya kvetu kvemikhla igemikhla. Usikcolele izono zetu, nyengokuba nati siksolela abo basonaio tina. Unga singekisi ekulingveli zosisindise enkokhlakalveni, ngokuba bubobuko ubukumkhani namandkhla nobungkvalisa, kude kube igunapakade. Amene.*

Bolor has been called the will o' the wisp of geography and the symbol of controversy.

The following is a list, etc., of some of the many works which treat of it.

PAUTHIER.—*Le livre de Marco Polo, 1307 A.D. Paris, 1865.*

SHAW, R. B.—*A Prince (Mirzā Haidar; Tarikh-i-Rashīdi, 1543 A.D.) of Kashgār, on the Geography of Eastern Turkestan. R.G.S., Volume XLVI, of 1876.*—Bolor is mentioned as co-terminous with the Yarkund Province of Raskam and Taghdumbāsh. It included the present district of Kāfiristān. According to Mirzā Haidar the country of Bolor corresponded with Dārdistān.

KLAPROTH.—*Magasin Asiatique, 1825. Tome 1er.*—Bolor is south-east of Yarkiang and east of Badakhshān, and Baltistān is south of it.

VIGNE, G. F.—*Travels in Kashmir, Ladāk, etc., 1842.*

HUMBOLDT.—*Asie Centrale, Vol. II, p. 365.*—*Système des Montagnes du Bolor.*

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\* Since the above was written, a copy of the translation into the so-called Bolor or Siāhpōsh language has been kindly submitted by Dr. Grierson, C.I.E., to Professor E. Kuhn, of Munich, for examination. He has pronounced an opinion, that it seems to be an incorrect copy of the version of the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Ama-||osa Kaffirs of South Africa (see, for instance, Friedrich Müller's *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, I Band, II Abtheilung (Pt. II), pp. 261-262*). According to Müller's transcription (the sign || represents the so-called "lateral click" of the South African languages.



RAVERTY, CAPTAIN H. G.—*Notes on Kāfiristān, Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1859, and Account of Upper Qashqār, etc., Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1864.*

CUNNINGHAM, GENERAL SIR A.—*Ancient Geography of India, 1871.*—Bolor is little Thibet.

LUDWIG, GEORGE VON —.—“*The Pamir and sources of Amu Daryā, 1861,*” and “*The Bolors and their Country, 1862,*” being articles written by M. Veniukoff, based on “*Travels through Upper Asia from Kashgār, Tashbalyk, Bolor, Badakhshān, etc., by George Ludwig Von —,*” published in *Journal of Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg* and translated for *Journal R.G.S., London, 1866.*

This purports to be an account of a journey made about 1790 A.D., through various countries, including Kāfiristān.

A map is given which locates the town of Bolor 130 miles north of the town of Chitrāl.

ARROWSMITH, J.—*Map of Central Asia, 1834? 1840.*—He had permission to examine and embody in his map certain information by George Ludwig Von—, which has since been shown to be misleading. In this map the town of Bolor is shown about 90 miles north of the town of Chitrāl, the Bolor river (rising near it) flowing about 100 miles to the north; and the Bolor range on its east, running for about 120 miles north and south.

RAWLINSON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H.—*The Pāmīr Region, Central Asia, Pro., R.G.S., Volume X, 1866, and Volume XVII, 1873. On Badakhshān and Wakhān.*—He considers the Memoirs by Veniukoff on the Pāmīr Region and Bolor country are not to be trusted for certain reasons.

RAWLINSON, SIR H.—*Quarterly Review, London, 1866.*—Reviews a variety of writers, including George Ludwig Von —. He considers the information given regarding Bolor, Vakhān, Badakhshān “involved in inextricable confusion,” etc., etc.

KHANIKOFF, M. DE.—*Letter to R.G.S., London, in re the above criticisms, 10th April, 1866. Pro. R.G.S., 1866.*—He upholds Veniukoff and George Ludwig Von —, a map by whom is produced, dated 1806. Lord Strangford (*Pro., R.G.S., 1866, p. 317*) thinks Khanikoff’s vindication untenable.

VENIUKOFF, COLONEL.—*Additional remarks, 1867, on the Bolor Highlands, translated from publications of Imperial Geographical Society St. Petersburg, by T. Michell, Esq., R.G.S., Volume XIII. 1869.*—This has

a map which locates the town of Bolor 200 versts north of the town of Chitrāl and 100 versts east-north-east of the town of Badakhshān.

STRANGFORD VISCOUNT.—*Pro., R.G.S., London, Volume XIII of 1868.*  
—Severely criticises the papers above referred to by Veniukoff.

YULE, COLONEL H., C.B.—*The Book of Ser Marco Polo (translated), London, 1871.*—Marco Polo locates the country of Bolor E. N. E. of the Pamer, peopled by savage idolaters who “are in truth an evil race”; but, in a map of Marco Polo’s itineraries at page 168 of Volume I, the town of Bolor is shown at least two degrees North of Kafirstan and two degrees West of Pamer. Bolor possibly included Balti and the mountains adjoining Pamer.

YULE, COLONEL H., C.B.—*R.G.S., London, 1872, Volume XLII.*—Reviews various works, devoting 7 pages to the proper locality of Bolor.

SHAW, R. B. (F.R.G.S.)—*Central Asia in 1872. Pro., R.G.S., 1872.*  
—The City of Bolor may now be allowed to “fade into a mist of confusion.”

RAWLINSON, SIR H.—*Monograph on the Oxus. Journal R.G.S., Volume XLIII, 1872.*—Part of this is written to show that there has been a series of misconceptions regarding the locality of Bolor, a name in use from 10th to 17th century, but obsolete ever since. It is the pivot for much spurious geography in Central Asia.

MICHELL, R.—*Russian Expedition to Alai and Pamirs. R.G.S., Volume XLVII, 1877.*

PEARSE, MAJOR H.—*Memoirs of Alexander Gardner, 1898.*

BIDDULPH, COLONEL.—*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh: 1880.*—Bolor had its centre in Skardo, which is commonly called Palor, or Balors or Baloruts.

HOLDICH, COLONEL SIR T. (R.E.)—*Proceedings Pāmīr Boundary Commission of 1896, Calcutta, 1897.*—The name of the great meridional watershed dividing the Oxus basin from the plains of Kashgār has varied through different periods of history. Its classical name was Taurus and its medieval name Bolor Tagh; in more recent years the Nezatash or Pāmīr or Sindi Range; and latterly Sarikōl. It now forms China’s west boundary. The Pāmīrs formed part of the medieval kingdom of Bolor, which again was part of the Yuchi Empire of Tokharistan. The limits of Bolor are clearly given in the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdi* by Mirzā Haidar, cousin of the Emperor Bābar. The country of Bolor then (1525 A.D.) was bounded east by Kashgār and Yarkand, north by Badakhshān, west by Kābul, and south by Kashmir. It was inhabited by a class of



idolatrous people whose description agrees with that of the Kāfirs of the present day. It evidently then included Kāfīristān.

ALBERUNI'S *India*, (written about A.D. 1000).—*Sachau's Translation*. Vol. I, p. 207.—Leaving the ravine, by which you enter Kashmir, and entering the plateau, then you have for a march of two more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamīlān, Turkish tribes who are called *Bhattavaryan*. Their king has the title Bhatta Shah. Their towns are Gilgit, Aswira, and Shiltās, and their language is the Turkish.

BARON CURZON OF KEDLESTON.—*The Pāmirs and the Source of the Oxus*, 1898.—Very many authorities are quoted, and the opinion arrived at that Bolor included Kāfīristān, Upper Chitrāl, Yāsin, Gilgit and Hunza Nagar.

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## APPENDIX V.



The following prayers, etc., in the Kāmik (Kamdesh ?) dialect have been procured by C. Rose, Esq., Superintendent, Postal Service, Chitrāl :—

1. *Āe Imrā, nirmalla ! tu tã salām ! Tu paidā*  
 Oh God, creator ! Thee to salām ! Thou created  
*kars ; mizboh ; le wargas.*  
 hast made me ; thou art seated above ; good do to me.

2. *Mekessi karmāeo ne shaylish*  
 Clouds, wife of a prophet, wherever you will sit  
*karmāeo O ho ho, karmāeo, bhīm*  
 wife of a prophet, oh ho ho ! wife of a prophet, the earth  
*ne naylish. Mirro (Imro ?) agol utē.*  
 will flourish (be green). Oh God rain give.

3. *Tu sun māleh. Oyo māre rānjā.*  
 Of thee of gold (is) crown. Than all greater thou art.  
*Imro ! sun māleh. Tu sun māleh.*  
 Oh God ! of gold (thy) crown. Of thee of gold (is) crown.  
*Mirro (Imro ?) sōnē trān.*  
 Oh God ! of gold (is) thy throne (?).

## 4. PRAYER FOR ONESELF—

*Imrā emo darboh. Imroh kuṛān darboh.*  
 Oh God ! to us do good. Oh God ! to our children do good.  
*Emo ishtri darboh. Emo balogh ara*  
 To our wives do good. To us much wealth  
*wargas. Emo atra pisāo. Ema le*  
 do (give) for us. Of us enemy destroy. To us good  
*wargas. Emo kati le gas. Emau gā dī*  
 do. Of us harvest good bring. Of us herds too  
*le gas ; dasho dī le gas.*  
 good make ; goats also good make.



## 5. PRAYER BEFORE SETTING OUT TO KILL A MAN—

*Bālam Gish tu-e panishr bo! Sotron*  
 War God! thou before (us) be! Of twice our number  
*probon! Gish \*tu shai*  
 the strength give! Oh War-god! of thee head (in name of)  
*wam (winam?)*  
 I strike.

## 6. IMPRECATION—

*Mirro (Imro?)! inē pisāo.*  
 Oh God! him kill.

## 7. PRAYER BEFORE SETTING OUT TO KILL A MAN—

*Imro! askē emau b'dusht o jo ema jasht*  
 Oh God! him of us in hand (?) to kill  
*machhkē.*  
 deliver up. (?)

## 8. PRAYER AFTER FAILING TO KILL A MAN—

*Imra! ōts nari manji-zam (azzam). Īsta kor*  
 Oh God! I feeble man am. Of me nature (?)  
*nātayan. Imra! tu aske pisāo.*  
 feeble is. Oh God! thou him kill.

## 9. GRACE AFTER KILLING A MAN—

*Tū koron kutt.*  
 Thou blessing (?) madest (*i.e.*, by thy grace we killed him).

## 10. HYMN OF REJOICING TO GISH AFTER KILLING AN ENEMY—

*Sonē chen utro pitrash. Gish! Tu*  
 Of gold eyed mother (thou) the son. Oh Gish! Thee  
*sho wao ushro alao shai*  
 news again (?) give (we recall) of pumpkin † the head  
*pachen mashi lash.*  
 (like) a ball (?) a man thou strikest.

\* When delivering a stroke.

† We recall thou usedst to cut off the heads of pumpkins (certain enemies) as easily as a man strikes a ball.

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The following is the only Kāfir story which Mr. Rose was able to procure :—

*Story of the Moon.*

One day the sun and moon were bathing in a tank, when a man, carrying a bedstead, and his dog, passed by, returning from his field. They asked him which of them, (the sun or moon), was the more beautiful. He replied that both were equally beautiful ; but again and again they asked him, and finally he said that the sun was a little more beautiful than the moon. On hearing this, the moon became angry, and took the man, with his bedstead and dog, away to the sky, where they still live in the moon





THREE EPISODES

FROM

“CANDĪ.”





