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HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF OLD ASSAM:

BASED ON AN ANALYSIS OF POPULAR PROVERBS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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Of all the provinces in India, only Assam enjoys the reputation of having a regular history since the thirteenth century. Even here, the history recorded the rise and fall of kings and dynasties, the wars and treaties, the insurrections and intrigues, the courts and durbars. Hardly do we find in the pages of the history facts which indicate the condition of the general run of the people. This was probably because the status of the people was not recognized by the Government. The affairs concerning the people were regarded not of sufficient importance for perpetuation in a history. In fact, history, as a *science*, was not known then. It was merely a chronicle of political events. The historian, or rather the chronicler, did not dive deep down to find out the under-currents of these events. He had no suspicion that the common affairs of mankind were the greatest force which brought about political events. We are left in the dark regarding the hopes and aspirations, the fears and anxieties, the thoughts and ideas of the people. As a result, we find difficulty in understanding many things which would have been quite intelligible if the historian had known the proper limit of his domain. What has thus been lost cannot certainly be recovered. But, I think, an attempt can profitably be made to bring into view some of the lost things which have been preserved

to us unsuspectingly in the mass of popular proverbs which have been handed down from generation to generation. These proverbs, when properly analysed, will be seen to contain facts which cover a wide field. They include mode of living, customs and habits, systems of government and society, ideas of religion and morality, the nature of cultivation and industry, the volume of trade and commerce and many other things. It will be found that many of the facts which have been discovered by the help of these proverbs will throw a flood of light on the social history of Old Assam. It is interesting to find, that the facts which have thus been recovered from the dark womb of the Past are not contradicted by the recorded events of history. On the other hand some of the historical events become more intelligible by the unfurling of the proverbs which had epitomised them. For example, take the proverb “ফটা হক চিটা হক পাটৰ টঙ্গালি। ভগা হক ছিগা হক ভূঞাৰ পোৱালি।” The Fatiyah i' Ibriyah has it that the people were very skilful in weaving embroidered silk cloths. The above proverb supports this historical fact. It does something more. It says that even after the decay of this industry, the people highly appreciated the value of silk, and waist-bands made of *pat* continued to be a fashion for a long time. Again, it is a well-known historical fact that the Bhuyans wielded large powers about the 12th century A. D.. The above proverb supports this historical fact. It further says that, even after their fall, the Bhuyans were regarded as a class highly honourable in the society. Some of

the facts which are based on the proverbs again find support in the writings of such an eminent authority as the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang (640 A. D.). He says:—They [ the people of Kamarupa ] are earnest in study \* \* \* \*. The king is fond of learning and the people are so likewise in imitation of him.” ( see proverb—“পড়ায় পড়ে বোরে পান। এই তিনিয়ে নিচিন্তে আন ॥” ) The author of the Fatiya i' Ibriyah gives an account of the condition of Assam in 1662 A. D.. According to him the *purda* system was unknown among the women and betel-leaf and unripe areca-nuts were consumed in large quantities. ( see proverbs—“তেতিয়া মাৰিব ঢোলত চাপৰ। তেতিয়া লব মূৰত কাপোৰ ॥” “হাত ডাঙ্গৰ, ভৰি ডাঙ্গৰ, ডাঙ্গৰ মানুহৰ জী। থুকীয়া তামোলে মুখ নভৰে এখন দি কৰিবি কি ॥” ) The author of the Fatiyah i' Ibriyah after giving a glowing description of the town of Gargaon (the capital of Assam) says:—“There are other houses in Ghargaon, strong, very long and spacious, full of fine mats, *which must be seen to be appreciated*” (see proverbs—“গড় গাঙ, কথা শুনি তল বাঙ” । “নগৈ গড় গাঙৰ বাতৰি” ॥ )

