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BANNÚ OR OUR
AFGHAN
FRONTIER



by
S. S. Thorburn

Forgotten Books

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AFGHAN FRONTIER

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S. S. Thorburn

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BANNU;

OUR AFGHAN FRONTIER.

BY

S. S. THORBURN,

INDIA CIVIL SERVICE,

SETTLEMENT OFFICER OF THE BANNÚ DISTRICT.

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OR

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1876.

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PREFACE.

IN the spring of 1848, just twenty-eight years ago, the late Sir Herbert Edwardes, then a young lieutenant in the service of the East India Company, achieved in a few months the bloodless conquest of the Bannu valley—a valley studded with 400 village-forts, which all the might of a military nation like the Sikhs had failed to subdue, though for twenty years and more they had made repeated efforts to do so.

Lieutenant Edwardes had been supplied with the means wherewith to compel submission, or rather to attempt it, in the shape of several Sikh regiments; but happily his personal influence and tact enabled him to accomplish his task without resorting to physical force. The troops, as well as the people they had been sent to conquer, saw with wonder and admiration how difficulties, formerly deemed insurmountable, disappeared in a few weeks before the earnest enthusiasm of one Englishman. The good work had hardly been completed, when the second Sikh war broke out, and Edwardes hastened away with what troops and levies he could collect to stem the tide of rebellion by boldly laying siege to Multan.

At the close of the war, in which he had proved himself a heroic soldier and skilful officer, he went home on furlough to find himself the lion of the hour. There he devoted his leisure to the production of a book called "*A Year on the Punjab Frontier*," in which he described, in vivid and glowing language, the events of 1848-49 in the Punjab, and his own share in them. This work is perhaps the best of its class ever yet published on an Indian subject, and, owing to its delightful sparkle and graphic scene-painting, bearing the impress of reality in every line, its pages afford charming reading to young and old alike, whether interested in India or not. The very school-boyish vanity and ingenuousness of the writer enhance the pleasure of the reader, who sees the author before him as he then was, a young officer, who had bravely and wisely used a great opportunity, and who had gone to England, fresh from the scene of his conquests, to find himself made a hero of by his countrymen.

In Part I. of the following pages extracts are introduced from Edwardes' book, which is now, I believe, out of print; and the previous and subsequent history, social and political, of the Trans-Indus tracts of this District are sketched. A short account is then given of the revenue system as it was under the Sikhs, and as it is under the British; of the primitive collective form of property in land, which still survives in some parts of Marwat; and of the Settlement operations now in progress.

I have endeavoured to interweave with the narrative some account of how rulers and ruled spend their lives

in this far-away corner of the British Empire, which may, perhaps, prove not uninteresting to Englishmen at home.

Part II. is devoted to an account of the customs and folklore, the proverbs, ballads and popular tales, the unwritten but fondly treasured literature of the Pashto-speaking inhabitants of the District, from which some insight into the thoughts and opinions which govern their actions may be gained.

Let me now tell how and why this piece of patchwork, which I am venturing to publish, ever came to be written.

In 1872 I began the Settlement of this District, and my duties as Settlement Officer afforded me great opportunities of studying the people, and caused them to be ready to serve me in any way I desired. I then commenced making a collection of their proverbs for my own pleasure, and, meeting with encouragement from Government, the idea of having it published occurred to me. With this intention I arranged the collection as it appears in Part II. during the hot weather of 1874. Having done so, I felt that an introduction, descriptive of the people whose thoughts and sayings I had strung together, was required. Accordingly when in camp during the cold season of 1874-75, I wrote in odd hours of leisure the six chapters which comprise Part I., and it was not until the last sheet was laid aside, that the unconscionable length of what had at first been meant to be a short introduction dawned upon me.

Finally, possessing a number of Pashto stories, I

translated some of them, and wrote a chapter on Pathan social life. As the subject was a dry one, I adopted a narrative form, hoping by that means to render the account less uninteresting than if no thread of connexion had run through it.

As the book has been composed amidst the hurry and worry of engrossing and constant work, I hope all shortcomings will be pardoned, and that want of time may be accepted as my excuse for having failed to prune these overgrown pages.

For the accompanying map, my acknowledgments are due to Colonel H. C. Johnstone, C.B., Bengal Staff Corps, Deputy Superintendent of Survey, North-western Frontier.

I have also to thank Henry Priestley, Esq., late Bengal Civil Service, for having corrected the proofs of the sheets printed in Pashto type.

The task of revising the work and seeing it through the press has been kindly undertaken by my cousin, Captain W. Stewart Thorburn, 41st Regiment, to whom will belong all the credit should errors be few.

S. S. THORBURN,

SETTLEMENT OFFICER. BANNU.

EDWARDESABAD,

May, 1876.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF BANNÚ, ITS PEOPLE AND
THEIR RULERS, PAST AND PRESENT.

OUR AFGHAN FRONTIER.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL. BANNU AND ITS ENVIRONS.

COMPETITION is now so keen, that any ordinary Englishman who aspires to a competence by the time he is fifty has to spend the first twenty-five years of his life in preparing for and passing examinations, and the next twenty-five in one continuous grind of work, broken by the occasional brightness of a holiday—at home a trip abroad or to the sea-side; in India a month in the hills or a run to England. During those busy years his early bookish acquirements are forgotten, and most of his general knowledge consists of a smattering, gleaned from periodicals and newspapers hastily read in leisure hours.

If the bread-making Englishman at home has little spare time and inclination to devote to picking up general information on subjects which do not interest him professionally, his countrymen out here, with the exception perhaps of those resident at the capitals, or the few always at Government Head Quarters, have less. Climate, isolation, the monotony of work, distance from any great

Unconcern of busy Englishmen in England or India in matters not connected with their professions.

world-centre of thought and action, all combine to render his mind more or less indifferent to matters which do not directly concern him. The House of Commons, nay the all-powerful British Public itself, are proverbially callous on Indian subjects, and perhaps it is well they should be so; for when their interest is roused in any special case, they, with the omniscience of ignorance, have the effrontery to dictate what ought or ought not to be done, and always cause mischief. Such pernicious interference was attempted during the late Bengal famine, and again in the Baroda poisoning inquiry. In the former case the home press caused the expenditure of two or three millions more than was absolutely necessary; and in the latter the issue of fact was prejudged, the Viceroy's action condemned, and the Gaekwar's reinstatement demanded; and all this whilst the Commission was still sitting. If home interest in Indian affairs is to give rise to a system of hasty, unfair, and presumptuous criticism, such as we have just had specimens of in certain journals whilst the charges against the Gaekwar were being investigated, total unconcern would be preferable, and certainly less mischievous.

Ignorance of
Englishmen in
India about
India.

That the vast majority of people at home know little about India is not surprising, if we consider for a moment what a profundity of ignorance Englishmen in India often display about the people and country in which their lot happens to be cast for a few years. An example in point was afforded by a relation of my own, whose corps was stationed at Peshawar in 1868, and who, when he came down the frontier on a mad-cap ride to visit me, actually admitted he did not know whether the mass of the inhabitants in the Peshawar valley were Hindoos or Muhammandans—they were all “niggers” in his eyes, that was enough; and though he had once before crossed the Indus, he never thought of inquiring what river it was, until, on the second occasion, he happened to get a ducking in it.

Now, though most of us possess an atlas and a geography, yet not ten educated men in a hundred could state off-hand where New Granada, Trinidad, Manilla, and Yemen are, and to whom they belong. I shall therefore take it for granted that not one in five hundred, whether resident in India or England, knows anything about such an insignificant little place as Bannu, its environs, and its inhabitants; and I shall proceed to describe both, beginning of course "from earliest times," which will not take long, as neither country nor people has any ascertained ancient history to speak of.

Bannú a terr.
incognita.

The Punjáb is divided into thirty-two districts, amongst which, with reference to size, Bannu stands tenth on the list. Its superficial area is 3786 square miles,¹ which is greater than that of any English county except Yorkshire, and a little more than half the size of Wales.

The District, as formed in 1861, is divided by nature into two valleys, nearly equal in size.

The western comprises that portion shown in the map which accompanies this book as now occupied by Bannú-chís,² Wazírí, Khataks, and Marwats, and is surrounded on all sides by a wall of bare crumbling sand and limestone hills, the height of which vary from about 2000 feet to 6000 feet above sea-level. The plain itself slopes gently

Physical features
of western valley.

¹ This is the result obtained from my survey, before which 3471 square miles used to be the stated area. In it, however, the whole of "Pakkar" and a strip of land running along the base of the Khatak Niazai Hills were not taken into account at all.

² Until about three years back no two men spelt Indian names alike; hence maps, gazetteers, guide-books, etc., were often unintelligible, and the postal department had hard times of it. Many a well-known station, as, for instance, Jullundur (Jalandar) was spelt in seven or eight different ways. At last, after years of discussion, the "modified Jonesian" system has been prescribed. Under it all names, except those which have acquired a set spelling, e.g. Calcutta, Delhi, have to be transliterated according to a fixed method. This system has been followed in this book. Though rational, it has its drawbacks, for, when once accustomed to it, one is inclined to use it in spelling English names and words, e.g. to write "Mai dír Sar" for "My dear Sir," "Narth-brúk" for "Northbrook," and in reading, too, the eye is apt to trip when it meets a name not spelt phonetically.

from north to south-east, its highest level above the sea being somewhat over 1300 feet, and its lowest just under 750 feet. To the north-east and east the hills are in Khatak territory and within our border, as are those to the south, and present no remarkable features to the eye, beyond a weird grotesque appearance, when viewed from near at hand, due to their abrupt rugged sides being almost devoid of vegetation, and closely seamed with deep water-courses. When looking at them, one feels as if in the presence of the half-bleached bones of some enormous carcase. This fancy has often come over me when taking a bird's-eye view of the range called Níla Roh (blue mountain) from Shekhbudín, a conical hill, which rises abruptly from the western extremity of that range to the height of 4516 feet. Two thousand five hundred feet beneath him the spectator sees this Níla Roh, stretching out eastwards towards the Indus for well nigh thirty miles, like the close-ribbed back of some huge antediluvian monster. He can almost count every vertebra and rib. The clayish colour of the mass, together with the solemn stillness which reigns around, help to intensify his fancy.

It: boundaries.

But to return to my boundaries. North, west, and south-west all the encircling hills are in Wazíristan, that is, "the country of the Wazírs," independent territory, which its inhabitants can boast with truth has never yet submitted to the "proud foot of a conqueror." Of those hills only two call for special notice. To the north, a stupendous mass termed Kafirkot, that is, "infidels' fort," from its fancied resemblance to one, and long supposed to be of man's handiwork; and to the west, the Gabar, so called from its resemblance to the tumulus over a Muhammadan grave, which rises with a comparatively easy ascent from the Marwat plain to the height of 6378 feet, and which, strange as it may appear, though only twenty miles south-west of the Bannu cantonments, has never yet been trodden

on by English foot. Beyond this first rampart of independent hills, but connected with them, appear towards the north the everlasting snows of the lofty Sufed Koh, or, as Pathans call them, the Spinghar chain, both of which terms mean simply "white mountain." The impetuous Kúrm takes its rise in them near Ghazní; and after entering the valley at its most north-westerly corner, and fertilizing the tract occupied by the Bannuchís, travels through the country of the Marwats in a south-easterly direction, and pierces the hills at a point called Tang Darrah, or "the narrow pass." Behind the Gabar appear the peaks known as Pírghal (hoary thief), or Pírghar (hoary mountain), the elevation of which is 11,583 feet, and Shivi Dhar (10,998 feet), both belonging to the Súliman Range, the mighty chief of which, the Takht-i-Súliman, or "Solomon's Throne," so familiar to every school-boy, rises with clear-cut outline directly over the thick belt of low Bhattani hills, which run eastward from the Pírghal to the Pezu Pass at the foot of Shekhbudín.

Viewed from some coigne of vantage on this mountain, the approach of a dust-storm sweeping southwards over the Marwat plain is a grand and impressive sight. At first but a speck on the distant horizon, it rapidly elongates, until it stretches from east to west—a mighty threatening wall, about one thousand feet in height and thirty miles in length. Nearer and nearer it comes phantom-like, its rushing noise being as yet inaudible to the spectator. Now one wing is pushed forward, now another; nearer still: and now the birds—kites, vultures, and a stray eagle or two—circling in its front are visible, and one by one the villages at the foot of the hill are enveloped and hidden from the eye: a few seconds more, and the summit of Shekhbudín, till then bathed in sunshine, and sleeping in the sultry stillness of the June morning, is shrouded in yellow scudding clouds. Vanished is the grandeur of the

A dust-storm in
Marwat.

scene in a moment, and nought remains but a stifling begriming dust flying and eddying about in all directions, penetrating everywhere. Outside nothing can be seen but a darkness which can be felt, and nothing is audible but the whistling of the wind and the flapping of bungalow chicks; but inside the lamps are lighted, and a quarter of an hour is idly passed, until the storm, which generally expends its fury on the hill-side, subsides or passes on.

Western valley
formerly a lake

Geology tells us that long long ago, ages before the Aryan race had commenced to spread east and west from their cradle in the high plateaux of Central Asia, this western valley was the basin of a lake, and continued so until its soft sandstone barrier of hill gave way at Tang Darrah, through which the treacherous Kurm—treacherous because full of shifting quicksands and subject to sudden rises—now rushes impatient to lose itself a few miles lower down in the waters of its mighty brother, the Indus.

Once an exit had been worked, the subsidence of the lake must have been rapid, owing to the soft friable nature of the rocks at Tang Darrah; but many centuries must have elapsed before the Kurm, and its tributary the Gambila, had contracted their banks to their present narrow limits. This supposition is supported by the fact that the traditionary name of the country between these two streams was for some time after the Bannuchi immigration had commenced *Daud*, that is, marsh. This shows how recently the richest part of this valley has been formed, partly owing to the gradual degradation of the bed of the Kurm, and partly no doubt to the canals and drains which the Bannuchis or their predecessors cut throughout this marshy country.

The picture Edwardes drew of this corner of the valley is too pretty to be lost. Here it is:—

“In spring it is a vegetable emerald; and in winter its many-coloured harvests look as if Ceres had stumbled against the Great

Edwardes' picture of Bannu
Prater.

Salt Range, and spilt half her cornucopia in this favoured vale. As if to make the landscape perfect, a graceful variety of the sheeshum-tree, whose boughs droop like the willow, is found here, and here alone; while along streams, and round the villages, the thick mulberry, festooned with the wild vine, throws a fragrant shade, beneath which well-fed Syuds look exquisitely happy, sleeping midway through their beads. Roses, too, without which Englishmen have learnt from the East to think no scenery complete, abound in the upper parts at the close of spring. Most of the fruits of Kabul are found wild, and culture would bring them to perfection: as it is, the limes, mulberries, and melons are delicious. Altogether, nature has so smiled on Bannu, that the stranger thinks it a paradise; and when he turns to the people, wonders how such spirits of evil ever found admittance."

Beyond the northern border of this "vegetable emerald," which extends along the left bank of the Kurm for a distance of nearly twenty miles, lies the Wazirí and Khatak Thal, a high unirrigated sandy plain, which gradually gives place to clay and gravel towards the hills. With seasonable rain it affords excellent pasturage, and repays the labour of the husbandman with a heavy out-turn of wheat and grain.

The southern portion of the valley is called Marwat after its inhabitants. It is a vast treeless plain of undulating sandy downs, merging to the west into a fringe of soft loamy clay, furrowed, as with some giant's plough, with numerous deep narrow water-courses, which converge almost at the same point, in the Gambila, or lose themselves before reaching it in the sand. Immediately under the hills to the west this loamy soil is overlaid by a layer of gravel, and smooth rounded stones, called by the people "*dozakhi kánri*" or "hell stones," owing to their black scorched appearance, which have been washed down from the hills during the long ages that have elapsed since God said, "Let the dry land appear." It is a country of wonderful contrasts. Seen in autumn or in a year of drought, it appears a bleak howling wilderness, fit

Marwat
described.

home for the whistling heat-laden dust storm that often sweeps across its surface in the hot months; but seen in late spring, if a few showers of blessed rain have fallen opportunely, it presents to the eye an interminable waving sea of wheat, the vivid green of which gives place here and there to streaks and patches of darker-shaded grain. The outline of the distant hills is positively a relief to the eye wearied from the monotony of the never-ending green.

The eastern valley.

Regarded from the top of the Tang Darrah Pass, the eastern valley presents a marked contrast to its western neighbour. When entering it from the Marwat side, you feel that you are *descending* into a new country, for the general level of Isakhel is considerably below that of Marwat. Although, too, the dominant class of its inhabitants are Pathans, and nearly related to the Marwats, they have long since discarded their mother Pashto, which they speak like foreigners, for the broken Punjábí dialect of the hardy Jat cultivators of the soil. An amphitheatre of hills known as the Salt Range to the east, and its Khatak-Niazai branch on the west, of an average elevation of two thousand feet above the plain, incloses this valley on all sides but the south, to which it is open.

The Indus and its vagaries.

The broad-bosomed Indus, after a narrow tortuous course amongst hills and mountains of more than one thousand miles, bursts through a gorge of its own making in the Salt Range at the quaint old town of Kalabagh,¹ and

Kalabagh.

¹ That is, "black garden," and such it was until (in 1841 I think) a cataclysm of the Indus swept half the town and its gardens away. It is an odd little place still, containing 5131 inhabitants, and is picturesquely situated on the right bank of the river, at the point of its debouchure from the Salt Range into the plains. The houses rise one above the other on the hill-side, nestling close packed in an abandon of dirt and confusion, amidst the glistening carnation-coloured salt of the rocks. It has a municipality, and an old standing grievance; for as Government levies a duty of about eight shillings and fourpence on every hundredweight of salt quarried in the Range, and as half the town is built of salt and on salt, the people are fined heavily should they attempt to eat their houses, and their cattle, when they loiter by the way in order to lick the rocks or the house walls, are ordered to "move on" by stern-visaged constables, whose mud- and salt-built sentry boxes are perched about on every commanding knoll. Amongst the advantages of the position—for the

flows placidly through the valley in a southerly direction for the first forty miles of its course. Immediately above Kalabagh it is under a quarter of a mile in width when at its highest flood; but a few miles lower down, as if rejoicing in its newly-gained freedom, and greedy for conquest, its breadth from bank to bank increases to ten miles, and during the summer floods, when swollen by a thousand torrents, and fed by the melting snows of the Himalayas, its waters reach from one bank to the other. The reader can easily conceive what a capricious tyrant this mighty stream is, and how anxiously tens, nay hundreds of thousands, who acknowledge it as the dispenser to them of life and death, watch its annual rise and fall. From the point of its final debouchure from the hills to Karrachi, near which it discharges its waters from many mouths into the Indian Ocean, the Indus travels about six hundred miles, and has an average width during the flood season of from six to twelve miles. The number of villages on its banks, or in its bed, which are subject to its influence, cannot be under two thousand five hundred, and the average population in each is certainly over two hundred. We have thus, at the lowest computation, no fewer than half a million of human beings whose subsistence depends on this river's vagaries. Within the last twenty years it has ruined many of the once thriving villages of Isakhel and Mianwali, by converting their lands into sand wastes or engulfing them altogether; whilst others it has enriched with a fertilizing deposit, and raised their inhabitants from the position of wretched cattle graziers, struggling for existence, to that of prosperous peasant proprietors. Its last freak in this district was to shift its chief channel eight miles eastwards, a feat it accomplished

constables—not the least is, that from their high places they can admire the domestic arrangements in houses beneath them. The people are used to it now, and don't object.

between 1856 and 1864. In doing so it submerged between seventy and eighty square miles of *cultivated* land and *seventeen* villages. From this we may judge how it may have fared within the same period with the hundreds of villages within its influence farther south.

The Thal extends
to east and west
of the Indus.

The country lying right and left of its high banks has an excellent soil of soft white and red clay, with a varying immixture of sand, and slopes gently upwards to the foot of the hills on either side. After every fall of rain, numerous mountain torrents spread their waters in shallow channels fan-like over the plain beneath, which is thus supplied three years out of four with a sufficiency of irrigation for all agricultural purposes. The open country to the south, being beyond the influence of these torrents, is little cultivated, and, except in years of drought, resembles the pictures drawn in books of an American "boundless prairie"—a rolling sea of green sward sprinkled over with shrubs and bushes, and covered in spring with flowers; in short, a pastoral paradise.

Bhangikhel.

Three small corners of the district still remain to be noticed: Bhangikhel, lying trans-Indus to the north of Kalabagh, a wild mountainous tract of steep hills and stony ravines, covering an area of 173 square miles, and inhabited by a hardy race of Pathans, who claim to be of Khatak descent, and who have supplied many a recruit to the gallant little army which, under the designation of "The Punjab Frontier Force," guards our trans-Indus territories, and stands sentinel for India on its most exposed and vulnerable border: Pakkar, a narrow strip of ridges and depressions, occupied by a quiet industrious race of Awans, which runs along the northern base of the Salt Range from the left bank of the Indus opposite Kalabagh to Sakesar (5010 feet), the highest hill in the whole chain; and, lastly, at the other extremity of the district, the little valley of Mulazai, occupied by a Marwat tribe of that name, which

Pakkar.

Mulazai.

runs wedge-like into the Súlímán Range, and is only connected with Marwat by a long narrow pass called Darrah Bain, in which travelling is unsafe without an armed escort, although it is daily patrolled, and protected by a fort at its southern exit, and a chain of towers along the line of road.

The above geographical sketch will I hope enable any reader who has followed me so far to judge what Bannú is by nature. I shall now endeavour to describe what man has made of it.

CHAPTER II.

BANNU INDEPENDENT AND UNDER NATIVE RULE.

ALTHOUGH it is more than two thousand years since Alexander the Great lived and died, he has left us clear and indelible marks of his conquests throughout all the wide regions to which he carried his arms. The silver and copper coins, the moulded bricks and figures, and other antiquities found in the mounds of Akra, Islamnagar, and elsewhere, attest his presence in this district, and would alone be sufficient, were no other extraneous evidence forthcoming, to satisfy us that the successors of his general Seleucus ruled here until the subversion of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, more than two centuries after Alexander's death. The encroachments of the Indus itself, which has been steadily undermining its left bank for the last eleven years, annually disclose further proof of the permanence of the Macedonian occupation of this country, or at least of the influence of Macedonian art on its inhabitants; for as each year's floods subside, ruins, which had been buried for ages past under twenty or thirty feet of superincumbent sand and gravel, are brought to the light of day, and in and about them life-sized sculptured or moulded heads and busts of the human figure, made of artificial stone, and clearly of Grecian manufacture or imitated from the Greeks,

Earliest occupants of whom traces remain were Greeks.

are found. "Sikandar Bádshah," too, that is, "King Alexander," is at the present day as great a popular hero amongst the people as our King Arthur is among ourselves. Between Græco-Bactrian and Muhammadan there is a blank of one thousand years, which local traditions thus fill up.

"Then the idolaters took heart when they saw there was no longer a ruler in the land, and strove amongst themselves for the mastery; but the children of the tribe of Baduí seized on the citadel of Akra, and named it Sat Ram, after their king. And they married and gave in marriage, and waxed exceeding numerous, and there was peace in the land for forty generations. But in A.H. 391 (A.D. 1001) the Emperor Sultan Mahmud marched from Ghazní with a great host of the faithful, and took Sat Ram, and destroyed it with fire, and slew all the unbelievers with the edge of the sword, so that not one was left, and the land was desolate for two hundred years."

The gap of 1000 years filled up by tradition.

Heaps of broken bricks, pottery, and calcined bones, and numerous Hindoo ornaments and idols, found at Akra, so far confirm this tradition as to demonstrate that its destruction was sudden, complete, and by fire. Two old ruins—both called by the people, as usual, Kafirkot or "Infidels' Forts," the smaller perched on the summit of a hill at Marí, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite Kalabagh; and the larger forty miles lower down on its right bank in the Rattah Roh or Red Mountain—appear to have been fortified Buddhist monasteries; for, although they have not been examined by any one competent to give an opinion, they conform in appearance and style of architecture to other ruins scattered about in the Salt Range and hills surrounding the Peshawar valley, some of which have been examined by antiquarians and pronounced to be Buddhist, and we know that Buddhism flourished in many parts of India for several centuries before and after the commencement of the Christian era. The lower ruin is chiefly re-

Buddhist ruins.

markable for its good preservation, extent, and the stupendous size of some of its stones still *in situ* in its walls, which makes one wonder how they got there.

Pathan immigration.

The ancestors of all the Pathan¹ tribes now settled in the District immigrated into it from the West. Each tribe represents a distinct wave of conquest, and was impelled eastwards by the superior pressure of other Pathan races, whose younger branches, finding home too narrow for them, had, like bees, left the parent hive in successive swarms, to seek out new resting places for themselves either in the hills of Waziristan or in the plains and valleys of the Upper Derajat.

Order of descent from the hills.

The order in which they descended from their mountains is as follows. The Bannúchís, who about five hundred years ago displaced two small tribes of Mangals and Hanís, of whom little is known, as well as a settlement of Khataks, from the marshy but fertile country on either bank of the Kurm. The Niazaís, who some one hundred and eighty years later spread from Tank (a tract of country lying at the foot of the Takht-i-Sulíman in the Derah Ismail Khán District, in which they had settled some years previously), over the plain now called Marwat, then sparsely inhabited by a race which has left us nothing but their name, *Potht*. The Marwats, a younger branch of the same tribe, who,

Who are the Afghans?

¹ Writing of Pathans, it might be expected I should say something on the vexed question of their nationality and language; but as "doctors differ" still on both subjects, and I can say nothing new on either, I have refrained from doing so. Suffice it to state here, that the idea of "*Pashto*" being a Semitic tongue is pretty well exploded, and the fight now rages round the question as to whether it is derived from Prakrit-like Hindi or is of older and independent origin. The race question is more puzzling, but the weight of evidence and opinion is in favour of the traditional account, namely that the Afghan nation is of Jewish descent, and very probably the remnant of the "lost tribes." Tradition, features, geographical position, and many peculiar customs obtaining amongst tribes of purest blood, e.g. the Passover-like practice of sacrificing an animal and smearing the doorway with its blood in order to avert calamity, the offering up of sacrifices, stoning to death of blasphemers, the "*Trsh*" land tenure, etc.—all support this view. Still many learned men, mostly those however who have little or no personal acquaintance with Pathans, contend that they are a distinct nation, having a separate and more or less traceable history from the time of Herodotus downwards.

within fifty years of the Niázai colonization of Marwat, followed in their wake and drove them farther eastward into the countries now known as Isakhel and Mianwali, the former of which they occupied, after expelling the Awáns they found there, and reducing the miscellaneous Jat inhabitants to serfdom. Lastly, the Darweshkhel Wazírs, whose appearance in the northern parts of the valley as permanent occupants is comparatively recent, dating only from the close of last century, and who had succeeded in wresting large tracts of pasture lands from the Khataks and Bannuchís, and had even cast covetous eyes on the outlying lands of the Marwats, when the advent of British rule put a final stop to their encroachments. I propose to follow the above order in giving a brief historical sketch of each of the four great Pathan tribes of the District. I shall touch very lightly on their distribution and internal feuds and friendships until I come to a time within the recollection of every village grey beard, when I shall pause to contemplate the picture of what they were on the eve of British conquest, in order subsequently to view them as they now are, after a quarter of a century of enforced peace under a strong Government. It will be convenient to adopt the simple style of narration in which the people themselves relate their story, and which would bear almost literal translation into idiomatic Pashto.

Now when the abomination of idolatry had ceased in the land, it remained desolate for two hundred years,¹ until, in the reign of Shahab-u-dín Ghori, it was peopled by a race of true believers of the tribes of Mangal and Haní. They lived in peace for many generations, until they forsook the laws of the Lord and his prophets, and withheld tithes from

Cause of expulsion of the Mangals and Hanís in fourteenth century.

¹ It may be said that this style of narration is Biblical, and its adoption objectionable; but I submit it is wise to use it where such a style so closely and faithfully represents the diction of the people about whom I am writing that if the narrative were translated word for word into their language, it would be an idiomatic translation.

their Pír Shekh Muhammad. Then the holy Pír, seeing that their ways were evil, was vexed in his heart, and called his son, and said, "Go thou to the hill called Shawál, and say to the sons of Shah Faríd, 'Come, and ye shall inherit the land;'" and the young man rose up, and went and said, "Come, for my father calleth you." Then the children of Shah Faríd, who was also called Shítak, were glad, for they were sore pressed at the hands of men of the tribe Wazír, and they girded up their loins, and with their wives and little ones came down from the mountains, and camped at the mouth of the pass called Tochí. Then their elders assembled together, and said, "Let us send three pigeons to the Mangals and Hanís, as a sign of what we shall do unto them." Then they took three pigeons, and the first they left entire, and the second they plucked of its wing-feathers alone; but on the third they left not a feather, and moreover they cut off its head and feet; and they sent a messenger with them, who said to the elders of the Mangals and Hanís, "The Lord is wroth with you, for you have treated his Pír scornfully, and he has delivered you into our hands; if ye rise and flee, even as this pigeon ye shall be safe; if ye remain, ye shall be maimed even as this one; and if ye resist, ye shall be destroyed even as this one." Then the Mangals and Hanís feared exceedingly, and it happened unto them as unto the pigeons. When the children of Khatak also had been expelled, the Bannudzais divided the land amongst themselves by lot.

Bannúdzais
seize the country
for themselves
and settle in it.

Now Bannu was the wife of Shítak, whence his descendants were called Bannudzais, and she had two sons, Kiwi, which was the father of Mírí and Samí, and Suraní. The share of the sons of Mírí fell to the south, of the sons of Samí in the middle, and of the sons of Suraní to the north and west. Now the name of the land was Daud, for there was much water; but the Bannudzais dug drains and sowed corn, and said, "Let us call this place Bannú, after our

Name changed to Bannú.

mother, for it is fruitful, even as she was." And they did so.

Then there was peace in the land for four hundred years, and the people waxed great and multiplied, and obeyed the commands of their priests. In those days holy men, hearing there was plenty in Bannu, came there from the west and the south—a vast multitude; but there was room for them all.

After many generations Bannú passed from the hands of the Kings of Delhi, and became a part of the kingdom of Annexed to Kábul. Kabul; but when the power of the king waxed faint, the leaders of the Bannúdzais raised their heads, and each said in his heart, "There is no ruler in the land, lo, I shall make myself chief!" And the people were perplexed, saying in their hearts, "Whom shall we follow?" So they divided themselves into two parties, the "black" and the "white," and there was war in the land for many years. Then the Wazírs saw there was strife and discord in Bannu, and F t W ir alone, then Sikhs on Bannú. s prey that the land was good, so they stretched their hands forth for the prey. There was sore trouble in those days, but the cup of bitterness was not yet full, for a race of infidels came from the east and harassed the land even for twenty years.

We shall leave the Bannúchís alone in their misery for a little, a prey to disunion amongst themselves, with the grasp of the savage Wazírs tightening round them, and victims to the periodical depredations of a Sikh army, to turn our glance southwards over the plain of Marwat, and to cross the Kurm at Tang Darrah with the fleeing Niazais.

As the exodus of the Isákhel Niázais from their mountain homes and settlements in Tank was soon after followed by similar movements on the part of the Marwats, and from the time of the seizure of Marwat by the latter until quite recently they were in a position of mutual antagonism, I shall not give a separate account of each, as was at first Settlement of Niázais and Marwats in Tánk.

intended, but combine that of both into one continuous narrative.

When Niázai Lodi¹ had been gathered to his fathers, and his children's children were advanced in years, the men of the tribe of Ghilzai drove them from their homes in the hills of Shalghar, over against Ghazní; so they journeyed south until they came to the plain which is now called Tánk. There they found rest, and their young men became merchants and carriers, and their old men remained at home with the women and little ones, and tended their flocks and their cattle. Now the descendants of Marwat Khan Lodi, who lived in the country round about Shalghar, had a quarrel with the Ghilzais, because of a woman, and the Ghilzais gathered together and defeated them with a great slaughter, and took their country, and the Suliman Khels live there unto this day. When the Marwats found they had not strength to contend against their enemy, they descended likewise to Tank, and their brethren gave them a quarter share in their lands.

Niazais take
serv
Behlól Shah.

Now when several generations had passed, and Behlól Shah Lodi sat on the throne of Hindustan, it came to pass that he saw many of the sons of Niazai as they journeyed to and fro with merchandize, and they found favour in his sight, for they were strong men, and fit for war, and moreover they were Lodis of his own tribe. Then many of them became his servants in his army. But after some years had passed, Isá Khan, who was captain of the host, eighth in descent from Niazai, became puffed up with pride, and said in his heart, "Lo, who is the king that I should any longer serve him?" And he rebelled and was slain in the valley of Kashmir, he and many that were

¹ I may here mention a habit, which is still retained by his descendants, Lodis, when sitting at ease on the ground, tie the plaid or sheet, which they ordinarily wear on the neck and shoulders, round their loins and knees, by which the small of the back gets a support. Except Khataks, I have never observed any other natives doing so.

with him.¹ But a remnant escaped, and fled back to Tánk, and took counsel with their brethren the Sarhangs, and said, "There is a plain which lieth north of this; it is almost a desert, but hath water, and the Pothis who dwell in it are but a handful; let us go there whilst there is time; for we are weak, and the children of Marwat are strong, peradventure they will attack us." The saying seemed good to the elders of the tribes, so the order to march was given, and they went, taking all that they had with them; and when they had journeyed for three days they came to the bank of the Kúrm river, below the country of the Bannúdzais. They remained there for one generation, until strife arose amongst them about the division of the land; for the sons of Isá Khán were many, and wished to take the land nearest the river for themselves, and refused to cast lots. Then the men of the family called Miar sent to the leaders of the Marwats, saying, "The sons of Isa and Sarhang have broken the laws of our forefathers in the division of the land. Come and avenge this wrong. Are we not brothers, and is not Lodí our common father?" Then the Marwats were glad, and they came, a great host, with their fighting men in front, and their women and little ones and cattle and old men behind. The sons of Isa and Sarhang had heard of their coming, and went out to meet them in the passes of Pezu and Bain, but fled at the first onset, for the Sarhangs were faint-hearted, and fought not as brave men.

Nizamis occupy Marwat in latter half of sixteenth century.

¹ This is the popular account and that given in the "*Hayat-i-Afghani*," but my investigations do not substantiate it. There was an Isá Khán killed, as here narrated; but he was not the progenitor of the Isákhels. All Pathans are full of race-pride, and their aspirations lead them into many errors, which in process of time become accepted as facts. This is a common failing of mankind in all countries. During this settlement, a Jat clan set up a claim to a Pathan descent, and attempted to affiliate themselves to the Isákhels. The preparation of the genealogical trees of the agricultural classes in this district was the cause of many and bitter disputes, which would have been intensely amusing but for the serious honour-or-shame view taken of them by the people concerned in them. A low-caste man born and brought up in a Pathan country, if serving away from his home, invariably affixes "*Khán*" to his name, and dubs himself a Pathan. It goes down if he can talk Pashto, and his honour proportionately goes up.

Marwats expel
Niázais and drive
them eastwards.

The Marwats marched into the heart of the land, and made their camp on the Kúrm river, and the two sides proposed a peace, but the sons of Isá were headstrong, and said to those of Sarhang, "If ye acquit yourselves like men, we shall prevail; let us fight yet once again." So they fought, and in the battle Maddi, the leader of the Sarhangs, was slain. Then his tribe turned their backs and fled; and when the Isakhels saw it, they fled also, and were pursued with a great slaughter, even to the Narrow Pass (Tang Darrah). These events took place in the last years of the reign of the King Akbar, and lived in the minds of the Marwats, handed down from father to son for many generations, until they were written down in the book of the chronicles called *Hayát-i-Afghani*.

Marwats divide
the
amongst them-
selves

So it came to pass that the children of Marwat possessed the land, and named it Marwat after their forefather. Of all the Isakhel not one remained in it but the house of Miar; and of the Sarhangs not one but the tribe of Michankhel, who were God-fearing men. When they had buried their dead, the Marwats counted out their tribes, each under its own head, and the good lands which lay along the banks of the river they divided by lot, according to the custom of their forefathers. Now the division by lot¹ was in this wise: the land was marked off in great squares, and in each to every mouth a strip was allotted, so that the share of the sucking-babe and the grown-up man was the same. They left the lands which were far from the river in common for their flocks and their herds to graze on, as they had many cattle, and the country was large; moreover, they were not good husbandmen. At the end of every eighth year, their elders used to meet together and divide the river lands again; and as they increased and multiplied, the common lands also; so they

¹ The "*Fish*" custom will be described at some length in a later portion of this book.

became skilful tillers of the soil, and spread over the face of the country, and walked in the ways of their forefathers.

When the Niazais, that is, the children of 'I'sa, Sarhang, and Músa, fled beyond the Kúrn to the east, there was discord in their camp; but the Isakhel were strongest, and took the best lands to the south.¹ When they had expelled the Awans, and subjected the Jat tribes dwelling on the Indus, Moolah Shekh Faríd divided the land amongst them into sixteen shares, and the descendants of the sons of Isakhan, the Mammakhel, Badinzai, Zakkukhel, and Abukhel received four each. The Sarhangs and Mushanís went north one day's journey, and settled on the right bank of the Indus; but the Ghakkars held the left bank until the army of Ahmad Shah Abdalí came from Khorasan and destroyed Moazimnagar, their chief city, and drove the remnant out of the country. Then many of the Sarhangs, the Daud Khel, Tajokhel, Wattakhel and others, crossed over and built themselves cities² on the other bank, and live there to this day.

Whilst the Sarhangs were establishing themselves on the left bank of the Indus, and Marwats and Khataks were grazing their flocks and camels on the pasture lands north of the Kúrn, or contending together for their possession, a new competitor appeared on the scene, who soon after became a dangerous foe to both, and robbed the faction-distracted Bannuchis of many a fair field. This competitor was the Darweshkhel branch of a great pastoral tribe, acknowledging a common descent from a progenitor

¹ Before the Niazais, as a tribe, were driven east of the Kúrn into the country now called Isakhel, but formerly termed *Tarna*, that is, "conduit," owing to the number of canals in its southern parts, and still often so styled by Marwats, a branch of the Niazais named Sumbal had spread from Marwat and located themselves in the country. The Isakhels expelled them, on which they settled in an alluvial tract in the bed of the Indus, and still reside there.

² The descendants of Musa, properly termed Musi-áni, but corrupted into Múshanís.

³ Any large village, if one generation or more has passed since its foundation, is talked of by the people as a "*Shahar*" or "city." So, in the Old Testament, the villages of Canaan great and small are called "cities."

named Wazír, owing to which they speak of themselves collectively as Wazírs. The Darweshkhel branch was and is divided into two chief sections, the Ahmadzais, or “sons of Ahmad,” great-grandson of Wazír, and the Útmanzais or “sons of Útman,” brother of Ahmad, and each of these sections is sub-divided into numerous *Khels* or clans. They had long inhabited the hills forming the western boundary of the valley; and many of their camps had, since early in the eighteenth century, been in the habit of descending in the cold weather, and pasturing their flocks and herds in the plains below. Let us hear and learn their story, how from occasional visitors they became permanent occupiers of the lands they now possess. I shall leave them to tell it themselves, for it is simple and true.

How the Wazírs
settled in Bannú.

“Our homes are in the everlasting hills from Spínghar to Takht-i-Súlímán. In them our ancestors lived grazing their flocks, carrying salt and plundering the Káfilahs which journeyed through their defiles, a simple people, happy and content to spend their lives as their forefathers did before them. As time went on our numbers increased, and our camps descended in the winter time to the plains, but returned again in summer. This was our custom for many years, until, five generations ago, the Bakakhel and Janíkhel seized the Mírí grazing lands beyond the brook Tochí, and the weakness of the dwellers in the plain became manifest to our eyes. In two generations more the Muhammad Khel had taken much stony land from the Daudshah; and not many years after, the other Ahmadzais began to occupy the Thal north of the Kurm. In those days we had many stout battles with the Khataks and Marwats, but the Bannudzais were weak and cowardly. After that the *Sáhibloy* came and took the whole country, and though we had never paid tribute, neither to the Kings of Delhi nor of Khorasan, we bowed our heads and submitted to be taxed. We are their subjects in the plains,

but every man is free in the hills, in which he has no master save God. Our strength is not as it was, for we are divided amongst ourselves, and our young men turn up the soil to sow it, and build themselves houses, and love ease instead of the sword and shield and matchlock. Our old men tell us that the time is not far distant when the hills shall know us no more, for the Mahsuds are strong and press round Shawal; and though we have numbers on our side, our young men will not fight, for their hearts are in the plains with their fields. As yet we have preserved our honour, but God knows how it will be in the future.”¹

The connexion of the various little struggling commu-
 nities described above with the outer world may be told in
 a few lines. Situate on the confines of two great empires
 —Persia and Hindústán—neither of which was ever strong
 enough to reduce the mountain tribes of Afghanistan to
 submission, the Trans-Indus portion of the District owed
 but a nominal allegiance to either. The ready asylum of
 neighbouring hills, which afforded shepherd and cultivator
 alike a sure and safe retreat, must have often baffled all
 attempts on the part of the imperial tax-gatherer to levy
 tribute or revenue from the people by force, while the
 sparseness of the population and the remoteness and in-
 significance of the valley caused his visits to be few and
 far between. Cis-Indus, an open country inhabited by an
 industrious and unwarlike race, invited rule; accordingly
 we find that Ghakkar feudatories of the Great Moohal,
 except in times of insurrection and disturbance, which
 were not infrequent, held sway there until, towards the
 middle of last century, the hosts of Nadir Shah and

Connexion of in-
 Bannu with the
 outer world,
 mel c
 Delhi, and Kabul.

¹ The Darwéshkhel, on retiring each hot season to their hills after the cutting of their spring crops in Bannú, organize a summer campaign against their enemy, the Mahsúds, fight for three or four months, and then return to Bannú. For some years past they have invariably been beaten, and are losing territory. The defection of the Hathikhel clan from the league against the Mahsúds—and this clan can put 800 fighting men into the field—has quite turned the scales against the Darwéshkhel.

Ahmad Shah Durrání swept like irresistible torrents through the land, to destroy for ever the last phantom of royal authority in the sack and massacre of Delhi.

^{f rule and}
what it was.

In 1738 a portion of Nadir Shah's army, on its way to invade India, entered Bannú by the valley of Dawar, and by its atrocities so cowed the Bannuchís and Marwats as to extract a heavy tribute from them. Ten years later a Durraní army, under one of Ahmad Shah's generals, entered the valley by the same route, and crossing the Indus at Kalabagh, drove the Ghakkars, who still ruled in the Cis-Indus tracts of this District, owing nominal allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi, out of the country, and razed Moazzimnagar, their southern capital and stronghold, to the ground. For the next seventy years Ahmad Shah and his successors to the throne of the newly-created kingdom of Kabul maintained a precarious hold on its Eastern Provinces, amongst which was this District, collecting tribute in the western valley by an army sent periodically to extort it at the sword's point, and in the Eastern through local chiefs, to whom a large share was remitted as the price of their good will; but with them, too, the presence of royal troops was often required to overcome them and their clansmen into obedience. As the King's authority grew weaker, that of his vassals in his Eastern or Indus Provinces grew stronger, until one by one each declared himself independent, and commenced to make war on his neighbours, only to fall an easy prey a few years later to the devouring Sikh. In the general scramble for territory which commenced early in this century amongst those quondam vassals, but now independent princes, Nawab Hafiz Ahmad Khan of Mankera managed to annex Isákhel and part of the Cis-Indus tract as well; but in 1822 he resigned the latter to the Sikhs, after standing a short siege in his fortress of Mankérá, prudently declining further contest with Ranjeet Singh, "the Lion of the Punjab." With a keen eye for his own aggrandizement and

Isákhel annexed
by the Nawab of
Mankérá.

coming events, this prudent Nawáb had, three or four years before his withdrawal to Trans-Indus, taken advantage of the distracted state of Marwat to assist one of the two factions into which that country was divided. The "black"¹ faction had lately gained a decided superiority over the "white," which latter in its distress was unpatriotic enough to call in foreign aid. The Nawab of Mankera despatched his troops, accompanied by a revenue collector named Diwan Manak Rai, and with their assistance the "whites" overthrew the "blacks" in a pitched battle at a place called Lagharwah near the Torwah torrent, on which the wily Diwan informed both that his master had ordered him to take possession of the country for himself.² From that date Marwat lost its independence, and for the next four years the Nawab's troops each spring, when the crops were ripe, ravaged the lands of the "blacks," and extorted a large share of the produce from the "whites." On one occasion the Diwan had the temerity to advance to Akra in the Bannu valley, and requisition the maliks or village head men for supplies and tribute; but they shut themselves up in their villages, and defied him and his master, on which the disappointed Diwan had the discretion to retire, vowing future vengeance. His departure was hastened by the loss of half his baggage camels, which had been cleverly cut off when out grazing, and of several men who had incautiously ridden within matchlock range of one of the Bannúchí village forts, which, like hornets' nests, dotted the valley.

The Nawab annexed Isakhel in 1818, and overran Marwat in the following year, but was not left long to enjoy the fruits of either conquest by the insatiable Ranjeet

The Sikhs appear on the scene.

† Division of Marwat into two great factions dates from ninety to one hundred years back. Party feeling is as strong now as ever, and it is very important that a deputy commissioner should know to which side the head men of the country belong.

² See the ballad on this event, Part II. Chapter II.

Singh, who had no sooner gained the Indus for a frontier, than he determined to advance it to the Súlíman range itself. In 1823 he crossed the Indus at the head of a large force, marched through Isakhel and Marwat without opposition, and pushed on to the outskirts of Bannu. After a stay of a month or two, he retired without attempting to plant a garrison in the country at all. For the next twelve or thirteen years the troops of the Derah Nawab and of Maharajah Ranjeet Singh harried the Marwat plain alternately, until, in 1836, the Nawab's short-lived semi-independence was finally extinguished, and the Sikhs had it all to themselves. The Marwats never offered any combined resistance to the Sikhs, but on each visitation either fled to the hills, carrying their flocks and herds with them, or remained and paid what they could of the "*Kalang*" or arbitrary money and grain assessment put on each village or Tappah.

Resistance possible for Bannuchis, impossible for Marwats.

Resistance would have been useless, as their villages were mere collections of huts constructed of twigs, osiers, and reeds, either open or encircled with a thorn hedge. Not so the Bannuchis, who from 1823 to 1845 were every second or third year invaded by a large Sikh army, which never entered their valley without fear and trembling; and although it generally succeeded in squeezing out of them a considerable revenue, never quitted it without having suffered severe loss at the hands of some stout rebel. Thus on one occasion Malik Dilasa Khan, head of the Dáudshah Tappah, stood a siege of several days in his mud fort, and repulsed the Sikhs after inflicting upon them a loss of over two hundred men.¹ Now the Bannuchis as a tribe were a nation of cowards compared with the Marwats; but they had nearly four hundred compact villages, each a fort in itself, surrounded by a thick

¹ See the fragment of the ballad celebrating his victory *infra*.

mud wall, strengthened with numerous towers, behind which they fought well. Added to this they were adepts at night assassination, and on the entrance of the Sikhs into their little Pandemonium, they by common consent suspended their own feuds for the time, called their Wazírí foes "brothers," and attacked with one accord the Káfir (infidel) enemy whenever they could with safety to themselves. From first to last no attempt was made to occupy the valley permanently, and in open Marwat even it was not until 1844 that a fort was erected, a Sikh garrison located in it, and the country consigned to the tender mercies of a Kárdár or revenue collector.

It was far otherwise in the eastern valley, where no serious opposition had ever been experienced by the Sikhs. Their connexion with the Cis-Indus portion of that valley commenced towards the close of the reign of Timúr Shah, the feeble son and successor of Ahmad Shah, the celebrated conqueror of Delhi and destroyer of the Mah-rattas. Before Timúr Shah's death, which occurred in 1793, the Sikh troops had on several occasions overrun the greater part of Mianwalí, and levied contributions and tribute from its villages; but it was not until after the fall of Mankera (1822) that it was completely annexed and settled. The Trans-Indus portion, that is, Isakhel, continued subject to the Nawab of Derah until 1836, when it was formally incorporated into the Sikh kingdom; but for the ten or twelve years preceding that event, the Nawab's sovereignty was more shadow than substance; for in their expeditions to Marwat and Bannu, the Sikhs used to march through Isakhel whenever they required it as a highway, and treated the Nawab and his government with scant courtesy.

Sikh dominion in the eastern valley

Soon after the close of the first Sikh war, the Council of Regency, which had been appointed, under the control of a British Resident, to administer the Punjáb during the

Edwardes' first expedition to Bannú in the spring of 1847.

minority of the Mahárájah Dhuleep Singh, drew the attention of their adviser, the late Sir Henry Lawrence, to what they were pleased to term the "outstanding revenue" of Bannú. After due inquiry into the state of affairs in that quarter, the Resident sanctioned the despatch of a strong Sikh force, accompanied by a British Officer, to compel payment if necessary, but if possible to "conciliate the Bunnoochees (Bannuchis): to subdue them by a peaceful and just treaty; and reduce the nominal revenue, which was never paid, to a moderate tribute in acknowledgment of sovereignty."¹ The British Officer selected to accompany the force was Lieutenant Edwardes: but as the cold season had well nigh come to an end before his army crossed the Indus, he, after a short stay of six weeks in the valley, retraced his steps to Lahore, arriving at that capital in May, 1847. Although but little revenue had been collected, the expedition was by no means barren of important results, as a thorough reconnoissance of the country had been made, discipline and obedience had been forced on an unruly soldiery, and a suspicious people had learnt to place confidence in the authority and good faith of an Englishman. In the cold weather of the following year (1847-8) Edwardes returned, and crossing the Kurm at Lakki, marched up its left bank into the Wazírí Thal, and was joined by a column from Peshawar, under Lieut. Taylor, at a place called "The Wells," a bleak wild spot in the very heart of the Thal or prairie-like upland, which, with its inhabitants, Edwardes thus describes (pp. 53-4):—

Wazírí Thal described by

"Even this is a paradise to the Wazírí tribes, who, expelled from their own stony and pine-clad mountains by the snow, yearly set before them their flocks of broad-tailed sheep and goats, and strings of woolly camels and curved-eared horses, and migrate to the sheltered plains of Bannu. Here they stretch their black blankets or reed mats on the bare earth, over two sticks set up like the letter T, the four sides dragging on the

¹ Edwardes' *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, page 17.

ground, or fastened with a stone if the wind gets high. Under this miserable shelter huddle men, women, and children, afraid neither of the rain's cold nor the sun's hot beams, and in happy ignorance of better things. From the corner of the tent the shaggy muzzle of a hill sheep-dog peeps out, and watches over the tethered donkey and sick goat left at home with the woman while the flocks are out at graze. Tall and stately as a pine, the daughter of the mountains stands at the tent-door in her indigo-dyed petticoat and hood, smiling on the gambols of her naked brats, or else sits down and rubs out corn for her lord who is a-field. The men, stout, fierce, and fearless of man or beast, and clad in shaggy cloaks of brown camel's hair, drive out the herds to feed, and with long *jazail* in hand, and burning match, lie full-length along the ground, and listen for strange foot-falls on the horizon. Should an enemy approach, the discharge of a single matchlock would be heard over the whole plain, and summon thousands of the tribe to the point where danger threatened or plunder allured. Such were the people whose gipsy-like encampments strewed the Thal at the time I speak of."

The year before, Edwardes had made a fast friendship with Swahu Khan, chief of the Spírkai Wazírís, in company with whom he was now able to roam about unmolested amongst the Wazírí gipsy-like encampments which dotted the plain in all directions. Near one of them an incident occurred curiously illustrative of the place and the times, which Edwardes tells in his happiest vein (pp. 58-9):—

"At Swahu Khán's approach, a wild creature, all rags and gestures, rushed out, and embraced his knees, with many welcomes in Pashto, which he instantly turned into bad Persian when informed who I was. This prepared me for the announcement which followed, that he was the 'Akhoond,' or scholar of the place; but as he had run out without his turban, I could not help smiling to see the scholar's skull scored all over with sabre cuts. He invited us all to stop and dine, and smoke a *chillum*; but as I insisted on proceeding, he made a last request, that 'if ever I reduced the valley of Bannú, I would recover for him a certain long musket, which a Marwatí had taken as spoil, after killing the Akhoond's father in a raid, and then sold

The scholar—an incident.

to a Bannúchí, named Shah Abbas, for sixteen rupees, though' (and this he whispered in my ear) 'it's worth forty!'

"I may as well mention here that I did not forget the Akhoond's request; but long afterwards, when all opposition had ceased in Bannu, discovered Shah Abbas, redeemed the paternal firelock, which was indeed a long one, and had it duly conveyed to the delighted 'scholar' of Kamar.

"As Swahu had reported, Kamas proved to be a kos distant from the water, which the villagers procured from deep wells in the dry bed of a ravine behind the hillocks; and we met hundreds of the women going backwards and forwards, with donkeys laden with water-skins. I observed some of the donkeys with cropped ears, and was told that this was a fine levied on them for straying into a neighbour's field.

"The drudgery of the household, and much of the out-door work, is done in this country by the women; and a poor Pathan counts his wives and female relations as so many labourers on his estate.

"The girls were all laughing round the wells, and did not seem to have any Asiatic prejudice about concealing either their faces or ankles from a Faringí, but good-naturedly ran up to me with water, as the only thing anybody could seek in such a place, and were very much vexed that I did not empty a small pitcher."

As soon as the junction with Taylor had been effected, Edwardes crossed the Kurm, and pitched his camp at Jhandúkhel in Bannu Proper. By that time all the chief Bannuchí Maliks had come in and tendered their submission, and were with the camp, busy watching the course of events and each other.

Edwardes writes at page 116 of his book:—

"Nothing could exceed their (Bannúchí Maliks) simple astonishment when they first came in, at every object they saw in my possession. They believed my watch was a bird, and called the 'tick' its song. As for the perambulator with which I measured the marches, they beheld it with perfect awe, and asked me if it was true that it threw itself down on the ground at the end of every mile to let the man who guided it know he had come that distance? One chief wanted to know whether it was true that English people could not tell lies; and appeared, from his look of commiseration, to attribute it to some cruel malformation of

our mouths. Another inquired whether it was really true that when I was young I had read books for twelve years uninterruptedly, without sleeping?"

Though the chiefs were in, their spiritual advisers, the Sayads and Uluma, that is, the "holy and learned classes," were not. I shall leave Edwardes to introduce them and the other inhabitants of the valley to the reader, omitting passages here and there in order to condense his account as much as possible, and spelling vernacular proper names according to the system of transliteration I have myself adopted (Chapter II. p. 70 to end of chapter):—

"The Bannúchís, or, as they generally style themselves Edwardes' Bannuwals, are bad specimens of Afghans. Could worse be said Bannúchís. of any human race? They have all the vices of Pathans rankly luxuriant, the virtues stunted. Except in Sindh, I have never seen such a degraded people. Although forming a distinct race in themselves, easily recognizable, at first sight, from any other tribe along the Indus, they are not of pure descent from any common stock, and able, like the neighbouring people, to trace their lineage back to the founder of the family,¹ but are descended from many different Afghan tribes, representing the ebb and flow of might, right, possession, and spoliation in a corner of the Kabul empire, whose remoteness and fertility offered to outlaws and vagabonds a secure asylum against both law and labour. The introduction of Indian cultivators from the Punjab, and the settlement of numerous low Hindoos in the valley, from sheer love of money, and the hope of peacefully plundering by trade their ignorant Muhammadan masters, have contributed, by inter-marriage, slave-dealing, and vice, to complete the mongrel character of the Bannu people. Every stature, from that of the weak Indian to that of the tall Durraní; every complexion, from the ebony of Bengal to the rosy cheek of Kabul; every dress, from the linen garments of the south to the heavy goat-skin of the eternal snows, is to be seen promiscuously among them, reduced only to a harmonious whole by the neutral tint of universal dirt.

"Let the reader take this people, and arm them to the teeth;

¹ They do trace their descent from a common ancestor, as was shown a few pages back, but the descendants of numerous *later* settlers from Peshawar, Khatak, and Kabul are now generally termed Bannuchís also.

then throwing them down in the beautiful country I have described, bid them scramble for its fat meads and fertilizing waters, its fruits and flowers; and he will have a good idea of the state of landed property and laws of tenure, as I found them in 1847.

“Owning no external allegiance, let us see what internal government this impatient race submitted to: in truth none. Freed from a king, they could not agree upon a chief; but every village threw a mud wall around its limits, chose its own *Malik* (master), and went to war with all its neighbours. . . .

The *Malik* and
his income.

“It will easily be understood that many of these forts would be too weak long to maintain entire independence, and accordingly above the *Maliks* of single forts soon rose up *Maliks* of four or five; and these contending, the victors became *Maliks* of ten, twenty, or thirty. . . . The head of each Tappah was not ‘born to greatness,’ but ‘achieved’ it. Either he became so by being the greatest landowner, or the wisest in council, or the most terrible in fight. In short, he owed his chieftainship to influence, not blood or right, and his sons after him succeeded only to the same privileges on the same conditions.

“Hence most likely it is that the chiefs in Bannu, instead of being called ‘*Khans*,’ as in other parts of Afghanistan, are called *Maliks*, which means simply masters.

“Once elevated to that position, they then exercised the same authority as ‘*Khans*’ in other tribes, and their state and consequence was maintained as follows:—

“Every ‘*Zamindar*,’ or land owner, paid to his *Malik* one-tenth of the produce of his fields in kind; and this tithe of the whole year’s produce was called the *Malikúí*, or *Malik’s* share. The chief either collected it in his own barns, or, if too idle, as was commonly the case, farmed it to a Hindoo (and, it may be safely added, was remorselessly cheated in the calculation). When realized, the tithes did not become absolutely the chief’s private property, but formed a fund whence all public charges were defrayed; and out of it the high mud walls around the fortified villages were repaired, the canals and water-courses kept open, arms and ammunition purchased, the pilgrim feasted on his holy progress, the neighbour, saint, or stranger hospitably entertained, the beggar relieved, and the song of the wandering minstrel rewarded. At the end of the year, if there was any surplus left, it became the chief’s private property; but if there was any deficiency, he was expected to defray it out of his own resources.

“In addition to the tithes, the only other revenue which the chief derived was from a few taxes levied on the wretched Hindoos in the town ; such as a per-centage on all sales, and a fee for permission to marry.

“The Malik might have land of his own, inherited, purchased, or seized, and thence derive a large private fortune ; but the above are the only public revenues he enjoyed in his capacity of chief, and their whole amount would not perhaps average more than £200 per annum. . . .

“Such were the rude and roughly extorted privileges of the few who had the savage strength to rise above their fellows in Bannu ; such the surly homage which the Bannuchi, who brooked not the yoke of Kabul or Lahore, paid amid all his licence to the great necessity of man’s fallen nature—to be ruled.

“Some dozen and a half of chiefs had enjoyed these baronial rights for several years when I first went to Bannu, and no one of their number seemed to be able to ‘annex’ another Tappah to his own. But petty aggressions were continual, and the power of every Malik was liable to constant fluctuation from the decrease or increase of his influence among the landowners of his own Tappah. For instance, a dependent of Mir Alam Khan in the Tappah Mandan would take offence and fly to the fort of Dilasah Khan in Tappah Daúd Shah, and the fugitive, under any circumstances, by Pathanaki, or the custom of the Pathan nation, must be hospitably received and admitted. And if Dilasah Khan felt himself at the time (as boys say at school) able to thrash Mir Alam, he would jump into his saddle, summon his followers, and ride out towards that Malik’s fort, where, standing at a safe distance, so as not to be shot during the conference, he would lustily shout out for his neighbour to appear upon the wall, and give up the wife and chattels of his runaway follower ; and if this demand was complied with, out of inability to resist, Dilasah Khan would thenceforward receive the chieftain’s tenth share of the produce of his new vassal’s land, albeit not in his own Tappah. On the other hand, if Mir Alam was stronger than Dilásah, the wife and children, and chieftain’s tithe, would all remain in possession of the former ; and on this the fugitive, disappointed of revenge, would cool down, sue for permission to return, and be either reinstated on payment of a fine, or else murdered, and his lands confiscated, according to the circumstances of the case, and the good or ill humour of Mir Alam at the moment.

“These fluctuations of power, however, had, at the time I speak of, ceased to be of any great consequence. The ambition, violence, and influence of the few, and the requirements and endurance of the many, had mutually found their level in the distracted valley; and the result was, as already stated, that several years had come and gone, and still seen the twenty rich Tappahs of Bannu pretty equally divided among seventeen or eighteen chiefs.

Gúndis or
parties.

“But more securely to preserve this status, and check each other’s personal ambition, a political division was resorted to, still more remarkable than the territorial one already related. The chiefs of the twenty Tappahs divided themselves into two *gúndis* or factions, the leaders of which were the most influential men at the time on either side. When I went first to Bannú, Sher Mast Khan, of Jhandukhel, was at the head of one *gundi*, mustering nine thousand fighting men, and Jafir Khan, of Ghoríwala, at the head of the other with six thousand.

“This division stood to the whole of Bannu in the lieu of government. If any one who ‘marched’ with Sher Mast Khan was injured, and refused redress, by one who ‘marched’ with Jafir, he instantly reported it to the head of his *gundi*, who called on the head of the rival *gundi* to do justice, and in case of refusal, beat his drum and proceeded to appeal to arms.

“Again, if a man was ill-treated in his own *gúndi*, and his chief did not see him righted, he crossed over in dudgeon to ‘the opposition benches,’ with his matchlock and powder, and claimed the full rights of citizenship.

“Bannú is proverbial, even among the quarrelsome tribes of the Trans-Indus, for its family dissensions; and at the time I speak of, there was scarcely a Malik in the whole valley who was not very much embarrassed and kept in check by having a son or a nephew at variance with him and enlisted in the ranks of the opposite faction.

“In the event of any enemy attacking Bannu from without, the two *gúndis* laid aside their private differences, and with the whole strength of the valley resisted the common enemy. And this was the one solitary occasion on which there was any unity in Bannu. The Bannuchis were literally never at peace unless they were at war! . . .

Other occupants
of Bannu Proper.

“But the Bannuchis do not constitute the entire population of Bannu, and the reader would have a very imperfect idea of its people and social state if I omitted to mention three classes of

men whose influence materially affects the valley. These are the Uluma or religious characters, the Hindoos, and the Wazír interlopers.

“ A well-educated man will, in all probability, be religious, The Uluma or but an ignorant one is certain to be superstitious. A more learned nd classes. utterly ignorant and superstitious people than the Bannuchis I never saw. The vilest jargon was to them pure Arabic from the blessed Koran, the clumsiest imposture a miracle, and the fattest fakeer a saint. . . . Far and near from the barren and ungrateful hills around, the Moolah and the Kází, the Pír and the Sayad, descended to the smiling vale, armed in a panoply of spectacles, and owl-like looks, miraculous rosaries, infallible amulets, and tables of descent from Muhammad. Each new-comer, like St. Peter, held the keys of heaven; and the whole, like Irish beggars, were equally prepared to bless or curse to all eternity him who gave or him who withheld. These were ‘air-drawn daggers,’ against which the Bannuchí peasant had no defence. For him the whistle of the far-thrown bullet, or the nearer sheen of his enemy’s ‘shumsher,’ had no terrors; blood was simply a red fluid; and to remove a neighbour’s head at the shoulder, as easy as cutting cucumbers. But to be cursed in Arabic, or anything that sounded like it; to be told that the blessed Prophet had put a black mark against his soul for not giving his best field to one of the Prophet’s own posterity; to have the saliva of a disappointed saint left in anger on his door-post; or behold a Hají, who had gone three times to Mecca, deliberately sit down and enchant his camels with the itch, and his sheep with the rot; these were things which made the dagger drop out of the hand of the awe-stricken savage, his knees to knock together, his liver to turn to water, and his parched tongue to be scarce able to articulate a full and complete concession of the blasphemous demand. Even the weak Kings of Kabul availed themselves of these fears, and long after they had ceased to draw secular revenue from Bannu, found no difficulty in quartering on any of the Tappahs the superfluous saints of Kabul.

“ It is no wonder, therefore, that when I came to register the lands, I found one-sixth of Bannu in the grasp of the Uluma. Out of two hundred and seventy-eight forts registered in the richest parts of the valley, no less than forty-four were in the spring of 1818 the immediate property of religious characters. Indirectly their possessions were far wider. Exempted from all

tribute themselves (for neither did the lay Malik ever dare to take tithes for himself from the *Uluma*, nor to assess them for the Sikh invader), these privileged classes soon grew rich, and began to put their savings out to usury. The Bannuchí landowners, notwithstanding the natural fertility of their country, were poor. Every two or three years the Sikh army harried their fields, trod down their harvests, burnt their houses, and inflicted injuries which it took the intervals of peace to repair; and in these intervals the Bannuchí Malik, too ignorant to estimate his own tithes, farmed them to a sharp Hindoo trader, and spent the produce in debauchery, indifferent if the Hindoo, who had paid him fifty per cent., exacted two hundred per cent. from the people. To meet all these demands, the landowner was too often obliged to borrow; and his neighbour, the Sayad, so illiterate that he could not read the Koran of his great ancestor, could at least plead utter ignorance that the sacred volume prohibited usury to good Muhammadans. He lent his money to the distressed Bannuchí, and took some land in mortgage until the debt was paid. Whatever burdens that land was liable to in the community, whether tithe to the Malik, or black-mail to the Sikh, were defrayed by the unhappy landlord, while his holy creditor enjoyed the crops. . . .

“In learning, scarcely any, if at all, elevated above their flocks; in garb and manners as savage; in no virtue superior; humanizing them by no gentle influence; shedding on their wild homes no one generous or heart-kindling ray of religion; these impudent impostors thrive alike on the abundance and the want of the superstitious Bannuchís, and contributed nothing to the common stock but inflammatory counsel, and a fanatical yell in the rear of the battle.¹

“If this was the position of the privileged Muhammadan priest in Bannu, far otherwise was that of the despised and infidel Hindoo. . . .

The Hindoos.

“In Bannú the position of the Hindoos was peculiarly degraded, for they lacked the interested friendship of a regular and needy government, and became entirely dependent on the individual Maliks who harboured them in their forts. They could not indeed venture outside the walls, or visit their brethren in other forts, without a safeguard from their own chief, who conducted

¹ This picture is I think too highly coloured at the expense of the *Uluma*, of whom no doubt many are and know themselves to be impostors, but still many are sincere good men.

and brought them back, and was paid for his protection. Once, when I was encamped in the Surani Tappahs, two half-buried human bodies were discovered, whose wounds bore evidence to the violence of their death. I was afraid they were some of my own men, and instant inquiry was made in camp; when some Bannuchis came forward to explain that they were 'only two Hindoos, who had gone out without a guard to collect some debts!' No Hindoo in Bannu was permitted to wear a turban, that being too sacred a symbol of Muhammadanism; and a small cotton skull-cap was all that they had to protect their brains from the keen Bannu sun. When they came into our camp, they made a holiday of it, brought a turban in their pockets, and put it on with childish delight when they got inside the lines. If any Hindoo wished to celebrate a marriage in his family, he went to his Malik for a licence as regularly as an English gentleman to Doctors' Commons, and had to hire the Malik's soldiers also to guard the procession, and fire a *feu de joie*. Notwithstanding all these outward dangers and disabilities, the Hindoo in his inmost soul might hold 'high carnival,' for assuredly he was the moral victor over his Muhammadan masters. I do not remember a single chief in Bannu who could either read or write, and what is much rarer among natives, very few indeed could make a mental calculation. Every chief, therefore, kept Hindoos about his person as general agents and secretaries. Bred up to love money from his cradle, the common Hindoo cuts his first tooth on a rupee, wears a gold mohur round his neck for an amulet, and has cowry shells (the lowest denomination of his god) given him to play with on the floor. The multiplication table, up to one hundred times one hundred, is his first lesson; and out of school he has two pice given to him to take to the bazaar and turn into an anna before he gets his dinner; thus educated, Hindoos of all others are the best adapted for middle men, and the Bannuchi Malik found in them a useful but double-edged tool. They calculated the tithes due to him from the Tappah, and told him a false total much under the real one; they then offered to buy them from him, and cheated him dreadfully; and, lastly, they collected the tithes from the people, who were equally ignorant, and took one hundred for fifty, backed by the soldiers of the very Malik to whom they had given fifty for one hundred. If the landowner was distressed, the Hindoo competed with the Muhammadan priest for the honour of relieving him with a loan upon his land; and if the debt was afterwards repudiated, he easily obtained justice by bribing his friend the Malik.

“Throughout the whole of Bannú all trade was in the hands of the Hindoos, with the exception (characteristic of the two races) of gunpowder, firearms, and swords, which were exclusively manufactured and sold by Muhammadans. Hence they had shops in every petty fort, and every Muhammadan in the valley was their customer.¹ . . .

“Living then though they did in fear and trembling, unable to display the very wares they wished to sell, burying the profit that they made in holes in the fields and under the hearthstones of their houses, marrying wives only by sufferance, keeping them only if they were ugly, and worshipping their gods by stealth, the Hindoos of Bannu can still not be said to have been objects of pity, for their avarice made them insensible to the degradation of their position, and they derived from the gradual accumulation of wealth a mean equivalent for native country, civil liberty, and religious freedom.

“The only class remaining to be noticed in Bannu is that of the Wazírí interlopers. . . .

The Wazírs
described.

“The Wazírs are at once one of the most numerous and the most united of all the tribes of Afghanistan ; and to this, not less than to the strength of their country, are they indebted for being wholly independent. They neither own now, nor by their own account have ever owned, any allegiance to any of the Kings of Kabul. If you ask where their country is, they point to the far-off horizon, where the azure sky is pierced by the snowy peaks of ‘Sufed Koh’ or the White Mountain, and which in their Pashto tongue they call Spinghar ; but that great mountain is only their citadel, at the head of a long line of fastnesses, extending from the frontier of Tank, less than a hundred miles from Derah Ismail Khan on the Indus, to within fifty miles from Jalalabad. The Wazírs are divided into two branches, the Utmanzais and the Ahmadzais. The former extend themselves from the parent stock in a southerly direction down the Sulman hills as far as the plains of Tank, and have for their head-quarters

¹ Cheat as he might in pre-annexation times, the Hindoo never dared show his wealth, was always at the mercy of his Malík or patron, and, as a fact, his class was, in Bannú at least, poor when we took the Punjáb. It is during the last twenty-five years that the Hindoos of Bannú have grown wealthy, and become large landowners. By law a money-lender can be as usurious as he likes, and with the assistance of the Courts can recover cent. per cent. interest. A quarter of a century ago it would ordinarily have been as much as his life was worth to attempt to levy such interest, for, bad accountant though the Bannúchí may be, he always knew the difference between one rupee and two rupees.

Kání-Guram, which is about parallel with Marwat. The other branch of Ahmadzais seems to diverge with the Salt Range, and stretch along it to the eastward, as far as the country of the Khataks. Hardy, and for the most part pastoral, they subsist on mountains where other tribes would starve; and might enjoy the possession they have obtained of most of the hills which incrust the valleys of Khost, Dawar, Bangash, and Bannu, without any inconvenience to the lawful owners in the plains below, if their pastoral cares were confined to their own cattle, and not extended to that of their neighbours. But it is the peculiarity of the great Wazír tribe that they are enemies of the whole world. . . . Of the Wazír it is literally true, that 'his hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him.' By far the greater part of the trade between Khorasan and India comes and goes through the Pass of Ghwalari, which emerges on the plain of the Indus, at the issue of the Gomal river, in Tank. The hills on either side of the pass are held by the Útmanzai Wazírs; and they carry on a predatory war against the caravans, year after year, with a relentless ferocity and daring, which none but a Lohani (or an English) merchant would brave, or be able to repel.

"While the Útmanzai branch has been thus engaged in taking annual toll from the Indian trade, the Ahmadzai Wazírs, with whom we are now more particularly concerned, have commenced that great transition from pastoral to agricultural habits which so surely overtakes every aboriginal race at the point where increase from within or encroachment from without reduces its pastures below the level of its wants. A multiplying people, increasing flocks, and insufficient grazing grounds, first brought these nomads into Bannu about thirty years ago. The Thal, too dreary and barren for the softer Bannuchis, was to them a tempting space. They drove down their herds into it, and pitched their black blanket tents; the flocks fattened, and the winter which raged in their native hills passed luxuriously away in these new plains. The spring sun rekindled the love of home, and made the goat-skin cloak hang heavy on the shoulders of the mountaineer, and the sheep to bleat under its fleece. The tribe turned their faces towards Spinghar; and the Bannuchí thieves, hanging on the rear of their march to the very borders of the valley, were afraid to venture within the range of the *jazails* of the Ahmadzais, and the strangers went away unchallenged.

"Again and again the winter brought them back, and in occasional collisions between the savage of the plain and the savage of the mountain, the Wazír proved ever the savagest, and became

Bannúchí versus
Wazír.

a name of fear and hatred in Bannú. At length the Wazír cast his eye on the Bannuchí fields and harvests, and became possessed with the lust of land. So he proceeded in his rough way to occupy what he wanted, which, for the convenience of being within reach of his own people, he chose nearest to the Thal; and when the Bannuchí owner came to look after his crops, he was 'warned off' with a bullet as a trespasser. A sad era was this in Bannuchí annals. Hushed were all private feuds now, for the lion had come among the wolves: Malik after Malik was being robbed.

"At length the two great *gundis* laid aside their differences, and met in high council on the national dilemma. Then had been the time to fight, and fight desperately, ere the intruders had taken root; and some voices did cry out for war, but the chiefs of the two *gundis* knew their strength, and that the whole valley could not muster twenty thousand men. On one side, their neighbours of Dawar were afraid to assist them, for their little valley was nearer than Bannu to the Wazírí hills. The brave men of Marwat, on the other side, were scarcely less hostile than the Wazírs. The Wazírs themselves could summon forty thousand warriors. The 'council of war,' as usual, resolved on peace, 'tempered,' as Talleyrand said of the Russian despotism, 'by assassination.' They would not fight the Wazírí tribe, but they would harass individuals with matchlock, knife, and ambuscade, and make occupation or cultivation impracticable. They little knew the Wazírí temper. The first act of treacherous hostility drew down a fearful and bloody retaliation. Where at first only a field was gone, now a home was desolate: and so both sides continued; the Wazír encroaching, the Bannuchí resisting; the Wazír revenging, the beaten Bannuchí retiring in despair. At length even this found its limit. Both sides grew weary. Only a few Wazírs cared for the new toy of cultivation, and many came to a compromise with the owners for small sums of money, inadequate, but better than nothing. The Wazírí intruders built forts like those of Bannuchís on the plundered lands, and, with the usual facility of revolutions in the East, soon passed into undisputed proprietors of some of the best tracts on the left bank of the Kurm. But they never mixed with the Bannuchís, either in marriage, religious ceremonies, or the more ordinary affairs of life. Had the Bannuchís been less wronged, the Wazírs would have been still too proud to mingle blood pure as the snow on Sufed Koh with the mongrel lowland tribes of Bannu. Proud, patriotic, and united among themselves; austere

and simple in their own manners, but hospitable to the stranger, and true to their guest against force and corruption, the Ahmadzais stood aloof from the people they oppressed, and looked on in contempt at their cowardly submission, their disunited efforts against the Sikh invader, their lying dealings with each other, their treacherous assassinations at the board, and the covetous squabbles with which they converted into a hell the heavenly valley given them by nature.

“ I must not conclude this sketch of the Wazírí settlement in Bannu without mentioning, that as the Ahmadzais have occupied (besides their seizures in the Tappahs) the Thal on the east, and the waste under the hills on the north of Bannu, so their countrymen of the Útmanzai branch have felt their way down from the western mountains to the waste lands which lie about the banks of the Tochi, scraped out of them a little precarious cultivation, and built a few forts to protect them from the Bannúchí owners in the adjoining Tappahs of Mírí. . . .

“ The reader has now been introduced to the four classes which make up the population of Bannu: the mongrel and vicious Bannuchí peasantry; all-ruled by Maliks, and ill-righted by factions; the greedy Sayads, and other religious mendicants, sucking the blood of the superstitious people; the mean Hindoo traders, enduring a life of degradation, that they may cheat their Muhammadan employers; and the Wazírí interlopers, half pastoral, half agricultural, wholly without law, but neither destitute of honour nor virtue.

“ To complete the picture, it is only necessary to imagine these races in their several high-walled forts: the Wazírs on the outside, the Bannuchís and Sayads, with their Hindoo agents, in the heart of Bannu Proper, all watching each other with vigilant ill-will, and so divided by class interests as to be unable to appreciate the danger approaching all alike from without, in the shape of a brave and well-disciplined Sikh army, whose energies were guided by a British Officer.”

CHAPTER III.

BANNU UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Character of
Edwardes as a
worker.

WE left Edwardes at Jhandúkhel on the threshold of his difficulties. His way of meeting them was characteristic, and assisted him in many crises throughout the rest of his career. Gifted with a clear incisive intellect, a well-balanced judgment, and great confidence in himself, he always determined quickly upon what he ought to do, and then set to work to do it with a will.

In his present problem—the conciliation and conquest of two warlike races—he saw that his best chance of success was at once to assume the tone of master, and give orders to both Wazirs and Bannuchis. At the same time he appealed to two very powerful springs of human action—greed and fear—by promising those who loyally obeyed him rewards and honours, and threatening those who did not obey with speedy and condign punishment.

Peaceful
conquest of the
valley.

To the Bannuchí Maliks he said, “Assist me, and ten per cent. of your assessments shall be each year divided amongst you: half to your village Maliks, and half to your Tappah Maliks; if you do not, I shall depose you and confiscate your estates.”

To the religious classes he promised a light assessment as a concession to their sanctity and learning.

To the Wazírs he said sternly, "If you wish independence, coupled with starvation, go back to your barren hills; but if you wish to remain here, and enjoy plenty in the Maharájah's territory, you must submit to be governed, and pay revenue. Accept the terms I offer you within a week, or I shall expel you from the plains by force."

The majority of the Bannuchí Maliks, seeing that they individually would not be losers should the new order of things ever be established, at once permitted their lands to be surveyed; but their priesthood remained sullenly aloof for some time. When, however, the Wazírí *jirga*, or council of elders, declared for peace and submission, and they saw that, even if they proclaimed a *jihad* or crusade against the infidels, their chances of success would be small, they sulkily began to negotiate, and finally most of them accepted the terms originally offered them. During the week of grace allowed the Wazírs, their *jirga* met daily in stormy debate, and Swahn Khan, Edwardes' friend, was roundly denounced by would-be patriots as a traitor, and the Bannuchís as cowardly curs. At last passion gave way to reason, and they determined to affix their marks to the "treaty," and see what would come of it. Though they were savages, and ought to have known better, they, like some civilized nations now-a-days, made a mental reservation when signing the "treaty" that it should be binding only so long as it might suit their convenience to regard it so.

Edwardes' next step was to commence a broad high Road made and
n Fort
built. road right through the heart of the valley to the open Marwat country beyond, and to select a good site for a crown fort, which should command the heads of as many canals as possible. Having chosen his site, he laid out the lines of his fort, and allotted a portion of the work to each of his Sikh regiments.

Hitherto the Bannuchí peasantry had been incredulous

that the occupation of their valley was seriously intended; but as day by day the walls of the fort rose higher and higher, they became disillusioned, and felt that their days of freedom were numbered. This thought goaded some of the most bigoted to desperation, and plots for a general insurrection, supported by an invasion from Dawar, began to be agitated. The old tactics of waylaying stragglers beyond the camp and shooting sentries in dark nights, which had the secret approval of the priesthood, were resorted to, and Edwardes himself twice narrowly escaped falling a victim to the assassin's dagger.

Four hundred
village forts
dismantled.

Meantime a rough revenue survey was going steadily on, and the outer walls of the fort continued to grow higher and higher, until Edwardes, who had now thoroughly gauged the character of the people he had to deal with, thought he could safely launch the audacious order that the outer walls and towers of the four hundred strongholds¹ of the valley should be pulled down by the very hands which had erected, defended, and kept them in repair for the last five-and-twenty years. Forth went the order, "Throw down to the ground the walls of your forts within fifteen days, or I shall punish you," and down went the walls. For the first few days after the order was issued there was no response, for the people were stupefied with astonishment; but Edwardes knew with whom he had to deal, and as soon as a few of the best disposed—for there were some Maliks who had thrown in their lot with his heartily from the first—set the example, the people generally began the work of destruction, with reluctant hands, and completed it in a few weeks. They thus rivetted their own chains, and proved themselves loyal subjects of the

¹ There are now 240 "villages" in Bannú Proper, but many of them contain from two to ten separate groups of houses, each surrounded with a high mud wall, and each of which was before its dismantlement a "fort." A "village," or *Mouzah*, is any number of parcels of land lumped together for revenue purposes as one estate, and their owners so settled with.

Mahárájah, but for their very loyalty all the more contemptible. It was now spring-time, and Edwardes had still to visit Marwat and many countries south of it, so he handed over charge to Taylor,¹ having accomplished great things in the short space of three months. As the cold weather had now nearly gone and time was precious, Edwardes did not loiter on his march through Marwat, but traversed it in four days, after fighting with its pretty but long-tongued matrons and maidens several successful revenue actions, one of which he thus describes:—

“At every village, from Gandí to this place, there has been a ‘demonstration’ of women got up to induce me to let their husbands off from paying the revenue which the crop-measurers were bribed to suppress; and very severe actions have I had to fight with these Marwat amazons, but all in good humour; for they break their way through the escort, seize my horse by the bridle, and taking me regularly prisoner, commence a kind of deprecatory glee, made up of fractional parts of the simple burden, *Arzlarri!* (I have a petition). . . . The effect of it, rising in A sharp from the throats of at least two hundred women, half of them laughing, while the other half scream, must be left to an imaginative ear. Not one of them ever says what the petition is, nor will they allow me to speak; it being mutually comprehended—by me that they want the revenue to be excused, and by them that I will not do it. In the end I have to watch an opportunity to bolt, followed by all my horsemen, and the loud laughter of the unsuccessful petitioners. On these occasions the husbands kept out of sight, or just pceped round the corners to see whether the brown beauty which melted their own hearts had any softening influence on a Faringí; their teeth certainly are brilliant, but what said the wolf to Little Red Ridinghood?

A skirmish in Marwat.

“Scarcely in any case has ‘a husband’ followed the demonstration up by coming to my tent to complain; and it is well known they will go miles to recover a few pice (half-pence) if they know they are in the right.