# THREE EPISODES

FROM

## THE OLD BENGALI POEM

### “CANDĪ,”

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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**PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS.**

## P R E F A C E.

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MUKUNDA RĀM CAKRAVARTĪ,<sup>1</sup> some extracts from whose poems I wish to introduce to the English reader, lived in Bengal during the latter half of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century. He seems to have passed his life in the districts of Bardwān and Midnapur, and he commemorates in his works Mānsiñh, the celebrated general of the Emperor Akbar, who became governor of the newly conquered provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa in 1590. But his poems tell us as little of the wars and conquests which fill the history of Akbar's reign, and which naturally engrossed the thoughts of the poet's contemporaries, as Spenser's "Faery Queen" tells us of the actual events which stirred men's hearts during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Mukunda Rām's characters, in fact, live in a mythological world as far removed from the actual world of human life as those in Ovid's "Metamorphoses"; and the Goddess Caṇḍī continually appears upon the scene to help her votaries and confound their enemies, as if they were living in the earliest mythological ages. But all this is only the external form of the poem. Under this fanciful surface we come in contact with a solid reality; for there we may find a picture of Bengali village life as it actually existed in the sixteenth century, before any European influences had begun to affect the national character or widen its intellectual or moral horizon; and it is this vivid realism which gives such a permanent value to the descriptions. Our author is the *Crabbe*

<sup>1</sup> He is often called by the title *kabi-kañkaṇ*, "the ornament of poets."



among Indian poets, and his work thus occupies a place which is entirely its own.

“ Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,  
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli ” ;

and hence the poem forms in itself a storehouse of materials for the social history of the people as apart from their rulers. Wherever he may place his scenes—in Çiva’s heaven, or India, or Ceylon—Mukunda Rām never loses sight of Bengal ; he carries with him everywhere the village life of his own early days. All family or village customs are dear to him, and his work is therefore a mine of curious local and social information ; and his various characters, though they may appear as only passing interlocutors in the scene, always have a real life and personality of their own. In fact, Bengal was to our poet what Scotland was to Sir Walter Scott ; he drew a direct inspiration from the village life which he so loved to remember.

I subjoin a translation of the passage at the beginning of the poem where the poet gives an account of his early career, and how he was forced to leave the obscurity of his native place and find a new home and a poet’s fame in the court of a neighbouring zemindar.

“ Hear, neighbours, how this song of mine first into conscious utterance  
leapt :

Caṇḍī\* came down in mortal form beside my pillow as I slept.  
Good Gopināth, the talūkdār, lived honoured in Selīmābād ;  
For generations seven his race the same estates and home had had.  
Dāminyā village was their home, far from the world a safe retreat,  
Until Mānsinh came to Bengal, that bee of Vishṇu’s lotus-feet.  
And in his days Mahmūd Sharīf over the district stretched his hand ;  
A local governor sent by heaven to scourge the vices of the land.  
Under his rule the traders groaned, his hand lay heavy everywhere,  
Brāhmans and Vaishṇavas alike stood helpless in their blank despair.

\* Caṇḍī (pronounced in English *Chundi*) is one of the forms of the goddess Umā or Durgā (the wife of Çiva), who is especially worshipped in Bengal.

His measures of all fields were false, his acre's rods were always wrong,  
 And howsoe'er the poor complained their words were as an idle song.  
 Waste heaths he reckoned fruitful fields; he passed across the land like  
 Death ;  
 The poor man's last rag he would seize; prayers to his ears were idle  
 breath.  
 The moneylender's aid was naught; his loans but added more to pay ;  
 Two annas short was each rupee, and then the interest day by day.  
 At last the ryots lost all hope; their hard-earned borrowings brought no  
 cheer,  
 And if they tried to sell their stock, there were no buyers far or near.  
 Good Gopināth by some ill fate was thrown in prison; in wild surprise  
 The ryots crowded round the court, but what availed their tears or cries ?  
 Stunned with the blow I sold my stock for little more than half its worth,  
 And after counsel held with friends I left my home and wandered forth.  
 I and my brother took our way; 't was Caṇḍī led the helpless pair ;  
 At Bheṭṇā Rūprāi gave us alms, and Jadukuṇḍa sheltering care.  
 A down the Ghaṛāi stream we sailed, the Dārukeçvar next we passed ;  
 We stayed awhile at Pāṇḍurpur, and to Kucatyā came at last.  
 There without oil I took my bath, water my hunger's only stay ;  
 Hungry and faint my children wailed, but I was famished e'en as they.  
 There near a lonely hermitage, hungry and scared, I fell asleep,  
 When Caṇḍī in a vision came and bade me rise and cease to weep.  
 A leaf she brought and pen and ink, and though I knew no Vedic lore,  
 She taught me metres and their laws and bade me sing her praises o'er.  
 The river Çilāi then I crossed, to Āraṛā my way I found,  
 A land with holy Brāhmans filled, its lord like Vyās himself renowned,  
 Baṅkurā-rāy his honoured name; I paid my homage full of fear,  
 And brought some verses in my hand, to which he lent a favouring ear.  
 He gave me rice and paid my debts, and made me tutor to his son,  
 And from that day Prince Raghunāth has stored my lessons every one.  
 Dowered with all virtues from his birth, sages and nobles at his call,  
 He greets me 'guru' from his heart and honours me before them all.'

While Bābū Gobind Candra Datt resided in Cambridge some thirty years ago, I first learned from him about this old Bengali poem, and he kindly undertook to read it with me. We read



together more than half of it while he remained in England; and after his return to India I continued my studies alone, and he allowed himself to be my continual referee in all cases of difficulty. There were often obscure words and allusions, but he generally solved them all; and he sometimes amused me by his interesting accounts of the consultations which he had held with Calcutta friends over any passages of special obscurity. These attempts of mine to put certain episodes of the “Caṇḍī” into an English dress had lain for many years forgotten in my desk, until I happened to read Mr. G. A. Grierson’s warm encomiums on this old Bengali poem “as coming from the heart and not from the school, and as full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power.”\* This mention of my old favourite rekindled my slumbering enthusiasm, and I have tried to make my imperfect translations as worthy as I could of a place in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I shall be delighted if some younger scholar is roused to an earnest study of this fascinating poem.

With regard to the Bengali text, I may add that, although the “Caṇḍī” is a favourite poem in Bengal, many passages appear to be more or less interpolated, and the readings of many lines are corrupt and obscure. I have generally used the edition printed at Cuṅcuṛā in B.S. 1285 (A.D. 1878), but I have often derived help from comparing it with the text in the common bāzār editions printed at Calcutta in Çaka 1789 (A.D. 1867) and B.S. 1286 (A.D. 1879). In my translation I have sometimes ventured to shorten the long descriptions, which are apt to become tedious.

\* See his “Note on the Languages of India,” p. 108. There is a good account of “Caṇḍī” in R. C. Datt’s “Literature of Bengal.”

# THE OLD BENGALI POEM, CAṆḌĪ.

## I.

*The hero of the first part of the poem is Kālaketu. In his former birth he had been Nīlāmbar, the son of Indra ; but for an offence committed against the god Śiva in heaven he had been born on earth as a hunter. He marries a peasant's daughter, Phullarā, and lives with her in a hut in a forest which appears to be situated somewhere in the kingdom of Kalinga. Here he supports himself by his bow, and his wife goes to the neighbouring village and sells the meat which he brings home. They are plunged in the depths of poverty ; but they are devout worshippers of Caṇḍī, who is resolved to interfere in their behalf. One day the hunter has especially bad luck and wastes the whole day without capturing any game in the forest, except a solitary lizard. This spoil, however, little as he thinks it, is to be the beginning of his good fortune, for Caṇḍī has assumed this disguise to befriend him. He returns home in sad disappointment ; and here we commence our first extract.*

Famished the hunter reaches home, but finds, alas ! his wife away,  
For she is gone to Golāhāṭ to earn a pittance if she may ;  
Soon she espies him from afar, and full of hope comes hastening home,  
But as she marks his empty hands her face is overcast with gloom.  
She smites her forehead with her hands, and bursts in tears for sheer despair :  
“ Why with my husband still alive must I a widow's miseries bear ?  
Where were the Ghaṭak's\* senses gone so evil-starred a match to plan ?  
My father must have lost his eyes to give me up to such a man !

\* The Ghaṭak is the professional arranger of contracts of marriage.



My wedding gifts foretold my fate—turmeric, saffron, pān, forsooth ;  
 I should have taken heed betimes, nor sold to poverty my youth.”  
 With gentle words he comforts her, but still she sobs the same sad tale :  
 “ There ’s not one grain of rice at home, and who will buy our goods when  
 stale ? ”  
 “ Bimalā’s mother was your friend ; think you, will she compassion take ?  
 Carry some present in your hand, a porcupine \* for friendship’s sake ;  
 Old kindness may be not yet dead ; who knows but she may hear and lend  
 Some refuse rice to help our need ; go try your fortune with your friend.  
 Borrow besides a little salt and cook some supper for us both,  
 I ’ll go for you to Golāhāṭ and bear your basket nothing loth.  
 And by the bye, packed in my net, you ’ll find a lizard tied with care ;  
 Take it and cook it with the rest ; ’t will be a relish to our fare.”

She takes her humble present in her hands,  
 And at her old friend’s door in doubt she stands,  
 When from within she hears a cheery shout,  
 “ Come in, I ’m glad at last you ’ve found me out ! ”  
 “ A poor man’s wife no time for calls can spare,  
 Hunger absorbs my every hour and care.”  
 Her friend in welcome seats her by her side  
 And decks her out in finery like a bride,  
 Anoints her hair, and combs and binds her braid,  
 And paints with red her forehead, as her maid.  
 Poor Phullarā, trembling, makes her errand known,  
 And begs some rice—a bushel—as a loan.  
 “ Oh business for to-morrow,” she replies,  
 “ Comb out my hair and tell your histories.”  
 Thus sat the friends, linked closely as of old,  
 Each heart absorbed in all the other told.

. . . . .  
 Meanwhile the goddess, left alone thus bound,  
 Snapped with a shout the noose which tied her round ;  
 She was no more a lizard pinioned there ;  
 She stood a maiden now, divinely fair,

\* Cf. the lobster brought as a present by the sailors in “ David Copperfield.” The other ed. reads some flower.

Robed in the costliest garb e'er dreamed by thought,  
Which at her will the heavenly artist \* brought ;  
Bright with all gems, a queen in all her pride,  
She stood that lonely hunter's hut beside.

. . . . .

Glad with the stock of borrowed rice she bore,  
Poor Phullarā reached at length her cottage door ;  
When lo ! her left arm throbbed, and throbbed her eye, †  
As she beheld a ' full moon ' standing by !  
Surprised she greets the lady with a bow,  
“ What is thy name and whose fair wife art thou ? ”  
Laughed in her heart the goddess as she stood,  
And mocked poor Phullarā in her joyous mood :  
“ Of Brāhman caste, Ilāvṛit ‡ is my home,  
But all alone I love abroad to roam ;  
Of honoured race my lord, none worthier lives ;  
But what a household his with seven co-wives ! §  
So, by your leave—your kindly heart I knew—  
I've come to make a few days' stay with you ! ”  
As Phullarā heard the words the stranger said,  
The very skies seemed tumbling on her head ;  
Poison was in her heart, though mild her tone ;  
No thirst nor hunger now ; all thoughts of cooking gone !

“ What, such a youthful bride as you in a strange house like mine to stay !  
Tell me, fair lady, how you dare unguarded and alone to stray ?  
That waist of yours waves in the wind, poised like a stalk so light and fair ;  
No lion's waist is half so thin, and scarce its burden can it bear.  
The bees forsake the jasmine flowers and to thy lips by hundreds fly ;  
Thy moon-face wears its gentle smile like summer lightning in the sky.  
Those glossy curls, like dark blue hills, wreathed with white jasmine  
flowers—I swear  
Fate wished to prove her power and fixed the flickering lightning in thy  
hair !

\* Viçvakarman.

† These are good omens for a woman.

‡ The division of the world which includes Mount Meru.

§ This refers to the seven or eight Çaktis or personified powers of Çiva.



Far brighter than the elephant's gems gleam with a lightning flash thy teeth,  
 While red like bimbās \* shine thy lips, a nose-ring gem thy nose beneath.  
 The gauze-like dress that veils thee round and adds a charm to every limb;  
 The pearl-like shells upon thy hands,—all makes my mind with wonder dim!  
 Say, art thou Urvaçī come down, or Umā dressed in all her sheen,  
 Indrānī † or Tilottamā, ‡ or say what other heavenly queen?

I cannot fathom in my thought why you have left your husband so?  
 Oh I entreat you, tell me true, what spell has brought you down thus low?  
 Was it some burst of jealous rage? But if meanwhile of grief he dies,  
 Who is to tend his dying hours, as at the ghāt he languid lies?  
 Was it some crabbed mother-in-law or husband's sister's scolding tongue?  
 I will go with you to your home and try my best to right the wrong."