A proverb is an exact epitome of facts. This being so, when a custom changes with the progress of ideas, we must naturally expect a corresponding change in the proverb. This is exactly what we find in our proverbs. According to Fatiyah i' Ibriyah, polygamy was general in Assam, as was the case in other parts of India. Even now, polygamy prevails in Assam. But it is now more an exception than a rule. When polygamy was general, the sacred love between a husband and a

wife was not known. The wives were more or less like slaves, and a number of wives served as so many labourers who worked for the household without wages. As the ideas of marriage and love developed, we find new proverbs springing up to indicate the changes from time to time. One meets with many proverbs which at first sight seem to be contradictory or inconsistent with each other, but which on consideration will turn out to be the process of development which will materially help in building up the social history of the people. Thus, in the days of the author of *Fatiyah i' Ibriyah*, polygamy was general. After this came a time when polygamy was not in general favour (see proverb—"নতিনী-বহীরা পৈ । এবাৰ হুঁয়াৰ এবাৰ কন্দুৱায় পখালি-কোলাত লৈ ॥") The process continued at a progressive rate of disfavour till a time arrived when the society highly discountenanced the system (see proverb—"এক তিৰী, লোদোৰ-পোদোৰ । দুই তিৰী, গাঁতৰ এন্দুৰ ॥ তিনি তিৰী, নাপায় ভাত । চাৰি তিৰী, মূৰত হাত ॥") The downward process rolled on till at length polygamy came to be confined, as a general rule, to the lowest stratum of the society (see proverb—"কেনেটোৰ কেনেজনী, ফপৰীয়াটোৰ তিনিজনী, ভালটোৰ এজনীও নাই ।")

The proverbs are the richest store-house of a nation. What is more, they are the most faithful chronicler of events. An historian's record may be vitiated by personal lies; but the record which is entwined round a proverb sets forth a fact which is universally adopted. The only thing which we must guard against in drawing out

facts from proverbs is to see that the proverbs are not spurious. The genuineness of a proverb is tested by two things; (1) whether the proverb has come down from ancient times, and (2) whether the form of it is everywhere the same. The proverbs which have been recorded in this book are those which we have heard from our grand-fathers and grand-mothers. They have come down to us in the same way in which our grand-fathers and grand-mothers found them. Our grand-fathers and grand-mothers got these proverbs again from their grand-fathers and grand-mothers in exactly the same form. We may therefore safely infer that these proverbs are *ancient*. That they are same everywhere in Assam is a fact which is well-known to all.

The Assamese language is the richest of all the Indian languages. It contains the largest number of *pure* words as distinguished from words taken bodily from the Sanskrit language or borrowed from other sources. It is the richest in the region of proverbs also. That it contains the largest number of proverbs is itself an indication that it is the most ancient language of all the Indian languages. The richer a language is, the more numerous its proverbs are. The experiences of the people are collected in a crystallised form and give rise to proverbs. These proverbs tell the history of the people in a nut-shell, of a period when a regular history was not known. I have collected in this book only an infinitesimal number of Assamese proverbs. If all the proverbs are collected, a big volume will be the result. As my attempt is in an

entirely new channel, I have thought it expedient to confine myself to a limited number of proverbs, with an idea of enlarging the work subsequently, if the present book be found by the public to be in any way profitable. I shall try in the next edition to trace the development of proverbs and give their dates as far as it will be possible to do so.

Jorhat;

15th April 1917.

Benudhar Rajkhowa.

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*The numerical figure on the right hand side of a para in the body of the book indicates the serial number of the proverb in the Appendix which forms the basis of the historical fact described in the particular para.*

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## CHAPTER I.

### MEN.

1. The inhabitants of the upper districts of Assam were cleverer than those of the lower districts. (210).
2. Men were expected to be as ardently attached to their mothers after their marriage as they were before their marriage. This however did not often happen, as the men loved their wives so dearly, that sometimes they obliged their wives in particular ways against the wishes of their mothers. (92).
3. A widower had very little chance of marriage, as the girls were generally married to young men who had never been married before. (131).



4. The men of Gargaon, the capital of Assam, were exceedingly clever as might naturally be expected. (64), (63).
5. The men used home-made *dhuties* with red borders. (57).
6. The Miris were regarded as an unreliable tribe. (104).
7. In each family, there was an old man who controlled the affairs of the house-hold. (73).
8. Men after marriage did not treat their mothers kindly. (95).
9. The people set a higher value upon their sons than upon their daughters, because their sons would stay with them throughout life and support them in their old age. (93), (207).
10. The rate of casualties among men in battle was rather high. (181).
11. The Ahoms were clever people. (17), (15).
12. The Hindus were subtle and acute. (15).
13. The Doms ( Nadiyals ) were simple folk. (15). They were lazy and noisy people. (24). They were desultory and niggardly in their habits. (23). They scarcely cultivated paddy. (99 ). They invariably lived on the banks of rivers. ( 87 ). They were considered un-touchable. (126).
14. The Brahmins walked about with capacious bags, so that they could put into them many things which they received from people by following their craft. (109), (149).