“This custom of allowing their women to be seen is a trait worthy of remark as quite peculiar to Marwat, and contrary to one^d of the strongest prejudices of Afghans, who jealously shut

¹ Now General Taylor, C.B., C.S.I., Commissioner of the Amritsar Division.

up their females.¹ Even in low-bred and vicious Bannú the women shun observation; and in Peshawar (my Barakzai escort told me) exclusion is so rigidly enforced, that 'not a woman dared to look out at a passing Sirdar, to see whether or no he were well mounted and dressed.'² The enlightened ladies of Marwat, therefore, drew down from all the Afghans in my train unqualified expressions of blame and astonishment; and no sooner did we approach a village, and catch sight of the blue-petticoated crowd outside, than 'Tobah! Tobah!' (Shame! Shame!) burst from every mouth."

Having reached the Pézú Pass, the southern outlet of the valley, Edwardes made arrangements for the erection of a strong watch-tower in it, and then started for Tank. Here we shall wish him God speed, and go back to Taylor at Dhuleepgarh, as the fort had been christened, in honour of the little Mahárájah Dhuleep Singh.

The lull before
the storm.

The time was spring, when the country was at its loveliest and the people at their idlest. The novelty of being ruled, and that justly, had not worn off. Bannuchís and Wazírs were constant in their attendance on their new Sahib, anxious to ingratiate themselves with him; and their new Sahib was working day and night, trying to make the yoke of subjection sit as lightly as possible on them. It seemed, indeed, as if the change from wild unrestraint to orderly rule had been accepted by the people more as a boon, for which their forefathers had sighed in vain, than as a sad necessity.

Second Sikh war.

The dream of peace was of a sudden rudely broken. The murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Multan was the signal for a general uprising of the Sikh soldiery,

¹ The custom arose from necessity, as subsequently explained in the descriptive heading to Proverbs on Women.

² The officer who settled the Sháhpur District, which adjoins Miánwáli on its eastern side, told me that when duty took him to parts of the country in which an English lady had seldom or never been seen before, whenever he and his wife passed on horseback through a village the *men* of the village, who were lining the road in crowds, used of themselves to turn their backs until his wife passed. This is the etiquette in Persia when ladies of the royal household are passing; but whence the rude inhabitants of the back jungles of Sháhpur learnt it I cannot conceive.

to whom the new order of things was particularly galling. Diwán Mulraj raised the standard of rebellion, and the Punjáb was ablaze.

Acting under instructions from Edwardes, who had, on the outbreak of the storm, boldly marched to attack the Diwan, Taylor placed a soldier of fortune named Futteh Khan Tawanah in command at Dhuleepgarh, and started off to Multan to assist his chief in his abortive effort to besiege that stronghold with disaffected troops and raw country levies. When the news of the rebellion of the Diwan and of the risings of the Sikh soldiery in different parts of the Punjáb, which immediately followed it, reached Dhuleepgarh, its Sikh garrison laid siege to the inner fort, in which Futteh Khan Tawanah and his Muhammadan levies had shut themselves up. After holding out for ten days, Futteh Khan, finding that further resistance was impossible, as his supply of water had failed, caused the gates to be opened, and rushed out sword in hand on the enemy, by whom he was immediately cut to pieces, thus by his gallant death partially atoning for the misdeeds of a long unscrupulous life.

Rebellion
and . .

After sacking the fort, the Sikhs marched off with a number of captive local chiefs, who had thrown in their lot with ours, to join their brethren in arms on the Jhelam, and add their quota of slain to the number who fell under the well-directed fire of our guns at Gujráat. On their departure, Muhammad Azim Khan, a son of Dost Muhammad Khan, the Amír of Kabul, came down and occupied the empty fort. His advent only increased the anarchy which prevailed, for he was not strong enough to coerce the people into submission, and the chiefs who had invited him down were in a weak minority, and found that they were generally looked upon with suspicion. Meanwhile the Lakki Fort, built four

years before to overawe the Marwats by the unfortunate Futteh Khan, whose death has just been related, was in the hands of a portion of the rebel Sikh garrison, and remained so for some months, until Taylor was enabled to return from Multán. Advancing by Isakhel, he invested the fort, which capitulated after a siege of a few weeks. He then pushed on for Dhuleepgarh, from which Muhammad Azim Khan and his Afghans retired, without risking a fight. Within ten days after the final overthrow of the Sikhs at Gujrat (21st Feb. 1849), the Bannu valley was quietly re-occupied, and the Bannuchís, after having experienced in the space of a few months the sweets and bitters of freedom, Bárakzai and English rule, welcomed Taylor back as a deliverer.

In those days of action the machinery of Government was simple and easily set in motion. No sooner had the Punjáb been annexed by the insatiable *Kampani Bahadur* than it was parcelled out into ten administrative Divisions, each presided over by a Commissioner. Again each division was subdivided into three or four Districts, each of which was placed in charge of a Deputy Commissioner, under whom was an Assistant and a small staff of native officials. Over all was a Board of Administration, under the presidency of the late Sir Henry Lawrence, which had, subject to the general control of the Viceroy, the supreme direction of affairs.

All the appointments held by British officers in the Punjab were filled up within six months after annexation by selected officers from the army of occupation and a handful of experienced civilians from the North-west Provinces.

One of the Districts then formed was called Derah Ismail Khan, with its head-quarters at Dhuleepgarh. It consisted of the Trans-Indus portion of the present Districts of Derah Ismail Khan and Bannu, of the latter of

which I am writing, and was committed to the charge of Taylor.

Nothing daunted with the magnitude of his responsibilities, but with a profound sense of his administrative inexperience, Taylor set to work with a will to arrange the affairs of his little kingdom, for it was almost such. His will was law over an area of about 6500 square miles. The fortified posts along an exposed border, extending for nearly one hundred and sixty miles from north to south, some of which had been projected or commenced by Edwardes, were completed and garrisoned by police and military; the summary settlement of the land revenue was taken in hand; a jungle tract, covering an area of forty-one square miles, which had long been a haunt for robbers and wild beasts,—as it lay between the cultivated lands of Bannuchís and Marwats, and neither had ever been strong enough to take and retain it,—was, by the extension of the Kach Kot canal into it, reclaimed and brought under the plough. A great military road, designed to connect the cantonment of Bannu (Dhuleepgarh) with that of Kohat to the north, and Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan to the south, was commenced, whilst village roads were opened out in all directions. Hindoos were encouraged to settle in Dhuleep-shahar, a new town laid out by Edwardes within range of the guns of his fort, and, like the fort, so called by him in honour of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, but which has since, on the death of its founder, been re-christened Edwardesabad. Every means was taken to increase the attractions of another of Edwardes' institutions, the weekly Friday fair. This soon became so popular that every Friday each village, both hill and plain, within a radius of thirty miles, began to contribute its quota to it, and the fair is still one of the sights of the valley. Besides the mis-

The Deputy-
Commissioner
and his work.

cellaneous executive duties described above, so congenial to a soldier of active habits, Taylor had heavy work to perform of a more irksome nature, which chained him to his desk for five or six hours daily. Criminal, Civil, and Revenue cases had to be heard and decided; accounts to be made up and checked; returns to be prepared, and reports to be written. A not unimportant part of his work was receiving native callers of all classes. Indeed so important was it, that, when he left the District, he placed on record that he attributed much of the secret of his early personal influence with the people to the amount of time he had been able to devote to receiving them in an out-of-harness familiar sort of way, and the subsequent diminution of that influence to his having had to curtail such interviews as his desk work increased.

Interviews with natives of all grades.

There is no doubt that the more time a District Officer can waste, so to speak, in receiving native callers of all grades and encouraging them to chat freely with him, the more confidence the people will have in him and the greater will be his hold both on them and his native officials. And it cannot be too much deplored that the endless amount of writing which is now-a-days required from him leaves him neither time nor temper to submit to much interviewing.

A foreign rule, why liked.

The people were not slow in perceiving the blessings of a just and strong foreign Government, and gratefully appreciated the labours of their Deputy Commissioner in their behalf. The very fact that their rulers were foreigners was viewed with satisfaction, as it was a guarantee for an impartiality which Pathans believe is not to be found amongst themselves. They are not far wrong in such a belief, for thoroughgoing partisanship is a national characteristic of all Pathans and one of which they are proud. Knowing that they themselves are incapable of

impartiality, they naturally suppose that other Muham-madans are the same. The earnest way in which Pathans implore an English *Hakim*, be he even a new-comer utterly ignorant of their customs and language, to hear their cases himself, and not transfer them to a native court, must have at first puzzled and flattered many a young Assistant on his introduction to work Trans-Indus.

Though the permanent dwellers in the plain proved Umarzais rebel. amenable to the new orders of things, the Wazírs both within and beyond our borders did not, and were a constant source of anxiety to Taylor, who, by treating them as an indulgent father does his wayward children, gained a great influence for good over them. During his incumbency only one section seriously committed itself. It happened in December, 1849, that Taylor and his Assistant were both absent in the interior of the District, when some of the chiefs of the Umarzai section of the Ahmadzai Wazírs came in by invitation to head-quarters to settle accounts connected with arrears of revenue due from them to a Bannuchí Malik, named Bazíd Khan, within whose Tappah they held lands. The two parties met and some high words ensued between them. The Umarzais went off to the hills in a huff, and, collecting the fighting men of their own tribe and numbers of others, came down that very night over two thousand strong, made a murderous attack on Bazíd Khan's village, killing his son amongst others, and sacked and burnt fourteen villages. Having thus declared war in true Wazírí fashion, they kept the border in a ferment for over two years, raiding, robbing, and murdering whenever opportunity offered.

In 1852 Taylor made over charge to the late General Nicholson John Nicholson, then a Major, and went to England on Commissioner. furlough. The Umarzais were still outlaws, although several attempts had been made to bring them to

terms. Owing to two years' immunity from attack, they thought their own hills were inaccessible, but Nicholson had not been many weeks in office before he penetrated their mountain fastnesses with fifteen hundred men, and, taking them by surprise, destroyed their principal villages. Thoroughly humiliated, the offending tribe sued for peace, and, after the genuineness of their penitence had been sufficiently tested, they were re-admitted into British territory and their lands were returned to them.

Taylor and
Nicholson
compared.

Taylor's gentle chivalrous nature had led him, during his four years' incumbency, to treat the barbarous tribes over whom he ruled with systematic forbearance, and to investigate all their cases, petty or serious, with an equal amount of exhaustive care, believing that by such a course their savage and bloodthirsty instincts and impulses would be gradually eradicated. But Nicholson, though the mirror of chivalry himself, lacked that kindly gentleness of manner and laborious painstakingness in work which so distinguished his predecessor. He was a man of few words, stern and silent towards all, of indomitable pluck and resolution, capable of any amount of fatigue, and ever ready to undergo it himself; who gave his orders, and expected them to be forthwith obeyed without questioning; in short, one whose character as a man and a ruler of men would have been perfect, had there been a due intermixture of softness and deference to the feelings and even weaknesses of others in its composition. The first impression in the District was that the new *Hakim* was a hard-hearted self-willed tyrant, to be feared and disliked. But by degrees, as his self-abnegation, his wonderful feats of daring, the swift stern justice which he meted out to all alike, became known, this impression gave way to a feeling of awe and admiration; and the people both within and beyond the border became so cowed that, during Nicholson's last year

of office, raids, robberies, and murders were almost entirely unknown — a happy state of things which has never occurred since.

The name of Nicholson is now revered as that of a popular hero, almost a demigod, and many a village in the valley has some cherished tale to tell of his severity or justice or bravery. Stories about Nicholson.

The grey-beards of one village relate that in Sikh times one Alladad Khan, who was guardian of his orphan nephew, seized the child's inheritance for himself, and turned the boy out of the village. Arrived at man's estate, the youth sued his uncle in Nicholson's court, but Alladad Khan was the strongest man in his village, so no one dared for his life give evidence against him. A just judge. Whilst the case was pending, one of the villagers, when walking to his fields at dawn of day, was spell-bound at seeing Nicholson's well-known white mare quietly nibbling the grass just outside the village entrance. When he had got over his fright, he ran back and communicated the news to Alladad Khan and others. In a little while the whole village turned out, and forming a circle round the terror-inspiring mare, gazed open-mouthed at her. At last Alladad Khan said that the best thing they could do was to drive her on to the lands of some other village; for if they did not, they would certainly be whipped or fined all round. They began doing so, but had not gone very far when they saw Nicholson himself tied to a tree. After the first start of surprise and inclination to run away *en masse*, some of the bolder spirits advanced with officious hands to release their dread Hakim; but no, Nicholson would not permit it, and demanded wrathfully on whose lands he was standing. No one answered, but all pointed silently to Alladad Khan, who came forward and tremblingly said, "No, no, the land is not mine, but my nephew's."

Nicholson made him swear before all the villagers that he was telling the truth, and then permitted himself to be unbound. Next day the nephew was decreed his inheritance, and the whole village rejoiced that the wronged boy had come to his own again; but the wicked old uncle, cursing his own cowardly tongue and his stupidity in not suspecting the ruse, went off on a pilgrimage to Mecca, as he found home too hot for him.

A plucky deed.

Another story current about Nicholson, but the locale of which is, I believe, Rawal Pindi, relates that a reward of one hundred rupees had been offered for the capture of a noted freebooter, whose whereabouts were well known. Sitting in Cutcherry one day, Nicholson asked if the capture had been effected. "No," was the reply, "not yet." "Double the reward then at once," said Nicholson. About four hours later on the same day he asked if there had been any result, and received the same answer, with the addition to it that it would require a strong force of police to effect the capture, as the man was such a desperado and in the midst of his kinsmen. "Saddle my horse," said Nicholson quietly. When the horse was brought, he mounted, and rode off alone to the freebooter's village, where, by some coincidence, the first person he met was the man wanted. Nicholson ordered him to surrender, but he refused, and rushed at Nicholson, who thereupon cut him down. When the body was brought in, Nicholson had the head cut off and placed in Cutcherry beside himself, and he contemptuously asked every Malik who came to see him if he recognized to whom it had belonged.

Attempt to
assassinate
Nicholson.

I shall trouble the reader with one more story, the tale of his attempted assassination, which I shall leave Nicholson himself to recount, as he wrote it in 1856 to Edwardes.¹

¹ The letter appears at page 452-3, vol. ii. of Kaye's *Lives of Indian Officers*. I here copy a portion of it.

“I was standing at the gate of my garden at noon, with Sladen and Cadell and four or five chuprassies, when a man with a sword rushed suddenly up, and called out for me. I had on a long fur pelisse of native make, which I fancy prevented his recognizing me at first. This gave time for the only chuprassie¹ who had a sword to get between us, to whom he called out contemptuously to stand aside, saying he had come to kill me, and did not want to hurt a common soldier. The relief sentry for the one in front of my house happening to pass opportunely behind me at this time, I snatched his musket, and, presenting it at the would-be assassin, told him I would fire if he did not put down his sword and surrender. He replied that either he or I must die; so I had no other alternative, and shot him through the heart, the ball passing through a religious book which he had tied on his chest, apparently as a charm.”

It would be easy to fill many pages with popular tales about Nicholson. I have sometimes been amused in Cutcherry, when, puzzled to decide which party in a case was lying the less, I have allowed the two a few minutes' freedom of tongue. In the midst of a mutual storm of recrimination, one would say to his opponent, “Turn your back to the Sahib, and he will see it still waled with the whipping Nicholson gave you.” And the other would reply, “You need not talk, for your back is all scored also.”

Notwithstanding his faults of temper, Nicholson was the most successful Deputy Commissioner this District has ever had, and his memory will be handed down fresh and green to the generations yet unborn. Whilst attending to border and criminal administration, Nicholson did not neglect his other duties; for he made a Summary Settlement of the Land Revenue in 1854, and, like Taylor, reclaimed a large waste tract named Landidák by running a canal to it direct from the Kurm.

In May, 1856, he went to Kashmír on leave, and

¹ A chuprassie is a civil officer's orderly or attendant.

A proof of character.

Nicholson's administration to rest the District has yet had.

never returned again, for next year he met a soldier's death during the assault on Delhi.

His memorial tablet.

Our little station church is graced by a memorial tablet, on which the short bright career of John Nicholson, sketched by the loving hand of his friend Edwardes, is thus inscribed:—

IN AFFECTIONATE MEMORY
OF BRIGADIER GENERAL
JOHN NICHOLSON, C.B.,
ONCE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF THIS DISTRICT,
WHO AT THE GREAT SIEGE OF DELHI LED THE STORM,
FELL MORTALLY WOUNDED IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY,
AND DIED 23RD SEPT., 1857, Aged ONLY 31.
THE SNOWS OF GHUZNEE ATTEST HIS YOUTHFUL PORTITUDE,
THE SONGS OF THE PUNJAB HIS MANLY DEEDS,
THE PEACE OF THIS FRONTIER HIS STRONG RULE,
THE ENEMIES OF HIS COUNTRY KNOW
HOW TERRIBLE HE WAS IN BATTLE,
AND WE HIS FRIENDS
LOVE TO RECALL HOW GENTLE, GENEROUS, AND TRUE HE WAS.

Coxe, Deputy
Commissioner
the "father of
his people."

Nicholson's successor was Major Henry Coxe, whose kindly disposition and patriarchal rule made him greatly beloved by his "children," for Marwats and Bannuchis were in the habit of addressing him as "father."

Whether the custom of appealing to the *Hakim* by such an endearing term arose in Coxe's time or before I know not; but certain it is, the wilder the speaker, the more earnestly will he assure you that you are his father. Grey-beards old enough to be my grandfather have often assured me that I was their mother as well as father. The idea in the mind of the speaker is of course apparent enough. It fell to Coxe's lot to steer the District through the troubled days of 1857, to make a second Summary Settlement of the Land Revenue, and to take a prominent part in an expedition against the Mahsúd Wazirs in 1860.

The Mahsúds.

Inhabiting the hills beyond our border lying between

the Gabar mountains to the north and the Takht-i-Súlímán to the south, the Mahsuds had from time immemorial derived their chief subsistence from plundering their neighbours, and had thriven on it too, for they numbered some thirteen thousand fighting men. Their barren hills commanded the Ghwálarí Pass, through which the sturdy Pawindah traders and graziers have, from the time of the Emperor Akbar, been accustomed to fight their way, backwards and forwards, twice every year. Each autumn sees great Kafilahs of these warrior merchants pour down from their distant homes in the mountains of Khorasán through this pass, and spread over the Derajat in their journey to the different marts of the Punjab and Hindustan, and each spring sees them return to their homes again in the same way. After annexation, so long as the plundering operations of the Mahsuds were confined to the hills beyond our frontier, they were left by us to make what income they could in any way they liked. But we prohibited the sacking and burning of villages within our border, as well as the kidnapping of our subjects, and we endeavoured to enforce our commands by establishing fortified posts near the mouths of the principal passes leading into independent territory. Naturally the needy highland savages looked on such proceedings as an unwarranted interference with their old existing rights, and believing it a legitimate grievance, they were not long in showing us that a few isolated forts could not stop them from entering our territory when they liked. *For ten years* we acted on the defensive, trying by patience and conciliation to bring the Mahsúds to listen to reason. The consequence was they grew bolder, until, early in the spring of 1860, they had the audacity to come out into the plain four thousand strong, intending to sack and burn the town of Tánk, a feat they had actually accomplished in Sikh times some twenty years

Mahsúds are
Expecto
against them.

before. News of the impending attack was quickly conveyed to the nearest outposts, and a small body of the 5th Punjab Cavalry turned out and drove the marauders helter-skelter back into the hills, killing over one hundred of them. Discipline had an easy victory, though the odds were twenty to one. This filled the cup of Mahsúd offences to overflowing, and an expedition, word dear to the Piffer,¹ was determined on. A force of five thousand men of all arms penetrated into the Mahsud hills from the Tank border, and after a month's fighting and marching,—during which the enemy's crops, then almost ripe for the sickle, were destroyed, their chief town Makin burnt, and another town, Kaní-Guram, occupied, but spared on payment of fine,—returned to British territory by the Khisor Pass, which debouches into the Bannú valley immediately north of the Gabar mountain. The British losses amounted to four hundred and sixty-five killed and wounded. Those of the enemy were never ascertained, but must have been very severe, as in the two principal fights they left one hundred and sixty-eight dead in our hands. Though their country had been overrun, the Mahsúds would not submit, but continued stubbornly defiant—with occasional intervals of nominal peace and submission—for many years; and though they have never raided in force since the lessons taught them in 1860, they are still a thorn in the side of the Deputy Commissioner of Derah Ismail Khan, who has more to do with them than the Deputy Commissioner of this District.

Expedition
against Kabul
Khels.

Only a few months after the Mahsúd expedition took place, another on a smaller scale was undertaken against the Kabul Khel Wazírs, who had given an asylum to the murderers of Captain Mecham of the Artillery.

¹ This term means an Officer belonging to the Punjab Frontier Force, its trilateral root, so to speak, being the first letter of each of the three words just named.

This unfortunate Officer had been set upon and killed in the previous November when travelling from Bannú to Kohát, at a spot about fourteen miles from Dhuleepgarh on the boundary between the two Districts. As the Kabul Khels are more connected with Kohát than Bannú, I need only here mention that the expedition was crowned with complete success, and Meham's chief murderer was given up and hanged on the spot where he had killed his victim.

Soon after the return of the expeditionary force which had been sent against the Mahsúds, several posts and forts were built on the border facing their hills. Amongst the latter was a large one, near the mouth of the Shakdu Pass, fifteen miles south-west of the Bannu cantonments. It was strongly garrisoned by horse and foot under the command of a British Officer, and effected the double object of keeping the Mashuds and other hill robbers in check and overawing the Janí Khel Wazírs, our subjects, who were settled around it.

Posts built along the frontier.

On January 1st, 1861, the long strip of Trans-Indus country which had hitherto formed the Derah Ismail Khan District was divided into two; and the northern part, together with a slice of territory Cis-Indus, was made into a separate District, under the name of Bannu, its sub-divisions being those described in the first chapter.

Bannú made a District by itself.

That year all was peace along the border, for the chastisement inflicted on Mahsuds and Kabul Khels had inspired both independent and subject Wazírs with a wholesome respect for our arms. Raids, in the true sense of the word, ceased; but camel-lifting, thieving, and occasional cases of kidnapping and murder did not; for our hill neighbours must live, and even though not driven to steal and rob from hunger, it cannot be expected that they will forget the inherited habits and instincts of hundreds of years for some time to come.

Peaceful progress.

For the last decade the harassed Deputy Commissioner had found little leisure to devote to developing his District. The building of outposts, raising and disciplining Police levies, looking after a disturbed frontier of enormous extent, which amounted to the keeping in check of over twenty thousand starving hill thieves, and the assessing of the villages within his border almost at haphazard, had been his normal duties. It was different now. The hill tribes had had enough of fighting to keep them quiet for some years to come; the District was of manageable size and shape, and instead of one hundred and sixty miles of border, only sixty remained. Now, then, was the time for a philanthropic Deputy Commissioner to leave his mark, and after one or two changes, such a man was found in Major Urmston, who received charge in 1862 and retained it till 1866. During his incumbency missionary enterprise was encouraged and schools sprung up in every large village. True, the young idea had everywhere to be coaxed to learn his alphabet, and his parents to be bullied or bribed to send him to school. But what of that? The District had thirty-six village schools and 839 scholars, of whom thirty-nine were girls, attending them, and was it not education? Government buildings of all sorts sprung up in every direction; substantially built Police Stations, Court Houses, Staging Bungalows for the better classes of travellers who could afford to pay for superior accommodation, and *Sarais* for the poorer. Charitable Dispensaries were also opened, or their means of doing good enhanced, and here, as elsewhere in India, were thoroughly appreciated by the people. The sick came freely from hill and from plain to be treated by our doctors; and whenever a fight occurred amongst our hill neighbours, some of the wounded of both sides would be brought in to have bullets extracted or cuts and bruises dressed; for all Afghans

have faith in the efficacy of our medicines and the surgical skill of our doctors.

On Urmston's departure the District had the misfortune to be subjected to repeated changes of Deputy Commissioners, owing to which its progress in material prosperity suffered a check. Such changes made the people restless and irritable. They complained with reason that their rulers knew them not, and that as soon as one District Officer had gained a little acquaintance with them he was succeeded by somebody else.

The fact is that men who had prospects of getting Districts on the other side of the Indus fought shy of coming this side, believing that, once across this Rubicon, there would be small prospect of their returning for years to come. Bannu, too, had an evil repute as being the most out-of-the-way District in the Punjab, and a wild, lawless, unhealthy sort of place withal, in which it would be difficult to make a reputation and easy to lose one. Apart from the difficulty of finding a sufficiently senior officer in the Commission who would accept Bannu with a good grace, Government had another—namely, to find a man with the requisite qualifications, which in most cases could only be ascertained by trial.

Cis-Indus, a good legal training and a capacity for methodical desk work are the important essentials for success. With these it does not much matter whether the District Officer be delicate or strong, accustomed to do his cold-weather tours in a carriage or in the saddle, a lover of creature comforts or indifferent to them. Trans-Indus, tact in the management of queer customers, accessibility and firmness, together with ability to undergo fatigue and discomfort, are the all-important requisites; a good legal training, though an advantage, being of very secondary importance. Of course in both cases a sound judgment is required.

Changes of
Deputy
check to progress

A good Dis t
Officer Cis- and
rans u us.

There is a story of a distinguished stranger who, after a ride down the frontier, was asked, on his return to Lahore, if he had mastered the wants of the province. "Yes," said he, "on this side of the Indus you want hard heads, but on that hard bottoms." This epigrammatical remark has a good deal of truth in it, but is more forcible than elegant.

But to return to our theme. "Wanted—a Deputy Commissioner of active habits and sound health." When one did come, many months did not elapse before he was either transferred elsewhere, or hurried back across the Indus by the doctors, with health undermined from climate and overwork.¹

Office drudgery.

They were evil days those; neither rulers nor ruled had fair play, for neither did nor could know much about the other. The Assistant Commissioner was a mere Cutcherry drudge, for the judicial work was heavy and the District under-officered; he was also in charge of the Government Treasury, the duties of which office, if performed properly, are onerous. Signs that all was not right were not wanting in 1868. Border offences were numerous, midnight assassinations amongst the vicious Bannuchis increased in frequency, and, though the assassins were generally well known, a sufficiency of proof of their guilt to secure their conviction was seldom obtainable. Fear of the consequences to themselves chained the tongues of independent witnesses, while the sweeping lies of the friends of the victims, incriminating all the deceased's enemies at once, defeated the object with which they were made. A British Officer, too, was stabbed when asleep in his bungalow.

A drought.

In 1869 there was a partial failure of the spring crop

¹ Between 1866 and 1871 the Deputy Commissioner was changed seven times; but in each case the change was unavoidable, and the necessity for making it could not have been anticipated by Government at the time each appointment was made.

throughout Marwat and Thal lands, owing to a long-continued drought ; but though want was general, absolute famine was averted, as the crops in the canal-irrigated tracts were excellent, and those in the alluvial lands of the Indus fairly good.

Towards the end of the year the Deputy Commissioner, Hard work. being seriously ill, had to take leave, and I, his Assistant, was put in temporary charge of the District, having just rejoined after an absence of eight months. For the next six months I was left to struggle almost single-handed with a large accumulation of judicial and miscellaneous arrears, and to keep the administrative machine going as best I could ; for although, after two of the six months had elapsed, an uncovenanted assistant was posted to Bannu, his ability to afford relief was small, as he had but lately arrived in India.

My first act of authority was the trying and hanging A fanatical outrage. of a religious fanatic, who had stabbed a Sikh soldier a few days before, when attending an auction of condemned stores outside the fort, the sale being superintended by a British Officer. During his trial the murderer was by turns sullen and defiant ; but when asked, before the passing of sentence, whether he had anything to say, he became animated and said, " In killing a *Kāfir* (infidel) I obeyed the command of God. I meant to have killed a Sahib ; but when I got near the only one I saw, there was a crowd round him, and he seemed thickly clad, so that I thought my blow might not prove mortal. Whilst standing irresolute a voice from above whispered in my ear, ' Kill the *Kāfir* next you.' I turned and saw a Sikh standing with part of his belly exposed, so I plunged my knife into it. Now let me die like a man, give me a sword and a shield, and I'll fight a hundred of your young men." The Sahib who thus so nearly escaped martyrdom owed his deliverance partly to a

thick great coat he was wearing, and partly to an unusually thick layer of flesh, which covered his manly person, and which the poor ignorant savage had mistaken for clothes.

The murderer was hung as usual on the Friday following sentence, in the presence of multitudes from all quarters who had come in to attend the weekly fair. The scaffold was surrounded by a military as well as a police guard, to prevent a rescue, should one be attempted. When the Civil Surgeon and I appeared, the condemned man upbraided us with having kept him waiting. The signal was then given, and all was soon over.

After this incident the days followed each other in one continued grind of office, office, office, from morning to night, and still the pile of arrears diminished not, and the current work of each day was seldom satisfactorily got through by dark.

No rain, no crop. Thus the cold weather wore away and the genial spring appeared, but her sun and her showers were unable to give life and strength to the crops, which had been drooping and withering from a four months' drought; for Christmas, our "big day" as the natives call it, had failed to bring her usual present of "Christmas rains" to the thirsty land. The weeks passed by and lengthened into months, and still the windows of heaven remained closed. When they did open, it was too late. Although it was clear positive famine would be averted, as in the previous year, it was still more clear that the food grains would rise to hunger prices, and that crime would consequently increase. But it did not occur to any one that the temper of the excitable impulsive savages along the border would, from the mere fact of "hard times," become touchy to recklessness.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MUHAMMAD KHEL REBELLION, AND ITS
LESSON.

WE have seen in the last chapter how several causes—repeated changes of Deputy Commissioners, an insufficient staff of Civil Officers, and lastly two successive years of drought—were operating together to unsettle the native mind, and create a feeling of disaffection amongst our unruly border subjects. The lapse of a decade too—a decade of peace and quiet—since a punitory expedition had penetrated into any part of Wazírístan, had wrought its effect on them and us. They had forgotten we could and did punish severely when we willed so to do; and we that they were still passion-governed bloodthirsty savages, from whom the varnish acquired by a cold-weather contact each year with civilization was again rubbed off during the hot-weather sojourn in their own rough mountains.

They said amongst themselves: “Our Sálíbs neither Wazírf reasoning understand us nor our tongue, and we hardly know them by sight; for as soon as one comes, he goes away again. They pass the whole day in writing, and if the writing is over before dark, they grant interviews in their houses

to the Kháns, because they are rich, wear white clothing, and sit on chairs; but us they receive in Cutcherry, or in the verandah, because we are poor, dirty, and smell. They think us as nothing, though we have honour, and possess swords and matchlocks."

With such reasoning as this the Wazírs convinced themselves they were being neglected and had a grievance, and there were not wanting influential Bannuchí Maliks and others, who, for their own ends, secretly encouraged them in such a belief.

)
not gauged in
time.

Although the existence of this smouldering discontent and its causes were only ascertained some time after one Wazírí section had, by a rash, mad, treacherous act, ir-retrievably committed itself, the facts remain that, in the spring of 1870, the ever-present inflammable materials on this frontier wanted but a spark to heat them into combustion, and that none of the British Officials connected with the District realized until too late what the state of popular feeling amongst the Wazírs was.

Before describing this conflagration, and the way in which it was extinguished, whereby the strong and the weak points in our system of frontier management were brought into prominent relief, it is necessary to give the reader some insight into what that system is.

Western
bo
British India.

Speaking broadly, the Western boundary of British India extends Trans-Indus along the base of the mountains which form the eastern limits of Afghanistán and Bilochistan, from Pesháwar on the North to Karráchí on the South, a distance of nearly 1000 miles. Between the Peshawar District and the territories of our feudatory the Maharajah of Kashmir, the line runs Cis-Indus in a north-easterly direction in the mountains themselves for about one hundred miles. Trans-Indus, the broad plains and rich valleys, once the outlying provinces of the kingdom of Kabul, are everywhere ours; whilst beyond,

the barren hills are the poor but proud inheritance of the wild Pathan and Bilóch tribes who inhabit them—tribes of distinct nationalities, who have nothing in common except a lofty contempt for good honest labour, and a keen relish for blood-letting and plundering. Amongst the former each man acts exactly as he likes, and although denying the authority of any individual member of his clan over him, yet acknowledges, within certain limits, that of the tribal *jirga*, or council of grey-beards. In short, the independent Pathans are republicans to the core, and in some cases thorough-going communists. There are of course in every tribe leading men, who, though not exactly recognized as chiefs by their fellow-clansmen, possess considerable influence over them, which they may sometimes, if so inclined, exercise for good, but can always for evil, as all Pathans have a strong predisposition to mischief and devilry.

Characteristics
of Pathans and
Bilóchs.

The Bilóch tribes who occupy the hills beyond the Sindh and Derah Ghází Khan border, on the other hand, acknowledge and obey the authority of their chiefs, and though more backward and decidedly more dirty than the Scottish Highlanders in the seventeenth century as described by Macaulay, assimilate generally in character with them.

Such, then, were and still are our neighbours along a frontier line of nearly eleven hundred miles in length. Under the various native Governments which preceded our own the frontier villages were left to defend themselves against the hillmen as best they could; but with the annexation of the Punjab by a civilized nation, the defence of the border and the protection of our subjects along it devolved of necessity on the State.

Punjab system
of

This object is sought to be secured by a chain of strong forts and outposts, erected at intervals of from three to ten miles at the mouths of the more important passes leading down from the hills, and garrisoned by detach-

ments of troops alone in the Pesháwar division, but by both troops and local militia in that of the Derajat.

When the extent and nature of the frontier which has to be guarded are recollected, and the fact that all the forts and outposts are connected together by a good military road, which is regularly patrolled, the arduous nature of the task of border defence will be comprehended.

Conciliation
policy.

From first to last a policy of conciliation and patient forbearance of wrong has been steadily pursued by Government, and offensive measures have been resorted to only when that point has been reached beyond which further toleration would be criminal in a Government towards its own subjects, inasmuch as it would intensify the evils every strong Government is bound to diminish.

The course pursued with an offending tribe has ever been the same.

If a simple blockade suffice to bring it to its senses, a fine so light as to be almost nominal is inflicted, and free access to our territory, which was interdicted during the blockade, is again accorded. If that fail, an expedition is reluctantly sent into the hills to exact a penalty, and demonstrate to the offending tribe that their mountain fastnesses are everywhere accessible to our troops. Even then, immediately on submission being made to the terms imposed, operations are stayed, the troops withdrawn, the old score wiped out, and in token of the reconciliation the parable of the return of the prodigal son is reacted on a large scale.

Such a policy is worthy of a nation the most enlightened and humane in Christendom, whose object is the taming, elevating, and civilizing of the savage, no matter how slow the process, and not his gradual extirpation.

The Punjab
Frontier Force.

I have said that the forts and outposts along the Derajat frontier are garrisoned by "troops and local

militia," and in this province such troops are drawn from a gallant little army, composed mostly of Sikhs and Pathans,¹ known as "The Punjab Frontier Force," which is, as its name implies, a local force stationed along the Punjáb Frontier. It consists of eleven regiments of infantry, one of guides, which comprises both infantry and cavalry, five of cavalry, two light field batteries, and two mountain batteries, in all about twelve thousand combatants, of whom about one-fourth are cavalry. As carriage, in the shape of a certain number of mules and camels, is permanently kept up by each regiment, the whole force can be mobilized at any time in a few hours. It is distributed throughout the six frontier districts of the Punjab, and together with the large garrison of regular troops—about eight thousand men—located in the Peshawar valley, forms a formidable bulwark and outer belt of defence along our North-West Frontier.

The ordinary garrison in this District is two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a battery of artillery, about two thousand fighting men in all. The bulk of this force remains in cantonments at Edwardesabad, whilst detachments from it garrison the frontier posts of Latamar, Bargañattu, Kúrm, and Janikhel, the other posts being occupied by local militia alone. This militia consists of undisciplined levies of horse and foot, furnished by the most influential Maliks, whether Wazírí, Bannuchí, or Marwat, in the vicinity of each post, and as they make a good thing out of every man they supply, there is great rivalry amongst them for the honour and profit to be derived from holding one or more militia nominations.

The Bannú garrison.

The story of the recent Muhammad Khel disturbances

¹ The exceptions are a Ghoorkha Regiment with fixed head-quarters at Abbottabad in Hazara, and a small sprinkling of Punjábí Musalmans, Dograhs, and Hindustanis in several of the regiments.

in this District and their suppression will serve as well as any other to exemplify how the general frontier policy of Government is carried out; for, whether those who have robbed and murdered our fellow-subjects and set all authority at defiance, have been Bilochís of Sindh or of Derah Ghazí Khan, Wazírs of the Derajat, or Afrídís or Momands of Peshawar, their treatment has always been identical.

The Muhammad
Khels.

The Muhammad Khel clan belongs to the great Ahmadzai tribe, and numbers about three hundred families, more than three-fourths of whom now possess lands in the Bannu valley. Three generations have come and gone since their earliest settlers ventured to quit their mountain homes—in winter, holes and caves on the hillside; in summer, black camel-hair blankets stretched tent-like on sticks—and squat as cold-weather residents in the plain itself, in which they have by degrees taken root and passed from the pastoral to the agricultural state. Their hills, though bare and inhospitable, have for centuries been a valuable heritage to the clan, as the Tochí and Kurm streams flow through them for the last several miles of their course towards the plains, and up them lie the routes to the fertile valleys of Dawar and Khost. Though no transit dues are levied, a passage is never accorded to the merchant, until he takes an armed escort of Muhammad Khels with him, for which he has to pay heavily. Should he take an escort of any other clan, he has to fight his way through. A fertile island in the bed of the Kurm itself, and a stony but partially irrigated tract, skirting their own hills, comprise the plain possessions of the Muhammad Khels, all within British territory.

Pass
responsibility.

As the Wazírí settlers in the plains hold the passes leading into their hills and the valleys beyond, nothing from a goat to a camel can be carried off up any pass

without the active assistance or at least the connivance of some squatters or graziers belonging to the tribe. Owing to this a custom has gradually grown up since 1857, under which, when stolen property is proved to have been taken off up any particular pass, the tribe whose lands within our border lie nearest its mouth is required either to recover the property, make good its value, or produce the thief. In return for this responsibility their lands are very lightly assessed, and the right of nomination to a certain number of appointments in the frontier militia, in proportion to each section's responsibility, is given to their chief head men. Now one of the passes for which the Muhammad Khels are thus responsible is that of the Kurm. This pass being broad and easy, and within five miles of the cantonments and the richest and most populous Bannúchí villages, affords the hill thieves a speedy and safe line of retreat with their plunder, should its guardians be themselves the offenders or wink at their passage.

So long as a chieftain of theirs named Khání Khan lived, the Muhammad Khels neither themselves marauded nor suffered marauders of other tribes to make use of their passes. Some time, however, after his death they fell under the influence of two men, named Fazl Shah and Madaman, the former a man who affected sanctity and drugged himself with narcotics, and the latter a man of strong will and turbulent character. But as neither of these men ever attempted to influence his fellow-clansmen for good, and as the lesson, which the Mahsud expedition of 1860 had taught friend and foe alike, had with the lapse of years gradually faded from their minds, the Muhammad Khels became filled with an exaggerated idea of their own importance, and with the feeling that the number of horse and foot held them in the militia was less than they were entitled to.

Muhammad
Khan's influence
evil ways.

As border offences traceable to Muhammad Khels became more numerous, fines under the pass responsibility custom were more frequently imposed on them.

There was little or no cohesion in the clan. Their leading men exercised no beneficial influence amongst them; those who had good lands busied themselves about their own affairs, and left those who had poor lands or none at all to their own devices.

Under such circumstances, with a pass like that of the Kúrm standing invitingly open, and an exposed cantonment lying near at hand, their idle young men felt an irresistible desire to practise once more their hereditary profession of robbing and camel-lifting, and the more daringly or cleverly the theft was accomplished, the more creditable was the exploit to its performers.

The "cutting-out" of a horse or pony from the cavalry lines, or from an Officer's stables, right under the nose of a sentry, or the forcible abduction of a wretched Hindoo, who, however poor he may seemingly be, is always supposed to have a buried hoard somewhere with which to pay his ransom, became of common occurrence. When 1869 came to a close, the clan was rapidly drifting from bad to worse, that is, the twenty or thirty good-for-nothings amongst them, acting singly and in small gangs, and generally assisted by Mahsud and Bannuchí bad characters, pursued a career of camel and horse stealing and house breaking all over the country, and used their own and neighbours' passes whenever they liked; whilst their better conducted clansmen neither informed against them, nor lifted a finger to stop them. They in fact had entered into a tacit understanding with all the other Wazírí clans holding lands in Bannu, to resist the system of tribal pass responsibility, without the enforcing of which there would be little security for life and property on this border, for the simple reason

that escape over the border is always easy, and pursuit beyond it is for obvious reasons prohibited.

As every tribe and clan is governed by public opinion, of which its *jirga* or council of elders are the repositories and exponents, it follows that the respectable and orderly members, who in every case outnumber by three or four to one the rowdy reckless element, have it always in their power to check any attempts at lawlessness, or at least to prevent their passes being used as a highway for the conveyance of stolen property into the interior.

In January, 1870, a most flagrant case of kidnapping occurred which brought matters to an issue. Matters come to a crisis.

A wealthy young Hindoo named Ganga was seized by a party of Muhammad Khels in broad daylight on the high road about three miles from cantonments and two miles from the mouth of the Kurm Pass, carried off up the pass, and finally consigned to a Mahsúd for safe custody until ransom should be paid. A Hindoo kidn . . . d The tribal *jirga* admitted the fact and their own responsibility, but after spending three weeks in sham negotiations with the kidnapped boy's Mahsúd jailer, they flatly said they were unable to recover him.

The truth seems to be, though it was not suspected until six months afterwards, that they had determined to make this a test case of the pass responsibility custom, and all the other sections of the Ahmadzais, being interested parties themselves, awaited the result with deep concern, and secretly, applauded the action taken by the Muhammad Khel *jirga*.

The case being such an outrageous one, and as it was apparent the plea of inability was untrue, strong measures had to be adopted. Four of their number were taken as hostages, and the tribe was told that, until the captive Hindoo should be restored safe and sound, their hostages would not be released.

The Hindoo
recovered.

Matters remained thus for a month, when Madaman, the leading spirit of the clan, who has already been spoken of, volunteered to effect Ganga's release himself, provided his brother, who was one of the four men detained, should be set free. The offer was gladly accepted, and on the twelfth day after it was made the Hindoo was restored to his friends alive and well. The hostages were then discharged, and Madaman was reimbursed the ransom money (one hundred and eighty rupees) he alleged he had paid, and presented with fifty rupees reward, both of which sums were levied from the Muhammad Khels themselves, Madaman's family alone being exempted from contributing.

A fishing
excursion.

A day or two after Ganga's return a party of officers, myself amongst the number, went up the Kúrm on a fishing excursion into the Muhammad Khel hills. Our escort consisted of a company of infantry and a party of Muhammad Khels, amongst whom were Madaman and Fazl Shah. On our return to British territory after a good day's sport, our Muhammad Khel friends, who had proved themselves very agreeable companions, and seemed to us an open-hearted contented lot, were feasted with a fat sheep or two. I mention this incident as showing either what thorough dissemblers they were, or that at the time their treatment in Ganga's case had not exasperated them, because they felt it to have been just.

Drought and
its effects.

Meantime the spring advanced, and copious rain fell, but too late to reinvigorate the languishing crops. Harvest time came, and the happy owner of irrigated lands chuckled with light-hearted glee as he thought of the rising market and the plenty in store for him, and thanked God for having sent drought on the Thal;¹ but

¹ This represents with perfect faithfulness a Bannúchí's feelings in years of drought. When the food grains are cheap, as now, in 1870, it is "hard times" for him.

the heart of his Thal neighbour was heavy as he looked at his burnt-up fields, and wondered how he should feed his little ones and pay Government his quota of land tax.

The money-lenders of Marwat, too, rubbed their hands with satisfaction at the golden harvest they were reaping, for the peasant and his family had to be fed, and the *Sarkár's* treasury to be filled.

The water in the Kúrm ran low, and the canal which supplied the cantonments suddenly became dry. What was the cause; for a driblet still remained in the river? Why, the Muhammad Khels had diverted it on to their own lands. The dam which they had run into the Kurm was then cut, and the driblet, instead of going to irrigate their lands, flowed down to cantonments to supply the troops and townspeople with drinking water.

By the 10th of June only thirty Muhammad Khels' families remained in British territory, all the others having previously left for their usual summer quarters in their own hills.

Summer
in gratation of the
Khels to the hills.

A rather larger number had migrated than was customary, and it was said by their enemies amongst the Bannuchís, that their departure had been somewhat hurried, as they were bent on mischief. Their friends, however, and those of the clan who remained said, No, their object was mutual protection against the Mahsuds, with whom they, in common with all the other Darwesh Khel Wazírs, had a long-standing feud. The fact of the feud was true enough, and it was well known that the Darwesh Khels intended to fight it out that summer with their enemies. The story was a plausible one, and though it did not blind the eyes of a few old experienced native officials to the certainty that mischief was brewing, it somewhat lulled the suspicions of their English superiors. However, spies were sent after the Muhammad Khels on

the 10th. with a polite message to their head men, asking them to come back and state their grievances, if they had any. The officer commanding the outposts was informed of what was going on, and the garrisons in the posts themselves were warned by him to be on the alert. No exceptional precautions, such as strengthening the Kurm post, were taken, partly from fear of precipitating matters, but chiefly because it was not believed that the Muhammad Khels would in any case be so mad as to commit any overt act of rebellion.

Attack planned.

Whilst on the night of the 12th, the return of the spies and an answer to the message were being awaited without anxiety, and the usual detachment of twenty men for the weekly relief of the Kurm post was told off for duty, the Muhammad Khels, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, were sitting in council in the hills about twelve miles off. They were discussing the message and how it should be answered. All agreed that tribal pass responsibility had become of late an intolerable burden, and that they must be the first to bring the common grievance of all their fellow-settlers in the valley to the notice of Government. The majority were for petitioning or sending in a deputation, but Madaman and a few others were opposed to either course. In a short impassioned harangue, in which he told his hearers they must make themselves felt, to be listened to, he worked them up to such a pitch of reckless frenzy, that they agreed to start at once and waylay the relief detachment, which, he reminded them, would pass the ruins of the old Kúrm post next morning.

He had indeed planned the meeting with devilish cunning for that Sunday night, knowing that the garrison of the post would be relieved on the following morning, so that his fellow-clansmen might have no time for cool reflection between resolve and performance. An aged

Moṣṭah, the only scribe the clan could boast of, was dragged into the midst of the excited assemblage, and a humble petition of grievances was drawn up, which, however, was not presented until after the massacre was accomplished.

This wonderful document asserted that they were too poor to be responsible for their passes any longer; that they had a few days before been unjustly deprived of their water; and that certain native officials had grossly abused them. The first was the real grievance; the latter two were merely tacked on to it to support their case and gain sympathy.

Everything being prepared, Madaman hurried his The outrage. band off to the attack, and placed them in concealment on either side of the high road about half-a-mile from the new Kurm post, amongst the ruined walls of the old one, and behind the steep spoil banks of a canal, which afforded them perfect cover and a good line of retreat to the hills. They had hardly ensconced themselves in their ambuscade, when the first streaks of dawn began to appear in the eastern sky, and the men of the doomed detachment, chatting and laughing amongst themselves, and dreaming of anything but a surprise, approached the fatal spot. One volley, delivered at fifteen yards distance, laid more than half of them low. With a wild whoop their murderers rushed forward, despoiled the dead men of their arms and accoutrements, and scuttled off towards the hills. Hearing the firing, the troopers in the post, who were standing to their horses in momentary expectation of the arrival of the relief party, galloped to the rescue, but were unable to intercept the retreating band, as their horses could not cross the canal. Our loss was seven men and three horses killed outright, and four men wounded, while the Muhammad Khels had one man killed and two wounded.

The deed was done, the retreat effected. The troops, who had been pushed up the Kurm in vain pursuit of the invisible foe, had returned, and the humble petition of grievances had been presented. A few days of feverish suspense then ensued for the treacherous rebels. Would their countrymen support them? Would the Sarkar abolish pass responsibility, invite them to return, and give them more horsemen in the militia?

The news of the outrage exaggerated by rumour quickly spread, and Hathí Khels and Spirkais, the two leading sections of the Ahmadzais, for a day or two laid aside their mutual jealousies, and spoke up resolutely and well in behalf of their rebel countrymen. But the calm demeanour and deliberate action of the District authorities speedily dissolved their short-lived league, and the Hathí Khels, who could muster over eight hundred fighting men, seceded and declared their readiness to support Government through thick and thin. The other sections of the Ahmadzais and Útmanzais wavered for a few days, irresolute whether to follow the example of the Hathí Khels or openly to declare for the Muhammad Khels, should the point in dispute, the abolition of pass responsibility, not be conceded to them. They talked for some days of returning to the hills *en masse* should their grievance not be redressed, but it was only talk after all. With the secession of the Hathí Khels, their best tooth had been drawn. So they gave in sulkily, and promised faithfully not to shelter or assist the Muhammad Khels, while in their hearts they resolved to befriend them in every possible way.

When the Muhammad Khels discovered they were left to bear alone the consequences of their treacherous conduct, and learnt that they had been proclaimed outlaws, that their lands had been confiscated, and that

thirty-two of their clansmen were already in jail, they cursed their precipitancy, and began to think of asking for terms. They were told that until their whole clan, including the ringleaders in the attack on the detachment, surrendered unconditionally, they would be debarred from entering British territory.

Though the door of hope was shut against them, the knowledge that both Ahmadzais and Útmanzais would secretly assist them, and that many of the Bannuchís were their sympathizers, cheered them in their banishment, and encouraged them to make their involuntary exile from our territory as much felt as possible.

For the next twelve months they kept the border, for thirty miles, in a constant state of alarm and disquiet. Their petty raids and thieving incursions were incessant. Owing to the curtain of hills which masked their movements, and the timely intelligence of every action on our part, which their friends and supporters within the border communicated to them, they were always enabled to select their own point of attack, and generally to effect their retreat behind the shelter of their hills with little or no loss to themselves.

Of their exploits, and they were numerous, I shall only relate two, one on account of its daring, and the other on account of its ingenuity of device and audacity of execution.

An old Moolah named Bashír, who gained a livelihood by teaching Pashto to the officers of the garrison, lived with his family and dependents at a water-mill about a mile from the cantonment. He had many years before incurred the enmity of a Mahsud in a case connected with a woman, and when the disturbances began, had told the Deputy Commissioner he thought his enemy would take the

A bold
massacr

opportunity, which then offered, to wreak his vengeance on him. He was advised to remove to a place of greater security, and was about to do so, when one night a band of thirteen or fourteen Muhammad Khels and Mahsuds attacked his solitary hamlet, slashed his brother and five others to pieces, and wounded two more with their swords. But they missed the object of their search, as the worthy Moolah, more knowing than to run out of his hut when the uproar began, had quietly laid himself flat on his face under his bed, and did not venture to come forth until assured the coast was clear by the stillness outside, and the faint receding shouts of the assassins and their cowardly Bannúchí pursuers.

Clever came.
lifting.

On the other occasion, thirty-four camels were grazing well away from the nearest hills and within a mile of several villages, when the herdsmen observed some men approaching them from the direction of the hills. As the party neared them, they saw it consisted of unarmed Wazírs carrying a bier, on which lay apparently a corpse covered with a sheet. This reassured them, and they took no further heed, until the party got in amongst the camels, when all of a sudden down went the bier, off flew the sheet, and up jumped the dead man, whilst his bearers seized their arms which the sheet had concealed. Before the astonished herdsmen could find legs or tongue, the camels were being driven off to the hills, and by the time the villagers started in pursuit the thieves had got clear away with their prizes. It was a good haul that, worth over two thousand rupees to the captors.

The game played
out.

During the winter months the Muhammad Khels were reduced to pitiable straits, and but for the charity of their friends, especially of the men of Dawar, who gave them food and shelter in their villages, hunger

would have forced them to come in before New Year's Day, 1871, and—acme of shame and humiliation—deliver up their ringleaders. Driven at last to despair, they compelled their leaders to agree to unconditional surrender, and on the 20th September, 1871, after fifteen months of exile, the whole tribe, men, women, and children, came into Edwardesabad, and went in a body to the Deputy Commissioner's house. The men, with heads bare and turbans and ropes tied round their necks, cast their arms in a heap at the feet of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, and throwing themselves on the ground before them, begged for pardon. Whilst some of the women and children sat huddled together in the background, others spread themselves like locusts over the garden, and devoured greedily every edible green thing they could find.

The outlaws
surrender.

The rest is soon told. Six of their head men were sent as political prisoners to the Lahore Jail for various terms, and a fine of seven thousand rupees was imposed on the clan, to raise which they had to mortgage some of their best lands. After the fine had been paid, they were allowed to resettle on their lands in British territory. Owing to the death from cholera of two of their imprisoned head men, the present Viceroy, during a visit he paid to the Lahore Jail in October, 1872, took pity on the survivors, and graciously released them.

Their
punishment, and
that of their
abettors.

Fines were next imposed on the Bizan Khel and Umarzai Wazírs, both of whom are sections of the Ahmadzai tribe, and cold-weather settlers in Bannu. Although ostensibly supporting Government throughout the disturbances, they had notoriously aided and abetted the Muhammad Khels during their proscription.

The Sudn Khels, who belong to the same immediate group of clans as the Muhammad Khels, and had consequently been more active than any others in rendering

them assistance, had to submit to the shame of burning Gumatti, one of their own hill hamlets, with their own hands—a punishment which, while it proclaimed their contrition and humiliation, inflicted no material loss on them, as the huts were few in number and mere grass and reed structures, easily run up, and costing nothing but the labour of erection.

Expedition into
Dawar.

The inhabitants of Dawar, a rich and fertile valley, which the Amír of Kabul has long coveted but not yet conquered, now alone remained to be dealt with. As the Eastern extremity of that valley lies twelve miles beyond our border, and our troops had during the late disturbances never attempted to operate in the hills at all, the Dawaris were at first incredulous when called on to pay a fine; but after long negotiations, the villages of Upper Dawar, though farthest from British territory, complied with our demands. Not so those in Lower Dawar. Their *jirga*, after coquetting with us for some weeks and even promising to pay, suddenly changed its tone, with the proverbial fickleness of Asiatics, and flatly refused. On receiving our ultimatum, they replied by sending a written challenge, full of the most insulting language, and turned our messengers out of their valley, after grossly abusing them and pelting them with stones and clods of earth. As further forbearance would have been undignified, and even dangerous, a force of fifteen hundred men was ordered to enter Dawar and levy the fine. After the troops had penetrated the valley, negotiations were again opened, a peaceable solution being still hoped for; but whilst the parley was going on, some of our troops, who had meantime advanced within matchlock range of Haider Khel, the principal of the defiant villages, were unexpectedly saluted with a volley. Such an act of course cut short further discussion. Haider Khel was taken by assault and burnt, on which

the Dawarís submitted and paid their fine. This result was accomplished on the 7th of February, 1872. Our loss was trifling, only six men wounded, while that of the enemy in killed and wounded was admittedly over fifty.

Well, reader, I know you think the Dawarís got their deserts, but what of the Muhammad Khels? Perhaps you say, as many said, and thought, "Treachorous brutes! Instead of a year's imprisonment, their head men ought to have been hanged as high as Haman. They were all guilty of deliberate cold-blooded murder, to say nothing of rebellion."

Had Madaman and some of his accomplices been hanged, transported for life, or with their families deported to another part of India, the punishment would no doubt have been better and longer remembered, and therefore more likely to act in future as a deterrent to others. Such a penalty would, I think, have been more politic and commensurate with the enormity of the offence, than that which the leaders in the murderous attack actually received. Once the Muhammad Khels free themselves from their present indebtedness, they will soon forget their fifteen months' wanderings and privations, and nothing will remain to keep the recollection of their punishment fresh in their memories. While, on the contrary, the fact of the massacre of the sepoy and troopers, and the subsequent disturbance and annoyance which a petty clan like their's was able to cause a powerful Government, will remain indelibly printed in their minds and in those of their neighbours. Savages, like many wiser people, derive their anticipations of the future from past experience alone, and should, five or ten years hence, any tribe on this border wish to indulge in a few months' devilry, the example of the sentence on the Muhammad Khels, as it will then appear to it, will have little, if any, deterring

The punishment meted out to Muhammad Khels was inadequate.

effect. For these reasons I am of opinion that the punishment of the leaders of the Muhammad Khels was politically inadequate.

Lesson of the outbreak.

I may close this chapter with a few words on the lessons which the outbreak has taught. Until disillusioned, we believed that the Muhammad Khels and the other Wazírí settlers in Bannu had, owing to many years of tranquillity and contact with us and our laws, made great strides towards emergence from barbarism, and that their minds at least had been so far opened as to prevent their acting like brute beasts, on the impulse of the moment, regardless of future consequences. Events proved that such a belief was erroneous. We had, indeed, no reasonable grounds for it, because it is obvious that until the Wazírís discontinue their annual hot-weather migration to the hills, their cold-weather residence in the plains as our fellow-subjects can have no permanently elevating effect on them. During the few months they are down in the plains each year they put on a certain rough coating of civilization, and fear of the consequences imposes a certain restraint on them; but, once across the border in his native hills, the savage is himself again, free and unshackled, the victim of his own passions and inherited instincts. Another lesson was this. The local British officials perceived the necessity of themselves bestowing more time and attention on seemingly petty border matters. While the Government became alive to the fact that, if its peaceful and forbearing policy was to be successful and the era of expeditions to cease, it must at any price have fewer changes of Deputy Commissioners from District to District, and that, by granting the Deputy Commissioners an adequate staff of assistants, English and native, time should be afforded them to study frontier politics and to hold frequent personal intercourse with the

wild tribes of their respective borders. In short, Government was reminded that it ought to treat its Frontier Deputy Commissioners less as machines, held to be in good working order only when shown by periodical returns to be turning out a certain number of cases daily, and more as honourable gentlemen, occupying highly responsible posts, the due performance of the duties of which cannot be tested by figures alone.

CHAPTER V.

TIMES OF PEACE AND PLENTY.

Three years
plenty

SINCE the events related in the last Chapter, the District has enjoyed three years of perfect tranquillity and unprecedented agricultural prosperity, for the rains of 1872, 1873 and 1874 have been abundant and seasonable, and the spring crop of 1875 is enormous. In this period the price of wheat, barley, gram, *bájra*,¹ and *juár*,² the staple grains of the District, has fallen even lower than it was in the Mutiny year—a year famous throughout the Punjáb for its bumper harvest, which factor has I hardly think been sufficiently taken into account in summing up the causes for the loyalty or quiescence, whichever it was, of the Punjáb peasantry during that terrible year.

The price current of wheat is at all times a good criminal barometer. In 1872 the reading was “fair,” but now it stands at “set fair”;³ hence offences against property, the commonest class of crime and usually

¹ Bulrush Millet (*Penicillaria spicata*).

² Great Millet (*Holcus surgum*).

³ First quality wheat is now, May, 1875, selling at Lakki at one maund ten seers the *rupee*, that is, at about forty-seven and a half pounds for a shilling.

instigated by want, have for the last three years been of far less frequent occurrence than in average or bad years. Together with a peaceful border and a well-fed and therefore contented peasantry, Bannu has for nearly four years past had the unaccustomed advantage of having experienced no change of Deputy Commissioner; and owing to the commencement in it of Settlement operations early in 1872, its judicial staff has been for the last three years double what it was formerly.

To complete the contrast between the four years before and after the Muhammad Khel outrage, two or three other facts deserve mention.

Formerly a murderer could only be punished when convicted on full legal proof—a proof which was seldom forthcoming, because, however publicly the murder might have been committed, fear of the consequences to themselves, from the friends of the murderer, sealed the mouths of independent witnesses. A conviction was therefore of rare occurrence, and a hanging of rarer, but when one did take place, the public manner of the execution, which was always carried out on a Friday, the weekly fair day, and in the presence of the whole concourse assembled at the fair, acted as a strong deterrent for all would-be murderers. A lurking doubt in the mind of the Court as to the quality of the evidence adduced, or a nervous dread of the Lahore Chief Court, whose confirmation is required before sentence of death can be carried out, enabled many a murderer to escape scot-free, or consigned him to transportation beyond “the black waters,” instead of to the ignominious death he deserved.

Changes for the better since 1871.

Matters at last reached such a pitch that no “respectable” man felt his life safe, and those Bannúchis who had towers in their villages resorted to their old

pre-annexation custom of sleeping in them at night after pulling up the ladder—the only means of ingress or egress—behind them. I have used the term “respectable” as a Pathan does. To him an inherited blood feud and its accompaniment of six or eight foes, each watching to take his life, are proud patents of respectability and good birth. As it was in Bannu, so it was in all the other Frontier Districts.

Improved
criminal law—
trial by “*jirga*.”

But an end was put to this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Early in the spring of 1871 Sir Henry Davies, the present Lieutenant Governor of the Punjáb, marched throughout the whole length of his North-west Frontier, and, having mastered the various questions which required his attention, proposed and procured the passing of certain regulations “for the peace and government” of the six frontier Districts. The new regulations became law in January, 1872. Under them the Deputy Commissioner is empowered, when he thinks the evidence inadequate or for other good cause, to refer cases of murder or other heinous offence to a Pathan or Biloch “*jirga*” for trial according to their own usage; but this “*jirga*” can only inflict a sentence of fine on the convicted party. This mode of trial, so suitable for the evil it was devised to meet, has been since adopted as occasion required, with the happiest results, and murders arising from enmity are now of rare occurrence, only twelve or fifteen in the year. Though a heavy money fine of one thousand or twelve hundred rupees is the usual amount of blood-money imposed for the murder of a full-grown male, it is seldom paid in cash, but made up with cattle and young girls, according to a fixed table of exchange, under which unmarried girls who have attained puberty are priced at two hundred rupees each, and if still children, at half that sum. Thus a poor man is never ruined by the fine, as his friends

and relations would assist him if his own family were unable to produce a sufficient number of young women and oxen to make up the required amount. A girl's status is not changed from the transfer of possession; she merely enters a new family, the head of which disposes of her hand in marriage instead of her natural guardian.

Again, early in 1873, the passing of a searching ^{Pashto examination} examination in colloquial Pashto was made obligatory on all Civil Officers serving in Districts where that language is spoken. Before the order was issued, only two Civil Officers on the frontier had passed the examination, although in four out of the five Trans-Indus Districts Pashto is the language of the people. Now there are eleven who have passed, and several are preparing for it.

The delight of a hill Pathan in being addressed by a Sahib in his mother Pashto is always genuine and irrepressible; his whole face, which ordinarily wears a fixed touch-me-if-you-dare almost defiant expression, breaks into one broad grin as he wonderingly asks you, "Eh, you talk Pashto, how did you learn it?" It is just the sort of question a Highlander would ask did a Southerner address him in Gaelic. The gain in personal influence, besides other advantages, which an ability to converse directly with the people gives an Englishman amongst Pathans is so obvious that I need not dilate on it.

Again, since his visit in 1871, the Lieutenant ^{Lieutenant Governor twice visits Bannú.} Governor has twice marched through this District, namely, in January, 1873, and in November, 1874, and every question connected with its frontier administration, the most important of which were how to place the pass responsibility system on a better and stronger footing, and how to reorganize the frontier militia, has been thoroughly examined and finally settled.

In the cold weather of 1872-73 a great camp of exercise, the largest yet attempted in India, was formed between Rawal Pindi and Attock, near Hassan Abdal, a beautiful spot, where are the remains of those royal gardens in which Moore tells us Lalla Rookh rested whilst her minstrel lover Feramorz sang "The Light of the Harem" to her.

Border chiefs go to camp of exercise.

The opportunity for impressing the border tribes with a practical lesson on the power of the Sarkar, by enabling their representatives to see the troops manœuvring, was too good to be lost. A gigantic twenty-day picnic was arranged by a paternal Government, to which the cream of all the Pathan frontier tribes, subject and independent, from the borders of Kashmir down to Derah Ismail Khan, was invited.

The march there.

Towards the end of January the guests began flocking to Hassan Abdal, where the standing camp of the troops engaged in the manœuvres was pitched. I was deputed to take charge of the contingent from this District, amounting to between fifty and sixty chiefs, many of whom were accompanied by one or two followers. My menagerie, which could hardly be called a happy family, as Mahsúds, Dawarís, Bhatannis, and Darwesh Khels had a cat-and-dog-like antipathy for each other, started nevertheless in great good humour on January 24th. They had been promised during their absence from the District as much as they could eat; and twenty days of unlimited gorging was a prospect well calculated to tame the savage breast for a time at least. In this country want of food is pretty well the root of all evil, if women be, for once, left out of the account. For two or three days we journeyed along with mutual satisfaction, until one morning I woke to find my little tent besieged by the hungrier and more forward of my guests. As it was unlikely they

intended to eat me—seeing that they had emerged many centuries back from the cannibal state—their loud excited talk was not discomposing. I gathered that they had struck for better food than I was disposed to give them, for I had to render an account of my stewardship on my return, and though inclined to be liberal with them, I did not wish to be extravagant. The point on which we differed was a serious one, and deserves to be faithfully recorded. I had fixed the daily rations for each guest at two pounds of goat's flesh and wheaten cakes *ad libitum*, together with a proportionate amount of condiments; and for each quadruped—I can hardly call them horses, as most of them were lean wretched ponies—at eight pounds of gram, and as much hay as they could eat. The chiefs were not contented with either measure, and said that as they had been promised as much good food as they could eat, and their horses were included in the invitation, they wished for themselves nothing but sheep's flesh or fat, and for their horses nothing but gram. Cakes and grass they could get at home at any time. In vain I explained to them that the *Lát Sahib's* (*i.e.* Lord Sahib, as the Lieutenant Governor is always called) horses, which were twice as big as theirs, were getting the same measure as I allowed them. Their answer was, "The *Lát Sáhib* feeds his horses all the year round on gram, ours have only twenty days to lay in a year's supply in, as they don't get it at home." Under the circumstances I thought I ought to compromise; so I gave in, and the fat-tailed sheep (*doombak*) was substituted for the goat, and the allowance of gram per quadruped was raised to ten pounds.

Compromise and
what came of it.

The supply question being adjusted, every man of my party rose in his own esteem immensely, for it is

wonderful how a good meal swells a man out, and began to urge that his dignity required that he should sit at the Lieutenant Governor's Darbar on a chair—an article of luxury known to many by hearsay only.

Seeing how compromise had simply raised their demands, I said, No, no, to every one who put forward his claim, and after that no more favours were asked. On arrival at Hassan Abdal, I made over my charge to a Civil Officer named Muhammad Hayat Khan, who had been appointed the *Mihmandār* (Official Entertainer) for all the motley collection of guests. This native gentleman had been rewarded with both a C.S.I. and an Assistant Commissionership—an honour to which as yet no other native in the Province has attained—for his services in this District during the Muhammad Khel disturbances, and was looked upon by the Wazirs as an old friend. They were delighted with the novelty of all they saw: had twice the mingled pleasure and pain—for who that has ridden on a pad on elephant-back has not felt dreadfully nervous as the living mountain rose under him?—of riding through the camp on the Lieutenant Governor's elephants, animals which most of them had never seen before; had their photographs taken; and—climax of all—were well scrubbed in the river and presented with new clothes the day before the Darbar. This latter little extra expense, though not ordinarily falling within a host's duties, was absolutely unavoidable, as none of the guests I took up had brought a change of clothing, and they had to my certain knowledge worn and slept in the strong-smelling garments they then had on night and day for the previous fortnight, and probably for many weeks before that.

Camp sights and amusements.

Wazir impressions and criticisms.

They were not nearly so much impressed as I had expected with the fighting and march past, at which

sixteen thousand troops were present. Except when they saw the elephant battery of siege guns, at the enormous size of which their wonderment knew no bounds, they never showed any excitement or enthusiasm, but, on the contrary, made shrewd and sometimes cynical remarks on what was passing. When, on the last day of the fighting, the opposing forces blazed away incessantly for upwards of an hour at each other in the open plain between Hassan Abdal and the Margallah Pass, one of them remarked that had they been Wazírs fighting, they would have annihilated each other ten times over, and that if the Sarkár had given them the powder, instead of wasting it, they might have blown it away to some purpose. The Royal Horse Artillery guns they thought magnificent, but said they could never be used against them in their hills. As to the troops themselves, their expression, which they kept on repeating, was, "The Sarkár's army is like locusts, but the white faces are fewer than the black." During the fighting, hill skirmishing was the point of interest with them, being, I suppose, the only portion of the proceedings of which they were competent judges. A charge of cavalry, or a battery pouring imaginary shot and shell into another or into some invisible object in the distance, had no attractions. On the whole I think they were greatly impressed with our power and resources and their own comparative weakness, but felt that the troops were too good and precious to be ever used against them. Indeed, it was impossible not to see that they quite comprehended that it would, to use a slang term, "pay" Government better to put up with an infinity of affronts rather than go to the expense of sending any portion of its fine white troops into their distant hills after them.

Hill men utterly
incurious about
each other.

The utter absence amongst the border chiefs of all curiosity relating to each other was a point which could not fail to strike those who mixed with them at the camp. Here were representatives of twenty or thirty warlike Pathan tribes from distant parts of the frontier, thrown together within the limits of one small camp for a space of twelve days, meeting each other for the first time in their lives, and, as far as I could gather, none of them made any new acquaintances whilst they were there, and even when meeting passed each other with the same blank I-don't-know-you sort of stare, which Englishmen are said to assume until the magic of an introduction breaks the ice. Certainly had the Wazírs been put through an examination on their return to Bannú, I do not think their best man could have named any of the tribes on the Pesháwar or Hazara border.

The Darbar was held on February 12th, and we started on our return on the following day, right glad to turn our faces homewards; but my "lambs," as they were facetiously called at the camp, next morning belied their name.

In the distribution of *Khilats* (dresses of honour) and presents at the Darbar, some of the chiefs had necessarily been more favoured than others, in consequence of which those who imagined themselves to have been slighted said disagreeable things of their more fortunate brethren. A quarrel ensued amongst some of the leading men as to their relative individual and tribal greatness, and so bitter did they become towards each other, that on the third march the two parties would not camp together, and held aloof from each other for the rest of the journey home, as if each thought the other plague-stricken.

Future prospects
of Wazírs.

Poor persecuted Wazírs! you fell on evil days when

John Bull appeared on your border, and since that Hassan Abdal Darbar, between the settlement in the valley and the Mahsuds in the hills, who have during the past two summers worsted you in every fight, and seized on many an ancestral acre, there is no escape but to kiss the rod and accept civilization! It must come to this sooner or later, as the Mahsúds are year by year steadily thrusting them westwards into the Bannú valley, and whether it be ten years or twenty or fifty hence, the day is not far distant when the hills will know the Darwesh Khels, as summer residents, no more, and the Mahsuds will be close and unwelcome neighbours all along the Bannu border. Even as it is, most of the Hathí Khels are now permanent residents in Bannú, and daily assimilating in habits and mode of living to the Marwats, and the per-centage in the other clans who have followed their example, though still small, is each year increasing.

So much having been said about the Wazírs, I may now venture a few words on the other inhabitants of the District, and state what I think to be their feeling towards Government, their appreciation of its laws and general policy, and their ability and will to understand and criticize them.

A few of the more thoughtful and intelligent have a clear conception of what is meant by the word “Sarkár,” that is “the Government,” which is eternally on their tongues, but to the mass it conveys a vague complex idea of irresistible Force somewhere, before which even their immediate rulers—the incarnations of power and good faith in their minds—must bow down. The subordination of the Deputy Commissioner to the Commissioner is intelligible enough to them. But when the latter talks of himself as only

Feeling of the
Government.^{ds}

Conception
“Government”
means.

a servant of Government, and tells them that he cannot comply with some simple and possibly reasonable wish of theirs, as by doing so he would exceed his authority, and they see him and his subordinate the Deputy Commissioner acting nevertheless in most matters as if their simple word were law, they get beyond their depth. When, however, the "*Lát Sahib*" of the Punjab comes round, whose word at all events they think must be law unlimited and uncontrolled, and they find that there is a greater than he, before whom he is as nothing, they get helplessly puzzled, and like Stephen Blackpool in "*Hard Times*" give it up as "a muddle."

A story occurs to me which illustrates what I have just said. On Lord Mayo's death, a subscription was started in the Punjab with the object of raising some suitable provincial memorial to him. The village head men in this District were, as in others, invited to contribute, but were told that their doing so was to be entirely voluntary. In the Cis-Indus subdivision a fairly handsome sum was collected. Some time afterwards I happened to ask a village head man, named Shera, belonging to that part of the country, what he had given, and he laughingly said a rupee.

"Why did you give it?" I asked.

His ready answer was, "Oh, I was told some great Lord Sahib had died somewhere, and that the *Sarkár* wished us to subscribe to help his widow to England!" Now this man fairly represented the intelligence of Miánwali, the quietest and most advanced part of the District, and though Lord Mayo's tragic death had been for months the talk of official and educated India, and every endeavour had been made by the Deputy Commissioner to prevent misconception on the part of native contributors, his mind had been unable

to comprehend the connexion between himself or his pocket and a great Lord Sahib, who had died in some distant land he had never heard of before.

As to popular feeling towards Government, all, from the bigoted priest-ridden Bannuchí, or poverty-stricken Marwat, who has never been five miles from his village in his life, to the well-to-do litigious Squireen of Mianwalí, familiar with lawyers, Lahore, and the Chief Court, all these believe implicitly in its justice and good faith, and that, provided the revenue instalments are paid in by the prescribed dates, the *Sarkár* desires nothing but their good. Indeed, were the question of independence or a continuance of British rule put to a plebiscite to-morrow, there would be an overwhelming number of votes in our favour, so fresh is the recollection of the oppression and miseries under which the country groaned up to thirty years ago, and so strong the conviction the people have of their own incapacity for self-government and self-defence.

The people prefer our rule to no rule.

To the Wazírí tribes, whose gradual absorption of Bannuchí lands was stopped by Edwardes' bloodless conquest of the valley, a prospect of renewed independence would, of course, be welcome. But not so to the other tribes, because our retirement across the Indus would be a signal for the renewal of endless internal strife, and ultimate subjection either to one of their own chiefs or to a stranger.

Independence would come of it.

The ordinary peasant is such an uninquisitive being, that even if he possess critical ability sufficient to enable him to judge whether a given law or order is beneficial or not for his class, he does not take the trouble to cudgel his brains to think about it at all, unless it directly affects him individually in purse or comfort. In such a case he bestirs himself in his own interest, until convinced that the obnoxious order has really been given, and will not be cancelled, however much he may agitate against it.

Here is an instance in point. For the last year the

The Customs'

Inland Customs Department, which has a preventive line in this District, has been engaged in running a hedge along the left bank of the Indus for the purpose of more effectually checking the smuggling of sugar to the south by that river, and the importation of black salt into the Punjab. Now this prickly barrier is a simple and effective but barbarous device, and besides being a monstrous invasion of public rights of way, is a great nuisance to scores of villages; but beyond a few complaints at the first, it has hardly been objected to at all by the people, who now walk unconcernedly a mile where they had formerly to go only a hundred yards.

In this case the natives both understand the reason of the Government order under which the hedge is being put up, and admit its expediency. Even had they not understood it, they would have quietly acquiesced, when satisfied that the fiat had gone forth, and after that would have relapsed into their old indifference about the many strange doings of their rulers, assured in their own mind that the *Sarkár* was acting for the best.

Apathy of the people to our advantage.

This selfish apathy and mental stagnation, which is not peculiar to the tribes inhabiting this District alone, is a phenomenon which, regarded purely from the stand-point of self-interest, we ought rather to rejoice over than deplore, as it explains the reason of, and tends to preserve, that tribal isolation along our frontier which prevents great combinations. It was as much owing to this habit of mind, as to the wisdom of their rulers and the plentiful harvest, that in the days of mutiny our Trans-Indus possessions proved the safest and quietest part of the Punjáb.

Education of the masses and its effects.

I am aware it is thought that if the people were educated their knowledge would be our safeguard, because we have such an honest faith in our own singleness of purpose that we think the more our acts and their motives are scrutinized,

there is the less likelihood of their being misinterpreted. But how many generations will elapse before such an Utopian state is attained? And is it not true all the world over that, where the distribution of wealth is unequal, the more the masses are educated, the more fractious and discontented they become? The Pashto proverb, "The more knowing the more miserable," is true in every sense.

The great life problem for the peasantry in this and most other parts of India will ever be, as it is now, how to *exist*, let alone live with any degree of comfort, and until that is solved the prospects of education of the masses must be hopeless. It is not easy for any man, even a Scotchman, to learn to read and think on an empty stomach, and whoever succeeds in doing so naturally asks himself why other stomachs should be full and his empty; then by an easy transition believes himself wronged, and determines to appropriate for himself the food of others when and how he can.

Hitherto I have spoken of the people—those whose livelihood depends on their manual labour. I shall now say a few words about their leaders—those whose position and means exempt them from the necessity of labouring with their hands, and who, from leisure combined with travel or learning, may be considered to have some small degree of culture.

Such men, if Bannúchís, intrigue and litigate, and occasionally take a trip northwards to pay their respects to the Akhoond of Swat, their Pope or spiritual chief. If Marwats, they lead a life of ease, and look well after their property. If they belong to Isakhel or Mianwalí, they spend their days in scheming to better themselves, and in trying to ingratiate themselves with their immediate rulers, whilst an occasional lawsuit, fought up to the highest Court of Appeal, lends a pleasurable excitement to their otherwise quiet humdrum lives. All such employ-

The upper classes.

ments, excepting those of the Marwats, are wit-sharpeners and mind-expounders, and those who pursue them are, as might be expected, much more intelligent and better informed than the labouring classes, and being so, lead public opinion, at least what there is of it. Most of this upper or cultured class are village head men, retired Government servants and others, who are in receipt of some allowance, or have otherwise been benefited by the State, and are in consequence well disposed towards Government. Such

Their usefulness. men, owing to their position and superior intelligence, are not likely to misinterpret Government measures to their less enlightened countrymen, who have little opportunity of hearing what is going on beyond their village bounds except from them. I do not mean to assert that all this leading class are staunch and true to Government, and fit to act as its interpreters; far from it. There are some of them who knowingly or from ignorance pervert facts and motives, and thus create distrust; but they are the exception. Thus soon after this Settlement commenced, there was current and commonly credited a story, which did much mischief at the time, that the new assessments in the Pesháwar and Hazara Districts, then being announced, were excessively heavy, and that the Settlement officials in those two Districts had "eaten the country up." It was traceable to a flighty gossiping head man, who had just then come back from visiting the Akhoond of Swát, and had on his return retailed as facts all the stories flying about Pesháwar, with large embellishments of his own.

Retired Govern-
ment servants
very useful.

Of all its supporters the most useful to Government are its retired servants, amongst whom I include all who have at any time been employed, whether temporarily, as under Edwardes at Multan, or in the army or the civil administration of the country. They are in a measure behind the scenes; are, besides, either more

travelled or better educated than any of the others who have never been in Government employ, and their opinion has great weight with the people. They alone have a fair amount of general extra local knowledge, and keep up an acquaintance with what is going on in the world outside. They even follow with interest the ever-changing situation in Kabul,¹ and appreciate, or profess to, the soundness of the policy which still restrains Government from taking an active part in the internal affairs of that distracted country.

¹ This subject has been written pretty well thread-bare, and the Government policy is now generally indorsed, except in so far that the public think material aid in arms and money should not be given to the *de facto* ruler of Kabul, unless he follow our advice in great matters of State, *e.g.* the succession. At the risk of being tedious, let me endeavour to bring home the "situation," as it is called, to those whose acquaintance with Indian and Kabul affairs is slight. Suppose Germany to be Kabul, and that it is a wild inhospitable alpine country, in which intercommunication between its valleys is at all times difficult, and during the winter impossible. People its mountains with brave, patriotic, well-armed and fanatical Musalman tribes, all independent and thoroughly barbarous; and its valleys with a population equally fanatical, but more or less civilized, and governed by a king whose nearest relations and nobles are always plotting his overthrow, and in whose country a state of semi or actual civil war is chronic. Now suppose France to be Upper India, and the South-western Provinces of Russia in Europe to be Russian Turkestan: the former rich, populous, well-developed, and with its railway system rapidly approaching completion; the latter poor, sparsely inhabited, and in all respects backwards. The inhabitants of the former accustomed to our rule, and a vast majority of them (that is, the agricultural and moneyed classes) preferring it to any other form of government known to them; but the people of the latter wild, turbulent, recently conquered, and burning to throw off foreign yoke.

If this picture be true, surely the position of Russia in Turkestan is weaker than ours in Upper India, and every mile either Power advances into Kabul will make that position still weaker, and rather decrease than increase its ability to injure its so-called rival. Kabul can never be occupied by either with the consent of its people; and should either occupy it, that Power will have to hold it by the sword at a ruinous expense, not one-tenth part of which will be extractable from the country itself. Russia being what she is, and we what we are, the chances are that before our Asian interests can positively clash, internal revolutions will compass the death and burial of that misnomer our "rivalry." I would eliminate "trade interests" altogether from the question, as I believe the establishment of a great exchange between Central Asia and India is impossible. Nature forbids it. Look at our "trade" with Káshgar after all that has been done to foster it! Why, we think it brisk if told that on an average a dozen wretched mules or horses with their loads negotiate weekly the passes between us and that country! No; Nature has erected her own toll-bars between India and the regions beyond, and levies too heavy a transit duty on passing merchandize to permit of profitable exchange.

Ourselves and
our doings.

As the people have now had a dozen pages to themselves, we may surely claim half as many to ourselves. "We" are the British Officers, Civil and Military, serving in this District, and our head-quarters are at Edwardesabad, so re-christened three or four years ago, in memory of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes, a cheap way of doing honour to the departed hero. The former name was Dhuleepshahar, or "the city of Dhuleep," but it had been long out of date, as its owner, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, has resided in England I believe since the Punjab was annexed.

If you wish to take a census of us in order to solve the problem of what is the largest number of men and women who can live together like a happy family in one station for three hot and as many cold seasons—the term between each change of garrison—without splitting up into cliques, you ought to have done so last Christmas Day at nine o'clock in the evening. At that time you would have found the whole station assembled in the garrison mess-house eating its plum-pudding—a brave little gathering of ten ladies and twenty-four gentlemen. A few years ago ladies were a rare sight on the frontier, but as one Commandant after another plunged into matrimony reckless of the consequences, the force of example was too strong for his Officers, and they followed suit, until all the regiments of the Punjab Frontier Force became divided into two classes—"married" and "bachelor." In a station with a "married" garrison there are sometimes as many as sixteen ladies, whose presence—if no squabbles on a question of precedence or the like arise to disturb the general harmony—keeps everybody gay and cheerful during our glorious long cold weather months. As the cold weather commences early in October, Christmas Day sees us all as strong and rosy-cheeked as at home, and what with cricket, badminton, polo, occasional big dinners

Cold weather
amusements.

and little dances, and lots of work for all—the ladies attending to their babies and cake or pudding making, and the gentlemen to everlasting musketry and such-like duties if military, and to never-ending Cutcherry if civil—the months glide by very pleasantly.