"How many questions more?" she said; "here in your house I'm come  
 to stop;

Your husband's griefs have pierced my heart, I'll bring him wealth beyond  
 his hope.

But would you know the ills I bear? My husband has a favourite wife, §  
 Gaṅgā her name, a crown to him; but all the house she fills with strife.  
 All day she storms, and he the while eats poison at his wild carouse;  
 What wonder that I banish shame and hurry headlong from the house?  
 Alas that I was ever born, a helpless woman doomed to be,  
 Myself despised, my rival loved! have I not cause for jealousy?  
 My cruel father knew full well the hated rival I should find,  
 And yet he gave his daughter up, no faintest scruple moved his mind.  
 Rich is my lord, and seven co-wives live with him in what peace they may,  
 Each hating each, their railing tongues are never silent all the day.  
 He eats datura \*\* till his brains are addled, and he wanders on  
 Drowsily mooning in a dream, but glad to find himself alone.  
 With ashes is his body spread, with bones benecklaced round his throat;  
 Thank heaven, he wears a tiger's skin which serves alike for shirt and coat.  
 Snakes form his wreaths, he beats his drum, and laughs all worldly joys to  
 scorn;

The god of love ne'er ventures near, he knows him for his foe long-sworn.

\* The fruit of *Momordica monadelphæ*.

† Indra's wife.

‡ A celebrated Apsaras, or nymph.

§ In this description of her husband there is a series of veiled allusions to Çiva as the religious mendicant of the Tantras.

\*\* The thorn-apple (*Datura stramonium*).

My rivals beat me as they will, he sees and hears, but does not care ;  
A house with seven co-wives within,—there 's fever-poison in its air.  
Destiny was my cruel foe, and in a hopeless desperate mood  
I recked not of the consequence, but fled alone into the wood.  
I met by chance your hero there ; himself he brought me with him here ;  
Go ask him, and refuse me not, for I have refuge none elsewhere.”  
“ Not so, I 'll teach you what to do, and send you safely to your home.”  
Her inmost thought the goddess knew, and said, “ To stay with you I 've  
come.

Eat to your fill henceforth, for I will all the house expense provide ;  
Receive me as no stranger-born, but as a friend, one close allied.  
I 'll go before your husband's steps, in all his perils I 'll be nigh,  
In all his conflicts in the woods a certain sign of victory.  
List, I will tell you who I am, if further history you want ;  
I at Benares live concealed, my husband is a mendicant.  
Wealth of a hundred kings is mine, more than would buy the world,” she  
saith ;

“ Such wealth I 'll give you ; in return I only ask for trust and faith.”  
*Phullarā.* “ I 'll tell you what is best to do ; back to your husband's house  
return ;  
This will bring comfort in the end, as you, though now perplexed, will  
learn.

If you forsake your husband's house, how will you show abroad your face ?  
A husband is a woman's lord, her guardian, her one resting-place.  
Others are nought compared to him ; he in both worlds can bring her bliss ;  
He may chastise her as he will, for a king's right and duty this.  
Have you not heard how Sītā once was carried off by Rāvan's guile  
And forced to live a prisoner, shut up in Laṅkā's far-off isle ;  
How Rāma slew the ravisher, but only took her back as queen  
After th' ordeal fire had proved how spotless bright her truth had been ?  
And even then some base-born carle could still so dœpely sting his pride,—  
Desperate he drove her forth again a lonely outcast from his side.  
What, shall a lady born like you, so noble, so divinely fair,  
Be angry like some low-born scold and fling her honour to the air ?  
E'en if a low-caste woman stay in a strange house a single night,  
The neighbours point at her with scorn, and all her kindred hate her sight.  
Go, you have done a thoughtless thing ; believe me, to return is best,  
And if your hated rival scolds, pay back her jibes with interest.



Why in a passion leave your home? you sacrifice your all—for what?  
 Poisoning yourself for spite to *her*; and will the rival care one jot?"  
 The goddess answered: "I am come, because I cannot bear to see  
 Your noble husband thus beset with all the ills of poverty.  
 And list; I met him in the wood, 't was he himself who brought me here;  
 Ask him yourself; if he denies, I'll go and seek my home elsewhere.  
 Say what you will, I mean to stay; my wealth shall all your sorrows cure;  
 I am a lady as you say, and I will keep my honour pure.  
 I thank you for your good advice, but keep it for some future day;  
 You may require it all yourself; fear not that I shall lose my way."

With sad forebodings, next, th' unhappy wife  
 Gives the year's history of her struggling life:  
 "See this poor hut; a palm-leaf thatch atop;  
 One ricinus\* post within its only prop;  
 How mid such squalor could you bear to stop?  
 Baiçākh † (1) begins my misery's calendar:  
 Dust-storms sweep by, the suns more fiercely glare;  
 But howsoever fierce o'erhead the heat  
 I with sore feet must go and sell the meat;  
 Ladies may sit 'neath shady trees, but there  
 How should I find, alas! a customer?  
 E'en in the villages they scarce will buy,  
 'Who would eat flesh in Baiçākh?' is the cry.  
 These rags ill shield my poor head from the sun;—  
 Baiçākh is poison: this for number *one*.  
 Jyaisṭha ‡ (2) is worse; for fiercer still its rays;  
 And I, however thirsty 'neath their blaze,  
 Yet dare not set my basket down to drink,  
 Or kites will empty it before I think;  
 Jyaisṭha's a fasting month to me perforce,  
 No month of all the twelve to me is worse.  
 Next comes Āṣārḥ (3), to soak the fields and roads;  
 And e'en the rich in their well-stocked abodes

\* The *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant, is in India a tree which is often thirty or forty feet high.

† Half April and May. I have in this passage chiefly followed the text of the 1867 edition; the last edition begins the list with Āṣārḥ.

‡ Half May and June.

Feel, as they watch their stored provisions fail,  
The ills which all the year the poor assail.  
I trudge to sell my goods from door to door,  
Thankful for refuse rice, nor hope for more.  
The leeches bite me as I wade the plains;  
Would 't were a serpent's bite to end my pains!  
Down pours the rain in Çrāvaṇ (4) night and day;  
Bright or dark fortnight, which is which, I pray!  
But I must bear my basket, wet or fine;  
Rags soaked, a never-ending shower-bath mine.  
And if the rainfall stops a while o'erhead,  
Down come the floods to drown us in our bed.  
In Bhādrapad (5) yet fiercer rainfloods fall;  
Rivers or streams, one deluge drowns them all.  
How can I tell you half our lot of dour?  
Brahma was angry, so he made us poor.  
Āṣwin (6) is Caṇḍī's month, and everywhere  
Rams, buffaloes, and goats are slain to her.  
All women put their finest dresses on,  
All except me; poor Phullarā alone  
Must rack her brains for food, or famished die;  
With all these victims, who my goods will buy?  
Kārttik (7) begins the winter; young and old  
Get their warm wraps to shield them from the cold.  
Heaven gives good cloth to all save only me;  
But some deer's skin my winter cloak must be.  
I crouch to warm my blood with head on knees,  
Or shiver in the sun and slowly freeze.  
Kind Mārgaṣīrṣ (8) of all the months is best:  
Now I can eat my bellyful and rest;  
Indoors or out, there's food enough, no stint—  
Only the piercing cold, death's self is in 't.  
I wrap my tatters round me, but they tear,  
And, as I clutch them, split and leave me bare.  
In Pauṣ (9) the winter's at its height; meanwhile  
All men in various ways the cold beguile;  
As oil to rub the limbs, or warm attire,  
Strolls in the sun or betel by the fire;



All others keep the winter cold at bay,  
 And only I must bear it as I may.  
 I buy an old torn mat\* with venison;  
 Its dust is smothering when I put it on;  
 Ah! surely fate to women is unjust!  
 I scarce can close my eyes at night for dust!  
 Then Māgh (10) is dreadful with its fogs and mists;  
 Let the poor hunter wander where he lists,  
 He finds no deer to catch, for sale or food;  
 Nor find I herbs to gather in the wood.  
 Oh Māgh's a piteous month for hunting men;  
 No one wants flesh, for all are fasting then.  
 Phālgun (11) makes most fall ill; but as for me,  
 How could I tell you half my misery?  
 Fierce is the cold; I pawn in sheer despair,  
 For refuse rice, my stone and earthenware;  
 My plates and dishes I must all resign!  
 Oh what a miserable lot is mine!  
 I dig you hole i' the ground, and when I sup  
 Pour the rice gruel in and lap it up!  
 In Caitra's (12) month the soft south breezes blow,  
 In the sweet jasmine flowers the bees hum low;  
 And with the spring's soft influence in their heart  
 Maidens and youths are lovesick, though apart;  
 All joy save me, but I for some old sin  
 Must think of hunger's ravening pangs within."  
 The stranger heard to th' end, then said at last:  
 "From this day forth these woes of yours are past!  
 Think of them as a something now no more,  
 Henceforth you share in all my ample store!"  
 Her face all soiled with grief and jealous fears,  
 Poor Phullarā poured a passionate burst of tears;  
 In sudden frenzy from her door she fled,  
 And in wild haste to Golāhāṭ she sped,  
 And found the hunter, who in strange surprise  
 Stared at her broken voice and streaming eyes:

\* The *khosalā* is a coarse mat used by the poor to sleep on, and sometimes also worn for clothing in cold weather.

“ You have no sister-in-law, nor rival wife ;  
Whom have you quarrelled with in deadly strife ? ”  
“ I have no rival wife at home but *you* ;  
Fate has indeed been cruel, you untrue !  
Waking or dreaming—heaven my words will prove—  
You never found me faulty in my love !  
How have you turned your heart to villany ?  
Why thus become a Rāvaṇ’s self to me ?  
Whence this young wife and all her rich array ?  
Beware, the ant gets wings, but falls a prey.\*  
Kaliṅga’s cruel tyrant watches near ;  
He will soon strip you bare, if once he hear.”  
“ Come, wife, and tell the truth, deceive me not,  
Or I will beat you soundly on the spot.”  
“ Yama be witness : at our door at home  
A lady stands now waiting till you come.”  
Poor Phullarā, when she flew to reach her lord,  
Had with her brought her basket and her board :  
Homeward now start the two, this guest to find,  
But board and basket both are left behind !  
She leads the way in eager hurry back,  
While Kālu, † pondering, follows in her track.  
They reach the hut ; ’t is filled with dazzling light,  
As though ten thousand moons illumed the vault of night.

With lowly bow of reverence he thus addressed the stranger fair :  
“ A poor and lowly hunter I ; tell me, bright lady, who you are ;  
And why, yourself of brāhman race, or, it may be, of race divine,  
You with your peerless beauty come and enter this mean hut of mine.  
This house betrays my bloody trade ; a lady, if she steps within  
This cemetery strewn with bones, must bathe to cleanse away the sin.  
Go home in haste, while yet the sun lingers in yonder western sky ;  
Go home, I pray, or slanderous tongues will hunt you with their hue and cry.  
Did you come here, fatigued, to rest ? howe’er it be, I pray you, go ;  
Phullarā glad will go with you, and I will follow with my bow.

\* For this proverb cf. Wilson’s translation of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, p. 113. It also occurs in Don Quixote, pt. ii, ch. 53.

† This is a frequent abbreviation of Kālaketu.



Think of poor Sītā ; 'gainst her will the cruel fiend his victim bore,  
 But all th' ordeals she endured could not her once-lost home restore.  
 Women's good name is only kept, like an old dress, with ceaseless care ;\*  
 Thoughtlessly handled or exposed too often, each is apt to tear."