15. The fashionable men used to wear gold *karias* (ear-rings) on their ears. (226).
  16. The husband dearly loved their wives, even though they happened to be ugly. (174).
  17. A young man had no hand in the selection of his bride. His parent did it for him. (137).
  18. A man sometimes took a wife at an advanced age i. e. even when his son by his first wife had attained a marriageable age. (137).
  19. The *Barias* (Suts) were regarded the most decent people. (51).
  20. Good Brahmins were respected. (148).
  21. The Miris tied their legs, arms and loins with pieces of cane. (221).
  22. The men were of forgiving disposition. (122), (224). Hostile feelings rarely lasted for six months. (10).
  23. The great men were magnanimous. They did not hurt persons who were too weak. (4).
  24. The husbands loved their wives too much. They might be called servants of their wives, although as a matter of fact they had paid for their wives and so their wives should have been their servants. (117).
  25. The men had beards and moustaches. A man without beard and moustache was an object of general ridicule. (176).
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## CHAPTER II.

## WOMEN.

1. The married women put on vermillion on their forehead and *balas* of conch-shell on their wrist. (188).
2. The Brahmin widows lived rather a stingy life. (141).
3. The women used bracelets. The poor used bracelets made of bell-metal. (40), (46).
4. Bad moral character in a girl was considered a disgrace to the whole family. (66).
5. Girls were ardently attached to their mothers, even after they were married. (92).
6. The women knew weaving. They made *rihas* with red borders. *Rihas* of this type were in special favour with them. (206).
7. The women used *jham pis*. (205).
8. The woman-kind were regarded untrustworthy. (104).
9. Step-mothers were harsh to their step-children. (48), (47). The treatment was sometimes most disgusting. (7).
10. The poor women earned their living by spinning cotton. (32).
11. The slave women were not kindly treated. (145).
12. Husbands dearly loved their wives and

were generally indulgent to them. (145), (156) (72). They consulted their wives in all important matters. (72).

13. Nuns were unknown. In every family there was a wife who had the charge of the house-hold affairs. (74).
14. Girls were eagerly sought in marriage. (95).
15. Girls were perfectly trained in house-hold duties by their mothers-in-law. (173). Mothers-in-law themselves had to behave properly so that they might train the girls better by means of example. (101), (9).
16. Mothers were extremely affectionate (2). They did not like to send their sons away to a distant place. (175), (168).
17. Wives loved their husbands in proportion to the amount of good things which their husbands could give them. (168).
18. Daughters were considered to be of less value than sons, in-as-much as they had to be given away in marriage. (93), (207).
19. High value was attached to the character of a girl. (169).
20. Death-rate of women at child-birth was rather high. (181).
21. A woman's qualification was judged by the amount of *panji* which she could spin out of a given quantity of cotton, (106), and by the manner in which she could do it. (140).

22. A woman's qualification was judged by the shortness of time in which she could weave a cloth properly. (112).
23. Weaving was considered an accomplishment among the ladies of the aristocracy. It was only the women of the cultivating class who did not know weaving. (139).
24. Elaborate designs representing flowers etc. could be woven into the cloths. (139).
25. The women worked hard and were not a burden on their husbands. They had the confidence of earning their own livelihood, even if left to themselves. (231).
26. Old Brahmin women were held up to ridicule as an extreme case of egoism. (8).
27. It was the wife who actually governed the household. She had the charge of the children, and brought them up in the right way. The husband looked up to his wife for help and guidance in domestic affairs. (72).
28. Polygamy was a rare occurrence. (72). Only the aristocracy could afford the luxury of having several wives. (18).
29. The women husked paddy on *dhenkis*. (37).
30. The women of Koliabar were expert weavers. (38).
31. The slave women were regarded as abominable creatures, and treated rather inhumanly by their masters. (27).
32. The Bilung women earned their livelihood chiefly by fortune-telling which sometimes

turned out to be true and sometimes false. (25).