Hunting, too, finds a place in our list of amusements, as a station pack of hounds is kept up, and they follow the plucky little fox or the long-legged cowardly jackal much straighter than do most of those who ride to them; and no wonder, as mud walls and deep broad water-channels with treacherous rat-eaten banks intersect the country in every direction. Under such conditions falling, though frequent, is generally soft, and the consequences are nothing more than a ducking or thick coating of mud on one's clothes.

Beyond the station, snipe, duck, geese, deer and pig tempt the sportsmen to make up shooting or pig-sticking parties, and run out for a week or two's trip. Towards the end of March, when Nature, as if blushing at her own Spring time. loveliness, carpets the country with sweet-scented wild flowers, the rising thermometer and an occasional puff of hot or dust-laden air remind us of the fast approaching heat. But a few April showers drive off the enemy, and let us once again enjoy the cheerful blaze of a wood fire for an hour or two at night.

“Fires in April! What rubbish! Why the thermometer is nearer 80° than 60° then!” I dare say some will exclaim when reading this.

Ah, yes; but in April hail-storms are not infrequent, and then it is cold; and, perhaps—I only hint it—we like to deceive ourselves, like other people, because a harmless agreeable deception is a real pleasure. And then, after all, with a wood fire in a good deep grate very little heat is thrown out, while the crackle of the wood and the brightness of the yellow flickering flames look very jolly, and

induce the cold-blooded ones to rub their hands and say, "By Jove, it is cold to-night!"

Hot weather.

Not until the first week in May do the preparations for the hot weather begin in earnest. Then punkahs are put up, and the great unwieldy thermantidote is dragged forth from its cold-weather hiding corner in the garden, and placed in position in the doorway, with its wide ugly mouth gaping into the dining-room, ready for the evil day, when it shall belch forth damp and coolness. Then, too, the ladies make their preparations for their annual flight, either to the treeless grassless Shekhubudín, whose camel-hump top is distinctly visible some fifty miles southwards, or to one or other of the green and beautiful retreats in the Himalayahs, where Governments and heads of departments retire, to vex with endless circulars the enlarged livers of their less fortunate subordinates who are roasting in the plains. The former attracts to its barren top all those fond wives from Edwardesabad and Derah Ismail Khan who love to be near their lords in hot weather as well as cold; the latter, those who think a periodical separation of four or five months a proof of conjugal affection.

The ladies take to flight.

Life in the hot weather.

Before the end of May the station, though still bright and green and pretty, has commenced its humdrum hot-weather existence, its ladies having gone, and its first leave men¹ having started on their annual three months trip to Cashmere or elsewhere in the Himalayahs. The

¹ Military men receive three months leave every summer when serving in Bannú, Derah Ismail Khan, or Derah Gházi Khan, but elsewhere the usual allowance is only two months. Civilians throughout India are only entitled to one month's leave in the year. Locomotion in most Trans-Indus Districts, Pesháwar alone excepted, is rough, as wheeled conveyances do not exist, roads are bad, and bridges few. In this District all travelling is done by ladies in doolies, and by officers on horseback. The distance to Shekhubudin by road is sixty-four miles, and to Kohat eighty-two miles, and to get out of the District the latter journey must be done. It is generally done in one night and morning, and when the thermometer is between 90° and 100° the journey is rather a stiff one.

ten or twelve officers who remain in cantonments pull through the next three months as best they can, upheld by the prospect of their own leave coming day by day nearer and nearer. Men cease to live, but exist as breathing automata, who perform daily at fixed hours a certain set of movements. This is their daily routine: Rise at 4 A.M. when a cup of tea (winding up No. 1), then parade, musketry or office, whichever the work may be. 7 A.M. a sociable *Chhoti házirí*, or small breakfast (winding up No. 2), under a favourite tree in the public gardens, during which the "cursed heat," were it a sentient being, would commit suicide, so freely is it abused. 8 A.M. till noon office or orderly room. Noon a substantial breakfast (winding up No. 3), each machine being in its own bungalow, which, with the post-prandial cheroot, carries the day on to 2 P.M. when—oblivion until 5 P.M. (winding up No. 4). It is never precisely known what does happen between these hours, as each machine is shut up all the time in its bedroom with a book or magazine, hence it may be presumed it reads until run down, when it winds itself up by sleeping. At 5.30 P.M. machines assemble at the racket court, and move about in it until sun-down or later, being occasionally wound up with "pegs," that is, with brandies and sodas (winding up No. 5). 7 P.M. a drive or a plunge in the swimming-bath. 8.30 P.M. dinner (winding up No. 6), at which there is little eating and much imbibing. After dinner billiards or whist, unless the night be so gaspingly hot that every machine runs down, in which case the burr-ur-ur indicatory of running down is audible in spluttered grumblings, in which sounds resembling the words "infernal heat" are frequent. 11 P.M. bed, to sleep (winding up No. 7) if the thermometer be under 96°; to toss about and hurl anathemas and boots at the punkah coolies if above that figure.

Thus June and July are got through—it can hardly be Purgatory or hotter.

called lived through—with the thermometer in the hermetically sealed bungalow ranging from 90° to 96°, save on exceptionally hot days or nights when it rises to 98° or 100°. On particularly stifling days, of which there are ten or fourteen every hot weather, not a breath of air stirs, and the pea-soup-like atmosphere is so surcharged with dust that the sun is veiled; a heavy yellow-red light is diffused as during an eclipse of the sun; the twittering of the sparrows is hushed; men drag their limbs about slowly and laboriously, as if the thickness of the atmosphere impeded their motion, and when compelled to break the oppressive silence speak to each other softly, almost in whispers. Happy the man who can sleep fifteen hours out of the twenty-four in such weather!

Return to life.

With the opening of August existence becomes tolerable, for two or three inches of rain, discharged from some wandering thunder-cloud, have by that time cleared the atmosphere and reduced the temperature slightly. Before September is many days old a delicious freshness in the morning air tells of coming coolness. A few weeks go by, and then a long farewell to punkahs and heat: the hot weather is over. By degrees the station re-fills, as blooming wives, fresh from their narrow prison-house of Shekh-budin, or some quiet nook in festive Murree, rejoin their impatient husbands, and sporting bachelors hurry back from the Himalayan shooting grounds. The cold crisp mornings of November soon recall the blood to the bleached checks of those whom duty detained in the valley all the hot weather.

CHAPTER VI.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM—TENURES AND SETTLEMENTS.

At a time when our forefathers were painted savages, The State India possessed settled Governments, each of which re-landlord. garded itself as the supreme landlord of all the country within its limits, and, as such, took a share of every crop, greater or less, according to its enlightenment and power to enforce payment.

Since then each successive dynasty, whether Hindoo or Muhammadan, has drawn most of its revenue from the soil, and has generally abstained from actively interfering with any agricultural community so long as its demand was punctually satisfied. But this has proceeded from motives of policy, not from any faint conception that possibly others besides itself and the actual cultivators have any interest in the soil. Thus, although native governments did not recognize any proprietary rights in land except their own, the persons composing each little cultivating township have in many parts of India been left to develop their own tenures or soil-relationships according to their own traditions and custom.

The Trans-Indus portion of this District, owing to its isolated position and the encircling strength of its hills, as

well as the fighting qualities of its people, has been peculiarly fortunate in this respect. For, previous to its incorporation into the Sikh Kingdom, its royal master, whether he sat on the throne of Delhi or of Kabul, bestowed small thought on this out-of-the-way corner of his vast dominions, and, provided the moderate sum demanded as revenue or tribute was forthcoming whenever his tax-gatherer came with an army to collect it, he left the country entirely to itself.

Durrání rule.

Bannú was subject to the Durrání Kings of Kabul for nearly eighty years (1738 to about 1816), but during that whole period none of them ever succeeded in extorting in any one year more than twenty-five thousand rupees from the Bannuchís, or forty thousand rupees from the Marwats. And even Ahmad Shah, the most powerful of his dynasty, found it to his interest to allow the Isakhel Chief, who acted as his revenue collector in that comparatively quiet part of his dominions, one-half of the collections as a bribe to secure the other half for himself. Soon after the Nawab of Derah Ismail Khan had made himself an independent sovereign, and extended his sway over Isakhel, he cut down the chief of that country's allowance from one-half to a fourth, and, by lending his support to one of the Marwat factions, succeeded in realizing about forty thousand rupees annually from its people; but when he sought to levy tribute from the Bannuchís, he brought a hornet's nest about his ears, and never afterwards made a second attempt. This Nawab was a weakly infant compared to the Sikh Hercules, who soon after swallowed up him and his short-lived kingdom at a gulp.

Sikh exactions.

Although, as we saw in Chapter II., Maharajah Runjeet Singh did not formally annex Isakhel until 1836, he had some twelve years previously begun to overrun Marwat, and to make occasional incursions amongst the fortified villages of the Bannuchís. His revenue

system was simple, and not unsuited to a country with a scant and uncertain rainfall, but its administration was villainous, and destructive of all vested interests in the soil. In tracts inhabited by a Muhammadan population a few years of Sikh rule were sufficient to effect a complete bouleversement of rights in all holdings in which the proprietor was not himself the cultivator of his lands. Theoretically the State took a fourth of the gross out-turn of each harvest, either in kind or its money equivalent, which was calculated by an appraisement of the standing crop; and in villages where a head man was, on account of his local influence, employed as the collector, a fourth of this was remitted to him in return for his services. Practically the *Kárdár* (salaried government collector) or revenue-farmer took whatever share he chose to demand, leaving the residue to the cultivator, and, besides this, imposed various other taxes, direct and indirect, on both the agricultural and non-agricultural classes. In short, the only limit to his demands was his own ingenuity and the ability of the people to pay.

From the annexation of Isákhel by Maharajah Runjeet ^{Isákhel.} Singh to the arrival of Edwardes in 1847, a period of nearly twelve years elapsed, during which Muhammad Khan, the head and representative of the family which had for a century ruled the southern part of the little valley, first under the Durránis, and latterly under the Nawáb of Derah, was, with his eight stalwart sons, an exile and a fugitive amongst the Bannuchis. All that time the Sikh *Kardárs* were enjoying his inheritance, and acting as if they were the sole landlords in the country and the people their tenants-at-will. Fear of rebellion, which twice actually occurred, imposed some restraint on their rapacity, for the people, though fairly under the conqueror's heel, were still spirited and turbulent. Marwat was more fortunate, as until 1843 the Sikhs never drew

any revenue from it without first sending an army to enforce payment. In that year a revenue-farmer bold enough to contract for Marwat was found in the person of Futteh Khan Tawanah, who has already been mentioned in a previous chapter. He engaged with the Marwats never to take more than one-sixth the produce in kind and “*roti*” (bread), which was understood to mean a small extra contribution to defray the expenses of hospitality, and in return for such a liberal settlement the Marwat Chiefs consented to let him build a Crown fort at old Lakkí. No sooner was the fort erected and garrisoned than in the following year twelve thousand rupees were demanded as “*roti*” and an attempt made to levy it as a poll-tax. The Marwats grumbled, but paid it. Next year on its re-imposition the “black” faction rose and laid siege to the fort, swearing they would never submit to the indignity of a “*patkai*” (turban) tax; but on the appearance of succour from Derah Ismail Khan for the beleaguered garrison, they raised the siege and submitted. Early in 1847 the odious poll-tax caused another rebellion, and when Edwardes arrived a few months after, he abolished it, and increased the Government share of produce from one-sixth to one-fourth, which he says “was no loss to the Diwan, and was hailed as a perfect enfranchisement by the people.”

Bannú Proper.

The Bannuchis fared better than the Marwats, for the Sikhs never attempted to establish themselves amongst them, but used to enter the valley in force every second or third year, and as soon as forty thousand or fifty thousand rupees had been realized, withdraw from it. On each visitation some of the inhabitants fled to the hills, some remained and submitted, whilst others remained and fought.

Results of Sikh rule summed up.

The destructive effects of the Sikh connexion with the Trans-Indus portion of this District on all kinds of land tenures were most apparent in Isákhel, which had for

generations before thriven under a complicated tenure of its own, but on which the conqueror's hold had been firmest. In Marwat, where every proprietor was himself the cultivator of his land, no serious harm was wrought. A good deal of land, it is true, passed into the hands of mortgagees, but the pre-existing proprietary tenures were nowhere annihilated, or even, excepting in a few villages, rudely shaken. In Bannu Proper the Sikhs found confusion and left chaos.

In 1848-49, with the annexation of the Punjáb by ourselves, the era of misrule, in which might was right, passed away, and gave place to one of justice and order, in which law was king. But for three or four years work of a more pressing nature, as well as paucity of trained officers, constrained the new government to adopt in practice that method of collecting its land revenue which its predecessor had only known in theory. In Bannú, then, for the first four years of our rule the gross yield of each crop was appraised a few weeks before harvest-time, and one quarter of its value taken in cash as the Government share, except in cases where the revenue had been released in favour of any particular individual or institution, or where lighter rates were imposed on a whole class, as was the case with the Wazírs and *Uluma* of Bannu Proper, who paid at one-sixth only.

First four years
of our rule

In 1852-53 what is termed a "*Summary Settlement*" was carried out by Nicholson. Under it the cultivated area of each village was roughly measured or guessed at, and a lump sum assessment imposed for a short term of years, which on acceptance was distributed by the villagers in their own way amongst themselves, and whilst each ordinarily paid only his own share, the whole proprietary body was held jointly and severally responsible for the total demand, but in cases where the assessment was refused the village was leased out to a farmer. This kind of

First and second
Summary
Settlements.

Settlement was meant to be a mere temporary makeshift, and though rude was a great advance on the Sikh practice, because it created a valuable property in land, which had not previously existed.

In theory, however, the old system was superior to the new. The Sikhs professed to take a full one-fourth of the produce of each crop, and could do so without impoverishing the landholders, because the demand fluctuated with the yield. But we imposed a fixed annual demand, crop or no crop, and where it amounted to the average annual collections of the preceding four years, it simply meant ruin to the cultivators, who sooner or later fell into the toils of the money-lender; and where it was less, as was generally the case, it involved a sacrifice of revenue. Fixed assessments are still the rule throughout the Punjab, river lands alone excepted, and the sum annually lost thereby to Government must be enormous, for at least half the province has a very scanty and uncertain rainfall, for which full allowance has been everywhere made at settlement. Of course this loss of potential revenue is in the opinion of many compensated for by the special advantages accruing from fixation of demand. There is much to be said on both sides, but this is not the place for a discussion of the question.

In 1858-59 there took place a second Summary Settlement of the Trans-Indus portion of the District which will remain in force until the assessments upon which I am now engaged shall be sanctioned, announced and distributed.

Regular Settlement and what is meant thereby

It was not until 1872 that a "*Regular Settlement*," as it is technically called, was commenced in this District. The great distinction between it and its predecessors is this: in them the object was purely fiscal—to make a guess at the annual gross profits of an estate and tax them as heavily as could safely be done, without checking the expansion of cultivation or beggaring the proprietors. But in a Regular

Settlement the object of first importance is the preparation of a record of rights, a judicial and statistical process of a very laborious nature.

It is obvious that, without the data which such a record can alone supply, the assessment of a village must be a very perilous work; and that, when a whole country is so assessed and the rates fixed are as high as those imposed in a Regular Settlement, a great amount of hardship and injustice must be endured by many villages. In no two estates, and often in no two holdings in the same estate, is the productive capacity of the land, acre for acre, equal. Consequently, when, as in a Summary Settlement, a uniform rate is imposed on whole groups of villages, inequality of incidence must be the result, even though the demand as a whole may be fair. Delay in the accordance of a Regular Settlement is, therefore, justifiable only when the current Summary Settlement rates are so low that the State is thereby absolutely throwing away a portion of its legitimate revenue. In this District, neither in 1853-54 nor in 1858-59, were light rates generally imposed; hence some village communities have been well-nigh ruined. And, in the interests of the people, it must ever remain a subject for regret that a Regular Settlement was not begun fifteen or twenty years earlier, however unavoidable may have been the delay.

A Settlement Officer's work is so dry and uninteresting to every one but himself, that I shall describe very briefly the various operations, the sum total of which makes up a Regular Settlement.

No sooner had I been gazetted to the appointment, my establishment sanctioned, and the higher subordinate officials in it nominated, than my difficulties began. I had plenty of experience of the people, but none of the particular line of work committed to my charge; so I had to put myself to school again and read up my subjects—

Duties of a
Settlement
Officer.

surveying with the plane-table, working out areas, methods for calculating prices and rates, Revenue Circulars and Acts bearing on my duties. And lastly, I studied every Settlement Report I could obtain, and works on land tenures and agriculture, all subjects to which I had never before specially turned my attention. Each stage the work advances, fresh untrodden ground is broken; so that there would be no real self-depreciation were I two years hence to exclaim (in the words of an Officer who has lately completed an important frontier Settlement, and received as a reward for his labours the “high commendations” of Government), “I have finished my work, and find I am only now a sufficient master of it to begin it.”

Few men care to do more than one Settlement, as that one employs all their energies in a special line for between five and six years, and engrossingly interesting though the occupation may be, *toujours perdrix* becomes nauseous. Should a man do two Settlements during his service, his first will, I think, be probably a better one than his second, as youth, energy, enthusiasm, and the charm of novelty of work are a match any day for mere experience, which often means groove-working and a narrow-minded prejudice in favour of old ideas. In nine cases out of ten, as a man grows older he becomes a safer and steadier machine, but his activity of mind and body and appetite for work diminish; and the more of such latter qualifications a Settlement Officer has, the better work will he turn out.

But to return to the subject in hand, my difficulties. The establishment had been sanctioned, and six or eight of the best paid appointments given away, but nearly three hundred men, Surveyors, Writers, Supervisors, and others, on salaries ranging from eight to sixty rupees *per mensem*, had to be found and entertained, to say nothing of

a host of menials and messengers of all sorts. As soon as the news of the new Trans-Indus Settlements—for the adjoining District of Derah Ismail Khan came under Settlement at the same time as Bannu—had circulated in the Western parts of the Punjab, petitions for employment began pouring in, each supported by a formidable array of certificates and references; and a hungry army of nondescripts, each professing himself to be a finished surveyor (*Amin*), index-writer (*Khasrahnavis*), or calligrapher (*Khushnavis*), flocked, like vultures to a carcass, from all quarters of the Punjab to Bannu and Derah Ismail Khan. The appointments filled, and the motley staff assorted and slightly trained, measurements were begun. As few knew anything about Pashto, various devices, such as rewards and extra pay, had to be resorted to, to encourage its study; and the quickness with which a sufficient smattering was picked up by the majority was wonderful. By following the Pashto proverb in its spirit, "Take up a clod for a Hindkai, but quietly coax a Pathan," village boundaries were demarcated, and boundary and field maps with indices were prepared. The ordinary scale to which the maps were drawn was one hundred and ten yards to the inch; but in tracts where the sub-division of land was very minute, fifty-five yards to the inch; and in the indices every conceivable detail about every rood of land, marsh, and water in the District was recorded. Besides this, to prevent the possibility of any unfortunate peasant, owing to absence or ignorance, being kept out of his rights, and also for purposes of comparison, elaborate genealogical tables, going back sometimes nine and ten generations and even farther, to the common ancestor of each group of proprietors, were drawn up for every village; and below them was traced the descent of the ancestral property as it ought to have been by law or custom of inheritance, and as it actually had been

The four stages.
Measurements.

in practice; and where the two materially differed, the reasons for divergence were entered. All this work took about two years to complete, which is not a very long period, considering that there are 204,411 agriculturists in the District, and that it contains 3786 square miles; besides which 2915 judicial and revenue suits and appeals were disposed of during the time.

Attestation.

When the above operations had been finished, attestation was begun; that is, all the information collected during the preceding stages was collated, and, item by item, locally tested by at least three officials, each acting independently of the other two; and where the correctness of any entry was disputed, by four and sometimes five, each acting in the same way. Whilst this was going on, a scientific survey with the theodolite and chain, on a fixed scale of four inches to the mile, was being separately carried on by Officers of the Survey Department, by which my measurements were put to a final test.

Revenue Survey.

Assessments.

At the same time, I and my native assistants were engaged in framing the assessment statements, reports, and—the past history of every village and every inhabitant in it having now been ascertained—in endeavouring to evolve system and simplicity of tenures out of the confusion of the past, a confusion which twenty-five years of our rule had not done very much to reduce to order. Though thousands of decisions in land disputes had been given during that period by the Civil Courts of the District, the want of data and time to devote to the study of the law of real property, which is but ascertained custom and arbitrary rules enacted by men to meet cases of doubtful custom, had rendered the judgments not infrequently either ambiguous or unsound. Errors in law and procedure were no doubt often corrected on appeal, when appeals were preferred; but errors in fact remained frequently undetected, for the simple reason that the Courts were con-

strained to draw their conclusions on questions of fact from meagre, imperfect, and often fallacious entries in the Summary Settlement Records, or from the evidence of half a dozen ignorant witnesses, who either lied knowingly or from ignorance. Any one acquainted with the history of cases which have been fought up to the highest Court of Appeal will bear me out in saying that when the Court of first instance goes astray, with what is considered a sufficiency of legal proof to support its view on even an unimportant issue of fact, the higher the appeal is carried, the greater as a rule grows the error. The correct elucidation of the facts by the Court which first hears a land case is indeed almost impossible in any but the simplest of disputes, until the elaborate researches of a Regular Settlement have collected sure data of agricultural custom.

Attestation and assessment work are still going on as I write; but I have spoken of them in the past tense as, by the time these pages appear in print, they ought both to be well over. Once completed, and the assessments sanctioned by Government, nothing will remain but to distribute Distribution. them over individual villages and proprietors,—a delicate process, which will take up about a year, as it requires, amongst other things, a nice appreciation of the productive capacity of the different soils in each village. A Settle- Final Report. ment Report, which is a lengthy document, bristling with statistics and hard facts, conveyed in the briefest of language compatible with sense and perspicacity, and for the composition of which the author is generally allowed a clear three months, crowns the edifice.

Any forecast of the probable fiscal results of the opera- Results. tions now in progress would be premature, but it is certain that there will be some increase of revenue in two of the three Trans-Indus Subdivisions, as well as in the Cis-Indus Subdivision of Mianwali, because the existing soil-

rates in them, *taken as a whole*, not being unduly high, but simply requiring equalization, Government has a right to participate in the profits accruing from extension of cultivation and rise in prices since 1858–59, the year from which the last Summary Settlement began to run. The exception is Marwat, which is already over-assessed. Hence the profits arising from the two causes indicated above will be more than swallowed up in the reduction which will have to be made in the rates.

The term of Settlement.

It is to be hoped that the Settlement now in progress, whatever be its result, will be sanctioned for a term of thirty years, the longest possible according to the present policy of Government, as a single experience in a lifetime of the expense and worry in which it necessarily involves the agricultural classes is sufficient for poor men, whose highest earthly aspirations are embodied in the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread."

Doubtless a revision of Settlement will be less harassing and more quickly accomplished than a first Regular Settlement, as this is. But whether it take three years or six, it must be costly, inquisitorial, and vexatious for the peasantry, and once more fan into flame the old animosities which are now burning so fiercely in their breasts. The knowledge that it is now or never, and the cheapness of litigation, partly account for the blaze of land suits that a Settlement everywhere kindles. But there is another cause. The people have for the first time in their lives to face the question, "Do you do such and such a thing because you must or because you choose?" to learn, in short, what is meant by a right or obligation, the distinction between which and a privilege enjoyed, or service rendered of grace and terminable at any moment, was, and is, to many incomprehensible.

Rights and obligations.

Tenant rights.

An example of the usual style of answer I used to receive from Bannuchí landlords and tenants when endeavouring

tle that vexed question what tenants had or had not any rights, will illustrate the difficulty.

f. (to tenant who, as his father and grandfather before has cultivated the same plot all his life). "Can your lord eject you?"

tenant. "If I pay him his share of produce, and do so, he can never wish to."

landlord. "Yes, that is true."

f. "Supposing you do both, he might still get angry and turn you out without good cause."

tenant. "How could he wish to turn me out if I did not want to make him angry?"

landlord. "No, how could I?"

f. "Suppose he fell in love with your wife, and you had to give her up to him. Out of spite he might give your land to another; then what would you do?"

tenant. "Such a thing would not happen."

landlord. "Oh, how could I do so, Sáhib, as I have my own wives of my own?"

After a few more such questions and answers, I would have been in despair, as neither landlord nor tenant could have given the hypothesis of a capricious unreasonable ejectment and order the latter's status to be recorded as it ought to be proper from other considerations. Some of the tenant's answers would simmer in the landlord's mind for weeks, until he discovered that the word "*maurusí*" (occupancy rights) had been entered after the tenant's name, when he would ponder over this term for a month or more, and then possibly sue for the erasure of this noxious word from the record.

On the question of irrigation rights, it was the same Hazy conceptions.

Men who, as their forefathers had done before had watered their lands from a certain channel for generations, would calmly assert that they did so with the permission of certain others, whom they called the proprietors

of the channel, and could not understand that it was possible permission would be refused. In Marwat the same inability to conceive a contingency, which had never previously occurred in practice, induced a whole clan (the Michan Khel Sarhangs) to obstinately declare that the group of villages they had occupied for eight generations was held by them as mortgagees. And when it was pointed out to them that by such an admission they rendered themselves liable to ejection on redemption of mortgage, they replied, "We and our forefathers have lived here for over two hundred years, and the Musa Khéls (the mortgagors) have never interfered with us, how will they do so now?"

The law of limitation.

The tenacity with which men cling to their real or supposed rights, and the wonderful patience with which they waited nearly twenty-five years for the long-promised "*Kánunibandobast*" (Regular Settlement), which was always held up to them as a coming panacea for every grievance, is a curious phase of native character, which this Settlement has brought prominently to my notice. The law of limitation, a bar the justice of which few natives can understand, as they take no account of time themselves, has been a *deus ex machina* to me. But for it litigation would have exceeded all bounds, and even with it the tales of pre-annexation, blood, oppression, and fraud arising from the land disputes I have had to listen to in Court, have been legion.

Reduction of law stamps.

When Settlement operations began, Government reduced the institution stamp in suits to an uniform and almost nominal duty of eight annas (one shilling), in order that the cost of litigation should not deter any man from suing for what he thought was his right. This politic remission has no doubt caused many a claim to be preferred which would otherwise have been brooded over in silence and never been heard of at all; but it has also demonstrated to the people at large, more clearly than one hundred

assurances, that the object of Government in making this Settlement has been as much to secure to *them their* rights as to itself a proper share of produce. As an enhancement of assessment is generally a concomitant of a Settlement, there is always a wide-spread conviction, whenever a new Settlement is anywhere begun, that it is the sole aim Government has in view in undertaking the work. Consequently, every act of liberality, however small, which weakens the impression that everything done for the people springs from a selfish policy, is beneficial to a Government, whose security depends as much on moral as on physical force.

Suspicious of the
 He about
 object of a
 Settlement.

Certainly, two years ago both Marwats and Bannúchís were morally convinced that the solicitude I was showing to know all about their incomes could have only one reason.

Two smart answers I received, the one naïve and simple, and the other naïve and vicious—characteristic of the two races—will illustrate this.

During measurements, a *parcha*, or rough abstract of the entries in the field index, is given each proprietor, in order that he may be able at once to ask for an explanation regarding any entry he thinks erroneous, and after attestation an attested copy of the same is given him, for which a fee of eight annas (one shilling) is levied. I one day asked an old Marwat if he had received his *parcha*.

Cheap title deeds.

“Yes,” said he.

“And what did you do with it?”

“Oh, I put it into my grain-safe, to preserve it.”

“Did no one tell you its use?”

“Yes, they told me I should have to pay eight annas for it; and that was why they insisted I should take it, though I did not want it,” said he quite innocently, amidst the titters of the better-instructed villagers and the frowns and warning nods of my own myrmidons. His answer was so unconsciously near the truth—seeing that I expect

to realize nearly thirty thousand rupees from “*parcha*” fees—that I had to tell myself that the document would, when attested, be a valuable security, and that, as it was fair those who were to be benefited from the Settlement should bear a portion of its cost, the charge of one shilling for a title-deed to a holding was justifiable.

The chain
shortened.

The Bannúchí's case was different. I asked him how his cultivated area had so greatly increased according to my measurements, compared with those of 1858–59. “God knows,” said he in a sulky tone, “unless it be that the Sarkar's chain has grown smaller since then.” I hinted to him that he had probably brought some new land under the plough since then ; but I did not add, which was just as likely, that he or his father might have acted like the unjust steward, and said to the surveyor in 1858–59, “My fields contain ten acres, you say ; but as no map has been made, take your pen and write down five quickly ; here are five rupees for you.”

Attempted
dodges.

The dodges of the villagers to throw dust in one's eyes are often very amusing. Here are two instances from opposite ends of the District, eighty miles apart.

Some of the Wazirí clans resisted measurements as long as they could, and at last, when they accepted the inevitable, they attempted to impose on me by transparent little innocent lies, such as assuring me that their lands were so poor that they only bore crops once in twelve years, although the truth was they bore a crop every year or second year at least.

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eyes.

On another occasion the Háthí Khel Maliks came up in a body, and asked me to reinstate a *patwári* who had been dismissed a year before.

“Why,” said I, “the Deputy Commissioner turned him out some time ago, because you complained of his interfering with the privacy of your women, and generally that he was a bad man.”

“No, no,” said they; “he is a quiet Hindoo: pooh!” pointing contemptuously to the wretched *patwári* standing oeside them, with hands clasped and the uncomfortable look on his face that a schoolboy has before he is whipped, “do you think our women would look at such as he, or such as he dare to look at them? The truth is, he told the Deputy Commissioner of some cultivated lands of ours which we had contrived to keep off the rent-roll; and as we look on our lands as we do on our women, that the less the Sarkar or strangers know about them the better, we complained to the Deputy Commissioner about the *patwári*. But now you know everything, why, what is the use of further concealment?”

After such a straightforward explanation, the poor *patwári* was reinstated, and the deputation went off highly satisfied with their own honesty, and laughing at the way they thought they had hoodwinked the Deputy Commissioner the previous year.

Let us now jump to Harnólí, a pastoral village Cis-Indus.

When the cattle of this village were being enumerated, with a view to allotting it sufficiency of grazing land, and demarcating off the rest as Government waste, the graziers were pitch-forked on to a dilemma. They feared that if they understated the number, they would get less land; and if they overstated it, their *tirni* (poll-tax on cattle) would be increased. In their extremity, they sought the advice of the most knowing men of their neighbourhood, and at last boldly went to the native Deputy Collector at Mainwalí, stated their difficulty, and wound up by touchingly asking him, “Now, which way shall we lie?” The advice they got was to tell the truth, a simple solution of the question they had not thought of themselves.

A fix. “Which way shall we lie?”

Of all the curious proprietary systems thoroughly brought to light and investigated in this Settlement, the

Vesh tenure of the Marwats is the most remarkable, as it exhibits in a state of complete preservation that original collective form of property which has lately been discovered to have been the common germ out of which individual rights in land must have everywhere sprung. Sir Henry Maine, in his admirable little work entitled "*Village Communities in the East and West*," devotes the greater part of Lecture III. to an examination of this ancient usage, which he shows once universally obtained amongst all Teutonic races, and still survives in Russian villages.

Maine on collective property in land.

At page 76 of his book he writes :

"It is most desirable that one great branch of native Indian usage should be thoroughly examined before it decays, inasmuch as it is through it that we are able to connect Indian customary law with what appears to have once been the customary law of the Western World. I speak of the Indian customs of agricultural tenure and of collective property in land."

In the succeeding pages he draws a picture of what this collective form of property used to be in certain parts of Europe; but both he, and other writers on this subject quoted by him, seem—like skilful anatomists, who, with the help of an odd bone or two, boldly reconstruct extinct animals—to have built up their model of a primitive Teutonic cultivating commune from various agricultural customs, which had been observed by them to be still existent in Germany and Great Britain, but which are at most meagre relics of the past. Here, in Marwat, no patchwork of *disjecta membra* is required, the model is before us animate and almost vigorous in its old age.

The *Vesh* tenure in Marwat.

Under such circumstances I shall make no apology for describing, at considerable length, this time-honoured tenure as it obtains in Marwat.¹

¹ The account here given is condensed from a report I made on the subject, which was published in the Supplement of the *Punjab Government Gazette* of November 27, 1873.

When, nearly three centuries ago, the Marwats seized the plain to which they have given their name, they imported into it their ancient usage of *Khula Vesh*, or periodical redistribution of tribal lands by lot, according to the number of “*Khulas*” or mouths in the tribe. As might have been expected, in the course of two and a half centuries of semi-subjection to Moghal, Durrani, Barakzai and Sikh, those periodical re-allotments of lands have been long discontinued in many sections of the tribe, and it is a matter of surprise to find so much vitality in the custom that, after what Maine would call “the destructive influences” of a quarter of a century of our rule, it still flourishes among some of their communities.

Until the commencement of the present Settlement operations, no systematic inquiries had been made regarding this custom. It is true that Marwat has twice undergone Summary Settlement, but then no maps were prepared, and the very nature of the tenure rendered the distribution of the assessment a very easy matter amongst the shareholders of a “*Vesh*” community; for every revenue payer knew the number of “*Khulas*” he was returned as possessing at the last “*Vesh*,” and paid his fraction of revenue at an equal rate on each. In the same way, when, during currency of the Settlement, a new “*Khula Vesh*” took place, the calculation was as easily made; but if a simple new “*Vesh*” or re-allotment on the basis of the previous enumeration, was made, the distribution of the revenue remained unchanged. Soon after beginning measurements in the hot weather of 1872, I had to encounter and solve the problem of how to make my surveys and records of rights in such villages, without, by any direct action of my own, extinguishing a custom endeared to the people by many generations of observance, and which, notwithstanding the general objections to any tenure which does not secure permanency of

occupancy to each landholder, has, nevertheless, many special recommendations not to be found under any other system. After ascertaining in what villages redistributions of lands or exchanges (“*badlim*”) had been carried out since annexation, I held meetings with the head men and grey-beards of such villages, and from first to last discussed the question with them in all its bearings pretty well threadbare. A new difficulty disclosed itself at a very early stage; namely, that, owing to the inflexibility of our revenue system, long series of bad years, and in some cases over-assessment, a considerable proportion of land in several of the villages had been mortgaged, and that at a new repartition mortgagees would be sufferers.

Besides the communities in which the custom was known to survive, my inquiries extended to others, in which it seemed *prima facie* to have become extinct through desuetude. For them the investigation was purposely of a very summary nature, as I was apprehensive that by making it at all searching I would rouse parties who would agitate for re-distribution of lands, though none such had occurred since annexation. This apprehension was not without cause; for almost every village in the Central and Eastern part of the Marwat which has been settled over four or five generations bears internal evidence of having maintained, until within two or three generations back, the “*Vesh*” custom either in its integrity or over a part of its area. The traces of this custom which are now to be found in such villages are apparent in the territorial divisions of their lands which now exist, and in the minute and exact knowledge which the proprietors of land possess as to the number of “*dadas*” or shares they have inherited from their forefathers. Thus in a case I decided in 1873, in which a portion of the Achu Khels, a non-vesh tribe, were the plaintiffs, each plaintiff stated the number of “*dadas*” he was entitled to

with such accuracy that, when they were tested by a comparison with the genealogical tree of the tribe, subsequently prepared, the numbers were found to be pretty nearly correct. Again, the survey maps of this Settlement afford ocular proof of how general was the "*Vesh*" tenure a few generations back, and of the wonderful perfection to which the system was brought. Thus, in one of the largest Sikandar Khel blocks, in which the "*Vesh*" custom has been judicially declared to have ceased, we find one of the strips (that is, the share of a "*Khula*") in it to be one mile one furlong ten perches long, by only one yard two feet six inches in width. The soil in the southern and eastern parts of Marwat is sandy, and stones are unprocurable; consequently no permanent boundary marks can exist between the different strips. Before each ploughing the width of every strip has to be marked off *de novo*, and longitudinal lines have to be run up and down, inside each block, to show the boundaries of each group of strips, and prevent shareholders getting out of the straight line.

I have given in an Appendix, in a condensed form, particulars of the custom in five communities, from which it will be seen that, so long as the "*Vesh*" custom obtains, a sale of any land is impossible, for it is all the property of the tribe collectively, and without the tribal sanction no shareholder can permanently alienate a single lot. Though sales are invalid without the general consent, mortgages are not. Regarding the rights of a mortgagee at a new "*Vesh*" it seems generally admitted that he is entitled to some sort of compensation in money or land, should the number of the mortgaged strips or "*Khulas*" have diminished by extinction through death, provided that the original mortgagor or his descendants be alive. Where he has died without issue, of course the mortgagee's rights become extinguished. In short, the general principle is that mortgagee takes the place of mortgagor, and

at a new "*Khula Vesh*" maintains his position or loses it according as members in mortgagor's family, whose shares were mortgaged, be surviving or not. It can only be within the last generation or two that the necessity for mortgaging land has arisen. The rules relating thereto must be comparatively new, and can hardly yet have received the stamp of legality through long observance. The complications which have arisen from the mortgaging of land have, more than any other cause, tended to bring the "*Vesh*" custom to an end. Runjeet Singh commenced his incursions in 1823, conquered the country in 1836, and we annexed it in 1849. The former used to squeeze all the revenue he could out of it, making some allowance for the vicissitudes of seasons, and we have imposed a tolerably fair but inflexible assessment, which does not accommodate itself to such vicissitudes, and which, in the often-recurring years of drought, drains Marwat pretty dry; so between us much land has been mortgaged, and consequently the "*Vesh*" custom is moribund, and by the expiry of term of Settlement now in progress will probably be a thing of the past.

A *Vesh* described. Making allowance for peculiarities, which must have arisen in many communities soon after they had attained the dignity of an independent existence, the following will serve as a description of the "*Vesh*" tenure as it existed in south-eastern Marwat until within a period of one hundred years ago, and as it exists in several villages up to the present day. Let us suppose that a group of families, feeling themselves sufficiently strong and numerous to sever their connexion from the rest of their tribe, have obtained their share of inheritance from the common tribal lands. A representative council of elders assembles, selects a site for the new township, determines what portion of the arable area shall at once be set apart for tillage, and parcels it out into blocks called "*wands*," ac-

according to the different qualities of soil it contains. Each of these blocks is designated by some name descriptive of its soil or position, by which it is known in all future times. The boundaries are generally some well-defined physical features, such as depressions or ravines; but the primary object of the division, which is that all the land in each block shall be of the same quality and have the same natural advantages, is not sacrificed in the endeavour to secure easily-recognizable limits. The next proceeding is the census, or enumeration of "*Khulas*" or mouths, which completed, single households are grouped under sub-sections, and sub-sections under sections, until at last every member of the community is classed under one or other of its largest "*Khels*" or clans. After the above, numbers are equalized, so that each block may be divided into so many equal areas. This accomplished, partition by lot then commences, and goes on from section with section, down to household with household, and even, when necessary, man with man. Thus, suppose the members of the community have all been classified under two chief "*Khels*," each block is first divided into two equal parts, for possession of which lots are cast; each half is then sub-divided into so many other equal parts, possession of each of which is again determined by lot, and so on down to households, and even individuals of the same household. Each "*Khula*," which may be here translated "individual share," is in shape a long narrow parallelogram, running from end to end of the sub-division of the block in which it is situated. As a rule, the casting of lots does not proceed beyond households; thus if a family contains a father, a mother, and five children, living in subjection to the *paterfamilias*, he receives as his "*patti*," or family share, seven strips in a lump in each block or "*wand*," each of which is, if measured off, of a uniform width. In all this perfect equality in size and value of each share

is maintained. Every living individual member in the community, from the aged chief to the new-born infant, gets an equal amount of land. If the chief's family consists of five members, and a man of no mark's of ten, still the latter would receive double the share of the former. The only difference in the position of the two men is that the former, owing to his personal bravery or other qualifications, has great influence in the community, and the latter, owing to the absence of such qualifications, has none. No restrictions as to fallow and rotation of crops are imposed or required, as oft-recurring droughts secure the former, and long experience, which has taught the people to sow grain and wheat in alternate years, secures the latter. Excepting the land reserved as a site for the township, and the portion of the culturable area which has been distributed in the above way, all the rest remains included in the common pasture. The procedure sketched above is repeated every few years, and at each repartition, as the community increases in numbers, more and more land is taken from the common mark and included in the allotted arable mark. As occasion arises, the representative council of elders interprets custom or frames new rules, on the fiction that they are based on custom, and only explanatory of it, to meet difficulties as they spring up, arising from mortgage disputes, claims to trees, or of absentees desirous of re-admission, and the like.

A reference to the last chapters of the Book of Numbers will show that a tenure somewhat similar to, if not identical with, the "*Vesh*" system of Marwat has the sanction of Holy Writ, and that Moses, by command of the Lord, some four thousand years ago, divided the lands of Canaan amongst the Children of Israel very much in the same way as "*Vesh*" communities of Marwat divide their village lands amongst themselves.

Let us now compare the primitive system sketched Gradual falling above with that now obtaining in some of the com- primitive system. munities in which it still, though in an impaired state, survives, and see how it has borne the wear and tear of time, the friction of Moghal and Sikh rule, and the civilizing and destructive-of-equality influences of our rule. For the purposes of illustration, I select from the communities noted in the appendices, the Mamu Khel and Sikandar Khel tribes, as being good exemplars of the changes which have crept in and undermined the primitive law of perfect and ever-shifting equality, and as exhibiting the stages of transition from the original collective form of property to that of permanent severalty. We find that the Mamu Khels, up to sixty-three years ago, were united as one commune, having periodical distributions of land together, but that they then split up into three sections, each of which permanently disconnected itself from the other two; that, owing to the weight of mortgages, the "*Vesh*" custom fell into desuetude many years ago in the Pahar Khel section; and that, in the other two, the individual right to permanent property in land has asserted itself by the innovation of fixed shares, which have become hereditary in certain families, and are independent of the numbers of their households. Now take the case of the Sikandar Khels, and we see that, besides the causes just mentioned, there is another and very powerful cause, namely, the predominance of one section (the Mina Khels), owing to the superior influence of its chiefs, over the others. By this means the Mina Khels were enabled to seize and retain a large plot of land, called "*Jibari*," for themselves, whilst continuing the custom in its integrity in all other plots, and have now been able to shape public opinion into affirming that only hitherto-undivided plots are subject to "*Vesh*," and that for their partition the

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rule should be, not a "*Khula Vesh*," but simply a "*Vesh*," according to census returns made sixteen years ago. Thus then it seems that the causes operating to bring the "*Vesh*" custom to an end are chiefly—

(1). The mortgaging of lands, necessitated by an inelastic assessment, in a country subject to drought, and depending entirely on the rainfall for its crops.

(2). Growth of a feeling of individual rights in land, fostered by our land laws and the unintentional tendency of the administrators of those laws to sympathize with such a feeling.

(3). Predominance of one family, or group of families, in a community, causing them to disregard custom, and assert the principle of "might is right."

To the three causes just enumerated must be added another, which must give the custom its death-blow. I refer to the obstacle of expense which this Settlement creates; for were repartition in any village to be carried out during the term of Settlement, the revision of a portion of its record of rights would be necessary and very costly.

Under these circumstances I think it may be assumed that the preservation of the custom for a generation or two more, even were it advisable, would be impossible, and that this Settlement will finally extinguish it. I am aware that any land tenure which is not one of permanent severalty is generally condemned, and that there are strong objections to the one I am writing about. These are, that under it little capital can be laid out in the permanent improvement of the productive qualities of the soil, no encouragement is given to special thrift and industry, and that, consequently, every one remains at a dead level, and the community, so long as it labours under the trammels of "*Vesh*," cannot be a progressive one. There is also another objection I had almost overlooked, namely, that the rules regarding trees in "*Vesh*"

villages are subversive of any attempts at arboriculture. Certainly Marwat is very bare of trees, but it is the fault of the soil and the rats, not of the people; and I can safely assert that "*Vesh*" villages contain as many trees as "*non-Vesh*" villages. Though the rules about trees encourage their periodical destruction, the force of public opinion makes the rules almost a dead letter.

As Marwat is for the most part a plain of undulating sandy downs, and as the water-level generally lies at too great a depth to permit of sinking wells for irrigational purposes, any outlay of capital on the land would in most "*Vesh*" communities, except Mulazai, be a useless waste of money. Thus, two out of three of the general objections to the "*Vesh*" tenure, when applied to Marwat, are, I think, partly removed. The third, namely, that under it no encouragement is held out to extra thrift and labour, cannot be denied. But though the material prosperity of the community may not under the system be increased, still I think this objection, for people like the Marwats, is (and must continue to be for generations to come) more than compensated for by the check the custom exercises on a community's moral decadence. Through this custom the habit of self-government, which under our rule is elsewhere falling to pieces, is maintained. The members of a community are taught obedience to their own laws and customs; reverence to their elders; to hold together and act in union; the speediest method of increasing their numbers to the maximum their land will support, because the moment a child is born its birthright is secured to it, thus the larger a man's family is the larger is his share in land. Poverty is kept from every door, for all are equal, and the evils attendant on the unequal distribution of wealth are non-existent. I am persuaded that the Marwats, who are pre-eminent for honesty, simplicity,

powers of self-management, aversion to litigation, and ready obedience to authority, owe these good qualities in a great measure to their moral superiority over their neighbours, acquired by a long adherence to their old collective system of property, the influence of which, though the custom is now extinct in most parts of the country, has not yet had time to become lost.

Indian systems
of tillage often
disparaged.

Many of us Englishmen out here, in our pride and ignorance, habitually decry Indian systems of agriculture, laugh at the sharp pointed stick the peasant terms a plough, call his use of it scratching the surface of the soil, and in our lordly self-sufficiency pity him as a poor spiritless slave to the antiquated ways of his forefathers. Such self-constituted critics and judges, puffed up with a little theoretical knowledge, supplemented perhaps by some hastily-drawn conclusions, arrived at from having witnessed the wondrous results of high farming at home, forget how different are the conditions of life and labour in this country and in England. Here, the land is owned by a peasantry who live from hand to mouth, are often sickly—for few escape at least one long bout of fever each autumn,—have to work half the year under a fierce and deadly sun, and to pay to Government from a fourth to a tenth of their produce. There, the landlord or farmer lives luxuriously in a glorious climate, and has leisure, capital, or the means of raising it, and education, which enable him to cultivate his land according to the best known method of tillage. In England, with all its advantages, successful farming depends on capital, which is always procurable on reasonable terms, but in this country it never is. Out here, when the State even has supplied the means, and with lavish hand started model farms, either failure has resulted, or profits have been so small, that were the farm assessed at full rates, the Settlement would break down. Tea, coffee, and indigo planting con-

Our model farms
don't pay.

cerns have, no doubt, often succeeded, thanks to capital ; but let us not forget that many a fortune has been sunk in them as well.

The peasantry of this District are probably as deficient as any in the Punjab in agricultural knowledge and energy ; indeed Pathans are proverbially worse cultivators than Sikhs, Awans, Jats, or Rajputs. Three years' study has opened my eyes considerably, and has dispelled many prejudices. Instead of being the lazy ignorant beings I once thought them, the majority of the agriculturists of the District have proved, on better acquaintance, to be a shrewd, hard-working, and intelligent class, who understand thoroughly how to make use of their slender means in extracting full measure from their soil.

When I state—and, remember, I am writing of Pathans, perhaps the worst cultivators as a race in Upper India—that they appreciate the value of fallows, rotation of crops, selection of seed, deep ploughing and manuring, and can tell to a nicety which of their known cereals or pulses are best suited for each soil, I shall hardly be believed, but it is a fact nevertheless. In Bannú Proper fallows are seldom resorted to, because the Kúrm is ever renovating the soil with fertilizing silt, and manure is everywhere used to supplement it. So highly is house and farm manure valued, that disputes concerning the right to a share of that of dependents—one of the last manorial dues which remain to the descendants of the original founders of each village—are a fruitful source of long and bitter litigation. Even with such powerful auxiliaries as water silt and manure, the soil would soon be impoverished and exhausted, but for the system of rotation which is practised, whereby two crops, which withdraw similar constituents from the soil, are seldom grown in succession. The number of crops is so various—wheat, barley, peas, tobacco, and clover in spring or early summer, and rice,

Agricultural
knowledge and
practices.

Rotations.

sugar-cane, turmeric, cotton, and maize in autumn or winter—that the husbandman has a wide field to select from; and every year he always raises two, and sometimes three, crops on every rood of land he possesses. In the unirrigated parts of the district gram is rotated with wheat in light soils, and *bājra* with wheat in stiff soils; or fallowing is practised, intentionally or involuntarily, for rain is seldom abundant in two successive years. In at least one village, occupied by Thalokar Jats, and not Pathans, the truth has, however, dawned that the rearing of cattle is not incompatible with the growing of corn. In it many hundred head of buffaloes are fed, to a great extent on *Kiici*, a kind of grass, and other green crops are grown for them on the best lands of the village, which, in the following year, produce first-class wheat crops.

Selection of seed. Throughout the District the best seed is always reserved for sowing, and in some parts, where excess of humidity or overworking of the soil causes the production of a poor grain, wheat-seed is annually imported from the Thal, where the finest grain is grown.

Deep ploughing. As to deep ploughing, it is a fact that in this country the soil is rather scratched than ploughed; but the reason is, that the means for piercing deeper than from four to six inches do not exist. The oxen are small, and for at least five months in the year in poor condition, and have not the strength to force the plough, light though it be, through the soil at a greater depth. I have never yet spoken to a peasant on this subject, but he has lamented his inability to turn over the soil to a greater depth; and, pointing to his sorry yoke of oxen, asked what more he could do. That they are lean and hungry looking is no fault of his, but of the heavens, for drought and heat in summer, and frost and rain in winter, are invincible enemies to size and condition, with whom it is vain for poor men to contend. In Bannú Proper, where the soil

is in many villages a stiff tenacious clay, the plough is not used at all, but a large heart-shaped spade, worked by two men, one on either side, with which the soil is turned over to a depth of nine or ten inches, and each clod is subsequently broken up.

Of the many shortcomings charged against native agriculturists, disregard of economy in the use of canal-water, and consequently over-irrigation, is one of the truest; but the charge is often unfairly pressed, for judgment is passed *ex parte*, and the accused's defence never heard. Such a charge is only tenable in the case of canal-water, when obtainable *ad libitum*. No one has ever dreamt of preferring it in the case of wells, where every gallon is raised at some cost and much labour. From this it follows that economy in the use of water is understood, and that if irrigation from Government canals be excessive, it proves that the system under which water is supplied is defective. But to return to Bannuchís, whose canals belong to them. They certainly do appear to water-log their soil unnecessarily and injuriously; but this wasteful expenditure is in many villages more apparent than real. As the supply of manure is limited, and a double crop must be raised each year, some substitute for manure must be found. That substitute is the organic and inorganic matter with which the waters of the Kurm are always charged, and which takes a long time to settle. Now in farming, as in other pursuits, it is every one for himself; hence every Bannuchí floods his fields to the depth of several inches on every opportunity, and lets the water run off whither it may, as soon as the mud held in suspension in it has subsided. In this way the lands of low-lying villages are surcharged with water, much of which, robbed of its virtue, finds its way back into the Kurm. This is waste, as such water might, with proper management, be conducted within the thirsty Marwat border. The want of economy and system

Wasteful
expenditure of
water.

in canal management is everywhere apparent to the eye ; but the hopelessness of a remedy—unless old rights be swept away—is only known to the Settlement Officer. To liken small things to great. At annexation, Bannu Proper resembled Ancient Greece, or Modern Germany before 1866, being split up into petty independent states, called Tappahs, each of which sought its own individual gain at its neighbour's expense. What we found we stereotyped. Thus, what used in pre-annexation times to be taken by force, or borne from weakness, have grown into legal rights and servitudes, which cannot now be set aside, however desirable it may be to do so.

A plea for
Indian agri-
culturists.

In these remarks all that I wish to urge in behalf of Indian agriculturists at large is that, considering the disadvantages under which they labour, poverty, climate, heavy taxation, and ignorance, their systems of tillage deserve our admiration rather than condemnation ; and that, until we can practically demonstrate the possibility of forcing the soil to yield a larger return, at the same cost and labour as is expended on it by the people we would teach, we have no right to sit in judgment over them.

Let us not forget, too, that in many parts of Europe which have not yet been transformed into smiling gardens by the magic touch of capital, cultivation is infinitely ruder and more backward than it is in the Punjáb.

PART II.

CUSTOMS AND FOLKLORE;

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE
PEOPLE OF BANNÚ, TOGETHER WITH A COLLECTION OF

PASHTO PROVERBS.

CHAPTER I.

SOCIAL LIFE, CUSTOMS, BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS
OF THE PEASANTRY.

THE simplest way of affording the reader a glimpse of the inner social life of Pathans will be to conduct him into a well-ordered Bannuchí peasant's household, and invite him to be present at a birth, and afterwards to follow the infant in its progress through life.

Assad Khan was fairly well off, possessing five acres of first-class canal-irrigated land, assessed at five rupees an acre, a few cows and sheep, and two wives. Plough oxen he had none, as he cultivated all his land by spade. A third of it he tilled himself, the rest was leased out to tenants, who paid him half their produce as rent, and a fifth of their house-refuse as ground rent, as the sites on which their houses stood belonged to Assad Khan. His own house, in which his father and grandfather had lived and died before him, stood in the centre of his village, and, inclusive of courtyard, occupied exactly one hundred square yards of ground. It was a family mansion in every sense of the word, for Assad Khan, his wives, child, and cattle all lived in it. It consisted of one room, mud built and flat roofed, 27 feet long by 12 deep. The roof was only 10

feet from the ground, but what of that? Was it not the easier to ascend in the hot weather, and did it not make the house warmer and snugger in the cold, especially as it had neither windows nor smoke hole, nor any other sort of hole to serve as a ventilator, and only one doorway, just wide enough for a lean ox to squeeze through? The furniture consisted of several cots, a cradle, a few earthenware cooking utensils, an iron girdle for the baking of cakes, a mud-plastered grain safe, in which gala clothes, bangles, and other small but valuable articles were kept, a churn, and a hand spinning-wheel. In the yard was a shed for the cattle in the hot weather, a grain safe similar to the one indoors, but of huge dimensions, looking like a gigantic cardinal's hat, plastered over with a mixture of mud, chaff, and cowdung, and a raised mud platform for the women to pray on.

A tiny rivulet, a branch from the canal, flowed through the village, and supplied all the water that was required for household purposes. This water could hardly be called pure, as it was of a soft brown colour, and had run, in its open channel, through many villages and several miles of cultivated lands; but it was near at hand, that was the great thing, and when it did cause sickness, the good people, happy in their ignorance, ascribed the evil to the influence of one of the many malicious jinns who are ever wandering to and fro about Bannú.

With such a comfortable home Assad Khan ought to have been a happy man, but he was not. His heart yearned for a son, and would not be comforted. His senior wife was a Marwat named Fatima, bought five years before for two hundred rupees, and she had as yet only borne him a daughter, whom, in the bitterness of his heart, he looked on as "a black calamity" in his house. Gulijan, his younger and more petted wife, was a Bannuchi, of his own clan, and had been married to him three years; but, alas! alas! seemed likely to prove childless. Both Assad Khan and Guliján longed for a man-child to be born to them, but from different motives; she, that her "reproach among men" might be taken away, and that she might secure the affec-

tions of her lord and master, who already talked of adding a third wife to his establishment; and, besides all this, that she might be able to return the taunts of her rival Fatima with interest; and he, that, on his death, his cousin, whom he hated, might not succeed to his possessions. Gulijan had long given up in despair the remedies prescribed by the learned Bannuchi doctors, and had visited every one of the holy shrines of the neighbourhood, and, whilst driving pegs into the ground at the head of the grave of a buried saint, and tying pieces of rag to the tree which grew over it, had uttered and re-uttered her heart's wishes, but all in vain. Nay, more, her husband had cast many a smooth pebble on the grave himself, as he besought the departed saint to hear his prayer. Strangely enough, Gulijan had not thought of procuring an amulet from one of the village Moolahs, but her husband was miserly, and grudged his fee, so perhaps that accounts for the omission.

One day she went to the house of the Moolah of her quarter, taking a fat sheep with her as a present; and the good man prayed, and having written some cabalistic figures, in which one of the ninety-nine attributes of God could be read by the initiated backwards and forwards, crossways and every way, breathed on it and gave it to her, directing her to wear it round her neck. She did so in perfect faith that her prayers would now be answered, and a month or two afterwards found that they were so. When the anxiously longed for time drew nigh, an old woman, who was the village nurse—for those who could afford to pay for her services—was called in. Poor Gulijan was in a great flutter; for though suffering much, the thought was uppermost in her mind that it must prove a boy, because the good Moolah had said it, and given her a blessed amulet, and she longed to see the face of her son. Her husband was waiting about, anxious and hopeful, now running to the mosque to pray, now running home and trying to get a peep at his wife from the doorway, and wondering why the glad tidings were so long in coming. Fatima even, filled with womanly concern for the

sufferer, forgot all her jealousy in the excitement of the moment, and bustled about making herself generally useful. All this time Gulijan was being dosed, according to custom, with *ghi* and molasses. At last a boy was born; and, whilst the proud father rushed out to fire off a matchlock he had borrowed for the occasion, in order to inform his neighbours of the happy event, the nurse, without washing the child, wrapped it in swaddling clothes from top to toe, put some *ghi* into its mouth, and handed it over to Fatima to look after, while she tended to the wants of the mother. On hearing the gun, the neighbours came trooping in to offer their congratulations, and that evening the women of the village assembled at the house, and danced and sang to the music of the drum, beaten by a *dum*,¹ in the court-yard. None of their male relations, nor even Assad Khan himself, was present at their rejoicings, as such would not have been proper; but a few Hindoos and low-caste men, village servants, were, as Bannuchi husbands can safely trust their wives and daughters with such as they. They are useful no doubt, and some of them are rich; but a Hindoo or Jat cobbler or carpenter is a poor spiritless fellow. What harm can he do should he see their wives' faces, and even if he has the will, what dare he do to the belongings of the noble Pathan? At least, so think Pathan husbands and fathers.

On the seventh day after the birth, Assad Khan gave a feast to his relations and neighbours, and whenever any of his or his wife's female relations came, bringing presents of lollipops and clothes for the new arrival, and offered their congratulations, you may be sure he gave them something in return, for it is the custom to do so.

When the mother and son had been made comfortable, the Moolah was summoned, and he breathed into the infant's right ear, and whispered into it "God is great." He then retired, after receiving a small fee, and grumbled to himself at its being only two rupees.

¹ *Vide* page 172.

For forty days after the birth of a child a woman neither prays nor fasts nor handles the Koran, and all the world knows that at such a period she is peculiarly susceptible to the influence of jinns, and that infants are so too; indeed, there is one class of jinn whose special delight it is to devour the livers of young children. Assad Khan knew all this, so he had the amulet, called "the Guardian," suspended from a post at the head of the bed, where mother and babe lay, and placed a Koran and knife—for he had no sword—on the quilt beside them, and through their benign aid all bad spirits, who came poking their noses about, were kept at a respectful distance.

Guliján nursed her boy herself, and gave him daily a dose of *ghi*, for the good of his health and to assist digestion. Sometimes, too, a milch goat was called in to act as wet nurse.

Antimony was applied every day to his head and round his eyes, in order to encourage the growth of strong black hair.

When about two weeks old, Assad Khan thought he had better name his child. The Moolah suggested one of the attributes of God or the Prophet,¹ such as "the exalted one," "the blessed," or even "the servant of God;" but after some wavering the parents preferred a word expressive of some manly virtue, and fixed upon that of Shérdil, that is, "the lion-hearted." There was no ceremony. All that happened was that the father, when talking to others about his boy, spoke of him as "my son Shérdil," but at home his parents still called him "pet," "sweet darling," "sonny mine," and many other endearing terms.

From the hour of his birth, Gulijan used several times daily to manipulate her son's head and face, in order to make them

¹ In so proposing, the Moolah only acted in accordance with the Shara' injunctions. The use of any of the class of names, from which the parents made their selection, is unauthorized, but in practice such names are often given. For a girl the preference is generally given to the name of one of the Prophet's wives, and he had only nine; or a purely fancy word, *e.g.* a flower, is chosen. In both cases the field for selection is small, but for women it is particularly so.

round and shapely. She always, too, laid him to sleep on his back in her own bed, or in a swinging cradle beside it, after stretching and tying his limbs together to keep them straight. She was most particular about the forehead, for the broader and flatter it is, the finer and more manly does the face appear. The nose, too, was not forgotten, but was daily pinched and pulled, in order to point and elongate it. Fatima even proposed that her step-son's head should be kept in a mould,¹ as she had heard was the practice amongst the Jats in the Indus villages; but Gulijan would not hear of it, as she said it was not the custom of her people to do so. As the cartilage of the head hardened into bone, she gradually discontinued her manipulations, but not until she had moulded her son's head into comeliness, and his nose promised to be as long and finely chiselled as her own.

Shérdil—I shall call him by his own name now, though his parents did not—was not weaned until he was over two years old, by which time he had learnt to toddle about, and make mud pies in the channel which supplied the village with water. When three years old, he was circumcised by the village barber, for Assad Khan thought the sooner it was done the better, although he knew many parents postpone it until the child is eight or ten years old. No ceremony accompanied the operation; the barber simply came, cut, and went. In the cold weather Sherdil generally wore a little quilted coat, but in the hot he went naked, wearing nothing even on his head, though it was close shaven, with the exception of a fringe of hair all round it.

By the time he was seven, Shérdil's father declared the boy

¹ Some Baunúchís and Marwats do, in fact, use clay moulds. In the river villages it is the common practice. The infant's head, too, is kept a little below the level of the rest of its body, so as to throw a portion of the weight of the body on to the head. A native doctor told me that the constrained position sometimes caused sores, but those of the peasantry I asked about it denied that such was the case, and said that, as the infant's body is well oiled, sores never appeared. No evil consequences seem to result from the custom, and certainly it does improve the shape of the head and face. Were it tried at home, perhaps snub noses, bad foreheads, and ugly polls would not be so common as they are. Let the British matron accept the hint!

knew the difference between right and wrong, and must be sent to school, though, sooth to say, the neighbours did not think he had yet a glimmering conception of what is right, for a more thoroughly mischievous young pickle it would have been difficult to find, even amongst the children of the *Sáhib-lóg*.

One day he called a holy Sayad "old scald head"—a rich vocabulary of abuse is one of the earliest of infantile acquirements amongst Pathans—at which his father, inwardly chuckling at his precocity, and prophesying he would turn out a learned Akhoond some day, walked him straight off to school at the mosque of his quarter, and consigned him to the Moolah, saying, "Beat him well, but make a good Musalman of him."

The Moolah had a class of fourteen little boys and six little girls, and all the scholars were between seven and thirteen years old. There were also several grown-up men at the school—big, dirty-looking fellows—who called themselves "seekers after knowledge," and who had come from Peshawar. The village maintained them; but each boy's parents or guardian paid for his schooling in the shape of tithes, and a new suit of clothes for the Moolah when the course should be finished.

Now the village contained one hundred and thirty-six houses and three mosques, in each of which a Moolah taught, and about one in five of the Musalman boys, and one in ten of the girls in the village, attended regularly at their respective mosques; so you see education was not neglected by those good Pathans.

For three years Shérdil went to school for about two hours every day, except on Fridays and other holidays, and many a beating did the old Moolah give him, for Pathan parents never interfere between master and pupil. By the time that his schooling was over, he had read the Koran all through many times, and could even repeat scraps of it. As that sacred volume is written in Arabic, he never understood a word he read, nor did the Moolah attempt to explain it to

his class, as he knew very little Arabic himself; but for all that the boy used, in chorus with his fellow-scholars, to glibly gabble over his daily lesson. He left school a well-trained Musalman, thoroughly accomplished in the ritual of his religion, and in everything the Moolah considered necessary for salvation.

His father was immensely proud of him, took him everywhere, and always made him wear a white cotton turban, though he himself continued to wear his usual sombre red one.

Being asked the cause, he said to his son, "I am getting an old man now, and adhere to the dress of my forefathers, red turban, long shirt, loose indigo-dyed trowsers drawn in at the ankles, and sandals. They used to say of us, 'Every Bannuchí wears a red turban and is a snuff-taker,'¹ and all of us counted our ages by our turbans. This is my third. But all that is changed now. You must do as young Bannu does, wear shoes and English white cotton clothes."

One Friday, when going to market, Shérdil asked his father why the day was kept as a holiday; but his father referred him to the Moolah. So when the boy got home, he asked his old teacher, who said, "It is the same to us as the Sunday of the *Sáhib-log*, a holy day, because we believe God rested on it from all his work, after having made the world. It begins, as do all our days, about two hours before sunset,² and whoever dies and is buried during it is reckoned fortunate, for the angels Nakír and Munkír trouble him in his grave with few questions. On Friday eve,³ too, the spirits of the departed revisit their earthly homes. Your mother always cooks some choice food for them, and sends it to the mosque before dark, because it is proper that the spirits should be able to retire to their graves in daylight."

"Now tell me about all the fasts, saints' days, and festivals," said the insatiable Sherdil.

¹ "Har Bannúdzai sur patkai naswárai."

² The day is generally reckoned from sunset to sunset, but some say as the Moolah does here.

³ That is, our Thursday evening.

“Listen, then,” said the Moolah. “Ramzán is the ninth moon in our calendar, during which all true Musalmans fast from sunrise to sunset. Water even is not drunk. By fasting the whole thirty days a man becomes cleansed of all sin. When the new moon of the tenth month appears, the fast comes to an end. We call the day *'Id-ul-fitr*, or ‘the little Eed’ (*Kam Akhtar*). On it every one is happy, and dresses in his best, and feasts. After morning prayers people congratulate each other, for every heart is light, from satisfaction at having endured a long fast meritoriously. Our ‘great Eed’ (*Stir Akhtar*), which is properly called ‘the Eed of Sacrifice’ (*'Id-i-Kurbán*), comes seventy days later, on the tenth day of the twelfth moon, and commemorates Abraham’s intended offering up of his son Ismail,¹ when God stayed his arm and accepted a ram instead. On this day every family must sacrifice some animal—a sheep, a goat, or even a fowl. Those who are too poor, club together, and buy and fatten an animal for the purpose, one-third of which is always bestowed in charity. Men spend the day in jollity, tent-pegging, racing, and sword-play; but women go in a body, and visit some holy shrine, at which they dance and sing, and have religion and pleasure combined.

“Our first month is, you know, the *Muharram*. The tenth day of it is called *A'shúra*. On it, but in different years, Husain and Husn, sons of 'Ali, the husband of Fatima, the daughter of our Prophet, were killed by Yazíd. Shiahs observe it as a day of mourning, but we Sunnis as a day for humiliation, prayer, and alms-giving. On it the people visit the graves of their relations, and sprinkle them with water and cast smooth pebbles on them; and on the judgment-day, when the angels shall hold the scales, and weigh, in the presence of God and his angels, each man’s virtuous against his evil deeds, every stone or pebble so cast will be placed on the side of the former. Last *A'shúra* your sister and all the other girls in the village went out and cried and moaned all night, according to custom; but it

¹ Muhammadans say it was Ismáíl, not Isaac.

is not right to do so, and I hope the practice will soon cease, as it smacks of Shiu-ism.

“Besides the days I have told you of, there is one saint’s day I had almost omitted. I mean the eleventh of each month, which is held holy to commemorate the death of Shekh Abdul Kádir Jailání, the chief of all our saints, whose foot is on the neck of all others. It is observed every month because, though we know the date, we do not know the month in which he died.”

“You mean the day on which we remember ‘the fine youth’ (*lot dzawán*),” said Shérdil, interrupting him.

“Yes,” replied the Moolah; “the saint is called so, because it is disrespectful to call a great person by his name. Alms are distributed on this day. Wishes uttered and vows made on it are more likely to be fulfilled or kept than on any other, and the Moolahs are not forgotten on it either.”

“Peace be with you!” said Shérdil, greatly impressed with his teacher’s earnest manner. “I shall tell papa not to forget you, and not to keep back any of your tithes, as he does generally.”

The Moolah’s eyes twinkled, as he called out to his young friend, “And on you be peace!”

Some days after the conversation just related, Shérdil came home one evening from his father’s fields, where he had been working all day, complaining of shivering and head-ache, and went to bed without eating any supper. His mother was quite frightened, as hitherto her darling had never been seriously ill, and asked Fatima what she thought could be ailing the lad.

“Perhaps ’tis jaundice,” said Fatima; “but if so, you need not be alarmed, for there is a Koresh in the village who can cure it; he belongs to the family who can remove disease by praying, and breathing on the patient. The way is this. Patient and Koresh sit down opposite each other, and a small bowl of *ghí* is placed between them. Then the Koresh takes up

some blades of grass, and holds them over the bowl, and the patient grasps one end of them. 'I cut your jaundice with this knife; say, have you faith?' says the Koresh. 'Yes, cut,' says the sick man; whereon the other breathes on the knife, and, saying some words to himself, cuts. The portion of the grass which is severed from the rest is then permitted to fall into the bowl. This is repeated several times, until the *ghí* becomes of a deep ochre yellow, a sign that all the bad humour in the patient's body has been drawn off. After that, abstinence is enjoined for seven days. If the remedy succeed, the cure is God's, being wrought by faith. Another way is this, but it is practised by another family of Koreshes. A twig is taken from a fig-tree, and chopped into forty pieces, and after each has been breathed on, they are strung together, and the whole fastened round the patient's neck. Seven or ten days' abstinence is enjoined, during each of which the necklace grows longer, at the end of which the patient is convalescent."

"No, no, it can't be jaundice," said Gulijan; "perhaps it is cough, he escaped it when a child. I'll go out on the road tomorrow, and ask the first horseman I see riding a grey horse what remedy to apply, and whatever he says I'll do."

"Perhaps it is small-pox," interposed Fatima; "for he has not had it yet, and you know the saying, 'Until the child gets over the small-pox, parents do not count it their own.' It is a bad month for it, there is so much thunder about."¹

Just at that moment Shérdil awoke and said, "Mamma, dear, I am so cold, and yet so hot. Has papa come home yet?"

"Be patient, my boy, he will be home presently; he is at the *Chouk*,² having a smoke and a gossip."

¹ If thunder reaches the ears of a small-pox patient, it is supposed he will become deaf for life. In Marwat tom-toms (drums) are beaten round him during a thunder-storm, in order to prevent the fatal sound being heard by him.

² A raised place, well provided with beds, stools, *chilams* (pipes), etc., where the village gossips assemble and smoke in idle hours. There is also attached to it a shed or hut close by, in which meetings are held in wet and cold weather. There is one *Chouk* to each quarter in every village. Only those men belonging to the same faction or party as the head man, to whom the *Chouk* belongs, frequent it. This institution, therefore, is a sort of political club on a small scale.

Soon after, Assad Khan came in, and when he saw his son's state became very anxious, suspecting "the great fever" (*Stirataba*) was attacking him. He nursed him for a day or two, during which the fever showed no signs of abating, and then determined to apply the great Pathan remedy, which is practised all over Afghanistan. He had a sheep slaughtered and skinned, and, after rubbing a little oil and turmeric upon the skin, wrapped up his son in it while it was hot. Next he laid him on the bed, put a large quilt over him, and kept the door shut, to prevent any draught coming in. At the end of twenty-four hours the skin was removed, and a fresh one substituted. This time it had the desired effect, and before Sherdil had worn it ten hours he said, in a faint weak voice, to his father, "Papa, I have become water."

His father told him to bear it a few hours more, and then took off the skin.

Sherdil came out a scare-crow, for he had sweated half his flesh away, but the fever was conquered.

It had been a case of kill or cure.

For the next seven days he was kept inside the house, like a tinned sardine, with the door shut, but on the eighth day the door was opened and he was washed.

Sherdil was now about fifteen, and his father began to busy himself making private inquiries amongst his kith and kin for a maiden about the same age, who would be a suitable match for his son. The *dum's* wife, whom he employed to find out particulars about the different marriageable girls in his tribe, at last told him of one named Begama, who would make such a nice daughter-in-law. A formal deputation was despatched to sound the girl's parents, who replied they would agree to the match if Assad Khan would in return give his daughter to their eldest son, who wished to take a third wife. Assad Khan replied that the exchange was unequal, as his daughter would be wife number three, whereas theirs would be number one. After some haggling, he consented, provided he received

eighty rupees into the bargain, and the exchange betrothal was so arranged.

The betrothal of Shérdil came off first.

His father, mother, and a number of relations, male and female, accompanied by a *dum* bearing an enormous tray of sweetmeats, marched in procession one evening to the house of their daughter-in-law elect, who lived in a neighbouring village. On arrival they presented the tray and were entertained. After supper, when all terms had been settled, the women of the bride expectant's family applied henna to the hands of the members of Sherdil's family, and Assad Khan's white beard even was stained red, but by a *dum*.

Next morning the deputation started for home; the *dum* with another tray of sweetmeats on his head—a return present. As they were leaving there was great talking and laughing, and several of them came back with clothes spotted red and yellow all over, from henna and turmeric. Then the neighbours crowded in and congratulated Sherdil's parents, and the sweets were distributed. In the evening there was a dance of the women of the village at Assad Khan's house, but a number did not join, as the priestly classes of Bannu had lately set their faces against dancing, singing, and music, on the ground that it created scandal, and was contrary to Shara'; and, moreover, they say that for betrothal the only essential is the ceremony of staining the palms red with henna (*lās-surai*), that everything else is empty compliment. But I suspect the true reason why the priests would put down everything that savours of fun on such occasions is, that no part in the proceedings is assigned to them.

When it was all over, Fatima said that in her country of Marwat the custom was that after *lās-súrai* is over, the bride elect's mother, or guardian, presents the leader of the deputation with a needle threaded with a thread of red or yellow silk, and a long scarf, in token of the connexion between the two families.

Although Shérdil had not yet seen his bride, as it is not the custom for principals to see each other during the betrothal ceremonies, he was very anxious to pay her a visit in secret, especially as his stepmother had told him it was the custom amongst some Pathan tribes; but his father would not hear of it, and scolded Fatima for putting such thoughts into the boy's head.

Fatima laughed and said, "Well, in my country every young man of spirit secretly visits his future bride after betrothal;¹ and if he is discovered, he is detained three days at his father-in-law's, and each night the unmarried girls, amidst much laughter, toozle and tussle the youth about until he is glad to escape from their clutches as best he can; but you Bannúchís—bah!—you have no pluck, no go in you. The Marwats are the lads for the lassies. Why, Begama will think all the better of Shérdil for a little courting."

"That may be your custom, and suit your country, where women have no shame and never veil their faces; but it would not do here, where women are still modest, thank God!" said Assad Khan.

So Shérdil had to restrain his impatience to see his betrothed, but I have no doubt the young rascal contrived a few stolen interviews, for the girl was just as desirous of knowing him as he her, and the proverb says, "From hearts to hearts are ways."

Two weeks after the betrothal Assad Khan sent by the hand of a *dum* a quantity of cooked food to the house of his future daughter-in-law, and a return present was made. Again, when the "great Fed" came round, he, according to custom, sent a quantity of clothes, cooked food, and some henna, as a present for Begama. Although the two young people had arrived at a marriageable age, Assad Khan put off the marriage until Shérdil

¹ Marwats deny that the betrothed couple do meet on such occasions, and say that the youth only goes to make the acquaintance of his father-in-law's family, and that during his stay his betrothed is hidden away somewhere. Notwithstanding such denial, I believe the account here given is correct. The bullying the young man has to undergo during his three days' stay is admitted by all.

was in his eighteenth year. When he had made up his mind, he sent a *dum* and some women over to ask Begama's parents to name a day for the marriage, which they readily did. The preparations then commenced in earnest. A purse containing fifty rupees was sent to the bride elect's parents, with which to procure a part of her outfit, and Assad Khan and his wives busied themselves in getting ready the marriage *trousseau*, which consisted of a suit of silk clothing and a complete set of silver bangles, together with ornaments for the forehead, nose, ears, neck, arms, ankles, and toes. When everything was prepared, a great quantity of food of all sorts was also cooked and sent to Begama's house, together with her clothes and bangles.

Next day our old friend the Moolah appeared, and dressed Shérdil in new white clothes. Happy youth! He had passed the last three days in a tremble of excitement, now grinning from ear to ear and showing two rows of beautiful white teeth, now "sighing like a furnace," and now taking sly peeps at himself in his pocket looking-glass, and applying finishing touches of antimony to his eyes, or oiling his locks and incipient beard with strong-smelling *ghí*.¹

When dressed, he looked a bridegroom every inch of him. Gravely and reverently he turned to his old preceptor, and, making a low obeisance, touched his feet. Then, beginning with his father, he went round the whole circle of those who were near and dear to him, and, bowing to each in turn, touched their feet.

The village was now in a great bustle. Everybody was dressed in his and her best, and chattering and talking together; whilst two *dums*, one beating a drum, and the other blowing at a reed instrument regardless of time or melody, with the sole object of producing as much noise as possible, made every heart light and happy.

¹ Dandy young Pathans do all this, and carry about with them a wooden comb in their hair, and in their pocket a box containing antimony and a small looking-glass.

At last the procession was formed. It was a grand affair. Shérdil sat in the middle, on an old mare, looking bright and pleased, just as a bridegroom ought. The departure had been so timed that the bridal party reached its destination about sunset. On arrival some dancing and singing followed, after which, when it was quite dark, the ceremonies began.

Begama's cousin, a girl about her own age, acted as her proxy. Her sheet was tied to that of Sherdil, and to Sherdil was handed an empty earthenware pitcher. The pair then walked to the water-course which supplied the village with water, escorted by the unmarried of both sexes. Shérdil set down the pitcher beside the stream, and dipping his little finger into the water, let the drops from it run off into the pitcher. This he repeated three times. Next he went through the same procedure with a sword. Thrice he dipped it in the water, and thrice the drops ran off it into the pitcher. His companion then stooped down and ladled the pitcher full with her hands. When quite full, Sherdil lifted it up, and, stepping back with it seven paces, put it down on to the ground again. The knot fastening the two sheets together was then untied, and the proxy withdrew.

Next several *dums*, belonging to the bride's village, advanced, holding a piece of string, with which they tried to measure Sherdil; but some of his friends raised him upon their shoulders, and, after a scuffle, the *dums* retired discomfited.

Whilst this ceremony, which is called *Pándra*, was going on, the women belonging to the marriage procession, together with those of the bride's village, were assembling in front of her house. The parties did not intermix, but faced each other, like hostile forces. First of all Sherdil's friends sang his praises—what a fine youth he was, so brave, so handsome, and altogether far too good for his bride. This nettled that young woman's defenders, and they poured forth a torrent of song and shrill noises, to prove that she was—

“Smooth-skinned and dark, with bare throat made to bite,
Too wan for blushing, and too warm for white.”

Shérdil's partisans soon ceased compliments, and fell back on abuse. Begama's did the same. The wordy war was hotly waged for nearly an hour, and, just as both sides were getting faint and hoarse, Begama's mother came out, and giving each Amazon some sugar-plums, said it was a drawn battle—would they be pleased to go? They went, and by two in the morning the excited little village was hushed in slumber; and the stillness remained unbroken for four hours, save when a foolish night-blind cock began to crow, or the village curs barked, or the night watchmen called out to each other, "Awake, ho!"

With daylight every one was astir again, and a great feast was given by the bride's family, from the eatables that Assad Khan had sent two days before.

Breakfast over, the majority of the guests departed; a select and privileged few alone remaining. Sherdil and a few of his nearest relations then entered the house, in which Begama's mother exhibited to them a bed, cooking utensils, a spinning wheel, and sundry other articles requisite for a young wife when beginning housekeeping.

"See, I bought these with the money you supplied," said she. "My daughter is ready, do you wish to take her now?"

"Yes," answered Assad Khan.

On that the mother stepped back, and, taking her daughter by the arm, led her forward. Begama was carefully veiled and dressed in the clothes Sherdil had sent her. She neither cried nor laughed; indeed, her self-possession was so admirable that I am now convinced Shérdil and she had already made each other's acquaintance. Sherdil advanced, and took her by the hand, and led her outside, where a pony mare was standing for her. As soon as she was seated, Sherdil's most intimate friends, who had remained, crowded round him, each thrusting forwards his right hand with some money in it. He took the proffered rupees from three or four of them only.

When a couple of oxen had been loaded with Begama's outfit and house furniture, the procession was formed and returned

to Shérdil's village. On arrival, a fat sheep was presented to the bride before she alighted. After sunset the old Moolah was called in to marry the young couple. Begama stood behind a screen, whilst her *vakil*, or spokeswoman, stood in front. Besides the bride, *vakil*, the Moolah, Shérdil, and his parents, there were four or five other persons present to witness the marriage. First of all the Moolah had the *vakil's* authority to speak and to declare the amount of dower attested, after which the *vakil* said three times, "I have given in lawful marriage the person of Begama, daughter of Abdullah Khan, with one hundred rupees dower, to Shérdil, son of Assad Khan." And Shérdil on each occasion answered, "I have accepted." After that, the Moolah raised his hands, keeping the palms towards his face, and prayed God to bless the marriage. All those present did the same. Some sweetmeats were then distributed, and the company left. The Moolah received two rupees and a turban as his fee.

Three days after the marriage Begama's mother came, and, according to custom, took her back to her old home. She remained there several days, and then returned to her husband's house for good.

Before she had been married a fortnight, she was quite at home in her new family, though it is true she grumbled a little at first, when she found there was no prospect of her husband building a new house for her for a year to come—and no wonder too. What newly-married wife would not complain did she find that two mothers-in-law, a father-in-law, and an unmarried sister-in-law, were all to sleep, dress, and eat in the same room as she and her husband occupied? However, Begama was a sensible girl, and contented herself with Shérdil's promise that as soon as his sister was married, and his father had won his lawsuit with his cousin, he would arrange about a separate home for her. She proved a great comfort to the whole family, fetching all the water for household consumption, preparing all the food, and, what is more,

making with her own hands all the dung-fuel cakes wherewith to cook the daily meals. She was indeed a model wife, and Shérdil used to stand and gaze with pride and admiration at her, as, with nimble fingers, she would sit and comb and dress his mother's hair.

Fatima and she were great friends, and one day Fatima related to her the particulars in which the Marwat betrothal and marriage customs differed from those of the Bannuchís.