The goddess heard in silence all he said,  
 And as in shame before him bent her head ;  
 Impatient now with folded hands he cries :  
 "I cannot read your meaning 'neath this guise ;  
 But be it what it may, I care not, so  
 You only leave this house of mine and go.  
 'T is yours to keep your name and honour pure ;  
 Be true yourself, and they remain secure.  
 But 't is not well here in such guise to come ;  
 And why, when questioned, doggedly thus dumb ?  
 Some noble's mansion your own dwelling is ;  
 What can you want with a mean hut like this ?  
 The wealth of kings is round your person hung,  
 And yet you stray alone, so fair and young ;  
 Have you no fear of robbers as you roam ?  
 Low I implore you at your feet, go home."  
 Still stood she dumb ; enraged, the hunter now  
 Paused not, but fixed an arrow to his bow ;  
 Then to his ear the fatal shaft he drew,  
 Calling the sun to witness ere it flew.  
 Lo ! the bent bow grows rigid in his hands,  
 And like a painted archer, there he stands !  
 His palsied muscles mock the will's control,  
 And tears proclaim his baffled rage of soul.  
 In vain he strives to speak one syllable,  
 Body and soul are smitten by a spell.  
 In vain his wife would take the bow away ;  
 He cannot yield it ; it perforce will stay !  
 The all-gracious Mother now at last they hear  
 Speak in her real voice and stop their fear :

\* I remember a Calcutta pupil telling me that an old paṇḍit came one day to his father's house, and as he was about to take his seat on the ground his old dress gave way, and he at once quoted this couplet from our poem.

“ Know I am Caṇḍī, your true constant friend,  
I come to give you blessings without end.  
This ancient forest which now darkens round  
Thou shalt cut down, and there a city found.  
To each man give a cow and rice and land,  
And rule thy people with a father’s hand;  
While every Tuesday shall henceforth be mine,  
For solemn sacrifice and worship at my shrine.”

Caṇḍī then shows the hunter where a great treasure lies buried in seven jars, and she helps him to carry them to his cottage. The next morning he takes a ring from one of the jars and goes off to a money-changer to turn it into hard cash to meet his immediate necessities. But the neighbour owes the hunter an old bill, and gets out of his way, thinking that he is come to dun him for payment.

Poor Kālu calls, “ Where is my uncle, pray?  
An urgent need has brought me here to-day.”  
“ Alas!” the wife replied, “ too late you’ve come,  
Early this very morn he left his home.  
A sudden business called him, to my sorrow,  
But he will pay your little bill to-morrow.  
Meanwhile we’ve need of wood, so bring some more,  
And by one payment he’ll discharge each score.”  
“ I’m very grieved to hear that he’s away,  
My business will admit of no delay;  
I came for ready cash a ring to sell;  
Some other friend will serve my turn as well.”  
Smiling, her manners she began to mend,  
“ A ring? pray wait a minute, my good friend.”  
Hearing the sound of gain, by some back gate  
Her husband now comes running up elate,  
Eager for this new customer with his ring,  
And carrying scales and purse for bargaining.  
“ O nephew, is it you I see at last?  
How have the days dealt with you as they passed?”  
“ Uncle, I start betimes with net and bow,  
And roam the woods until the sun is low,



And Phullarā plies her trade, her gains are small,  
 And both come home too tired to make a call.  
 But I have brought a ring for you to see,  
 You'll help me in a great perplexity.  
 Deal with me, neighbour, like a generous man,  
 Weigh it and please allow me all you can."  
 The merchant takes it, and, intent on gain,  
 Carefully notes the weight to its last grain.  
 "No gold or silver is this ring of thine,  
 Only bell-metal polished till it shine.  
 Ratis sixteen it weighs—heaven prosper us—  
 With two rice grains besides as over-plus;  
 Now forty cowries are each rati's rate,  
 And twenty cowries pay the extra weight.  
 So that makes eight times eighty plus a score;  
 Then there's your little bill adds thirty more.  
 I dare say part in money will suffice,  
 I'll pay the rest in whole or broken rice."  
 The hunter thought, "A pretty dream, I wis;  
 Are the seven jars at home all false as this?"  
 Aloud, "Your offer in your face I fling,  
 I'll go and take the fellow back his ring."  
 The merchant said: "Five cowries more I'll pay;  
 Come let us deal, I'm honest as the day;  
 I and your brother oft have dealt, 't was he  
 Who told me what a bargainer you could be."  
 "Come, give me back my ring, and do not frown;  
 I'll show it to some other in the town."  
 "I'll add yet fifty more, upon my soul;  
 All in good cash, no broken rice nor whole."  
 His hands already seemed to grasp the prize,  
 But Caṇḍī laughed with Lakṣmī in the skies;  
 And a clear voice he heard from heaven which told,  
 "Think not to cheat the hunter of his gold;  
 Give him seven crores in cash, at once paid down.  
 Caṇḍī has given it to him as his own;  
 So shall thy wealth be largely multiplied."  
 The merchant heard the words, but none beside;

He turned to the hunter, "I was but in jest,  
Take these seven crores, and may thy wealth be blest."  
He paid him down the coins, all true and good,  
And bade him fetch the oxen for the load.  
Homeward the hunter hastened with a will,  
But the good news flew even faster still ;  
Where'er he went he found the farmers there,  
And every ox is pressed its load to bear ;  
They crowd around the money-changer's door,  
And into ready sacks the gold they pour ;  
Then to the hunter's home they bend their way,  
And there he stores his wealth as best he may ;  
While every friend in need receives his fee,  
And every heart is glad with sympathy.

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I here close the first extract, but the original goes on to describe at some length the hunter's adventures after this accession of good fortune. He obeys the goddess' commands and cuts down the forest and founds the city Gujarāt in her honour ; colonists flock to inhabit it and secure the privileges which he offers them. Amongst them comes one Bhāñru Datt, and I add a short passage which describes his introduction of himself. It will show how the poem abounds with picturesque episodes, some of which a little remind the reader of Dickens' wealth of minor characters.

Among the foremost Bhāñru Datt comes with choice plaintains in his hand,  
And in the rear to back him up his brother-in-law close takes his stand ;  
With a broad hem sown on his rags, his pen stuck ready in his ear,  
Impudently he makes his bow, " Good uncle, hail ! " as he draws near.  
A tattered blanket is his dress ; a quiet smile lights up his face ;  
He waves his arms repeatedly, and in loud voice thus pleads his case :  
" Hopes of your favour bring me here, under your rule to find a home ;  
Learn that my name is Bhāñru Datt—you 'll know it well in days to come.  
The Kāyasthas from far and near below my place are forced to fall ;  
In family, judgment, moral worth, I am the leader of them all.  
Blood of the three best families flows in my veins free from all flaw—  
Both of my wives were ladies born, a Mitra is my son-in-law.



All Kāyasthas on either bank of Ganges stream can eat with me ;  
 I claim them all as kin, and they give us their daughters willingly.  
 My family's stock has many shoots—wives, mothers, brothers ! it makes  
     me pant !  
 Six sons-in-law with families—seven houses is the least we want.  
 Please give me oxen and a plough, let basket, pedal, fan be sent ;  
 My gracious lord will nowhere find a worthier recipient."

But, like Sancho in his island, the hunter has little knowledge of the world, and his officials, Bhānru Datt especially, grievously oppress the people ; at last his feudal lord, the King of Kalinga, invades the province, and Kālaketu is conquered and thrown into prison. The goddess Caṇḍī, however, appears in a dream to the king, and her votary is restored to his people ; and at his death he leaves his little kingdom to his son.



II.

*The second part of "Caṇḍī" begins, like the first, with the fall from heaven of the nymph Ratnamālā, who, for a forgetfulness in her dancing before Sīvā and Durgā, is condemned to be born as a mortal on the earth. She is agonized at the sentence, but Durgā promises to protect her, and bids her spread her guardian's worship wherever she is. The nymph is accordingly born as Khullanā, the daughter of Rambhāvatī, who is the wife of Lakshapati, a rich merchant in Icchāni, in the district of Bardwān.*

For seven months Rambhāvatī feeds her herself ;  
She was overjoyed when she saw her child's first teeth.  
When the year was complete the child runs about from place to place ;  
She eagerly puts on various kinds of ornaments.  
Two, three, four, five years go by,  
She plays in the dust with her girl-friends.  
In her fifth year they pierce her ears,  
And every day she puts on beautiful dresses.  
Khullanā grows from day to day ;  
When six years had passed, one could not describe her complexion,  
She was beautiful without any ornaments.  
One cannot give any simile for her, she is the furthest limit of beauty,  
the moon shines in her face.\*

As she grows up to girlhood, her parents anxiously look in all directions for a suitable son-in-law ; but the years pass by and Khullanā still remains unmarried.

In the meantime Dhanapati, a merchant of the neighbouring town of Ujāni, had married Lahanā, the daughter of Lakshapati's eldest brother. They had no children, but Dhanapati was high in favour with the rāja of the district.

\* I follow the text of the 1867 edition.



The following adventure introduces him to the reader :—

The merchant and some gay young friends forth sally one bright holiday,  
 Bearing their pigeons in their hands, to wander in the fields and play.  
 Leaving their pāl̄kīs they alight and fly their birds in aimless fun,  
 Their garments and their ornaments slip down unnoticed as they run.  
 Then “Let each hold the female bird,” he cries, “and let the other fly,  
 And whosoever bird comes back the first shall win the victory.”  
 The city lads troop round to see and clap their hands in wild delight;  
 Up flies the merchant’s pet white bird, nor lag its fellows in their flight.  
 Each player holds the female bird in his left hand a prisoner fast,  
 While the male pigeons soaring up dart to and fro in hurried haste.  
 None had as yet turned back, when lo! a falcon hovers in the skies:  
 At the fell sight the birds disperse, each for dear life in terror flies.  
 Flies like the rest the merchant’s ‘white,’ and towards Icchāni speeds  
 its way;

Through thorns and briars, with upturned face, its master follows as he may.  
 Holding the female in his left, he calls and calls, but calls in vain;  
 Walls, fences, ditches stop him not, he struggles on through grass or cane,  
 And close behind his brāhman friend Janārdan toils with might and main.  
 Just at that moment Khullanā was playing, by a strange good hap,  
 With some girl-playmates out of doors, when drops the pigeon in her lap;  
 She covers it beneath her dress, and while the rest in wonderment  
 Crowd round about her, she runs home to hide the prize good luck has sent.  
 The merchant follows after her, charging her with the robbery;  
 “Why have you stol’n my priceless bird? were I to lose it I should die.  
 Come, give it back, for, if I’m forced the theft in earnest to report,  
 I am the merchant to the king, and great my influence at the court.  
 Come, give it back, and end the jest; I see it hid beneath your dress.  
 You know I must not venture force, ’t would break all rules of politesse.”  
 Smiling, she whispers to herself, “My cousin’s husband, who can doubt?”  
 And then aloud, “Your favourite bird you must e’en learn to do without.  
 It will not be your meal just yet; thank heaven you ’scape that guilt to-day;  
 It grieved my heart to see you run like some low fowler for his prey.  
 It came a suppliant to my breast—a suppliant is inviolate;  
 This is a rule which overrules e’en merchants of the royal gate.  
 Still, if you’ll turn a suppliant too, and all these highflown airs forget,  
 And come with straw between your teeth, I may give back your pigeon yet.”

The merchant, guessing who the girl must be,  
Takes smiling leave; and, sitting 'neath a tree,  
Hears all the neighbouring gossips' tongues astir,  
But scandal's voice has only praise for her.  
Then to his brāhman friend he turns for aid,  
“ Try your best skill to win me this fair maid.”  
Proud of th' important message which he bore,  
Janārdan hastens to the father's door.  
There he is welcomed with the honours meet,  
A seat is brought, and water for his feet;  
And the pleased father shows his eldest son,  
And names his other children one by one.  
Still some vexed pride inflames the Brāhman's mind,  
Proud of the embassy he kept behind:  
“ Is this your welcome for an honoured guest?  
Where are your robes, pān, sweetmeats, and the rest?  
Am I not come on marriage business bent,  
With offer of a noble settlement?  
Your daughter there is twelve years old, I hear;  
And still unmarried—can I trust my ear?  
Happy that father who has safely given  
His daughter to a husband when she's seven;  
She needs no dower to lure the buyer's eyes,  
Kind speeches are enough with such a prize.  
Happy, too, he who weds his child at nine,\* }  
He saves the funeral honours for his line, }  
And for himself wins happiness divine. }  
But you, poor dreamer, blind in heart and brain,  
Have let ten years, eleven, pass in vain.  
Nay, worse than this, you've let the twelfth year come,  
And still she lingers in her father's home.  
A girl of twelve unwed!—remember hell,—  
You as the father are responsible.”

The father answered: “ You speak well; I will do all a father should.  
Look for some fitting son-in-law in Bardwān or its neighbourhood.”

\* Girls should be only married in their *odd* years.