33. Veils were in use among women. (31).

34. A woman with a plumpy face was regarded ugly. (31).

35. The women liked the *thiya-khopa* i. e. the towering lock of hair on the head. (227).

36. A woman with a stout waist was regarded extremely ugly. (220).

37. The ladies of the gentry were stout and plump. They chewed *pan* rather too much. (230).

38. When a man wished to take a wife, he had to pay a certain sum of money to her parent. (117).

39. The women were prettily dressed. (221).

40. The women engaged in their work very early in the morning, such as dusting houses, clearing utensils etc. (236).

41. The husbands made rather a free use of their birch on the back of their wives. (33).

42. A man could take a wife even from a low caste by performing the necessary purificatory ceremony. (120).

43. The girls had freedom in choosing their husbands. (42).

44. The ugly girls who could not possibly be given away an Assamese in marriage were disposed of to the Nagas, who compensated their guardians adequately. (220).

45. Girls after marriage were not allowed by their husbands to visit their parents' house frequently. (97).
46. The women used to catch fish. (75).
47. The girls were free before marriage. They would put on veils since their marriage. (196).
48. The women were high-statured. Those of short stature were looked down upon. (105), (108).
49. Spinning was a hard and unprofitable profession for the poor class of women. (108).
50. A girl who did not know weaving was considered highly disqualified. It was difficult for such a girl to secure a bridegroom. (215).
51. Widows were seldom taken as wives. So also girls who were not grown-up. (225).

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### CHAPTER III.

#### MARRIAGE.

1. Girls whose mothers were good were preferred in marriage. (98).
2. Polygamy was not in general favour (216). The society highly discountenanced the system of polygamy. (21). Polygamy was certainly not in favour with the elite. (53.)

3. Girls were preferred in marriage who were of good caste. (175).
4. Girls were given away in marriage, as soon as they attained puberty. (19).
5. In selecting a bridegroom, the guardian of the girl would first enquire whether he had a good house to live in and whether he had cattle to plough his field. (232).
6. Marriage of a girl with a young man of 16 to 18 years was regarded a happy marriage. (206).
7. Marriage by *hom* was considered the best form of marriage. (148)
8. *Chaklang* was the essential rite in an Ahom marriage. In a Hindu marriage, the essential element was the ceremonial bath under a *bei*. A marriage thus performed could not be dissolved. (16).
9. Drums were played in a festival of marriage. (117).
10. In any proposal of marriage, wealth was one of the chief considerations which guided the parties. (124).
11. The people had a high regard for marriage. (152).



## CHAPTER IV.

## HOUSE.

1. Each house-holder had a number of houses which were small in size. This would enable him to repair or renew any one of them without much trouble and expense at a time. (218).
2. Repairs were made to houses before the rainy weather set in. (19).
3. Each family had a *chang-ghar* and a *mati-ghar*. The former was used as a dinner-hall. The latter was used for dwelling purposes. (55).

## CHAPTER V.

## TREES.

1. The common lime, *citrus medica*, was grown by the people. (7).
2. *Era* plants were common. (128).
3. *Sal*, *singari* and *koir* were reputed to be first-class trees. *Ikarz* was largely used, chiefly in making walls of houses, as it was known to last long in a dry place. (214).
4. Ropes were prepared from the barks of *odal* trees which were used for tying elephants. (233).

## CHAPTER VI.

## RIVERS.

1. The currents of the rivers were strong. (2). Men travelling by boat up-stream found it so hard a task, that they considered the return journey down-stream as an extreme relief. (135).
2. The Lohit ( the Brahmaputra ) was the biggest river, and its water was extremely clear. (211).

## CHAPTER VII.

## FISH.

1. There were abundant shoals of fish in the *dalanis*. (109). *Neria* was the most highly prized fish. (51). *Moa* was considered the best fish for the diet. (148). There were abundant supplies of *puthi* and *khalaha*. But *rau* and *borali* were not easily available. (29).
2. *Kawai* fishes were ordinarily small in size. (178).
3. *Sal* and *singi* were prohibited for Hindus as food. (215).

## CHAPTER VIII.

## BIRDS, ANIMALS AND REPTILES.

1. There were horses, both good and bad. The good horses were fed on grams. (160).
  2. Hares were known always to follow their particular tracks in the jungle and never to deviate therefrom. (87).
  3. There were many cases of snake-bite. (222).
  4. The majority of the cases of snake-bite did not prove fatal. (122).
  5. Mosquitoes were abundant, so that none could be free from these pests even by sleeping with a curtain drawn. (4).
  6. There were too many crows which annoyed the people by their pilfering habits. (146).
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## CHAPTER IX.