She said, "When I was young and pretty, like you, my dear, I fell in love with my cousin, but he was poor; so my father gave me to your Shérdil's father, and he went all the way to Lakkí to fetch me, and married me according to Marwat custom. Between the betrothal and the marriage he never came and visited me, as he knew my companions in the village would make fun of him. The day before he came to fetch me home, I was taken outside the village with some of my companions, and we were placed in a thatched shed by ourselves. There we ate our meals, and sent some sweets to Assad Khan, and he made me a present in return. About sunset a party of girls came out of the village laughing and singing; and when they got to my resting place, they attacked us, but all in good humour. Their object was to carry off a plait of my hair; ours to prevent 'the rape of the lock.' They were two to one, and at last succeeded. I then began to cry and to beat my breast, and my companions did the same. After a time we rose and went home. On the following evening the bridal procession arrived, and the women of the party went into my mother's house. Both sides sang and danced and abused each other. Then my sister, as my representative, took an ass's blanket-pad, and manœuvred to throw it over the head and shoulders of one of the near relations of my future husband. After some scuffling she contrived to do so, and it was accepted as a sign that I would be stronger than my husband and rule him, and so I do. Next morning I was made over to Assad Khan, just as you were to Sherdil, and conducted to his home. After the marriage, at

which I spoke for myself,¹ was over, I was placed in a dark corner, screened off from the rest of the house, and remained there for three days, during which I was only visited by my husband. On the fourth day my husband's sister came, and, taking me by the hand, raised me and welcomed me, and said, 'Now, Fatima, you are my sister and one of us.' I then gave her the rupee my mother had provided for the purpose, and entered on my duties as one of the family. My mother came the same day and took me home for three days."

"And in which country are married women the better off?" said Begama.

"Well," said Fatima, "in my country they have to work harder, to fetch water every other day from a distance of from one to nine *Kos*,² and to grind the corn in a hand-mill; but here a stream runs through or close to every village, and water-mills do all the corn-grinding. Then, again, in my country our food is *bayra*, with occasionally wheat, and either water or milk; but you Bannuchís eat maize and wheat, and get plenty of *ghí*, and sometimes meat as well. No, no! Bannu is the place for a woman to be comfortable in, but Marwat is the place for fine husbands."

Some months after this conversation, Shérdil, who had of late been in the habit of spending his evenings with the Moolah, instead of at the *Chouk*, asked his aged friend and preceptor whether it was true that Futteh Khan, the village head man, had an evil eye.

The Moolah was silent for a little, and then replied, weighing every word as he spoke:

"People say so, but I do not know. Only those who possess an evil eye know their powers of a certainty; others may suspect them, but cannot be sure. Besides, as a man grows older or becomes a better Musalman, his eyes lose their evil influence, and certain it is Futteh Khan is getting old and is a good

¹ In Marwat girls generally give themselves away.

² One *Kos* is about equal to one mile and a half.

night watcher. The possessor of this strange power is often wretched, because, on whatever thing his eyes may rest, be it man, or beast, or inanimate object, misfortune sooner or later will befall it. When a man falls suddenly ill, and the cause is unknown, it is either a jinn who has affected him or an evil eye. We say, 'The sick from disease recover, but from eyes never,'¹ also 'Eyes ruin houses.'² A woman after childbirth, a person when out after dark, or one whose body is naked, are peculiarly susceptible to such influences. In all cases the cure and prophylactic are holy amulets. Some old women have a practice of waving three red chillies in succession several times round the affected person's head, and each time saying, 'Here-with I draw off the eye, be it man's or woman's or spirit's.' Then each pod is put into the fire. But I do not believe in the efficacy of the remedy. One method of discovering who the author of a calamity may be, is to drop molten lead into oil, when the lead assumes the shape of the mischief-maker; but the learned have no faith in it."

"Now tell me about jinns," said Shérdil.

The Moolah said, "Jinns are spirits and invisible. Some are good and some bad, and their numbers are very great. Some of the bad ones are always wandering to and fro seeking to do mischief, but amulets keep them off. They are of both sexes, and marry amongst themselves. When under the influence of a good jinn, a man possesses the gift of tongues. Once when a jinn entered into your mother, your father sent for several *dums*, and they beat drums round her until the spirit cried out in agony with a loud voice, and told who she was. I was then sent for, and exorcised the spirit. All good Moolahs acquire the ninety-nine names of God in Arabic, which are an irresistible spell against evil spirits and devils. In learning the Almighty's titles, I spent forty days in the wilderness in solitude communing with God. Every day I repeated His titles one hundred

¹ "Da ranz ranzúr ragheg.í la stingo vanzúr na ragheg.í."

² "Mazar kóruna wíranawí."

times to myself. It was thus I acquired the spell wherewith I exorcise. A family of jinns, known as 'the Khatak household,' used to live in Dilasa Khan's village; but when a strange sickness fell on the children of the neighbourhood, so that they withered and died one by one, the mothers clamoured to the Khan that 'the Khatak household' was eating the livers of their little ones; and that great chief took counsel with the Moolahs of Bannu, and, with their assistance, drove out the jinns. Only two of that house now remain, the sisters Sardara and Kamkaí. They wander about, and sometimes take possession of one woman, sometimes of another. They never remain long with any one, for unless those possessed of them treat them with deference, and humour them, they take offence, and go off elsewhere. Sardára is now said to dwell in Shah Jahán Shah Shekh of Tappah Sádát's mother."

Under the Moolah's kindly tuition Shérdil's knowledge daily increased. He learnt about eclipses and earthquakes, about thunder and lightning, and what caused the wind to blow and the rain to fall. He was such a good husband, he had no secrets from his wife, and told her all he knew.

This is what he told her.

Some men, who profess to understand astronomy, affirm that an eclipse of the moon is but the earth's shadow being cast on it, whilst an eclipse of the sun is the moon's shadow being thrown upon the earth. Both are hypotheses incapable of proof and absurd in themselves, for how can man solve the secrets of the heavens without having scaled them and returned? No one but the Prophet has been up there, and when he came back, he told a very different story. The true explanation is this: Man's sins are collected by angels on earth, and kept stored for a whole year,¹ before being carried up for record; for God is long-suffering, and desires to give every sinner opportunity to repent. Even when the time of grace has expired, God gives erring

¹ The more general belief is that they are taken up for record nightly, as soon as a man sleeps.

man one more chance; and as His angels bear the burden upwards, He causes it to be spread out, like a great cloud, in front of the sun or moon. On seeing it, man is filled with penitence, and humbles himself until the veil of cloud is removed. Whilst the darkness continues, every pregnant woman, whether Hindoo or Muhammadan, keeps perfectly still, and does no work, so that her unborn child may not bear any untoward mark on its person, for whatever a woman in such a state then does will be impressed on her child.

An earthquake is caused by the cow, on whose horn the world is poised, changing the burden from one horn to another. When God made the earth, he placed it on a cow's horn, and the cow on the back of a fish, and the fish on a stone, and the stone on ——— well, God knows what. *That* has not been revealed to man. Some think that when the earth trembles, it is owing to the cow, which supports it, shaking herself, and not shifting the earth from one horn to the other. Whilst the quaking goes on, the Marwats rush out of their houses, and call to each other, "Come to Mecca! Come to Mecca!" But as soon as the motion ceases, their desire to go on a pilgrimage subsides also.

The scientific say that disturbances in the elements arise from natural causes. A circumambient river surrounds this world, and when the heat of the sun is very intense it causes its waters to boil. The noise of their boiling is thunder. When a sufficiency of steam has been generated, it forms as vapour clouds over the earth; and when two of those clouds are driven together by the wind, sparks are emitted, as from the friction of two flints rubbed together. The sparks we see are called lightning. Moolahs say this explanation is, so far as rain is concerned, erroneous, and that the true one is as follows:—The Archangel Mikail (Michael) is stationed at the river, and when he receives God's order to supply rain to any country, he calls out to the river "*Boil*" in such a loud voice that it boils and throws off a great quantity of vapour, which is conveyed by

angels to the required spot. When the rain falls, a separate angel is in charge of each drop, and when, through carelessness or other cause, any drops run together, lightning is produced. When rain is general, it is caused by the angels stationed along the banks of the river ladling water out into sieves, whence drops are formed. When the wind blows, it is the breath from the nostrils of the angel Israfil, who will blow the last trump at the resurrection.

All this, and much more, did Shérdil impart to his wife—a medley of *Shara'* and upper class popular belief.

Begama's time was now drawing near, and one hot morning in June she presented her husband with a son, but, whether it was the heat or the flies or wicked jinns, the child never thrived. His death was a sad blow to his parents, and added many a white hair to Assad Khan's beard, though the old man strove hard to cheat himself into the belief he was still young, by frequent resort to the dyeing brush.¹

Begama besought her husband to pay Shah Jahán Sháh's mother a visit, as some of the neighbours had persuaded her the child had died from the jinn Sardara's malevolence. Sherdil consented, and, taking a goat and a rupee with him as propitiatory offerings, went to the woman's house.

After saluting her, he said: "Say, mother, did Sardára eat my child's liver? I have brought a present for you."

"Sardára lives there," said the crone, pointing to a hut she had specially erected for her familiar to rest in, when tired of her company. "Put the goat in there, she may be hungry."

Shérdil did so, and then repeated his question.

The crone nodded her head several times, then shook it at her visitor, and gave a screech, mumbling to herself, "She is coming, coming! Ah, she is in me!"

¹ The majority of grey-haired and bearded Bannúcbís dye their hair either black or red. Those who can show a good white beard, often leave it white. Marwats do not usually dye their hair. In the other parts of the District all but the poorest dye. It is sometimes difficult to recognize a man, as one day he appears before you with a magnificent grey beard, a week later, perhaps, the colour will be black, and a week later still red.

Shérdil understood her to mean that the spirit had taken possession of her, and became rather nervous. Thinking the rupee might pacify her, he slipped it into her hand, which grasped it convulsively, but evidently without the crone's being conscious of the act—at least Sherdil thought so, and proportionately admired her disinterestedness.

“Ask, and I will answer,” said Sardára, speaking from the woman's mouth.

The question was repeated a third time.

“No, I did not harm your child. It was my sister Kamlai who killed it. Let your wife wear this round her waist, and your next child will live,” said Sardara, handing Sherdil a piece of string.

He thanked her, and, as he rose to go, Sardára whispered to him, “Let her come every month to me, and don't forget the rupee.”¹

Shérdil started for home with the precious string in his hand, but, strange to say, on the way his mare got colic. He dismounted and led the suffering animal to the nearest graveyard, and walked her up and down amongst the tombs for half an hour, by the end of which time the mare was quite well again.

Assad Khan's land case was now being heard in one of the Settlement Courts, and the old man was always very busy and mysterious, for, though naturally inclined to honesty, he had sued for double the amount of land he thought himself entitled to; because he had heard that the Sarkar's judges never decreed a suitor his full claim, having learnt by experience that if a native is owed one rupee he claims two. Now “one

¹ The account of this visit is a fact. A man who had no great faith in the old witch's powers of evil, was forced by his wife, after the death of his first child, to visit the woman, when the conversation here related took place.

² This is a remedy commonly practised, and is often successful, not owing to the *genius loci*, but from the mere fact of exercise being sometimes beneficial in colic. Another cure is to flash about great wisps of burning straw under the horse's belly; in which case the action is, I suppose, similar to that obtained by hot fomentations.

lie breeds many," so witnesses had to be canvassed, bribed, and instructed. It was a weary expensive business, and as, day after day, Assad Khan came home heart-sick from the Cutcherry, and still the case dragged on, his appetite began to fail him and his face to look pinched and wan.

One day he returned from his usual resort in a high state of excitement, which found vent during supper, when he abused the *Sáhib-log* roundly, calling them "tyrants" and "infidels," and harder names too.

"Why, what have they done now?" said Shérdil.

"What have they done now?" cried his father; "why, half a dozen or more Faringis this morning rode through my lands, screaming and whooping like a pack of lunatics, and they and their twenty or thirty dogs¹ killed a fox in the sugar-cane field. They have ruined me, those Káfirs."

"Father," said Shérdil quietly, "you are ill, you know not what you say. The Moolah says the *Sáhib-log* are 'children of the Book,' as we are, and that the great distinction between their religion and ours is that they deify the Prophet Jesus and make Him their intercessor before God, instead of our own Prophet of God, whom they disown. As to the sugar-cane, the sum total of our loss is not one rupee. Remember what you used to tell me of the unbelieving Sikhs, or even the believing Durránis, and thank God, who took pity on us and sent the just *Sáhib-lóg* to rule over us."

Such a firm respectful remonstrance from his son astonished Assad Khan. He felt in his heart he had spoken hastily and wrongfully, and passed the rest of the evening at home in moody and sulky silence, instead of going to the *Chouk* as usual to smoke and gossip. On the following day he returned from the Court-house early, and appeared low and despondent.

Sherdil asked what ailed him, and whether he thought the case would be decided in his favour.

¹ Assad Khan alludes to the Bannú pack of fox hounds and those who rode to them,

“God knows on which knee the camel may rest,” said the old man wearily, quoting a familiar proverb.

The next day, when Assad Khan came home, he told Sherdil that his suit had been dismissed, and that, as God was evidently hostile to him, he might as well die, having nothing worth living for left. First his grandchild had died, then he had spent over one hundred rupees in this lawsuit and lost it after all. Shérdil consoled him as well as he could, and then went over to his friend the Moolah, to get a little comfort himself.

When the Moolah heard what had happened, he sighed and said :

“God’s will be done. I fear thy father, boy, is not long for this world.”

“If his time be up he will die, if not he won’t,” replied Shérdil. Then, after a pause, he added, “I am sure my father need not fear death, he has been good to me, and to my mother, and step-mother.”

“Ah!” said the Moolah, “that will be seen on his death-bed.”

“How so?” asked Shérdil.

“You know,” said the Moolah, “that the recording angels *Karám-ul-Katibin* are present to every man. One sits on the right shoulder, noting down good deeds, and the other on the left, taking note of evil deeds. Every night, as the man sleeps, they fly up to heaven, and record on his leaf in the tree of life called *Tobi* his acts of the day. Some say they only fill in the record once a year, as I told you when talking of eclipses; but it makes little difference whether it is done daily or only once in the year, for the account is kept, and cannot be evaded. Each person has a leaf to himself. When the end approaches, the leaf drops off the tree, and the recording angels carry it to 'Izraíl, the angel of death, who forthwith despatches them and a third angel back to earth, to show the dying man his life’s account. On reading it, according as the balance is struck for or against him, he dies happily or in torments. As soon as death occurs, the vital principle is carried up to heaven, but the

immortal soul remains with the corpse until the judgment day, and that same night in the tomb has to answer the questions put to it by the angels Nakír and Munkír."

When Sherdil went home, he found his father asleep, and his mother sitting by his bed moaning and crying. She held up her hand to her son, and whispered, "Hush, my child, the jinns have been with him, but he struggled hard and conquered them, I think. He talked wildly about his case and your dead child. He sleeps now."

Shérdil gently removed her, and, having sent for the Moolah, sat down to watch beside the sick bed. Assad Khan dozed fitfully on until morning, sometimes lying quiet, and sometimes muttering to himself; but the only words his son could catch were "lie" and "kill you." The sick man passed the next day in the same way, but towards evening he suddenly started up and looked vacantly round him.

"Don't you know me, father, it is your son," said Shérdil, throwing his arms round his neck and crying.

"Yes, yes, I see you, my own boy; come nearer, nearer still," said his father faintly. Shérdil put his face close to that of his father. "Listen," whispered the dying man, "my cousin has won—he had thirteen witnesses to my nine—he is your enemy. Remember, revenge, revenge!"

Those were the last words he spoke. He breathed on for some hours more, but was evidently sinking fast. Towards morning he opened his eyes, and a quiet happy smile stole over his face, then he gave a great sigh, and all was over.

"Thank God!" said Sherdil, "his end was peaceful. He is accepted."

An hour after all was bustle. The Moolahs came in numbers, and sitting together outside repeated the first chapter of the Koran, and besought God to accept the dead man and pardon his sins. Inside, the washer-of-the-dead, a Koresh, was performing his offices. After wrapping the corpse in a shroud, he laid it out for burial. Whilst this was going on, some of the

villagers had gone to the cemetery and dug the grave. Several of Assad Khan's relations brought pieces of cotton and silk, and, going in one by one, laid them on the corpse. These, as well as all the clothes of the dead man, became the perquisite of the Koresh.

By noon all preparations had been completed, and the corpse was placed on a bier, and a sheet thrown over it. Friends and relations crowded round, each anxious to be one of the bearers; for to walk under a bier to the grave is a meritorious action (*Sawáb*). The bed, which served as a bier, was then raised, and a crowd of Moolahs and other mourners—all men—walked with it to the place of burial. On arrival it was set down beside the open grave. The Moolahs then ranged themselves behind, and the others stood a few paces farther back, all facing towards Mecca. The prayers for the dead, which are very short, were then said by the whole of the assemblage. On their conclusion Shérdil advanced, and deposited some money and sweetmeats at the feet of the principal Moolah. His relations did the same. The Moolahs then prayed God to accept the offering; after which a low caste man stepped forward, collected the money and sweets, and distributed them amongst the poor and the Moolahs who were present, thereby hoping to bear away the sins of the deceased. The corpse was then lowered, and put on its right side, with its face towards Mecca. A few inches in front of its eyes was placed a tablet of stone, inscribed with the creed, for when Nakír and Munkír appear, fright often causes memory to fail. Sufficient space was left to enable the dead man to sit up during his examination. Stones were then laid cross ways over the cavity which held the corpse, and the earth was filled in.

When all was over, the party returned, and that evening Shérdil bestowed alms liberally, and gave his relations, the Moolahs, and the poor of the village, a good meal, at his own house, after which he went to the grave, and sat beside it watching all night. On the following Friday, and on the five

succeeding Fridays, as well up to the fortieth day, Shérdil entertained all who came to his house, whether Moolahs or others. During those forty days his relations, both male and female, paid him and his family visits of condolence. With the expiry of the term of mourning, the household fell back into its old ways, and the daily routine of agricultural life was resumed.

Here we may leave Shérdil, having seen him born, educated, betrothed, and wedded; and let us hope he may succeed in his case better than his poor father, for, being well to do, he is ambitious of being made Malik, that is, head man of his section of the village, and has given me a petition praying for the appointment *vice* Futteh Khan deceased.

CHAPTER II.

POPULAR STORIES, BALLADS AND RIDDLES.

PATHANS enjoy a good story immensely, and the broader the joke and the more rollicking the fun in it, the more intense is their delight in listening to it.

In ordinary conversation every Pathan throws his whole soul into what he says—now speaking slow, now fast, now delivering a word with great emphasis, face reflecting mind, and arms acting in unison with both. Being a wild impulsive child of nature, he has, on most occasions, as little command over his features and his voice as a dog, when pleased, has to stop his tail from wagging. In the one case face, hands, and voice, and in the other the dog's tail, involuntarily represent the impression which is passing through the mind. This is, of course, only true of the rude untutored Pathan; for contact with those stronger or more refined than himself soon teaches him what may be called "manners"; in other words, outward restraint over his emotions.

To the ignorant such abandon might almost seem acting, but as it is artless and involuntary, it is the reverse. A good storyteller, however, must always be an actor: if he were not, his words would fall flat; and as Pathans have generally plenty

of spare time on their hands, and, in some respects, lively imaginations, every village contains two or three wits, who have studied the story-telling art, and are nightly at the *Chouk* the centre of an admiring throng of idlers, who listen open-mouthed, ready at the will of the narrator to explode with laughter or weep with sorrow.

Formerly, in this District, as is still the case elsewhere in Afghanistan, the best story-tellers were professionals called *dums*, a low caste class who, *rabáb* or *sarinda*¹ in hand, either roamed about the country from village to village, sure wherever they went of a welcome, a supper, and a handful of coppers, or a wallet full of flour, or took service with a chief. In the latter case, the "*dum*" combined in his person the offices of court minstrel, jester, and historiographer, and was consequently a very important personage amongst a chief's retainers. His it was to chronicle in verse the doughty deeds of his master, to preserve the memory of those of the clan who fell in battle, and to be the repository of the tribal genealogical tree. His calling, though not exactly an honourable, was a lucrative one; but, alas for the good old times! the changes in modes of life and thought introduced with our rule, and incidental to a reign of law and order, have deprived him of his occupation, and, except when a fond son pays handsomely for a poem in honour of his deceased father's virtues, the tuneful voice of the poet-minstrel is now seldom heard.

Although, however, ballad poetry is dying out, story-telling flourishes, and a circle of eager listeners is found for every sort of tale, from the Akhoond's dreamy moral narratives, and the wandering *dum*'s elaborate anecdotes, gorgeous with princes and princesses, fairies and demons, down to the roaring fun of the village wit, who strings half a dozen old jokes and stories together with a weak thread of connexion, and therewith binds and draws his impressionable audience through all the mazes of his story.

¹ The *rabab* is a kind of guitar, and the *sarinda* a kind of fiddle.

Out of the large number of tales I have collected, I have condensed and translated fifty of the shortest and apparently most original of those which find the highest favour with the poorest and most ignorant of the peasantry, and are, therefore, more entitled to be called "popular tales" than the longer, more ambitious, and more refined narratives, which, through their very length and elaboration, are wanting in flavour and piquancy.

The specimens given in this chapter may be divided into three classes, namely, humorous tales containing a moral, laughter-creating tales and jests, and, thirdly, fables, of which latter only a few are inserted, as the world is already overstocked with them.

At the end of the chapter are a few Marwat ballads and riddles.

CLASS I.—HUMOROUS AND MORAL

THE MISERLY AKHOOND.

An Akhoond was in the habit of preaching the duty of charity to his congregation—that he who bestowed alms in God's name would receive tenfold in return.

His sermons took effect on his wife, who one day sent a large plate of sweets to the mosque, which delighted the heart of her husband, until, on examining it, he felt sure that his wife must have been the donor, as he recognized the plate as one of his own. He immediately rose to prayers, and continued them for such a length of time that his hearers one by one left.

When the last had gone, and he found he would not have to divide the sweets with any one, he took the dish home to his wife, and pointed out that his precepts were for the multitude, and not for her; but as she insisted on continuing the giving of alms, he replied, in order to frighten her, "I'll die if you do it again."

Next day his wife did the same, and that evening her hus-

band pretended to be taken ill, and feigned death. His wife, suspecting his trick, gave out that her husband had, when dying, enjoined her to leave his corpse two nights unburied in the graveyard. After having the body washed and placed on a bier, she had it conveyed there, and sat down at a little distance to watch what should happen.

During the night, four thieves came to the spot, three belonging to one party, and a fourth by himself. The three vowed a tenth of their booty to the holy man's corpse should they be successful; and the fourth did the same, but added he would smash in the reverend corpse's head should he return empty-handed.

After a time they all returned, the three with great plunder, and the fourth in bad humour, with none. So he took up a stone and threw it at the supposed corpse.

"You will kill me," yelled the unfortunate Akhoond starting up from his bier. On seeing this strange sight, away ran the thieves, thinking he was a spirit, leaving all their booty behind. When gone, the wife stepped up, and said to her husband, "See what God has given for one dish of sweets."

"No, 'tis by being a corpse I gained it," said her husband. "Will you promise never to give away again?"

"No," replied the wife.

"Then leave me to die," said her husband. Whereupon she gathered up the plunder and went home.

Next morning she went with a crowd to the graveyard, and invoked her husband to come back to life, but he remained as one dead, so she ordered the people to bury him, and called out that she would divide all her husband's property that evening amongst the poor, as it had pleased God to deprive her of him.

"No, not a pice," screamed the sham dead man, starting up and bursting his shroud.

"Wah! Wah! God is great!" said the simple people; "he has raised the dead to life." Then they went home, believing the miracle.

THE PROPHET PROVED.

A clever fellow claimed to be a prophet, and many silly people believed in him; whereupon the King of that country summoned him to his presence, and, in order to expose the falseness of his pretensions, said to him in full Darbar: "If you can tell me what my thoughts are, I shall acknowledge you as a prophet."

"Sire," was the ready answer, "you are thinking I shall not be able to read your thoughts and be thus proved a liar."

The reply was so ingenious and true that the King was silenced, and the false prophet was rewarded instead of beaten, and acquired fresh fame.

THE SILENT PRINCESS.

A certain king promised to give his daughter to any one who could induce her to speak, but the penalty of failure was death. Many made the attempt, but none succeeded.

At last a young prince from a neighbouring country came, determined to try his luck, and when introduced to the Court, where the silent Princess was sitting, pretended to take no notice of her; but turning to the attendants and others who were hanging about, called out in a loud voice, "Listen, for I am going to tell you a story, and ask you a question. Once upon a time, a carpenter, tailor, goldsmith, and fakeer were travelling together, and wherever they halted at night, used to keep watch in turn. On one occasion, the carpenter, in order to keep himself awake, whiled away the time of his watch by fashioning a log of wood like a woman; the tailor, when it came to his turn, made clothes for it; and the goldsmith likewise employed his watch in beautifying it with bangles. The fakeer's turn was last of all, and he, seeing the lovely inanimate figure before him, prayed God to bestow life upon it, and God did so. When that occurred, the dawn was breaking, and the fakeer's companions awoke simultaneously,

and began to quarrel for possession of the beautiful woman they had jointly created. Now, say which of them had best claim?"

"The carpenter, for he made the figure," said one.

The tailor and goldsmith were named by others, and a hot dispute ensued, but one voice shouted out, "The fakeer, because through his prayer the lifeless block was animated."

"Right, the fakeer," exclaimed the Princess, who had been greatly interested with the story, and was put off her guard by the indifference which her wooer, so unlike former aspirants to her hand, had shown towards her.

Thus the young Prince won a wife and saved his head.

CHARITY REWARDED.

A poor man heard his priest say that God rewarded the charitable tenfold; and, after many days of saving, he accumulated one rupee and gave it to a beggar. Days and weeks went by, but no ten rupees came. So the old man began to sicken from over-fretting. First fever, then diarrhœa, then dysentery attacked him. At last, when lying in a field at the point of death, in a paroxysm of pain, he seized a tuft of grass with his hands; the tuft came away from the roots, and disclosed ten rupees concealed there.

Greedily the old man gathered them up, and, going home, soon got well. But, though the reward had come at last and the priest's words had been proved true, never again did he bestow a pice in charity.

THE KING AND THE HILL-THIEVES.

A thievish tribe infested a hilly country, plundering all caravans which passed through it. Hearing of their misdeeds, the King summoned the head men of the tribe to his presence, and, after explaining to them in a fatherly way the wickedness of robbing merchants, admonished them to lead honest lives in future, and made them swear on the Koran that they would

plunder no more. But, on their return to their hills, they forgot their oaths. So the wise King sent for them again, and this time made them sign an engagement to lead good lives; after which he dismissed them with honour to their own country, giving each a present. Yet again this thievish tribe began infesting the passes and vexing the King's subjects. Then the King was perplexed, and he called his Vizier, and said to him, "How is it that neither oaths, nor engagements, nor rewards, restrain this people?"

The old minister smiled, and said, "Let my lord send once again to the thieves, and, placing some earth from their own hills beneath their feet, ask of them this question." And the King did so.

Then the thieves answered: "Oaths and engagements bind fools; presents are given by the weak to the strong. So long as we live in our hills, we must plunder to live as our forefathers did before us."

And the King was wroth, and said, "Out of your own mouths I condemn you; you are not men, but beasts." So he sent his army against them, and made war on them until he had scattered and destroyed them.

A MISER'S PROOF.

A clever thief one day robbed a blind miser of his hoard, and determined to spend a tenth of it in charity. So he gave an entertainment to the poor of the town. The miser appeared amongst the guests; but when he attempted to eat, his food stuck in his throat. Assured by this sign that the host was the thief, he went and complained to the King; and, sure enough, when the house of his entertainer was searched, the remainder of the stolen hoard was found there.

THE SKILFUL PHYSICIAN.

Once upon a time the King of Hindústán's only son fell ill,

but his disease defied all treatment. At last his father sent a message to the King of Khorássán, imploring him to despatch his own physician to prescribe for the sick youth. As the two sovereigns were friends, the physician was ordered to go, but excused himself by saying, "Hindustan is very far from here; should I go, and my lord fall sick, he might die before I could return to save him. My person is not known, let me send Ghulam Alí, my pupil, in my name." The King consented, and Ghulam Alí was sent.

On arrival, he was puzzled to account for his patient's prolonged illness, as his disease was a simple one, and the medicines were proper. After reflection, he determined to ask for a private interview with the Queen mother. The King accorded it, and the physician was taken to the female apartments, and on the Queen taking her seat behind a curtain, he asked her who was the father of her son. After long protestations, she said it was a certain Cashmírí slave.

With a light heart the questioner withdrew, and, after learning that Cashmírís lived on rice, ordered the young Prince to be fed on a rice diet. In a few weeks his recovery was complete, and the skill of the Khorassání physician became famous in Hindústán.

WHAT NOT TO TRUST.

Lúkmán Hakím, on his death-bed, warned his son never to tell a secret to his wife, nor to be friends with a Sepoy, nor plant a thorny tree in his court-yard. The advice seemed so unreasonable that the youth determined to test it, and forthwith made friends with a Sepoy, planted a "*ber*" tree in his court-yard, and, killing a goat, threw its carcase into a dry well, then told his wife in secret that he had murdered such a one.

The wife at once told her neighbour's wife about the murder as a great secret. In course of time the tree grew up, the Sepoy became a police officer, and the story of the murder

came to the King's ears. The police officer was sent to arrest the murderer, and found him seated on his couch underneath the "bér" tree. When rising to go with his captor, his turban got caught in the thorns of the tree; but the police officer, in his zeal, forgetful of his old friendship, dragged his prisoner, bare-headed, to the King, without allowing him time to disentangle his turban. When charged with the murder, the accused told the King of his father's three bits of advice, and how all the three had at last come true.

The goat's skeleton, being found in the well, proved the man's innocence, and the King dismissed him, telling him that youth should accept the fruit of the experience of age in a trusting child-like spirit.

AVARICE VERSUS RELIGION.

One day old Mahárájah Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, received in Darbár a deputation of Hindoos and Muhammadans, and presented each with magnificent "*Khilats*." Amongst the presents to the former was a silver cow, and to the latter a silver pig.

A year after, the two deputations again visited him, and he asked the Hindoos what they had done with their cow. They hung down their heads, and admitted they had melted it down and divided its silver amongst themselves.

"And what have you done with your pig?" said the monarch to the Muhammadans.

"Oh!" said they; "we threw the unclean beast into a drain as soon as we got to our homes."

When the Mahárájah found that this was true, he fined the greedy Hindoos all round, but rewarded the Muhammadaus.

THE TEST OF FRIENDSHIP.

A Hindoo and Pathan were such great friends that the latter deposited one hundred rupees with the former, and after a time

withdrew the money. The Hindoo's heart smote him for having let the money slip through his hands without even charging interest for keeping it. So he hit on a scheme to recover it; and proposed to his friend that the first who should doubt the other's word should forfeit one hundred rupees.

"Agreed," said the wily Pathan simply.

Some days after, the Hindoo told his friend that once, when his donkey had a sore back, his father had rubbed some clay on it, and that a seed in the clay took root there and grew, until it became a great tree, so that the ass, wherever he went, enjoyed cool shade.

"Verily, God's ways are wonderful!" said his friend, wagging his head and turning his eyes piously heavenwards.

After a little thought the Pathan said, "Your father and mine were great friends, even as we are, and mine lent yours one hundred rupees, but he never repaid it. I require the money now."

The poor Hindoo thus lost, instead of gained, one hundred rupees.

FEMALE INGRATITUDE.

A certain wise King was in the habit of destroying every daughter born to him, as experience had taught him that, if permitted to grow up, they would bring trouble on his house.

One day his youngest son, whose name was Shera, was at play with some other boys, when they began twitting him about his father's cruelty. "See," cried the most forward of his playmates, pointing to an executioner who was passing with the Prince's infant sister, then but twenty-four hours old, in his arms, "what your wicked father is doing!"

The little Prince, touched with pity at the sight, ran into the palace, and, climbing upon his papa's knee, besought him to spare his sister's life. His father sternly rebuked him, whereon the little fellow called his parent bad names, and behaved in a very unfilial way.

“Well,” said the King, “I spare her life, but you will live to repent it.”

After that he put the boy and girl in charge of an old nurse, and, giving her a bag of money, turned all three out of his kingdom.

The faithful nurse went to a neighbouring state, and built herself a hut in the jungle, in which she tended her young charges with a mother’s care for some years, and then died.

By that time the young Prince Shera had become a skilful hunter; but as he spent many hours daily in the chase, his sister, whose name was Motí, used to feel weary during his absence. So one day she said to him, “Brother, your horse and the beasts of the forest are your companions, but I have none.”

Shera replied that he would bring her something to love, and forthwith went out, and returned a few hours after leading a beautiful white fawn, which he gave to her.

One day the timid little creature, whilst wandering in the forest, was seen by the King of that country’s son, and followed by him to the hut. In its fright the fawn ran in and hid its head in its mistress’s bosom. Looking up, Motí’s eyes met those of the King’s son, and they fell deeply in love with each other that instant. After an hour or two of sweet converse, the lovers parted, promising to meet again, and many stolen interviews they had after that, I can assure you.

Now Motí was afraid her brother would kill her should he discover her love adventure, and the naughty thing prepared a little plot, wherewith to secure her lover to herself and get rid of her brother. What she did was this: She one day shut and barred the door of the hut on her brother whilst he was at dinner inside, and then, taking his gun with her, mounted his horse, and rode off to her lover, who was waiting for her in the forest close by.

The pair were married next day, and—alas! what will not young women do for love?—in the delights of wedded life, Motí

forgot that she had left her faithful brother to starve to death in the little room in which they had spent so many happy days together.

Luckily for Shera, poor fellow! a merchant chanced to pass that way a few days after, and, going in, rescued him from death. Now, during the long hours of his imprisonment, Shera had thought over his father's words and his sister's ingratitude, and had determined to kill her, should he live to escape and find her.

When released, he dressed himself like a fakeer, and went to the city in which the King of that country lived. Hearing that the King's son had a horse, which was very ill and refused all food, he asked to be allowed to see it, as he was skilled in the treatment of equine diseases. When he was taken to the royal stables, he recognized the horse as his own, and the animal, on hearing his master's voice again, neighed joyfully, and soon got quite well, for he had only lost his appetite from sorrow at separation from Shera.

The fakeer's fame as a horse doctor was at once established, and the King's son, thinking he might know something about guns as well, showed him his own, and said, "No gunsmith in the city can detect anything wrong with the lock, yet it won't act."

Now, odd though it may seem, the gun, like the horse, was only repining for its old master, and the moment the pretended fakeer took it in his hands, the lock worked perfectly. As he was examining it, a slight noise above him made Shera raise his head and look up, when he caught sight of his sister straining her eyes to see him through a lattice; for the fame of the fakeer had penetrated even to the women's apartments, and female curiosity had prompted his sister to have a peep at him. No sooner did he see her, than he put the gun to his shoulder, and shot her dead. And when the King heard his story, he admitted he had but done his duty. So this was the end of poor Motí.

A GOOD LIAR.

Once upon a time there lived two brothers, and the name of the one was Rishtúnai or Truthful. As they were very poor, Rishtúnai one day said to his brother, "Take me to market and sell me as a slave, and you will be able to live comfortably from the proceeds." And his brother did so.

When selling Rishtúnai, the purchaser, who was a trader, asked if he had any faults.

"Yes," said his brother, "one; he lies once every year."

"Oh! if that is all, he is a truthful youth," replied the trader, "and cheap at three hundred rupees."

A few months after, the trader went on business with a caravan to a distant city, and on his return was met, two stages from his home, by Rishtúnai, who had been despatched to welcome him by his wife.

After the first salutations were over, the trader asked anxiously, "Is all well at home?"

"Yes," said Rishtúnai, "except that your dog is dead."

"And how did that occur?" asked the other carelessly, for he was thinking of his wife and child, and glad they were well.

"Why," said Rishtúnai, "your mule had died, and your dog over-gorged himself on its flesh."

"Ah!" said the other, getting interested, "and what killed my mule?"

"Your mother had died," said the slave, "and the mule's back got galled in carrying stones for her grave, and died in consequence."

"Great God!" said his questioner, half beside himself with grief, "and how did my mother die?"

"Why," said Rishtúnai simply, "your child was carried off by croup, and your mother died from grief."

"God's will be done!" said the trader, throwing himself on the ground in his sorrow, and crying bitterly, whilst Rishtúnai went home to his mistress, and told her her husband was dead.

Next day, when the trader drew near his house, sounds of wailing from within smote upon his ears, and he entered his door filled with the sad certainty all had happened as Rishtunai had stated, for during his eleven months' sojourn in the family Rishtunai had never once told a falsehood. As the merchant stood upon his threshold, his wife, with his child in her arms, and his old mother ran forward and embraced him, their tears of woe being changed in an instant into tears of joy.

Explanations ensued, and when the trader was about to beat his slave, Rishtunai reminded him of the one failing he had, which had been declared at time of purchase; so his master restrained his arm, and gave him his liberty, saying, "Thou such a liar as thou art, one who lies daily is better!"

THE LUCKY HIDE.

One day an old man's ox strayed into a neighbour's field, the owner of which slit its tongue, so the poor beast died. The old man's son went and skinned it, and as evening closed in before he reached his village, he climbed into a tree, pulling up his hide after him, determined to pass the night there. Soon after some thieves, returning from a successful excursion, stopped under the tree to divide their spoil.

"May God send a thunderbolt on him who keeps back any part!" said their leader, as he produced some bangles.

Startled by the gruff voice, the boy in his fright let go his hold of the hide, and it caused a mighty crackling noise as it brushed through the dry leaves in its descent; for the time was winter.

"God has punished us for cheating each other," cried the thieves as they ran away, for not one of them had deposited all his loot in the common heap.

When morning dawned, the boy came down from his perch, and, collecting all the abandoned plunder, took it quietly to his home.

Next day he gave out in his village that he had exchanged his ox-skin for one hundred rupees worth of bangles in a neighbouring bazaar; so the simple people killed all their cattle and took them to the bazaar for sale, and were greatly enraged when offered only a few coppers apiece for them. When they returned home, they seized the boy, and tied him to a stake near the river, intending to drown him during the night. In this extremity the boy kept crying aloud, "I won't, I won't," when a hill man passed by and asked him what it was he would not do, and why he was there.

"The King wants to force me to marry his daughter, but I won't; so he has tied me here to make me consent," sobbed the boy.

"I'll be very happy to stand in your shoes," said the hill man. So they changed places.

A few hours after, the villagers came and drowned the luckless hill man in the river.

Next morning they were astonished to see the boy they thought they had drowned walking towards the village, driving three sheep before him.

"Why, where have you come from?" said they.

"From the river; and precious cold I am," said he, wringing the water from his clothes; for he had taken care to wet himself all over.

"But did we not throw you into the deepest part?" said they.

"Well, I don't know about the depth; but where you threw me in are great flocks of sheep, so I chased three, and here they are, and I am going off for more after breakfast," said he.

On that all the villagers who heard him ran off to the river, and, jumping in, were drowned.

THE POOR WOOD-SELLER.

A sharper one day asked a poor wood-seller in open market. "How much for ox (and) load?"

"Four annas," said he.

On that the sharper paid his four annas, and walked off with both ox and load, and when the wood-seller cried out he had been cheated, the people sided with the sharper.

The wood-seller next day put on other clothing, and disguised himself, so that he should not be recognized, and when the sharper asked him the same question, said, "A hand full (handful) of coppers."

The man agreed, and filling his hand with pice presented it to the wood-seller, who seized it and took out a knife, intending to cut his hand off.

A quarrel ensued, and the two were taken before the Kázi, who decided that, according to the terms of the bargain, the purchaser had lost his hand.

They then compromised matters, and the sharper returned the ox he had tricked the wood-seller out of the previous day.

THERE IS NOTHING IMPOSSIBLE.

Long long ago, some village maidens were playing together, when King Solomon, seated on his throne, floated past them in mid-air, on his way to bathe in the river.

Looking up, a little Battiyára girl exclaimed with a sigh, "How I should like to be one of King Solomon's wives when I grow up!"

Her play-fellows were angry at her presumption, and laughed at her, tossing their heads in disdain, and saying, "Had one of us uttered such a wish, it would have been proper enough; but thou! thou art a poor, low caste Máchí, how absurd!"

It so happened that whilst King Solomon was bathing that day, his sacred ring, on which his kingdom depended, slipped off his finger into the water, and was lost. Now God had sent the ring to King David from heaven, and David had given it to his son, and through its potency everything that lived and moved on earth and in the water and in the air obeyed him; but when it was lost, King Solomon's enemies made head against him and drove him from his throne, after which he

became a friendless and unknown wanderer in the regions he had lately ruled over with such wisdom and justice.

One day he chanced to stop at the village in which the Battiyára lived, and took service with him.

After a time, the old father, thinking what a good servant he had got, and that his little daughter was grown up, and wanted a husband, said to Solomon,—whom he supposed to be a waif of as poor parentage as himself,—“My man, you see my only child there; if you serve me until I die, you may have her to wife and succeed to all I have.”

“Agreed,” said Solomon. So they were married.

On the day of the marriage the Battiyára’s good woman bought a fine fish in the bazaar for the feast, and whilst cleaning it she found a ring in its belly, which she gave to her daughter as a present. When the happy couple had gone to rest that night, Solomon was surprised to feel a ring, like the one he had lost, on his bride’s third finger.

“Where did you get the ring from, my love?” said he.

“Never mind now; I’ll tell you all about it in the morning,” said she. So Solomon restrained his curiosity until day-break.

When his wife had told him how her mother had found it, Solomon asked her to let him try it on.

“There you are, my dear,” said she, putting it on to his little finger.

Solomon at once blew on it and wished his throne to appear, and it came in an instant.

Once re-possessed of his sacred ring, King Solomon was not long in recovering his crown and destroying his enemies; and, you may be sure, not the least favoured of his wives was the Battiyára’s little daughter, whose wish, you see, was fulfilled after all.

THE WAY TO WIN A LAWSUIT.

Two men had a dispute, and agreed to refer it for *Shariat*, or decision according to Muhammadan law, before the Kazi. On

the way the defendant met a neighbour, and said to him, "Tell my wife that I have won."

"How can you know before the case is heard?" asked his friend with surprise.

"Why, I'll deny¹ everything the plaintiff says," said the other simply.

HOST AND GUEST.

A poorly-dressed traveller once stopped for a night at a hospitable chief's house, and was fed with dry bread and water.

Some months after, he returned, dressed very handsomely, and the chief, supposing him some great personage, placed *ghi* and savoury *pulao* before him. But the guest, before eating, rose up, and taking off his fine robe, steeped it in the *ghi* pot.

After supper was over, the chief asked his guest why he had done so; "for," said he, "I have entertained strangers from many countries, but I never saw a custom such as yours."

The guest replied, "You did not entertain me, but my clothes; therefore I steeped my coat in *ghi*. I am that poor traveller to whom you gave dry bread and water."

THE TABLES TURNED.

A poor traveller was supping in a peasant's cottage, and the good man of the house had placed bread and a bowl of *ghi* before him; but his careful wife remonstrated, and said to her husband, "The guest is unworthy of so much honouring; give him milk."

So the *ghi* was removed and milk substituted. The traveller then rose, and without eating or drinking anything, left the house, taking both the bread and the milk with him.

¹ As the plaintiff was the party who asserted that such and such a sum was due to him, and the defendant simply denied the claim, the plaintiff would be required to take his oath, and, as most Pathans have a strong aversion to swearing on the Koran in such a case, the chances were that the oath would be declined and the suit dismissed.

His host was angry, and followed him to the *Chouk*, and said to him in public, "Why have you so dishonoured me, oh stranger?"

The traveller replied, "I only did as I was done by. Guests have honour as well as hosts."

THE INVITATION ACCEPTED.

A peasant was ploughing on the bank of a deep stream, and sat down at noon to his breakfast. Seeing a stranger on the opposite bank, he, according to custom, called out to him and invited him to share the meal, not supposing he would come. The stranger, however, inflated his skin,¹ paddled over, and breathless said, "Friend, where shall I sit?"

The unwilling host replied, "On my broken mouth." (A phrase used when a person says what he does not mean; it here means: "Go to the Devil, I never meant you to come!")

HOSPITALITY RETURNED.

A Kábúl merchant visited Delhí, and was entertained like a prince by a Hindustaní. When, after a stay of several weeks, he bid good-bye to his friend, he said, "Should you ever visit me, I'll light a fire for you."

The Hindústání said nothing, but thought the promise but a cold ungrateful return for all his hospitality.

Now it so happened that the Delhí merchant went to Kábúl himself on a trading expedition in the following year, and arrived at the house of his friend when snow was falling. He was conducted to an upper chamber, and a magnificent repast was put before him; but, poor fellow! his hands and feet were numbed with the cold, and he sent it away untasted, and

¹ Most peasants who live near water carry a goat's hide handy which they can inflate with air in a minute. The hide is stitched together and water-tight. Riding on it, its possessor is as much at home in water as on dry land.

throwing himself at the feet of his host, said to him, "For God's sake, take me to a room where there is a fire."

When he had got cozy and warm there, he reflected that he had been over-hasty in judging his friend ungrateful.

THE CHOICE OF A WIFE.

An old fellow had an only son, whom he determined to marry to some clever girl; so the two set out to a neighbouring town to cast about for an eligible young lady.

The way was long, and the sun was hot, and both trudged along in silence. At last the old fellow said to his son, "Either you must carry me, or I you, to make the road shorter."

"Father," said the youth, "we are both heavy men, how can it be done?"

The father answered testily, "Dullard, go home; you want a clever wife, you are so blunt of understanding." So the son went home, and his father journeyed on by himself.

Seeing a nice-looking girl standing at a cottage door, and feeling very tired, he accosted her, "Child, where is your mother?"

"Separating earth from earth," said she.

"And where is your father?"

"Mixing earth with earth," she replied, laughingly, for her questioner seemed puzzled at her first answer.

"Come, I give it up," said he; "say plainly where they are."

"Why," she answered, "father is at a funeral, and mother is a midwife."

The old man thought the girl would suit his son admirably, and when her parents came home, made an offer for her, and a bargain was soon concluded. After his marriage, the youth asked his wife what his father could have meant when he proposed that one should carry the other, and she said, "Why,

that one should tell the other a tale, of course.”¹ And it was so.

FAITH VERSUS SANCTITY.

One day a King had an argument with his Vizier on the superiority of Sanctity over Faith as a means of attaining one's wishes in this or the next world. The Vizier insisted on Faith being superior, and would not admit that through Sanctity alone miracles could be accomplished.

The King became estranged from his minister on account of his obstinacy, as he was pleased to term it.

The Vizier said nothing at the time, but some weeks after sought out four humble fakeers, and promised them ten rupees each per month should they obey his wishes in all respects. He then killed an ass and buried it in a retired neighbourhood near the city, set up a flag over it, and appointed two of his servants to watch there day and night. The third he ordered to sit on the road, one hundred yards from the *ziarat* (shrine), and turn back all who tried to approach it without their first declaring that they did so in full trust that their prayers would be answered. And the fourth he employed to go about the country, and “talk up” the *ziarat* (shrine), that its sanctity was such it granted all prayers uttered in faith.

It a few months the fame of the shrine reached the King's ears, and he told his ministers he would go in state to the place on the following day and pray for victory over his enemies, and that the child his queen was about to deliver should be a son. The Vizier heard of this, and privily instructed his men not to let the King pray until he should intercede with them in the King's behalf.

The King went, and one hundred yards from the shrine was stopped by one of the fakeers, who warned him not to ask for anything unless he had faith that God would grant it. The

¹ There is a proverb in English, “Good company on a journey is worth a coach.”

King went on, and when about to kneel down and pray, was sternly repelled by one of the guardians of the shrine for his presumption in being about to pray that God should deliver his enemies into his hands, for, he added,

“Thine enemies, oh King! are in God’s keeping, as well as thyself.”

Astonished at the fakeer’s divination of his intentions, the King paused irresolute, when the disgraced Vizier stepped forward, and interceded with the guardian of the shrine, who at last permitted the King to pray, on condition that he would do so in faith that his prayer would be answered.

He did so, and on his return to the city was met by a messenger, who told him the glad tidings that his enemies had been defeated, and as he entered his palace a eunuch told him his queen had given birth to a son. Overjoyed, he was about to order lavish expenditure on the holy shrine, when the disgraced Vizier said to him:—

“Sire, come with me, and first learn of its sanctity.” So he went, and the Vizier had the donkey’s skeleton exhumed before him.

The King then admitted that faith in God’s answering prayer was more necessary than sanctity.

CLASS II.—COMIC AND JOCLAR.

THE HENPECKED HUSBANDS.

Two men were walking along a road, when they met an old man who wished them a “good morning!” But as each thought the salutation was intended for the other, it was not returned at all.

“What a boor you are!” said the one to his companion.

“What an uncourteous dog you are!” said the other.

At last the dispute waxed so hot that they went back to settle it by asking the old man himself. He replied that he had

saluted the more henpecked husband of the two; but as each denied it could be he, the old man, who was a bit of a wag, asked them to narrate their married experiences to him.

The first said, "I have only one wife, and she always fetches fire for her cooking purposes herself every morning from a neighbour's house. But one day she pretended she had a sore foot and could not walk; whereupon I told her I had taken an oath that she should bring it herself. 'Well,' said she, 'you can keep your oath, and I can save my foot, if you will carry me.' So I carried her on my back to my neighbour's, and when she had got the fire, I carried her home again."

The other said, "Well, I have a hot-tempered wife. Three nights 'ago I burnt my mouth at supper when eating my porridge, and complained to my wife about its being so hot. She took up the ladle, and said, 'Eh! eh! hot do you say?' and I ran away, and to punish her I have not been home since."

The old man laughed, and said, "Well, I divide the salute between you—for you," turning to the first speaker, "proved yourself in your neighbour's eyes more henpecked than ever by carrying your wife to his house and back; and you," turning to his companion, "have not been home since you burnt your mouth from fear of the ladle, and not to punish your wife."

WHICH IS THE FOOL?

A weaver bought some salt; but, observing human hairs in it, and having heard that they were poisonous, he asked the Hindoo grocer how they could be removed.

"Put the salt into running water; then the hairs will be floated away, and the pure salt will sink to the bottom," was the answer, delivered with a knowing wink.

The weaver did so, and of course all the salt was melted and disappeared. When he saw what had happened, he rose from his knees beside the stream, and, scratching his head,

muttered to himself, "What an idiot that Hindoo was, and what wretchedly bad salt he sold me!"

THE ARTFUL DODGER.

Two brothers lived in a quiet village, far from the noise and bustle of any large town. The elder was a shrewd, clever youth, named Tagga Khan; the younger a fool. One day Tagga Khan gave his brother a goat, and told him to take it to market. So he set out, driving it before him, feeling proud and consequential at such an important mission.

When he had gone four or five miles, a villager met him, and asked him where he was driving such a miserable-looking dog to; but he answered him scornfully, "Oh fool! it is not a dog, but a milch goat." A little farther on he met another peasant, who asked him the same question as the first had, and he answered as he had done before, but this time seriously. Again, a short distance farther on, he met yet another countryman, who asked him the same question; and this time he answered him doubtingly, "Sir, 'tis a goat, if I am not mistaken, not a dog." And so he went on, being stopped every quarter of a mile or so, and asked about his dog, until the poor fool became convinced that the goat was a dog, and abandoned it. Then going home, he upbraided his brother for practising such a fraud on him.

Now the men who had accosted the fool were six brothers, and a thorough band of cheats. They took the goat home in triumph, and, having slaughtered her, had a great feast.

Tagga Khan at once understood that his brother had been imposed on, and, being a man of spirit and resource, determined to repay the trick with interest. Next morning he started for the market town mounted on a sorry ass, caparisoned as richly as if she had been an Irání war-horse. The same fraternity met him, one by one, and asked him why he had put such handsome trappings on his ass; but to each he replied, "'Tis not an ass, but a '*bouchaki*.'"

Not knowing what a "*bouchakí*" was, the sixth brother asked him, and he said, "Sir, 'tis an animal that lives for one hundred years, and passes out with its dung every morning a lump of gold."

Now Tagga Khan had so laid his plans that he should be unable to reach town that night; and when his last questioner asked him to put up for the night at his house, he did so. Early in the morning he proceeded to saddle his ass, and, after feeling about its dung, picked up, as if it had been an every-day occurrence, a lump of gold, which he had previously placed there. The brothers were watching him in secret all the time, as Tagga Khan had expected. Some days after his return home from market, the band of cheats came to his house, and asked him to sell the wonderful "*bouchakí*" and offered five hundred rupees for her. Tagga Khan, nothing loath, closed with the offer, after a little specious haggling.

When the cheats had gone, he said to his wife, "In a few days they will return, when they find the ass does not lay lumps of gold. When they enter, say I have gone to a distance, and let loose one of my two grey rabbits to call me." Now the wife was a sensible woman, and, though she did not understand her husband's plot, promised to follow his instructions.

A day or two after, when the band was seen approaching the house, Tagga Khan slipped out, carrying one of the two rabbits with him. On entering, one of the band said to his wife, "Where is your husband?"

And she replied, "He went out early this morning to fish, but I'll send a messenger to call him." So she let loose the other rabbit, saying to it, "Run quickly, and fetch my husband." An hour after, Tagga Khan entered with the rabbit he had taken away him under his arm.

"Did the rabbit call you?" said the spokesman of the band.

"Yes, of course," replied Tagga Khan.

After whispering together, the eldest brother offered five

hundred rupees for the rabbit, to which Tagga Khan agreed. So having paid the money, they went home with their prize.

When they had gone, Tagga Khan said to his wife, "They will come back in a day or two, when they find the rabbit does not return when once let loose. I shall kill a kid, and make them believe I have cut your throat, and then bring you to life again." Then he took his walking stick, and painted it red and green in alternate rings.

Some days after, when the band was seen advancing towards the house, Tagga Khan killed a kid, and instructed his wife how she was to act. On entering, they began to accuse Tagga Khan of having cheated them, and demanded the return of their one thousand rupees. He pretended readiness to comply, on condition that they would restore to him his "*bouchaki*," and his rabbit; and as the dispute waxed hot, he called out to his wife to fetch a "*chilam*" (pipe). She neither replied nor brought the *chilam*, on which Tagga Khan rose up, and, abusing her mother and grandmother and all her other female relations, rushed into the adjoining room. "Whack! whack! whack!" resounded through the house. "Scream! scream! scream!" came from the poor woman. A moment after, Tagga Khan came into the room where the band was, flourishing a bloody knife in his hand, and dragging his wife after him, with her face and neck covered with blood. As she sank on the floor with a groan, her brutal husband said hoarsely, "Wretch, I cut your throat last Friday, and I have done it again. I won't restore you to life quite so quickly this time."

The six brothers were petrified with horror, and said not a word. They remained so for some minutes, sitting cowed and frightened in a corner, the wife lying like one dead on the floor, and her husband standing over her like some murderous devil, swearing and blustering, whilst wiping the blood-stained knife on his beard. Soon after his tears began to fall, and murmuring, "Poor Guliján, thou hast been a good wife to

me," he took from a corner the stick he had painted red and green for the occasion, and, rubbing it with his right hand, muttered a "*Bismillah*," then drew it gently several times backwards and forwards across his wife's throat, on which she appeared to revive at once, and got up.

Certain there could be no trick this time, the band whispered together, and their spokesman said, "Let bygones be bygones, we offer you five hundred rupees in cash for the stick." Tagga Khan agreed, and off the six brothers went, greatly elated. When they got home, they found their mother had not prepared their supper, and one of them, partly in a fit of passion, and partly knowing that the magic stick would revive her, cut her throat. But, alas! the painted stick had lost its potency, and the old woman never came back to life again.

Frightened at what had happened, and knowing the King would never believe their story, they at once fled in different directions, and never returned. And Tagga Khan was left in possession of his well-earned fifteen hundred rupees.

AN IRISHISM.

A woman sent her son out to cut wood, telling him to be home before sunset. The boy went, and, as he was returning, was nearly carried away in a mountain stream. When he had scrambled to the bank, he said to himself, "Had I been drowned, what answer would I have given my mother?"

THE LOVER'S WAGER.

One September day old Buzurg Khan told his wife that he had seen a large sweet melon in his field; but she pretended to be incredulous, just to vex him, and said, "Nonsense; melons were ripe two months ago."

When her good man went out to plough next morning, her lover slipped in, and she told him her husband's story about the

melon. "Now," said she, "it is sure to be there. Go and carry it off; then bet my old man he won't produce it, and let the loser forfeit his wife."

The lover agreed, and went slyly off to the field, and stole the melon that was to win him a pretty mistress, then deposited it safely in his own house.

When the men of the village, including the husband, were assembled at the "*Chouk*" that evening, the lover, turning to the most venerable greybeard of the group, asked him if he had ever known of melons growing at that season.

"No, never," said he.

"But I have," said Buzurg Khan; "there is one now in my field."

"Stuff and nonsense!" said the lover; "I'll bet you what you like you won't produce it."

"Done!" said the poor old cuckold, falling into the trap the two conspirators had laid for him; "what shall it be?"

"Well, let the loser forfeit to the winner the first thing in his house the winner lays his hands on."

So the bet was made, and all the greybeards of the village were witnesses to it.

It being a moonlight night, the husband started at once to bring the melon, thinking, on the way, whether he should select his neighbour's cow or mare. He searched everywhere for it, but of course it was not to be found. Being a shrewd old fellow, he at once guessed what had happened, and returned to the "*Chouk*," saying he had lost his wager, and would pay next morning. After that he returned home, filled with the sad certainty that he would in a few hours lose his wife, and become the laughing stock of the village, but determined to avenge himself somehow. Not so the lover, for he could hardly restrain his elation, and passed the night in pleasurable anticipation of his morning's triumph.

Next morning, at the appointed time, he went to claim his bet, accompanied by all the idlers in the village, curious to see

what he would choose. The loser received him very dolefully ; and the lover strutted about, pretending to examine Buzurg Khan's house utensils, but really looking everywhere for his prize. Just as he left the house, intending to look about in the yard, his mistress, who had slept on the roof, and feigned to be still asleep when her husband rose to receive her lover, sat up in her bed, in order to discover herself to him.

Seeing his object, he stepped lightly to the ladder, and began ascending it ; but he had not got half way, when a tremendous whack on his back from the husband brought him to the ground.

“Now take the ladder you've won,” said the husband.

The poor lover attempted to plead that it was the wife, and not the ladder, he wanted ; but the villagers said that, according to the terms of the bet, he must take the ladder, on the steps of which he had placed his hands, or nothing. So he went home disconsolate ; and the naughty wife, instead of a lover's embraces that night, had to eat plenty of stick.

THE SIMPLE AND CLEVER BROTHERS.

A simpleton took service with a master, on the following terms : that the master was to supply him with a plough and yoke of oxen, and he was to sow one maund of seed daily, fetch one maund of firewood home to him, and meat for the family consumption ; and that either failing the other should lose his nose.

The very first day the simpleton failed in his part of the contract, and his cruel master cut off his nose.

Going home to his brother, he told him how he had been treated, and the brother went and offered his services on the same conditions.

When he got to the field, he scattered all the grain on the ground, slaughtered one of the oxen, broke up the plough, and, returning home, told his master he had fulfilled the conditions

one day at all events. Next day he did the same; but the third day, his master not being able to supply him with seed, plough, or oxen, had to submit to have his nose cut off.

THE AKHOOND'S STRATAGEM.

A miserly young Akhoond fell in love with a princess, and made a vow that he would both obtain an interview with her and a present of one hundred rupees. For a long time he pursued his object in vain, and at last told his case to a brother Akhoond, who at once devised a plan for overcoming the difficulty.

The next morning, the princess's slave girl, whom we shall call Adila, was looking down from her room into the street below, when she saw two men making preparations to slaughter a goat; but, instead of cutting its throat, they hacked at the tips of the poor animal's horns. Adila thought that the sight might amuse her mistress, and ran to fetch her. When the princess saw the two foolish creatures, her heart was touched, and she said to her slave, "Run down, and show the poor stupids what they ought to do." So Adila went down and cut the goat's throat for them. When she came back, her mistress said, "Now go and show them how to skin the goat, for they are plucking it like a hen." So she ran down again and skinned the goat for them.

After that the two men went away, and returned about an hour afterwards with a large cooking pot, into which they thrust the goat whole; and then lighted a fire a few yards off, and sat down, waiting for the pot to boil. The princess had been looking on all the time; and, when she saw one of the men stir the pot, she burst out laughing, and, calling to her slave said, "Run down quickly, and bring both these poor simpletons up here, for they will die of hunger if we don't help them."

Adila went down, and did as her mistress had told her. When

the goat had been cooked, the two men proved such ignorant creatures, that, instead of putting the stew into their mouths, they put it up to their eyes. So, out of pity, Adila fed one, and the princess the other.

By that time evening had fallen, and the two Akhoonds feigned to be dreadfully sleepy; but, instead of lying down where they were, they went on to the roof, and tried to stand on their heads close to the parapet.

“Dear me!” said the tender-hearted princess; “they will fall over and be dashed to pieces; we had better take the poor creatures into our beds.”

When they had been put to bed, they all four slept cozy and warm until cock-crow. Hearing it, the Akhoond who had slept with the princess started up, and said, “I must give the call for morning prayers.” With that, he cleared his voice.

But the princess said, “For God’s sake don’t, you will bring my father here, and he will kill us all.”

“Well, if you will give me one hundred rupees, I won’t,” said the Akhoond coolly, for now he did not care how soon he went away, and he was greedy for gold.

“Very good,” said the princess.

With that she summoned Adila, who paid the money, and conducted the two pretended simpletons back into the street.

THE HEIGHT OF FOLLY.

One hot night a foolish youth saw a neighbour sleeping on the roof of his house, and six months later, when on a visit to his father-in-law’s, in the cold weather, he insisted on sleeping on the roof, as he had before seen his neighbour doing.

“But you will die of cold,” said the old gentleman.

“Why should I, any more than Majid Khan?” said his obstinate son-in-law.

So he went up to the roof, and never came down again, except as a corpse, for he died of cold before morning.

TOO CLEVER BY HALF.

One day a smart young fellow, who thought a great deal of his own acuteness, boasted to his wife that he was too clever to be taken in ; at which she said she thought even she could do it, he was such a simpleton. Her husband laughed scornfully at the bare idea, and went out to his day's work.

A week or two after, the wife went to the market, and bought a fine fresh fish, and placed it secretly where her husband would plough next day. On the following day she took him his breakfast as usual, and her husband showed her the fish he had turned up with the plough, and wondered how the deuce it got there. His wife pretended to be as astonished as he was, and took it home, with orders to cook it for supper. On his return he asked her if the fish was ready.

“What fish do you mean?” said she. “You never gave me one.”

The husband told her where and when he had given it her, and she laughed, and said, “You are dreaming; who ever found a fish in the ground, you donkey?”

Enraged, he began to beat her, and she screamed fearfully; on which the neighbours came rushing in. The woman then stated her case, and said, “You can see he has been lying, if you ask him where he got the fish.”

They did so; and, on his telling them the incredible story, they took the woman's part, and carried him off to the Kazi for punishment, who decided that he was to be branded as a liar; but his wife begged for mercy. So he was forgiven.

When they got home, she said to him, “Now, my dear, do you remember your boast? It was I who hid the fish in the field.” Whereon she took it from an old jar into which she had put it, and cooked it for him, and he had it for his supper after all.

The husband was so ashamed of having been taken in by his wife, that he never told his neighbours the true story, and never boasted of his sharpness again.

THE PRACTICAL JOKER PUNISHED.

An old man was sitting in a field, when a brainless young fellow, observing his posture, quietly slipped behind him and pulled his shirt over his head. The old man rose meekly, and presented the youth with a rupee. A friend, who had seen what had happened, said to him, "Why hast thou rewarded evil with good?"

The old man replied, "Nay; I have secured a bad man's punishment without dirtying my own hands in inflicting it. I gave him the rupee to induce him to practise on others what he did to me."

Next day the youth, in hopes of being similarly rewarded, tried the same trick on a young man, and got soundly beaten for his pains.

LADY'S MAN, OR MUFF?

A venerable old fakeer saluted three peasants as they passed him, and they all returned his salutation, each thinking it was meant for himself alone. A squabble ensued, on which they turned back, and asked the old man to which of them he had wished "good-morning."

He replied, "Why, to the greatest lady's man."

Each said he was, and proceeded to relate the particular act of gallantry on which he prided himself.

The first said, "I was betrothed, and went some months after to visit my father-in-law's family. For shame's sake I ate very little, and during the night I felt very hungry. So, I rose up and groped about, and found some parched gram, which I began to eat. But the crunching noise I made awoke some of the family, and they, supposing it was some loose donkey that had strayed into the house, lighted a lamp and caught me with my mouth full. Seeing it so distended, they asked what had befallen me; but, as I dared not speak, I made a sign in dumb

show. 'A *jinn* (spirit) has struck him,' said they. So they sent for the village barber, who put a poultice on my cheek, and went away. Then we all went to bed again, and in the morning I appeared quite well."

The second said, "I, too, had been betrothed, and went with an old friend to make my father-in-law's acquaintance. Being very young, my friend had instructed me to do whatever he told me. At supper-time my mentor said I was like a *kalandar*, and hardly ate anything at all. So I went supperless. When bed-time came, he said I was so hardy that I always slept out of doors, summer and winter, without any bedding. When he said this, I saw my betrothed give a little shuddering look of disappointment towards me. After that we both ascended to the roof to sleep. My friend had two warm quilts for himself, but I had nothing. Now, as it was the cold weather, and I had had nothing to eat, I soon felt very hungry and cold; so I woke up my friend, and told him my wants. He said he could not spare me a quilt, but thought I might get something to eat. He then tied his turban round my waist, and let me down through the smoke-opening in the roof into the room below, where the family was asleep. After groping about a little, I found some cakes, which I ate; and then, putting a brass vessel containing milk under my arm, whispered to my friend to pull me up. I was half through the hole, when the confounded milk vessel fell with a crash, which woke the family. The old father blew up the fire, putting some twigs on, and, in the glow, saw my legs dangling down from the hole in the roof. "'Tis a spirit,' they all screamed; and, rushing out, sent for the Moolah to exorcise it. He came, and, seeing the situation, told the members of the family to stand outside the doorway, and, as that was the only means of escape for the spirit, they were to belabour the first thing that passed them. As the man began muttering his charms, down I came with a run, and away bolted the Moolah, thinking the Devil was after him. When he ran out, he got a tremendous thrashing, as the

watchers at the door thought it was the spirit, who had assumed the shape of the Moolah, in order the better to deceive them."

The third said, "I, too, had been betrothed; but when I went to pay my respects, was badly received, and told to go home again. As the night was dark and stormy, I went to the mosque, intending to sleep there. There was a group of travellers in it, just sitting down to the meal the villagers had brought them. I joined the circle, but was driven away for bad manners, in having done so without invitation. I was ravenous, and went out to beg myself a meal. I tried at the house my father-in-law elect first, when my betrothed opened the door and put a cake into my hand, thinking me an ordinary beggar. I ran off at once, for fear of being detected, and in the dark fell into a tanner's vat, in which were some hides. The tanner, awoke with the noise, rushed out, and fancying it was a dog, began to beat me soundly, but desisted when he recognized a human voice, and seized me as a thief. The noise brought my father-in-law to the spot, and I was exposed."

When they had all done, the old man said, "I made a slip about the word. 'Twas not for the best lady's man I meant the greeting, but the greatest, ahem! muff—and you each deserve one-third of my salutation."

A COWARD'S PLEA.

A coward, bravely mounted and well armed, was met by a robber in a lonely road, and delivered up his purse to him when challenged.

One of his acquaintances, hearing of the incident, asked him why he had not attacked the robber.

"How could I?" was the answer. "The bridle was in one hand, and my spear in the other; you would not have had me fight him with my mouth, like a dog, would you?"

THE WEAVER AND DEATH.

A weaver went to cut firewood, and, climbing up a tree, commenced hacking away at a dead branch with his axe. A holy Sayad, passing beneath, observed that he was sitting on the lower part of the branch he was cutting, and called out to him that he would fall and hurt himself. The weaver told him to mind his own business, and continued his work, when crack went the branch, and crash went the weaver to the ground. Rubbing his back woefully, he said to himself, "The old man was a prophet after all, for he foretold the future; perhaps he will tell me more." Jumping up, he ran after the Sayad, and, when he had overtaken him, he made him a low obeisance, and said, "O holy man! thou saidst truly I should fall and hurt myself. Now tell me when I shall die."

The Sayad saw what a simpleton he had to deal with, and said enigmatically, "When your wind goes."

The weaver thanked him, and went home.

The same evening, soon after supper, a savoury eructation involuntarily passed from his mouth, and all of a sudden he remembered the holy man's prophecy. So he sadly called his wife and children to him, and told them to prepare his shroud and grave, as he had just lost wind, and a Sayad had foretold his death when such an event should happen.

His body was wrapped in ten yards of fine white cloth, and taken to the grave, and there left.

Now, when the village Moolah was repeating the "*janúza*" (funeral service) over his grave, he observed that it was not a corpse, but a living man he was bending over. So, when he went home, he told his brother of the weaver's strange conduct, and prepared a little trick, whereby to better himself and cure the poor fool.

When night fell, and the weaver was puzzling his head as to why death should be so much like life, he was startled to see

two ghost-like figures in white approach him, and stand one on each side of his grave.

From fear he lay perfectly still. Presently he heard one say to the other, "This is not a corpse, but a living man."

Then the two stooped down and unwound the shroud, and said to the weaver, "We are the angels Nakir and Munkir, sent to examine you; but, as you are not dead, you must forfeit your shroud."

Saying which, they departed; and when the weaver had recovered from his fright, he got up and walked home, convinced that he must have mistaken the Sayad's meaning.

CASH PAYMENT.

A money-lender found a weaver, who owed him some money, setting a thorn hedge round his field, and pressed him for payment of his debt.

"Wait six months, and you shall have double what I owe you," said the weaver. "Sheep will leave their wool in this hedge; and with their wool I'll weave a carpet, and from its proceeds buy a flock of sheep, and become rich in no time."

His creditor laughed outright at the absurdity of the calculation.

"Ah! you laugh because it is as good as cash in your pocket," said the simple debtor, as he renewed his bond for double the amount really due.

A FOOLISH LOVER.

An old woman had a foolish son, whom she dearly loved. One day she said to him, "My son, you must have a sweetheart, like other young men of your age."

"Yes, mother; but how am I to get one?" said the son.

"O, you must push and tumble the girl about a little, and then she will like you," said the old mother, for she had once been young herself, and knew all about it.

The boy thought the arrangement very simple, and, going to the well, waited there until the village maidens began to come out for water. The first to arrive was a pretty-looking girl, so he thought she would do as well as any other for a sweetheart. When she was stooping over the well's mouth, he came up behind her and pushed her in. Splash! guggle! guggle! and there was an end of her. Delighted with his love-making, he ran home and told his mother of his success; but she, instead of praising him, as he expected, boxed his ears soundly, and called him an idiot.

Now the old woman knew she would have to pay the blood money if her son were discovered, and that he would boast of his love-making all over the village. So she killed a goat and threw it into the well.

Next day the girl's parents sought everywhere for their daughter, and the fool, when asked if he had seen her, said, "Yes, of course, she is in the well." He then told his story gleefully, and took the girl's parents to the well. Half the village accompanied them to it, and the fool was sent down to look. Groping about in the water, his hands lighted on the carcase of the goat. "Say, has your daughter got horns and a hairy skin?" he called out.

"Yes," said the father, to humour him.

"Then let down a rope, and you shall have her," said the fool. They did so; and when the goat's body was brought up, the girl's parents and all the village were convinced the boy had lied, and pitied him greatly.

[The tale goes on to relate various other misdeeds of the fool, and the devices his mother adopted to divert suspicion from him.]

THE LEARNED ASS.

One day a weaver overheard a Moolah say to one of his pupils, "I could teach an ass to read more easily than you."

Next day he brought his ass to the learned man's school, and said, "Make a scholar of him, for I have no son."

"I don't teach asses," was the answer.

"What a lie!" answered the weaver. "I heard you tell a boy yesterday you could make a scholar of an ass more easily than of him."

Seeing the sort of customer he had to deal with, the Moolah consented to take the ass as a pupil; and, by placing corn between the leaves of an old book, he soon succeeded in making the animal keep his head down, and turn over the pages.

When the ass had become a proficient at his lesson, his teacher sent for the weaver, who came in all haste.

"Does he know his letters yet?" was eagerly asked.

"Know his letters!" replied the master; "I should think he does; why he is half through the *Gulistán!*" He then put the old book before his strange pupil, and told the weaver to retire to a little distance; "for," said he, "if you remain too near, you may disturb your ass at his studies."

The delighted weaver then saw his ass turn over leaf after leaf of the book, and open and shut his mouth at a great rate, as if reading to himself, and went home quite satisfied.

Next day the Moolah sold the ass.

A month or two afterwards its late owner called at the school, and asked if the ass had finished its education yet.

"Yes," said the Moolah, "he is an Akhoond now; and, what is more, is Kází of this very city."

Now the Moolah named the Kází, because he had an old grudge against him.

On hearing this, the weaver was very pleased, and paid down the balance of the stipulated schooling fees. Next day he dressed himself in his best, and taking a grain bag in his hand, went off to the Cutcherry, where the Kází was administering justice. Holding up the bag, he waved it about before the astonished judge, and called to him as he would to his ass. Thinking the man was crazy, yet dreading a scene before so

many spectators, the Kázi called the weaver aside, and asked him what he wanted.

The weaver said, "Don't you know me? I am your master," and told him his story.

"Well, well," said the Kázi, to humour him, and get rid of him; "I was your ass, no doubt; but now you see my condition is so altered, that we must not allow people to suspect it."

So saying, he gave the weaver a well-filled purse, and sent him away, promising to keep the secret, proud and happy.

NO SENSE NO WEALTH.

Once upon a time there lived two brothers. The name of the one was Mahmúd, and of the other Ghází. Mahmúd was rich, married, and henpecked; but Ghází was poor and foolish.

One day Ghází was in great straits for money. So he went to his brother, and asked for assistance. Mahmud said he was afraid his wife would scold him if he gave him money before her, but that he would bury a bag containing one hundred rupees under a certain tree, and his brother could go next day and dig it up. That same evening Mahmud slipped out of his house while his wife was gossiping at a neighbour's, and deposited the bag of rupees, as he had promised.

Next day Ghází started for the tree, but on the road he happened to say to himself, "I wonder how a blind man finds his way about." And, as there was no one near to tell him, he shut his eyes, and walked on and on until he lost himself.

On the following morning he went back to his brother, and repeated his request. Mahmud asked him if he had searched under the tree, as he had been told, and Ghází said, No, he had forgotten to.

"Well, go and do so," said Mahmud.

Off went Ghází, but, whilst he ran, the thought unluckily occurred to him, "How does a thief run when chased?" And, as there was no one near to answer for him, away he went as

hard as his legs would carry him, until he stopped at his own door. "Well," said he to himself, "there is nothing for it but to dun my brother once more." So back he went to him.

This time Mahmúd's patience and temper were exhausted, and he said, "Oh brother! to whom M'abud (God) gives not. Mahmúd gives not," and turned him away.

THE SWÁTÍ AND FAMINE AND CHOLERA.

Once upon a time Swát was afflicted with a great famine, and its young men and its old went forth into the surrounding countries to save themselves from death. Amongst others, a youth named Najíb Khan, bent his footsteps towards Hindustan, having heard of its wealth; but as he advanced, he found that both Famine and Cholera were desolating the cities of the plains, and that a great fear had fallen upon the land.

One night, when tired and hungry, he saw three or four miles in front of him the lights of a large city, and, rejoicing at the sight, quickened his pace, and walked along heedlessly. Suddenly he found himself struggling in a quagmire, and the more he endeavoured to extricate himself, the deeper did he sink.

A peasant happened to pass near the spot, and the Swátí called out to him in Pashto, imploring him to assist him out. The peasant had a brave heart, and was not frightened at the strange tongue he heard, but advanced to the edge of the quagmire, and, after satisfying himself that the speaker was a man, and not a spirit, stretched out a hand to him. The Swatí grasped it, and gave such a tug that he pulled his deliverer into the mud beside himself; and there the two passed a tedious night.

Early next morning, as some villagers were trudging along to their fields, their ears were saluted with a "For God's sake, come and release us, whoever you are," in Pashto; and the

Hindustaní also called out imploringly in his own language, but was so weakened from his night's imprisonment that he could not articulate freely. This jargon frightened the villagers, and, abandoning their ploughs, they ran back to the city, rushed breathless into the King's darbár, crying out that Cholera and Famine were approaching the city, but had fallen out together on the way, and were squabbling about four miles off.

The King, greatly alarmed, ordered his army out, and put himself at their head; but the troops, however brave against a human enemy, trembled to face spirits, and one by one the soldiers sneaked off, and hid themselves in the trees and hedges by the road-side. Thus the King was left to advance alone, and when he had approached sufficiently near the quagmire to discern the two strange objects moving about in it, he invoked God's name, and, levelling his matchlock, fired at one of them. A yell, a groan, the subsidence of one of the objects in the mud, and a splutter of strange sounds, was the result. The King's first impulse was to flee; but knowing that the eyes of his people were on him, he, pale as death, cautiously advanced, and said to the remaining object, "In God's name, who art thou?"

In broken Hindustaní the Swatí told him what had befallen him, and that his companion in misfortune had been killed. The King plucked up heart, and getting some of his bravest generals to the front, had the unlucky Swatí pulled out, and returned to his city in triumph, when the news soon went forth that the King had killed Cholera, but brought Famine into the city.

When the poor Swatí entered the city, he was half dead from hunger. So he begged an old man to give him a meal; but eyeing him warily, the old fellow replied, "Knock at the fifth door from this, and say, when your knock is answered, 'I am your lover.'" "

He did so, and was at once admitted by a young woman; but before he could make his wants known came another rat-

tap at the door. On hearing it the pretty house-wife, fearing it was her husband, made her strange guest get into the grain-safe. On opening the door, her true lover entered, and she at once commenced cooking for him some dainty sweetmeats, but again came rat-tap at the door, and the poor woman this time surely recognized the hard knuckles of her old husband, and hastily told her lover to lay himself on top of the safe, which he did.

The old husband, on entering, after scolding his wife for keeping him waiting at the door so long, sniffed about, and asked what the savoury smell was. So she replied she was preparing some sweetmeats against his return. Seeing the black-looking object over the grain-safe, he asked what it was. Said she, "A skin of flour I brought from my mother's."

When the lollipops were ready, the wife gave her husband some, and slipped into the mouth of the safe half a plate full for the famishing Swatí. Putting them all into his mouth at once, he half choked himself, and began to cough.

The superincumbent lover, hearing the half-suppressed coughing going on beneath him, put his hand down to feel what it was, and in doing so his finger slid into the hungry Swatí's mouth. The Swatí closed his teeth on it, and the lover involuntarily gave a yell of pain. On seeing it was not a snake, but a man in the safe, he abused the Swatí roundly, and the Swatí him.

In his consternation, the old husband rushed out of the house, screaming that Famine and Hunger were there fighting like man and wife; but his wife, after pacifying her lover and his supposed rival, turned them out of the house quietly, and ran after her husband. When she had found him, she scolded him for being so silly, saying, "Don't you know it is Friday eve, when the spirits of our parents visit us? They happened to quarrel as they used to do when in the flesh; that is all the noise you heard."

Satisfied with the explanation, and glad his wife had save!

him from making a fool of himself before his neighbours, he kissed her heartily and returned home.

A WARNING TO IMPORTUNATE LOVERS.

It is a true saying that a case in court makes a modest woman bold, and tries human nature sorely; especially if the woman be good-looking, and the judge sportive.

Thus it befell a poor dyer's pretty wife, named Fatima, that in a lawsuit of her husband's, the city *Kutwál* (Chief Constable), the Kazí, the Vizier, and the King himself, all became personally acquainted with her, and, smitten with her charms, each urged his suit privately, unknown to his rivals, promising to use his influence in her favour if she would but grant him a meeting.

Fatima, distracted with so many importunate lovers, and caring not a button about any of them, and, moreover, being a skittish young woman, who enjoyed a good joke, determined to play them off on each other, and appointed a meeting with all four on a certain night at her own home.

As arranged, the *Kutwál* was the first to come; and, being admitted, found his lovely Fatima busy over the fire, cooking something savoury in a pot.

"Ha! ha!" said the impatient lover, "what an appetizing smell! But drop your ladle now, my dear, and come to my arms."

"Patience, patience," said Fatima, playfully spilling a little of the boiling treacle from the ladle on his knees; "the night is long, and supper nearly ready."

Whilst the poor *Kutwál* was rubbing his scalded knees weefully, and thinking that his best silk *pahjámahs* would be spoiled by the stain, tap-a-tap-tap sounded at the outer door.

"My husband!" exclaimed Fatima.

"The Holy Prophet!" cried the *Kutwál*, wringing his hands; "Oh! what shall I do?"

“Here, throw my mother’s sheet over you, and sit down in that dark corner, and grind some wheat in the hand-mill,” said the ready Fatima.

As the upper mill-stone began to fly round, Fatima opened the door, and let in the Kazí, dressed, oiled, and scented like a bridegroom.

“See, I have prepared some sweets for you,” said she innocently.

“Oh, confound the sweets,” said he; “you are my sweets; but who is the old woman in the corner?”

“My aunt,” said she, “she is deaf and half blind, so never mind her.”

Burr-ur-ur went the hand-mill, quicker than ever. Just at that moment tap-tap sounded at the door.

“My husband!” exclaimed she.

“My justice as a judge will be impugned,” cried the Kazí, “if I am discovered. Oh dear! Oh dear!”

“Kneel down, stupid, in that corner, and I’ll throw a skin over you, and put the lamp on your back, and you will never be seen,” said she, bustling about.

No sooner said than done, when in walked the courtly Vizier.

“How nicely the light is arranged for a love meeting,” he said insinuatingly, rubbing his fat old hands together.

At that moment a quick double knock sounded at the door.

“God and the Prophet! Should this come to the King’s ears, my character will be lost,” said he nervously.

“No fear,” said she, “it is only my husband, he will be gone in a moment. Kneel down beside the cow, in the dark end of the house, and pretend to crop hay like she does.”

The Vizier had barely done so when the King walked in, disguised like a sepoy. “Now my fair Fatima,” said he gallantly, putting his arm round her waist, “here I am at last; but there is little time to spare.”