Of eligible sons-in-law Janārdan then recounts the list,  
 But none are worthy of the prize; each is found wanting and dismissed.  
 “Of all the merchants of renown on either side of Ganges’ stream,  
 Like Dhanapati none I find—in wealth, rank, virtue, none like him.  
 Ujāni is his native place, the foremost merchant of the land,  
 Pious to brāhmans and to gods, like Karṇa liberal of hand;  
 Truthful and just in all his ways, of dramas fond and poetry;  
 Lives not on earth the son-in-law worthy of Khullanā but he.”  
 The father heard with gladdened heart the praise of such a paragon:  
 “Arrange the marriage if you can, forthwith secure him as my son.”  
 Meanwhile, concealed behind the door, his wife o’erheard the conference;  
 Little did she approve the scheme, and vehement was her dissidence.  
 “How could you ever give consent or waste your breath with such a man?  
 I will not sell my child like this—was ever such a monstrous plan?  
 What’s all your boasted learning worth? it only makes you more a fool;  
 Think of my giving up my child to bear a hated co-wife’s rule!  
 Lahanā’s tempers and her storms—’t is not your learned books can show;  
 What your own brother’s daughter is, who half so well as I can know?  
 A foolish thing is this you’ve done; you’ve heaped disgrace upon your head;  
 How will you show your face abroad or bear the taunts which will be said?  
 I’d rather tie her round my neck and plunge with her in Ganges’ wave,  
 Than give her thus to misery, a hated co-wife’s drudge and slave.  
 Oh do not listen to the scheme, nor let your judgment be beguiled;  
 With such a tigress in the house, what would become of our poor child?  
 Khullanā’s like a gentle fawn, and would you for a flattering tongue  
 Tie such a noose round foot and neck, and do your daughter such a wrong?  
 Give her the husband she deserves, so shall our daughter’s heart rejoice,  
 You shall gain merit by the deed, and men will praise you with one voice.”  
 “It cannot be,—the astrologers have read the story of her life,  
 ’T is written in her horoscope that she must be a second wife.”

The mother feels her last appeal is spent,  
 And gives reluctantly a sad consent.  
 This hindrance smoothed, the father next in haste  
 Invites the future bridegroom as his guest.  
 He spread a bright red blanket for his seat,  
 Water one brought, another washed his feet.

Rambhā in secret scrutinized his face,  
And sent to call the matrons of the place.  
From street to street the maid the message bore,  
And trooping come the gossips to the door ;  
Their garments in disorder and their hair  
Loose streaming in their hurry to be there ;  
This had one bracelet and one anklet on,  
That had one eye with powder, one with none ;  
One leaves her hungry babe, nor heeds its cries,  
One bears her baby with her as she flies.  
The invitation comes by name to few,  
But all the neighbours hear and flock to view,  
And each is welcomed with the honours due. }  
Each sees the bridegroom as he sits in state,  
And every one wends homeward, heart and soul elate.

The author next describes the angry grief of Dhanapati's childless wife Lahanā, when she hears from her neighbours that he is thinking of a second marriage, and that the new wife is to be her own uncle's daughter. At first she upbraids her husband with his inconstancy :—

“ You have forgotten all your vows, but not for fault of mine ; 't was fate,  
Who made not woman's youth and life run side by side, of equal date.  
When the sun sets, the lotus fades nor stays to see itself undone ;  
But, when the palm has lost its youth, its withered leaves still linger on.”

She is, however, consoled by the gift of a silk dress and five pans of gold to be made into a bracelet. The ojdhā or astrologer is next sent for, and he goes with Janārdan, the family priest, to the house of the bride's father to fix the day for the marriage. The astrologer announces that the next year, as a 'seventh year,' will be very unlucky, which terrifies the father, as his daughter will then be twelve years of age. The marriage, therefore, is hastened in order to fall within the current twelvemonth, and they finally fix on the 21st of the current month, Phālgun\* (which corresponds to part of our February and March). The poet now proceeds to describe the marriage itself, beginning with what takes place in the bride's house :—

\* The day of the asterism Uttaraphalgunī.



Lucky the hour and lucky is the day,  
 And all the household wear their best array;  
 By Rambhā's care, in garments turmeric-dyed,  
 The daughter's seated by her father's side.  
 And now the matron-world come flocking in,  
 Their shouts of *Ulu* rise in cheerful din,  
 While the invited guests from far and near  
 Come trooping up to share the festal cheer.  
 The drum, lute, pipe, gong, cymbals, conch, and bells—  
 Every known instrument the concert swells;  
 The deafening sounds the house tumultuous fill,  
 While dancing girls display their agile skill.  
 Next, to the Sun the offerings due are given,  
 To Gaṇeṣ, Brahma, and the planets seven,\*  
 And her † who guards the children, power benign,  
 The churning stick set upright as her sign;  
 While chanting priests the Vedic texts repeat,  
 And the nine offerings place in order meet—  
 Earth, perfumes, stones, rice, dūrbā grass, and flowers,  
 Fruits, ghī, and curds—to please the heavenly powers.  
 Next silver, gold, a mirror for the bride,  
 And pigments, yellow, red, and black, beside;  
 Cowries and shells, whose hues were ne'er surpassed,  
 And a full dish, with lighted lamps, the last.  
 In a clear voice the Brāhmans chant the Ved,  
 The while Janārdan binds their hands with thread.  
 Next to the Mothers ‡ offerings are addressed,  
 To Ruci, Gaurī, Padmā, and the rest,  
 And to the Nāndī mukhs § are set to fall  
 The seven due lines of ghī along the wall;  
 While Rambhā with her pitcher hurries round,  
 Placing the auspicious water on the ground.

\* The *grahas* are properly nine, as the ascending and descending nodes are included in the number.

† *Ṣaṣṭhī*, i.e. *Durgā*, as guarding on the sixth day after birth, when the chief danger for mother and child is over.

‡ The sixteen *Mātris*.

§ A particular class of deceased ancestors, in whose honour a special sign is traced with ghī on the wall.

We have next a curious chapter describing the charms which the mother employs in order to secure her daughter's influence over her husband after her marriage. She takes the cord from a buffalo's nose, and a lamp sacred to Durgā, which the servant had previously buried in the ground; this will ensure his being as docile as any animal whose nose is pierced.\* The entrails (?) of a snake are next procured from a snake-catcher's house, and the gall of a *rohit* fish caught on a Tuesday. A cow's skull is brought from a cotton-field, on which the merchant is to be made to stand for twice twenty minutes; he will then be dumb as a cow, however Khullanā may scold him; and a friend of hers, a brāhman woman, brings her some asses' milk and curds † in a half-baked dish to complete the charm.

Meanwhile, like Kāma's self impersonate,  
 In his own house the merchant sits in state;  
 Brāhmans recite their praise, the *nāch*-girls sing,  
 And with the shouts of friends the buildings ring;  
 All that can bring good luck you there might view,  
 Each good old custom's honoured as was due,  
 Unbounded is the hospitality,  
 And every Brāhman gets an ample fee.  
 Then at the hour when the sun's rays decline,  
 And, raising dust, return the homeward kine,  
 With jewelled neck and wrists and flower-crowned head,  
 And all his limbs with saffron overspread,  
 He mounts the dooley; loud the dance and song,  
 And bards sing praises while it moves along;  
 The slow procession streams a mile or more,  
 The city's deafened with the wild uproar;  
 Loud boom the elephant-drums, as on they go  
 In battle order as to meet a foe.  
 Meanwhile, advancing from the other side,  
 The followers of the brother of the bride  
 Come in strong force; the two processions meet,  
 And loud the crash and jostling in the street.

\* Two other ingredients are mentioned about which I am doubtful, *pākuḍi-gāchhe* (or, as in the other edition, *kākaḍi-gāchh*) and *hāi āmalāti*; they may mean 'hemp-stalks' (*pākāḍi*) and some preparation of myrobalans.

† The second edition has 'snakes' curds.'



Hard words are bandied first; then, as they close,  
 They seize each other's hair and rain their blows;  
 They pelt with clods, and fiercer grows the fight,  
 But still the bridegroom's party keep their light.  
 But Lakshapati, hearing of the fray,  
 Hastens these angry passions to allay;  
 He grasps the bridegroom's hand with welcome loud,  
 And bears him home in safety from the crowd.  
 With tears of joy he first embraced him there,  
 Then put the wonted perfumes on his hair,  
 On the red blanket made him take his seat,  
 And had the water brought to wash his feet,  
 And gave him bracelets, sandal, gems, and rings,  
 To mark the honour which his presence brings.  
 Next Rambhā comes, and her glad welcome pays,  
 With all the forms enjoined from ancient days;  
 His feet are washed, the *arghya* dish brought in,  
 And curds flung over him good luck to win.  
 Next with a string she measures, as he stands,  
 His under-lip and measures both his hands;  
 Then with the selfsame string she ties him round  
 And knits him fast to Khullanā, captive-bound;  
 Seven times she winds the thread in tangles fast,  
 And loops the end to Khullanā's skirt at last—  
 A certain charm, so ancient dames have told,  
 He will be silent howsoe'er she scold.

Next comes the giving of the bride: the Brāhmans on their seats rehearse  
 In solemn tones before the crowd the Veda's consecrated verse;  
 The nāch-girls dance and play and sing, no voice in all the throng is mute,  
 While loudly sound the kettledrum and tambourine and conch and lute.  
 Then round the bridegroom on a throne they bear her to the canopy;  
 With smiling looks the happy pair now face to face each other see.  
 From her own neck she takes the wreath and puts it round him with  
     her hand,  
 Loud are the shouts of all the friends, the *ulus* of the matron band.  
 The father then takes kuça grass and Ganges water freshly poured,  
 And, calling Durgā to attest, makes o'er his daughter to her lord;

And, the new kinsman welcoming, he gives him presents manifold,  
Elephants, horses, litters, cars, silver, and costly robes, and gold.  
Again the burst of music sounds, the Brāhmans bind and loose them both;  
Then on Arundhatī\* they gaze, type of unwavering wedded troth;  
Their parched-rice offerings next they pay to the star Rohiṇī and Sōm †;  
Last to the sacred fire they bow, the guardian deity of home.  
Then they are brought within the house, and there the husband and  
the wife  
Together eat the sugar-milk, the handsel-meal of married life.‡

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Rām's the first sound that wakes the new-born day;  
The bridegroom rose his daily rites to pay;  
The laughing relatives around him close,  
And claim th' accustomed largess as he goes;  
Then crowned with wreaths they seat the happy pair,  
And all the maidens bring their presents there.  
Some satins, silks, or sandal's richest smells,  
Some fill the betel-box with cowrie-shells,  
And gems for th' husband, and—auspicious sight!—  
Rare shells with convolutions to the right!  
Loudly the drums and conchs and tabours bray  
To speed the parting bridegroom on his way;  
The mother, as to take his leave he stands,  
Puts the 'five jewels' § gently in his hands.  
Prostrate before his fath'r-in-law he bows,  
Then mounts the palanquin and leaves the house.

After spending some days at home in making festivities with his relations and friends, Dhanapati one day went to the Rāja's court to pay his respects. He finds that the Rāja has lately received from a Fowler two

\* A star in the Great Bear, also the wife of the seven ṛshis.

† The moon.

‡ The first, and also the last, meal which the husband and wife eat together.

§ These are the five precious things—gold, silver, pearls, crystal, and copper. See Kathās. S., ch. 77.



marvellous birds, a sārī\* and a parrot, versed in all kinds of knowledge, and is desirous of procuring a golden cage to hold them. Such a cage can only be made in Gauṛ, the old capital of Bengal; and as Dhanapati arrives, by his ill fortune, at this juncture, he is peremptorily sent off to Gauṛ on this errand. He has to proceed at once, without being allowed to return to his house; he can only send a hurried line to Lahanā, entrusting Khullanā and the household to her care. He arrives at Gauṛ, but finds continual obstacles and delays while the cage is being constructed, and he remains there many long months.

At first the two wives, left alone in the house, lived in perfect harmony together: Lahanā acted as the affectionate elder sister; she cooked her choicest dainties for Khullanā and devoted herself to making her happy. But this state of things did not last long; the maidservant Durbalā saw with disgust the unusual concord, and determined in her mind to do her best to put an end to it. “Where the two co-wives are not quarrelling, surely the maid in that house is crazy; I will carry tales of one to the other, she will love me like her own life.” Durbalā soon kindled Lahanā’s latent jealousy, as she warned her of her coming loss of influence when the merchant came home from his journey: “he will be the slave of her beauty; you will be only mistress in the kitchen.”