## EATING AND DRINKING.

1. The people were moderate eaters. (57), (142). Too much eating was deprecated. (159).
2. People ate boiled rice which they prepared well. (78).
3. They used curry which contained a good deal of liquid mixed with hot spices and

thoroughly boiled. (90).

4. A diet of fish, especially of the kind known as *batia* was considered a delicacy. (173), (172).

5. Pork, duck-flesh and venison of the kind known as *khutia* (*harina*) were highly prized (130), (172).

6. Beef was a prohibited food for the Hindus. If some one ate beef, it was considered an offence of the worst type which was not forgotten for generations. (22).

7. *Lafa* took the foremost rank among the different kinds of vegetables. (86).

8. Salt was a rare thing which was never served to a guest. (12).

9. The people were conservative and did not take food and drink touched with the hand by men of a different caste. (235).

10. Wine was a luxury. The rich people only could afford to drink it. (69).

## CHAPTER X.

### DISEASE AND TREATMENT.

1. There were in the country diseases such as hydrophobia, (113), and white leprosy. (67).

2. Most of the diseases were attributed to possession by ghosts. (183).

3. *Silikha* was used as a general tonic. (158).

4. *Kharicha*, *gagal* fish and goat-flesh were not eaten by a man during illness. These were known to aggravate disease. (5).
5. In serious cases of illness there used to be consultations of two or more physicians (197).

## CHAPTER XI.

### PLACE.

1. Gargaon, the capital of Assam, was a city superbly beautiful. (65). It was impossible to realise the beauties of Gargaon, unless one saw it with his own eyes. (119).
2. There were places which contained no trees. (128).
3. The villages were thickly populated, so that large numbers of crows frequented them and annoyed the inhabitants by their predatory habits. (104).
4. Raha, Tipamia and Salaguri were known then by the same names by which we know them now. Raha was considered a far-off land. (203). So was Kaliabar. (37).

## CHAPTER XII

## TRAVELLING.

1. The people realised the benefits of travelling. They knew that travelling made a man experienced in various ways. (151).
  2. The people did not like to live in a foreign land. If any man found himself in a foreign land, he was never cheerful and never found himself free. (133). Kaliabar (Nowgong) was considered a far-off land. (37). A journey to Mahang was considered risky. This was probably on account of distance, bad communication, forests inhabited with wild beasts and treachery of frontier tribe. (114; (115).
  3. The people were averse to travelling. They were content with small gains nearer home and would not easily leave for a distant place, even if considerable advantages could be expected there. (29).
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## CHAPTER XIII.

## TRADE.

1. The Nagas descended to the plains and took useful things from the Assamese in barter. (220).

2. The men in the *chapolis* of the Brahma-putra sold their produce, chiefly, mustard. This was measured by means of *dons*, which did not hold more than 7 *kathas* (the standard *don* holding 10 *kathas* i. e. 5 seers). (28).
  3. There were *poharis* who sold fish and lime. (170).
  4. Paddy used to be bought and sold. This was measured by means of *dons*. The people used sometimes bigger *dons* and sometimes smaller *dons*, whichever would suit their convenience for the time being. (12).
  5. The people executed written documents to attest important transactions. These documents were guardedly drawn up. (222).
  6. The *bantias* dealt in cotton. They were cleav tradesmen. (143).
  7. It was the townsmen who were generally engaged in trade. The country folk did cultivation. (76).
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## CHAPTER XIV.

## INDUSTRY.

1. There were carpenters in Kaliabar who could make good *makos*. (38).
2. The ploughs were of excellent order. A plough badly made was an object of ridicule. (25).

3. *Dharis* and *patis* were used as beds. (116).
  4. The people used weapons of iron. (43).  
The blacksmiths commenced this work from a humble beginning. (96). Their profession was considered sufficiently respectable, so that the customers had to visit their homes personally for placing orders with them. (144).
  5. The *pit* silk was very much appreciated by the people. (38).
  6. The people reared *endi* and *muga*, but the industry was not prosperous. (81).
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## CHAPTER XV.