“Patience, patience, your majesty; you squeeze too tight,” said Fatima, breathless from the royal hug. Just then the

early morning cock proclaimed the dawn, and the Moolah's call to prayers sounded from a neighbouring mosque. The King started at the sound, but, composing himself again, said, "Quick, you little baggage, love me quick; why did you appoint such an hour as this?"

"Sire," said she, "ask her in the corner," pointing to where the *Kutuál* was grinding away at the wheat.

Whilst his majesty, who was rather short-sighted, was poking about in the corner, Fatima quietly slipped out of the house, and locked her lovers in; then tripped off to summon her neighbours.

When the King saw the pretended old woman, he screamed in her ear, "Who are you?" But the old creature said never a word. Getting into a rage at her silence, he pulled her sheet violently, when up she jumped, and the *Kutuál* stood revealed.

"You profligate!" said his sovereign with severity, recovering his presence of mind when he saw who the trembling culprit was; "explain yourself!"

The poor *Kutuál*, speechless from fright, pointed to the stand from which the expiring lamp cast its feeble light around. The King approached it, when the Kazi, throwing down the lamp, stood forth, a portly puffing figure.

"And is it thou, my chief magistrate? how is this, sir?" said the King crushingly.

The Kazi, the small of whose back was aching from the constrained position he had been in for the last two hours, pointed to the part of the house where Fatima's cow was stalled.

As the King turned his eyes in that direction, he was astonished to see an object—as of an over-fed calf—slowly rise up from the litter, and advance towards him. As it came nearer, he recognized the well-known outline of his favourite minister, and, drawing himself up, asked him majestically, "And is this thy boasted austerity, Oh Vizier?"

The Vizier, who took in the whole situation at a glance, answered with mock humility, and suggested that, as it was broad daylight, they had better get home as quickly and quietly as possible. But when they tried the door, they found that they were shut in.

And so it came to pass that they were all four exposed, and pretty little Fatima got justice done her, without sacrificing her honour to obtain it.

CLASS III.—FABLES.

THE BIRD AND THE PEASANT.

An old rustic and his family were resting under a tree, when a large game bird came and settled in it. The rustic, on seeing this, told his wife to clean the cooking pot, and his son to fetch sticks for a fire, and himself prepared his bow, wherewith to shoot the bird. Such extensive arrangements roused the bird to his own danger, and he felt with so many enemies all working together for his destruction, he could not escape.

In his fright he addressed the old man in a deprecating voice. "Hunter, would you rather kill me and fill your belly once with my flesh, or have the means to fill it every day?"

The old man put down his bow, and answered as any sensible father would.

On which the bird said, "Well, dig under this tree, and you will find some buried treasure."

Father, mother, and son all did so, and found a jar of ashrafis. Overjoyed at this good fortune, they returned home, and told their adventure to every one.

One of the old man's neighbours soon after started off with his wife and children to try his luck in the same way. Seeing the bird in the tree, he told his wife to get the cooking pot

ready, but the old woman said, "Nay, shoot your game first." And his boys, when told to collect firewood, replied in the same strain, "Father, kill the bird first."

On seeing such a want of union amongst his enemies, the bird gathered heart and flew off.

THE JACKAL AND THE JUDGMENT DAY.

Some villagers caught a jackal, and were disputing among themselves whether to kill him with a knife or let the dogs tear him to pieces. The jackal said to them, "If you kill me, the judgment day will come." On which all in great fear agreed to let him go.

On getting to a little distance, the jackal shook himself and sat down, and the villagers called out to him to speak the truth now that he was free, and no evil consequence could fall on him from doing so.

The jackal laughed, and said, "I spoke truly, for had you killed me, it would have been my 'judgment day.'" He then trotted off.

THE CAMEL AND THE GOAT.

A camel and goat were feeding off a small rare bush, of which both were very fond, and the goat, seeing that there would be soon nothing left for him, as the camel ate so fast, looked up and said, "Friend, tell me all about your father's death."

The foolish camel described the sad event in great detail, and when he had finished, discovered the object of the question, and, in order to secure the last mouthful of his favourite food to himself, said to the goat, "Now tell me how your father died."

"Of old age," said the goat, as he nibbled at the last leaves of the bush.

THE HEDGEHOG'S REASONING.

Some one gave King Solomon a jar containing the water of life. So the wise monarch, undetermined whether to drink it or not, summoned the beasts of the field and the birds of the air to a council.

When all were assembled, it was found that the hedgehog was absent, and the horse was sent to fetch him, but returned without him. So the hawk was sent, but he also returned, and said he had failed to persuade the hedgehog to come. On that the dog was sent, and the hedgehog came readily with him.

The King was wroth, and asked the hedgehog why he had slighted the invitation when conveyed by such honourable messengers as the horse and hawk, and came at the call of an unclean dog.

The hedgehog replied, "Oh King! the horse is a faithless animal, for he serves an enemy as willingly as he does a friend; and the hawk is the same, for he obeys whoever feeds him. But the dog is faithful, for he never leaves his master, though he beat him and turn him out of doors; therefore I came with the dog."

The King was struck with the logic of this reply, and asked the hedgehog his opinion about drinking the water of life.

"Sire," was the answer, "don't; for if you do, you will become everlastingly old and miserable, a plague to yourself and your descendants."

On that the King upset the jar, following the advice of the humble hedgehog in preference to that of the others.

THE ALLIGATOR AND JACKAL.

An alligator and jackal were great friends, much to the distress of Mrs. Alligator, who found herself slighted by her infatuated husband. Revolving a remedy in her mind, she feigned illness, and for a long time refused to tell her anxious

husband what was the matter. At last one day she told him that the remedy was beyond his reach, so she must die.

“But say at least what it is,” said Mr. Alligator.

“Ah, well! it is a jackal’s heart,” replied his sick wife.

The alligator told his wife to cheer up, and went off to his friend the jackal, and invited him to go a walk with him across the river.

“But I can’t swim,” said the jackal.

“Never mind, I’ll carry you across on my snout,” said his friend. So they started.

When they got into the middle of the river, the jackal trembled from fear, and asked the alligator if there was no danger; on which the alligator replied that he was going to kill him, in order to give his heart to his wife.

The jackal laughed, and said, “Oh you fool! I left my heart behind me on the bank. Take me back if you want it.”

The simple alligator did so; and when the jackal touched the dry land, he ran off to the jungle, and never again made friends with an alligator.

THE PARTRIDGE AND THE JACKAL.

A partridge and a jackal were great friends. When walking together one day, the jackal said to his friend, “Do something to make me laugh.”

The bird said “All right!” And soon after, seeing four peasants walking along the road in single file, she lighted on the head of the foremost, on which his nearest companion aimed a blow at her with his stick, but she nimbly hopped on to his own head, so the blow descended on the turban of No. 1. At the same moment No. 2 felt his cranium tapped pretty sharply by No. 3, and immediately afterwards No. 3 felt his struck in the same way, for the sly little partridge hopped from one head to the other just as the death-dealing stick was descending, and, finally leaving the peasants fighting

together, flew off to her friend, who enjoyed the joke immensely.

A little while later the jackal felt hungry, and said to the partridge, "Now give me a dinner."

"Very good," said she, good-naturedly; and, seeing a little boy carrying on his head a bowl of milk and some cakes to his father, who was a-field, she hopped along just out of his reach in front of him. The boy set down his load, and tried to catch the tantalizing little bird, while the jackal quietly lapped up the milk, and carried off the cakes to munch quietly away from the road. The partridge, having played with the boy long enough for her purpose, flew back to her friend.

"Bravo!" cried the jackal, "now make me cry."

"All right," said the partridge, "I will, with a vengeance," for her dignity was offended at her being treated more like a servant than a friend.

A little further on they heard dogs barking, so the partridge flew on, and, fluttering over their heads, led them in full cry towards the place where she had left her friend.

The jackal, having just dined, felt sleepy, and anything but inclined to run, but life is dear to all, and away he went, inwardly cursing his own folly, and vowing vengeance on his little tormentor. After a long run, when nearly exhausted, a friendly hole saved him from the teeth of his pursuers.

THE TWO SNAKES.

Two snakes lived in a forest. The one had one head and one hundred tails, the other had one hundred heads and one tail. The forest caught fire, and the former escaped easily, for all the tails assisted; but the latter was burnt to death, for each head insisted in escaping in an opposite direction.

THE WOLF AND THE JACKAL.

A wolf and a jackal used to hunt together, but the jackal

would prudently remain squatted at a little distance whilst his friend was actually tackling his quarry.

One day the wolf came upon a kid, a little way outside a village, and when about to kill it, the little animal said, "If you let me sing you a song before I die, you will eat me with the greater gusto."

"Sing away," said the wolf magnanimously. Whereon the kid began to bleat plaintively, and the village dogs were roused, so away bolted the wolf.

When telling his friend what had occurred, the jackal taunted him: "Were either your father or grandfather fond of music, that you should begin to like it?"

Next day this worthy pair ran down an ass. "Ah!" said the victim to the wolf, "let me at least teach you something before I die. Jump on my back, and learn to ride; when you have learnt, you can kill me."

The wolf did so, and the ass set off towards the village at full gallop, with the wolf in a great fright holding on as best he could; but when, all of a sudden, the sticks of the villagers began raining on his back, he discovered his folly only in time to save his skin.

Again the jackal, wroth at losing a supper, sneered at him for not following the good old ways of his ancestors.

Next day an aged camel was run down. "Read but the amulet written on my breast, by which your game shall always be secured to you, and I'll die content," whined the old creature.

The wolf advanced between his fore legs, and began peering upwards, when the camel threw himself forward on him and crushed him to death.

COCK VERSUS FOX.

A dog and a cock were great friends. One day the dog proposed to his friend that they should go out hunting together, and the cock said, "All right; but you must be sure to be

home by nightfall, as you know I get blind as soon as the sun sets."

"Agreed," said the dog. So off they started, and hunted all day, but got nothing.

The shades of evening fell before they reached home, and Chanticleer, as usual, lost his eyesight. His friend essayed in vain to carry him; but at last gave up in despair, and told him to mount on to a tree.

When he had seen the cock safely settled on a branch, the dog said he would run over to a village, which was near, and try and procure some supper. During his absence Chanticleer went to sleep, and when he waked he crowed loudly, after the manner of cocks, supposing it must be near dawn.

A sly little fox heard the call, and, running to the foot of the tree, looked up and said, "Come down, oh Akhoond! and we'll pray." For he hoped, by flattering master Chanticleer, to have a dainty meal.

"Wait a bit for the rest of the congregation," said the cock, inwardly longing for his friend the dog to come and gobble up the fox.

After a time, when the true dawn appeared, the cock, from the force of habit, gave a prolonged shrill crow.

"Come down quick," said Reynard, getting impatient, "or you will be late for morning prayers."

"I'll come in a moment," said Chanticleer, "when I have cleared my throat," crowing as loud as he could, to attract the dog, whom he saw at a distance approaching them leisurely.

A minute more and Reynard saw the dog too, so he began to move off.

"Don't go yet," cried Chanticleer, "here is another member of the congregation coming."

"Ah!" said Reynard, "very good; I'll just go and perform my ablutions first." And away he ran, and the dog in full cry after him.

MARWAT BALLADS.

1.—THE CONQUEST OF MARWAT BY THE NAWÁB OF MANKERA.

About fifty-seven years ago, Abezar Khan, grandfather of Arzullah Khan, the present chief of the Isakhels, overpowered his rival, Nawaz Khan, grandfather of Khan Mir Khan, the present chief of the Begu Khels; whereupon the latter, with a remnant of his party, after first unsuccessfully invoking aid from Khan Sarwar Khan, Nawab of Tank, went to the Mankera Nawab, who despatched an army to his assistance, under Mának Rai, his Hindoo Chancellor. A pitched battle was fought, at a place called Lagharwah, in which Abezar Khan was defeated with great slaughter. The Nawab then seized Marwat for himself.

A "*dum*" named Jarasí, the local poet-laureate of the time, celebrated the sad event in a ballad, which is still sung all over Marwat. His grandson, Muhammad Nur, chanted it before me and a large assemblage of greybeards on a cold night early in February, 1874. We all sat in a circle round a great log fire. The audience were at first grave and silent; but soon carried away by the wild, sweet, though rather monotonous strain, began to nod their heads in time, as it rose and fell on their ears; and, when the singer repeated the names, and told of the brave deeds of those who had fallen in the fight, as each name was uttered, some old men would heave a deep sigh, exclaiming aloud, "Ah! that was so-and-so's father, what a man he was!"

It was a very real and affecting entertainment, which brought back old times vividly to the minds of the Marwats, bridging the gulf of years in a minute, and afforded me a glimpse into the country as it was two generations ago.

It may be said of Jarasí—

The last of all the bards was he,
Who sung of Marwat chivalry.

For with him ended the days of chivalry, and the class of minstrel poets to which he belonged.

Many fears crowded round my heart.

What a moment of grief it was! The Dreplaris had held council together.

They would not leave Nawaz alone. They drove him forth from spite.

Where were the companions of Nawáz? They assembled together.

[Here follows a list of his chief partisans.]

When they had mounted and started, they joined Nawaz Midad Khel with themselves.

From this place they marched and hastened to Khan Sarwar.

They said, "Khan! to-day adversity has beset us;

Stretch forth thy hand over us, befriend us!"

The Khan said, "Ye erring men! I make not war.

Here in my castle I fear the strength of united Marwat."

When the Khan dismissed them, they mounted—

Fine youths they were—and went to Derah.

Mánkí said, "Go, Nawáz, and bow down before the Nawáb."

God and the pure Prophet were his escort on the way.

Afterwards Hafiz Ahmad gave him a great army.

* * * * *

He dragged the guns and *zambúráks*¹ from Mankera.

When he came to Bluch,² the *zamburaks* were discharged.

Here a council of all the Marwats was held.

At Pézú is their *rendezvous*, there they collect from all quarters.

When the enemy came to Tang, the Marwats heard of it.

United Marwats marched against them in battle array,

And pitched their black tents at Khan Sáfi.

¹ The *zambúrák* is a small kind of cannon carried by a camel.

² Paniála, a village near the foot of Shekhubudin, on its Derah Ismail Khan side.

When the enemy came to Lagharwáh, the roar of their *zambú-raks* was heard.

Next forenoon the armies spread out in line.

Mankí said, "Nawaz, look on; I will join battle first."

Fine are the warriors of Isákhel; when do they separate from each other?

They mounted on to the guns, shoulder to shoulder—

Whether it was Bír or Gulbaz, each was raging with a flashing blade.

At their hearths they had sworn, "When shall we go back?—
Never!"

This time the Marwat horsemen did nothing in the field.

They left the foot, and carried themselves off in all directions.

They (the enemy) slaughtered the Marwats, and hid the living in the dead.

Many Marwats they slew—even to Skandara the sweeper!

* * * * *

[Here follow lists of the slain and praises of their beauty
and prowess]

Up in Darzai they made Soudala's house a bare plain.

Soudala weeps. Both his eyes they made blind.

Oh Gul Rang, son of Baz Gul! thou hast suffered terrible things.

The flowers of Spring are withered up: strange deeds are wrought.

* * * * *

See! He (Mának Rai) has let loose harrying parties everywhere.

He plunders—he is a tyrant—he does not even ask, "Who art thou?"

Though the others were plundered, they made a fight first.

Fools were the Tájozais, they neither went nor hid:

They were looted without fault. Their boat was ill fated.

Mánkí said, "Marwat have I plundered entirely.

I will demand one rupee more than twenty thousand;

Nor will a grain be lessened; nay, I shall take more."

2.—THE MARWATS' RAID INTO ISÁKHÉL.

This ballad, of which a fragment only remains, was composed about one hundred and twenty years ago, to celebrate a successful foray of the Marwats into Tarna (Isakhél) against the Niázís, whose chief settlements at the mouth of the Kurm they burnt:

“The Marwats and Niázís are at war,”

A boy called out beside me.

* * * * *

“On the west of the Tanga fine dust has risen,”

A Marwat shouts—a long deep halloo.

The Marwats had strength—they heeded not the drum.

Before early afternoon prayers they had prepared their army;

Before late afternoon prayers fires blazed in Tarna.

* * * * *

“The Marwat swords¹ are flashing, come forth from your shelter.

Bégú, son of Háthí Khan, is upon you.”

Isakki brought home a white beard and a red sword;

In the field he swooped like a falcon.

Amongst the Dilkhozais was Atal, a brave warrior:

He brought back a spear broken in the (enemy's) breast.

Kalandar, son of Mamút, is the star of the morning;

With one thrust he made such havoc with his spear

That the Adamzais were sacrifices to it.

* * * * *

The fire of the Niázís blazed like burning faggots;

The Marwats rushed into it like blind men.

* * * * *

For a man self-praise is unlawful,

But the clothes of Shekhí, my brother,² were reddened with
blood. Who was looking?

¹ The women of the Isákhéls are the speakers. They are supposed to be trying to rouse their men to fight.

² The poet is the speaker.

3.—SIKHS DEFEATED BY DILÁSA KHAN.

As was mentioned in Part I. Chapter II., Dilása Khan Bannuchí, some years before Edwardes first came to Bannu, repulsed with considerable loss a large Sikh force, which was besieging his village fort, and thus gained for himself undying fame. I give here some lines from the ballad celebrating his victory, which is still popular amongst Bannuchís and Marwats, to show the deep-rooted fanaticism of the people.

In the opening verses, the Sikhs are represented as boasting of their conquest of the valley; and first threatening Dilasa Khan with quick destruction should he not submit, and then, finding him obstinate, making tempting promises to him.

The “*Ghází Dilasa*” taunts them as “*Kafirs*,” and replies :

“Countries are of no use to me :

If I am martyred, God will give me paradise.

All the world is fleeting, as we are born from earth.”

The Sikh force came and pitched against Dilasa.

Day and night, oh friends ! they fought without ceasing.

'Twas a great earthquake. Boys and girls were kept awake.

Thanks be to God that Dilasa came out with honour.

He fought with the infidels, he became a *ghází*.

All the people praise him ; from sins he has been cleansed.

The *Houris* of Paradise have made him their own—'tis a truth
from the Book.

He put the Sikhs to flight. Where will they flee religionless ?

RIDDLES.

A common amusement amongst Pathans is the asking and answering of riddles. I give below literal translations of several, as specimens of this style of composition :

1. I have counted the spots on the King's face—they are eight ;
If a man omits one, he breaks his faith.

Behold the five spots, which he has marked on his forehead ;

Both the blind and the seeing must observe them.

Behold, too, his three other spots on the point of his chin ;
The poor are debarred from their sight, but the rich see them.

Answer. The King is the Prophet, who is often spoken of as *Sháh-i-Arab*. The five spots on the forehead typify the five times of prayer, which all Muhammadans must observe, and those on the chin *zakát* (tithes), *haj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), and *khairát* (alms).

2. From above came a red eye,
A full eye steeped in blood :
If I eat it, I become an infidel ;
If I don't, I fall sick.

Answer. The "red eye" is the new moon of Ramzán, the Muhammadan Lent ; the moon's disc being often spoken of as "*stirga*," "an eye," and as it is first visible in the ruddy glow of sunset, it often appears "steeped in blood." When a man breaks the fast, by the strict observance of which millions in Asia are annually brought to death's door, and thousands to death itself, he is said "to eat the Ramzan."

3. It has neither mouth, nor teeth, nor head, nor bowels ;
Yet it eats its food steadily.
It has neither village, nor home, nor hands, nor feet ;
Yet it wanders everywhere,
It has neither country, nor means, nor office, nor pen ;
Yet 'tis ready for fight always.
By day and night is there wailing about it.
It has no breath ; yet to all will it appear.

Answer. Death.

4. It issues from an orifice and enters one ;
Eyes neither see it nor hand catches it ;
Sometimes it becomes a rose of the garden ;
Sometimes it falls like a thunder-bolt.

Answer. A word.

5. 'Tis not on earth, nor yet in heaven ;
 'Tis not man, nor animal ;
 On a soft place is its home ;
 Every one wonders at it.

Answer. A boat.

6. Without wings or bones it flutters like a bird,
 Fair maids rejoice at it.
 Its song causes gladness.
 It spins round like a dancer.
 Ignorant man knows it not.

Answer. A spinning-wheel.

7. Like a staff in look, it seems a flag.
 On its loin is its pouch. 'Tis ready for battle.

Answer. A *juár* stalk ripe for the sickle.

8. Its head is in man ; its middle in the ox ; its end in the ground.

Answer. A wheat stalk.

9. 'Tis rubbed on stone ; its food is on the forehead ; its home
 is in wood.

Answer. A razor.

10. From the living a corpse is born :
 Living it leaves its corpse, and its corpse is broken in two.

Answer. An egg—then a chicken.

CHAPTER III.

PASHTO PROVERBS TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

WE all of us know what a proverb is and ought to contain, but few of us could, without much thought, define our conception of it. A definition is difficult at all times; but in this particular case it is specially so, as many sayings hover on the border-land between proverbs, aphorisms or moral precepts, and fables, so doubtful is the boundary-line between them.

The subjoined collection of sentences—which I venture to call proverbs—are almost all supposed popular truisms, so epigrammatically expressed as to have become household words amongst the people. This is the shortest, but, at the same time, widest and truest definition of the term “proverb,” which has occurred to me. Until the thought of a community on some social subject, which has been felicitously called “the wisdom of many,” has been condensed and dressed by the “wit of one,” or of the few, into a bright brief sentence, the seedling has not been planted; and, until that seedling has taken firm root, and grown up into a great tree, familiar to all within a wide radius of its birthplace, it cannot become a proverb. To attain such honourable distinction, then, a saying, no matter how much of “shortness, sense, and salt” it may contain, re-

quires the sanction of popularity; and, to secure such general acceptance, it ought to be conveyed in simple language, yet with a certain amount of sparkle and jingle about it so that, like a popular tune, it may tickle the ear of the multitude, and obtain an abiding place in their hearts. With this end in view, rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, metaphor, and hyperbole have all been liberally indented on in proverbial manufacture.

The essentiality of "the three s's," as "shortness, sense, and salt" have been termed, and of popularity, is universally true of all good proverbs in all countries, and in all languages. Let us suppose a man ambitious of having it recorded on his tombstone, "P.S. He made a proverb," all he has to do, and mighty easy it is, is to take as his ingredients the said "three s's" and mix them judiciously and well. Having done so, he can do no more, but the rub has still to come, for unless the public take the dose readily and pleasurably, no amount of puffing or persuasion can force it into their mouths.

The earliest popular Book of Proverbs is, I suppose, that commonly ascribed to King Solomon. Since his time, millions of new proverbs have sprung up, had their day, and disappeared, and millions are now existent, some old, some new; and the more the proverbs of different nations are compared together, the closer does the similarity of ideas on a numerous class of subjects appear, but of this more presently.

This collection is the first yet attempted of Pashto proverbs, and, being the first, is necessarily very imperfect; but it contains specimens of prevailing Pathan opinions on all important social topics, and as such I trust it will be found valuable. It would have been easy to obtain many hundreds more, and in fact several hundreds were rejected, as being grossly indecent, wanting popular sanction, literal and recent translations from another language, or sayings already recorded in a slightly altered dress. Every endeavour has been made to exclude sayings evidently *derived* from the Persian or Arabic, but I have admitted them in cases where the derivation appeared

doubtful, or the saying was so common that to exclude it simply for want of originality would have been ridiculous. I conceive that what is wanted in a collection of this sort is to obtain an insight into a people's hidden thoughts on their own social condition, and we can best do so by studying them from their expressed thoughts, which, in the shape here given below, cannot lie. Every race of man, from the highest to the lowest in the intellectual scale, whose language is sufficiently copious and flexible, must have numerous proverbs, which are unwritten and unconscious self-criticisms, accessible to all the world. Through them the innermost secrets of the brain can be exposed as plainly as the physical secrets of the brain can be laid bare by the dissecting knife. A knowledge of the proverbs current amongst uncivilized races is therefore invaluable for the purpose of elucidating their thoughts and feelings. But, in drawing our conclusions from them as to a people's social and intellectual status, we must not forget that as it is the leaders of public opinion who either invent or first give currency to a proverb, so the higher-toned proverbs of a people are in advance of their moral condition, and represent rather what their "best selves" would have them be and do, than what they are and do. Where antagonistic proverbs on the same subject are found, some refined and ennobling, others coarse and debasing, the latter will, in most cases, more truly represent popular opinion—that is, the opinion of the masses—than the former. Most of those given below were collected slowly and laboriously, between the autumn of 1872 and the hot weather of 1874; but, with the exception of those under the headings of *Husbandry*, *Class and Local*, they are not all familiar amongst the peasantry of the Trans-Indus portions of the District, as some were obtained from Peshawar, Khost, and the Khatak hills, and some are only current over a very circumscribed area. Nor must it be supposed that most of them are *only* known in this District. If the genesis and method of circulation of a proverb be examined, with reference to the

minds of those who speak them, the reason why many of the classes, which may be styled ethical and cynical, should be almost universally known, will be manifest. Though mankind is divided into many races, some of which have neither apparent connexion in speech or descent from common parents, nor any sort of intercourse together, yet the Creator has made "the whole world kin," by endowing all men with like minds and passions. And the thoughtful of all races—except perhaps the very lowest in the scale, of the working of whose minds we as yet know little, be they white or black, Aryan or Semitic, civilized or savage—have long since, by the aid of the teachings of experience, arrived at similar conclusions on the various feelings and influences which govern the actions of their fellows, and on the whole allow to each conclusion the same weight. The mainsprings of action being similarly judged, the amount of honour or shame attachable to any particular act, although depending to some extent on the degree of each people's enlightenment, is also, in the case of many instincts and attributes, estimated alike. Thus we find that amongst most peoples, whose languages have yet been studied, proverbs relating to the passions, bravery and cowardice, goodness and wickedness, wisdom and foolishness, the weakness of women, the deceit of man, and other cognate classes, have a strong family resemblance. Pathans no doubt contrast less with Englishmen than many other races, yet the gulf between them is sufficiently wide to leave room for surprise at the similarity in meaning of many of the proverbial sayings current in their respective tongues.

No other reasonable explanation than that indicated above can, I think, be offered for the remarkable parallelism between the proverbs of different countries. It may be contended that proverbs on such subjects as are in harmony with the fixed belief of the vast majority of mankind (such as the influence and effect of the passions, the uncertainty of life, the existence of a Supreme Being) spread from one centre. But though no

doubt some few have thus obtained an almost universal circulation, such a hypothesis cannot be entertained for a moment in respect to the large number of analogous proverbs which exist in all languages of which we have knowledge; and we must fall back on the theory that their genesis is to be accounted for by the common but independent experience of different minds. So great is the antiquity of proverbs of the description to which I have been referring that few can be traced back to their origin. It may be said of them that they have been for centuries the heirlooms of the whole human race. Still, considering the separate generation theory as the true one (although, by the way, during the Crusades, there must have been a considerable interchange of thought as well as blows between Christians and Musalmans), and applying it in the present case, we are confronted by a new difficulty, which is this. The Pathans, being what they are, it is unlikely that they were themselves the creators of all their finer proverbs, for there are in some of them a delicacy of expression, and a subtle knowledge of the finer workings of the human heart—points whose depth and force are but feebly conveyed in my translations—which induce the conclusion that they are the productions of educated minds. Whence then came they? No doubt the thoughts were here—rude and cumbrous, but still articulate—but it could not have been until some stranger—some wandering minstrel, returning pilgrim, or holy sayad or akhoond fresh from the Western schools of learning—had, with the practised touch of the skilful artist, reduced the loose, struggling utterance into shape, that any of them received the epigrammatic pointedness which converted a popular truism into a proverb. In the process, the sayings of other tribes were either reproduced bodily, or with some slight but necessary alterations suitable to the special condition of the particular tribe. In support of this theory, I may mention that when I had fairly exhausted the proverbs of the Pathans of this District, I received a number from Khost, and some from Peshawar, most

of which, on examination, proved, with the exceptions previously noted, to have either been already collected, or old friends in new dresses.

Proverbs are to the Pathan what Biblical texts are to the Christian—a rule of life or conduct which cannot be gainsaid; and as various shades of meaning are evolved out of one and the same text, so proverbs are applied in various ways. In both there is often a curious antagonism, arising in the latter case from some cause which I am not competent to explain; and in the former, from the diversity of human opinion, whence arose that now well-worn saying, *Quot homines tot sententiæ*.

Of the sentences given below, a few of which cannot be classed as proverbs, a somewhat limited number only is common in the mouths of the poorest and rudest Pathans. Still so many as they know are constantly on their tongues, and those whose daily food is assured to them have a large repertory, from which they are always drawing. When we would quote from books, an illiterate people quote their proverbs, and allow the same weight to them as we do to the dicta of some known and trusted author.

BEGGING.

Though a man who begs is looked upon as degrading himself, as having lost all sense of shame, still the beggar seldom asks in vain, for go where he may, he is sure of securing a meal and a night's lodging. Those who gain their bread in this way are fortunately few in number, and, whether Hindoo or Muhammadan, throw into the profession a touch of religion, calling themselves Fakeers or religious mendicants, as an additional incentive to the charitable to give. I can recall to mind no instance of a Marwat, and only very few cases of Bannuchís, asking alms from me. With Wazírs and other hill men the case is different, for when any of them meet a Sahib at a

distance from cantonments, children, if there are any, are put forward to beg, and if there are none, then the men or women importune. And I have known one of them throw down the proffered coin in disgust, when it was a small one, as if he thought a Sahib lowered his dignity by giving less than a rupee.

1. Wherever it is "welcome," the beggar passes the night.¹

A man's home is where he finds his livelihood, or "daily morsel," as the natives say.

2. If the beggar would not wander in another's courtyard ;

The dog would not have designs against him.

That is, if a man mind his own business only, none will interfere with him. We have a saying, "Sit in your place, and none can make you rise." The Pashto couplet is, I am told, from Abdul Hamíd.

3. Though dogs fight amongst themselves, still they are at one against the beggar man.

This is literally true ; and if we may regard Bannúchís, forty years ago, as dogs, and Wazírs as beggars, though certainly rather aggressive ones, it would apply to them also, for Bannuchís were never at peace amongst themselves except when fighting their common enemy, the Wazírs.

4. Food obtained by begging, is licking the blood of the nose.

Meaning that begging is a low business.

¹ The translation is everywhere literal or nearly so. It has been impossible to bring out the full force of the original, in which rhyme, rhythm, and a subtle playing on words perform a prominent part. The number prefixed to each proverb corresponds with that prefixed to the Pashto sayings in the next Chapter.

5. To the devil with a brother, who asks a loan from
“*dums*.”

The “*dum*” is a minstrel, and jack-of-all-trades. In most villages one or more are to be found, maintained at the expense of the community, as village servants. Native gentlemen, also, generally have one or two in their service.

6. One dog was licking a hand-mill, another was licking himself.

Said of a beggar who begs from a man as needy as himself.

7. If you have, eat; if you have not, die.

We have cold hard unsympathizing philosophy here. Let a man enjoy what he has, while he may; and when the day of adversity comes, let him bear it without murmuring, not stoop to cringe and beg. Who would help him if he did?

8. A Pathan begs not; if he do, well, he'll beg from his sister.

Means that if he beg at all he will have no shame.

9. A hardened (beggar) is worse than a creditor.

That is, he is more importunate than a creditor.

BOASTING.

The maxim that “deeds not words prove the man,” is fully appreciated in the proverbs here given, which, though few in number, contain various means, from a delicate hint to a coarse rebuff, of “shutting up” men who indulge in tall talking. So far as my experience goes, the Pathan is not much given to bragging, except when speaking of his own clan collectively, or of his ancestors, whose bravery, of course, no words can adequately represent. The case perhaps most familiar to a District Officer, in which the Baron Munchausen style is invariably used to an amusing extent, is when a favour is asked

from Government, through its representative the Deputy Commissioner, for then the State is sure to be described as being greatly in the petitioner's debt for important services rendered, which as often as not turn out to be purely imaginary, or only so far true that the petitioner or a relation of his once caught a thief, but had, at the time, received a handsome reward for the capture.

1. You will then learn your measure, when you spend a night with your match.

2. Say not thus, "I am," or you will become as I am.
Said by a small man to a great man and a boaster.

3. The frog mounted a clod, and said he had seen Cashmere.

Said of small men, in derision of their vain-glorious trumpeting of their own great deeds.

4. Though I am but a straw, I am as good as you.

Pathans act on the principle that "Jack is as good as his master," each believing himself as good as any other man.

5. The slave is down, but his vaunting is up.

Meaning the greater the coward the greater his bragging.

6. Say not, "I am in the world," God has made man above man.

7. A fly's hostility will be known on the scald-headed man.

When a fly is seen rubbing his two fore-legs together, he is supposed to be regretting that the last scald-headed man, on whose crown he alighted, has escaped him, and to be cogitating that if he again have a chance, he will show him his powers of fighting and irritate him to death. The above is said in derision of boastful cowards.

8. Weep, oh Umar! then you would not eat the thousand-holed food; now you must content yourself with dry *puláo*.

Umar was a Marwat, and married well in a foreign country. After a time he became home-sick, longing to see his sandy fields again; and whilst eating dry *puláo*, a very dainty dish, repeated the above to himself aloud so often as to arouse his wife's curiosity. "'Tis what I used to eat at home," said her husband, sighing. So she consented to go to Marwat with him, in order to taste the wonderful "thousand-holed" food. When she got there, she found it was only a *bájra* cake, the coarsest of food, and so called owing to the number of air-bubbles which arise in it when being baked. The moral is that every man boasts of his native land, so when telling about it should not be believed.

9. Small mouth, big words.

So we say, "Great cry, little wool," and "Great boast, small roast."

10. What is a small hare, what is its load?

Said in rebuff to men who promise what they cannot perform.

11. You have plundered the country, oh Kite! by your blustering; you will not let me seize you.

The words rendered "blustering" mean literally, the swishing noise made by a large bird when making a swoop. The meaning is, that a cowardly bully robs one, and, before the victim can recover from his first surprise, runs away.

12. Is a dog or a soldier the better? Confound the soldier who praises himself.

Meaning that, in respect of modesty, a vain-glorious

soldier is inferior to the unclean dog, which never boasts.

13. He eats greens, and breathes *pulúó*.

Said of a man who is "*vox et præterea nihil.*"

14. A great sound is given forth from the empty vessel.

So in English, "Empty vessels make the loudest sounds;" and in the Scriptures, "A fool's voice is known by multitude of words."

15. Here is a yard measure, and here is some level ground.

Now said to any boaster, when means of testing his assertions are at hand; first said to a Marwat, who was talking of some impossible jump he stated he had done.

16. When a man praises his own greatness, why does he make himself equal to heroes?

By doing so he shows he is none, as heroes never vaunt their own deeds.

BRAVERY.

Admiration for physical courage is as innate in a Pathan as an Englishman. In a Pathan's eyes a brave man must possess every virtue, but a coward can possess none. Though the moral tone of the maxims collected under the above heading is high and honourable to the people amongst whom they are current, and I believe most of them are so throughout the whole of Eastern Afghanistan, yet, with all his gallantry and talk about brave deeds, the Pathan has no knowledge of "fair play," and would think an enemy, who practised it towards him, a generous fool. So foreign is the idea comprised in the above phrase to his mind, so difficult its conception

even, that his language contains no equivalent expression, and, though there is a word for treachery (*tagi*), still it appears to him in most cases merely a skilful taking advantage of an enemy's mistake or weakness. Two instances of recent occurrence will suffice to illustrate what I have now stated. In June, 1870, when, as mentioned in Part I., Chapter IV., a sepoy guard was butchered, the heads of the different Wazíri clans settled in the District were summoned into Edwardes-ábád, and it was explained to them that the revolted clan had committed an outrage of the blackest treachery. None of the assembled chiefs would regard it in that light, but held that, as the section was, or imagined itself to be, aggrieved, and had made up its mind to rebel, the blow was well and nobly struck. Again, in the summer campaign of 1873, between the Darwesh Khel and Mashud Wazírs, a large party of the former succeeded in surprising some shepherds belonging to the latter, and slaughtered them all, including a woman; and the victorious band, on their return to Bannu, exulted over their cowardly deed, as if it had been a glorious feat of arms. Those who think my remarks unfairly severe should call to mind the incidents of 1841 in Kábul.

1. On his forehead is light, whose sword tip is red (with blood).

That is, he who has killed his man is a fine fellow. Good looks and brave deeds accompany each other.

2. One is equal to one hundred, and one hundred to (so much) earth.

One brave man is equal to one hundred cowards.

3. Either a brave man wields the sword, or one red from grief (*i.e.* desperate).

4. When the wolf gets red, he becomes an ugly customer.

Bannúchís say this of Wazírs, but its general application

is that a bad man, whom one has punished or injured, becomes all the more dangerous.

5. Shoes are tested on the feet; a man in a row.

6. Against a sword assume a shield, against words a bold front.

7. Desire a man's disposition, and a lion's heart.

8. The sword's fellowship is sweet.

One brave man admires another.

9. Look at a man's deeds, not whether he is tall or short.

10. The sword is wielded through family.

That is, its use is almost natural to men of good family, or descended from brave men.

11. To a true man his sickle is an Afghán knife.

12. May you rather die in fight, my son, than be disgraced before the enemy.

13. The tiger rends his prey, the jackal, too, benefits by it.

The jackal is the tiger's attendant, and eats his leavings.

The meaning is that a strong man both maintains himself and his dependents.

14. The load which the ass won't carry, you yourself will carry.

When a brave man can't get assistance readily, he sets to work and does without it.

15. I would rather be a childless mother, than that you should run from the battle-field.

Said by a mother to her son.

16. Other brave men do not seize on the wealth of him who binds on his arms.

17. Who passes through in one (case), becomes a lion in another.

18. Who has the power to fight lays conference aside.

19. Although there are many roads, for men there is only one (*i.e.* the straightest).

20. True men are not God, but are not without God.

That is, though not equal to God, yet receive help from Him.

21. The spectator is a great hero (*i.e.* criticizes freely).

22. Though you are of the border, I am of the woods.

Means "I am as good a man as you."

23. The clod does not miss the dock-eared dog.

Such dogs are the best fighters, and, when barking at any one, approach so near him that a clod thrown at them is sure to hit; whereas, the common village curs keep, when barking, at a respectful distance. The application is that the more reckless of danger a man is, the greater the chances of his getting hurts.

24. For a man, either a swift flight or a swift blow.

That is, either "discretion" in running away, "is the better part of valour," or a sudden bold attack.

25. If there be not a leader, there won't be a crossing;
If there be not gold, there won't be Eed.

Until some man tries the depth and the bottom, whether firm or a quicksand, it is impossible to say where the ford is.

26. See a man all round, a dog of a fellow may be a good swordsman.

When forming judgment as to a man's worth, do not regard only one or two points, *e.g.* his skill with the sword, but study him all round, and strike the balance from the general result.

27. The thorn which is sharp is so from its youth.

That is, a brave man was brave as a boy. "The child is father of the man."

CLASS AND LOCAL.

The first named are the more numerous, and admirably represent the narrowmindedness of Bannuchis and Marwats, even when expressing their opinion on classes, distinct from themselves, who live amongst them, or with whom they come into daily contact. As might be expected, Hindoos and "Hindkais"¹ are roundly abused, the former on account of their religion and money-acquiring propensity, and the latter because of their superior thrift and energy in cultivation. Making allowance for the natural antipathy of a bigoted Musalman towards a Hindoo, there is a good deal of truth in what is said about him; but, as far as I have observed, the "Hindkais" are most unjustly vilified. Probably motives of jealousy alone have warped the judgment of their former Pathan masters about them. The estimation in which hill men are held was, and is to some extent even now, correct enough, but owing to Wazírs and Battannis having of late years taken to agricultural pursuits, it will probably not continue to be so much longer.

The purely local sayings are very forcible, and contain much sound observation and advice in a few short pithy sentences.

1. He is a Shiah's tomb, white outwardly, but black inside.

Said of a plausible humbug, with a handsome exterior and empty head. This is a Bannuchí metaphor. Being bigoted Sunnís, Bannuchís never miss an opportunity of vilifying Shíahs.

¹ In the term "Hindkai," Awán and Jat cultivators are generally meant, but in a wider sense it includes all Musalmans who talk Hindi Punjábí, or some dialect derived from it.

2. Though a Katak is a good horseman, still he is a man of but one charge.

That is, like the French, they have great *élan*, but soon get disheartened. This is a Marwat proverb.

3. Friendship is good with every one, except a Khatak. May the devil seize a Khatak.

A Khatak is here equivalent to a bad man. This saying is attributed to Khushal Khan, a celebrated Khatak chief, who lived in the reign of Aurangzeb, and who had reason to curse the faithlessness of his countrymen.

4. The Dharmśál's pillar will not be without a Hindoo's loin cloth.

The allusion is to the custom of Hindoos, who, after bathing, go direct to their dharmśal, or house of worship, and, after changing their bathing drawers, perform their devotions. Pathans laugh at the tight fitting loin-cloths or drawers, worn by Hindoos, as will be seen below, in No. 18. Here the meaning is that a bad man has bad ways.

5. Who marries not an Isakkí woman, deserves an ass for a spouse.

The Isakkí women are said to be very pretty. The tribe compose one of the sections into which the Bannuchís are divided.

6. The Moghal tyrannizes over the cultivator, and the cultivator over the earth.

7. If a "Hindkai" cannot do you any harm, as he goes along the road he will leave you a bad smell.

This is a Bannuchi saying. Hindkais settled amongst them are mostly Awans, and compose the "*ham-sáyah*" class. At first they were entirely dependent

on their Pathan masters, and very submissive towards them, but being better labourers, and more thrifty, they gradually acquired land and increased in numbers, which, naturally enough, has prevented them from being popular amongst the Bannuchís, or rather Pathan Bannuchís, as "Hindkais" are now, to all intents and purposes, Bannuchís themselves, having been settled from two to five or more generations in the valley. Their old masters are fond of ascribing to them all those vices which we know they themselves possess.

8. Though you duck a Hindkai in the water, his seat will remain dry.

So they say in Egypt, "Cast him into the Nile, and he will come up with a fish in his mouth." Means that, do what you may, Hindkais are always lucky.

9. Kill not a black snake, but a black Jat.

In the word Jat the "Hindkai" in particular is meant, but after him all those cultivators who talk any dialect of Punjábí are included.

10. Who says of "*úba*" "*pání,*" place his head under a stone.

"*Úba*" is the Pashto for "*pání,*" the Hindi word for water. This is much the same as the last.

11. What is the Hindoo dance but to open and close the hands?

Said in derision of the slow measured movements of legs and arms in the "nautch," a Pathan dance being all life, hands and feet flying about in all directions like Catherine wheels.

12. Fire and water are in common, but not so with the Hindoo.

The Hindoo draws his own water, and cooks and eats

his food alone, both of which proceedings are considered to be comically stupid by a Pathan, who does the reverse, and likes society at all times.

13. When a Hindoo becomes bankrupt, he looks up his old account-books.

To see whether there is any little outstanding item, which, with interest added, would not assist him in his difficulty.

14. The Hindoo's cooking circle is purified with dung.

The dung itself is stinking and unclean, yet the Hindoo uses it as a purifier. Means that an unclean man, attempt what he may, cannot cleanse himself.

15. A Sikh's origin is his hair.

Meaning that any low fellow can become a Sikh if he lets his hair grow long.

16. If a Wazír makes an attack, he will expose his naked back.

A Bannúchí proverb. A Wazír fights behind entrenchments, but not in the open; should he attempt to charge he will, according to the proverb, have to run away, defeated.

17. The threads of the cloth have concealed sense from the weaver.

Owing to their occupation keeping them at home, and their minds fixed on their threads, weavers are considered little better than idiots, and are, as a matter of fact, as a class, remarkably unintelligent.

18. The use of the Hindoo's loin-cloth is for cutting his person.

19. One hundred Dawarís (are not equal to) one stick.

Means that a man armed with a good cudgel would defeat a hundred of them. Like the Bannúchís, the Dawarís are looked down upon by Marwats and Wazírs.

20. The Jadráns, the hill wolves, bring a fine on Bannu.

The Jadráns, inhabitants of Shamal west of Khost (said to be Karlanis, though often called by us Ghiljis), come down in the cold months from their mountains to Bannú, where they work as navvies, and return in May with their earnings. They are splendid workmen and inveterate beggars, and are said to bring a fine on the country, owing to the amount of money they carry away with them to their houses, money honestly earned or begged, for they seldom if ever steal or rob.

21. A Shiah's ablutions are not nullified by his passing wind.

Such an accident renders a Sunni unclean, consequently, when it occurs, he has to perform his ablutions over again before he can pray. The meaning is that nothing will put a shameless man to the blush.

22 A hill man is no man.

By the dwellers in the plains he is looked on as a wild beast.

23. Don't class "*Sargarai*" as grass, nor a hill man as a human being.

This is like the preceding.

24. The drum was beating in the plain, and the Battanní was dancing on the hill.

This is a Marwat saying, about their hill neighbours the Battannis' stupidity.

25. The Pathan eats his enemy, the Hindoo his friend.

A Pathan thinks a Hindoo's love of money is so great, that to gain a rupee he would cheat his own father or mother if he could.

26. Pesháwar flour won't be without "jwár," a Kabul woman won't be without a lover.

Pesháwar flour is said to be generally adulterated, but I do not know whether there is any truth in the assertion or not. The latter part of the proverb is well known to be true, and is mentioned by Burnes in his "*Cabool*."

27. Don't trust the Moghal's letters. Of the Moghal first letters, then armies.

It is remarkable that proverbs, like this and No. 6, are still current, having out-lived their occasion many generations.

28. What is in deposit with a Hindoo, is in a grain-safe.

It is pleasant to find one proverb even in praise of a Hindoo, and here the praise is well deserved. The Marwat Hindoos are alone referred to, this being a Marwat saying.

29. One hundred Battannís eat one hundred sheep.

Said of men or families whose domestic economy is badly regulated, the Battannís being very bad managers in household concerns.

30. Get round a Pathan by softy coaxing him, but take up a clod for a Hindkai.

That is, with a little conciliation, not bullying, a Pathan will agree to anything, but a Hindkai requires the reverse treatment. If in "Hindkais" we include the degenerate Pathans settled in Isakhel and Miánwálí, as well as all the miscellaneous "Jat" classes, the methods here laid down for working the two classes deserve attention, owing to their truth.

31. A dead Kúndí is better than a live one.

Marwats look down on Kúndís, though connected with them, both being Lohanis. The saying arose owing to a Kúndí having been killed by a Marwat, and the murdered man's relations demanding an unusually large sum as blood money, which was paid.

32. A Khatak is a hen; if you seize him slowly he sits down, if suddenly he clucks.

This is a Marwat saying; and means the Khataks are cowards. The two tribes were old enemies, until the increasing encroachments of the Wazírs, about fifty years ago, gave them both full occupation, and partially stopped their feuds.

33. Keep a Marwat to look after asses, his stomach well filled, and his feet well rubbed (from hard exercise).

This is, of course a Khatak saying; tit for tat for the last. If a Marwat taunts a Khatak for being a coward, a Khatak can return the compliment by calling his enemy only fit to attend asses, little better than an ass himself.

34. If you want to live in peace, don't weigh the cats.

The origin of this saying is as follows. A Bannuchí woman had a lover, to whom she gave all her husband's store of *ghí*, and, when asked about its disappearance, laid the blame on her cats, on which the unreasonably suspicious husband said he would weigh them. On that the indignant wife replied as above. The moral is, I fancy, that one ought to "live and let live," wink at small irregularities, and not be too particular in testing the truth of explanations rendered by one's wife.

35. Karai was a thief, and the Mírákhél was his companion.

The Mirákhél, though an honest man, was thought as bad as Karai, a famous thief, as he associated with him; the line of reasoning being, "Tell me with whom you go, and I'll tell you what you are."

36. The Buran is proud by means of strange water.

The Buran is a torrent bed in Bannú, which gets most of its supply of water, except on occasions of heavy rain in the hills, from springs and the Kurm river: The above is said of people who take credit to themselves for work done by others.

37. There is death in the toil of the traveller, his arm becomes his pillow, his mouth gets full of dust. May you not have to travel, my friend. When you become a traveller, no one will give you a place (that is, no one will help you).

Bannúchís and Marwats are great stay-at-homes.

38. Though pleasures become many, none will equal milk.

This is a Marwat saying, a draught of fresh milk being thought by such a simple people perfect nectar.

39. From their not being men, Balo became a chief.

When a weak man is appointed a village or parish head man, the selection is thus criticized by the people at large. Who Balo was is now forgotten.

40. Until he get over the small-pox, parents do not count their child their own.

This proverb owes its origin to a time when small-pox was much commoner than now.

41. An abandoned Gúmal is better than a dead brother.

This is a Pawindah proverb. The Gúmal is the pass, or rather torrent bed, by which the Pawindahs enter

British territory, and in the spring return to their homes. During the passage they have to defend themselves against the attacks of the Mahsúds and Sulimánkhéls.

42. Had rice (cultivation) been easy, Manja would have eaten it.

Manja was an enterprising Marwat, who, some forty years ago, dug a small canal from a stream called the Lorah, and attempted rice cultivation. As his canal failed, he was ruined. The proverb is now said when friends wish to dissuade a man from any difficult undertaking.

43. The waters of Sélí, the wheaten cake of Marwat. Seli, or Soheli, is a torrent bed near the village of Kundí, in Derah Ismail Khan. Its water is said to be very sweet and wholesome, and the wheat of Marwat is considered very superior.

44. The day of Bannú, the night of Marwat.

The former is cool by day, owing to the country being well irrigated, and the latter is cool by night, owing to its being an open sandy country, and subject to cooling southern breezes.

45. A sun-stricken man recovers, a moon-stricken man does not.

This is a Marwat superstition. It is supposed that moon-beams cause sickness and calamity, consequently Marwats are averse to sleeping in them without a covering over their faces. This and the preceding eleven are of very local application, being only common amongst particular sections of the Bannuchís and Marwats.

46. Niázís like rows.

The Niazís, now settled in Isakhel, were forcibly expelled

from Marwat, by the Marwats, between two hundred and fifty and three hundred years ago, and from the date of expulsion until ten or fifteen years before the annexation of the Punjab, were constantly fighting with them.

47. He won't be a Dawarí whose fringe is not greasy.

The inhabitants of the Dawar valley, a fertile, independent tract in the hills, about two marches west of Edwardesabad, are well off, and liberal in their expenditure of *ghi*. They often anoint their guests with *ghi*, and at the Eed festival their Maliks put roasted fowls on their turbans, and let any one who can carry them off. When a plot of land becomes exhausted, they are said to sometimes kill a traveller on it—the holier the man is, the better—and convert the spot into a shrine, in the hopes that through it a blessing will accrue, and the land become again fertile. The application of the proverb is that a man who has not the outward signs of wealth, will not be wealthy.

48. Have you become Khan Mír Khan that you muzzle a young camel's mouth ?

Khan Mír Khan was a tyrannical chief in Marwat, who carried his brutality so far that he used to muzzle young camels. No one since has ever done such a thing. Above is said of a weak man, who attempts to do something outrageous.

49. Though a Hindkai be your right arm, cut it off.

See above Nos. 7, 8, and 9.

50. Go inside with a fan, outside with a blanket.

That is, begin sleeping inside your house while it is still so hot that you require a punkah, *i.e.* about the end of August; and begin sleeping outside whilst

you still require a blanket, *i.e.* early in May. These two rules embody the health code of all Marwats and Bannúchís, if not of Pathans generally.

51. Jealousy ate up the mountain, taxes the plain.

This is an old expressive saying. In the hills, rivalries and feuds ruined the people though they were free and independent; and in the plain, the heavy arbitrary taxation imposed by the Government preceding our own.

52. Though the army be one's father's, it is bad.

Means that a number of men, be they a regiment on the march or a Deputy Commissioner's camp, wherever they stop, are a nuisance, as they eat up everything and do a lot of damage. This feeling is common everywhere. There is a similar proverb in Hindí.

53. *Bang* won't become wood;

A Bhangi Khel won't become a man.

Bang is the hemp plant. Bhangi Khels were formerly great thieves.

54. Though your father was a Jat, you are Jatikin.

Meaning your father was a fellow of the baser sort, but you—you are immeasurably more despicable. Pathans look on Jats with the same lofty contempt with which some Englishmen regard many of the native races—say Bengalís.

55. The full stomach speaks Persian.

Those who spoke Persian were formerly either fat priests or "Uluma" (learned), or in Durrání times representatives of the ruling power who visited the valley. All such were, compared with the inhabitants, rich well-fed men, and consequently arrogant. The meaning now is, that good feeding makes a man proudful.

56. The diminisher of faith is lies, of mulberries butter-milk.

Mulberries are ripe in Bannú in April and May, and as the tree is common on every road, the fruit is very plentiful. During the season the Bannuchís and their village dogs even gorge their full, and drink butter-milk afterwards to promote digestion. The saying, as noted, is common, but silly.

CO-OPERATION.

The maxim, "Union is Strength," is so generally admitted to be a truism, even by the less intelligent classes of natives, that were an observant agriculturist asked the secret of our strength in India, he would reply, he supposed it was "*ittafák*" and "*intizam*," two very expressive words, the former meaning union or concord, the latter management or organization. Were a thoughtful Pathan asked why his country was poor and torn with domestic dissensions, he would tell you it was owing to their want of the first of the above two requisites for strength, without which the second cannot exist. Though the advantages of co-operation are acknowledged, as well in the every-day business of life as in matters which affect the general weal, no attempt to practise it in anything is made,—custom, want of energy, and any special incentive, such as competition, combining to prevent it.

1. When they take their meals apart, their aims and objects become separate.

That is, when men cease to eat together, which here means dissolve partnership, they fall out.

2. What dust will rise from one horseman?

Another like this is, "One horseman does not raise a dust-cloud." Similarly we say, "One swallow makes not a spring, nor one woodcock a winter."

3. The ox works on the strength of grass, and the plough on the ox's neck.

4. If you and I agree, what is the lawyer wanted for?

5. Though a month be a unit, its days are many.

Said to remind a man that his greatness depends on the support his friends give him.

6. One can be kept well by a hundred, not a hundred by one.

7. You cannot clap with one hand alone.

That is, great results cannot be obtained without co-operation. Similar is, "One hand may wash the other, but two the face."

8. When thatch huts are being run up, there is a great hubbub.

That is, no great work can be done by one man unassisted or quietly.

COWARDICE.

In this group, the man is held up to scorn who cries out before he is hurt; who, like Falstaff, waxes brave after the fight is over; who uses his strength to crush his own kith and kin; and who, though armed to the teeth, yet calls out he is defenceless. The term of abuse more likely than perhaps any other to be answered by a Pathan with a blow is "*ná mard*," "coward," literally "unmanly," "impotent."

1. He had burnt his mouth with the porridge, and was making death gasps.

Said of one who makes a fuss about nothing, or thinks himself, when slightly indisposed, at death's door.

2. When cowards obtained horses, they rode them first against their own villages.

That is, when such men have the means, they injure their own people instead of an enemy.

3. When the fight grew cold, the slave grew hot.

4. Cowards cause harm to brave men.

Thus a coward in a village may, through some wrong deed, bring down a fine on the whole community.

5. A dog when surrounded turns tail, a man fights.

Here the dog means a coward.

6. Though an army be numerous, it is nothing without a head.

7. When the friendless man passes beyond the deep place, what is his fear ?

8. Since you have changed colour at a tale, don't go to the fight.

9. The fox said he would rather suffer one hundred hungers, than meet a dog's face.

10. Though you swoop down on chickens, O Kite ! you have not thereby become a hawk.

11. Neither the master was aware, nor the dog barking, yet the thief ran away at nothing.

Means, a guilty "conscience does make cowards of us all."

12. Who to-day is disgraced, to-morrow will be lost.

13. The owner (is) alive, his property (is) inherited.

That is, though the rightful proprietor was alive, another enjoyed his estate as if he were dead. Such cases do occur.

14. With a sword under his arm, he wants a club.

15. Neither has a brave man a fault,

Nor a coward ignominy.

The latter being what he is, cannot feel shame.

16. The fakeer's ass died, and each village cur claimed it.

The base will fight amongst themselves for what none of them has any right to.

17. Fear and shame are father and son.

If a man is a coward he will soon be disgraced.

18. Lark ! at the first throw thou hast gone.

This is said of a faint-hearted man whom a small difficulty frightens. The lark is regarded as a particularly timid bird.

CUSTOM.

Hindoos consider "the breach of custom is breach of all," and Pathans, though by no means servile followers of it, do not readily break through its shackles, as the sayings here given, which fairly represent public opinion, will demonstrate. On the whole, however, except on subjects connected with their religious belief, most Pathans are liberal-minded, and will discard an old practice for a new, when convinced they will gain by so doing.

1. Forsake your village, but not its ancient usages.

2. Innovations, through an old way (are best).

Though you introduce something new, stick to the old procedure, so that the change may be less perceptible.

3. Wherever you live, you will observe their customs.

The meaning is not "Do in Rome as the Romans do," but that if a man leave his home, he will, through the force of circumstances, adopt the manners and customs of those with whom he lives, which is to be regretted. A Muhammadan in this District seldom misses praying five times in the day, and always does so in as public a manner as he can; but once

well away from his own people, where he thinks no tale-bearing eye is upon him, he forgets his beads and his genuflexions.

4. Don't go on that road on which neither your father nor your mother goes.

5. A different country, its customs different.

So we say, "So many countries, so many customs."

6. Go with many, eat with many.

That is, don't be singular, do as others of your tribe do.

7. You have now followed a novelty, which neither your father nor your grandfather knew.

A wrathful father is lecturing an erring son, and this is the climax of his address.

8. Though the head should go, a habit goes not.

Habit is second nature, and so strong in a man that he would lose his head rather than break off from it.

9. One camp's migration draws another.

Said with reference to the force of example. When one Pathan clan seeks a new home, temporary or permanent, others are sure to follow it.

DEATH.

Almost every thought here below expressed is familiar to us; for peoples who believe in a God and a future state of reward and punishment have necessarily a similarity of ideas on death. Christian and Musalman both feel that it is unpleasant to leave this beautiful world, and the ties that bind them to it, but they know that the severance must come, and reconcile themselves to the inevitable by the reflection that an all-wise God pre-ordains for every man his span of life. While the former often lives and dies unhappily, racked

with doubts and fears as to the state of his soul, the latter passes his life with mind at ease, never letting such thoughts disturb him, and meets his end with cool indifference. The reason is to be found in the different religious beliefs of the two, which for the former is, in many material points, perplexing, incomprehensible, and inexplicable; but for the latter, simple, intelligible, and precise. Thus it is that on his death-bed a believer in Islam has a lively assurance of salvation; but an ordinary Christian can have none such, unless possessed of a vast amount of faith, which perhaps too often arises from unwarranted self-satisfaction.

1. Though the grave be a jail, it is unavoidable for the corpse.

This is from the Persian.

2. Death is certain, but a grave and a shroud are doubtful.

This is from the Persian also.

3. Who dies has lost.

So our "Death's day is doom's day."

4. When there is death there is no happiness.

5. Until a man is under the sod, he won't become concealed.

6. Every one thinks his own grave too narrow.

Refers to man never being contented.

7. Death is not for the young, nor for the old (but for all).

So our "Death devours lambs as well as sheep."

8. Until the one dies, the other won't be satisfied.

9. But for death on every one would be his own roof.

10. The dead wish the judgment day to be even sooner.

That is, when a man must go through a certain ordeal,

he desires it as soon as possible, as anything is better than suspense.

11. Asses can't be tethered in heaven.

Although there will be room to spare in heaven, it is for men, not for asses.

12. I shall then call my mother good when she has had a happy death-bed.

During his last moments the angels are supposed to show the dying man his "*'amál námah,*" or "character-book," after which he either dies peacefully or in terror. The meaning is, that until a man is put to the test his character cannot be gauged.

13. Even death is a covering for many.

14. Paradise is a good place, but the getting there is by lacerating the heart.

That is, there is no pleasure without a corresponding amount of pain. "No cross no crown."

15. Death on a full belly is better than a life of hunger.

16. My father died and his fever ended.

So our "Death settles all debts."

17. Don't die till death comes to you.

So our "Never say die."

18. When he dies then only is a man lost (or beyond hope).

Corresponding to our "While there is life there is hope."

19. The earth says, "If you are not a criminal don't fear me."

That is, a good man should not fear death, for it "hath nothing terrible in it but what life hath made so."

20. Priority is good in all things but death.

21. When the world is passing from me, O God ! give me not wealth.

Meaning, give it me now when I can enjoy it, not when I am dying.

22. Mayest thou (God) not leave my children to any one, nor any one's children to me.

That is, may I not die until my children are grown up and able to take care of themselves.

23. Should you live one hundred years, at last you must die, my love.

24. May God not even give a man a narrow grave.

Whether a man's grave be narrow or wide matters little ; still, may God give a man a wide one, that is, plenty of everything.

25. If you do not die of poverty, at last you will of old age.

26. The fly said, "Had I died on the maiden's face, it would not have been death."

That is, an honourable end deprives death of its sting.

The origin of the saying is said to be this: a fly alighted on a girl's face, and the girl flipped it off with her hand, and slightly hurt it, whereon another fly condoled with his wounded brother, but was met by the above gallant little reply.

27. A sleeper is brother of dead

Shelley writes of "death and his brother sleep." To many a Bannuchi this saying has proved literally true, for stabbing during sleep is the commonest form of assassination practised in Bannu.

ENMITY.

Were a Pathan not a good hater and an unscrupulous

partisan, he would fail in two very marked characteristics of his race. Though all cannot afford the luxury of having a blood feud, still, two cousins, being necessarily rivals, are always 'at enmity, for a house not divided against itself is a thing unknown.

1. A cousin's tooth breaks on a cousin's.

Cousins are generally rivals and enemies.

2. Though your enemy be a rope of reeds, call him a serpent.

That is, do not despise an enemy, be he never so contemptible.

3. Who has fallen from the top of a high mountain recovers ;

Who has fallen from the heart's anguish recovers not.

This is from Moolah Abdul Hamid.

4. A stone will not become soft, nor an enemy a friend.

5. Whilst he is little, play with him; when grown up, he is a cousin, fight with him.

Father and son often quarrel, the latter wishing the former to give him his share of the inheritance. The story goes, that Khushal Khan Khatak, when in confinement in Hindustan, was offered his liberty by the Emperor Aurangzeb, on a ransom of three thousand rupees, but refused it, saying that, though he would have paid the amount willingly a few years before, his son Bahrám was now grown up and conspiring against him. He then repeated the above proverb to the Emperor.

6. If there were none, then all nine are my sons ; if there was one, one even is bad.

The play of words here, as elsewhere, is lost in the translation. The meaning is, that if a man is not at enmity with you, he is as your son.

7. Speak good words to an enemy very softly; gradually destroy him root and branch.

This is the precept which still guides Pathans in working out revenge, or destroying an enemy. The Italians say, "Wait time and place to act thy revenge, for it is never well done in a hurry."

8. The master's food is being cooked, and the slave-girl's back aches (from spite).

That is, the base cannot bear seeing others enjoy what they themselves do not share in.

9. Kill a snake of course through an enemy.

If he kill it, you have one enemy the less; if the snake kill him, all the better for you. The Spaniards say, "Draw the snake from its hole by another man's hand."

10. A Pathan's enmity is like a dung-fire.

That is, it smoulders and burns for a long time, and is not easily quenched. The Italians say, "Revenge of one hundred years old hath still its sucking teeth."

11. When a family becomes at variance, its whole crops become black oats.

Black oats appear as a weed on poor land intermixed with the wheat and barley.

12. When the one profits, the other's house is ruined.

This is a common saying amongst Bannuchis and Wazirs, neither of whom can bear seeing a neighbour prosperous.

13. Whose son and brother have been murdered, who has restrained his hand?

Amongst Pathans the avenging of blood is regarded as a sacred duty, or, as the Italians put it, "A morsel for God." Every family of note has its blood feud, and every individual in it knows the exact number of

members of the hostile family who have to be killed before the account, which may have been running for generations, can be balanced, and a reconciliation attempted. Sometimes a nominal settlement is effected by the payment of blood-money, or so many young girls for each murdered man, whose account has not been closed by an equivalent murder. In the Frontier Regiments it is by no means uncommon for a Pathan soldier to cut his name, or take leave with the avowed object of pursuing to the death his father's or other near relative's murderer.

14. An enemy is a thorn in the quilt.

The quilt is the only covering used in bed. An enemy, like a thorn in it, must be got rid of.

15. The fellowship of thieves is sweet, but quarrels ensue on division of the plunder.

16. Enmity with outsiders disappears, but not with one's relations.

17. He (an enemy) will say sweet words to you, and lead you into a pit.

18. When two fall out, a third gains by it.

So we say, "Two dogs fight for a bone, and the third runs away with it."

19. The shelter of a tamarisk is (equal to) that of a mountain for a man who fears not God.

The idea is, what restrains a man from sin is the fear of God. Once that restraint is gone, the Godless man can go on in his wickedness with little fear of detection and punishment from his fellow-man.

20. When the village becomes two, it is good for backbiters.

21. Lending is the seed of enmity.

So we say, "He that doth lend doth lose a friend," and the French, "Who lends to friends loses both."

22. The family, in which there is an informer, becomes scattered.

The nearest approach to this, which occurs to me, is, "It is an ill bird that soils its own nest."

23. That man will be your bane who enters not into your thoughts.

An enemy springs up against a man from a quarter where he least expected one.

24. Keep a cousin poor, but use him.

FAMILY.

Pathans are generally very exclusive, and great believers in the maxim "*noblesse oblige*." Each petty tribe prides itself on the purity of its descent from some possibly imaginary ancestor, and each man in the tribe thinks himself as good as his neighbour, for with all his exclusiveness the Pathan is at heart a rank republican. As, however, experience has taught him that in every community there must be a responsible chief, a nobility has arisen, and so long as the head of the family for the time being, whose ancestor was originally elected to his leadership for personal qualifications, is fairly capable, a ready obedience is shown him in all matters in which by custom the tribe allows him authority.

1. Don't expect good faith from a low-born man ;
Reeds will never become sugar-cane.

This is a couplet from Abdul Hamid, an old Pashto poet, few of whose poems have yet been printed.

2. If you do not marry a gentle woman, she will not bear you a gentle son.

3. An 'Irakí horse shows his breed in dirty trappings.

The 'Irak here spoken of is a territory in the northern portion of the Arabian peninsula, famous for its breed of horses.

4. Though the slave be of gold, his back is of copper.

That is, though a low-born man may have many good qualities, he will not be thorough all through.

5. Where a low fellow eats, there he eases himself.

6. I am poor of crops, but not of good birth.

The poorer a man is, the more he prides himself on the greatness of his ancestors, for decayed gentility is fond of living in the past.

7. Don't expect a sweeper to be a true believer, even should one hundred cycles of years go by.

8. From good parents a black calamity was born.

It does not follow that clever parents beget clever children, and so on. The English proverb, "Many a good cow hath but a bad calf," is similar.

9. The slave brings close to you his heel, the gentleman his ear.

Meaning a low fellow tries to gain his end by fighting and force, but a gentleman by persuasion and courtesy.

10. At last the wolf's cub becomes a wolf.

An instance of "nature will out." There are proverbs of similar meaning in Latin and Greek, as well as in most living languages. In Latin one runs—"Lupus pilum mutat, non mentem" (The wolf may change his hair, but not his nature).

11. The thieving dog's pup may not be a thief yet, but he will sniff about (for something to steal).

That is, a bad man's son will do wrong as soon as he gets an opportunity. So we say, "What is bred in the bone won't out of the flesh," and "nature will out."

FATE.

With the exception of the first, all under this head teach a doctrine familiar to us as one of the canons of belief of all Musalmans, namely, that whatever befalls a man was his "destiny," with which there is no striving. Though all natives are fatalists, still I think the limits to which their fatalism is supposed to lead are often misunderstood. It is only the spiritless and disappointed who resign themselves to their "*Nasib*" and ascribe all their failures in life to it; but it is not so with others, who hold, with most of ourselves, that, though everything that occurs was fore-ordained, that is, that God in his omniscience and prescience knew what would happen, still man is in a great measure a free agent, and "himself can change or fix his fate." The first proverb, which is now a household word to many, asserts this pretty plainly.

1. Destiny is a saddled ass, he goes wherever you lead him.

This dictum is a contrast to those following it. He must have been a bold man who first asserted it.

2. Though you go to Kábul, your appointed lot will follow you there.

3. Man's lot is (fixed) from the creation, it is not (attained) by force or competition.

4. Had your pen been in my hand, I would have marked you "fortunate."

That is, I would have done so, had I at your birth had the filling in of your destiny in the Book of Fate.

5. Without destiny food is difficult.

6. The inevitable laughs at man's schemes.

The same as our "Man proposes, God disposes."

7. The goat was fleeing from the wolf, and spent the night in the butcher's house.

That is, he went "out of the frying-pan into the fire" in trying to escape his fate.

8. I was escaping from the Rám, and fell on hard work.

The story goes, that a Muhammadan king ordered a Hindoo to repeat "Ram Rám" daily when attending his person, but the Hindoo, thinking this tyranny, absconded, and was captured and sold as a slave. The meaning is the same as the last.

9. Were the whole world to turn physician, the cure rests entirely with Fate.

10. There is no fleeing from one's lot, there is no sharing it with another.

11. If the night is to be spent at home, it won't be in the grave, and if in the grave, it won't be at home.

12. Let not the horseman say, "I shall not become a footman," nor the footman, "I shall not become a horseman."

That is, let no man predict his own betterment or debasement, for there is no saying what fate has in store for him.

13. What God does will take place, nevertheless tie your camel's knee tight.

So that the camel may not wander or be stolen. Though God disposes all things, man must use his best en-

deavours to effect what he wants. The proverb is adapted from the Persian, and is a very familiar one amongst all. We say, "God helps them that help themselves."

14. If retching come on you by destiny, close your teeth on it (*i.e.* accept it).

Meaning, be content whatever happens to you.

FRIENDSHIP.

The tone pervading most of the following is in general pure and elevated, and has a decidedly English ring about it. A man is not to be hasty in forming his friendships, but being formed, he is to hold his friend's honour as his own, and be willing to make any sacrifices for him, for "a world in purchase for a friend is gain." The distinction between true, lukewarm, and false friends is pointed out, and an occasional sly hit is dealt at the not altogether disinterested affection of relations, especially cousins and brothers, for each other.

1. Make a friend ; test him for a year : if he be proof, embrace him cordially ; if not, cut his acquaintance.

Polonius, in Hamlet, gives his son Laertes much the same advice in the lines beginning—

"The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul," etc., etc.

2. Who forms a low friendship will light a fire on his own forehead.

That is, will harm himself.

3. Pass by your acquaintance in the street ; forget his appearance.

That is, do so when it is to your advantage to drop his acquaintance.

4. Friends are serpents, they bite ;
Strangers are best: friends deceive.

The false friend is here referred to.

5. Mayest thou be damned, O blanket! which art
neither for wind nor for rain.

The lukewarm friend is here spoken of.

6. Give good words to others, but good food to your
friend.

Be civil to all, but keep your substance for friends and
relations.

7. Let a man have a dear friend, though he be in a
foreign country.

8. A son is the heart, a brother the eye's pupil, a
grandson the bone's marrow.

This gives the three degrees of affection.

9. A son is from the heart, wealth from the liver ;
Wealth is dearer than a son.

10. Who speaks of his friend, speaks of himself.

A man's friends are reflectors of himself. "Tell me with
whom you go, and I'll tell you what you are."

11. The medicine for asking is giving.

A Spanish proverb runs, "When a friend asketh, there is
no to-morrow."

12. If you would keep friendship for your friend,
don't regard his faults.

Cassius spoke similarly to Brutus in Julius Cæsar—

"A friend should bear a friend's infirmities."

13. The friend appears in hard times, not at big
dinners.

In most languages there are similar proverbs: thus in
English we have "A friend in need is a friend

indeed," and others: in Latin, "Amicus certus in re incertâ cernitur."

14. When there was an earthquake, you would not give me the staff, now give it to your mother.

This was the reply of a man to a false friend who had refused him the loan of a stick when he required it, and afterwards, when it was no longer wanted, pressed it on him. It is now generally applied to friends who fail in the hour of need.

15. Bear witness for God's sake, use a stick for a friend's.

16. In what is fitting between you and me,
What matters distance or propinquity ?

17. It is well to have your ass tethered, if you have a thief for a friend.

18. A friend will cause you to weep, an enemy to laugh.
That is, a true friend will tell you your faults, an enemy will flatter you.

19. Don't say, "O brother!" to him who is not (the son) of your mother.

20. I will be your sacrifice, when free from business.
That is, "business first, friendship afterwards."

21. Be either friendly or downright displeased.

22. 'Tis good to have a friend, though he be a ravenous dog.

The same occurs in Persian.

23. If I am good, it is owing to my friends.

24. The brother is not of use to the brother, but the friend is to the friend.

Brothers are often at variance, consequently a man requiring help should apply to his friend rather than to his brother.

25. I was with you to your house, but not to the grave.

This is a rebuff to a presuming friend who asks too much.

26. When the white cow licks the black, and the black does not return the favour, may her mouth rot! (literally "dry up").

This is sometimes applied in cases where a rich man seeks a poor man's daughter in marriage, and his suit is refused. Generally, it means that favours must be reciprocated; if not, the person obliged deserves all manner of pains and penalties.

27. Lighten if you are going to lighten. When Badá falls over the cliff, what will be the use of lightning?

Bada, a Marwat, on a dark night is supposed to have thus addressed the clouds. The meaning is, unless assistance is timely, it is no use.

28. A cousin is he who in the morning sees your household's state, and in the evening your hearth-fire burning.

That is, he first looks to see what you have in your larder, then drops in about dinner-time. This is not very complimentary to the sincerity of a cousin's affection for his kindred.

29. Friendship is good with the noble, not with the base.

This is taken from the Persian.

30. A clever enemy is better than a stupid friend.

31. If your relation kill you, he will bury you in the shade.

That is, though you have a blood-feud with a relation and he kill you, still he will see that your corpse gets a decent burial, but another would not do so. "Blood is thicker than water" after all.

32. The nail and the flesh about it do not separate.

Meaning, amongst other things, that relations stick by each other.

33. Who disregards the advice of friends, will always carry on his head a load of anxieties.

34. If you do not vex your own heart, you will not make another's happy.

That is, you must put yourself to inconvenience if you wish to be thought an obliging man.

35. For a friend the Hindoo has eaten the flesh of a cow.

The cow is a sacred animal amongst Hindoos. Meaning is, that to serve a friend a man would do an unlawful act.

36. Though your cousin be an ass, don't throw your leg over him.

That is, don't mount him, don't bully him, as he has it in his power to annoy you.

37. Though the maiden be black, may my house be a sacrifice for her.

That is, a man will sacrifice his all for what he loves, be the object insignificant or not. A corresponding proverb in Syriac is, "I love my friend, though he be a black slave."

38. My friend is black, but so is black molasses, which is the best medicine for the wounded.

This is similar to the preceding proverb. Old black molasses is given for spasms, coughs, and other

diseases, the cause of which is supposed to be an internal cut or wound.

39. Be it gram, let it be with love.

That is, a small favour graciously bestowed is as a great one.

40. A strange horse is ridden half a stage.

That is, being lent gratis, it will be a sorry mount. Refers to a casual acquaintance, who is asked to do a service before acquaintance has ripened into real friendship.

41. The heart is a unique thing when it becomes vexed ; it is not a sheep to be slaughtered.

A man's affections are not to be trifled with ; he is not like a sheep which you may slaughter and make an end of.

42. The man who knows you eats you ; the dog who knows you does not.

Many a false friend will live on you, eat you out of house and home, but a dog, unclean though he be, is faithful to you to the last.

43. A bear's friendship is to scratch and tear.

44. In friendship the composite bracelet always breaks.

The "*tsului*" is a cheap and very brittle bracelet, made up, I believe, of clay and wax, and consequently easily broken. The meaning is, that friends must expect to make small sacrifices for each other.

45. Would you look after yourself, cherish your friend ; consider him not less than your brother.

46. Though you are an infidel, you are my liver.

The liver is here the centre of the affections. Religious differences do not interfere with true friendship.

47. Two will become friends, if a third do not come between.

Our "Two are company, but three are none," is somewhat similar.

48. A friend wishes you well in body, a brother in property (to which he hopes to succeed some day).

49. At a public entertainment even may your friend be present.

That is, at an entertainment open to all, to which the poorest and meanest go, may you find a friend, for a friend is good under all circumstances.

50. Every one is a dear friend in prosperity (literally "a good day").

This is the same as the first line of the couplet :

"In time of prosperity friends will be plenty,
In time of adversity not one in the "twenty."

51. If rain fall on you, drops will fall on me.

That is, a man's good fortune is that of his friends.

52. Who loves, labours.

Said originally of love, but in a wider sense of friendship.

Parallel is the Italian, "Love knows nothing of labour."

53. One doubt your love for me ?

No one has arrested *Abá Sind* ("father of waters,"
i.e. the Indus), with great dams.

Used to express unlimited trust.

54. Be intimate with a thief ; take care of your ox.

Meaning he will steal it if he can, friend though he be ; for a vicious man cannot be cured of his evil ways.

55. Some one said to the woman, "Your lover is dead." She said, "Of which street?"

Who is everybody's friend, is nobody's true friend.

56. Brotherly love is all very well, but let there be some sort of account kept.

57. Until there be a rattle in the grain safe,
There is no use in going and coming.

That is, there is no object in intercourse, until one or both can benefit from it.

GOD.

God is here represented as a Being, omnipotent and omnipresent, yet possessed of some human attributes, befriending some, injuring others, prone to wrath, yet ready to be appeased, watching over man's affairs, and determining the issue of all his undertakings, yet leaving him to a certain extent a free agent; and man is everywhere reminded of his own feebleness and dependence on God.

1. The man whom God disgraces is bitten by a dog from the back of a camel.

The same occurs in Persian and in Hindústání. The meaning is, that such a man meets with accidents from quarters where he least expected to encounter them.

2. God gives green eyes to the man he makes not handsome.

Dark eyes are admired, not light. A man with "green eyes" is any one with light greyish-coloured eyes, and is looked upon as being marked by the finger of God for misfortune. The Prophet is said to have called such a man "a brother of the devil." Generally, the proverb means, that unlucky men bear some outward marks of their bad luck about them.

3. Whose house is exalted (by God) falls not.

4. The ring-dove has a God, as well as the hawk.

5. He eats food whom God may have fed, not he whose mouth is large.

6. To wash it is my duty, its acceptance depends on God.

Originally said of a corpse by a washer of the dead.
Conveys the same meaning as our "Man proposes, God disposes."

7. Livelihood is from God, not from Rózí.

8. God has made the miller ill-starred, for he took his wages when the sacks were deposited with him.

He ought to take his wages after he has ground the grain, and not, as is his custom, before.

9. When God does not do it, what can man do?

So in Catalan, "No leaf moves but God wills it."

10. Man's face is from the effulgence of God.

Therefore be careful to show it honour. It is said by Muhammadans that the angels made man's body, and God his face.

11. God will remain, friends will not.

12. From cursing or blessing nothing results, God is the doer:

If God does it not, what does cursing or blessing do?

13. Though God is almighty, yet he does not send rain from a clear sky.

14. Things are accomplished by God's acts, not by the mouth of Moolahs.

15. When God destroys the ant, he gives it wings.

The idea is, that the ant, when supplied with wings, becomes puffed up with pride, flies away, and soon after dies. So with man, when God wishes to punish him he gives him the means of working his own destruction—wealth or pride, or something else.

16. To say "*Bismillah*" (in God's name) brings a blessing, but not for jackal-hunting.

Meaning, it is right to invoke God's help in all honourable undertakings, but not in every little insignificant affair like jackal-hunting. God's name may be used, but not in vain.

17. The little one goes in trust on the big one, and the big one in trust on God.

That is, however much man may look to fellow-man for assistance, still, in the end, it is God who is the helper.

18. The thief says "O God!" and the householder says "O God!"

That is, all, good and bad alike, invoke His aid.

19. Kill my goats, and I'll kill your fast.

The grazier here addresses God, and threatens, in revenge for the loss of his goats, to break his fast, at which he supposes God will be vexed.

20. (God says) I will not bring on the night until I arrange for the support of the poor man.

21. When God becomes a man's enemy, he (the man) wanders from the law of the Prophet.

22. O man! be not puffed up about yourself, God is with every one.

23. The blind man entrusted his wife to God.

Means, when helpless, man looks to God for protection.

24. If God will, He preserves the kittens in the kiln-ashes.

25. When Moulá (God) gives not, what can Doulá give?

The origin of the proverb is said to be this. A King

named Sháh-i-Doulá was one day importuned for alms by a blind beggar. Checking his horse, the king threw him a coin, but another beggar, who had not lost his sight, snatched it up. This happened several times, until the king was provoked into exclaiming as above.

GOOD LOOKS.

A Pathan's idea of personal beauty is much the same as our own, except that, like the ladies of the present day, he has less faith in nature unadorned being "adorned the most."

1. A true man has a roomy head, a clown (literally "dog") is large-footed.

A large head is considered a mark of gentle birth and intelligence amongst Pathans.

2. Man is handsome (honourable), but clothes double his beauty (honour).

Corresponding to our "Fair feathers make fair fowls," also, "God makes, but apparel shapes."

3. Beauty even requires pains.

4. Beauty goes not with a naked person.

5. A thin beard is fit for the razor.

Meaning, wear nothing which does not improve your personal appearance, practise nothing which detracts from your character.

GOOD AND BAD LUCK.

Whether Englishmen, as a rule, really believe in luck or not, many of them often talk of it as if they did, and even allow fancies about it to rule their actions. A race is seldom run,

a rubber of whist or game of cricket played, but one hears the word freely used, with perhaps a very expressive epithet or two prefixed to it. The term is more often applied in trifling than in serious affairs, and in the latter, where "bad luck" would be inadequate to express the speaker's thought, the slang but meaning words "hard lines" sometimes do duty. Muhammadan ideas on the subject are very similar to the above. Whilst fate or destiny rules the great issues of life, in the causation of which man may be passive, good or bad luck, arising from some concurrence of apparently but not really accidental circumstances, befalls him every day in all he does; but he must be an active agent in contributing to his own good or bad fortune.

1. When the unlucky began to keep the Ramzán, the days even became long.

That is, the month for fasting fell in the hot weather, when days are long and nights short.

2. I am better blind than with green eyes.

That is, than stamped unfortunate.

3. An unlucky wretch won't do his own work, but catches small birds.

That is, spends his time in trifling, and then blames his bad luck as the cause of his bad success in life.