Lahanā, in her despair, bethought her of an old friend of hers, a brāhman woman named Līlāvātī, who professed to be well versed in philtres and charms; and she despatched Durbalā to her with a message and a rich present of plantains, rice, and cakes, with fifty rupees as a fee and some bright new cowries and betel-nuts. “Durbalā took two from these last on her own account, stuffing one into each cheek. The porters go before and behind, and she in the middle; slowly, slowly she marches, swinging her arms and gathering some campak flowers as she goes.”

She left the writers’ quarter on the left,  
And elated she entered the brāhman’s quarter.  
She arrived at the house of the brāhmaṇī medicine-woman,  
She calls loudly at her door for the lady Līlā.

\* *Turdus salica*. These two birds are often mated in Hindu legends. For a similar mating compare the traditional attachment between the *couleuvre* (adder) and the *murène* in Provence, see Mr. J. B. Andrews (*Revue des traditions populaires*, tome ix, p. 335, 1894). Cf. *infra*, p. 30.

She gives her presents and pays her respects,  
And Līlāvati with kindly greeting takes her by the hand.  
She asks her for the news about her mistress,  
“You have not been here, Duyā,\* for many a day.”  
Durbalā told her the whole story,  
“She wants some private talk with you.”

When Līlāvati arrived, Lahanā poured out her griefs: “No husband in the house, a co-wife set over her head—trouble heaped upon trouble!” Līlāvati laughed at her disconsolate friend’s sorrow. “Why are you so downcast at one co-wife? I have six co-wives at home, and think nothing of it!” She then described how she kept her mother-in-law and all her rivals quiet by means of her spells, and how her potions had completely subjugated her husband to her will. A long account follows of the various spells which she recommended her to use; but she especially recommended to her the spells of cheerfulness and gentle words.

“She who would win her husband’s love must wait on him with smiling look,  
Not lose her beauty at the fire, for ever drudging as his cook;  
If thoughtless of her husband’s wish, to all his interests blind and cold,  
The young wife is a constant care, just like the miser’s hoarded gold;  
Or if her tongue is never still, of what avail will beauty be?  
Vain the silk-cotton’s crimson flowers without the scent that lures the bee.  
Brown is the musk, the queen of scents; ’t is sweetness wins the surest love,  
And the black kokil, by its song, enchants all listeners in the grove.  
Test for yourself th’ advice I give—be gentle words henceforth your art;  
They are the best and surest pit t’ ensnare that deer, your husband’s heart.”  
Lahanā answered: “Gentle words? good heavens! I know not what  
they mean;

I was a single wife too long, mine the sole rule the house within;  
I cannot meet this altered lot, my heart through fortune’s spite is sore;  
Truly my cocoanut is spoiled, water has soaked it to the core!  
No gentle words I needed then; and, if my husband scolded me,  
I beat the board about his head and stormed in louder tones than he.  
Talk not to me of gentle words; tell me some better means, I pray—  
Oh what a sudden scurvy trick was this for destiny to play!  
See, I am utterly undone, the snake has bit me in the eye;  
Where can I bind the bandage tight to stop the poison’s agony?”

\* A colloquial abbreviation of Durbalā.



Līlāvati now begins to doubt as to the potency of her spells in such a desperate case as the present one; and the pair finally resolve to forge a letter as coming from the absent merchant to his elder wife at home. In it he is represented as lamenting his long absence and the continual expense it involves, and he asks her to send him some of Khullanā's gold ornaments; while Khullanā herself is to be set to tend the goats, and to wear the meanest clothes, and to sleep in the shed where the rice is shelled, in order to avert the malignant machinations of the demons. By this device the two conspirators hope that Khullanā's beauty will be spoiled, and thus her influence over the merchant brought to an end.

Ten days she kept the letter in its place,  
 Then went to Khullanā with a fond embrace,  
 With downcast looks and many a lying tear:  
 "O sister, can I tell you what I hear?  
 Hear for yourself this letter full of woe—  
 How can you hope to 'scape this cruel blow."  
 She read the lines, but only smiled—she knew  
 The letter had a look that was not true.  
 "I have no fear, good sister," answered she;  
 "Who has been writing this to frighten me?  
 My husband forms his strokes in different wise—  
 Who has been tricking us with forgeries?"  
 "Surely our lord dictated what is writ,  
 Although another's hand indited it;  
 Think of the many servants he has got,  
 Ready to do his bidding on the spot.  
 You must e'en tend the goats as best you may;  
 His orders, like the king's, brook no delay."  
 "Crowned as a bride I came, unthinking, glad;  
 How short an hour of wifhood have I had!  
 What fault of mine deserved such punishment?  
 Why such a cruel letter has he sent?  
 Go, Lahanā, mind your own concerns in peace,  
 And all these domineering meddlings cease."  
 "Little you know, you rākshasī accurst;  
 Ill was the hour you showed your face here first;

The king the order gave which caused the ill,  
That hateful cage which keeps the merchant still;  
'T is this that sends you out the goats to tend;—  
Blame your own fate, not me, and there 's an end!"

"Then if that letter is our lord's, his own,  
Where is the messenger, who brought it, gone?  
Of all the servants whom he took to wait,  
Has even one been seen within our gate?"

"To make the cage he has not gold enough;  
Three servants came, impatient to be off;  
They took the gold and vanished in a trice—  
You were too busy at your favourite dice.  
Two wives like us, left husbandless alone,—  
I fear we're sure to quarrel while he's gone.  
You married him for his wealth—you know 't is true,—  
Am I to be your slave and wait on you?"

"Childless old woman, if you thus presume,  
I'll beat you, as your mistress, with my broom."

"Durbalā, you have heard this forward chit;  
Shall she go on and I submit to it?  
But yesterday she left the nursery,  
And now she dares to bandy words with me!"

Each shook in wrath her bracelet-jangling arm;  
The neighbouring wives come running in alarm.  
By sad mischance, poor Khullanā's hand, though weak,  
Came in collision with the other's cheek;  
The touch was slight, but Lahanā's fury rose,  
And, all on fire, she dealt her angry blows;  
Each stormed and cuffed, and pulled the other's hair,  
In vain the neighbours tried to part the pair;  
Helplessly wondering, they watched the fray,  
And Lahanā's tongue soon drove them all away.  
Each on the other then her anger bent,  
Their armlets, anklets clashed, their clothes were rent;  
Like showers of hail their mutual blows fell fast,  
But Khullanā was overpowered at last.  
In vain she called her absent husband's aid,  
Lahanā listened to no word she said;



She strips her of her bracelets and her rings,  
 Torn from her head her wreath and pearls she flings,  
 Her anklets, armlets, zone, away she bears,  
 And from her waist her silken *sāri* tears.  
 Poor Khullanā stands of all her pride bereft,  
 Only her iron ring of wifehood left ; \*  
 Thirsty and tired and weeping, there she stands,  
 A rope tied tightly round her neck and hands.  
 E'en Durbalā feels compassion as she weeps,  
 And brings some water for her thirsty lips.  
 Gently she thanks her in a grateful tone,  
 " O Duyā, but for you, my life had gone."

Low at her feet she falls and weeps : " Oh help me in my loneliness ;  
 I come with straw between my teeth, a suppliant in sore distress.  
 I have no friend nor kindred near ; my husband, he is far away,  
 And Lahanā in the empty house tiger-like rages for her prey.  
 O Durbalā, I rest on thee, be thou my help for pity's sake ;  
 Go tell my mother, as from me—'t was she who made the sad mistake—  
 ' Your daughter Khullanā is dead—oh what a wondrous gain you got  
 When to her fate you sold your child !—abide in joy and sorrow not.'  
 And tell my father, here alone, through Lahanā's tortures I expire—  
 'T was his own hand that ruthlessly threw his poor daughter in the fire."

*Durbalā.* She punishes the least offence with blows,  
 For a small fault she'd cut off ears and nose ;  
 I must not vex her—you must wait, I say,  
 I'll take your message when I find a way.  
 In the meantime be patient and submit,  
 And feed the goats, if she insists on it.  
 I'll take your message safely—never fear—  
 And in a trice your father will be here."  
 Next Lahanā came, her harsh command to press,  
 While Duyā brushed the mud that stained her dress ;

\* This is the iron ring always worn on the left hand of a married woman ; it is laid aside in widowhood.

The staring neighbours gather from the town,  
And Līlā counts the goats and writes them down.\*  
Says Lahanā: "I will mark them every one,  
That any changeling stranger may be known;  
And should one die, if I the body see,  
I will say naught, and she from blame be free."  
Poor Khullanā, helpless in her bitter woe,  
Put on her rags and sadly turned to go;  
Durbalā only showed a little care,  
And brushed the dust while Lahanā bound her hair.  
Slowly she goes with leaves her head to shade,  
And in her hand a simple switch was laid.  
The goats run scampering, heedless where they roam,  
And angry farmers storm to see them come.  
Her flower-like body in the sun's fierce heat  
Seems withering up, her clothes are steeped in sweat.  
A river stops her—urged by greater dread,  
She carries every goat across its bed;  
Next comes a wood in sight, beneath the boughs  
The hurrying goats disperse themselves to browse;  
She hears the wolf's sharp howl, and wild with fear  
Runs to and fro to show that she is near;  
The *kuç* grass with its needles stabs her foot,  
And drops of blood betray her devious route.  
Wearied at last, she sits beneath a tree  
Watching the goats stray heedless o'er the lea.  
At length she stirs herself at evening-fall,  
And drives her goats together to their stall,  
Then waits for Durbalā to bring her fare,  
All that the stingy Lahanā can spare.  
Coarse was the meal—an arum leaf for dish—  
Old refuse rice, poor pulse, and common fish;  
Tough egg-plant stalks, of withered gourds a slice,  
But ne'er a pinch of salt to make it nice.

\* In the original there here follows a long list of the names of the goats, filling ten lines—Mālatī, Bimalā, Dhūlī, etc. It is an interesting illustration of St. John, x, 3, "he calleth his own sheep *by name*."



Khullanā, weeping, eats as best she may,  
 Swallows a part and throws the rest away,  
 While Lahanā comes and watches at her side,  
 And scolds her for her daintiness and pride.  
 On her straw bed she lies each weary night,  
 And leads her goats afield each dawning light.  
 Some rice, half dust, is in a bundle tied,  
 And thus the day's provisions are supplied.  
 Carrying her switch in hand she wanders slow,  
 And on her head a leaf to cool her brow.  
 Under pretence of bringing water there  
 One morning Durbalā hurried after her.  
 "I saw," she cried, "your parents yesterday,  
 And told them all, but nothing could they say.  
 Your mother grieved the doleful story heard,  
 But good or bad she answered ne'er a word;  
 And your old niggard father, I declare,  
 Sent you some paltry cowries—here they are."

. . . . .

At length the spring came down upon the woods,  
 And the spring breezes woke the sleeping buds;  
 The season sends its summons forth to all,  
 And every tree hangs blossoms at its call;  
 The drunken bees feel waking nature's power,  
 And roam in ecstasy from flower to flower,  
 Just as the village priest, the winter done,  
 Wanders elsewhere to greet the vernal sun.  
 Amidst the leaves she hears the cuckoo's voice,  
 And the known note makes all her heart rejoice.  
 "Oh will my lord come back," she cries, "to-day?  
 He has been gone a weary time away."  
 But while she counts the months, by chance she sees  
 A parrot and a sārī in the trees;  
 Loud she upbraids them—they had done the wrong,  
 Their luckless cage had kept her lord so long.  
 "That golden cage, that whim of yours, in truth,  
 Has made poor Khullanā widowed in her youth;

You drove my lord from home, and I forlorn  
Was left a cruel co-wife's drudge and scorn.  
She grudges me my food, or clothes to wear,  
I wander keeping goats in my despair.  
Have you come here to wreak your angry will  
Because that cage remains unfinished still?  
Take care, be wise, my patience has a bound,  
I may turn fowler, reckless how I wound ;  
I may ensnare the parrot in the tree,  
And leave the sārī widowed just like me.  
But if you feel compassion for my pain,  
List to my prayer, fly back to Gauṛ again,  
My husband seek, and pour into his ear  
The tale of all the miseries which I bear."

At last the goddess sends a dream to Lahanā which alarms her, and she fetches Khullanā back and begins to treat her more kindly; and, by a similar dream, she reminds the merchant of his forgotten home duties. He has been wasting time on his own pleasures during his long stay of more than a year in Eastern Bengal, under the pretext of watching the construction of the cage. Warned by the dream, he delays no longer, but returns with the cage, and is welcomed by the Rāja with every honour.

Lahanā hears the news, and sore dismayed  
Turns for some help to her deceitful maid :  
"The master has at last come back, I hear ;  
Khullanā will bewitch his mind, I fear :  
Where are the ointments, charms, and philtres stored ?  
Help me, I pray, and win me back my lord."  
Durbalā brought the box, well pleased to tell  
The mystic uses of each drug and spell ;  
But while her mistress tries each charm in turn,  
She breathless runs poor Khullanā's thanks to earn.  
"O little mother, let me kiss your feet,  
Come out and hear the music in the street ;  
Your hope's fulfilled, my lord's come home at last,  
And your long night of misery is past.



I have no mistress now but only you,  
 I am all yours—you know my words are true.  
 I'll bear you witness what your griefs have been,  
 I've vexed my inmost heart for what I've seen.  
 Show him the rags and switch; disprove her lies,  
 And make her presence hateful to his eyes,  
 Multiply all her misdeeds as you please;  
 Faint heart ne'er brought a rival to one's knees."  
 Poor Khullanā smiled to hear such comforting,  
 And gave the girl in gratitude a ring;  
 Then Duyā rose and brought the jewel-case,  
 And straight unlocked its stores before her face,  
 While she adorned her mistress with the best,  
 And with art's utmost skill her person dressed,  
 Rings, gold, pearls, jewels—what can art do more?  
 When lo! they hear the merchant at the door!  
 He bids farewell to his attendant train,  
 And calls for his wife to greet him home again.  
 Khullanā comes at once her lord to meet,  
 And pours a stream of oil before his feet;  
 But she was as a stranger to his eye,  
 Some nymph, perhaps, come down from Indra's sky;  
 His compliments but pained her as she heard,  
 And with head bowed she answered ne'er a word.  
 Covering her face she turned within at last,  
 But Duyā heard behind the door what passed,  
 And eager to be friends with both she flew  
 To tell th' expectant co-wife all she knew.  
 "Oh have you heard, my lady, what has come?  
 My lord, thank heaven! has safely reached his home,  
 And who but Khullanā, forward minx though prim,  
 Has rushed to be the first to welcome him!  
 She with her youth, best clothes, and fineries,—  
 What an unfair advantage 't was to seize!  
 She never asked your leave, but ran to th' gate,  
 Eager to be the first at any rate.  
 Had we but had a wiser lord, alack!  
 He would have scorned her tricks and thrust her back."

Lahanā begs Durbalā to finish adorning her, and thus arrayed she hastes to make up for her lost time; but when she comes before the merchant, he appals her by asking her who was the beautiful stranger whom she had already sent before her to give him the first welcome. Lahanā pours out her complaints.

“When first you went, a long and weary age,  
Sent by the king for that unlucky cage,  
You left young Khullanā in my special care,  
No thought and no expense was I to spare.  
I did my best—so much I will aver—  
But little was the help I got from her.  
She never stirred to cook the household fare,  
Nor lent a hand to help me with my hair;  
Dress her one thought or cooking something nice,  
Or with some idle friends to play at dice.  
I used to dress her out; my gems and rings  
She wore as if they were her proper things;  
No moment from her constant claims was free,  
Durbalā had no time to wait on me;  
On every choicest dish she must be fed,  
And at unheard of hours her meals were spread.  
She never cares to pay a visit home,  
Nor lifts her hand to have her mother come;  
To spend the money is her only thought,—  
Fancy the waste and mischief she has wrought!”  
Her outburst well her lord could understand,  
And slipped a golden bracelet in her hand.

The merchant then arranges that Khullanā is to prepare a special feast for himself and his friends, and, in spite of all Lahanā's machinations, it all turns out as he wishes.



## III.

## KHULLANĀ'S ORDEAL.

*The merchant Dhanapati was one day playing backgammon with some friends, when his family priest entered and reminded him that the first anniversary of his father's death was near at hand, at which time he would have to offer the customary ancestral sacrifice called the ṣrāddh. Dhanapati, who had been absent on the king's commission in Gaur when his father died, determines to perform the rites with every mark of honour; and he invites all his kinsmen and the principal members of the merchant caste in all the neighbouring towns to be present. They come in great numbers and assemble at his house on the appointed day. Dhanapati performs the ṣrāddh,\* and then follows the description of the reception of the guests.*

The ṣrāddh was over and the Brāhmans gone,  
 Loaded with costly presents every one,  
 When, full of care, his way the merchant wends  
 To pay due honours to th' assembled friends.  
 How shall he likeliest give the least offence,  
 To whom presume t' assign the precedence?  
 Cānd is the first in character and race,—  
 Cānd is the one who best deserves the place.  
 'T is Cānd to whom he turns the first to greet,  
 And brings the water first to wash his feet,  
 Then draws the sandal-mark upon his brows,  
 And round his neck the flower-wreathed garland throws.  
 But Çaṅkha Datt in sudden wrath out burst,  
 "I in these meetings am by right the first.  
 Lo! Dhūsha Datt can witness how of late  
 His father's ṣrāddh he had to celebrate;

\* The original has a description of the ṣrāddh which I omit. A full account of the various ceremonies is given in Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i.

Full sixteen hundred merchants, one and all  
Of stainless credit, gathered in his hall,  
Yet I was first of all that company ;  
Too much good luck has made you blind, I see.”  
Retorts the merchant, “ First, I grant, you were ;  
But why so ? Cānd, I warrant, was not there.  
His wealth and virtues are alike untold,  
Even his outer court \* is filled with gold.”  
At this Nīlāambar sneers, “ And think you, then,  
That gold can purchase everything for men ?  
His six poor childless wives bemoan their fate,—  
Can gold light up a house so desolate ? ”  
“ I know you well, Nīlāambar,” Cānd replies,  
“ Your father too,—there’s many a rumour flies.  
He used to sell myrobalans, fame avers,  
With all the city’s scum for purchasers.  
His cowrie-bundles, with a miser’s care,  
He stowed away here, there, and everywhere ;  
He’d stand for hours, and then, the hustling o’er,  
Go home and dine, with ne’er a bath before.”  
“ Well,” says Nīlāambar, “ well, and why this din ?  
He plied his lawful trade,—was that a sin ?  
And then the snack which you his dinner call,—  
A sop of bread or plantain, that was all.”  
Nīlāambar’s son-in-law, Rām Rāy by name,  
Now interposes to divert the blame :  
“ If we’re to wrangle on a caste affair,  
Had we not better turn our thoughts elsewhere ?  
When a young wife keeps goats in woods alone,  
Is there no loss of caste to anyone ? ”  
At this around the room a murmur went,  
One whispers and his neighbour nods assent,  
And then Rām Rāy, to deepen the offence,  
Called for the Harivaṃṣa’s evidence.

\* The *mahals* are the different compartments into which a Hindu mansion is divided, each containing its garden with rooms round it on all four sides.



All sat awaiting what would happen next,  
 While the old Brāhman read the sacred text;  
 The unfriendly merchants laughed or jibed aloud,  
 While Dhanapati sat with head low bowed.

---

A passage is then read from the Harivaṃṣa which illustrates, by the story of Ugrasena's queen, how dangerous to female chastity lonely wanderings in the forest may prove. Rām Kuṇḍa then proposes that the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa should be read which describes how Rāma, after rescuing his wife Sītā from her imprisonment in Laṅkā, only received her again after she had proved her purity by entering unharmed a burning house of lac.

Then Alaṃkāra Datt next wags his tongue:  
 "Our host may well suspect there's something wrong;  
 His wife kept goats and wandered without let,—  
 Who knows what drunken ruffians she has met?  
 So let her pass the ordeal; till that's done,  
 Who'll taste the food she cooks? Not I, for one.  
 Or if the ordeal's risk unwelcome be,  
 Then let him pay a lac and so be free."  
 Here Lakshapati\* threatens: "I shall bring  
 The whole affair at once before the king."  
 Then Çaṅkha Datt: "Has pride your heart so filled  
 That you must play the king upon the guild?  
 Take care, for Garuḍ's † son his caste defied,  
 But the sun scorched his wings and tamed his pride.  
 If it's the king to whom we must resort,  
 Let us all go in a body to the court;  
 But kings know more of criminal penalties,  
 These caste disputes the caste itself best tries.  
 Duryodhana, they say, though stout and brave,  
 Scorned the advice of ten, and found a grave.

\* Dhanapati's father-in-law.

† The king of birds; his son was Sampāti.

It still holds true ; if ten your conduct blame,  
And you stand out, then woe betide your fame !”  
Meanwhile the host, while loudly thus they brawl,  
Steals out dismayed to scold the cause of all.

---

“ What craze possessed you, Lahanā, to send your co-wife to the wood  
To tend her goats—you ’ll rue the day—left houseless in the solitude ?  
You promised me to keep her safe ; basely have you betrayed the trust ;  
For your own ends you ’ve ruined her and dragged my honour in the dust.  
A king will vex by open force, by slanderous tongues our kith and kin ;  
A serpent by its spring and bite—but yours a deadlier wound has been.  
I married her to have a son, to build for me a bridge to heaven,  
That so the ancestral offerings, when I was gone, might still be given.  
For who is like the sonless man—what bitterness is such as his ?  
In the three worlds he has no hope—life is one string of miseries.  
What is my life now worth ? Go bring a knife or poison, let me die ;  
We shall be glad then, both of us, but not e’en you so much as I.”

---

From her he goes to Khullanā, and urges her by every plea  
To shun th’ ordeal’s unknown risks and calmly face the calumny.  
“ Leave the ordeal’s test alone ; stay still at home, your proper place.  
Were you by some ill chance to fail, how could I look men in the face ?  
E’en should there be some fault in you, ’t is not for me to utter blame ;  
’T was I who left you thus exposed ; ill I deserve a husband’s name.  
You wandered in the wood alone—women are weak by nature all ;  
Old stories swarm with precedents how soon they, left uncared for, fall.  
Cease then your fear, I’ll pay the sum, and should some cross-grained  
wretch still pout,  
I’ll pay it down a second time—my purse will yet a while hold out.”

“ O foolish husband, if you give to-day,  
Year after year you ’ll have the same to pay.  
Year after year they ’ll wring by force their claim,  
And far and wide will blow my tale of shame.



I must, then, brave th' ordeal—it must be ;  
 I will drink poison if you hinder me.”  
 Deep in his heart he knew her innocent,  
 And from his face the cloud of trouble went.  
 With lightened heart he entered now the hall,  
 And asked their presence at his festival,  
 And “Khullanā,” he said, “shall cook for all.”  
 Most of th' invited guests seem pleased to come ;  
 Only Nīlāambar downward looks in gloom.  
 “The tenth—my father's ṛāddh is on that day ;  
 How can I then eat flesh with you, I pray ?”  
 'T was an old wound that rankled in his breast—  
 The sore seemed healed, but still the merchant guessed.  
 “I ask you not to eat our common fare,  
 Eat rather what your Brāhmans will prepare ;  
 But when the ṛāddh is over, be my guest—  
 Your simple presence is my one request.”  
 “In Gayā's shrine and Purī's have I stood—  
 I must not eat an alien gotra's food.”  
 Glancing askant in rage and wounded pride,  
 In a rough voice the merchant thus replied :  
 “Shall one whose ancestors have dealt in salt  
 For fifty generations without halt  
 Boast of his family, self-deceived and blind ?  
 He retails salt to every low-caste hind,  
 And out of every penn'orth sold by weight  
 Steals a full quarter,—shall this boaster prate ?”  
 Out spoke the merchant thus, with anger filled ;  
 Rām Kuṇḍa then, th' attorney of the guild,  
 Catching a signal in Nīlāambar's eye,  
 Put forth his hand and deftly made reply :  
 “'T is all a caste affair,—then what's amiss ?  
 This one sells salt by caste, and potherbs this.  
 You married a young girl, too young and fair ;  
 She, keeping goats, has wandered,—who knows where ?  
 A fish that's lying stranded on the shore,  
 Or gold or silver on a lonely moor,—

Such is the maid who lone in forests hies ;  
Who can refrain from seizing such a prize ?  
This is the common judgment of mankind,—  
And who shall call that common judgment blind ?  
If Khullanā be spotless, as you say,  
Th' ordeal let her pass in open day.  
*Then* send the invitations round, and we  
Shall all be glad to taste her cookery.”  
Poor Dhanapati, thus on all sides pressed,  
Accepts the challenge and awaits the test.