4. The thief was strong, so was his good luck.

Good luck is a requisite for success in all trades, even in a thief's. We say, "Give a man luck, and throw him into the sea."

5. Water falls on water.

Fortune is propitious to those already fortunate. "Much would have more," and generally gets it too.

6. A widow had two oxen, one would not come inside, and the other would not go outside.

The widow, whose first misfortune was the loss of her husband, here typifies an ill-starred man.

7. As soon as the widow had a son born to her, sickness entered the village.

Her bad luck was proved when her husband died, and it followed her when her posthumous son was born, for he also died.

8. Good fortune is from the field or from the head.

That is, from much land or many men. This was originally an Eusofzai proverb.

9. The boat goes with luck.

This is very common. When one wishes another ill luck, the expression often used is, "*berái de wáwrah*," "May your boat upset." In Punjabi a similar saying is common, "*béri budí*," i.e. "boat (is) old," to express bad luck.

10. A thunder-bolt everywhere falls on the unlucky man's house.

11. The ill-starred wretch is poor both here and in Hindústán.

Hindústán is looked upon by Pathans as so wealthy a country, that, with ordinary luck, a man going there is sure to make his fortune.

12. When an unlucky man runs, he falls on his face.

The Germans say similarly, "He would fall on his back and break his nose."

13. The unlucky man's case is with the Kází.

That is, he has a dispute on some question of law with the expounder of law himself, and therefore is sure to lose.

14. What is done untimely is unlucky.

The same occurs in Persian.

15. To him whose days become crooked (unlucky), his own goats become causes of misfortune.

“May your day be crooked,” is a common and very strong curse.

16. One man may equal another (in all respects), except in good luck.

17. Whose luck is friendly, his house is a bazaar; whose luck is hostile, his house is empty.

That is, if a man is in luck, his house is as well stocked as a bazaar is.

18. Are one hundred days on the throne or one hour's luck to be preferred? No, one hour's luck.

The above is said to have been Humáyún's answer to a courtier on his recovering Delhi. When he had the throne but no luck, he lost it; and when his luck changed, he was not long in recovering it.

19. One unlucky moment (entails) one hundred years of misery.

20. Mayest thou (Gód) not give a poor wretch nails to scratch himself with.

As he would do himself and others harm with them.

21. Mayest thou (God) not give a poor wretch a goat to catch hold of by the legs.

Their legs are held when they are being milked. An unlucky wretch would torture the animal. The wish in this and the last is the same. A poor wretch, if given a little power, will abuse it; hence God is implored not to give him any. It is a fact all over the world. that the lower a man's original status, the greater tyrant he becomes when placed in power.

22. When God is hostile to a man, he has to attend calls of nature in vain.

This is a Marwat saying, and Marwats, though rain with them is always a blessing, dislike being out in it as

much as other natives. The meaning is that good fortune never befalls an unlucky man without some alloy to remind him what he is.

23. Where is the sickle, and where the shin,
Were it not for the bad luck of the reaper?

The two ought to be far enough apart in reaping, but occasionally some unlucky reaper cuts himself when at work.

24. When the master is in bad luck, the watch-dog will be half asleep.

25. An unlucky fool gets into scrapes, a knowing man profits by them.

26. This being a rabbit warren, and this a camel man's stick, one day they will meet.

The rabbit and hare are regarded as unlucky, and sooner or later meet a violent death.

27. The orphan kept fast all day, and broke it at eventide on dung.

He thus lost the good derived from fasting.

GOODNESS AND WICKEDNESS.

This is a rather miscellaneous group, without one clear leading idea running through it. Such as it is, it seems to teach that virtue consists of honesty and singleness of aim, which being acted up to, will render a man of good repute happy and fearless in disposition. On the contrary, if a man's purpose be bad, so will be his actions, and once he gives himself up to vice, he becomes shameless and hardened. Amongst the sayings are a few familiar sounding precepts, admonitions to man to follow what is good and eschew what is evil, for in such a case virtue will prove "its own reward."

1. In bad things be slow, in good quick.
2. What fear of the fire has pure gold ?

The same occurs in Persian. .

3. Islám is under a sword.

As the propagation of Islám, the Muhammadan faith, is by the sword, and that faith is regarded as the only true one, so all good things must be advanced by force, the heart of man being so desperately wicked as to refuse their acceptance, except when under the influence of fear.

4. He will not be a Sayad, and if he be, he will not be a Sunnı; and if he be, there will not be another like him.

5. If you do wrong you will sooner or later repent it,
“Honesty is the best policy” after all.

6. That man is good towards you who holds you good.
That is, regard as friendly those who speak well of, and act well towards, you.

7. Be upright, and recline at ease.

8. He is good who has a reputation for goodness.
“Common fame is seldom to blame” in such a case.

9. Through a kindly disposition strangers become your own ;

Umar’s disposition is bad, his own become strangers to him.

10. A man is handsome according to his disposition.
In appearance even the bitter melon is handsome.

11. Turn your face to virtue, and your back to vice.

12. Be clean-handed, fall down on the bare plain ; no one has taken away anything from bare ground.

Meaning, be yourself honest, and let your work be honest, and no one can find fault with you. It is also said in reference to poverty, meaning that the pauper ought to console himself with the reflection that no one will vex him.

13. Who desires loss to his tribe, will make it his own.

14. Whose purpose becomes bad, his conduct becomes bad.

15. Neither do a libertine's eyes rest, nor a thief's hands.

16. I recognize thee well, O black sheep! that thy tail is white.

17. When the night gets dark, the wicked become alert.

18. Who goes about bad, falls badly.

Meaning, that an evil-doer gets caught at last, and severely punished.

19. Some one said to a low beast of a fellow, "Why do people call you a pig?" He said, "They are all my brothers, and are cracking jokes at me."

Said of a shameless man who glories in his bad name.

20. May you not eat that lark which will rise up in your throat (*i.e.* make you sick).

That is, be careful of speech, so that you may never have occasion to eat your words.

21. The kid's bleating is the wolf's laughter.

22. Rozi died, Umar was ruined.

Umar killed Rozi for his wealth but had to flee to the hills. So when a bad man gains his ends, he often finds himself undone.

23. Who gives his name to the village has one qualification more than others.

Such a man will be more mindful of his reputation than others, on the principle that "*noblesse oblige*."

24. Wherever gold is, there it is fully valued.

A good man is respected everywhere.

25. What is white shines best amidst black.

A good man shows best amongst the bad, a candle in darkness, like "a good deed in a naughty world."

26. Evil is neither from the earth nor from the heavens, but from one's own tongue.

27. The seed (reward) of goodness is evil.

This is probably of Persian origin, but is very common.

28. When the elephant was alive, he was worth a lac; when he died, two lacs.

Might be said of works which are profitable as they are, and found to be doubly so, when a new system of management is introduced; also of good men, whose names remain after death.

29. Who eats not eats the stick.

This is contrary to our proverb, that "honesty is the best policy;" for it means that unless a man is dishonest, he will in life's battle suffer for it.

HASTE AND DELIBERATION.

It is often said that, judging from their manner of life and their lazy, apathetic way of doing business, natives can have no idea of the value of time; and the enervating effects of a tropical climate on the constitution are ascribed as the cause. There are, however, other causes to which perhaps full weight has not been allowed, namely, the paralysing-of-energy consequences

which custom has on the mind, and the feeling, common to all Musalmans, that life in this world is but a short stage in the journey to a better, from which arises the conviction, that "getting along" is all that is required or desirable here. It cannot, therefore, be a subject for surprise that all Eastern proverbs inculcate patience and deliberation as cardinal virtues, and the proverbs below—with the teaching of which it is impossible to find fault—are no exception to the general rule. It must be remembered that the above remarks apply with less force to Pathans than any other class, for their energies and impulses are sometimes over-exuberant, and require restraint rather than encouragement.

1. He takes off his clothes before he reaches the water.
Said of the over-precipitate man.

2. What is (postponed) for a year, is (postponed) on God.

"Slow help is no help" conveys the same thought.

3. Deliberation is Godly, precipitancy Devilish.

The same occurs in Persian, and probably in most other languages.

4. A pilgrimage to Mecca is accomplished with patience.

Meaning, that patience is a requisite in great undertakings.

The proverb is not literally true now, owing to the introduction of railways and steam-boats.

5. The bitch is in a hurry only to produce blind pups.

Similar to the first in application. It is commonly believed that if a bitch would take more time in gestation, her pups would be born with their eyes open. "Haste makes waste."

6. He was so patient that the kids grew up, and so impatient that he would not wait until their lungs were cooked.

The lungs might have been cooked in a few minutes, not re-

quiring much fire. The above is said of men who possess a great deal of patience, yet fail in the supreme moment.

7. He who has patience wins.

8. The good man has long-suffering, the bad strikes.

9. Why fear? Milk even in good time becomes curds.

If so, you will gain your object in time, so don't be down-cast.

10. When the garden was ready, the gardener went off.

That is, on the point of success a non-persevering man gives in.

11. Patience is bitter, but bears sweet fruit.

The same is in Persian.

12. He had not learned his A, B, C, but "lám," "zer," "le."

That is, before he could repeat the alphabet, he was learning words of two letters, or, as we say, "tried to run before he could walk."

13. Don't get drowned without water.

14. The Pathan boy and his brother, taking a short cut, fell over the cliff.

This saying, now proverbial, must have arisen from an accident such as that described. We say, "Highways are shorter than byways." The illustration that God took six days to make the world when he could have made it in as many moments, is often used by Muhammadans as an argument in-favour of slowness or deliberation.

15. Delay is worse than death.

By "delay," "hope deferred" is meant.

16. Though the black stone becomes in process of time a ruby ; make it not a ruby, O God ! through the heart's anguish.

It is said that the ruby is formed, after centuries of slow transmutation, out of a certain black stone. The meaning is, that if God wishes to benefit a man, let Him do it quickly or not at all, for delay "maketh the heart sick."

17. The cow had not been slaughtered, yet he had put the soup-tureen on his head for it.

This is clumsily put, compared to our "Catch your hare before you skin it," or, "Don't count your chickens before they are hatched."

HOME.

Every native is strongly attached to his birthplace, and Pathans are particularly so, as in the families of most of them a few paternal acres are to be found, to which, when absent from home, their memory fondly clings, and in the preservation of which they are ready to shed their life's blood. The youth of some of their tribes take service under us freely, but in many the custom does not obtain, home feeling and ties being too strong to admit of it. In this District, Bhangi Kúél Khataks belong to the former class, Marwats and Bannuchís to the latter, hundreds of whose old men have never yet been five miles from their villages. Wazírs, too, are not to be found in the native army, in which the restraints of discipline would be hateful to their wild savage nature.

1. However much you wander, at last your place is Dingnán.

Dingnán is, I am told, a village near Jelalábád, and here means "home" or "native place."

2. Every one is a king in his native place.

That is, is happy.

3. To every one his home is Cashmere.

Corresponding to our "Home is home, be it never so homely," and "East or West, home is best."

4. Borrow one hundred rupees, and spend the winter nights at home.

5. When your father was alive was the time to recline at your ease ; now it is to put your head anywhere.

Originally said by a widow to her boy, this is now repeated by Pathans to encourage themselves when they have to undertake a journey.

6. A journey is a dire calamity.

7. Though a man be a king in his own house, outside it he is but a poor fellow.

High Indian officials, when at home in London on furlough, soon learn the meaning of this. There the Governor of a Province descends to being the occupant of the drawing-room flat of a lodging.

HONOUR AND SHAME.

It is difficult to define a Pathan's conception of what his "honour" is ; but to us it indicates little more than his successfully concealing from the world things done in his family, which, if known, custom would condemn as dishonourable, as, for instance, selling his daughter to her husband ; for so long as no exposé takes place, his conscience pricks him very little about his dirty actions. It is remarkable that the, to us, most contemptible class in the District, the Bannuchís, is the one above all others which is perpetually harping about their "honour"; while the poor simple Marwats, who really possess some of this desirable

quality in our sense of the word, use the term comparatively seldom.

A case occurred the other day which well illustrates a native's notion about his precious "'izzat" (honour). Three or four years ago an aged chief married, or rather bought, a young Marwat girl—an eighth wife—and confined her in his woman-pen, sometimes called harem, where she lived happily enough perhaps, carrying on an intrigue with a young and handsome cousin of her husband. Unfortunately the two lovers eloped one morning, and all the native world wagged its tongue at the scandal, and agreed with the old chief that his "honour" was lost, and that nothing remained for him but to wash it clean again in the blood of the abductor, or go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Now, had the lovers been content with stolen interviews, and even had the lady presented her ancient lord with a son, the old man would have winked at everything, indeed been even gratified at this last proof of his wife's affection for him, and held up his head as high as he did when a lusty young fellow forty years ago.

1. May my friend be shameless, ere I be so towards him.

2. Amongst the honourable a man (becomes) honourable ;

Amongst the base, base.

3. The river cannot be dried up with a cup.

Said of a good man, whose character cannot be taken away by the attacks of his enemies ; or of a strong man, who can afford to laugh at the puny efforts of his enemies to weaken his power.

4. If a dog barks at the caravan, does it lose its numbers owing to it ?

Of similar application to the last.

5. The river is not polluted by a dog's mouth.

6. Mayest thou (God) kill me at a hundred men's hands, but not make me in fault towards one.

This is somewhat equivalent in application to the maxim
"Death before dishonour."

7. Is honour or wealth the better? No, honour is the better.

8. A black sweeper is good, if honourable.

9. Cause me to lose, take my life.

10. Look to a man's word, a field's out-turn, a woman's beauty.

11. Don't put hands on my blanket, and I won't put hands on your shawl.

Said by a poor man to a great, to remind him that, though differing in station, they are equal in honour.

12. The river does not become muddy by a stone (thrown into it).

13. Die for that man's honour whose name you take.

That is, sacrifice your life in defence of the honour of a friend.

14. Though the head be large, it even requires a turban.

A large head is considered a mark of good breeding. The meaning is that an honourable man ought not to rest content, but strive to obtain more honour.

15. A Fakeer sometimes throws his rags into the fire on account of a louse.

His rags were his all, yet as a louse being found amongst them was a reproach to him, he cast them from him.

Means that a man sometimes half ruins himself to save his honour.

16. Kill a man, don't throw dirt at him.

17. When a man becomes scald-headed, he becomes dishonoured.

18. What is beaten, what is killed ?

Meaning, that one is as bad as the other, your honour being gone.

19. To make yourself equal to your kinsman wear white clothes.

That is, regardless of the expense, spend as much as he does, and keep up the honour of your side of the house.

20. When a man feels no shame about his own sister, what scruples will he have about another man's ?

One who is careless about his own honour wo'n't regard another's.

21. Enough, O Shámak ! you have stamped it (as your own composition) at the end.

It is the custom for the poet to record his own name, with some complimentary remark to himself, in the last couplet of each poem. Shamak was a small poet who earned for himself a considerable reputation, until his plagiarisms were detected, by thus inserting his own name in the verses of others and passing them off as his own compositions. The above is now said in cases where the man who puts the finishing touch to a work reaps all the credit of it.

22. There was a man who placed dirt in a mosque, and was called "mosque-defiler."

The meaning is, that any one, however unknown he may be, can make himself notorious by doing a wicked act.

23. A crime makes a small man great (*i.e.* notorious).

24. When the minstrel is dancing to the drum, what shame has he ?

That is, a man's modesty disappears after he has begun to do something he was feeling shy about, and become interested in it.

25. Some one asked the sweeper of whom he was afraid, and he said, "Of my fellow-sweeper."

26. Oh, that you would sacrifice my wealth for my head, and my head for my honour.

27. To a pig its very name is fire (destruction).

Applicable in same way as "Give a dog a bad name and hang him."

28. May my (debt) be on a lion, may a jackal's not be on me.

Better have dealings with the noble, though powerful, than with the base, though weak.

29. The goat even when she lies down scratches clean her resting place.

Said to a low, dirty fellow, to shame him into some regard for outward decencies.

HUSBANDRY, WEATHER, AND HEALTH.

This collection, to which Marwat is the chief contributor, is very complete, and may be accepted as embodying, in a very condensed form, the deliberate opinion of the agricultural population, formed after long years of observation, on the occupation of their lives, the influences which bear on it, and the hopes and fears to which such an occupation gives rise. The majority of the maxims, as might be expected, relate to husbandry, of which a portion are the canons which regulate the industrious farmer's operations a-field. The Wazír, having only lately taken to agricultural pursuits, and the Bannúchí, having water in abundance flowing through every field, have had as yet little occasion to rouse their minds from their natural lethargy on

this subject. With the latter every process has already been thoroughly determined for him by custom, and as the vicissitudes of the seasons affect irrigated lands but little, he has been taught by long experience to forecast, with a fair amount of certainty and confidence, the result of every operation, from the preliminary turning over of the soil to the yield per acre of each class of crop. Hence it is that nothing has yet awakened him into thinking on such matters for himself. As well ask him why Spring succeeds Winter, as why he expects his seed will produce a heavy crop. His answer to either query would be, "Of course it will, because it always does."

But it is not so with the cultivator of unirrigated lands. To him each revolving month brings no dull round of certainty or sameness, but a constant succession of cares and anxieties: for the annual rainfall,¹ on which the life of man and beast depends, is always scanty and often unseasonable, and rain or no rain, crop or no crop, a generous but rule-bound Government, owing to an inelastic revenue system, exacts from him a uniform rate of land-tax. Hence it is that the ups and downs of prosperity and adversity startle the Marwat out of himself, compelling him to think on his condition; and his thoughts and conclusions about it, clothed in simple and truthful language, and handed down, like heirlooms, from father to son, cannot fail to fill our hearts with sympathy for him.

1. Have you cultivated your low lands, that your high have remained over?

This is the question which was put to a farmer who was regretting that he had not cultivated his high-lying fields, though his low-lying lands were also uncultivated. Now said in warning to a man not to attempt difficult work, until he has mastered what is easy.

2. It is better settled during ploughing, than at the grain-heap.

¹ Averaging between six and seven inches.

That is, questions as to shares should be settled then, for if left over until the grain has been threshed, quarrels will arise. Terms of partnership should be fixed when business is commenced, not after the ventures have been made, and either profit or loss is being reaped from them.

3. The gleaners began to wrangle together over strange stubble.

Said of persons who quarrel over things not their own, instead of each taking gratefully what he received.

4. If you break up the clods with the spade, you will be well clothed; if not, you will go with the back of your head and neck uncovered.

This is a Bannúchí proverb, and means that, if you wish to get full profit from your land, you must labour hard on it. The Bannuchís in many parishes do not use the plough, which is of very light structure, and unfitted for doing more than scratching their stiff clayey soil. In its stead they dig with a large heart-shaped spade, worked by two men, one on either side. Like us, they recognize that the most important part of the body to protect from the sun's rays is the back of the head and neck.

5. When you fixed your hopes in the soil, you lost your seed in it.

This is also a Bannúchí proverb, and means that after sowing, the cultivator must not expect the soil to do everything else. Unless he attends to weeding and irrigation, his seed will be lost.

6. Dig for one hundred days, irrigate for one.

Meaning, watering your fields, without plenty of hard work as well on them, is useless.

7. You trusted a dyke, and it destroyed your trust.

Meaning, you banked up your field all round, turned on the water, and did no more. Consequently, the water burst your dykes. Don't place confidence in unstable things, but knowing their weakness watch over them carefully.

8. When Canopus arises, he will make clothes for every one.

About the time he appears cotton and other autumn crops commence ripening, from which the cultivator will either be able to weave, or procure clothing for himself.

9. Reaping is not done above the closed hand.

The crops are cut below the place which the hand grasps. The meaning is, that there is a right and a wrong way of working, and unless you practise the former you will labour in vain.

10. Though the measure be concealed, it will be apparent at the grain-heap.

That is, though the capacity of the wooden measure be unknown, it will be discovered when tested. Until a man or article is put to actual trial, it is difficult to form a correct opinion on his or its worth.

11. Sown in Poh is no go.

Seed sown after December 15th seldom comes to maturity.

12. Whose hopes are in his crops, remains out on the plain.

The meaning is that such a man forsakes the ease and comfort of his home, and roughs it in the open beside his fields at a distance from his village. This and the following thirty-eight are Marwat proverbs.

13. The reaper who is not hearty in his work sharpens his sickle on a clod.

Corresponds to our "A bad workman finds fault with his tools."

14. Who looks after his crops himself, if it were milk it would all become *ghí*.

That is, such a man reaps double profit, for "as the man is worth his land is worth."

15. The earliest sown crops stand up like the bustard, the latest sown spring up; their owner weeps.

In a fair season the earliest sown crops are always the heaviest.

16. Collect water, store *bájra*.

Make your dams and your dykes, and you secure a good *bájra* crop. *Bájra* (a millet) requires twice or three times as much water as wheat.

17. Sons are (good) if born to a man when young, and wheat is (good) if sown early.

18. Who does not break up old waste, handles not cash.

A virgin soil, when properly cleared, is the richest.

19. When there is drought on the Thal, irrigated land yields twofold.

This is said to be literally true, but the meaning seems to be that when Thal lands (that is, lands depending on rain-water alone) suffer from drought, irrigated lands, owing to rise in prices, are doubly profitable.

20. When there is plenty on the Thal, there is nothing on irrigated lands.

That is, prices fall so much, that the return on the latter is small.

21. When you put your trust in God, you produced your seed.

That is, you secured a return for the seed you sowed.

22. Land drill-sown is (like) a foray on camels; land hand-sown is (like) a foray on goats.

In the light soils of Marwat drill-sowing is always practised, as otherwise the seed would not be placed deep enough, and would also be liable to be blown away. It is, therefore, as much more profitable over broadcast sowing as is a successful foray on camels over one on goats.

23. Irrigated lands will fill your stomach; unirrigated lands will mount you on horseback.

Wheat grown on “*bárání*” (unirrigated) soil is much superior in taste and nutritious qualities to that grown on irrigated lands. The latter always sells at about one-seventh cheaper than the former.

24. Sow wheat through an enemy, “*bájra*” through a friend.

That is, sow wheat thick, as an enemy would to waste your grain, and “*bájra*” (a millet) thin, as a friend would to save it.

25. If you fill the soil (with seed), it will fill you; if you leave it hungry, it will leave you hungry.

That is, if you wish for good crops, don't stint the seed.

26. Under a defeat, go, sow seed.

However distressed you may be, sow your seed.

27. The whole year you wrangled, so one ox trod out your corn.

28. When *Kátik* commences, calamity falls on the soil-moisture.

The month of *Kátik* begins about October 15th, and with it the level of the soil-moisture, which is a peculiar feature in the sandy portions of Marwat, begins to sink lower.

29. Assú is gain, Assú is loss.

The month of Assú, which begins about September 15th, is one of hope and fear for the farmer: of hope, because if the soil be sufficiently moistened by rain, he pushes on his Spring crop sowings in it, and may expect a good harvest, the earliest sowings generally giving the heaviest out-turn; and of fear, because should the month slip by and nothing be done owing to a want of rain and moisture, his chances are small. The rainfall in October and November is scanty, if any.

30. Not always is rain, not always are sons.

The advent of both, though anxiously looked for, is uncertain.

31. Summer rains are at the door, April showers in the hills.

The former are general and heavy, the latter partial and heaviest in the hills.

32. When the Hindoos throw their broken pitchers (into the river), the time for autumn sowings is slipping away.

This alludes to an old custom amongst the Marwat Hindoos, the origin of which I cannot discover, according to which they, up to near the end of November, after putting a little earth on pieces of broken pottery, sow seven sorts of grain called "*Satanáj*" in it, and on their germinating, throw the pieces into the Gambíla or Kurm.

33. "Furrow," "furrow," in trust on God.

That is, the furrow is ploughed in trust on God. When ploughing the ploughman keeps on calling to his oxen "*Kíla*" (furrow), to encourage them to go straight. There is a Spanish proverb, the translation of which

is, "He who sows his land trusts in God," which is very similar to the above.

34. Gain is from offspring, or from the plough.

This is a very old saying, but has lost much of its force now, as it does not follow that a man rich in sons should be rich in land. Formerly all land was held in common, and periodically divided, each living member of a community receiving a share. Consequently the man with the largest family received most land.

35. Thal cultivation is (like) a Hindoo's beard.

That is, uncertain; for a Hindoo shaves his beard, except one patch on the crown, whenever a near relation dies.

36. Cultivating irrigated lands is (like) licking one's fingers.

That is, the out-turn is small. So a man, after kneading dough, gets very little by licking his fingers.

37. When God is gracious, he rains on flowers and dirt alike.

That is, on poor as well as on good land.

38. May rain fall even on your heaped-up grain.

Rain does harm in this case to the grain; yet as it is such a blessed thing, the farmer prays that it may fall even before he has stored his grain.

39. So much cultivated land is good as a horse may roll on, not gallop over.

That is, little and carefully cultivated is better than much and ill looked after.

40. Summer rains from down country and Spring from up.

That is, from the South and East in Summer, and North in Spring, are best.

41. The East wind saith, "Were I blowing, shepherds' crooks would have become green.

That is, a steady East wind brings plenty of rain.

42. Whose livelihood depends on the Thal, is always surrounded with care.

As rain is so uncertain, and as even when the crops are ripening, a dry high dust-laden wind, which often blows, may shrivel up the ears of grain.

43. He whom the Thal has beggared, forsook his home and never returned again.

This is only too true.

44. Whom the Thal has undone, their very house-sites cannot be found.

45. Thal cultivation is (like a) broken bow.

That is, not to be trusted.

46. Mayest thou (God) preserve me from that famine which comes when barley is in the ear.

Because at such a time the last year's stock is nearly exhausted.

47. The owner of irrigated lands wears out broad scarves; the owner of Thal lands coarse blankets.

Meaning that the former is better off, and has less work than the latter.

48. When the crop is ripe, reaping is its medicine.

The ripe crop is supposed to long for the sickle, as a sick man for the medicine which he hopes will cure him.

49. O Assú! thou hast burnt us up.

Assu (September 15th to October 15th) is the most feverish month in the year, and the cultivators think the sun then very powerful, probably because, owing to the

near approach of the cold weather, they are more careless about protecting their head and neck properly.

50. Let there be thus much rain, more would be a thunder-bolt.

That is, would cause damage. "Enough is as good as a feast," even of the all-blessed rain.

51. One sows it (grain), one hundred eat it.

Meaning the wealth acquired by one is enjoyed by many. "One soweth, another reapeth," said our Saviour, quoting a then current proverb.

52. When the sky is cloudy, salt becomes water.

In damp weather salt becomes moist, although no rain may have fallen. So a weak man shows signs of fear before a strong man threatening punishment, though none may have been actually inflicted.

53. The soil bears a crop, trusting in God; but in watching over it, constant care is necessary.

54. A white sky brings rain, a black anxiety.

Because black heavy clouds are often forerunners of hail or wind, both destructive of standing crops.

55. What is the use to you of that Spring in which neither your calves nor your lambs graze?

This is addressed to the ruined or unlucky farmer. When he cannot derive any benefit from it, a good or a bad season makes very little difference to him.

56. Rain cannot fall from a clear sky.

Now-a-days don't expect miracles.

57. If rain fall not in the time of flowers, but unseasonably, what is it worth?

58. One good down-pour, if seasonable, is enough, *Khúshál!*

Unseasonable rain, though abundant, is of little use.

59. *Phágan* throws them (cattle) down, *Chétar* raises them up.

The former is the last month of the cold weather, when all cattle, from insufficient fodder and cold, are in very poor condition; and the latter is the first month of Spring, in which, under genial skies and plenty of pasturage, they soon recover the bad effects of the preceding two or three months' hardships.

60. 'Tis either the knife or cold which eats flesh.

The knife "eats flesh" when it cuts it, the cold when it strikes a man. In the cold weather all Muhammadans who can afford it eat meat freely.

61. "*Tsilah*" knocked animals down, and *Phágan* got the blame of it.

"*Tsilah*" is the forty days of intensest cold, January 1st to February 9th, and is divided into two equal parts, the former called "*spinah Tsilah*," or white chilah," and the latter, "*torah Tsilah*," or "black chilah." This period is the most trying for man and beast, but its effects often do not show until a few weeks later—hence the proverb.

62. I was still weeping on account of the "white chilah," when the water was frozen in the "black."

63. Asses have eaten the grain-heap of the many.

That is, when there are a number of co-partners in cultivation, each leaves the duty of watching to his neighbour; consequently it is neglected by all. So we say, "Everybody's business is nobody's business."

64. When the evening-star appears, cease sowing black gram.

65. When the constellation of *Libra* rises, cease sowing oil-seed (sesamum).

66. When rice is in ear, fever is being born.

The rice-crop is cut in September, during which month the fever season begins, and lasts for about two months. Few persons, European or native, resident in the irrigated parts of the valley during the autumn escape a bout of fever.

67. Sowing is easy, keeping is difficult.

68. Mistaken one! be firm under the two tongues of *Phágan*.

Phágan is the last month of the cold weather. Its days are very hot and nights very cold, and a shower or two of rain makes the cold as great as in the middle of the cold weather. The above was first said by a father to his son, who had gone a-field, supposing the hot weather had begun. It is now said of a person of uncertain temperament, to prepare and fortify one against his changefulness.

69. When a dust-storm blows, a breeze is its fore-runner.

Somewhat similar is our "Coming events cast their shadows before."

70. One does not use the banking hoe against escaped water.

Meaning much the same as our "There is no use locking the stable-door when the horse is gone."

71. Pray in season, weed out of season.

That is, prayers except at the appointed time are vain, but not so with weeding, which is beneficial in all seasons.

72. Mayest thou (God) preserve me from cloudy sunshine.

Agriculturists believe, as do many of us, that the sun's rays, when partially obscured by haze or cloud, are peculiarly powerful.

IGNORANCE AND FOOLISHNESS.

Fools being the natural butts of wise men, we find that the sayings about them are hard-hitting and numerous. The patient ass, being in this country as elsewhere regarded as the animal which above all others is the embodiment of stupidity, does duty for a fool in many places, and receives plenty of abuse; however, like his master and prototype, he can bear it, as he cannot hit back again.

1. He cannot climb the mulberry-tree, yet he girds up his loins to the "*Kikar*."

The mulberry is easily climbed, but the "*kikar*" (a species of acacia) is not, being very thorny.

2. A fool first gives freely, then fights.

3. You were neither a friend nor wise; you have uselessly been the destroyer of my ox and pitcher.

This is now used as a warning to people not to take the advice of a fool. The story is that a villager's ox, when eating corn from a pitcher, got his head jammed into it. So he asked a friend named Parwat what to do. "Cut off the ox's head," said the wise fool. The simpleton did so, but still the head remained fixed. So he asked Parwat again for advice, and was told to smash the pitcher. This he did, and thus whilst extracting the animal's head lost both ox and pitcher. So he went to Parwat, and said as above.

4. A fool does not do so much (harm) to another as to himself.

5. A flighty fellow laughs at the village and the village at him.

The village here means the council of grey-beards which conducts its affairs. Somewhat similar is our "Young men think old men fools, and old men know young men are so."

6. Though I have not pastured flocks, yet I have heard the patter of their feet.

It does not require a man to be, say, a farmer to know something of agricultural matters.

7. Rat! burrow away in the earth, it is all (thrown up) close behind you.

The rat here typifies the fool, who spends all his strength at mis-directed labour, for with the first shower all the excavated earth will fall back into the hole again.

8. The ass does not know how to laugh.

That is, does not appreciate a good joke.

9. Though the night is dark, one's mother and sister are perceptible.

Means that there are some things a man knows almost intuitively. Thus it does not require a knowledge of Muhammadan law to enable a man to understand that his mother and sister are within the prohibited degrees for marriage.

10. The ass's friendship is kicking.

Who is friend with a fool will suffer for it.

11. I became acquainted with an ignorant physician; I had heart-burn and he gave me eye-medicine.

Said when a man has expected good work from another and not got it. The same occurs in Persian and Hindústání.

12. Amongst many blind, one deaf man plays the leader.

Amongst ignorant people, the least so is thought a very clever fellow.

13. If an ass goes to Mecca, when he returns he is the same ass.

Corresponding to the Latin "Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

14. The ass has grown old, and did not recognize his master's house.

Means that a born fool never acquires any knowledge.

Similar proverbs occur in Hindí and Persian.

15. Fools are pleased with other's wealth.

Notwithstanding, as they don't enjoy it, it is nothing to them.

16. When the talk is silly and thoughtless, I am better asleep than in such waking.

17. He gets drowned in a dish-cover.

Said of a man who gets into silly scrapes without any reason.

18. That child is blissful in his ignorance who (knows) not evil or good.

Reminds one of "where ignorance is bliss," etc., etc.

19. The ass's master (*i.e.* the fool) has dismounted from wisdom; the ass grew up in his house, and its master is not yet aware of it.

20. The blind, too, know that God is one, and that salt is pungent.

21. The blind man knows his own house well, the possessor of eyes knows not another's.

Corresponding to the Spanish saying, "A fool knows more in his own house than a wise man in another's."

22. Who may not have tasted Kabul fruits thinks wild sloes very fine.

23. Though you are very wise, yet ask a fool.

Meaning that "two heads are better than one," though one be a foolish one. "Fools may sometimes give wise men counsel."

24. Who does not understand (about the partition), make his one share two.

That is, satisfy him somehow or other, even by practising a little innocent deception.

25. A fool is pleased with much (*i.e.* quantity).

26. What have asses to do with green corn?

That is, anything is good enough for them or for fools.

27. Without gain or profit Payanda shaved off his beard.

Fools when they have the means do themselves harm.

28. Two fools break a chain.

That is, when they have a little quarrel they disregard the strongest chain-like friendship and become mortal enemies.

29. When you stroke a buffalo, she soils your garments.

Caress a fool, and he, in his stupid endeavours to show gratitude, will cause you some harm.

30. The ass will not become white from soap.

Meaning you cannot make a born fool a wise man, or a low fellow a gentleman.

31. The ass tried to get horns and lost his ears.

This is applicable to those who, not content with what they have, seek more and lose all. The Germans say, "Many go for wool and come back shorn." What is said of the ass above is said in Hebrew and Latin of the camel.

32. Though barley be twenty maunds for the rupee, for the ass indeed there is only a handful.

Though there be superabundance, a little is enough for the fool.

33. Make an ass your father, and use him to the full; afterwards he is no longer your father.

This is rascally advice, and amounts to this, that a man

should treat a fool well as long as he can make use of him, and when he has done with him, should cut his acquaintance.

34. O tailless ox! mount on high ground, (look about and) do as others do.

This is simply advice to a fool to do like his neighbours, and use his eyes to some purpose.

35. He gave his horse to a man who could not fasten on the girth (*i.e.* could not saddle him).

Our saying about casting "pearls before swine" is equivalent.

36. The ass ate the stick, the potter's jaw swelled.

"To eat stick" is to be beaten. The meaning is the fool was punished and the clever man took warning thereby.

37. When necessary an ass even is called "father."

38. If asses ploughed, their ears would not be long.

That is, if a fool were to do honourable work, he would no longer be called a fool. The length of his ears proclaims the ass to be an ass.

JOY AND SORROW.

Life is here represented as full of cares. Man is shown to be selfish in his own sorrows, with little room in his heart to sympathize with the sorrows of others. He is nevertheless told to accept the world as it is, to avoid extremes, never to be over-elated or depressed, and to enjoy the present while he may, remembering that youth is short, and that

"Whose life with care is over-cast
That man's not said to live, but last."

1. When a man falls why won't he be hurt?

Meaning one who suffers a loss will of course feel it.

2. An orphan is strong in crying.

One accustomed to misfortune can endure it better than others not accustomed to it.

3. Lamentation is not with the drum.

The drum is a sign of merry-making. The meaning is that if a man be in sorrow, he will show signs of sorrow.

4. Don't fall down from grief, and don't fly up from joys.

Never go to extremes, even in happiness or sorrow.

5. No one has either died from grief or flown from joy.

6. In mourning every one weeps her own dead.

The custom is that when a person dies, the female friends and relations of the deceased assemble together at the house where he died, or in which the corpse is laid out previous to burial, and, beating their breasts, sing mournful dirges over it. The proverb means that whilst doing this service nominally for another, each is really thinking and mourning over her own dead.

7. Strange grief is colder than snow.

8. Neither was there any pleasure whilst I was being born, nor after I had been born.

Means that from birth to death there is nothing but sorrow in this world.

9. The woman whose brother is dead profits (is consoled) by another such woman; the bereaved mother by another such.

That is, fellowship in sorrows diminishes their acuteness.

10. Sons are sweet, but arrows from them are barbed.

That is, on separation from them the arrows of grief enter the soul.

11. May I be a liar! but may God make you well, mether!

The story runs that the son had gone to the bazaar, and

bought his mother's shroud, supposing she was dying. On discovering this, the old woman abused him roundly, and declared she never was better in her life, to which the son answered as above.

12. He is a man who enjoys the world.

13. Another's misery is half enjoyment.

14. The horse's back is Paradise, its belly Hell.

So says the poor Marwat, who enjoys riding, but can't afford to keep a horse.

15. In the world two things afford delight—riding on horseback and sleeping on maiden's breast.

16. Would that I were not Khúshál and Chieftain. I would be happy if young, even though a sweeper, dirt-basket in hand.

Khúshál Khan, a famous Khatak Chieftain, is credited with having said the above in his old age, when his latest and youngest wife eloped with a sweeper, the lowest of the low. Old men now repeat it in praise of youth.

17. Happy is he whose cares lie on another.

18. Whether a man hath or hath not (wealth) he hath cares.

19. O carrot! I am not (so pleased) with your flavour as with the noise made in crunching you up.

Said of things the attainment of which is not so pleasurable in themselves, as in the effect produced by them on others, as, for instance, the recent conquest of Khiva by the Russians.

20. The world is enjoyed through hope.

21. Let my feet be off the ground, be it on ass or horse.

That is, ease is pleasurable, whether dignified or obscure.

22. I have shaved off my beard even, and Eed has not come.

To shave the beard is a sin for Muhammadans, yet a shaved chin is thought handsome, as it makes a man look young. Above is said by men who commit some sin in the hope of gaining thereby, but are disappointed.

23. One grief feels no shame before another.

The proverbs of most languages contain similar ideas. We say, "Misfortunes never come single." The Italians, "One misfortune is the vigil of another."

24. Who is pleased without giving?

Empty words will not satisfy any man. To attach him to you some substantial favour is requisite.

25. Some swallow, some eat with relish.

Said with reference to the different ways people have of regarding the same thing.

26. Parents say, "Our boy is growing up." They forget his life is shortening.

Refers to the short-sightedness of man.

27. Water stands (*i.e.* is lost) in a pond: one's grief in another.

28. What good does "welcome" do you? It pleases your heart.

"Civility is cheap and often sinks deep."

29. When the Eed has been (for others) at your expense, your house was left a bare plain.

What is pleasure for one may be pain for another.

30. Come thou who art above all,
Come thou who art equal of all,
Come thou who art lower than all.

Descriptive of man's happiness and respectability in three

states. Before marriage he is above all, being light-hearted and free from care. During marriage he is like his neighbours; but should he have to divorce his wife, he becomes worse off than they.

31. I was not aware of any happiness arising from you, O black (daughter)! but now that you are dead, I am consumed with grief.

Until a thing is "lack'd and lost" we do not "rack the value" of it.

32. The waters will flow by, but the stones will remain.

The reference is to a flood which brings down stones with it. The meaning is that the immediate weight of our griefs may, like a flood, pass away, but like the stones left by a flood, will leave marks behind.

33. I am mourning for your father, and you are making mocking faces at me.

Meaning that well-meant sympathy, though awkwardly expressed, should not be rejected or ridiculed.

34. The day is theirs who write, the night theirs who have dalliance.

Meaning simply that learned men enjoy power and position, but little pleasure.

35. When the cock crows, he weeps his own eyes.

Cocks are supposed to be quite night-blind, on which account they often deceive us about the approach of dawn, by crowing too soon.

KNOWLEDGE.

The ordinary Pathan is a very ignorant fellow, and proportionately admires a good understanding and knowledge, the fruit of making a good use of it, in his fellow-man. Taking

advantage of his ignorance and superstition, two classes, the Sayads and Uluma, holy men and scholars, have made him a common prey wherever his soil was sufficiently blessed by nature to enable them to spend a life of ease and indulgence on it. The above two classes have, in the rich Bannú valley alone, succeeded in appropriating to themselves about one-sixth of the soil; but in sandy Marwat, the temptations being fewer, the proportion they hold is very small. Twenty-five years of our rule, and the increasing pressure of the population on the land, have opened the eyes of most of the Bannuchís to the fact that many of their instructors were impostors, and their spiritual guides wolves in sheep's clothing. But for all that, a man who has picked up a smattering of Arabic, and can parrot-like repeat some passages from the Koran, though neither hearer nor speaker understands a single word of them, is thought a very great scholar; and every village mosque has from three to ten or twelve "*tálibán-ul-'ilm*," or "seekers after knowledge," attached to it, who study the Koran and its commentaries under the priest of the mosque, and are maintained at the cost of the community.

1. A good understanding is rubies and jewels, it is not (acquirable) by force or gold.

2. Who dismounts from his understanding is always in perplexity.

3. Acquire the tongues (*i.e.* Persian and Arabic), and not the art of ploughing.

The meaning is become a scholar not so much for learning's as for religion's sake.

4. To every man his own understanding is a king.

We say, "Every man thinks his own geese swans."

5. Wisdom is learnt from the unwise.

So we say, "Wisdom rides upon the ruins of folly."

6. It is I who have come from the fight, and you are telling me about it.

This is said in derision of the unpractised man of theory.

We say, "Knowledge without experience makes but half an artist."

7. Work without an instructor is without foundation.

8. Though you are the head man of the whole village and don't know yourself, you are as a child.

You are so, for "all our knowledge is ourselves to know."

9. The knowing man does not fall, and if he does, he falls on his face, *i.e.* with a great smash.

Our "If wise men play the fool, they do it with a vengeance," contains a similar idea.

10. The knowing bird is not caught, and if he is, he is caught with both his legs (in the snare).

11. The more knowing the more miserable.

The case of doctors being proverbially bad patients and more anxious about themselves when ill, than men of other professions, may be given in illustration of the truth of this saying.

12. Of doctors who is best? He who has himself been (ill).

As besides his theoretical knowledge of a disease, he would have had practical experience of it in his own person.

13. The goldsmith it is who knows the value of gold.

Somewhat similar is our "Every man to his trade."

14. The sage's words will not be without wisdom.

If "every man is believed in his own profession," a sage will surely talk wisely.

15. The moistened tongue wanders about in all directions.

A ready-tongued man is never at a loss for an answer.

LABOUR.

The maxims here given are essentially those of a working people. In them man is represented as born to toil, which is honourable to all. The idle man is held up to scorn; frugality is enjoined, and the sweets of labour pleasingly and simply painted. Judging from such precepts, we should expect to find Pathans a hard-working thrifty people; and so they are, but from necessity, not from love of labour for its own sake and the reward it brings. Thus we find that wherever nature in her kindest mood has supplied them ready to hand with a rich soil and plenty of water, man appears in his worst and surliest, and cultivation is slovenly. This is the case with the Bannúchís, whose valley is blessed with every natural advantage, but who are an idle vicious race, busy only at seed-time and harvest for a few weeks, and during the rest of the year living exemplars of the truth of the proverb that "Idle brains are the devil's workshops."

1. Acquire you wealth like a labourer, spend it like a lord.

2. Until you tire your own shoulders (by carrying his children on it), you won't make a stranger's son or brother your own.

To firmly attach a stranger to yourself, you must toil hard in his behalf first.

3. What comes to you from another house will make the night pitch dark for you.

That is, home-produced articles are the best, anything procured from elsewhere will appear of small value.

4. One's own earnings in a dish-cover are good.

That is, however small they be. Grain, not money, is meant.

5. Who carry lob-sided loads are camels.

Camels are awkward ungainly brutes, yet are very usef

doing almost all the carrying trade between India and Afghanistan; so the least-promising labourers often turn out the best for work, and should not be run down.

6. A wandering jackal is better than a reclining lion.

A good workman, ass though he be, is better than a clever man who won't work.

7. One's own bed and matting are sweeter than anything else.

That is, because made by the owner himself or acquired by his labour.

8. Reap with one hand, gather with the other, and you need care for nothing: cut off your beard.

Meaning that if you work hard you need not mind transgressing some of the Prophet's precepts even. Shaving the chin is forbidden, yet it may be done with impunity.

9. If you have done work for another well, your hand is black (from labour); if ill, your mouth is black (from disgrace).

10. If you do not hollow your side, you will not rear your son and daughter.

This is addressed to a mother, who is told to hollow her side, children being generally carried on the hip; in other words, to work hard, for if she does not, her children will die young from want.

11. If you do not become spattered with mud, you won't become greased (rich).

You must work hard if you want riches.

12. O ass! endure hardships, perhaps God will give you ease.

13. Compulsory labour is better than idleness, a black snake than a fool.

14. Work your arms and remember God.

15. One comes from a hundred, not a hundred from one.

You must be content with small returns from labour.

16. The flesh of game is one's own flesh.

The game is so hard to get that in the toils of the chase you, as it were, expend your own flesh.

17. Work without wage is known to none.

You won't get work out of a man unless you pay him properly for it. "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

18. He who eats not of his own labour, lord though he be, eats not well.

19. To do work is easy, to be master of it is difficult.

20. Aim at much, lay by a little.

21. The ready-made-food eater is an eater of unlawful food.

That is, cook your own victuals, don't be a drone.

22. Though you be a guest, you are not a dead man.

The host thus addresses his idle guest, giving him a gentle hint to assist in the kitchen or elsewhere.

23. Of what use is he who is not busy, though he be a chief?

24. Until their child begins to use implements (plough, spade, etc.), the knees of his parents must be soiled.

That is, until the child is big enough to work himself, his parents will have to toil hard to support him and themselves.

25. The "*Sandúr*," which is red, is so from the strength of the furnace.

Red lead is referred to. The meaning is that as "*Sandur*" acquires its colour and use by the action of heat, so a man becomes honourable and useful from good honest toil.

26. A crooked (ill-fashioned) thing of one's own hand is sweet.

27. Bull buffalo calves are born to him who sleeps.

Cow buffalo calves are of course much more prized. A good cow will fetch from eighty to one hundred and ten rupees, and give from eight to ten quarts of milk daily. The proverb means that a man who takes things too easily will not prosper.

28. I made one salám, and it fell to a Hindoo, *i.e.* was wasted.

When a man does anything to which he is not accustomed, his work will be clumsy and useless.

LYING.

It is sometimes said in India that natives never tell the truth except by mistake, and that they imbibe this habit with their mothers' milk. No doubt much of the proverbial duplicity of Asiatics is inherited. But men talking thus loosely forget that ordinarily natives do not lie amongst themselves; that where *we* would call in a lawyer, or reduce a contract to writing, *they* trust implicitly each other's simple word; and that for one transaction brought into Court—where the black side of native character appears—thousands are never heard of by us

There is much to be said for natives in explanation of what we regard as their greatest failing. Despotism breeds lies, freedom truth. The people of India have had many centuries of despotism, and it will be long before the axiom (once true, but true no longer), that when in contact with a ruler safety depends on saying what will please him, and that, as justice is unobtainable with truth, it must be sought with lies and bribes, will be known by the masses to be an axiom no more. Our rule has not yet had time to visibly raise the moral standard of the people in the above respect, and the civilization

and the elaborate legal system which it has necessarily introduced have created many vices and evils. The above general remarks apply to this part of the Punjab, as well as elsewhere. We find the 'Marwats are a truthful people, and, the Bannuchís the reverse, and we at once perceive the cause. The former were until lately communists, and governed by public opinion; and the latter were always ruled by local despots, backed up by a few Kazis and a swarming priesthood. The Marwats, except in some few villages in which the curse of litigation has blunted their old love of truth, settle their disputes at home; the Bannúchís are pestilently litigious.

1. By the time that the truth is established, lies will have set the country in a blaze.

The lies circulated before the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857 illustrate the truth of this remarkable proverb, remarkable because showing a true appreciation on a subject in which it could hardly be looked for.

2. Lying is an honest man's wings.

This is current amongst Bannúchís. The idea is, that a well-told lie, when successful, that is, when believed, greatly supports a man's cause, and is very creditable to the teller. As a rule no Bannuchi is ashamed of himself for telling a lie, but only when he tells it so clumsily that he is found out. In this latter case only will public opinion condemn him. There is a proverb similar to this in Syriac, viz. "Lying is the salt (goodness) of men, and only shameful to the believer."

3. The course of lies is short.

That is, they are soon found out. "A lie has no legs."

4. He sees with his eyes and swears on his son.

Said of the perjurer.

5. The liar tells lies, the truthful man tests them.

That is, does not believe anything a liar tells him, until he has been able to prove his assertions.

6. The plaintiff is slack, his witness tight (well primed).

Used ironically by Bannuchís when a witness, if he were to be believed, is more familiar with details than his principal. I am told the saying is common throughout Upper India.

7. Either a strong man or a fool tells the truth.

The former can afford to laugh at the consequences of his statement, but an ordinary man cannot; hence the necessity of giving a "diplomatic" reply to an awkward question, at least so the Bannuchís think.

8. Though truth-telling is proper, it is bitter.

9. A man is unclean (for food), (if) he keep his word he is clean.

10. To lie is to jump from a house-top.

That is, it is a "leap in the dark," the result being doubtful.

LIBERALITY AND PARSIMONY.

It has been said that "the way to an Englishman's heart is through his stomach," and whether true or not of Englishmen, it is undoubtedly so of Pathans. But if it be remembered how much the popularity, and consequently the reputation, of Indian officials of high station depends on whether they give good dinners or not, the impartial reader will admit that there is at least a germ of truth contained in it. Instances will occur to many where such men have permanently gained or suffered in repute from a course of handsome expenditure or mean economy during their term of office. Amongst Pathans the easiest and quickest road to a good name is by hospitality. The chief who

keeps open house, and gives every hungry wayfarer who passes the night at his village a good meal, knows that his money has been well laid out; for, go where he may, the guest of the night retains a grateful recollection of his entertainer, and misses no opportunity of testifying to his virtues. As a race Pathans are very hospitable. Every village that can afford it contains a guest house, in which any traveller is welcome for a night to board and lodging, the expenditure being either defrayed by the head men, or divided amongst the whole community.

Some classes of hill-men, who resort to Bannu in the cold weather, show their goodwill and inbred hospitality to a chance Sáhib in a very pleasing way. Should you meet one of them tramping along the road, munching his bannock, a piece is sure to be broken off and given you, accompanied by a broad grin on the part of the donor; and if in return he or she receives a few words of thanks in Pashto, the grin increases into an audible chuckle; and as you part company, you hear muttered in a tone of incredulous but gratified surprise, "Ah, the Sahib talks Pashto!"

1. The first day a king, the second a Vazeer, the third mixed with the earth (held in no honour).

A guest's treatment by his host is referred to.

2. An untimely guest is the house's plunder.

Such a guest is like the unbidden one, "Welcomest when he is gone."

3. With few invite to join, with many eat.

If there are only a few men near you, ask them to join you in your meal; but if there are many, then eat it quietly.

4. Strange food is on loan.

As you must invite your host to dinner in return.

5. What matters the guest's impatience to the host?

The host has meals at the usual time, though the guest would like them earlier or later. The meaning is,

"Beggars can't be choosers."

6. It is fitting for the one to invite, and for the other to graciously decline.

The poor gentleman should invite the rich, and the latter should refuse.

7. The guest likes that bread which the host likes.

Corresponds to the old proverb, common to most modern languages as well as to Latin, "You cannot look a gift horse in the mouth."

8. If one door be closed against the beggar, one hundred are open.

Beggars, and especially those called "religious mendicants," here referred to, are always sure to find a meal and shelter for the night in any village to which they may go. "Where one door shuts, another opens."

9. What you give away becomes a rose, what you eat excrement.

10. Open-handed, God-befriended.

11. Whoever is (too) open-handed makes for himself loin cloths of black blankets.

That is, beggars himself. This is a Marwat saying. It is not uncommon for an old family to plunge irretrievably into debt in order to keep up for a time its ancient fame for hospitality. Several instances have occurred in the District.

12. See, the year speaks loudly.

If it is a good year, and grain is cheap, spend your money freely. This is a Marwat saying.

13. As the porridge gets cold, guests become numerous.

Originally said by a hungry Marwat to his wife, to induce her to eat her meal quickly, whilst the food was hot; now used against delay in business, as well as in scorn of a greedy man.

14. The guest of two houses fares badly.

As each host thinks the other is entertaining him.

15. A reputation for hospitality depends on grain, war on weapons.

Unless you have a well-filled garner, you cannot play the host ; but, with a good sword, you can the warrior.

16. Invited is entertained.

17. There is room for one hundred invited, not for one uninvited.

18. Neither hast thou placed anything before me, nor have I left anything in it (the dish).

The hungry guest, after finishing all the food given him, thus reproaches his host for his stinginess, it being the custom never to finish a dish, in token that you have had a good meal.

19. You have a name for hospitality, but your house is bare ground (empty).

20. I would not eat the unripe berries (which grew by my door), but wandered off in search of ripe ones, and lost my shoes.

Generally said of a man who, seeking to better himself, ends by being worse off than he originally was.

21. Though the river be large, it is on the dog's tongue.

However much a man may have, he can but spend little on himself. But the above is generally said of misers.

22. May my house be a sacrifice for you, but may you eat not a morsel in it !

Said of a man who is a friend in word so long as nothing is required of him in deed.

23. The miser's wealth is of the earth.

That is, worthless, for he keeps it buried, and when he dies no one knows where to find it.

24. If there be many, then there are many; if few, then a "*Bismillah*" (in God's name) won't add to their number.

A guest is speaking to a host, who had placed only one or two cakes before him, and then asked him to bless the food.

25. A miser is bad, so is his name.

26. Akhoond! Akhoond! here is a snake;
It is the business of fine youths (to kill it);
Akhoond! Akhoond! here is a dish of meat;
There are myself, my son, and Moolah Akbar
(ready to eat it).

27. Akhoond Sáhib! here is *ghí*.

Don't make a noise, there are people (listening);
but what is that other thing in your hand?

It is a loaf of bread;

What a fine smell it has!

This and the preceding are well-known Bannúchí jokes, illustrating the cowardice and greed of the Akhoond and Moolah class, who, though useful on occasions of marriages and deaths, are not, owing to the above two failings, much respected.

28. As a man grows old, his avarice increases.

29. The Hindoo was weeping, and eating onions.

Said now of a man who thinks more of his property than of himself. The story as to the origin of the saying is, that a Hindoo had failed to sell his bunch of onions on market-day, and at its close sat down to console himself by eating them. Owing to their pungency, they brought tears into his eyes. Being asked why he wept, he said on account of his bad success in the fair.

30. The miser converts house-dogs into grey-hounds.

That is, by stinting their food he makes them fine-bellied.

31. The fatter a hen grows, the tighter her anus becomes.

Generally applied to niggardly rich men ; for the more wealth a man accumulates, the greater miser he becomes. We say, "The more the earle riches he wretches."

32. The ass would not die, and the dog would not leave it.

The dog might easily have found a dead donkey. The meaning is, that a greedy man, in the hopes of making a little gain, often loses the opportunity of making a fortune.

33. The rat could not enter his hole, yet he fastened a wisp of grass to his tail.

34. When the uncle happens to put his hand to his head, the nephew hopes for something from him.

35. The belly's road is capacious.

That is, there is no satisfying it.

36. Is the Akhoond satisfied ? His house remains.

Means he has never enough.

37. The avaricious man (is) wretched in both worlds.

The same occurs in Persian.

38. You say "*bas*" (enough), the belly says "*las*" (ten).

39. The bird sees the grain, but not the snare.

40. He who lives at the pleasure of his stomach, if he have not cares, will soon have them.

41. Were the whole world one man's, he would not be satisfied with it.

42. When the tree is tapped, goats run towards it.

They are said actually to do so when fodder is scarce, in the hope that some leaves or berries may fall down. One application is to the man who rushes to any place where there is an indication of money being made.

43. The viper eats earth carefully, lest it should all be finished.

Vipers are popularly supposed to live mostly on earth. Above is said of the miser, who, "the more he has, the less he spends."

44. In a strange house one hundred guests are nothing.

That is to the guests, for "the burden is light on the shoulders of another."

45. The world stands at nine, no one has made it ten.

Means man is never content, however much he have.

46. You want both a small-waisted wife and a big-headed son.

This proverb does not bear literal translation; it means, "You can't both eat your cake and have it."

47. Who is a hero at the festive board is a wealthy man.

That is, a man cannot be hospitable without first possessing wealth.

MAN'S JUSTICE.

Amongst civilized, as well as barbarous races, "the weakest goes to the wall," the manner of shunting him being only different. With the former a great delinquent, if not proved positively criminal, and if he has interest in high places, escapes with a mild censure, whilst a lesser man is selected as a scapegoat, and after months of torturing suspense, is crushed. With the latter the rule that "Might is Right" is unblushingly

applied, and public opinion, what there is of it, by its silence gives it a quasi-popular sanction. Pathans are still semi-barbarians; but in each independent community a rough sort of justice obtains; while those who live under our rule get stern justice meted out to them, when policy admits of it.

Most of the sayings here collected, though known in the District, are also current elsewhere. They show that Pathans, like other people, feel that though Justice may be a blind goddess, she is a very partial one.

1. Rain fell in Bárah and swept away the asses of Khálisha.

Bárah is the name of a country drained by a small stream of the same name, which flows through Pesháwar, and sometimes causes much damage in Khalisa, a group of villages near Pesháwar, by its suddenly rising and inundating the tract.

2. The oxen ate up the crops, and they cut off the ears of the donkeys.

3. The larks ruined the country, and the crows were blamed for it.

Larks are very numerous and eat up much grain. Often applied to the lazy landlord, or superior official, who allows his people to commit acts of oppression, and, though he may be a mild just man, is, owing to his indifference, himself accused of being the tyrant.

4. He tied the fat to the cat's tail.

The thief did so as a make-believe that poor puss had stolen the meat, and succeeded, as puss already had a bad name.

5. The goats ought to have been slaughtered, but the fowls had their fate.

Originally said of persons who for the Eed festival kill fowls only, sheep or goats being the proper thing;

but applied in a wider sense when the innocent suffer for others' faults.

6. Herself commits the sin, and curses Satan for it.

7. One acquires it (wealth), another squanders it.

Reminds one of Virgil's lines beginning "Sic vos non vobis," etc.

8. The weak will be the guilty one, and the shirt will have fallen from the strong one (*i.e.* he will be punished instead).

This is, I believe, a purely local saying, and applied in cases where a head man suffers owing to the delinquencies of his dependents; for in such matters he thinks the individual offender should alone be punished, though he may not have lifted a finger to prevent his escape to the hills.

9. Crows have usurped the place of hawks.

The crow is a foul bird, the hawk a noble one.

10. The mouth eats the food, and the eyes bear the shame.

11. Others ate the meat, and they tied the bones round a scald-headed woman's neck.

12. The monkey lapped up the curds, and smeared a kid's mouth with them.

13. My oil burns, others benefit from it.

This is generally said of men the reward of whose good works is reaped by others.

OLD AGE.

The tender deference shown by youth to age is one of the most pleasing traits in Pathan character "Older and Wiser" is an adage well observed by Pathans, for in all tribal matters,

in which a long experience is useful, the voice of the elders generally prevails in council. The maxims here recorded hardly bring out sufficiently the respect to which a white beard entitles a man.

1. If an old man be sitting by, and a young man begin talking, turn him out like a dog.

2. Though you have a white beard and toothless gums, you have not ceased attending to worldly affairs.

3. Have nothing to do with an old man, he will die ; and nothing with a child, he will forget.

4. When parents grow old, they become sweeter than sugar.

That is, more easy-going and indulgent.

5. God even feels reticence before a white beard.

As his allotted time is so nearly run out, God feels a tender sympathy with an old man, and if God does so, *a fortiori* man ought to.

6. O grey-beard ! thou eatest earth.

Said of an old man who goes on accumulating money, which will be to him worthless as earth.

7. When a man grows old, every illness is ready for him.

POVERTY.

About one-half the sayings on this subject come from Marwat, and their grim simple humour is admirable. None knows better than a poor Marwat what poverty means ; but as "poverty is the mother of health," his stalwart frame and buoyant disposition enable him to bear up against it. Of the other half, some have their origin amongst the Bannuchís, Khataks, or Wazirs, but most are widely known, and to assign any particular tribe or locality as their source is impossible.

1. On a poor priest's call (to prayer) no one repeats the creed even.

A poor man is disregarded, even should he remind us of our bounden duty.

2. In a poor man's hand a quarter-cake looks a whole one.

3. O empty hand ! thou art mine enemy.

Poverty or want of a patron has been the ruin of many a good man.

4. The bald-headed man has not a single hair on his head, nor does he require any one (to dress his hair).

That is, a poor man is his own master; no one interferes with him, nor he with any one.

5. The ass carries the load, the potter's seat aches.

The strong and rich make much of slight inconveniences, forgetful of the real grievances and hardships of those under them.

6. Though for others it is the evening of the Eed, it is that same night for the poor.

That is, Christmas-eve is like any other eve to the poor.

7. To-day poor, always poor.

8. Poverty is a pure sovereignty, the rich man knows not of its delights.

A poor man has only one care, namely, how to fill his belly, but a rich man has many.

9. Be damned, O debt ! thou who turnest a man out of house and home.

10. The ass's bray is doleful, (because) his portion is small.

11. When God makes a man poor, he (the poor man) cooks twice in the day-time.

A Muhammadan generally cooks and eats once after sunset, and once an hour or two after sunrise; thus he only cooks once in the day-time. The meaning of the proverb is that God in the case put increases the man's daily expenditure, and thus beggars him.

12. The old lady had just as much *ghí* as was spent on her head.

That is, hardly enough for her own use. Means that the poor have to struggle hard to live, so don't ask them to assist others.

13. Poor fellow! one of your eyes is black, one white.

A man who could only afford antimony for one of his eyes is spoken to. Meaning is, that a poor man can complete nothing he commences, if an outlay is involved in it.

14. Oh, that I be not poor, or (if so), be not wise!

That is, know not of the pleasure of being well off. "Where ignorance is bliss," etc., etc.

15. Though I am poor, I am not such a wretch as to steal a traveller's scrips.

That is, a man may be a bit of a scamp; still, he will not be dead to all sense of shame.

16. Had the jackal possessed sandals of his own, he would not have stolen those of a stranger.

This is the proverb a thief would use who alleges in his defence he was driven to steal from poverty, which is after all the cause of most thefts.

17. There is none more miserable than a debtor.

We say, "He who oweth is always in the wrong;" also, "Who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing."

18. If you have not a purse (literally "knot") of your own, you will sit before another with parched lips.

That is, there is nothing for nothing in this world. Purses

being little used, money is carried knotted up in the corner of the wearer's plaid or turban; consequently a man who has no knot in his clothes will probably have no money about him.

19. See the cotton cloth in the Hindoo's shop and my mother's naked staring poverty (literally "day").

This is a Marwat saying. A Marwat's idea of wealth is a Hindoo's shop well stocked with cotton piece goods.

20. A poor wretch is nobody's son or brother.

21. The slave-girl sleeps where it is warm.

22. The day-labourer is far from God.

He is a poor wretch, working to keep himself alive; and does as little as he can, cheats both God and his master, by giving the former short prayers and the latter short work.

23. What is a long tramp to a sweeper? (To put) basket on head and call his dog.

Means that a poor man is always ready.

24. The food of the poor is cooked with patience.

25. The rich man's dog always tears to pieces the poor man's kid.

26. The poor man longs for a cheap market, and at one turn wears out two shirts.

That is, he buys his clothes "cheap and nasty," and in the time one shirt ought to be worn out, has worn through two.

27. Poor in men poor in bones, *i.e.* strength.

The man who has not many relations, be he himself never so strong, is weak and powerless. Amongst the Wazirs the law of survival of the fittest is illustrated, for once a family or clan gets much reduced in numbers,

sooner or later they disappear, through blood feuds and the greed of stronger families to possess themselves of their lands. The maxim, "one man no man," is true everywhere, for what person or party succeeds except by being "strong in men"? "Interest" might be defined "strength in men."

28. The poor have two faults: when they eat little, it is said their throats are small; when they eat largely, it is said they have seen nothing (*i.e.* not seen food for long).

That is, whatever they do, they are found fault with.

29. Though the country become porridge, the poor man's (share) is a spoonful.

That is, from the general prosperity he would not benefit, possessing no land. This is a Marwat saying.

30. The camel is for sale at one farthing; true, but as I don't possess a farthing, what can I do?

A bargain is no bargain to a man who can't afford to buy it. "Quod non opus est asse carum est."

31. The cattle of the poor graze on the border.

On the border they are liable to be carried off by hill-robbers; and when that happens, their owners are liable to fine should it be found the number of armed men in charge of them was under the prescribed number. This is a Marwat saying.

32. Poverty is no crime, but theft and adultery are.

33. The prick of a needle in a cat's head is plenty.

A little punishment is enough for a poor or weak man.

34. One Bahlól, one his bowl.

Applied many ways, *e.g.* to remind one of the vicissitudes of life, or that poverty and contentment are compatible, for "man wants little here below." Bahlol, I am told, was once King of Balkh, and abdicated in

favour of his brother, being afraid of the account he should have to give after death. Becoming a fakeer, he gave up everything he possessed, except his *kach kól*, or bowl-of-all-work, which he retained in token of his calling. His brother ordered him to live decently, or leave his kingdom. So Bahlol asked counsel of the first thing he saw, which was some human excrement. It told him it had first been wheat, then a dainty cake; but the moment it had come in close contact with man, had been despised and rejected, until it had become the dishonoured thing he saw. Bahlol then went into the jungles, and lived and died a hermit.

35. I have one ass, and one pack-saddle: I have no anxieties above or below.

Means that a poor man has reason to be contented, as, having nothing to lose, no one can cause him anxiety.

36. Confound you, O debt! for you have ruined two houses.

That is, the lender as well as the borrower; for if the latter be ruined, the former suffers with him.

PRIDE, SELF-CONCEIT, AND LAME EXCUSES.

This is a mixed and homely group, in which considerable knowledge of the weakness and vanity of the human heart appears. Animate nature is freely drawn upon "to point the moral" of the different sayings; and the ass and the crow, as usual, do not show to advantage.

1. When the lizard gets fat, he goes of himself to the sweeper's house.

There he is killed and eaten. Man in prosperity, like a lizard when in good condition, gets self-confident, and

through some rash act ruins himself, for "Pride will have a fall."

2. The scald-headed woman prides herself on her sister's hair.

Said of the small-minded man, who boasts himself of his relations' good qualities or riches.

3. The spoon even became conceited, because through it the porridge had been cooled.

Refers to the man who contributes an insignificant part in some work, and thinks he has done everything.

4. The reed hoped for the degradation of its fellow-grasses; its top became dry in the river.

5. Every man thinks his own intellect the best.

Corresponds to "Every cock thinks his own crow the loudest."

6. The crow tried to acquire the strut of the partridge, and forgot even his own.

Refers to the man who does not stick to his own profession or trade, and in learning a new one, forgets his old one, and so ruins himself. The red-legged partridge is looked upon as a type of graceful deportment, and the crow of awkwardness.

7. The goat kept jeering at the *doombah*, "May your bare buttocks be damned!"

The "*doombah*" is the fat-tailed sheep. Its tail is so broad and heavy, weighing in a full-grown sheep from twelve to thirty pounds, as to completely conceal the posterior. The goat on the contrary has a little scrubby tail of five or six inches in length, which it always carries erect, and which, consequently, never conceals its hinder parts. Burns's "giftie" is here again a desideratum.

8. Mayest thou make me great, but not prideful!
(literally, "great of neck").

9. The fox thought his shadow very large.

Said of conceited little men, who view themselves and their actions through a magnifying glass.

10. Every one says the smell of his own churning-skin is sweet.

The "*gharakai*" is a goat-skin in which butter-milk and butter are churned. The corresponding proverb in English is, "Every cook thinks his own broth the best."

11. That is the ass, but its saddle is another.

Thus by dressing like a gentleman a snob won't become one.

12. No one feels the smell of his own breath.

That is, every one is blind to his own faults.

13. Unless a man lowers himself, he will not become straight.

Put your self-conceit in your pocket, and you will find your affairs go on better.

14. He who has humbled himself has saddled Barák.

That is, is in a fair way of securing good fortune. Barák is the Muhammadan Pegasus. The Prophet is said to have gone in one night from Mecca to Jerusalem and back on him, and afterwards rode him to Heaven.

15. What is more unclean than the ass? yet he will not drink muddy water.

Meaning that the ass alone is unaware of his own impurity.

16. The moment the hare started up, the dog began to ease himself.

This and the following five proverbs are intended to expose lame excuses, and persons who deceive others through false appearances.

17. When mother's turn came, father fell sick.

A boy is supposed to have naïvely said this of his father, who, being fonder of another and younger wife, had failed to eat and sleep at his mother's, when her turn came round, and in excuse pretended indisposition.

18. The crow both eats refuse and flaps his wings.

By which act he would have you believe that he is a clean and most particular feeder. Said of a man who does dirty actions and is always preaching honesty.

19. You have not got a grain of gram or barley in your house. I made a mistake about the fringe of your turban.

This was originally said by a bride on examining her husband's house, and finding it empty. She had married him supposing by his dress he must be rich. Said now of men who pinch at home in order to keep up appearances abroad.

20. Though the food was another's, the stomach was your own.

This might be said of men who over-drink themselves and ascribe their next morning's head to the soup or fish. In the proverb a physician is supposed to be addressing his patient.

21. A forced labourer sits on other's water.

That is, in order to escape work, will make use of any excuse, however false or improper.

22. The porcupine says, "Oh my soft little son, softer than butter," and the crow says, "My son, whiter than muslin."

Corresponds to our "The crow thinks her own bird the fairest."

23. Though you have much barley (wealth), my eyes are black with pride.

Both sexes apply antimony to their eyes as a beautifier.

Means that purse-proud men should remember poor men are often family-proud.

24. The sieve says to the goblet, "May your two holes be damned!"

This is exactly equivalent to the English proverb, "The kiln calls the oven Burnt house," and to the Italian, "The pan says to the pot, Keep off, or you'll smutch me." The Germans say, "One ass nicknames another Long-ears." Burns's "giftie" is felt to be a universal want.

25. Camel! what (member) have you straight that your neck should alone not be so?

The camel is supposed to think himself a handsome, straight-limbed animal, though all others know him to be the reverse. In Syriac the proverb runs, "If the camel had seen his hunchback, he would have fallen and broken his neck."

SELFISHNESS AND INGRATITUDE.

The former being a failing common to all men, and the latter a vice to be found in some persons everywhere, it follows that Pashto sayings on such subjects are not unlike those current amongst ourselves. Pathans are an intelligent race, and a fair percentage of them are shrewd observers of human nature.

1. I am ready to protect you, you to kill me.

2. An inheritance is better than a skunk of a son.

That is, it is better to leave your property to strangers than that such a son should succeed you.

3. The father's heart is on his son, and his son's on a dry stone.

Said of a son who returns his father's affection by loving some utterly worthless object.

4. He who is in a fix regards not son or daughter.

Means that man is so selfish that, when involved in difficulties, he will forget his own flesh and blood in order to extricate himself.

5. The jackal's dung was wanted and he ran off to the thicket.

Corresponds to our "dog in the manger."

6. The ungrateful son is a wart on his father's face :
To leave it is a blemish, to cut it pain.

7. The one was dying, and the other was asking his daughter of him.

8. He, to whom I taught archery, has in return buried an arrow in my breast.

9. First self, then the world.

10. The ass was in distress for himself, his master about the load.

The ass was dying, but all the owner thought of was how to get the load carried on. There is a similar proverb in Punjábí, the translation of which is, "The goat was weeping for his life, the butcher for his fat." There are several such in Persian.

11. His father was dying of hunger, and the son was asking him for sugar-plums.

12. The cat does not kill the rat for God's pleasure (but his own).

There is a similar proverb in Persian.

13. What does the satiated man know of the hungry man's state ?

14. Though the brother be mounted, it is for his own house.

That is, he will not let his brother have a share in his good fortune, but keeps it for himself.

15. Who gets fed to satiety in my house claims to be my sister's husband.

Said of an ungrateful man.

STRENGTH.

Until the annexation of the Punjáb, twenty-six years ago, Pathans thought

“The good old rule, the simple plan,
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can,”

quite sufficient for them, as the proverbs here given will illustrate. In the old days, and all beyond our borders even now, wealth and strength were convertible terms; for wealth was strength in men. Now, for those who have become our fellow-subjects, it consists in length of purse, which, amongst other advantages, enables a rich man to litigate to his heart's content.

1. (Keep) at a distance from or silence towards a strong man.

The same occurs in Persian.

2. Don't mix like an equal with those with whose strength you are not equal.

3. Strong men's water rises on high ground.

That is, they take more than their share of canal water, and of everything else as well.

4. Do not tyrannize over any one, else it will happen so with you too.

5. A sister is a sister, a mother a mother, but the business is by strength.

It is all very well to have sisters and a mother to assist you; but unless you have strength, you won't accomplish your object.

6. He (God) has given strength to the strong.

7. To be in the right is good, but without the power (to have it enforced) is nothing at all.

8. Who eats the bread of the powerful eats his own lips.

That is, will sooner or later suffer for it.

9. One hundred taps of the goldsmith (do not equal) one of the blacksmith.

10. If the strong man be strong enough, the field and the seed become his.

11. One mountain does not go to aid another, but man does to fellow-man.

A proud man is here ironically likened to a mountain, as in his loftiness he ignores the existence of those he supposes inferior to himself. The English proverb, "Friends may greet, but mountains never meet," which is but a translation of the Latin, "Mons cum monte non miscebitur; pares cum paribus," conveys the same meaning.

12. Though the dam be strong, it is nothing before the flood.

Means, "The weakest always goes to the wall."

13. When there is a chief, it is through supporters; if there be none, the chief gets lost in the thicket.

14. Though the mallet be old, it is enough to smash the pitcher.

15. The great have ears, not eyes.

They cannot see for themselves, but must trust to the statements of others. I fancy this proverb is common to most languages.

16. With oppression there is no advancement.

17. The powerful man will neither become your son nor brother. To no end will stones fall on your house.

That is, he will never become your friend, but in the end throw you and yours over, and so bring you to ruin.

18. The water reached the sluices, it is theirs who are most numerous in braves.

This is a very old Bannúchí saying. Thirty years ago, when might was right, it was true.

19. However much you cry and wriggle, I'll pull off your wings.

When in the hands of a tyrant, a weak man's best hope is in silent submission to his will.

20. The spoon is always in the pot, but let the pot be sometimes in the spoon.

The pot here represents a powerful man, the spoon a dependent. The proverb gives advice to the former to allow the latter a little power and independence occasionally, but implies that the advice is given to the winds, as who ever heard of a chief making over part of his authority to a dependent, or of a spoon containing a pot!

21. Who wants great wealth, let him desire probity; Who wants great empire, let him desire robust health.

“Honesty is the best policy” for the trader, and for the ambitious man a strong constitution is a requisite.

22. The village whose head man is a youth is of no account.

This is a Marwat saying, and Marwats do not believe that old heads are ever placed on young shoulders.

23. Though the water has strength, the earth has width.

Means that two things of equal strength will not damage each other; also that man should not be anxious about the future, for when a difficulty presents itself, some way of meeting it will also occur.

24. Either loads (of favours) or thunderbolts rain down from a strong man.

25. The gain is his master's, it is the dog's business to pursue (game)

Though the dog catches the hare, his master alone profits by it. So, amongst men, the powerful appropriate to themselves the fruit of the labour of the weak.

26. Though the stone be small, it is strong for the pitcher.

Means strength does not depend on size—not on quantity, but quality.

27. Force breaks the back of skill.

This is a simile taken from wrestling.

28. *Shara'* is good, but force is its friend.

Laws are all very well, but without force to make them obeyed, would be useless.

29. It is the merit of the buffalo that he does not fight.

The domestic buffalo, were he as pugnacious as an English bull, would be a very awkward customer to meet;

luckily he never shows fight. The meaning is, that it is fortunate the strong are often magnanimous, and seldom oppress the weak.

30. Though the mountain be high, there is a straight road to its top.

There is no one so great as to be above control. Public opinion would condemn the most powerful Pathan chieftain if he acted contrary to custom. A similar proverb exists in Persian.

31. Mayest thou (God) preserve me from debt to a newly-made man, and from the strength of a weak man.

For the former would be as exacting as Shylock, and the latter would be a hard task-master.

32. Though the snake be a snake, it is helpless before the cat.

Cats are said to eat snakes. A strong man must give way before a stronger.

WEALTH.

The normal condition of a Pathan is one of poverty, and there are few dirty actions that he will not do for the sake of money, provided he can throughout them preserve his honour, which, as explained before, simply means secrecy. Perhaps in this respect he is no worse than the rest of the world, for everywhere the omnipotence of money is acknowledged, and it is a sad truth that until a man is raised above the possibility of want, he is ready to sell himself and his principles to the highest bidder.

The thoughts underlying all the sayings here collected are familiar to us in our own language, showing that on what is a common pursuit of most men from the cradle to the grave, their digested opinions are very similar, whether the thinkers be Christians or Musalmans.

1. Wealth is a Hindoo's beard.

That is, uncertain; for the Hindoo shaves when in mourning, which he often is, as his family connexions are extensive. "Riches have wings."

2. When you happen to have (money), sleep;
When it leaves your hand, be clamorous.

That is, when you are wealthy, live at ease and enjoy it; but when you lose it by lending, dun the debtor; or if by spending, then work hard.

3. The road is open for the moneyed man.

If "money is the god of the world," the man who possesses it can go where he likes.

4. The jackal's skin ensnared him in calamity.

The jackal is valued for his fur, which is used for coats.

5. Wealth is his who eats (enjoys) it, not his who keeps it.

So we say, "The gown is hers who wears it, and the world is his who enjoys it;" also, "Wealth is not his who gets it, but his who enjoys it."

6. He (God) has given wealth to them who don't know how to clean their noses.

That is, to idiots, for "Fortune favours fools."

7. Who eats gold passes bloody stools.

That is, who acquires wealth does so with great toil.

8. The purse-proud man is overbearing towards every one.

9. The rich man saith, "Would that I were richer!"

Corresponds to our "Much would have more."

10. Though the elephant be dying of thirst, there is water standing knee-deep in his belly.

Meaning what is starvation to a rich man would be comparative wealth to a poor man.

11. Though you hoard like Kárím, it will pass away as yesterday.

12. Wealth is a cliff's shadow, *i.e.* always changing, unstable.

13. To the moneyed man a mistress comes from Kábul.

14. Some die in its pursuit, some from it.

Wealth is spoken of.

15. If you have money, why use entreaty?

“Money and friendship bribe justice.” So if you have money, use it in a difficulty.

16. From whom did you gain? From my brother—that is no gain.

Such profit is like “robbing Peter to pay Paul.”

17. Though I have much, I have not over-much.

18. Though it was a cliff yesterday, it is a crossing to-day.

Said in reference to the fickleness of fortune.

19. When Umar was a chief, he was “dear” to all;
When he became poor, he was “dog” to all.

20. May there be youth, not *ghí* (clarified butter).

Ghi is here, as elsewhere, synonymous with wealth. The meaning is, that if a man has youth, he has everything he can desire. Health and youth go together. We say, “Health is great riches.”

WOMEN.

Muhammadans generally regard women as a marketable commodity, only secure when under lock and key. Like pretty Jessica's papa, they think the golden rule is “Fast bind, fast

find ;” and like him, they have often to cry in vain, “Oh my daughter! Oh my ducats!” for our Courts perversely refuse to acknowledge that a woman is, like a cow, at the absolute disposal of her owner, that is, of her father, brother, or husband, as the case may be. The consequence is that many a girl now-a-days dares to dispose of her own person, and, if married, seeks the protection of the law when her husband administers too much stick to her.

A Pathan sums up his opinion about the softer sex in two very comprehensive proverbs, which are given below, namely, “A woman’s wisdom is under her heel,” and “A woman is well either in the house or in the grave,” the argument being that because she is an utter fool, she is only fit to be a plaything and a slave. Some tribes allow their women as much liberty as any civilized nation does ; thus Wazírí and Marwat females, whether wives or maidens, do not conceal their faces, and go abroad as much as their lords and masters do. But in both cases the origin of the custom, as it is with most customs if we could but trace them back to their source, was necessity ; for both tribes are very poor, and must either employ their women away from home in the fields, and in bringing water from the distant spring, or starve.

Bannuchís, who are better off, and can employ their women in spinning at home, keep them in comparative confinement, and when they go out, which is seldom, they always appear closely veiled. An unfair ruse is sometimes practised to make them show their faces, for, if the words “You have no nose,” be repeated to one of them, when meeting her, she will often indignantly and involuntarily uncover her head for an instant to repel such a base insinuation. The cutting off of the nose was formerly the ordinary penalty for unfaithfulness, and still is so in the hills and amongst the Wazírí tribes generally.

The sayings here given do not exclusively relate to what men think of women, but include several on what women think of men. Only a very few on love are given, as they contain

the same kind of sentiments as are familiar to us in love poems in our own language. Those who think that women are unfairly depreciated here, and that some of the proverbs about them ought to have been omitted on account of their coarseness, must remember the estimate in which the weaker is held by the stronger sex, and that had I excluded all coarse proverbs, for I have many, I would not have represented that estimate as it is. Our own sayings on the softer sex are not over-delicate themselves; and we, compared to Asiatics, have no grounds for having such proverbs at all. But in this respect we are not the only offenders; for the proverbs of all nations are utterly devoid of gallantry where women are concerned, the reason being that their manufacturers were men, and their time of manufacture a period when women were held in subjection as inferior creatures.

1. Though the mother be dry, she must suckle her boy.

Corresponding to our "Every bird must hatch her own egg."

2. He divorced the widow, and she gave up her dower.

A brother generally marries a deceased brother's wife, and should they disagree, and he be willing to divorce her, he does so, on her renouncing her dower, which is generally fixed high at time of marriage, to prevent capricious divorce. A widow is generally forced to marry her late husband's nearest male relation. In the hot weather of 1874 a friend was breakfasting with me, and happening to say he would like to see a nose operation, I sent for an old Bannuehí Malik, named Zabita Khan, of Dharmakhel, and he came, bringing a middle-aged Dawar woman with him, to whom he had supplied a nose ten days before. Asked to tell her story, she said, as well as she could through her cut and swollen lips, that when her husband had died, his brother had claimed her in order to get his estate;

but as she was unwilling to marry him, he cut off her nose, and slit her lips, and cast her forth. She had gone straight to Bannu, and Zabita Khan had performed a very neat operation, having supplied what was wanted from her cheeks instead of forehead, as was usual. Two quills did duty for the time as nostrils. This old Malik has always three or four patients on hand. On one occasion I saw five at his house, three women and two men. The former had lost their noses for unfaithfulness; the latter for attempting intrigues with other men's wives.