---

In Ganges water bathed and then bedight  
With garments as the moon or jasmine white,  
Khullanā offers at the goddess' feet  
The flowers and lamps and perfumes as is meet.  
Then walking round the image lifts her cry,  
“ Oh save me in this hour of jeopardy ! ”  
Low on the ground she pleads with sobs and tears,  
Till moved t' her deepest heart the goddess hears.  
Before her suppliant in the room she stands,  
And on the low-bowed head she lays her hands.  
She promises her presence and her aid,  
And Khullanā no longer feels afraid.

---

Meanwhile the merchant holds a council sage :  
A hundred paṇḍits reverend with age,  
Arranged in state on seats of honour all,  
Discuss th' ordeal's ceremonial.  
They call on Yama ; then, as in his sight,  
A mantra on two peepul-leaves they write ;  
Two casual strangers next are led aside,  
And on their heads the symbols twain are tied.  
Into the lake they dive,—all tongues are still,—  
But what strange shouts of joy the city fill ?



With her eight nymphs the goddess in her car  
 Looks down upon the contest from afar.  
 They rise, but not together now as erst,—  
 'T is Khullanā's foe gives in exhausted first.  
 The leaves reversed, the divers plunge once more,  
 But Khullanā still is conqueror as before.  
 Says Çaṅkha Datt: "Th' ordeal was not fair;  
 There was collusion with the men, I swear.  
 Leave all these tricks, and if you would decide  
 Her innocence, some other test be tried."  
 A deadly serpent next is brought,—its eyes  
 Are two karañja blossoms in their dyes\*;  
 Wildly it hisses, pent its jar within,  
 The jar seems bursting with the stifled din.  
 The merchant drops his ring inside, and loud  
 Rises a cry of wailing from the crowd.  
 But Khullanā, kneeling, lifts her gaze on high  
 And calls the Sun to help her purity,  
 And seven successive times they see her bring  
 Out of its prison, safe, the golden ring.  
 There was a silent hush, till from the press  
 Rām Dān's harsh voice broke out in bitterness:  
 "'T is all a trick,—that serpent's mouth was bound,  
 Or 't was a poor dull worm that could not wound."  
 A smith set up his furnace on the spot  
 And heated there an iron bar red-hot;  
 Red like the newly risen sun it shone,  
 Fear pierced the merchant's heart as he looked on.  
 Upon a peepul-leaf the mystic line  
 He traced and placed within her hand the sign;  
 They seize the bar with tongs as fierce it glows,  
 And bring it reddening like a china rose;  
 But Khullanā, dauntless, utters her desire:  
 "Thou life of all that lives, hear me, O fire!

\* "The karañja flowers are pretty large, of a beautiful mixture of blue, white, and purple."—*Roxburgh*.

If I have sinned, then scorch me with thy brand ;  
 If I am pure, rest gently in my hand.”  
 She stretches forth her hands the bar to clasp,  
 The burning mass is lowered into her grasp ;  
 With head bowed low she bears it all alone,  
 Through the seven rounds she bears it, one by one,  
 Till on the straw at last the bar she lays,—  
 Up in a moment flames the straw ablaze.  
 Still Çañkha Datt looks on in discontent,  
 And thus he gives his bitter envy vent :  
 “I’m half afraid to interpose my say,  
 But false ordeals—what are they but play ?  
 There was some witchcraft in it—all was plann’d,  
 Hence was that bar like water in her hand.”  
 Another test was tried—the Brāhmans came  
 And set on fire some ghī,—up flashed the flame ;  
 But Khullanā, where the flame was fiercest, turned,  
 Dropped the gold in, then took it out, unburned.  
 Then Mādhab Candra : “ Call you this a test ?  
 It was a false ordeal, like the rest.  
 Pay the sum down, ordeals all are vain ;  
 So, your wife cleared, your honour you ’ll regain.” \*  
 Though sore provoked that thus each trial fails,  
 Once more the merchant yields to try the scales, †  
 Again does Khullanā, fearless, meet the event,  
 Once more the proof proclaims her innocent.  
 Then Ghūsha Datt comes forth the case to mend :  
 “ I sympathize with your distress, my friend ;  
 Your fellow-castemen, right and left, you see,  
 Still wag their tongues whate’er th’ ordeals be.

\* The second edition here adds the account of another ordeal with *panai* water. A Bengali friend, whom I consulted on this obscure phrase, writes as follows : “ *Pānā* is a plant which overspreads every foul tank ; it is very common in Calcutta, and so is the word ; *panai* means ‘ covered with *pānā*.’ Water so covered is very cold, because it never feels the sunlight, and any person bathing in a tank covered with *pānā* is liable to have cutaneous diseases. The word is pronounced and written *pānāi* now.” As the passage is omitted in the first edition, I have ventured to leave it out in my translation.

† See the Institutes of Vishṇu, x (Jolly’s transl., *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vii) ; the innocent man weighs lighter at the second trial.



A lac-house was the test which Sītā passed,—  
 To this one point they all come round at last.  
 You are my mother's brother; this alone  
 Would prove I have no interest but your own.  
 Make a lac-house and let her enter in,  
 This test will purge the faintest breath of sin."  
 Then Māṅik Cānd: "I must no more sit mute,  
 This test alone will settle the dispute.  
 It was this test proved Sītā innocent,  
 How can we find a better precedent?"  
 At last the merchant yields, with anguish filled,—  
 But where's the architect such house to build?

---

A solid mass of gold, a gourd (?) in size,  
 With solemn state is offered as the prize.  
 On a high pole his banner flouts the sky,  
 While drums and trumpets bray their hoarse reply.  
 Town after town—the rumour fills the land,  
 But all shrink hopeless at the strange demand;  
 "A house of lac, like Rām's!" the whisper ran;  
 "The gods' ordeals who but gods can plan?"  
 Meanwhile her secret schemes the goddess laid  
 And summoned Viçwakarman\* to her aid;  
 Called by a thought he came, behind his back  
 Stood Hanumat: "Go, build a house of lac."  
 They go—an old man this, and that a boy—  
 To undertake the perilous employ.  
 The moon conducts them to the merchant's room:  
 "To build the house of lac you need we're come."  
 They stretch the measuring line and mark the ground,  
 And dig a trench seven cubits deep all round.  
 Of lac the walls are made, of lac the floors,  
 Of lac the beams, the rafters, and the doors,

\* The architect of the gods.

Of lac the struts and tie-beams every one,  
Of lac the roof and all that's laid thereon.  
The house thus built, away the builders went,  
While all the guild gaze on in wonderment ;  
“ Her honour 's stainless,” e'en Nīlāambar saith,  
“ Who 'scapes unscathed from such a certain death.”

---

But Khullanā, at the novel risk dismayed,  
Turns to her old protectress for new aid.  
The goddess hears her prayer of anxious dread,  
And gently lays her hand upon her head ;  
And tears of joy from Khullanā's eyes o'erflow  
As she pours forth the story of her woe.  
Awhile the goddess muses ; then her will  
Calls Fire himself to avert the threatened ill.  
Swift at her bidding mighty Agni came,  
Eager to know what service she would claim.  
“ The fiery test my votary is to brave ;  
Lo, I entrust her in thy hands to save.”  
He answered : “ Cool as sandal will I be ;  
Thy bidding is my highest dignity.”  
Then as a pledge to bid her fears begone,  
In Khullanā's hand he lightly placed his own ;  
'T was cold,—she shrank not as the fingers kissed,  
Not e'en the lac \* was melted on her wrist.

---

Around her neck the goddess' wreath she wore ;  
And as she stepped within the fatal door  
She fired the hall : the flames spread far and wide,  
Swelled to the roof and soared aloft outside.  
From her chaste body, lo ! their tongues retire,  
Cold as the sandal is that blasting fire.

\* Hindu women often wear rings on their wrists made of shell-lac.



High to the sky the dark smoke-pillars rise ;  
 The gods themselves gaze down with wondering eyes.  
 Loud as June thunder roars the o'ermost'ring blaze,  
 E'en the Sun's horses rear in wild amaze !  
 The rafters melt, the cross-ties, roof and all ;  
 Melt the four walls, and in one crash they fall.  
 A shower of flowers rains downward from above,—  
 Ne'er did this æon such high courage prove !  
 Poor Sītā's tale is all long-past and old,—  
 We have heard it with our ears, but this our eyes behold !

---

Meanwhile the merchant beats his head and flings himself upon the ground ;  
 In the mid flames he fain would spring, but that his friends his hands have  
 bound :

“Loved of my soul, I see thee not,—and life is worthless, reft of thee ;  
 Where thou art gone I too will go,—I will be with thee presently.  
 Ah, faithless husband that I was ! I left thee in the co-wife's power,—  
 Hence all those wanderings in the wood, and all the misery of this hour !”  
 The kinsmen weep in sympathy, with hair unbound and looks distraught ;  
 And even Lahanā feels remorse when she sees all her spite has wrought.

---

The smoke cleared off, the fire burned fierce and bright,  
 But oh ! no Khullanā appears in sight !  
 In agony of heart the merchant turns,  
 And wildly rushes where it fiercest burns,  
 When from the very centre of the flame  
 To his stunned ears a cry of “Victory !” came,  
 And forth she stepped and stood before the throng,  
 Chanting aloud to all her ‘victory’ song.  
 From her thick hair the drops of moisture rained ;  
 The shell upon her wrist was still unstained ;

Still flowed her robe uninjured to her feet,  
Nor had one fibre shrivelled in the heat.  
As she stands radiant, her maligners all  
Before her feet ashamed and prostrate fall ;  
And Çaṅkha Datt is first to own his sin,—  
How blind and obstinate they all have been.  
“Curse us not, sister,” is their common prayer ;  
“Forgive the pride that made us what we were.”  
Nīlāmbar Dās came forward with the rest  
And tardily his error thus confessed :  
“Count me your brother,—no ill-will I bear,—  
Gladly I’ll eat your rice if you’ll prepare.”  
Then said Rām Dān, his voice half-choked and low :  
“You are no mortal woman,—now I know ;  
Who would believe me if the tale I told ?  
Who has e’er heard the like in days of old ?”

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Triumphant thus in all the various tests,  
Khullanā now prepares to feast her guests.  
They fill the court, arranged in order round,  
Seated by precedence upon the ground ;  
And Khullanā herself, all smiling, waits,  
And hands the rice to all in golden plates.  
First soup of bitter herbs to give a zest,  
Then potherbs with a savoury relish dressed ;  
Fried fish ; kid curry,\* and a thick rich broth ;  
And every dish is perfumed. Nothing loth,  
The guests applaud the courses as they come,  
And fragrant steam mounts up and floats through every room.  
The lighter dishes next in due degree,—  
Sweetmeats and curds, and rice-made firmity.

\* This book is written by a Çākta, i.e. a worshipper of Durgā according to Tāntric rites ; and Çāktas eat fish and kid’s flesh.



All wash their mouths, and, ending the repast,  
 Camphor and betel-leaf are handed last.\*  
 Each guest receives his present when they part;  
 The merchant's open hand wins every heart.  
 Then to Durvāsas, † patron of the clan,  
 A horse is given whereon sat never man;  
 While Kauçikī ‡ receives her ewer of gold,  
 And unto Sātgaṅ's guilds their silken bales are told.

\* These lines are repeated in the same words in another part of the poem, but with a different couplet at the end :

Then pulpy durian-seeds are handed last,  
 And juicy mangoes finish the repast.

† A celebrated ancient sage.

‡ A form of the goddess Durgā or Caṇḍī.

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