3. Marry a virgin in the dark (literally "at night"), a widow on sight, a divorcée never.

4. The scald-headed woman does not get her head dressed, nor does she dress another's.

Women always dress each other's hair; but a scald-headed woman, having none, has no occasion for it. The meaning is, that there is nothing for nothing in this world.

5. Though a brother-in-law goes here and there (in search of a wife), he will at last marry his deceased brother's widow.

This is a woman's consolation to a widow, who wanted to re-marry.

6. Were an old woman anything of a seer, she would ruin many families.

That is, she would know how to ply her trade successfully; for intrigues in India are conducted as a rule by old women.

7. Though a mother is meat, it is not lawful (to the son to eat it).

Though a son may not marry his mother, other men may. What is lawful for one may not be so for all.

8. Whom I did not know to be a woman put on a nose-ring.

That is, a person whom I despised has become famous. A quality, *e.g.* beauty or bravery, is not a speciality of any one class: a slave-girl may be beautiful, or a sweeper brave.

9. The widow neither got religion nor a husband.

She tried the former first, as it is commendable that a widow should not re-marry, but consecrate herself to the memory of her deceased husband; but giving up the attempt, did her best to get re-married, and failed, from being old. Our proverb, "Between two stools a man comes to the ground," has a similar application.

10. The girl was not worth a farthing, yet he broke a sixpenny bracelet on her.

Said of a man who half ruins himself in the pursuit of a worthless object.

11. Though you feel no shame because of your sister-in-law, feel it before your brother.

That is, though a man is brutal enough to have no scruples about his poor sister-in-law's honour, he will have them when he remembers she is the wife of his brother.

12. Who has not a bad name will not have mistresses.

This is a Bannuchí proverb. It is said that once a man becomes "*tor*," that is, famous for his gallantries, he will have many lovers.

13. A woman will escape from the poverty of her father's house, but not from that of her father-in-law's.

Every woman is married as soon as she reaches a suitable age; her father's circumstances therefore little

concern her, as at fourteen or fifteen she leaves his house for good.

14. The widow, through hopes of her son, missed a husband (and her son turned out a scamp).

Said with reference to the fallaciousness of hopes.

15. See the mother, comprehend her daughter.

Means "Like mother like daughter."

16. Eyes black in themselves are good, for courtesans blacken their eyes with collyrium.

Black eyes in man or woman are considered a beauty.

17. You came for fire, you have become the mistress of the house.

This is said of persons who procure advancement on false pretences. It was originally said by an old neglected wife to her young and petted rival.

18. Look to a man's word and a woman's beauty.

The same occurs in Persian.

19. Who likes squabbles at home contracts two marriages.

Two wives never pull well together, especially if about equal in age. Shakespeare says, "Two women placed together make told weather."

20. When one is young, he is the life of the lasses; when old, their sport.

21. A woman is well either in the house or in the grave.

That is, the "*pardah*," concealment, is good for a woman.

22. A love meeting, though but of a moment's duration, is better than three half-loads of Sadarawan barley.

Sadarawan is a tract on the left bank of the Kurm, owned by Bannuchis and Wazirs, and famous for its barley.

23. What is the use of merely looking at Umar? It is as a dog is pleased when you beat it with a bone (and don't give it to him).

Umar's sweetheart is supposed to be speaking.

24. I shall keep a good lover, give him white kisses for food, and my lap for a home; but should he get impatient, well—I have not medicine for an impatient lover.

“Love is sweet tyranny,” and if the lover does not endure “his torments willingly,” a pretty woman can easily find another who will.

25. What will her mother's or grandmother's beauty avail the bride who is not herself beautiful?

This is a couplet from Abdur Rahmán Khán, and is a great favourite with the people. Our proverb, “Every tub must stand on its own bottom,” is of similar meaning.

26. One pretty one has caught many lovers.

Let not a man pride himself on being a great man's particular friend, for, like a pretty woman, he has many friends.

27. What harm have you done me by going? I, who have curls on my face, shall take another lover.

As a pretty woman can always find lovers in plenty, so a man of good qualifications need never be at a loss for employment; if he loses one appointment, he can always obtain another.

28. First see his thorn inclosure, then the man himself.

This is advice to a young woman about to marry, namely, she should see that her intended has a comfortable home before accepting him.

29. When the mother is of bad repute, the daughter will not be of good repute.

30. Choose a cow out of a herd, and a wife after knowledge of her.

31. A sister or daughter is like a bowl of *ghí*: if you bring it near to you, you get greased all over; if you put it from you, a dog walks off with it.

32. Keep your sister and daughter well supplied with clothes and food and away from yourself.

That is, give them dowers and marry them off. "Marry your daughters betimes, lest they will marry themselves."

33. Look at the brother, and comprehend the sister from him.

34. Though a son and brother are (obtained) by prayers, yet a husband is sitting at every bush.

That is, husbands are plentiful, but children are not.

35. Ass-like mother! still "dear mother."

That is, a mother, though never so foolish, is always "dear mother" for her offspring.

36. A greedy mare enriches a house, but a greedy woman impoverishes it.

The former keeps in good condition, and has good progeny, which sell well; the latter spends all her husband's gains.

37. Hills are not without water, villages are not without husbands.

38. The more devout you would be, the more you will avoid women.

39. When you have not a share in the cooking pot, throw it down on the hard clay and smash it.

This is the charitable advice of one woman to another, who

complained that her husband neglected her. This and the preceding eleven are all Marwat sayings.

40. Jests are played, but not with married women.

41. The mother understands her son's talk.

42. O Gowhara ! whether it be "*pílú*" or "*ber*" berries, you are welcome to either.

The story runs that the above reply was given by a Marwat to an incorrigible wife he had, who, when out late at night, used always to excuse herself to him by saying she had been eating some of the jungle fruits of the place. It is now repeated as advice to a husband with a gadabout wife to leave her to her own devices, for "where shall he find leash or band for dame that loves to roam?"

43. O step-mother ! if thou speakest well, thou wilt regard me with ill-will. O own mother ! if thou speakest ill, thou wilt regard me favourably.

44. An empty cup, if topsy-turvy, is well : an empty house is better than a shrewish wife.

45. Let a widow re-marry, so that she may not be badly named.

Though the Prophet held it highly commendable that a widow should not re-marry, yet he preferred her doing so, like Saint Paul, rather than that she should give rise to scandal.

46. A new bride came, and started a new practice.

Means that no two men have the same habits. A woman generally gives way to her husband in all things ; yet each new bride who enters his house introduces some change into his domestic arrangements.

47. A rival wife, even of earth (*i.e.* humble and low born), is objectionable.

48. The young wife is not of weight in her (husband's) house.

Though she may be much admired beyond the family circle, yet she is not appreciated in it. Means that people seldom value fully what they possess.

49. A woman's wisdom is under her heel.

That is, it never appears. This is a low Bannúchí sneer at women. An Italian proverb says, "Women know a point more than the devil." ✓

50. What sort of a husband is he who cannot curb a shrewish wife?

What sort of a wife is she who cannot manage a bad husband?

Means that when man and wife fall out, you may be sure that both are in fault.

51. If I get free this time from this sweetheart, well — I'll renounce all sweethearts.

The meaning is, that once a lover has been deceived by his mistress, he distrusts all other women, like the burnt child in our proverb.

52. Though they have neither bravery nor swords, yet are young girls more conceited than generals.

53. Without a go-between, a love meeting is difficult.

54. Every one is in love with Laila : the lucky man is he with whom Laila is in love.

55. If the widow intends re-marrying, why does she not do it at once?

56. See me with the old eyes; though my face be a

wreck (literally "black"), I have gone through many cares (for you).

So the old wife conjures her husband, who is thinking of divorcing her.

57. If the widow burns (from grief), she burns ; what matters it to the heir in possession (of her-deceased husband's estate) ?

58. Labour on a daughter's sleeping-rug is vain.

Because when married she will be nothing to her father.

59. Kill my mother, but set me free (*i.e.* divorce me).

Said of people who are reckless and selfish when they wish to gain an object.

60. The henpecked man has neither house nor shame.

61. Muff ! I won't do any work,

I shall only grind cloves in a powerful handmill.

Said by a wife indignantly and scornfully to the poor henpecked thing she called her lord, to tell him plainly that, as he could not keep her in order, she would not work for him, but would pass her days in adorning her person for her lovers. Women think the scent of ground cloves delicious, and use it on their persons, in order to enhance their attractions.

62. What the mother ate her child sucked.

So we say, "As the twig is bent, so it grows."

63. Until you make him your brother, you may not live with him.

This is advice to a woman to call her lover her brother, and means that, if one throws a veil of decency over his vices, he or she will be able to practise them with impunity. The translation above given is not quite literal.

64. The kiss is the forerunner of adultery.

Had it been, "Kisses are the messengers of love," it would have been an honest English proverb in Pashto; but the expressed thoughts of Pathans about love and women are generally impure, and the above is no exception.

UNCLASSIFIED, ETHICAL, DIDACTIC AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Many of the sayings in this collection might have found a more appropriate place under some special heading; but they were unfortunately written down and arranged as they are before the plan of dividing the subject into more than three heads, namely, Moral, Miscellaneous, Class and Local, was thought of. As the labour of alteration would be great, and, after all, little would be gained thereby, they are allowed to remain as first arranged. Of the sayings themselves a large number cannot be classed within the proverb category, being merely familiar similes or pet conceits of the people.

1. Those who keep camels should have lofty gateways.

The camel is the largest animal known in Marwat, and camel-owners are regarded as wealthy. The meaning is that men, who profess pre-eminence in anything, ought to act up to their professions; thus if one wishes to be accounted wealthy, let him live in a good house and spend his money freely, and so on. Akin to this is our "Great ships require deep waters."

2. You have carried off the meat, but you will bring it to the fire (to be cooked).

Meaning, you thought yourself very clever in making off with my portion of the meat; but as you cannot eat it until it is cooked, and the fire is with me, you have gained nothing by your cuteness. This is said of persons who are "too clever by half."

3. Don't use ridicule, some of it is sure to fall on your own head and feet.

So we say, "Those that live in glass houses should not throw stones." The text, "Judge not that ye be not judged," also conveys the same meaning.

4. What can a fly do but give a little petty annoyance?

Meaning that it behoves a man not to fret at little things, which cannot really hurt him.

5. You kept on playing with the carding-comb, and now you have been caught fast.

This was originally said of the meddlesome monkey.

6. Meat, although burnt, is better than pease-pudding.

Meaning a good article, though damaged, is better than a cheap undamaged one.

7. The death-agony is not such an easy matter that any old hag can bear it.

That is, a difficult or dangerous task cannot be done by any one, but requires a brave man.

8. As you were not fit for marriage, why did you marry?

Our "Look before you leap" conveys a similar meaning.

9. One cannot swim on dry land.

10. Whilst enjoying life you were happy ;

Now that you are dying your vitals burn.

A man who has led a life of pleasure should, when his time comes, meet death without repining ; he cannot expect "all gains" and "no pains."

11. The tanner's house was so stinking that when rain fell on it the stench became much worse.

The tanner and his trade are looked down upon. The

above is said when a man has a bad reputation, owing to which all the world is ready to believe anything that is bad of him on very insufficient grounds. Similarly we say, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him."

12. For dyers their own nails became fire.

In Moghal times a special tax is said to have been imposed on dyers. The tell-tale colour of their hands, proclaiming their occupation, made evasion impossible. The proverb is now applied in cases where, owing to some marked distinction, a man cannot conceal what he is. Thus a Bannuchi, owing to his peculiar pronunciation of vowels, could not pass himself off as belonging to Marwat.

13. Even without a kid, Eed will come.

This is often used against a jack-in-office, full of his own importance, who forgets that work would go on just as well without him.

14. Can Eed be spent without a kid?

This is much the same as the preceding, the answer being, "Yes, of course, take another animal if you cannot procure a goat." There are two Eeds: one celebrates the termination of the month of Ramzan, during which a strict fast from sunrise to sunset is observed, and which corresponds to our Lent; the other, known as "the great Eed," or more properly "the Eed of sacrifice" (*'I'd-i-Kurbán*), commemorates Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, or Ismail according to Muhammadans.

15. Though the cock crow not, morning will dawn.

This is much as the last two in meaning.

16. If the she-ass be hurt, what matters it to the he-ass?

"No one knows the weight of another's burden" has the same thought in it.

17. Stretch your feet only as far as your covering

So we say, "Stretch your legs according to your covering also "Cut according to your cloth." Probably some language possesses a proverb of similar meaning. The French say, "According to the bread must be the knife" (*Selon le pain il faut le couteau*).

18. When a blind man would weep, he can do so with his blind eyes even.

Those who have lost their eyes, as well as their eyesight referred to here, and are erroneously supposed unable to weep. Our "Where there is a will, there is a way," expresses the meaning of this proverb.

19. From a wet man some moisture can be got, from a dry man none.

So we say that "Blood cannot be drawn from a stone. If you are friends with a rich man, you will get some of his wealth; but from a poor man you cannot get anything.

20. Strike the ass on the ears, so that it may forget to bray.

That is, when you strike, strike hard. So "when you are hurt; when you feed, fill," also "Age, quod agis.

21. Though the buffalo has large horns, they are on his own head.

That is, their weight rests on him alone. A man must bear his own joys and sorrows himself.

22. A feather does not stick without gum.

There is a reason for all things.

23. It rains not as it thunders.

If it were to, all crops would be destroyed. I have heard this used about ourselves, that were we to punish those we scold, we would be very severe rulers. In English we say, "His bark is worse than his bite."

24. Take care of your own tail-less ox ; do not call another man a thief.

That is, look after your own affairs well, and do not meddle in those of others.

25. Don't dig a well in another's path, or you will fall in yourself.

The same occurs in Persian. We say, "Harm watch, harm catch."

26. The country dog catches the country hare.

That is, take the means supplied ready to hand by nature to effect an object, and you will succeed. Somewhat similar is the English proverb, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

27. Though my house has been burnt, my house walls have become "*pucca*."

That is, the heat has converted sun-baked bricks into fire-baked ones, and therefore the walls have become much stronger. Similar are, "Out of evil cometh good;" also, "It is an ill wind which blows nobody any good."

28. They will circumcise him who eats sweets.

Children are generally circumcised when very young, and before the operation is performed are given lollipops to keep them quiet. The meaning is that when a man professes to be very friendly, he will probably do you harm. "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

29. Who lives with a blacksmith will at last carry away burnt clothes.

Similarly we say, "Who lies down with dogs must rise up with fleas."

30. O hungry fellow ! what will you get from a hare's lung ?

The lung is food no doubt, but won't satisfy a hungry man.

Above is said when one asks a man for what he either has not got or cannot afford to give.

31. Don't eat of every tree, one will be as oleander for you.

Do not be friendly with every man you meet, or some day you will repent it. So we say, "The cow that eats all grasses at last eats poison."

32. Don't cram all five fingers into your mouth at once.

That is, do not exert yourself to do what is contrary to custom or good breeding. In eating, only the tips of two or at most three fingers are ordinarily put into the mouth.

33. Through too many butchers, the sheep becomes unfit for food.

This is exactly parallel to our proverb of "Too many cooks spoil the broth."

34. The dead man would howl if the living would hear.

No man experienced in native character can doubt the truth of this proverb. When Settlement operations commenced, one Superintendent, new to the District, decreed a number of redemption of mortgage claims in favour of the plaintiffs on rather weak evidence, and immediately scores of old claims, which had lain dormant since annexation, were brought.

35. I don't want any benefits from you, but drive the dog away from me (*i.e.* don't harm me).

When the Sayads and Uluma (holy and learned men), of Bannu, soon after the commencement of Settlement operations, urged in a body their claims to total exemption from assessment, I explained to them that, as a class, they might consider themselves handsomely treated by Government should the same light rate

at which they had hitherto been assessed be maintained. When unable to extract from me any positive assurance, some one repeated the above, meaning, of course, that in any case they hoped they would be as favourably dealt with in this regular Settlement as they had been in the two preceding summary Settlements. When I hinted that the sanctity and learning of many of them was doubtful, considering that the number of those who knew more than a verse or two of the Koran was small, and of those who could read, or write their own names still smaller, they asked me to allow them to prove their qualifications by handling deadly snakes before me—a proposition I was under the painful necessity of declining, as I did not wish to be tried for murder.

36. If milch cows low, they want their calves; then why do dry cows low?

That is, men should not be fussy in matters which do not concern them.

37. If the wolf could make sandals, he would make them for himself.

In his marauding expeditions, the wolf gets plenty of skins, but makes no use of them. The meaning is that what a man won't do for himself, he won't do for another.

38. The dun-coloured dog is brother to the wolf.

That is, there is a good deal of truth in outward appearances, say what you will. If a man looks a rogue, he probably is one.

39. Neither was the ass mauled, nor the stick broken.

That is, neither suffered much harm, yet the beating effected its object. Be moderate in all things, even in punishing.

40. Make a division, look to men.

That is, give the largest shares to the best men. In these law-abiding times a saying like the above is a dead letter, but it was not so thirty years ago.

41. The dust went off and stopped with the ashes; the wind came and swept both away.

This is commonly said of a weak man, who seeks assistance in some difficulty from a man as weak as himself, and both thereby suffer loss. I have heard it applied to the case of the Muhammad Khel tribe four years ago. They were in rebellion, and procured assistance in supplies from the inhabitants of the Dawar valley. The former were blockaded, and had to pay a heavy fine before being re-admitted into British territory, and the latter, early in 1871, were attacked in their own valley, defeated with heavy loss, and also fined. In this case "the wind" was of course the "*Sarkár.*"

42. Who are brought up at Mámá's fireside get their heads turned.

Mámá was a very powerful chief. The meaning is that when poor men are too much noticed by their superiors, they become foolishly vain.

43. One calamity says to another "*Bau.*"

"*Bau*" is an expression used to frighten children. What is meant is that evil men are not to be frightened with mere threats from men as bad as themselves.

44. No one would let him into the village, yet he asked leave to deposit his arms in the chief man's house.

This is said of a shameless man, who requires a good snubbing.

45. Don't put your fingers into every hole.

If you do, you will get stung some day. This is said to meddling people.

46. Take sides, but keep on God's side.

47. Be it but an onion, let it be (given) graciously.

That is, show courtesy in small matters as well as great.

48. Either stand up to me or off from me.

That is, no half measures. "The whole hog or none."

49. Who understands himself, understands the world ;
who does not eats earth.

It was Pope, I think, who wrote, "And all our knowledge
is ourselves to know."

50. God's way is narrow, and is common to a father
and his son.

That is, though godliness is not easy, yet a godly father
will generally have a godly son.

51. Who talks much will be mistaken: who eats
much will make himself ill.

52. Do not take hold of the sword-grass; but if you
do, seize it tight.

There is a similar proverb in English about the nettle, also
the verse :

"Tender-handed stroke a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains;
Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains."

53. Ask for your head from God ; there are plenty of
turbans, O Hamíd !

That is, if a man's life is safe, there are plenty of ways of
livelihood open to him. With health and safety he
need not be anxious about a hat. The Italians say,
"He that hath a head won't want for a hat."

54. Though the cow be black, its milk is white.

That is, don't judge from outward appearances. We have
adopted a similar proverb from the French, viz. "A
black hen lays a white egg."

55. Property which is not according to the owner's position is called "*harám*" (unlawful or forbidden).

Thus, if a poor man wear a silk turban, one may suspect he came by it improperly.

56. When you have one (eye) blind, put your hand over the other.

That is, when you have once suffered a loss, take care not to suffer a similar one again.

57. Fire catches not on living flesh.

Though grief may be hard to bear, still men can and do bear it.

58. Either far from a calamity or in the midst of it.

Troops in battle are more liable to become unsteady when under a dropping fire, but not actually engaged themselves, than when in the thick of the fight. So in a cholera epidemic, people are less anxious when in it, than when they know it is raging all round them and may break out at any hour where they are.

59. The grave's earth is expended on the grave.

When a corpse is placed in the grave, there at first sight ought to be some earth to spare; but there never is, as what is not shovelled into the grave is heaped up over it, to mark the spot. The meaning is, that in this world there is a superabundance of nothing, for everything has its own use.

60. The city is eaten by good policy, not by the sword.

The ruler governs by policy, not by brute force. We are said "to eat" Hindustan now.

61. That part burns which has caught fire.

That is, each man must bear his own burdens. When a man's child dies, the father suffers grief, not his friend.

62. What dost thou where thou hast neither sheep nor lambs ?

Said to a meddling person as a hint to him to mind his own business.

63. When edged tools are used, blood flows.

The same as our " You can't play with edged tools without getting cut."

64.-If partridges called not inopportunately, neither sportsman nor hawk would know their whereabouts.

Hence from this it appears that his own tongue is to each man a traitor.

This is said to be a couplet from an unpolished poem by a poet named Muhammad Fázil.

65. If the cow has turned out (good), the bread is in milk ; if not, she is (as) another's.

That is, if she turns out well, the owner will have milk with his bread ; if not, he must not take it to heart. Though a man should look out for profit, if he does not get it, he should not be cast down.

66. As mother so daughters : as the mill so the flour.

So we say, " Like mother like daughter ;" " Like carpenter like chips," and so on.

67. As thou sowest, so wilt thou reap.

This proverb is to be found in all languages.

68. A hint for a gentleman, a club for a clown.

In English it is, " A nod for a wise man, and a rod for a fool."

69. The thief knows the thief ; bosom friend the bosom friend.

70. The sword is (tested) by examination, the arrow by discharging it.

That is, some men's characters are easily read, other's not until tested.

71. When there was gram, there were no teeth ;
When there were teeth, there was no gram.

That is, things do not fall out exactly according to man's wishes. Thus, in 1874 in Marwat there was a bumper crop of gram and wheat ; but the out-turn was large elsewhere as well. So the farmers found it difficult to dispose of their grain except at very low rates.

72. When there was a son, there was no clothing for him ;

When there was clothing, there was no son.

This is similar to the last.

73. Why wash the bottom of the pitcher ?

Don't perform useless labour ; if you wash the bottom of a pitcher, it will get dirty again as soon as you place it on the ground.

74. Where a house is, there will be the noise of voices ;
Where pots are, there will be a clatter.

That is, you will everywhere find what you naturally ought to expect, *e.g.* in houses inhabitants, in water fish, among agriculturists money-lenders, and so on.

75. Tree ! tree ! who would have cut thee down
Hadst not thyself supplied the axe-handle ?

We bring most of our misfortunes on ourselves.

76. If the silk be old, you won't make even an ass's pack-saddle from it.

Meaning that all things, whether good or bad, come to an end alike.

77. First know yourself, then betroth yourself.

Meaning, don't rush blindly into matrimony; see you can afford it, then marry. This is a good precept, which few but Marwats in this District act upon.

78. The horse can stand the horse's kick.

Means that it requires a strong man to resist a strong man.

79. If he will die from sugar, why kill him with poison?

Meaning, if you can gain your object by soft words or kindness, why use force?

80. Discharged spittle cannot be caught up again.

81. Who is plundered together with everybody else is not plundered at all.

Of similar meaning is our "Two in distress makes sorrow the less."

82. What was your father doing?

He was gelding donkeys.

What did he get for his pains?

He soiled his own clothes.

This refers to a man who does useless labour.

83. Good soup is made from good meat.

84. Who gains his living on the plain will be a fool if he go to the hills.

If a man is well off where he is, why should he go elsewhere? None of the old settlers in the plains in Bannu ever visit the hills, except under necessity, *e.g.* when outlawed, or to ransom stolen camels.

85. Would you have much grain, sow barley; many sons, make several marriages; much wealth, be a merchant.

86. Don't look at the cock on his dunghill, but on your plate.

Judge of a man by his real worth, not by his outward appearance. The English equivalent is "Do not look upon the vessel, but on what it contains."

87. Put not trust in a sword, woman, mare, or water.

Your enemy may use your sword against you; your wife may turn faithless; your mare will serve your enemy as well as yourself; and water may drown you.

88. What is learnt in childhood will not be forgotten in old age.

89. In manners gentle, in intentions crooked.

Refers to the man who outwardly is gentle, but at heart a designing fellow.

90. So do that the snake be killed and your stick be not broken.

That is, attack your enemy in such a way that you will destroy him and not injure yourself. A Bannuchí follows the advice here given to the letter, for he generally kills his enemy by stabbing him in the stomach when asleep on a pitch dark night.

91. When you are not called, don't go; when you are not addressed, don't speak.

That is, mind your own business, speak when you are spoken to.

92. Go twice on a road, but not twice with a statement.

That is, go as often as you like on a road; but when you speak, speak once and stick to what you say.

93. To repeat the Koran often is good.

Silence is best, except when you can speak to advantage, as in repeating the Korán.

94. A closed mouth is better than talking nonsense.

So we say, "Silence is wisdom when speaking is folly."

All languages have proverbs to the same effect.

95. Whoever is caught is so by his mouth.

Similar is, "The tongue talks at the head's cost."

96. If you are not a good judge, choose a young animal.

97. If he be thirsty, he will himself come to the water.

That is, every man will himself take steps in what will benefit him.

98. A cheap article will not be without flaw; a dear one not without special excellence.

Our saying "cheap and nasty" applies here. The same proverb occurs in Persian.

99. Who gets into the mud will be spattered with drops.

100. Who walks on the river's bank will himself fall in.

101. When the turban falls off from the head, if caught on the shoulder even, it is well.

A Muhammadan feels much ashamed should his head become uncovered in a superior's presence. The meaning is that, when a misfortune befalls a man and he partially recovers from it, he ought to congratulate himself that it was no worse.

102. One mouthful, but let it be good.

Meaning a little and good is better than much and indifferent.

103. What does the blind man want? Two eyes.

Said when questions are asked, the answers to which are obvious. Every man desires his own good.

10'. When night comes, fear is at the door; when day comes, fear is in the hills.

Meaning at night fear is near at hand, in the day-time afar off.

105. A man's acts are the companions of his way.

106. Until a work be completed, don't call it finished.

Somewhat similar is our "Don't whistle until you are out of the wood." Also, "Praise a fair day at night."

107. (If) a night intervene, God (will be) gracious.

Originally said of a condemned prisoner, who escaped execution through death of the King, the night before he was to suffer. Until the last moment there is always hope.

108. What is concealment by a door, what by a mountain?

Meaning, if a door is enough to conceal you, why wish for a mountain? When an object is obtainable by small means, why waste large on it?

109. Behind his back, the King's wife even may be abused.

Meaning, a man can only defend himself from open attack, and ought not to regard what people say of him behind his back.

110. Some one said to the camel, "Is an ascent or descent the easier?" He replied, "Confound them both."

That is, a man never praises what he dislikes.

111. The snake is of the mountains, so is the club (which kills it).

Meaning, a remedy will generally be found near at hand to an evil, *e.g.* an antidote to a poison.

112. When the garlic is pulled up, its root is exposed.

Meaning, when a misfortune befalls one, *e.g.* a lawsuit, its effect is at once known to the world. In the case of litigation it is that there is a general expose of all your faults or weaknesses.

113. A crane, frightened at the roar of thunder, fears even a jaekal's howl.

Cranes are said to fall down when they hear thunder near at hand. Instances of nervous friends or relations almost as foolish as they must occur to every one.

114. Great floods come from great mountains, and go to great rivers.

Meaning, great causes bring about great events.

115. An expectant is better than a fed man.

Thus many a man, hoping for promotion, will do better work than one who has received all the promotion he can expect.

116. Poison escapes through poison, *i.e.* one poison is another's antidote.

A similar idea is contained in the following quotation from Hamlet:

“ Diseases desperate grown
By desperate appliance are relieved.”

117. When it (grain) is taken by measure, a house becomes desolate.

That is, when the farmer has no grain at home, and has to borrow from a Hindoo, he is as good as ruined.

118. Suspicion becomes lost, and faith suffers thereby.

Meaning, when a man wrongly suspects another, and his suspicions are proved groundless, his “faith” suffers; that is, a bad mark is supposed to be entered against his name by one of the recording angels. The moral

seems to be that a man should not be hasty in suspecting his fellow-man of wrong-doings.

119. A hypocrite, who observes the fast, is like an ox muzzled, when treading out the corn.

Meaning that, as muzzling the ox is useless (for if he is to be kept in good working order he must get as much food as he cares to eat), a hypocrite, by keeping the fast, does himself no good thereby. A man's goodness depends on his sincerity, on the motives which influence him when doing apparently good works, and not on the works themselves.

120. Every man's throat is wet from his own spittle.

Meaning, that a man must depend on himself, and not on others.

121. Adala is a slave-girl, and another is Adala's.

Meaning that every one, even the lowest of us, tries to get some one to serve him.

122. They are longed for with great solicitude, but their bringing up requires great labour.

The reference is to children. The meaning is that when man's wishes are fulfilled, even then he is disappointed, and finds he has been pursuing a shadow.

123. Purpose is a boat; purpose is a sandal. When man's purpose is single, the boat sails along; when crooked, his sandal goes to another (that is, the owner dies).

The meaning is, that if a man's motives are honest, good fortune will attend him; if not honest, he will die or be ruined.

124. As thou art, so am I, my sister; what difference does it make that I am married?

Meaning that a man's disposition does not change from a change of status.

125. On account of one (mistress) seek for a hundred go-betweens.

Meaning, a man cannot be too well prepared for any object.

126. Remembrance for a straw, remembrance for a lac.

If you remember a man ever so little, he is as gratified as if you had sent him a handsome present.

127. Barter is with consent, betrothal at pleasure (of the parents).

In the former case agreement between the two principals is required; in the latter, their consent is not asked, for the parents of the girl and boy arrange the marriage, and the young people have no voice in the matter at all.

128. When a man falls from a cliff, he is in (every one's) mouth.

That is, any mischance which befalls a man is immediately magnified and known far and near.

129. Keep yourself ready, watch your opportunity.

130. The horses were shoeing themselves, the frogs even held up their feet to them.

Meaning, emulation causes many to do foolish actions, as it caused the ass in the fable of "The ass and the lap-dog."

131. A snake bites for fear of his life.

Somewhat similar is, "Tread on a worm and it will turn."

132. God will bring the year to an end, O sister! but I shall not forget your burnt knee.

That is, a mischance happens in a moment, but is long felt and remembered.

133. Life is not such a mouthful, that a man should gulp it down.

That is, men may talk as they will about the shortness of life, but it is not so short that a man may live heedless.

134. Who lives at the pleasure of the heart, suffers his own punishment.

That is, who lives a sensual life will pay for it in the end.

135. As the occasion, so the counsel.

136. The gun smashes the mark, it does not reap.

That is, everything has its peculiar use.

137. A frog went and asked a loan from an ant. The ant replied, "Just now you were croaking, and now you ask a loan from me!"

When a frog croaks, he is said to be intensely happy. The meaning is that a needy man should not carry the signs of ease about him. Fancy a fat well-dressed man begging from you!

138. When the horse is another's, and the quarrel is so too, why do you wish to bring about a reconciliation?

This was Germany's feeling towards us in the late Franco-German war.

139. Cold is not kept out with a "For God's sake" or "For the Prophet's sake," but with four seers of cotton.

Pathans begin most requests with a "For God's sake."

The meaning is that, though invoking God's or the Prophet's name is right and proper, still a man must not rely entirely on either to help him, but use the means God has provided. To keep out the cold let him stuff plenty of cotton into a quilt, and he will be able to defy cold.

140. What would have been the value of “*ghí*” in the world, had it flowed like a river?

That is, a good thing's value is according to its scarcity.

141. Sheep's trot'ers in the hand are better than a leg of mutton a year hence.

The English parallel is, “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.”

142. One said, “The dust at the door,” the other said, “Eat dust yourself.”

The second speaker thought the first was abusing him, so gave an insulting answer, whereas the first had said nothing offensive. The meaning is, that persons should not be over-ready to take offence.

143. When one hand is oiled, the other becomes so from it.

Thus if a man is good, his companion, through contact with him, will become good to. Pathans, and I believe Muhammadans generally, regard anointing their bodies as a preservative of health. Those who can afford it oil themselves all over periodically, and their hands frequently, to prevent dryness.

144. That is the weapon which has come into your hand.

Meaning any weapon will serve your purpose when in straits.

145. Though I am very thirsty after you, yet I'll do what is pleasing to God and the Prophet.

Meaning, however keenly a man may be pursuing an object, he ought to pursue it in a legitimate way.

146. If porridge were good, it would sell in the Bazaar.

Meaning if a man or article be really good, he or it will be duly appreciated.

147. When one has run beyond the boundary hedge, he has escaped beyond blows.

That is, when out of reach a man is as safe as a thousand miles away. If a murderer escape across the border, he is as safe one mile beyond it, as one hundred.

148. When you go to a man of yourself, why become offended at him?

That is, you went of your own pleasure, so study his pleasure, and don't quarrel with him. A man has no right to anger on account of unpleasantness he brings on himself.

149. When one stick is separated from the load, it is well.

The "load" referred to is a bundle of firewood, from which, if a man manages to get one stick, he ought to be content. A man should not be grasping, but be satisfied with a little gain.

150. The ass could not carry her load, (but) began biting at her colt.

Said when a man cannot do his work, and lays the blame on another.

151. The rat went into a wine-jar, and the cat began asking for it at its hole.

Meaning that two clever enemies seldom give each other an opportunity.

152. What fear has a stark-naked man of water?

The familiar Latin line, "Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator," conveys the same meaning.

153. Don't put your feet into two boats.

That is, do one thing at a time.

154. Who has burnt himself with hot food, blows at cold.

The English equivalent is, "A burnt child fears the fire;" the French is, "A scalded cat fears cold water;" the Italian, "A dog which has been beaten with a stick is afraid of its own shadow."

155. There was a man unaccustomed to "*bang*"; when he got used to it, he used to throw it into his gruel.

That is, he became always intoxicated, and did not know what he was doing. People should be careful not to give way to pleasant vices.

156. What have black crows to do with early morning?

Crows are supposed to be late a-field. They here typify bad men. Meaning is, what has black to do with white, or bad with good?

157. First the big dog barks, then the little one.

That is, whatever a great man does will be imitated by small men.

158. As you neither buy nor sell, why do you block up the Bazaar?

A hint to idle men not to obtrude on busy men.

159. Who shaves off his beard won't take long about his moustache.

That is, who gets through the more difficult part of his work, won't delay long at the rest.

160. Until you have eaten bitter things, you won't understand the deliciousness of sweet.

161. Don't look at the teeth of an animal which has grown up in your house.

A test examination is necessary only for persons or animals whose qualifications are unknown.

162. You steal camels, and you make off stooping.

Attempting concealment is in some cases ridiculous and

sure to bring about detection, whereas a bold front would not.

163. Let him eat the food to whom God has given it.
That is, let honestly acquired wealth be enjoyed in peace.

164. A toothpick even is sometimes of use to man.
Nothing is so valueless that it cannot be put to some profitable use.

165. If you think of a hyæna, you are sure to meet one.
We say, "Speak of the devil, and he is sure to appear."

166. When a debt becomes old, it is forgotten (by the debtor).

167. When a sheep does not wish to give milk, she lets droppings into it.

A sheep can be easily milked, whether she will or not; but, by doing as the proverb says, can spoil the milk. The meaning is that, though a weak man must yield to a strong one, some means of revenge will be open to him.

168. Though other things are connected with other things, yet the rat's business is with the leather wallet.

Pathans, when travelling, generally carry with them a leather wallet, containing several days' supply of flour, which rats of course attack when they get the chance. The meaning is, that all follow their own business, be it what it may.

169. Surmounting (a difficulty) is better than looking (at it).

Meaning, don't stand and calculate, but begin with a will, and you will succeed.

170. In a house even the ant is a pest.

Meaning, that anything which causes annoyance in a

family, be it ever so small and insignificant, is objectionable.

171. Either newly-weaned calves or children exhaust the food.

Both are great eaters, and will not be of use for some time.

Man must submit to present loss in many cases, though in the end he will be a gainer.

172. The sweeper's gain is the dog's.

Both are unclean. Whatever the sweeper gets he gives to the dog. The meaning is, that from what is bad no profit can be obtained by the good.

173. The noise of a gun is heard better at a distance than near.

Meaning that the fame of an exploit increases according to the distance from the scene of action.

174. The roadside-tree remains bare.

175. After the cow has been stalled, the housewife begins grinding the wheat.

Meaning that method in work is good.

176. One's appetite is not in his keeping.

This is a rascally saying, as it implies that man is not responsible for crimes of passion. There are several in English quite as bad. The translation is not literal.

177. One man is his fellow-man's Satan.

That is, don't suppose that the devil alone will do you evil, for your fellows will do you as much, if not more.

178. The "sepyo" is the flossy head of grass,

The cultivator the blade itself:

The head flies away, the blade remains.

Moral :—Young girls should not marry soldiers, notwithstanding their handsome exteriors, but farmers, the former being always on the move, the latter never.

179. I began to work still better (than before), I broke my leg.

A similar English proverb runs: "Striving to better, oft we mar what's well;" but the following epitaph is nearer the Pashto, "I was well, would be better, took physic and died."

180. When fire catches, dry and damp burn together.

Meaning, that misfortune falls on deserving and undeserving alike.

181. Gain and loss are intermingled.

So the English, "No pains no gains."

182. A horse is easy (to procure), trappings difficult.

Saddlery is not made in this District at all. The leather parts come from Pesháwar, the wooden from the Punjáb. The meaning is, that it is easy to begin an undertaking, but difficult to carry it to a successful issue.

183. A hurt finger cannot be cut off, nor can its pain be borne.

By "hurt finger" is meant a bad son or other near relation.

184. May you not be the son of a good father!

If so, men will always be drawing invidious comparisons between you and your father, criticizing unfavourably everything you do. The Spaniards say, "Blessed is the son whose father went to the devil!"

185. When the falcon prepares for a swoop, he forgets death.

Meaning, that in a moment of excitement a man forgets everything but his present object.

186. Until you heat iron, you won't lengthen it.

Meaning, that until you punish an obstinate fellow, he won't become tractable. The above is, I believe,

from the poem "*Yúsof wa Zulekha*," or "Joseph and Potiphar's Wife."

187. The akhoond used not to go to the mountain, nor the bear come to the mosque.

Meaning, each kept his place, and did not interfere in the other's business.

188. Sadarí was asking for his debt, and Nadarí put the indebtedness on him.

The thought here is somewhat similar to that in our "Give him an inch and he'll take an ell."

189. The first man is the last man's bridge.

190. The jungle will not be without a tiger.

This is probably taken from the Persian.

191. A hundred accounts and one meaning.

Meaning "a long story about nothing."

192. Who remains near fire at last gets burnt.

Our "You cannot touch pitch without being defiled," is equivalent.

193. When the dog barks, he sees something.

That is, a wise man will not make a fuss about nothing.

So we say, "When the old dog barks, he gives advice."

194. If you don't eat garlic, your breath won't smell.

Meaning, if a man does not do wrong, he won't be called a wrong-doer.

195. Be hanged to you, O wench!

As you wash your fellow-wench's feet.

Said to remind persons of equal positions that they should not do servile work for each other.

196. Though the bowl was not broken, (the sound of) its crash went forth.

The allusion is to rumour exaggerating every occurrence.

197. As the ass is, so its burden.

That is, a man or animal cannot do more work than he is physically capable of.

198. A corpse does not laugh, and, when it does, it tears its shroud.

When a man acts contrary to nature, or tries to, he does himself an injury.

199. Though the mother be a wolf, she does not eat her cub's flesh.

This proverb would have been very applicable at commencement of Settlement operations, to satisfy the people that they would not be over-assessed.

200. The drummer who beats the drum has strength sufficient for it.

A man is fit for what he can do.

201. A drowning man catches at a bush.

Substitute "straw" for "bush," and it becomes a familiar English proverb.

202. The sun is not hidden from view by the fingers.

That is, small means will not effect great results. The means must be commensurate with the task.

203. Though the porcupine is lawful food, its appearance is like carrion.

That is, though it is lawful, you should not eat it. The application is, that though some acts are permitted by law, yet they may be morally wrong.

204. The rose from rose is born, the thorn from thorn.

That is, "Like produces like."

205. Two swords are not found in one sheath.

Parallel is "Two of a trade never agree."

206. The ruler's house is a river ; when one fell into it, he did fall.

That is, if a man gets into a scrape with Government, or a representative of Government, he is ruined for life.

207. He says to the thief "Thieve," and to the householder "Look out."

Meaning that a knowing man can turn all manner of tools to account. Thus, by doing as the proverb says, he obtained immunity from thieving visits for himself, and secured the thief's capture.

208. The horse runs according to his ability (but not so fast as his rider would wish).

209. When drops collect, a large river is made out of them.

So the Scotch saying, "Many a little makes a mickle," also the Latin, "Gutta cavat lapidem."

210. The lizard through the bad luck of having feet was expelled from the snake tribe.

Meaning that a man who follows not custom, but adopts some novelty, becomes disowned by his tribe. Thus the Níází Pathans of the Isakhel Sub-collectorate now commonly speak a broken Punjábí dialect, and are often called by Wazírs and Marwats "Hindkais," and are looked down upon by pure Pathans, as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are also sometimes spoken of derisively as "*Chi-Kris*," a word derived from their peculiar way of pronouncing "*tza Kré*," the Pashto for "what are you doing?" or "what is your occupation?" In fact, owing to their adoption of Punjábí, and the broken way they speak Pashto, they are more or less disowned by the tribes still speaking only Pashto.

211. Great works are wrought by great hands ; for if they (the hands) are small, they are stayed.

That is, without the necessary materials a work cannot be done.

212. The hungry man thinks barley cake a "*puláo*."

A "*puláo*" is a fowl or other meat smothered in rice and spices, and is the prince of dishes in a Pathan's estimation. English parallels are, "Hunger makes hard bones sweet beans," and "Hunger makes the best sauce."

213. The man in the thick of it feels no fear.

214. If Eed came every month, who would call it "*akhtar*" ? (*i.e.* good fortune).

. "*Toujours perdrix*" becomes nauseous.

215. Easy come easy gone.

So we say, "Lightly come lightly go."

216. First food, then religion.

That is, you cannot expect a man to be devout on an empty stomach.

217. The accomplishment of a work is at its own time.

218. The ass jogs on, and its master tramps behind it.

219. Sometimes man follows Satan's (advice).

220. There was but one egg, and it was addled.

Meaning that if an unlucky man acquires anything, it does him no good. It is generally applied to a man, who has only one child, and that a weakly one.

221. Be not so sweet that men will eat you, nor so bitter that they will spit you out.

'That' is, be moderate, preserve "*le juste milieu*" in all things.

222. Though the water-mill is your father's, it is used in turn.

This makes a capital answer to an importunate suitor, who wishes to have his case heard before his turn. In such a case the judge is of course the water-mill. Somewhat similar is "First come first serve."

223. Were the knife of gold even, no one should plunge it into his own belly.

That is, though a golden knife be valuable, yet it is not so for doing harm with. Gold is valuable; the miser hoards it to his own bodily discomfort, and thus, as it were, plunges a golden knife into his own bowels.

224. The fingers of one hand even are not alike.

This is very common. When a head man is seriously spoken to about the delinquencies of some members of his tribe, he replies that his tribe generally is well conducted; but, holding up his fingers, "as the fingers of one hand, etc., so what can you expect?"

225. Don't enter the water where there is no ford.

That is, "Look before you leap."

226. When a man leaps over one water-channel, the next will be easy for him.

Somewhat similar is, "What is well begun is half done," or "A good beginning is half the battle."

227. If you don't mind bother, buy a goat.

Goats are very mischievous and troublesome to keep, although they are very useful and profitable animals. The meaning is, that a man should be prepared for some difficulties when he enters upon an undertaking from which he expects profit, and unless so should not begin it.

228. The "*Kanz*" treats on many subjects if only Moolah Fárúk would obey it.

The "*Kanz*" is a commentary which treats on religious observances. Moolah Farúk studied it, but did not follow its precepts. Similarly we say, "In vain he craves advice that will not follow it."

229. One's own tongue is both a fort and an evil.

230. Complaint comes from wounded hearts, why does not the sound heart complain ?

The answer would be "because it is sound." See next but one.

231. A great spear wound is well, it heals quickly.

But a severe tongue-given wound becomes a scar in the heart, it healeth not.

There are a number of English proverbs of the same meaning. Thus, "The tongue's not steel, yet it cuts."
"The tongue breaketh bone, though itself have none."

232. When there is no wind, bushes don't shake.

That is, there is no result without a cause. "There is no smoke without fire."

233. From the inevitable there is no escape.

Meaning as you can't escape it, you ought to face it like a man.

234. Don't dance without the drum.

That is, don't rejoice without a cause.

235. The world is a traveller's Sarai.

236. Eed is not such a son that he will pass by unobserved.

That is, deeds worthy of fame will be famous.

237. Don't kill a snake, even by a strange hand.

A strange hand might not kill it outright, so kill it yourself. The meaning is that men should do all their difficult or dangerous work themselves.

238. Either go to high mountains, or great families (for protection).

Meaning that without "a friend at court" there is neither safety nor prospect of advancement. An unsuccessful native official generally attributes his want of success in life to his having been "*be-wasila*," i.e. without a patron.

239. As you eat not from that garden, why do you eat anxiety about it?

That is, why vex yourself about a thing from which you derive no benefit?

240. Where there is not subjection, there won't be respect.

The translation is not nearly so forcible as the original. The idea is natural to a native mind that, until you prove your power and your will to punish, you ought not to be respected. We say, "The more a dog is beaten, the more he likes you."

241. Either death or satiety.

"The whole hog or none."

242. If ye seek it, ye will find it at last.

So the text, "Seek and ye shall find." All languages contain similar sayings.

243. One moment is not like another.

244. A little water is medicine for moist clay (i.e. makes it of the proper consistency for brick-making).

When a subject is in a certain state, a very little turns the scale. The English proverb, "The last feather breaks the camel's back," partly conveys the same meaning.

245. Who does wrong has bad dreams.

Meaning that a man's thoughts and his acts are inseparable.

246. Be at enmity with a jackal, collect an army of tigers.

247. What tree is there that the wind has not shaken ?

This is a saying common in most languages.

248. Don't ask the Caravan of its hardships, but of its welfare.

Meaning don't remind a man of his misfortunes ; remember

“ all's well that ends well,” and be content with hearing that of the Caravan.

249. The past is underneath the stone.

Meaning, “ Let bygones be bygones.” So the text, “ Let the dead bury their dead.”

250. What a man seeketh happens to him.

251. From the full vessel something spills over.

252. If thou goest not, I shall carry thee ; but if thou eatest not, what can I do to thee ?

Similarly we say, “ You may take a horse to the water, but you can't make him drink.”

253. If the thief turn not back, let his pal do so.

Meaning that though concord is good, it is not so in bad deeds.

254. Though the night be dark, the hand does not miss the mouth.

An old habit sticks to one be he where he may.

255. O fawn-coloured dog ! if thou art speedy, thou wilt be conspicuous in the hunt.

Meaning the same as our “ The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it.”

256. From hearts to hearts are ways.

This is probably taken from the Persian, but is common.

The meaning is, “ Where there is a will there is a way.”

257. Though the eyes be large, yet they work through small pupils.

The value of an article depends on quality, not quantity.

258. What is the goat, what its flavour ?

259. Though silk be old, it is better than cotton thread.

Parallel is Chinese, " Better a diamond with a flaw than a pebble without one."

260. Though a rupee be small, it is full weight.

Little and good is better than much and bad.

261. What the priest says, that do ; what the priest does, that don't do.

262. The water-mill will not grind with a driblet of water (literally " dry water").

One application is that men won't work unless adequately paid.

263. The water-mill whirs through the force of water.

264. Who knows the benefit of good advice will commence no work without taking counsel.

265. Put cloth on cloth so as to match.

266. Except this, that one does not gain his end, there is no gaining one's end.

That is, unless a man's object be failure, there is no such thing as gaining one's object.

267. A man can best scratch his back with his own nails.

268. May you have porridge, and may it be hot !

In Bannu porridge is generally eaten cold. The meaning is that it is well that a man should gain profit with a little trouble. He should not make his bread too easily.

269. Make thou the roof and ask me to embellish it.

Once an invention is made, even though imperfect, it is easy to improve on it.

270. Get room for a nail, and from a nail room for the fist will result.

. The reference is to the effect which the insertion of "the thin end of the wedge" produces.

271. (To bind) another's turban on your head is to bind a snake on.

That is, the possession of strange property will cause a man harm.

272. For great houses desire a mutual friend ;
For great mountains a road.

That is, help of others is always of use.

273. After the ox was half-skinned, he remembered he ought to have cut the feet off first.

Unless a man's arrangements are perfect before he commences an undertaking, he may find he will not succeed.

274. I am eating one and cooking another.

This is said of the greedy man, whose "eyes are bigger than his belly."

275. The more an evil is kept quiet the better.

The nearest English equivalent I can think of is, "Let sleeping dogs lie."

276. When water is over the head, what matters one yard or two ?

"Over shoes over boots" is somewhat parallel.

277. First look out for a companion, then a road.

Had France followed the advice here given in the late Franco-German war, her fate might have been different. This is, I understand, an old proverb in Arabic.

278. Buffalo! Buffalo! though we are not of one mountain, we belong to one thicket.

A buffalo, whose horns had got entangled in the thicket, is supposed to have thus appealed for assistance to a passing buffalo of another breed. The meaning is, that one man should help another in distress, be he Hindoo or Musalman.

279. From the toothless mouth spittle flows involuntarily.

The meaning is, that when the restraining force ceases to exist, or to act, that which was formerly confined breaks loose. The proverb is generally applied to a fool, who cannot keep a secret.

280. Use language with every one according to the measure of his understanding.

This is a very old proverb in Arabic.

281. Whether low or high, let it be in the hand.

Meaning whether price be low or high, let it be ready money.

282. Don't give your neck into another's hand.

283. Ant! Ant! why is thy head so large? From the weight of wisdom.

Why are thy loins so slim? From the weight of arms.

Why is thy bottom so broad? Men talk not of bottoms.

King Solomon is supposed to be the inquirer, and to have been rebuked for asking an improper question in the above way.

284. Who stood still in mud, went, *i.e.* sank in.

Meaning that in a difficulty a man must act or succumb.

285. The satiated man grows cold.

286. When the snake approaches his hole, he straightens:
You lie on the top of your grave and straighten
not!

Man is addressed. Snakes are looked upon as full of deceit,
and are often thought to be embodied evil spirits.

287. A hoarse throat cannot sing songs.

288. Trouble arises through that man from whose
nose drops hang.

A man of the above description is looked on as a careless
half-witted fellow. Such men often cause mischief
without intending any. The meaning is, that evil
befalls a man from unexpected quarters.

289. Prostrate him with fever, and he will consent to
death.

This is almost literally true, for many a fever-stricken man
would, while the fever is on him, look on death as
a happy release. The meaning is, that if you wish a
man to agree to something, you should demand much
more than you require him to consent to. In the
proverb fever is looked on as worse than death. So
amongst the Spaniards and Italians the proverb, "Ask
but enough, and you may lower the price as you list,"
conveys the same meaning. So in Latin, "Oportet
iniquum petas ut æquum feras." It is much on this
principle that natives generally in litigating claim
double what is due, or we believe they do, and decree
half they claim.

290. Don't throw pearls into the cow-shed.

Equivalent to our "Don't cast pearls before swine."

291. When a stick is stirred in filth, the stench there-
from increases.

292. A white beard is useless if the heart be black.

Meaning unless a man's actions conform with his outward appearance, the latter will not avail him.

293. Eyes feel shame from eyes.

Thus it is better to reprimand a man verbally than in writing. If he deserves it, the censure will be felt the keener; if not, the presence of the censured man will shame the censorer.

294. Sometimes jests injure Faith.

As explained before, it is believed a record is kept of everything that a man does or says; thus, an improper jest would be entered against him.

295. Some one asked a pilgrim dog whether any one had been kind to him on the way. He replied, "All were good, but may a curse light on my own species!"

Seeing he was a strange dog, all dogs attacked him. The meaning is, that a man is injured by his equals, not by his superiors or inferiors.

296. Those bitter things are good, whose end is sweet.

297. Spots show on white clothing.

Applied in cases where small failings in public men are magnified into great faults; thus Gay says—

"In beauty faults conspicuous grow,
The smallest speck is seen on snow."

298. A devil is afraid of his own shadow.

He is popularly supposed to fear nothing else. The meaning is that it is the effect of a man's own acts on his mind which frightens him, for "Conscience does make cowards of us all."

299. To the thief every bush is a man.

So Shakespeare in King Henry VI.: "The thief doth fear each bush an officer."

300. Use threats, but don't leap quickly.

301. A barr on a small pretext sticks to a man.

This is generally applied to a shameless man or a bore.

302. Though the oleander has a flower like the rose, it does not become a rose thereby.

303. The cat is a dervish until he finds milk near him.

304. The akhoond was making me guilty, but I was not becoming so.

That is, a guilty man will not confess his guilt, though it be proved against him. In former times akhoonds often acted as judges or umpires in quarrels, as "Kázis" were few.

305. The jackal's messenger is a jackal; the lion's a lion.

This is another proverb of the "Like master like man" class.

306. The feet go to that place to which the heart goes.

That is, man does what pleases him.

307. If the sword be sharp, it will be seen by its stroke.

308. Although the cloud is black, white water falls from it.

This is more forcible than our "Every cloud has a silver lining."

309. Away from the eyes, away from the heart.

Parallel is "Out of sight out of mind."

310. Who is at home with every one will carry away some habit of his.

311. Strange food is sweet.

312. When it is gone, its value becomes apparent.

313. It was a calamity, but it did not increase.

When an accident has befallen a man, let him be thankful it was no worse.

314. It is better to carry stones on one's head from the tops of high mountains than to be under an obligation to any one.

315. A story arranged with deliberation is palatable.

316. Who eats little eats always, who eats much eats the bitter plant.

That is, a glutton gets dyspepsia, a moderate eater has always an appetite.

317. The more a tree is lopped, the higher it grows.

Generally said with reference to almsgiving. What is so bestowed will be returned one hundred-fold.

318. When the knife is over a man's head, he remembers God.

Parallel is, "The devil was sick, the devil a saint would be."

319. What lot is bad? That which a man shows you, and gives you not.

320. When the flour becomes dough, every one can handle it (*i.e.* shape it and bake it).

That is, when everything is prepared for the finishing stroke, the carrying out of a design is an easy matter.

321. The pitcher was somehow broken as it was, the mallet was only a pretence.

Thus when a man ruins himself by his own folly, he is sure to lay the blame on something else.

322. Ask the sheep about the thorn-hedge.

Ask of those acquainted with misfortune what it is, *e.g.* the starving man, not the sated man, of hunger.

323. Good cakes deserve " *ghí.*"

What is good merits good treatment. "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

324. Eat then food when it becomes appetizing :

Drink then water when it becomes sherbet.

Meaning simply don't eat unless you are hungry, or drink water unless you are thirsty. Natives follow the advice here given better than we do.

325. When the birds are taxed, the bat says, " I am a rat," and when the rats are taxed, " I am a bird."

Means that a clever fellow can always give a plausible excuse wherewith to escape what is disagreeable to him. The Pashto is little more than another rendering of the Arabic and Persian : " They said to the camel-bird (*i.e.* ostrich), ' Carry.' It answered, ' I cannot, for I am a bird.' They said, ' Fly.' It answered, ' I cannot, for I am a camel.' "

326. An arm when broken goes to the neck.

That is, is suspended from the neck in a sling. Means that in affliction one seeks succour from his natural protectors, *e.g.* a child from his parents.

327. Children cry to their parents.

This is as the last. Pathans, indeed natives generally, when urging a complaint, often appeal to the English official as their " father and their mother," hoping thereby to touch his heart, and really regarding him as their natural protector.

328. A toothless man cries for a bone, like an old dog.

Meaning man is never content, but strives after things which he cannot use when acquired.

329. What is the ass that he should not carry a load ?

Meaning a man must be content to do that work for which he is fitted.

330. Fleas jump to no purpose in your armpit.

In such a position they cannot jump far. The man who gives himself useless trouble or anxiety is referred to.

331. The bull-buffalo's companion is a cow-buffalo.

The buffalo is an awkward ungainly animal. The meaning is that "Like will to like." Another parallel saying is, "Like to like and Nan to Nicholas."

332. I have doubts of his orthodoxy, yet he is making converts.

That is, sensible people will not be deceived by specious appearances, though fools may be.

333: The one could not catch him up, yet the other kept on telling him to pass him, and return across him.

Said of people who are far too ready to proffer advice about things they cannot do themselves or know nothing about.

334. Where is the ass, and where the mosque ?

That is, what has one to do with the other ? The ass is unclean, and the mosque is clean.

335. The grain-sack's mouth became open, and a way for the millet was made.

When one flaw appears, all the others that exist will become apparent too. The above is generally applied to cases in which a man begins to litigate, and, once begun, is drawn into a number of other suits. "The worst of law is that one suit breeds twenty."

336. God knows on which knee the camel will squat down.

This is used when the issue of any matter is doubtful. It is common amongst litigants, to illustrate their idea of the "glorious uncertainty" of the law; at least I have heard it so used. I am told there is a proverb in Persian much to the same effect.

337. When the cat has dreams, she sees the rat.

Referring to every one's thoughts being ever fixed on his own business.

338. The lamb follows the sheep, the kid the goat.

339. All the blame be on the priest.

This is a Persian saying, but is now in every Pathan's mouth. At first it was only used in cases when a man, thinking his clothes were soiled by contact with some unclean thing, asked the priest if he might join in the prayers being said at the mosque, and the priest absolved him from all evil consequences. Muttering above to himself, the man would then pray with an easy conscience. The saying is now of more general application, and extends to all cases in which one man is supposed to be responsible for the acts of another, *e.g.* the chief for the acts of his clansmen.

340. The man suffering from flatulence must swallow the physic to effect his cure.

Meaning we must get out of our own scrapes as best we can ourselves. The proverb is not translated literally.

341. Fish see and understand each other in the water.

That is, creatures of like natures understand each other, though there be a medium or veil, like water, between them; or, as it was explained to me, "The 'Sahib-log' know each other, but not us nor we them."

342. Where is the bald head, where the fine cloth?

To call a man bald head is, as in the time of the Prophet Elisha, to insult him. The reference is to a man of station who does some low action.

343. You keep running after me, your own acts revert on you.

This is a couplet from the poem of "*Yúsof wa Zulekha*"

already referred to. Means that as one sows so he will reap.

344. I was seeking assistance from you, you have made yourself all the more haughty.

Meaning the more a man is sought after, the prouder he becomes from self-consequence.

345. You are neither a hawk nor a falcon, but, as you dwell amongst this worthless people, eat flesh.

Meaning though you are not a fine fellow, still you are better than the others, so make yourself a chief.

346. The country is misty, the king is blind.

Used disparagingly of authority, when a man supposes "there is something rotten in the state" of the administration.

347. He discharges water from blind eyes.

That is, he is doing what is thought impossible.

348. Be thou both mine ass, and mine ass's keeper.

When an impossible amount of work is thrown on a man, he puts this saying into the mouth of his task-master.

349. You have brought the pulse and still laugh?

A story goes that some pulse was stolen, and the thief, on being taxed with it, brought back the stolen property with bold effrontery, forgetting that by so doing he had assisted in proving his own guilt. On seeing his hardihood, the owner said as above to him. The saying has become a proverb, and corresponds to our "let those laugh who win."

350. I'll rob you, then the load of onions won't be on your head.

Meaning a scamp when cheating a man will always pretend to be doing him a favour, *e.g.* a leg selling a horse to a fool. When the Wazirí measurements were going

on, a party of my surveyors, travelling along the high road in broad daylight, were robbed and left naked by some hill men. No doubt this is the proverb used by the robbers when relieving my people of their clothing, for all Wazírs appreciate a good joke.

351. If you keep me, I'll keep you ; if you annoy me, I'll annoy you.

352. You were not fit to take care of yourself, much less of a lover.

The origin of this saying, now commonly used about incompetent persons who try to do more than they are capable of, is this. A chief closed a road, and caught a woman using it as a short cut to a village, where she had a lover. As a punishment and warning to others, she was tied to a tree by the road-side, whereon a rival of hers mockingly repeated the above to her.

353. The camels were not weeping, their sacks were.

Used ironically when a wronged man, attempting to get justice, is punished instead.

354. He struck his foot with the axe.

That is, he has only himself to blame.

355. The jackal could not climb the tree, so said the fruit was sour.

Corresponds to our proverb about the fox and the grapes, which is common to many languages.

356. You are pelting heaven with clods.

Said of a man who sets himself to do a vain task.

357. The naked man leaves the road, the hungry man does not.

That is, so long as a man can keep up appearances, he does not show that he is ashamed of his poverty.

358. The day one, its shadows two.

In the morning shadows are cast to the west, in the afternoon to the east. The day typifies man's life, the shadows changes in his condition.

359. The sleep of kings is on an ant-hill.

This, which is probably taken from the Persian, corresponds to Shakespeare's line, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

360. He is brother to the monkey, he tears his own wound the wider.

Said of persons who damage their own cause.

361. Is a lash or whip the better? May both sorts be damned!

Corresponds to our expression, "It is six of one and half a dozen of the other."

362. As the rock, so its chameleon; as the mountain, so its goat.

Corresponds to "Like carpenter like chips," and others.

363. A nose-cut-off misfortune fell on my own matting.

Said when a heavy domestic affliction befalls one.

364. You have become old, but not a Musalman.

Said of a hardened old sinner.

365. O caravan of cares, mayest thou not come!

Thou broughtest not gain without loss.

It was hinted to me that this wish would be an appropriate one should this Settlement end with an increase of assessment and a promise of another ten or twenty years afterwards. The influx of Settlement officials in a District brings a "caravan of cares" to the cultivator.

366. When sleep overpowers it wants not a pillow ;
When the heart is in love, it wants not beauty.

367. Of the broken bow two persons are in fear.

That is, the archer, that the bow will break in two altogether, and the object at which the arrow is aimed, who knows not the state of the bow. Above is often applied to cases of which neither the plaintiff nor the defendant can forecast the upshot.

368. I cannot bear to see you near me, nor can I let you leave me.

Said of persons who cannot make up their minds.

369. On the thief's beard is a straw.

Said of offenders who, by their own actions, cause themselves to be convicted. The story goes that on a theft occurring, which seemed to defy detection, the Kázi invited a number of the well-known city bad characters to dinner ; and when the talk was about the theft, suddenly repeated the above, on which one of his guests put his hand involuntarily to his beard, and thus proclaimed himself the delinquent.

370. Did horsemen or footmen kill your father ? Seeing that he has ceased to be of good to me (*i.e.* died), what matters it which killed him ?

Said in cases when there is no object to be gained by inquiring into the cause of a loss, once the loss has occurred.

371. From the scald-head scurf is ever falling.

372. "*Shué*" berries are not eaten by stealth.

In eating them a crunching noise is made. Meaning is that endeavouring to conceal what will be known is useless.

373. You keep on "cluck-clucking" here, and lay your eggs in another village.

Addressed to a hen. Is applied to a man who promises a favour to one and bestows it on another.

374. Strange dogs came, and drove away the village dogs.

Applied to outsiders who supplant old office-holders.

375. The deaf man laughs twice at one thing.

Once when he sees others laughing, and again when he understands the joke himself. Said to illustrate the difference between a quick and obtuse-witted man: the latter does as much as the former, but more slowly.

376. Like a mad dog, he snaps at himself.

Generally said of a head man who treats his dependents badly.

377. Like carrion-eating dogs, one snaps at the other.

Said of a family divided against itself.

378. The scald-headed man began to comb his head, blood came over his face.

That is, tried to clean his sores, and made them worse.

Refers to a bad man who tries to re-establish his character and makes it worse.

379. A rhinoceros-shield is good, a Feringi's sword is good.

380. Some one said to calamity, "Will you come to me or shall I go to you?" She replied, "Don't come to me, I'll come to you."

That is, calamity befalls a man whether he will or no.

381. Mayest thou (God) not knock me about in search of a livelihood, but send it in search of me!

Means every man's wish is to gain his bread as easily as he can.

382. It was partly the stick, and partly the bald head had no hair.

This might be Paddy's answer as to how he came by a broken head. A bald-headed man is said to have a very fine skin and soft bones.

383. Oleander appeared to me detestable on the plain, and yet it has come and stood before my very face.

Said to the obtrusive man, as a hint to take himself off.

384. If I do not speak, this my broken leg will speak.

A shepherd broke a sheep's leg, and told the animal not to tell his master ; the sheep made the above reply. The meaning is that his acts proclaim the man.

385. Where is the mouth, where the elbow ?

The elbow cannot be touched by the mouth. Said of persons who boast of doing feats which are impossible.

386. Dogs eat bones, (but) don't think of the consequences.

Applied to thoughtless improvident people, who act rashly, without regarding the consequences, like dogs that eat bones, and never consider whether they can digest them or not.

387. You use such language that asses get fever.

It is said that asses cannot get fever. The above is said of foul-mouthed persons.

388. If I say anything, it is (known to all) the village ; if I say nothing, Khání's son is my nightmare.

Said of persons placed in such a position that whatever they do, they will be found fault with.

389. Laughter out of place is lamentation.

That is, it sounds so to the hearers of it.

390. If a man say to you, "A dog has carried off your ear," would you go after the dog or put your hand to your ear?

That is, judge for yourself in all matters, don't readily believe what you hear.

391. He is like zedoary, he spoils the flavour of the pot.

Zedoary resembles turmeric, and sometimes gets mixed up with it. Above is said of cross-grained ill-tempered men, who by their presence in an assembly throw a damper on the company.

392. A drop will not cool you, and a crumb of bread will not satisfy you.

Said of a necessitous man, whose wants must be fully relieved or not relieved at all.

393. The water beneath comes from above; with tears it weeps over its separation, "When I have gone, gone, I shall not return again, alas! alas! O past moment!"

394. The blind, the deaf, the scald-headed, the paralyzed, wherever they sit, cause quarrels.

395. When the mother becomes (like) a step-mother, the father becomes (like) a step-father.

The amount of the latter parent's affection for his children, whilst they are young, depends on their mother's love for them; so, in all things, the world's frown or caress depends on the will of a few leaders in it.

396. The ass was calling the weaver, and the weaver the ass; the wolf heard, and tore the ass to pieces.

A man should not let others know about his private affairs ;
if he does, he will have reason to repent it.

397. O prairie deer ! your habit is not good ; you eat the grass of the plain, though you possess the hill air : one day you will meet with such a hunter, that you will dye your body with blood.

Meaning you are a poor hunted animal, and ought to confine yourself to the hills, where you can supply your wants well enough.

398. The mountain was partly black itself, and the mist partly made it so.

Said of cross-grained men, whose ill nature is partly natural from bad health or some such cause, and partly owing to extraneous causes, *e.g.* faithlessness of friends.

399. I was splitting a hair, and lost my pupils (eyes).

Said of the man who over-reaches himself, being too clever by half.

400. To speak ill (of any one) is to speak ill of oneself.

401. When there was no rain, the torrent-bed was dry ; when it came, it carried away the huts into the bed.

Rain is always a blessing, but one can have too much of a good thing. "It never rains but it pours," corresponds to some extent with the above.

402. Though arms are a load, sometimes they are useful.

On which account they are not to be looked on as burdensome—a fact which many of us on the Frontier often forget.

403. (Though we are) of one descent, family and one locality, you have become a noble, I lowly.

404. Amongst the blind a one-eyed man is king.

Somewhat similar to our "A man were better half blind than have both his eyes out."

405. Who was far from Mecca became a Hájí (pilgrim); who was near it, did not become so.

The truth of this saying must come home to every one. What tens of thousands of Londoners have never seen the sights of London, which every foreigner, who visits our shores, does see.

406. When the time arrives for the snake to die, it goes on to the road.

Snakes like basking in the sun in open places, and therefore are often found on roads; and if seen, are sure to be killed. The application is obvious.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAME PROVERBS IN PASHTO.

IN order to preserve uniformity and to facilitate reference from the English to the Pashto, and *vice versá*, the sequence of pages in this chapter has been made from left to right, as in English, though correctly speaking it ought to be the reverse. The proverbs themselves of course run from right to left. The number prefixed to each is that at which it stands in its class, and corresponds with the number of the translation in the preceding Chapter.

The system of spelling of Pashto words which I have followed throughout this collection is that adopted by Raverty and Bellew in their Pashto Dictionaries and Grammars, it being the only one generally known and recognized; but it does not represent the different words as they are pronounced by Bannuchís, Wazírs, and Marwats. As Pashto is practically only used for colloquial purposes, whenever anything has to be written in it, the writer represents the sounds as best he can, according to his idea of phonetic principles; and as each of the tribes above named has its own peculiarities of pronunciation, no two Akhoonds amongst them, whether belonging to the same tribe or not, would, were the task set them, spell the same proverb alike. The distinction between *e* and *é*, *z* and

i, *u* and *ú*, is often inappreciable. The vowels then would be one stumbling block. Another would be the consonants *ts* (ټ), *dz* (ځ), *kh* (ځ), and *gh* (ږ), which are peculiar to Pashto, and have no equivalent single letters in Persian or English. Few but scholars are acquainted with them; consequently, when their sounds occur, the ordinary Akhoond is in difficulties for a symbol.

Considering, then, that local phonetic orthography is impracticable, I have made no scruple in spelling according to what may be termed the standard system. But should any one wish to read any proverb of this collection as Bannúchís speak it, let him pronounce every *a* as *ó*, every *ó* as *e*, and every *ú* as *i*, transpose sibilants and labials freely, and utter the whole with a thick nasal twang. The same prescription will suffice should the object be to obtain the Wazírí method of articulation, except that, instead of using the nasal organ so extensively, the throat should be exercised—the more deeply down the better—and running all words together, the speaker should shout at the top of his voice. Lastly, to hit off the Marwat pronunciation, use the same recipe for the vowels, but utter them rather more broadly, and speak slowly and with emphasis, with a deep guttural intonation. If any one wish to hear simply what well-delivered Pashto sounds like, and does not happen to know German, let him listen with closed eyes to a German sermon, and fancy to himself it is Pashto. It would be just like it—at least it would appear so to him.

BEGGING.

1. د فقیرچه چیري ښه هله ئي شپه
2. که گدا د بل په خولي غرض نه که سپی به نه که په گدا باندي غرض
3. سپی که په خپل منځ کښي سره خوري فقیر ته ئي یوه وي
4. د سوال خواره د پوزي ويني ختل دي

6. یوه سپي مياچن څټله بل ئي کونه څټله
7. که د وي خوره که نه د وي مړه
8. پښتون سوال نه کوي او چه کوي ئي نو خور ته هم در پري
9. رور دي له پور وري گنده دي

BOASTING.

1. هاله به ئي زده شي چه انډول به انډول شپه شي
2. داسي مه وايه چه زه يم داسي به شي لکه چه زه يم
3. چيند خه په لوته وخته ويل ئي چه کشمير مي وليده
4. که خس يم د تا بس يم
5. مريي لاندي غوره ئي باندي
6. داسي مه وايه چه زه يم په جهان کښي پيدا کړي خداي د سرد پاسه سرد دي
7. د مچ جنگ به د پک په سر معلوم شي
8. زاړه عمره زاړه هاله د نه خوري هزار سوراخي اوس دوچ پلاو محتاج شوي
9. وړو کي خوله لويي خبري
10. څه سوي گي څه ئي بارگي
11. وطن د لوت که په تس او توسه په لاس به را نه شي تپوسه
12. سپي ښه دي که سپاهي ورک شه سپاهي چه په خپنه خان ستايي
13. خوري ساگ او پښکي د پلاو اچوي
14. له خالي لوبښي لوي اواز خيږي
15. دغه گز دغه ميدان دي
16. چه په خپله بدائي که له شاغليو سره څه لرد سيالي که

BRAVERY.

1. چه د توري ووزي ئي سور وي د هغه په تمده نور وي

2. یو په سل او سل په خاورو
3. توري یا با تور و هي یا ئي له غمه سور و هي
4. لیوه چه سور کیري گنده کیري
5. پڼري په پڼبو کښي خرگندیري او میره په بد و کښي ب
6. توري ته گندې نيسه خبرو ته تندې نيسه
7. د مبره خوي د زهرې زره غواره
8. د توري وورې خوږه ده
9. میره په عمل خیره غمت او وورې مه خیره
10. توري په پید و هلي شي
11. میره چه میره وي لورې چاره وي
12. په تور و مر شي خویه نه چه د بنمن ته خر شي خویه
13. زهرې ما ته وکه د گیدر هم پو بنه شي
14. بار چه خر نه وړي نو په خپله به ئي وړي
15. زه د بوره یم خو چه میدان پر نړدي
16. چه و تړي برگونه مال ئي نه خوري نور میرو نه
17. چه په یوه تیر شي په بله شیر شي
18. چه اختیار د جنگ لري پوښتنه په څنگ لري
19. لاري لیري دي د میرو لار یوه ده
20. میرو نه که خدای نه دي بي خدایه نه دي
21. نند ارخي باتور دي
22. که ته د ور غریبي زه د څنگل یم
23. لوته له بورې سپي نه خطا کیري
24. د میره یا ترب دي یا ئي خرپ
25. چه سر نه وي گو در نه وي چه زر نه وي ختر نه وي

26. د ميره خو ډول گوره توري سپي سړي و هي

27. اغزي چه تيره وي له كمه خايه وي

CLASS AND LOCAL.

1. دي د شيعه قبر دي څرگند سپين او په كښي تور دي
2. ختک كه ښه سوار دي د يوه وار دي
3. ياري له هرچا سره ښه دي بي ختکه پيت ختکه
4. د دهرمسال مته بي له چوتي نه وي
5. چه نه کړي عيسکي يا به خره کړي يا به سپي
6. د مغل زور په دهقان د دهقان په زمکه
7. د هندکي که نور د بدولاس نه درسي خو چه په لاري شي بسکه به دروکه
8. هندکي که په اوبو ډوب کړي کونه به ئې، وجه باته شي
9. تور مار مه وژنه او تور چپ مړ کړه
10. چه او بو ته وايي پانړي سر ئې لاندي کړه ترکانړي
11. د هندوانو گديدل څه دي موتي موتي نيول موتي رنگول
12. اور اوبه سره شريک دي خو نه له هندوانو سره
13. هندو چه ديوالي شي نوزري پوتې را واخلي
14. د هندو چوکه د لدو په اخير پا کيږي
15. د سيکه اصل په وينته دي
16. وزير که مند که خپله کونه به بر مند که
17. له جولانه عقل د تانړي تارو پت کړي دي
18. د هندو چوتي د کوني خيول دي
19. سل دور د يوه لور

21. د شيعه اودس په تيز نه ما تيري
22. د غره سري نه سري
23. سرگري په وشکي مه کنړه د غره سري په سري مه کنړه
24. ډول په سمه واهه شه او بيټني په غره کني ور ته گډيدل
25. پښتون دښمن خوري هند و سجنر خوري
26. د پښاور اوږه به بي جواره نه وي د کابل ښځه به بي ياره نه وي
27. باور مه کړه د مغل په کاغذونه د مغل اول کاغذ پسي فوزونه
28. چه په هندو شه په کندو شه
29. سل بيټنيو سل پسونه و خورل
30. پښتون ورو ورو غولوه هندکي ته لوقه څيروه
31. له ژوندي کوندي سر کوندي ښه دي
32. خټک سري چرک دي که ورو ئي نيسي کور ککيري که په زور ئي نيسي
- کرم ککيري
33. مروت خربه لره په گيده ب دک پښي ئي سوده لره
34. که گذران د په نار وي پيشوکان مه تله
35. کري غل وه ميره خيل ئي مل وه
36. بزړه په پردو او بو شيوه کوي
37. د مسافر په خواري مرگه لاس ئي بالښت وي خوله ئي ډکه وي له گرده
مسافر مه شي څما ياره چه مسافر شي څوک به څاي نه درکوبنه
38. که ډيري شي شادي داسي به نه وي لکه پي
39. له نه وو مېرو منک شه بلو
40. ترڅو پوري چه خوي اولور په کوي تيرنه وي مور او پلار ئي خپل نه بولي
41. له مړه وروره پريښي گومل ښه ده
42. که شولي اسانه وي نومانجه به خورلي

43. او به د سيلې نغند د مروت
44. ورځ د بنون شپه د مروت
45. د نمر تاووهلي رغيرې او د سپور مې تاووهلي نه رغيرې
46. نيازي به بد راضي
47. هغه به دور نه وي چه پلو ئې غور نه وي
48. څه خان نور خان شوي چه د جونگيو خولي تړي
49. هند كي كه د بني وزروي پريكوه ئي
50. متوزه له بوزي سره وزه له شيرك سره
51. غرننگ و خور دامان قلنگ و خور
52. لنيكر كه د پلاروي هم بد دي
53. بنگ به لرگي نه شي بنكي خيل نه سري نه شي
54. كه پلار د جت وه ته جتكې يي
55. دك نس فارسي وايي
56. دايمان زوال دروغ دي د تو تو زوال دوغ دي

CO-OPERATION.

1. چه نسونه ئي گونبي وي نيتونه ئي گونبي وي
2. د يوه سواره به څه د وړه وي
3. غويي دوينو په زور چليري اوهل دست په زور
4. چه زه او ته راضي بور څه دي د دصي
5. مياشت كه يوه ده ورځي ئي ډيري دي

COWARDICE.

1. خوله ئي په اوگره سوي وه او زگروي ئي د خان کندن کاوه
2. چه نامرد و آسونه و کړل اول ئي په خپل کلي و ترپول
3. چه جنگ سور شه مريي تود شه
4. نامردان د ميرو لاري وهي
5. سبي چه هسار شي غل کوي ميره چه هسار شي توره کوي
6. لښکر که ديروي بي سره هيروي
7. خوار چه له ژوري تير شي بيا ئي خه دار دي
8. چه رنگ د په قصه زير شه تورو ته مه خه
9. ترروي ويل چه سل قحطي به په خان تيري کړم اود سبي مخ به ونه
10. که غوتي کړي په چرگورو په دي باز نه شوي تپوسه
11. نه خيښتن خبريده اونه سبي عبيده هسي غل و تنبتيده
12. چه نن سپک شي مبا وړک شي
13. خيښتن حيات مال ئي ميراث
14. توره په خنگ کښي کوتک غواري
15. نه د ميره تور شته نه د نامرد پيغور شته
16. خرد فقير مر شه او پرويران د کلي سبي شول
17. دارا و شرم خوي او پلار دي
18. خرازي له يوه گذاره لاري

CUSTOM.

1. له کلي و تنبته له نرخه ئي مه تنبته
2. نوي چاري په زري لاري
3. چه چيري اوسي په مذهب به د هغو شي

4. مه څه په هغې لار چه نه د مور پرخي نه پلار
5. بيل وطن بيل ئي چلن
6. له ډيروسره څه له ډيروسره خوره
7. چه نه د وود پلار اود نيکه اوس د نوي و نيوه
8. سرکه لار شي عادت نه شي
9. يوه کده د بلي کدي زړه کاري

DEATH.

1. که گور زندان دي دمري ناکام دي.
2. مرگ حق دي گور کفن په شک دي
3. چه مرشد هغه پير شه
4. چه مرگي شته بنادي نه شته
5. پت به پاته نه شي چه تر خاور ولاندي نه شي
6. خپل گور هر چاته تنگ بنکاري
7. مرگ نه په واره دي نه په زاره
8. چه يومر نه شي بل مور نه شي
9. که نه وي بيرمي په هر چا به ابادي وي خپلي بسيشي
10. د مريو لاوراندي په قيامت رضاه
11. په جنت کني خره ترلي نه شي
12. ادي به وروستو ايمان داره بولم که ئي ځان کندن په خير تير که
13. مرگ هم د ډيرو پرده ده
14. جنت بڼه ځاي دي خو ور تلل د زړه په چا و دل دي
15. په دک نس مرگ بڼه دي له هغه ژوندونه چه په لور سره وي
16. بابا لار تبه ئي پريکړه شوه

17. په خوا له امله مه مړه
18. ورک خو هغه شي چه مرشي
19. مزکه وايي که په تاکنسي گناه نه وي له ما مه ويريره
20. زاري هرڅه بڼه دي بي له مرگه
21. چه شما ترسري تيره خدايه مه کړي دنيا ډيره
22. مه مي چا ته پاته کړي مه د چارا پاته کړي
23. که د عمر شي زر کاله اخربه ومري شما لاله
24. تنگ د خداي قبر هم د چا نه که
25. که نه مري له خواري اخربه ومري له زړه بدې
26. مچ ويل که د پيغلي په مخ و مرم مړ نه يم
27. خو بيد لي د مړه وروړ دي

ENMITY.

1. د تربرو غاښ په تربرو ماتيري
2. دشمن د که د لوخو پري وي مارئي بو له
3. رالبيدلي د لوغرو له سروروغ شي نه پخيري چه دزرو ترازار
4. کانري به پوست دشمن به دوست نه شي
5. چه کم وي لو بوه ئي چه لوي شي نو تربرو دي جنگوه ئي
6. که نه وو نه سره مي خامن دي که يو وه يو هم بد دي
7. بد سري ته نهي خبري وايه په ورو ورو
8. بيخ بنياد ئي و باسه له سرايه په ورو ورو
8. خواره د شينستن پخيري او کونه د وينځي خوږ يري
9. مارهم په دشمن وژنه
10. د ينستانه بدې د سري اور دي

11. چه کبول شي بي فرمانه تول ئي واړه شي کر يانړه
12. چه د يوه سود کيږي د بل کور نږيږي
13. چه خوي ورور ئي وي وژلي د هغه لاس دي چا نيولي
14. دښمن د لمخې اغزي دي
15. د غلو وروري خوږه ده خو په ويش باندي جگړه ده
16. د باهر بدي ورکه شي او د کور بدي نه ورکيږي
17. خواږه خواږه به درته وائي وژور ته به د بيائي
18. چه د دووسره جگړه شي د دريم په کښي ښه شي
19. چه د خدای ويردنه وي د غزه پناه د غره پناه
20. چه کلي دوه شي د جُغلو ښه شي
21. پور د بدي تخم دي
22. چه خرک ئي له کورده وي خو نه ئي خورده وي
23. چه نه د وي په خوا هغه تا ته شي بلا
24. تر بور خوار لره خو په کار ئي لره

FAMILY.

1. له نا اهله د وفا طمعه ومه کړه گنده نل به نيشکر به شي هرگز
2. چه نه وکړي پيډي خوي به نه راوړي هوډي
3. عراقی آس په خرو جامو کښي ښه لیده شي
4. مريسي که د سرو زرو وي کونه ئي د سور ولو وي
5. کم اصل چه کوم خاي خوري هله خري
6. د فصل خواريم د اصل خوار نه يم
7. په کوتا نړي که سل قرني تيري شي د مسلماني اعتبار مه پرکود
8. له ښه پلارد له ښي مورده بلاوزوو له تورده

9. مړي پونده ور وړي اصيل غور وړ وړي
 10. عاقبت به د ليوه خوي ليوه شي
 11. دغله سپي خوي که غل نه وي خونن خووي

FATE.

1. نصيب کنه کړي خړدي چه چيرته ئي بيابي هله څي
 2. که ته لار شي تر کابله برخه به څي در پسي خپله
 3. برخي ازلي دي نه په زور نه په سيالي دي
 4. که ستا قلم شما په لاس وي مابه ستاليک په نيکبختي و هلي و نه
 5. بي نصيب خواړه گران دي
 6. تقدير په تدبير پوري خاندي
 7. وزه له ليوه تنبتيده د قصاب کره ئي شپه شود
 8. له رام نه تنبتيدم په کام واوښتم
 9. که تول جهان طيب شي چاري واره په نصيب شي
 10. له خپلي برخي تينبه ت نه شته له پردي برخي ویش نه شته
 11. شپه چه په کور وي په گور به نه شي چه په گور وي په کور به نه شي
 12. سپور د داسي نه وايي چه پلي به نه شم او پلي د داسي نه وايي
 چه سپور به نه شم
 13. چه خدای کوي دغه به وشي خودا وښ گونده تينگه وتره
 14. که په نصيب تي در رشي شانن پر تينگ کره

FRIENDSHIP.

1. يار نسه تر کاله ئي کسه که برابر شه غيږ ورته نسه او که نه شه شان څني نسه
 2. چه بي داته آشنائي که اور به بل په خپن تندي که

3. یار په کوڅه تیر کړه رنگه ئي هیر کړه
4. یاران ماران دي خوړل که نا اشنا ښه دي اشنا تگل که
5. ورکه شي کمبلي چه نه د باد يي نه د باران
6. ښه قصه بل ته کوه ښه خواړه خپل ته ور کوه
7. یار د وي په بل دیار د وي
8. څوي زړه دي ورور لیمه دي نمسي دده ماښغه دي
9. څوي له زړه دنیا له پرینه تر څوي لادنيا شرینه
10. چه له یاره وائي له خانه وائي
11. د غوښتو دارو ور کړه دي
12. چه له یار سره یاري لري عیب ته ئي مه گوره
13. دوست په تنگسه کښي څرگند یږي نه په خورنه کښي
14. چه زلزله وه تندی د رانه کړه اوس ئي خپلي مور ته ور کړه
15. ویل د خدای د پاره کوه اولور دیار د پاره وهه
16. چه څما اوستا. بائده دي لري اونژ دي څه دي
17. خپل څر تر لې ښه دي که غل آشنا وي
18. خپل به د وژروي او د ښمن به د وڅند وي
19. چه نه د وي له موره داسي مه وایه چه وروره
20. هاله به در څارېم چه له چاري وزگارېم
21. لا یار شه لا بزار شه
22. اشناښه دي که خوړونکي سپي وي
23. که ښه يم له یارانو سره ښه يم
24. ورور ورور ته نه گتې مل مله ته وگتې
25. تر کوره وم درس د تر کوره نه يم درس د
26. چه سپینه غوا ئي څتي او توره ئي نه څتي خوله ئي وچه شه

27. برينڼوه که ئې برينڼوي چه بده تر کمر پر يوزي بيا ئې څه ته برينڼوي
28. تر بور د هغه دي چه صبا د کور څيروي بيگاه د اور څيروي
29. اشنا ئې په اصل ښه دي نه په بي اصل
30. له کم عقله سجنزه هونښيار دښمن ښه دي
31. خپل د که هر کړي سوري ته به د واچوي
32. غونډي او نوک نه سره جلا کيږي
33. چه نه مني د يار پندونه په سر به تل وزي د غم بارونه
34. چه خپل زړه بد نه کړي پردي زړه به ښه نه کړي
35. د يار د پاره هندود غوا غونډي خوړلي دي
36. تر بور د که خروي لته مه پراره
37. پيغله که توره وي هم کور مي تر څار شه
38. يار مي تور دي توري گوري لا توري گوري د پريکړيو دارو د يسه
39. چنډه د وي خو په مينه د وي
40. د پردي اس سوازي ترينمه منزله وي
41. زړه خو يو دي چه ملال شي پسه نه دي چه حلال شي
42. سړي چه د وپيژني وبه د خوري او سپي چه د وپيژني نه د خوري
43. د يردوستي څيړول دي
44. په ياري کښي تل څولي ما تېږي
45. خان ته گوره ملگري ژغوره کم ئې مه بوله له وروره
46. که ته کافريبي څما څکريبي
47. دوه به سره خپل شي که دريم په منځ کښي ني وي
48. يار د د سر خير غوازي ورور د مال
49. په پنډه کښي د هم سجنز اوسه
50. هر څوک په ښي ورځي کښي دوست دي

51. که په تا باران و شي په ما به څاڅکي پريوزي
 52. چه ياري کوي هغه خواري کوي
 53. څوک چه ستا په ميني کښي و ما ته که بندونه
 نه دي چا نيولي ابا سند په لوي بندونه
 54. له غله سره پاري لره خپل لندي خوندي لره
 55. لوي ته چا ويل چه يار د مرشه ويل ئي چه د کومي کوڅي
 56. وروري وروري حساب له ميانه
 57. په تله را تله نه شي خودرز د ختي نه شي

GOD.

1. څوک چه خدای شرموي داوبن د پاسه ئي سپي و خوري
 2. سري چه خدای نه ښائسته کوي نو سترگي ئي شني که
 3. چه لوړپري کور ئي نه نرپري
 4. د چتر ئي هم خدای دي د باز هم خدای دي
 5. خواړه هغه خوري چه خدای پر خورلي وي نه چه خوله ئي ستري وي
 6. لمبول ئي په ما دي او بښل ئي په خدای دي
 7. روزي له خدايه ده نه له روزي
 8. ژندرگري خدای خوار کړي څته پروته مزد ئي خورلي
 9. چه خدای نه که بنده څه و که
 10. د بنده مخ د خدای له نوره دي
 11. خدای به وي ياران به نه وي
 12. په ښيره په دعا نه شي کړوني خدای دي
 چه خدای نه که ښيره څه که دعا څه که
 13. که خدای قادر دي هم په شنه آسمان وورول نه کوي

14. کارونه د خدای په کره شي نه د ملا په خوله
15. ميري چه خدای ورکوي نو وزر ورکه
16. سم الله وبل ثواب لري نه د گمدر د بیکار د پاره
17. که د لوی په حيله اولوي د خدای به حمله
18. غل هم وايي حدایه کور به هم وايي خدایه
19. ته مي وزی و هه زه به د روژي وهم
20. هومره به شپه نه کرم خود خوار زیرمه ونه کرم
21. چه خدای ورسره بد شي دستي له شرعي رد شي
22. بنده مه اوسه غره خدای له هر چا دي سره
23. رانده بنځه په خدای سپارلي ده
24. چه خدای ئي ساتي د پيشو خامن به اوي کښي و ساتي
25. چه نه ورکوي مولا څه به ورکوي دولا

GOOD LOOKS.

1. ميره کوتي ورسپي څپره ور
2. سري يو رنگ جامه دوه رنگ
3. خيال هم خواري غواړي
4. خيال په برمنده کونه نه شي
5. څو کړي زړه د چري لايقه نه

GOOD AND BAD LUCK.

1. چه خوارانو روژي ونيولي ورځي هم ستري شوي

5. اوبه په اوبو ووري
6. د کونډي دوه غوايه وو يو ووت نه بل ننووت نه
7. سم د کونډي څوي وشه او سم په کلي زنج گډ شه
8. بخت يا په پتي دي يا په کوتي
9. بېړي په بخت چلېږي
10. تکه هر چير ته د خوار په کور پر يوزي
11. خوار دلي هم خوار په هندوستان هم خوار
12. کم بخت چه منده و هي په خولي پرزي
13. د کم بخت شرع له قاضي سره وي
14. کار چه بي وخت شي بي بخت شي
15. چا چه ورځي شي کړي ور ته بلا شي خپلي وزي
16. له ميره سره سيالي شي او له بخت سره ئي نه شي
17. چه بخت ئي يارشي کور ئي بازار شي چه بخت ئي خوار شي کور
ئې ناتار شي
18. سل ورځي تخت بڼه دي که يوه گړي بخت نه يوه گړي بخت
19. يو ساعت بد د سلو کالو زنج
20. خوار ته مه ور کړي نوکان چه پري وگروي ځان
21. خوار ته مه ور کړي بزه چه ئي و نيسي تر پښه
22. چه خداي ورسره بد شي په باران کښي خړي ور شي
23. چير ته لور چير ته لنگي که د خوار نه وي کم بختي
24. د څښتن چه کم بختي وي سپي ئي نيم خوبې وي
25. خوار و بلوسېږي بختور و پوهېږي
26. چه دا دسويو اوتاگ دي اودا دشپانه لور دي يوه ورځ به سره واوري
27. يتيم ټوله ورځ روژد نيولي وه ماښام ئي به لدو ماته کړه

GOODNESS AND WICKEDNESS.

1. په بدو کښي صبر کوه په ښو کښي تلوار
2. زر چه پاک وي له اوره ئي څه پاک وي
3. اسلام تر توري لاندي دي
4. سيد به نه وي که سيد وي سني به نه وي که سني وي ثاني به ئي نه وي
5. که بد کوي آخر به پشيماني کوي
6. ښه د هغه دي چه ښه د لري
7. راست اوسه بيا ملاست اوسه
8. ښه هغه دي چه اواز ئي د ښو وي
9. په ښه خوي سره پردي عالم خپل پري
10. عمر خوي د بدوشه څکه خپل تر پردي کيري
11. سري په خوي سره ښائسته دي په رنگ سره غونه هم ښائسته ده
12. نيکي ته مخ کوه بدې ته شا
13. ډاک شه په ډاک پر يوزه له ډاکه هېچا څه وري نه دي
14. چه د قام کمه غواړي کمه نه ئي خمله شي
15. چه نيت ئي بد پري ملت ئي بد پري
16. نه د کاسير سترگي در پري نه د غله لاس
17. توره سره ښه د پيژنم چه لم د سپين دي
18. چه شپه تياره شي بدان تيره شي
19. چه بد گزي بد پري
20. سودر ته چاويل چه ولي د خلق سودر بولي ويل ئي چه دا تول مي
و ويره دي ناز رسره کوي
21. و خوي هغه خواره چه د و خيري تر غاړه
22. د حدک . نکا د لسه خندانه

22. روزي مړ شه عمر پر شه
 23. چه كلي په نامه لري يو خوي له نورو ښه لري
 24. زر چه چرته وي هله ئي قدر وي
 25. سپين په تورو کښي ښه برينښي
 26. بلا نه له مزکي نه له اسمانه له خپله زبانه
 27. د نيکي تخم بدې ده
 28. هاتي چه ژوندي وه يولاک وه او چه مړ شه دوه لاکه شه
 29. چه نه خوري لور و خوري

HASTE AND DELIBERATION.

1. تر اوبو وخته کالي کاري
 2. چه تر کاله شي تر خدانه شي
 3. فرصت رحمانې دي بیره شیطاني ده
 4. د مکي تگ په صبر لنډيږي
 5. بیره سپي کوي چه رانده کونگري زيروي
 6. دومره سهيده چه ورغومي ستریدل اودومره نه سهيده چه سري پخيدل
 7. چه و سهيري و سوديږي
 8. پاک وار که ناپاک گذار که
 9. ولي داريږي پي هم په وار ماسته کيږي
 10. چه باغ پوخ شه باغوان کور شه

15. انتظار له قتلہ بد دي
 16. که په صبر سره تور کانري لعل کيږي لعل ئي مه کړي دزرگي په څگر خو
 17. خوا حلاله نه وه او تلبرثي په سرور ته نيولي وه

HOME.

1. که گزري گزري آخر د خاي دنگوان دي
 2. هر سري په خپل وطن کښي بادشاه دي
 3. هر سري ته خپل وطن کشمير دي
 4. سل روپي پور کړه دژمي شپي په کور کړه
 5. ځملاست هله ووچه پلار د ژوندي وه اوس هسي دسر لگول دي
 6. مسافري بده بلاده
 7. که په کور امير وي په باهر فقير وي

HONOUR AND SHAME.

1. يار مي د خړوي خوچه زه پوري خړ نه يم
 2. په درنو دروند په سپکو سپک
 3. درياب په لوبښي نه وچيږي
 4. کاروان ته که سپي وغاږي د کاروان څه پرکميږي
 5. درياب دسپي په خوله نه پليتيږي
 6. په سلو مي هر کړي په يوه مي پر مه کړي
 7. پت ښه دي که لاکه نه پت
 8. په پت کښي تور موسلي ښه دي
 9. هر مي کړه پر مي مه کړه
 10. د مېړه لوزگوره د مزکي فصل دښځي ښايست

11. ته ځما شيرې ته لاس مه را وړه زه به شال ته د ستالاس نه دروړم
12. درياب په کانږي نه خړپړي
13. چه نوم ټي واخلي په ننگ ټي ومړه
14. سرکه غمټ وي هم پتکي غواړي
15. فقير کله د سپرې د پاره کند په اور اچوي
16. ميره مرگړه اوسپکوه ټي مه
17. چه پک شه خوشپک شه
18. څه وهلي څه وژلي
19. د سيال د سيال گيرې جا مي واغنده سپينکي
20. چه په خپلي خور نه شر ميري په بلي به څه وشرميري
21. بس کوه شا مکه په آخر د وو هله
22. يوسرې وه نوم ټي نه وه په مسجد کښي ټي وخرل مسجد خړي ټي
نوم شه
23. کم سري گناه ټي لوي که
24. دم چه په ډول گدشي بيا ټي څه شرم دي
25. چو هاري ته چاويل چه له چانه شرميري ويل ټي له خپله سياله
26. مال مي تر سر څار کړي اوسر مي تر شرم څار کړي
27. په سوډر پوري خبل نوم اور دي
28. په زمري مي د وي د گيدرد را باندي نه وي
29. وزه هم چه ځملي ځاي په پېبو پاکوي

HUSBANDRY, WEATHER, AND HEALTH.

1. لره د آباده کړه چه پاته بره شوه
2. په هل ختلی ننه نه په را شه

3. په پرديو دروزو باندي گميد بنو كړل سره لاندي
4. كه ووهي گرسټ ته به شي په جا مو پټه كه نه ووهي گرسټ ته
گري لغرخت
5. چه طمعه د په مزكه كره تومننه د پرور كه كره
6. شل ورخي كندون كوه يوه ورخ اوبه لكوه
7. پولې ته د حيله كره حيله د نه حيله كره
8. سهيل چه واده كه د هر چا جا مي به و كه
9. له موتي برلو نه شي
10. اوږي كه پټ وي په راشه نه خرگند شي
11. د پو كربي و فو
12. چه په طمعه د كرو شي هغه پا ته په ميرو شي
13. د لوگري چه زره نه وي لور په لوته تيروي
14. چه په خپله كرونده گري كه شودي وي تول غوري شي
15. زاري ولاروي لكه خاري بوبر ولاروي خمبستن ژاري
16. اوبه پندي كره باجري غوندي كره
17. لازاري خامن دي لازاري غمن دي
18. چه نه و كاري نو كه په لاس به نه و نيسي روكه
19. چه په تل روره وي په تاندوبه دوره وي
20. چه په تل هستي وي په تاندوبه نيستي وي
21. چه طمعه د په خدا كره تومننه د پيدا كره
22. نالي كرونده د اوبو تاخت دي موتي كرونده د وزو تاخت دي
23. تاند و به به د مور كه و چوبه به د سپور كه
24. غنم په دښمن كره با جري په سجنر كره
25. چه مزكه كه كړي كه به د كړي چه مزكه وړي كړي وړي به د ك

26. په ماتي څه تخم اچوه
27. وار کال د گل گل وډ بيا د يوه غوايه غوبل وډ
28. چه کاتک کيوزي په نوبلا پريوزي
29. اسواره ده اسوگته ده
30. نه تل وي باران نه تل وي فرزندان
31. و سه په وړه ده چيتر په غره ده
32. د هندوانو چه بيرو اچيده شي د مني کرونده په تيريده شي
33. کيله کيله د خدای په حيله
34. گته لا د غينره کی ده لا د گره کی ده
35. د تل کرونده د هندوانو بريده ده
36. تاندوبه کرونده گوتو ختل دي
37. خدای چه مهربان شي په گلو او په غلوئي سم ووروي
38. باران د په راشه کيره
39. کرونده دو مره بنه ده چه آس پرور غري نه چه پرو ترپي
40. و سه له بنکي سپرلي له پاسه
41. پورب وايي که زه چليدي د دربنو لاس او پيني به شنه شول
42. چه له تل سره ئي کاروي هغه تل په غم هساروي
43. تل خوار کړي تللي بيار ته نه دي بيا راغلي
44. چه تل ورک کړي دي د هغو ميله نه مونده کيره
45. د تل کرونده ماته لينده ده
46. له هغي قحطي مي ژغوري چه اور بشي شي سم سمسوري
47. تاندوبي وال لونگي زروي او وچوبي وال شبري زروي
48. چه فصل پوخ شي داروئي رودل دي
49. اسو و د سوو

10. باران خو داسي وي زيات خو تندر وي
51. يو ئي كړي سل ئي خوري
52. چه په آسمان اورد شي مالگه اوبه شي
53. مزكه تول په توكل كوي خو مدار ئي په ساتلو كښي دي
54. سپينه وورول كوي توره دارول كوي
55. څه د شي په هغه سپرلي چه نه د سخي څري نه وري
56. له شنه آسمانه ووريدل نه شي
57. چه په وقت دكلو نه وي بارانو نه چه بي وخته باران ووري څه ئي كي
58. په اصل باران يوبه دي خوشحاله
59. پگنر ئي پرزوي چيتر ئي لتوي
60. غوښي لاچاره خوري لائي ساره خوري
61. ځناوران ځلي وپرزول او نوم د پگنر بد شه
62. مالا سپينه ځله ټرله چه توري اوبه كړي گرنگونه
63. د ډيرو درمند خرو خورلي وي
64. چه را و خيژي گوبان سا مه كره مونگان
65. چه را و خيژي تلي بيا مه كره كښلي
66. شولي چه ترنگيري تبي لنگيري
67. كړونده اسانه ده پالنه ئي گرانه ده
68. د پاگن په دوو ژبو غلظه تم شه
69. سيئي چه الوزي باد ئي قاصد وي
70. په تيرو اوبو پسي كورزونه وهي
71. په وقت نمونځونه كوه بي وخته للونه كوه
72. د وربخي دنمر نه مي وساتي

IGNORANCE AND FOOLISHNESS.

1. ختل ئي په توت زده نه وي او ملا کيکرته تړي
2. کم عقل اول ننگ که بيا جنگ که
3. نه ياروي نه هونبیاروي هسي د خوايه او د کتوئي ناتاروي
4. کم عقل دومره په بل نه و که لکه په ځان
5. ليوني په کلي پوري خاندي او کلي په ليوني پوري
6. شيلي که مي پوولي نه دي هم کش خو مي ئي اوريدلي دي
7. مور که خاوري کنه خاوري د په کونه
8. خر په خندا نه پوهيږي
9. که شپه تياره ده خور او مور نيمکارده
10. د خرد مينه د لتو وهل دي
11. په ناقابل طبيب مي سر شه درد مي د زړه دارو د سترگوراکوي :
12. په ډيروړندو يو کونړ جمعداري کوي
13. خر که تر مکي لار شي چه بيرته راشي هغه خردي
14. خر زور شه او د څيښتن کور ئي و نه پيژاند
15. په پردي مال کم عقلان خونبيري
16. چه نه نکروي نه فکر له دي هسي بيداري په خوب خوښ يم
17. په برگولي کښي ډوبيري
18. سخ د هغه لندان چه نه په سود وي نه په زيان
19. د خره څيښتن له ثقله پلي خړ ئي په کور کښي لوي شه ده لانه دي

23. که ډیر هوښیار یې کم عقل و پوښته
24. چه نه پوهېږي هغه ته یوه برخه دوي کره
25. په ډیرو لیوني خوښېږي
26. د خړوله خوید سره څه دي
27. نه سون نه فائده بریره کل کره پاینده
28. دود جاهلان زنجیر پر یکوي
29. په میښ چه لاس و هی نو سو په وراچوي
30. خر په صابون نه سپینېږي
31. خره ښکر کتل غوږونه ئي بایلل
32. اوربشي که د روپي شل منه وي د خره خولپه دي
33. خر پلار کره چار پر بار کره نو خړد پلار نه شه
34. لنډیه غوايه په لوره و خيژه چه څوگ کوي ته هم هسي کوه
35. آس ئي هغه ته ور کر چه تنگ تړل ئي نه زده
36. لوره خره و خورل اوسونک د کلال و پرسیده
37. له ضروره خر هم انا نا له شي
38. که خرو یوي و هلي نو غوږونه به ئي لوي نه وو

JOY AND SORROW.

1. چه و پرزي خوږ څه رنگ نه شي
2. يتيم په ژړا تينگ دي
3. وير له ډوله سره نه شي
4. مه له غمه پرزه مه له خوښي ورزه
5. نه له غمه څوگ مړه شوي دي نه له خوښي څوگ الوتلي دي
6. په وير کښي هر څوگ خپل مړي ژاري

7. پردي غم له وا وروسوزدي
8. نه هلته بنادي وه چه زووم نه هلته بنادي ود چه ئي يو ورم
9. د وراري په وراري سون کيږي د بوري په بوري
10. څا من خواره دي غيشي ئي کاره دي
11. زد د دروغزن يم خوادي د خداي جوړه کړي
12. چه په جهان کښي ئي خونبي وي دغه کس دي
13. پردي غم ينمه بنادي ده
14. د آس ملا جنت دي گيده ئي دوزخ دي
15. په دنيا دود خيزه لذت که سواي د آسو خوب د جنو په ورنو نه
16. مه خو شحال وي مه خاني وي حج په لاس تور موسلي وي خو
مان دي که ځواني وي
17. سخ د دغه سړي چه ئي شم په بل سړي
18. چه نه وي هم غم چه وي هم شم
19. گاجري په خوند د نه يم په خراب د يم
20. دنيا په اميد خورده شي
21. پښي مي د پاس وي که په خرد وي که په آس وي
22. ريرد مي دم و خريله او عيد دم نه شي
23. يو غم له بله غمه نه شره پيږي
24. دغه څه دي چه بي ورکړو ئي زړه ښه دي
25. څنيس ئي خوري څنيس ئي نغري
26. پلار او مور ئي خو ښيږي چه څوي موسټريږي هسي خبره دي چه
عمر ئي لنديږي
27. اوبه په دند دريږي او غم په غم دريږي
28. هرکله د څه که زړه د ښه که

29. چه په مال د اختر شه کور د ډگر شه
 30. راشه له هرچا پاته راشه له هرچا سمه راشه له هرچا کوزه
 31. له خوښي د خبر نه شوم او له غمه د وسوم توره ټپه
 32. اوبه به تيري شي کا نري نه باته شي
 33. زه د دپلار ویر کوم او ته مي د خولي پښي کوي
 34. ورځ د هغوه چه ښکل کوي شپه د هغوه چه سکوندل کوي
 35. چرک چه بانگو نه کوي خپلي سترگي ژري

KNOWLEDGE.

1. عقل لعل او گوهر دي نه په زور او نه په زر دي
 2. چه له خپله عقله وي پلي هغه تل په غم نيولي وي
 3. ژبه زده کړه يوه مه کړه
 4. هر سړي له خپل عقل بادشاه دي
 5. عقل له بي عقله زده کيږي
 6. له جنگ نه زه را غلي يم او خبري ته کوي
 7. کار چه بي استاد وي بي بنياد وي
 8. که د درست کلي ملک يني چه له خانه خبر نه يي نو هلک يي
 9. هوښيار نه پرزي او چه پرزي بيا په خوله پرزي
 10. هوښيار مرغه نه بنديري او چه بنديري نو په دواړو پښو بنديري
 11. ډير هوښيار ډير خوار
 12. طبيب کوم طبيب دي چه په خان ي تير شوي وي
 13. د زرو قدر زر گر پښي
 14. د حکيم خبري بي حکمنه نه وي
 15. تا نده ژبه هري خوا ته گرزي

LABOUR.

1. گټه ټي د مزدور غوندې خوره ټي د څيښتن غوندې
2. چه خپله اوږه زهيره نه کړي پردي څوي به خپل نه کړي
3. چه در شي له بله کوره په تا به شپه که تکه توره
4. خپله اخسته په برغولي کښي هم ښه ده
5. چه کاره پتویري وړي هغه اونبان دي
6. له پراته زمري شورن گیدر ښه دي
7. خپل کټ خپله پوزکي له هرڅه دي خوږ کي
8. په یوه لاس لو کوه په بل لاس کوه هڅ پړوا د نشته ریره کل کوه
9. پړني چار د که ښه وکړه لاس د تور که د بده وکړه مخ د تور
10. که شنغري ژور نه کړي پردي څوي لور به خپل نه کړي
11. چه خر نه شي غور به نه شي
12. خري کاره کهتری گوند خدای در که بهتری
13. له بیکار نه بیکار ښه دي له جاهل نه تور مار ښه دي
14. لاس و هه خدای یادوه
15. یو په سل را څي نه سل په یوه
16. د ښکار غوښي د څان غوښي
17. بي مزده چار د هیجان نه زده
18. چه له خپله کسبه نه خوري که ولي وي ښه به نه خوري
19. کار آسان دي پال ټي گران دي
20. دیر غواره لږ نغاره
21. طیار خور حرام خور
22. که میلمه یي ست خونه یي
23. چه بیکار وي که سردار وي څه په کار وي

24. چه کمکي ئي اخلي بږگونه د خوار به شنه شي څنگونه
 25. سند ورجه سور دي زور د تنور دي
 26. کور وور له خپله لاسه خور
 27. چه څوک خو بو نه کوي د هغو کتي پيدا کيږي
 28. يو سلام مي واچاوه هغه هم په هندو برابر شه

LYING.

1. چه رښتيا وړ د رومي دروغو به په ملک اور لگولي وي
 2. دروغ د ميره وزر دي
 3. د دروغو منزل لند دي
 4. په سترگو ويني په ځوي لوري
 5. دروغزن دروغ وايي او رښتني ئي قياس کوي
 6. مدعي سست گواه ئي چست
 7. رښتيا ويل يا زور اور کوي يا کم عقل
 8. رښتيا که باندې دي هم تاريخه دي
 9. سري مردار دي په لوز حلال دي
 10. دروغ ويل د کوتي ترپ دي

LIBERALITY AND PARSIMONY.

1. اوله ورځ بادشاه بله ورځ وزير بله ورځ له خاورو خمير

6. ديوه ست بڼه دي دبل پت
7. مړي چه کوربانه خوښوي ميلمانه ئي خوښه وي
8. په فقير که يو در بند شي سل پر خلاص دي
9. چه ور کړي گل شي چه و خوري تل شي
10. سخيان د خدای دوستان
11. خوگ چه ننگ که هغه توري شيرئ لنگ که
12. کال ته کسه لواړوايه
13. چه اوگره سر پرې ميلمه ډير پرې
14. د دوو کورو ميلمه خوار وي
15. جنگ په وسله شي ننگ په غله شي
16. بللي خور و لي
17. د سلو بلليو ځاي و شي د يوه نا بللي ځاي نه شي
18. نه تا څه را ته کينبول نه ما څه په کښي پرسول
19. نوم د لنگر کور د ډگر
20. شني گورگوري مي نه خوري په پخو پسي گرزيدم پري مي با يللي
21. درياب که لوي دي د سپي په ژبه دي
22. کور مي در څار څکه د مه وه
23. د بخيل مال د خوارو دي
24. چه ډيروی خو ډيروی چه لروى په بسم الله نه ډير پرې
25. بد شوم دي بد ئي نوم دي
26. اخوند اخوند مار دي د ښو ځوانانو کار دي اخوند اخوند تاجر
دي يوزه يم بل مي څوي بل ملا اکبر دي
27. اخوند صاحبه غوري دي غرمه لره سري دي دا نور د په لاس کښي
څه دي نغند دي څه عجب ئي خوند دي

28. چه سړي زړېږي حرص ئي زياتېږي
29. هندو ژول پيازي خورل
30. شوم گدر تازيان کوي
31. چرک چه خو خربېږي کونه ئي تنگېږي
32. نه خرمر داریده نه سپي ورنه ته
33. مورک په غار ننوتلي نه شو او په لکي پوري ئي مخ ور پسې
34. چه ما ما و سر ته اس که د خوري بي امد و ته بد ا شي
35. د گيډي لار ژوره ده
36. اخوند مور شه پاته ئي کور شه
37. طمعدار په د وارد جتانه خوار
38. ته وايي بس نس د وايي لس
39. مرغه دانه ويني لومه نه ويني
40. چه دنس په هوا درومي که ئي غم نه وي غم به مومي
41. که واړه دنيا د يوه شي هغه بونه د مور نه شي
42. چه د وني ترک شي د وزي ور ترپ شي
43. منگور خاوري په احتياط سره خوري چه تما مي به شي
44. په پردې کور سل ميلمانه هېڅ نه دي
45. دنيا په نه ولاړه ده هېچا لس کړي نه ده
46. کوس هم تنگ خاوري او د خوي سر هم غمت خاوري
47. چه په تلبر مرانه کړي د دنيا زور لري

3. مُلک خراړو ویران که او نوم د قارگانو بد شه
4. واز که ئي د پیشو په لکي پوري و ترله
5. حق د حلا لیدلو د بزووه او په کنبی را غل چرگان
6. گناه په خپله و که او لعنت په شیطان وایي
7. یو ئي گتې بل ئي ختي
8. گرم به کم قوت وي او ختي به د زوراور ختلي وي
9. خاي وه د بازانو و نیو کارگانو
10. خواړه خوله خوري او شر میري سترگي
11. غوښي نورو و خوري او هډوکي د گنجي په غاړه کرل
12. ماسته بیزو و ختل او خوله ئي د غرنجی ککره کره
13. تیل شما لگيري او په گته ئي نور خوشيري

OLD AGE.

1. چه ستر ناست وي او کم خبري که په مثال د سپي دي خوځ
د ئي کوري که
2. سپينه ريره غاښ کنډاس واد نه خست د دنيا له چارو لاس
3. دزازه سره مه کوه مر به شي د واره سره مه کوه هيره ئي شي
4. مور او پلار چه زاره شي ترگور و خواړه شي
5. له سپيني ريري خدای هم حیا کوي
6. سپينه ريره خاوري پينه
7. سري چه زور شي هر زحمت ور جور شي

POVERTY:

1. د خوار اخوند په بانگ خوځ کلمه هم نه وایي

3. تشه لاسه ته مي دنمن يي
4. گنجي په سرتار نه لري په چا کار نه لري
5. بار خروزي او کونه د کلال خورشي
6. که په نورو بڼه شپه ده په خوار هغه شپه ده
7. نن خوار تل خوار
8. نيستي پاکه بادشاهي ده دولت مند ئي له لذت خبر نه دی
9. ورک شي پوره چه ميره باسي له کوره
10. د حره نا که له غمه ده برخه ئي کمه ده
11. خدای چه سري خوار وي په ورځ دوه واره پخوي
12. د ادي دومره غوري وو چه په سر تمام شول
13. مسکينه يوه سترگه د توره بله د سپينه
14. يا خوار مه وي يا هوبنار مه وي
15. که خواريم هسي خوار نه يم چه د مسافرو خوري پتوم
16. که د گبدر خپلي خپلي وي پر ئي به ئي ولي پتولي
17. له پوروري زيات خوار نه شته
18. چه نه د وي خپله غونډه بل ته به ناست يي و چه شونده
19. هند و په هت کښي شوي خيرو او شما د مور د ننده لغره ورځ خيرو
20. خوار د چا خوي او ورور نه دي
21. وينځه چه توده شي هلته ووده شي
22. مزدور له خدايه دور
23. د کوتا نري لير د څه دي چچ په سر سبي تو کول
24. د خوارانو کتوئي په مبر بخيري
25. د خوار چير کي تل د زور او رو نسي خيري
26. خوار د ارزان حيله و کړي په وار دوه جامي زروي

27. په مېرو خوار په ددو خوار
28. په خوارانو پوري دود عیبونه دي چه وري خولي کوي وايي چه ستوني ئي تنگ دي چه غوتي خولي کوي بيا وايي چه هېڅ ئي نه دي ليدلي
29. که وطن اوگرد شي د خوار خو يود چمچه شي
30. اوبس خو په پيسه دي چه پيسه نه لرم څه وکرم
31. خوارانو مال په پلو څري
32. خواري عيب نه دي عيب غلا او کانسيري دي
33. د پيشو په سرد ستني داغ ډير دي
34. يو ببلول يو ئي کچکول
35. يود مي خرد ده يود مي کته نه له پورته مي پروا شته نه له ښکته
36. ورک شي پوره چه ورک د کرل دود کوره

PRIDE, SELF-CONCEIT, AND LAME EXCUSES.

1. سلنده چه څر به شي د چو ډاري کرد په خپله ور کړه شي
2. پکه د خپلي خور په وينستو سخ کوي
3. چمچه هم په ځان غره شود چه په ما اوگرد سره شوه
4. لوخي د قام سپکه غوښتله سر ئي په درياب کښي وچ شه
5. هر چا ته خپل عقل ښه ليدد شي
6. لگري د زرکي يون زد کاوه خپل ئي هير که
7. وزې په مېري پوري خندل چه دا لو څه کونه د ورک شه
8. سترمي کړي او سترمي د غاري مه کړي
9. ترور ئي ته خپله سيان غته شکاره شوه
10. هر څوک وايي چه ځما د غم کي خوند ښه دي

11. خرهغه دي كته ئي بله
12. هېجا ته د خپلي خولي بوي نه ورځي
13. چه كم نه شي سم به نه شي
14. چا چه ځان كمين كه د جنت براق ئي زين كه
15. له خره څه مردار دي چه دي خري اوبه نه څښي
16. سمه سويه و لتيده اوسم تازي ته څل وړ څل
17. چه دادي وار شه با با بيمار شه
18. لگر هم څل خوري هم وزر ځاندي
19. په كور كښي د نه چنزه شته نه بته په شمله د شوم غلظه
20. كه خواره پردي ووگيده خو د خپله وه
21. بيگاري سري په پرده ستيازو كښيني
22. شرگي وايي چه ځما تر كوچو پسته څويه او لگر وايي چه ځما تر
لتي سپينه څويه
23. كه د تادي اوربشي ډيري ځما له نازه بسترگي توري
24. خليل كوزي ته ويل چه دا دود څارو نه د ورك شه
25. اوبه څه د سم دي چه پاته د خرڅه

SELFISHNESS AND INGRATITUDE.

1. زه د سنا په برگ يم او ته ځما په مرگ يي
2. له بروي څوي نه ميراث ښه دي
3. د پلار زړه په څوي او د څوي په وچ كانه يي
4. چه ځان وي په ضرور نه څوي ويني نه لور
5. د گيدو څل په كار شول څنگله ته ئي زغلول
6. برينبول ئي عيب لري پريكول درد نا خلف شه د پدر په هڅ كښي رڅه

7. یوه ځان کندن کا وه او بل لور ور نه غو نبتله
8. چه ئي غيشي له ما زده کړه بيا ئي خپن ځما په سينه کړه
9. اول ځان بيا جهان
10. خر په ځان حيران څيښتن ئي په بار حيران
11. پلار ئي له لوړي مريده او څوي ئي خواږه ور نه غو نبتله
12. پيشود خداي په رضا مورک نه وژني
13. مور د وړي له حاله څه زده
14. ورور که سپور دي د خپل کور دي
15. چه ځما په کور ماره شي هغه ځما د مور ميره شي

STRENGTH.

1. له زوراوره يا لري يا غلي
2. چه په زور ورسره نه يي برابر د هغو په څنگ مه څه زورور
3. د زوراورو اوبه په پيچو مو خيژي
4. مه کوه په چا هسي به وشي هم په تا
5. خور خور ده مور مور ده چار د زور دي
6. زور ئي زوراور او رو ته ور کړي دي
7. حق نه دي بي زوره هسڅ نه دي
8. چه د زور او رو نهنکي خوري هغه خپل ورشکي خوري
9. سل تکه د زرگر يو د آهنگر
10. چه زور د زوراور شي پتي له تخم سره خپل شي
11. يو څر بل غره ته نه و دريږي يو بنده بل بنده ته و دريږي
12. تړه که مضبوطه ده د نوز په مخ کني هسڅ نه ده
13. چه ځان وي په ياران وي چه ياران ئي نه وي ځان په بيد بيد يا
حيران وي

14. که د بلي زره وي د گري د ما تو لو بس وي
15. زور اور غوړونه لري سترگي نه لري
16. له آزار نه بازار نه شته
17. نه به د زور اور خوي شي نه به د ورور شي هسي کانږي به د په کور شي
18. اوبه را غلي په ورخونه اوبه د هغو دي چه زيات وي په سپرونه
19. که تر کړي که پر کړي وزر به د و کارم
20. تل چمچه په کونډ که کښي وي يوه ورځ خود کونډ که هم په چمچه
کښي شي
21. چه لوي دولت غواړي لوي د دانت غواړي چه لوي ولايت غواړي
روغ د صورت غواړي
22. چه زږي في ملک کلي في هلاک وي
23. که اوبه زور لري مزکه سور لري
24. له زور اوړو يا پنډي اوړي يا کنډي
25. گټه د خيښتن ده د سپي خو هسي دود دي
26. کانږي که کم دي د گري محکم دي
27. زور د چل ملا ماتوي
28. شرعه ښه کار دي خو زور في يار دي
29. د مښني خودا خو ښي ده چه ښخيري نه
30. غر که لوړ دي په سر في سمه لار ده
31. د نوي و دان له پوره مي و ساتي د کم زوري سړي له زوره مي و ساتي
31. مار که مار دي د پيشو لا چار دي

WEALTH.

1. دولت د هندو بربره ده
2. چه په لاس کښي د وي خوب کوه چه له لاسه د ووزي غوړيو کوه

3. د زړود څيښنن لار ارته ده
4. گيدر خپل پوست په بلا کښيوست
5. دنيا د هغه ده چه خوري ئي نه چه ساتي ئي
6. دنيا ئي هغه ته ور کړه چه د پوزي پاکول ئي نه زده
7. چه سزه خوري هغه سره خري
8. چه له خپلي دنيا مست وي له هر چا سره ئي قصد وي
9. شور وي لا شور وي
10. هاتي که له تندي مري په گيده کښي ئي يوزنگون اوبه ولاړي وي
11. که ئي ډيره کړي قارون شونډ خو به تيره شي پرون شونډ
12. دنيا د کمر سوري دي
13. چه پسي لري لوي له کابله ور ته رادرومي
14. څوک ور پسي مري څوک ور نه مري
15. چه زر وي زاري څه وي
16. گته د له چا و کړه له خپله ور ورد دا هېڅ گته نه ده
17. که ډيرمي دي تيرمي نه دي
18. که پرون کمرود نن گودر دي
19. چه عمر خان ود د هرچا ځان وه چه عمرې شه د هرچا سپي شه
20. ځواني د وي غوري د نه وي

WOMEN.

1. مور که وچه وي هم د څوي رڼول بائده دي
2. کونده ئي پريښوده تنگه ئي پر کښيوه
3. پيغله په شپه کوه کونده په کته کوه طلاقه هياچري مه کوه
4. نه پکه په چا سر کوي نه دا چا سر کوي

5. لیور که لر بر شي خو اخر په خپلي ورنډاري برابر شي
6. که بودي زبرگه وي نو د ډيرو کورونه به ئي ډگر کړي وو
7. د مور کوس که غوښي دي روا نه دي
8. چه مي نه گنډله ورته هغي و تر له نته
9. د کونډي نه دين شه نه ئي غينر شه
10. د کاسيري جل نه وه د سپيني خولي ئي مات که
11. که له ورنډاري نه زهير پري له ور وړه زهير شه
12. چه تور نه شي سپور به نه شي
13. د پلار د کور له خواري به خلاصه شي او د سخر د کور له خواري به

خلاصه نه شي

14. کونډه د خوي په حيله له ميره ووته
15. مور ئي کسه لور ئي نسه
16. سترگي له اصله توري ښي دي لږه رانجو سترگي لولي توري نه
17. اور له راغلي د کور مير من شوي
18. د ميره لوزگوره د ښځي ښايست
19. چه ډير غواړي جنگو نه هغه دوه کوي وادونه
20. چه ځوان وي د جونو ځان وي چه زور شي د جونو پيغور شي
21. ښځه يا په کور کښي ښه ده يا په کور کښي
22. يو ساعت د ديدن ښه دي نه د صدرون دري انډي اوربشي
23. په تشن کاته د عمر څه شي لکه سپي چه په هډوکي زړه ئي ښه شي
24. مين به ښه لرم خوراک به ئي سپينه خوله لرم استوگه به ئي په وړانه لرم
- که ليوني شه د ليوني هوده نه لرم
25. هغه ناوي چه په ځان ښايسته نه وي څوک ئي څه کوي ښايست

26. ليلي يوه ياران ئي ډير نيولي دينه
27. شما ډڅه وکړه چه لاري زه چه په مخ زلفي لرم بل به يار کومه
28. اول ئي وياړه خيروه بيا ميره خيروه
29. چه ئي موروي بد اوازده لورئې نه وي نيک اوازده
30. غوا ډگنر کوه بنڅه ډ جنر کوه
31. خور او لور غور ډولي دي چه څان ته ئي نزي کوي پر غور پري
چه له څانه ئي لري کوي نو سپي ئي خوري
32. خور او لور په خت خوراگ بنه لرد او له څانه ئي کو بنه لره
33. ورور ئي کسه خور ئي پر لنسه
34. که څوي او ورور په خواست دي ميره هر بوتې ته ناست دي
35. خري موري ادي موري
36. خور ئي اسپه کور ودانه وي خور ئي بنڅه کور ويرانوي
37. غرونه بي اوبونه وي کورونه بي ميرونه وي
38. چه خود دين په بنه څپ له ننځو به گوشه څي
39. چه په کونډکه کنيي ډ برخه نه وي په ډگر ئي وله چه مانه سي
40. قوتي کيري خون نه په سکونډلو
41. ډ څوي په ژبه مور پوهيري
42. واگ ډ دي گوهرې که پلیمنه خوري که سنگري
43. پردئي موري که بنه وايي بد به گوري خپلي موري که بد وايي بنه
به گوري
44. خالي کنډول نسکور بنه دي له مرداري بنڅي ډگر کور بنه دي
45. کونده ډ ميره وکړي چه نوم ئي بد نه شي
46. نوي ناوي راغله نوي دود ئي راوړ
47. بن ډ ختو هم بده ډډ

48. دکور ناوي هلکه وي
49. د بښخي عتل تر پوندي لاندې دي
50. دغه څه ميره وي خندني بښڅه درلي نه شي او دغه څه بښڅه وي
چې خندني ميره درلي نه شي
51. که دا وار خلاص شم له دي آشنانه بيا مي توبه ده له جمله اشنانه
52. نه ئي ننګ شته نه تيغونه تر خانانو دماغې دي پيغلي جونه
53. بي ريباره ياري گرانه ده
54. په ليلي هر سړي مين دي سخ د هغو دي چه ليلي شوه پر مينه
55. کونده چه ميره که ولي وړاندي ئي نه که
56. په وړاندې سترګه مي گوره که مخ مي تور دي انديښني مي کړي دينه
57. که سوخي کونده سوخي ميراث خور ئي څه که
58. د خور لور په لمځي عبث کوي خواري
59. مور مي مرد کړه مايله کړه
60. موزي نه کور لري نه له چا پيغور لري
61. نه کوم موزي چاري نه کوم لونګ به په درنه مياچن انډه کوم
62. مور خوړلي خوي رو دلي
63. چه ورور ئي نه کړي درباندي سور به ئي نه کړي
64. بغون د کوني څرک دي

5. په الاجي د لوبي کړي اوس په خوتو بند شوي
6. غوښي که سوي وي له پيتي ښي دي
7. ځان کندن هسي آسان نه دي چه هره زړه ئي کولي شي
8. چه د لنگيدونه وي نو ځله بلار بيدي
9. په وچه زمکه لا مېو وهلي نه شي
10. چه ژوندي وي خوښيدي اوس چه مري اينه د سوخي
11. د خميار خونه هسي سخا وه چه باران پروشه لا سخا شوه
12. په دوبييا نو پوري خپل نو کونه اور شول
13. بي له چريکي نه هم عيد شي
14. بي له چريکي عيد نه کيري
15. که چرک بانگ نه وايي هم صا نه شي
16. د خري که خورشي د خره پرڅه شي
17. څومره چه د پتوني وي همره پښي غزوه
18. روند چه ژاري په رندو سترگو هم ژلي شي
19. له لمده څه لمديري له وچه همخ نه
20. خر په غور نو وهه چه هنرائي هيره شي
21. د مېښي که ښکر ستردي په خپل سر ئي دي
22. پر بي سرينبه نه ښخيري
23. لکه چه غريزي هسي نه ووريزي
24. خپل لندي سوگه لره بل غل مه بوله
25. کوهي د بل په لار کښي مه کنه په خپله به وريوري
26. د وطن سويه د وطن سپي نيسي
27. که کور مهی وسه خندق مهی پوخ شه
28. چه گوره خوري چوشی به پراکه

29. د یش څنگه چه اوسې هغه به سوي جامې يوسې
30. رږبه څه به حاصل کړي د سويې له سرېه
31. هره و نه مه خوره يوه به د گند هير شي
32. پنځه سره گوتې په خوله مه منډه
33. په ډيرو ډمانو کښې هر مردار پري
34. مري غر کوي که ئې ژوندي اوري
35. ستاله خيره مې توبه ده خو سپي د رانه کوري کړه
36. که لنګي غواوي بکري څامن غواوي نو وچې غواوي ولي بکيري
37. ليوه که څپلي کولي خپل څان له نه ئې کولي
38. خر سپي د ليوه ورور دي
39. نه خر وهلی نه لشته ماته
40. ویش کوه مېرو ته گوره
41. خاوري لاري په ايرو پوري ئې وارول اوباک پر راغي دواړه يورلي
42. چه د ماما په نغري شي هغه واره ليوني شي
43. يوه بلا بلي بلا ته واځي چه بو
44. يوچا په کلي کښې نه پر يښ او ده ويل چه وسله مې د ملک کړه
- کيردي
45. نه هري سوري گوتې مه منډه
46. لاري وهه د خداي لار گوره
47. پيازد وي خو په نياز د وي
48. ياراته ودريره يارانته ودريره
49. چه څان ويني جهان ويني چه څان نه ويني هغه خو خاوري پيني
50. د خداي لار ده باريکه د پلار او خوي سره شريکه
51. چه ډير غر پري غلط به شي چه ډير خور عارت به شي

52. اوښته مه نيسه او چه نيسي ئي نو ټينگه ئي نيسه
53. سر له خدايه غواره. پگړي ډيري دي حميده
54. غوا که توره دد پټي ئي سپيني دي
55. مال چه د ټيښتن په دود نه وي حرام باله شي
56. چه يوه د ړندد شي په بله لاس و نيسه
57. په ژوندئي غوښه اور نه لگي
58. له بلا يا لري با وردنني
59. د قبر خاوري په قبر تماميږي
60. شجر په شيوه خوړ شي نه په توره
61. ځاي هغه سوځي چه اور باندي بليږي
62. څه د شي په هغه لوري چه نه د ځيلي وي به ټيري
63. چه تيغ چليږي ويڼي بيږي
64. } که بي ځايه زرکي نه و ښکي اواز نه صياد ځني خبروه نه شپباز
 } سکه له د خبري هسي معلومېږي چه خپل غردي هر سري لره غماز
65. که غوا راغله نغند په پټي که نه راغله پږدي
66. لکه ميندي هسي لونه لکه ژرندي هسي دوره
67. څه رنگ چه کري هسي به ريسي
68. اصيل ته اشارت کم اعل ته لور
69. غله په غله زده مله په مله زده
70. توره په کتوده غيشي - وينه دي
71. چه چنږي وي هلته غاښ نه وو چه غاښ وو هلته چنږي - وي
72. چه خوي وده هلته - پ ښه وو چه شوي وو هلته خوي نه وه

75. وني وني ته به چا پريکولي که تبرلاستي د نه وي له خپلي تني
76. ريښمين که زور شي دخره پروڼي نه ځني کاوه شي
77. اول زده کړه بيا کوزده کړه
78. د آس لته آس سيي
79. چه په گورو مري په زهروئي مه وژنه
80. تولاري اخستي نه شي
81. له جهان سره نتلي نه نتلي
82. پلار د څه کول خره ئي خسي کول څه ئي ترموندل خپلي جامي
پليتي. کړي
83. د ښو څوښو ښه زومنه وي
84. چه په سغه خوراک مومي کم بخت به غره له شي
85. چه غله ډيروي اوربشي کړه چه څامن ډيروي ودونه کوه چه د
ډيروي سوداگيري کوه
86. چرگ په تپ کښي مه څيروه په تلبر کښي څيروه
87. يو په توره ويسامه کوه يو په ښځه يو په اسپه بل په ابو
88. چه زده کړي په چيرئي هير به نه که په پيرئي
89. په خوله خور په نيت کور
90. داسي کوه چه مار هم مرشي او لور هم مات نه شي
91. چه نه د بولي مه ورځه چه نه د ژغوي مه ژغيره
92. په يوي لاري دوه واره څه په يوي قصي دوه واره مه څه
93. ډيرويل د قرآن ښه دي
94. له خوشي غريده پته خوله ښه ده
95. څوک چه کيوزي په خپلي خولي کيوزي
96. چه نه پوهيري څوانه که

97. که تري وي په خپله به اوبوله راشي
98. ارزان بي علت نه وي گران بي قيمته نه وي
99. چه په چيکر کسبي خيږي خاڅکي به ور پر يوزي
100. چه د درياب په غاړه څي خو به ور پر يوزي
101. پتکي چه له سر نه پر يوزي که په اوږو تم شي هم ښه دي
102. يوه خوله خوښه خوله
103. روند څه غواړي دوي سترگي
104. چه شپه شي ډار به وړه شي چه ورځ شي ډار په غره شي
105. خپل عمل دلاري مل
106. هر کار چه پوره نه وي هسي مه وايه چه وشه
107. شپه ترميان خدای مهربان
108. څه تر وړه پناه څه تر غره پناه
109. پسي شان بادشاه ارتيني ته هم زيارې کيږي
110. اوبن ته چاويل چه لورښه دي که څو وويل ئي چه په دواړو لعنت شه
111. منگور هم د غره لور هم د غره
112. چه اوږه وکارې ځاي ئي جووت وي
113. يوي تنرا وهلي زانږه د گيدر له انگولا هم ويرېږي
114. لوي نوزونه له لويو غرونو راځي اولويو نالو ته ځي
115. تر خورولې اميدوار ښه دي
116. زهر په زهروزي
117. چه په پيمانه شوه خونه ئي سپيره شوه
118. گمان گمان شي ايمان پرزيان شي
119. منافق روزه تي لکه د غوبل خوله تړلي غويي
120. د هر چا حلق به خپل وازگړ لوند دي

121. یوه ویسکه ادله د ادلي پینځه بله

22 غوښتل ئي په ډیر نیاز سره وي اوسترو ل ئي خواري غواري

1-3 نیت بیري ده نیت کبړي ده چه نیت ئي سمیري بیري ئي چلبړي

چه نیت ئي واواري کبړي ئي واواري

121. لک چه ته یي هسي زه یم خوري څه شي که واده یم

125. د یوه یار د پاره سل ریباره غواره

126. په کک یاد په لاک یاد

127. سودا په رضا خوینبي په خوینبي

128. چه تر کمر پریوت په خولو کنسیون

129. خان ژغوره قابوگوره

130. اسونو نعلونه وهل چیند خوهم پښي ورته ونیولي

131. ماردخان له ویري خولي اچوي

132. کال به رب کړي تیر خوري ستاسوي زنگون به مي نه شي هیر

133. عمر یوه خوڼه مړي نه ده چه سړي ئي تیر کړي

134. چه دزرد په هوا دروهي هغه خپله سزا موهي

135. چه څه رنگ ساعت داسي مصلحت

136. توپک خوځښه ماتوي څه لوخونه کوي

137. چیمندخ ورشي مېرې څخه ئي پور غوښت مېرې ورته ویل چه هاله

د نغاري وهلي اوس له ما نه پور غواري

138. چه آس پردي وي جگړي پردي وي بیايي څه په منځ کښي خیر غواري

139. منځ نه په خدای دي نه په رسول دي خو په څلور سیر وکړ بوسکودي

140. د غورو قدر به څه وده په جنان که درباب غوند روان

141. په لاس ووزي ښه دي نه ترکانه لیچي

142. یوه ویل دورد خاوري بل ویل خورده خاوري

143. چه يو لاس شوړوي بل تر شوړې
144. درسته دغه ده چه په لاس در رغه
145. که ډیره مې در پسي تندد ده قصه به دغه کړه چه په خدای او
رسول پسندده ده
146. اوگره که ښه وي په بازار کښې به خرکیده
147. چه چا زشل که له واره دغه خاص شه له ورو
148. چه په خپله ور شي بياخله تر سره ور شي
149. چه له وڅه يو ټرگي رزېري ښه دي
150. باخري نه شه وري او خولي ئې پد خرگي لگوي
151. مورک د شرابوگري نه يريوب او پيشوئي په کور کښې پوښمه کو.
152. د لند لغره او بوڅه ډار دي
153. په دوو بېرو پښې مه ږده
154. له تودوسوي سر ته يو گل کوي
155. شوک سري وده په بنگو روږ دي نه. وده چه روږ دي شه بيا ئې په لږه
- ور اچول
156. د تورو قاشو نه سکره سره څه دي
57. اول سترسې شمېري پسي کم سې
158. چه نه پيري نه خرخوي دا ارواي تنلوي
159. چه ږيره وخرپي په بريټو ځنډ نه کبري
160. چه تارڅه د خوړي نه وي د خوړو پد ادب نه پوښيري
161. چه په کور کښې د ستر شوي وي نه ئې مه گوره
162. پتوي او ښان او څي تيمت تيمت
163. خوږد د دغه حوي چه خدای ور زې وي
164. له خې هم د سري پد کور

165. چه کورې کوي په کور به پيښ شي
166. پور چه زيرني شي هيرني شي
167. د ميري چه په پيو ور کولو رضانه وي نو پچي په کښي کوي
168. د نورو که له نور څه سره دي د مورک خوله بني سره دي
169. تر کاته خاته ښه دي
170. په کور کښي ميري هم ند دي
171. خواړه يازاري سخي تما موي يازاري زړکي
172. د کوتا نري گته د سپي ده
173. د توپک دز له نژدي لري ښه شي
174. دلاري ونه لغره وي
175. غوا چه په غو جل شي پسه مير من په انرل شي
176. تر نامه لاندي څان په واک نه دي
177. يوسري دبل سري شيطان دي
178. سپاهي کا هي دي زميدار درب دي کا هي لاره شي درب پاته
179. مالابنه کره ما ماته خپله پښه کره
180. چه اوړو لکي لامدد اووچ گډوډ سوخي
181. سوداوزيان سره نيولي دي
182. آس آسان دي سنج ئي کران دي
183. خور گوته نه پريکولي شي نه سپولي شي
184. د ښه پلار خوي مه شي
185. شاهين چه په غوته شي مرگ ئي هير شي
186. اوسپنه چه توده نه شي اوږد به نه شي
187. اخوند غره ته نه ته اوږد جماعت ته نه راته
188. صدري پور غوښت ندري نور پروا وه

189. روښي د وروستي پل دي
190. ځنگل بي زمري نه وي
191. سل قصي سر ئي يو
192. اور ته چه نژدي كيږي خو آخر سوځيږي
193. سپي چه څيږي څه ويني
194. چه اوږه نه خوري بوي ئي نه شي
195. مخ د ورك شه وينځي چه د وينځي كونه وينځي
196. كتوري كه مات نه شه چنر ئي لږ شه
197. څومره خرگي دو مرد بارگي
198. مري نه خاندي اوچه خاندي نو كتن څيروي
199. مور كه لبوډ شي هم د څوي غوښي نه خوري
200. دم چه ډول وهي زور ئي لري
201. اوبو وړي بوټي ته لاس اچوي
202. نمر په گوتونه پتيري
203. سكونر كه حلال دي رنگ ئي مردار دي
204. گل له گل په پيدا كيږي خار له خار
205. دوه توري په يود تيكي منډاي نه شي
206. د حاكم كور درياب دي چه ور پريوت پريوت
207. څله ته وايي څلا كود كوربه ته وايي بيدار شه
208. آس په خپل قابو تر پيري
209. څاڅكي څاڅكي چه تولىږي لوي درياب ورنه جوړيږي
210. څرمنښكه د پښو په شامت له مارانو ووتنه
211. اور دي چاري په اور د ولسونو شي چه لنډوي بندوي
212. د وري ترفيم روڼه پلودي

213. د کښیوتلي ډار نه شته.
214. که اختر هره میاشت وي چابه اختر باله
215. وپړیا راغلي وپړیا تلي
216. اول طعام سا کلام
217. کارونه په وقت پوري موقوف دي
218. خرڅې څښتن ورپسي څي
219. کله کله د شيطان هم سړي مني
220. یوه هاوه هغه هم سخاوه
221. مه داسي خوږ شه چه خوري د مه داسي تريخ شه چه توکي د
222. ژندره که د پلار ده خو په وار ده
223. چاره که د زرووي په نس ئي څوک نه منډي
224. د یوه لاس گوتي هم په یوه شان نه دي
225. بي گدره مه گدیره
226. چه تريوه وياله توپ که بله ورته اسانه وي
227. که غم نه لري نوبزه واخله
228. کنز ډیر خبري که که ئي ملا فاروق ومنی
229. خپله ژبه هم قلاده هم بلاده
230. فریان له خوږو زرونو کيږي سړي چه روغ وي ولي نه که فریادونه
231. لوي پرهاړ دنيزي ښه دي زر رغیږي ولي بد پرهاړ د ژبي په زده
- داغ شي نه رغیږي
232. چه بادنه وي بوتی نه خوڅي
233. له پښي تښته نه شته
234. بي ډوله مه گدیره
235. دنیا د مسافرو سړاي دي

236. اختر داسي څوي نه دي چه پټا به تير شي
237. په پردي لاس مار هم مه وژنه
238. يا لويو غرو ته څه يا لويو كورو ته څه
239. چه نه خوري له هغه باڼه غم ئي په څه خوري
240. چه دب نه وي ادب نه وي
241. يامر يامور
242. چه طلب ئي كوي اخربه ئي مومي
243. يو ساعت دبل ساعت په شان نه دي
244. د لمدي ختي لړاوبه دارو دي
245. چه بد كوي كارونه هغه بد ويڼي خوبونه
246. بدې دگيدر كوه او تپي دزمر وگزره
247. كومه ونه ده چه بادنه ده خو څولي
248. كاروان له ستري مه پوښته بغير له خير
249. وړاندي تركانري لاندي
250. چه غواړي پړواوري
251. له ډكه لوبڼي څه توښيري
252. چه نه څي واښه ډ خلم او چه نه خوري څه ډ كوم
253. چه غل نه اوړي مل ډ ئي واوري
254. كه شپه تياره ده لاس له خولي نه غلطيري
255. خړه سپيه كه گړندي يي په ښكار به څرگند شي
256. د زرو وزرو ته لاري دي
257. سترگي كه غټي دي هم دواړه كسي په زورچل كوي
258. څه به بزه وي څه به ئي مزه وي
259. كه ريښم زاړه شي له سپنر سوبڼه دي

260. روپي که وړه ده نه تول پوره ده
261. چه ملا وايي هغه کوه او چه ملا کوي هغه مه کوه
262. په وچواو بوژرنده نه چليري
263. ژرنده د اوبو په زور غريزي
264. بي کنکاش به هيڅ کار په لاس وا نه خلي چه خبروی د کنکاش له برکته
265. خط په خط پوري نيسه
266. بي له دي چه نامرادي ته ورسيري گنډه نه سته و مراد ته رشیده
267. خپله شا په خپلو نوکانوښه گريزي
268. اوگره د وي توده د وي
269. چت ته جوړ کړه نقش له ما پر غواره
270. نوک ځاي کړه له نوک نه به د سوک ځاي و شي
271. پردي دستار په سر د مار تړل دي
272. سترو کورو ته ريتار غواره سترو غرو ته لار غواره
273. چه نيم غويي له پوسته شه ور وسته د پنبو پريکول ور په بادشول
274. يوخورم بل پخوم
275. بلا چه پرته وي همره ښه وي
276. اوبه چه ترسرواوري څه يوگنډه دوه گنډه
277. اول ملگري بيا لار غواره
278. ميسي ميسي که ديوه غره نه بود بوی مشي
279. له کندهاسي خولي بي اختياره لاري بهيري
280. له هرچا سره خبري د هغه د عقل په انداز سره کوه

283. مېرپه مېرپه داسرد ولي شمت دي د عقل له زوره داملاڼ ولي نري ده
د وسلي له زوره داکونه ډ ولي شته ده مېرپه په کونو کښي خبري
نه کوي
284. ولاړ په ختولاړ
285. چه مور شي سور شي
286. مار چه سوري لره ورشي نو سمېري ته د قبر په سر پروت يسي نه سمېري
287. بوري غاري سندرې ويلي نه شي
288. بلا له هغه پاڅي چه ئي گرنګ له پوزي څاڅي
289. په تبه ئي ونيسه مرګ ته به راضي شي
290. مرغلري په غوجل کښي مه غورزوه
291. په غولو کښي چه لرګي واهه کږي بوي ئي زياتېري
292. سپينه ريره په کارنه دي چه زره توروي
293. سترګي له سترګو شرمېري
294. کله کله مسخري د ايمان زيان وي
295. له حاجي سپي نه چا پوښتنه وکړه چه په لاري کښي څوک درسه
ښه وو ورته ويل ئي چه ټول ښه وو خو بلامي ډ په خپل قام پريوزي
296. ښه دي هغه تاريخه چه وروستو وي خواږه
297. داغ په سپينه حامه لګي
298. ديو له خپله سوري ويرېري
299. غله ته هر بوتې سري دې
300. غرغر لره زر ترپ مه کوه
301. برت به لږپايي په سري نښلي
302. گندهيري که دګلاب غونډګل لري په دي ګلاب نه شه
303. پيشو همره درويشه چه په پيونه ده پيشه

304. اخوند گرمولم زه نه گرمدم
305. د گیدر استادي گیدر وي د زمري زمري
306. پښي هغه خاي ته خي چه زره ورخي
307. توره كه تيره وي په گذار به څرگنده شي
308. كه وريخ توره ده اوبه سپيني ترراووري
309. له سترگو لري له زره لري
310. چه له هرچا سره اوسي له هغو به برخه يوسي
311. پردي خواره خواره دي
312. چه تيرشي قدرتي برسيرشي
313. بلاوه برکت ئي نه ود
314. وړل د کانيو د لوغرونو له سرونو په سرفه دي د هرچا له منتونو
315. قصه چه په سنده وي هغه له خونده وي
316. چه لږ خوري هغه تل خوري چه ډير خوري هغه گندهير خوري
317. زياته ونه چه پريکيري زياتيري
318. چه په سر ئي چاره شي خداي ئي په زره شي
319. برخه کومه بده ده چه ورښکاره ئي کړي او وړ ئي نه کړي
320. اوره چه خميره شي هرڅوک گوتی په کښي وهي
321. منگي هسي مات وه ډبلي ئي بانه شوه
322. د بڅخو له حاله ميري پوښته
323. ويشلي د غورو لايقي دي
324. خواره هاله خوره چه نعمت شي اوبه هاله څښه چه شرت شي
325. چه په مرغانو قلنگ راشي نو قطبيزايي چه مورک يم او چه
په مورکانو راشي نو وايي چه قطبيزيم
326. لاس چه مات شي غاري له شي

327. څوي اولور مور او پلار ته ژاري
328. بي غاښو سړي لکه زور سپي هډوکي ته ژاري
329. څر به څه وي چه بارنه وري
330. ستاپه ترغ کښي هم ورري ښوري
331. د سندا ورته مينه ده
332. څما ئي په اسلام کښي شک دي او دي مريدان نيسي
333. يو پسي رسيدې نه شه اول ورته ويل چه تر تير شه او پر راوگرزه
334. چرته خر چرته جماعت
335. د گودي خوله خلاصه شوه او د ږدنو لار وشوه
336. خداي خبر دي چه اوښ به په کومه گونده چوکيري
337. پيشو چه خوب ويني خو مورک په خوب کښي ويني
338. د هيري څوي په هيري پسي څي د وزي په وزي پسي
339. الا بلا به گردن ملا
340. پرسيدلي په خپلي کوني خلاصيري
341. کبان کبان په اوبو کښي سره ويني
342. چرته گنجي چرته مالو
343. په دود وراپسي زغلي درجار وزي کړي خپلي
344. ما دريسي مټ که تا تخان غټ
345. بزبي بابا ږدي خوشي د ښي لاس به چرته
346. وطن دوند دي بادشاه روند دي
347. له ږندو سترگو نو باسي
348. خر مي هم شه خر به مي هم
349. مورت د را وري دي لاخاندي
350. وبه د شوکوم خود پيازو پنډه به د په سره وب

351. چه لري مي لرم به د چه لري مي لرم به د
352. نه د خان د ساتلو وي نه د نار
353. اوبنانو نه ژړل بوريو ژړل
354. خپله پنبه ئي په خپله په تبرو هله
355. گيدړ په ونه ختي نه شه ويل ئي چه ترخه ده
356. اسمان په لوتو ولي
357. بربند له لاري غريړ اوورې له لاري نه غريړې
358. يوه ورځ دوه ئي سوري
359. د باد شاهانو خوب په ميړتانه دي
360. د بزرو ورور دي په خپله پرهار لويوي
361. تراټ بڼه دي که متروکه لعنت شه په دواړه توکه
362. چه څه رنگت تاړه هسي ئي کربوره چه څه رنگت غرهسي ئي غرڅه
363. په خپله پوزکي بلا راغله بوچکي
364. زور شوي مسلمان نه شوي
365. رامه شي د غم کاروانه سود د نه راوړبي زيانه
366. خوب چه زور شي بالبيت نه غواړي زړه چه مين شي بنائست
نه غواړي
367. له ماتې لندي دوه کسه وپريړي
368. لندي کتي شم نه د لري. پريښودي شم
369. د غله په ربره خس وي
- پلار د سوارو مرکه که پليو چه ځما له بني ووت څه شي چه چاه مرکه
371. هميشه له گنجي سره پخه رزي
372. شني په غلانه چيچلي کيږي
373. کورک کورک دلي کوي او هگي په بل کلي کښي اچوي

374. د بیدیا سپي راغلل د کلي سپي ئي و شړل
375. کونړ په یوي خبري دوه واره خاندي
376. لکه لیوني سپي خان ته خولي اچوي
377. لکه د مرداري سپي یو په بل خولي لگوي
378. پکت په سر بر منځ و هله ویني ئي په منځ راغلي
379. ډال د گیندي نه دي تیغ د فرنگي
380. چابلا ته ویل چه ته به راشي که زه درشم ویل ئي چه ته مه راڅه
زه به درشم
381. ما په روزي پسي مه وگرزوي روزي په ما پسي وگرزوه
382. څه لوروه څه د پکت سر لغروه
383. گندهیري مي په تل کښي زښت وه او دي په خولي پوري راته ودریده
384. که زه نه وایم څما داماته پښه به ووايي
385. چیري خوله چیري څنگل
386. سپي هدوکی خوري خپلو گلمو ته نه گوري
387. داسي خبري وکړي چه د خروتبي شي
388. که څه وایم کلي دي که نه وایم د خاني خوي روي دي
389. بي ځايه خدا ژرا ده
390. څوک چه تاته وایي چه غور د سپي یووړ نوته به په سپي پسي
زغلي که خپل غور ته به لاس وروړي
391. لکه نر کچور دي دلوند خوند بد وي
392. نه به د څاڅکي سور که نه به د څڅوزکي مور که
393. اوبه راڅي له پاسه ښکته په ژرا ژاري له فراخته چه لارو لارو بیا به رانه
شو ارمان ارمان تیره ساعته
394. روند او کونړ او پکت او شل په هرڅاي کښي چه کښني کوي خلل

395. چه مور ميره شي پلار پلندر شي

396. خره جولا راباله جولا خرورباله ليوه خبر شه خري بړق وڅيره

397. د تل هونسي داخوي چه ته لري بڼه ئي نه لري وانڼه دسمي خوري

هوا د غره لري يوه ورځ به په هسي ښكاري واوري چه خپل بدن

به په وينو وږي

398. څه غر تور و څه لرو تور كه

399. ويښته مي څيري كول كسي مي ووتل

400. بد ويل د ځان دي

401. چه باران نه وه توي وچ وه چه و شه څپرونه ئي توي ته يووړل

402. بړگ كه بار دي خو يو ساعت په كار دي

403. د يوه اصل د يوه فصل ته ساهو شوي زه ك. اصل

404. په ږدو كښي د يوي سترگي حينستن بادشاه دي

405. چه له مكې لري وو حج ئي و شه چه مكې ته نژدي ووله حج نه

ياته شول

APPENDIX.¹

A.—*Matora* (Sayads affiliated in Tappa Dreplárah).

The usual term for which a Vesh allotment held good was twelve years, but, owing to the commencement of Settlement operations, the tribe elected to curtail it this time to eight, and have just carried out a new "*Vesh*," the result showing that they now contain four hundred and sixty-six "*Khulas*," to four hundred and fourteen eight years ago.

The numbers in the various sections and subsections of the tribe were first equalized to enable them to divide each block of land into equal portions.

The conductors of the "*Vesh*" were appointed in the usual way, each group of families nominating a representative; and the first duty they had to perform was to take the census of all human beings belonging to the tribe, and, for the purposes of this "*Vesh*," to make each section and subsection of the tribe contain an equal number of "*Khulas*" or mouths.²

The arable mark consists of eleven blocks, each of which was originally demarcated with a view to preserve inside it equality of class of land. At this "*Vesh*" each block was first divided into two equal portions; then each portion into two smaller equal plots; then each of these small plots into two still smaller; and so on. Possession of each was determined by casting lots. Besides the arable mark, three plots are used as a common pasture, in which cultivation is prohibited.

The rules of the tribe regarding (1) Shares, (2) Mortgages, (3) Absentees, and (4) Trees, are as follows:—

- (1). *Shares*.—Man, woman and child, male or female, share alike. A girl's share, although at the time of the "*Vesh*" she be betrothed in her tribe, is taken by her father. If a girl of another tribe be at the time betrothed into the tribe, the bridegroom elect receives a share for her.
- (2). *Mortgages*.—No permanent alienation of land is possible, but mortgages are common. At a new "*Vesh*" the positions of mortgaged "*Khulas*" shift like any others. Profit or loss from change in quality or size of a "*Khula*" is borne by the

¹ Referred to at page 127, giving, in a condensed form, particulars of the *Vesh* custom in five communities.

² *Vide* page 125.

mortgagee. When some "*Khulas*," owing to the death of some of the members of a family, lapse, and are not renewed, the mortgagee generally gets compensation in land or money; but when the mortgagor has died without issue, the mortgagee's rights expire at the next "*Vesh*."

- (3). *Absentees*.—An absentee's shares are reserved for him, provided he was present at the preceding "*Vesh*," and that his near relations accept his share in trust for him, together with its responsibilities. Any absentee, if returning at the time of a new "*Vesh*," no matter how long he may have been absent, and establishing his identity, is re-admitted to share.
- (4). *Trees*.—Fruit-bearing "*ber*" trees remain permanently the property of the shareholder within whose lot and during whose temporary occupancy they spring up; all others are at the disposal of the shareholders in whose lot they may be.

B.¹—*Sikandar Khel* (Tappa Dreplarah).

This tribe has been, for long, divided into six sections, each section occupying separate villages, but, according to its numbers, holding its share in each of the thirteen blocks into which the arable area Cis-Kurm (right bank) had been originally split up. Up to the time of annexation a new "*Vesh*" took place every tenth or twelfth year, and often at much shorter intervals; but since the annexation the term has been every twelve years or longer. The last "*Vesh*" occurred about sixteen years ago, and is probably the last the tribe will ever have. The enumeration then effected showed that the tribe mustered one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five souls, men, women and children, all told.

The allotment of shares was conducted in the usual way (see *Matora*), but owing to internal jealousies, an outsider, *Pahilwan Khan*, *Adamzai*, was called in as umpire and referee.

The arable mark consisted of thirteen blocks, and the allotment of shares in each was effected in the same way as was done in *Matora*, except that the *Mina Khel* section succeeded in retaining, in excess of its share, a block called *Jibari*, which it had previously acquired by "*nawah*," or seizure. The *Trans-Kurm* (left bank) land remained, with the exception of one block, common as before.

The most prominent rules of the tribe relating to "*Vesh*" are:—

- (1). *Shares*.—Same as for *Matora* (A), except that the share of a girl betrothed in her tribe falls to the bridegroom elect.
- (2). *Mortgages*.—As in *Matora* (A), except that, in the case there put in which the mortgagee "generally" gets compensation, the word "always" should be substituted.
- (3). *Absentees*.—Seems to be as in *Matora*.
- (4). *Trees*.—There are no precedents to show that any but the temporary occupying shareholder has any claim.

¹ *Vide* page 131.

C.—*Mūlazai* (Tappa Mūsa Khel).

Their villages and lands lie in the most south-westerly part of this District, beyond the Bain Pass, with the Battanní hills to their north and west, and Tank to their south; consequently the tribe is quite isolated from the other sections of its Tappa. At a general re-allotment of lands held about a century ago, the tribe split up into three sections, and divided their tribal lands into three tracts, each taking a third. These three sections were:—

- A { Umer Khel,
Ballú Khel,
B Hyder Khel *cum* Sain Khel,
C Miralzai *cum* Kaka Khel,

and each was portioned off into thirty "*Dhárs.*" Now seven "*Khulas*" make one "*Kandak,*" and four "*Kandaks*" make one "*Dhár,*" so the number of the tribe ought then to have amounted to two thousand five hundred and twenty souls. But, unfortunately for simplicity, this tribe has a curious custom, peculiar to itself, of preserving even extinct "*Khulas*" at a new redistribution of lands—that is, the number of "*Khulas*" ascertained at the last redistribution of lands are, though many are really extinct through deaths, retained intact, and persons born since and still alive are added to them at the next distribution. If then a redistribution of land by "*Khula Vesh,*" that is, by a new enumeration of the tribe, were of frequent occurrence, few men in the tribe would be found able to add up the tribal total number of "*Dhárs,*" much less "*Kandaks*" or "*Khulas.*" *Khula Veshes,* however, only occur once in two or three generations; so the difficulty of limited powers of addition is surmounted. Since the general "*Khula Vesh*" I have mentioned took place, no other has occurred; but about fifty or sixty years ago a partial one took place between Sections B and C, Section A remaining aloof. On that occasion Section C, and the Sain Khel branch of Section B, had to call in a Malik named Jandar Khan, Adamzai, to their assistance, as the Hyder Khels wished to secede and become independent. By his persuasion, both moral and physical, the new "*Khula Vesh*" was effected, and the number of "*Dhárs*" became as follows:—

C Section *plus* Sain Khels, 67.

B Section *minus* Sain Khels, 57.

Since that occasion no new "*Khula Vesh*" has taken place, but there have been exchanges (called "*Vesh Badluns*") on the basis of the enumeration then made. Thus, in 1852, the Sain Khels sued the Kaka Khel branch of the Miralzais before the late General John Nicholson for a "*Vesh Badlun*" and although the latter resisted it, they were forced to submit with a show of consent. On that occasion the Sain Khels divided each block into two equal parts, and the Kaka Khels had

first choice. Now the Kaka Khels have sued before me and obtained a decree against the Sain Khels for a new "*Vesh Badlun*." Before giving decree I offered the latter the very favourable terms of allowing them, first, compensation in land in consideration of their having since 1852 brought much more waste under the plough than the plaintiffs, and then, of simply equalizing their holdings according to the number of "*Dhárs*" of each. But after six hours' consideration of my offer, they rejected it, and elected to adhere to their custom in its integrity. Decree was passed accordingly.

I mentioned some sentences back that at a "*Khula Vesh*" about fifty or sixty years ago the Hyder Khels *minus* the Sain Khels received fifty-seven "*Dhárs*." Since then they have held these fifty-seven "*Dhárs*" by themselves, but split up into three subsections, viz. :—

- (1) Khurji Khel.
- (2) Haji Khel.
- (3) Suliman Khel.

They all exchanged their lands together some two or three years after the "*Khula Vesh*" mentioned above, and after that (2) and (3) had another exchange. When the suit between the Sain Khels and the Kaka Khels took place in 1852, the rest of the Miralzais, consisting of subsections Bibi Khels and Mutti Khels, amicably effected an exchange of lands, and have lately carried out a new exchange of lands together. This concludes the notice of the B and C Mulazai sections.

The A Section since the general "*Khula Vesh*" about a century ago has lived disconnected from the others, and the number of shares then fixed has never since been altered, though several exchanges of lands have taken place, the latest having been made in 1873.

D.¹—*Mamú Khel* (Tappa Dreplárah).

The three sections composing this tribe separated interests about sixty-three years ago, and divided their inheritance together, by which each section received the following shares in the four villages in which tribal lands lay :—

Name of Section.	Zangi Khel Village.	Dabak Mandra Khel Village.	Tribal share in Pahár Khel Village.	Mandra Khel Village.
1. Zangi Khel	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0
2. Pahár Khel.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0
3. Mandra Khel ...	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	all

As no conjunction of interests has since taken place, the "*Vesh*" history of each is distinct, and is here briefly noted.

1. *Zangi Khel*.

(1) Within the last sixty-three years there have been five "*Veshes*,"

¹ *Vide* page 131.

the last of which was effected twenty years ago. The usual term was eight to twelve years; no new "*Vesh*" ever occurred within a period of eight years from its predecessor. The voice of the majority determines the question of a new "*Vesh*." A new "*Vesh*" will soon be in progress.

- (2) The rules regarding shares, mortgages, absences, and trees, are the same as those noted for Matora, with the modifications obtaining amongst the Sikander Khels.
- (3) In the current "*Vesh*" the number of "*Khulas*" is five hundred and seven, with thirty-six "*Murah Khulas*" added—the permanent heritage of certain families.
- (4) Excluding common pasture land, the "*Vesh*" lands consist of eighteen blocks, each possessing an old distinctive name.

2. *Pahár Khel.*

Within the last sixty-three years there have been only partial "*Veshes*" confined to three out of eleven blocks. The custom has been discontinued owing to so many shareholders having mortgaged most of their lands.

3. *Mandra Khel.*

These *veshed* among themselves only five years ago. Since the "*Stir Vesh*," sixty-three years ago, they have had seven partitions amongst themselves; in the last their Pahar Khel land was excluded from partition, much of it being in mortgage. Their "*Khulas*" number one thousand three hundred and thirty-four. The term of this "*Vesh*" is twelve years; on its expiry, the tribe asserts that whenever even a small minority demand a new "*Vesh*," a repartition must take place. At present all unanimously affirm this to be their immemorial custom.

E.—*Abba Khel* (Sayads affiliated in Tappa Dreplárah).

Their usual term of "*Vesh*" is twelve years, and this is the ninth year of the current "*Vesh*." At first a majority were against an immediate redistribution, but now over sixty per cent. wish it. The opposition of a number of shareholders was originally owing to jealousy against a minor Malik pushing himself forward and agitating for a new "*Vesh*," through which other Maliks feared that in future times the "*Vesh*" would be known by his name. If compliance with the "*Vesh*" can be legally resisted, it is not advisable to allow a "*Vesh*," as no less than two hundred and thirty-six "*Girzánd Khulas*," or "circular mouths" are now in mortgage for eleven thousand and thirteen rupees, *i.e.* when a shareholder mortgages one or more of his strips in each block, into which village arable lands are divided, he is said to have effected a "*girzand*" or circular mortgage.

At the last enumeration it was found that the community numbered one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three "*Khulas*," of which, however, no fewer than one hundred and eighty-four are fixed, irre-

vocable, and, consequently, not genuine "*Khulas*." The former are subject to fluctuation at each "*Vesh*," as the strength of the tribe may have increased or decreased, but the latter can only fluctuate in size and position according to the chance of lot-casting and the numerical strength of the tribe compared with its strength at the last "*Vesh*." As the origin of these fixed "*Khulas*" is interesting and curious, I shall note them here:—

NUMBER	ORIGIN.
13	Given soon after the settlement of the village, seven or eight generations ago, in " <i>Kauna</i> ," i.e. service grants to " <i>dums</i> ," or drummers, and now held by their descendants.
22	Do. do. to carpenters, village servants.
79	Granted to slaves or hired swordsmen kept by the different head men. As their occupation ceased, the grantees have gradually disappeared, and the descendants of the head men who owned the swordsmen have since retained their shares.
10	Religious grants to holy men.
3	Hereditary in the family of the Hindoo who used to keep the " <i>Vesh</i> " accounts.
22	Compensation grant to the Sipat Khels, who several generations ago resisted a " <i>Vesh</i> ," although demanded by the rest of the tribe; consequently a fight ensued, in which twenty-two Sipat Khel oxen were slaughtered. When a conference sat to settle terms of reconciliation, twenty-two extra " <i>Khulas</i> " were allowed to the Sipat Khels as a permanent compensation for the slaughtered kine.
28	Special grants allowed or taken by the head men.
2	Genuine "dead mouths" (" <i>Murah Khulas</i> "), owners of which died without issue, and, as no relation would accept them, the village council put them up to auction, and by making them irrevocable procured a purchaser, whose family has since held them.

Total...184

The ancient territorial blocks subject to "*Vesh*" are twenty-one in number. Besides these are three blocks which are never veshed, but held according to possession; also twelve small plots held for generations by some outsiders, and which the tribe now wish to resume.

The rules about shares, absentees and trees are the same as the Matora rules, with the Sikandar Khel modifications, but the tribe unanimously affirm that the mortgage rule is that at a new "*Vesh*" a mortgagee can only receive new "*Khulas*" if the original representatives of them are then alive, and that in no case is any compensation in land or money given.