## CULTIVATION.

1. The cultivators liked smart bullocks for ploughing their fields. (66), (98).
2. They liked lands for cultivation which were situated near to their dwelling-houses. (98).  
Lands with depression in the middle were specially selected by them. (175).
3. They knew how to grow *ahu* crops well. (101).
4. Sugarcane was not cultivated extensively, because too many hands were required to do it well. (88).



5. Food prepared from *jaha* rice was considered a delicacy. (59).
6. The commonest kind of paddy was *maniki-madhuri*. It could be had anywhere without trouble. (48).
7. The *sali* was the staple grain (123).
8. Cotton was cultivated in every house-hold. Thread used to be spun out of it. (106), (179).
9. *Era* plants were grown everywhere. (128).
10. The peasants grew plantains which they valued highly. The fruits were eaten by bats which the owners took every care to scare away. (164).
11. The people grew *laja*, a kind of vegetables. (86).
12. Of all kinds of sugar-cane, the *mugi* was most highly prized. (51).
13. Tobacco plants were cultivated. The leaves were chewed with *pan*, and were preserved for use in future. (41).
14. *Tengas* used to be grown. (102).
15. *Pan* was cultivated with utmost care. (132).
16. The peasants had no effective weapon to protect their paddy crop from the ravages of wild elephants. They tried to drive them away from a safe distance as best they might. (234).
17. Every one ploughed his own land, except in the case of a Brahmin who had to engage *sudra* servants to do the work for him.

These servants, as might be expected, did not treat the bullocks well. (147)

18. There were people who had no lands of their own. They cultivated lands of others and were tenants-at-will. (107).
  19. The proper time for sowing paddy seedlings was the month of Jeth. (34).
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## CHAPTER XVI.

### EDUCATION.

1. Education was valued by the people. (126). They were studious in their habits. (132).
  2. The teachers were most attentive to their duties. (132). Education was not considered efficient, unless it was imparted by a teacher. (30).
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## CHAPTER XVII.

### OFFENCE.

1. Theft was considered a heinous crime. (66). Heavy punishment was inflicted for this offence, (83). The amount of fine imposed on a thief came up to Rs, 2/8 in a serious case.

(49). Pilfering of *lotas* and such other small things was common. (26). There were thefts of *kahis*, *batis*, as well as tobacco leaves used with *pān*, (41), ducks, jack-fruits. (229). *Tengas* were also stolen. (102). Thefts were generally of petty nature. The thieves, as soon as they were seen, were at their wit's end, and showed embarrassments which led them to be caught at once. (84). As thefts were common, the inhabitants had to live guardedly at night. (142).

2. The offence of cattle-lifting prevailed in the country. (85).
  3. Thieves were tried by the *punchayat* and sentenced to pay a fine. (19).
  4. Thieves were not reformed easily. (87).
  5. Thieves were useless people who did no work. When charged with an offence, they defended themselves with might and main by all sorts of fantastic arguments. (82).
  6. In trial of cases of theft, there was sometimes mis-carriage of justice and the wrong man was punished. (13).
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## CHAPTER XVIII.

## GOVERNMENT.

1. The country was distracted by anarchy, revolution and rapine ; and the inhabitants were compelled to leave their hearths and homes. (164), (199).
  2. The king was autocratic and bestowed favours or inflicted punishments more or less in accordance with his personal inclinations. (200), (201).
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## CHAPTRE XIX.

## RELIGION.

1. The bulk of the population were Hindus, who devoutly desired a purificatory bath in the holy waters of the Ganges. (70), (136A), (204).
2. The Brahmins were implicitly obeyed. A gift to a Brahmin was regarded as an act of highest piety. Even theft was condoned, if the gift which was intended to be made to a Brahmin could not be had otherwise than by theft. (136 A).
3. The people had a clear idea, that virtue and vice were the only things which pertained to the ever-lasting life. (14). The

grosser senses were regarded as pitfalls in which the unwary might perish. (77). Neither the *devas* nor the good houses were considered sufficiently powerful to save a human being. He could be saved only by the grace of the *gurus* and the *bhakats*. (80). Self-control was preached with all earnestness. It was difficult to attain this virtue. The self was surrounded by strong temptations. Once the self was allowed loose reins, it was sure to grow too powerful to be brought under control subsequently. (165).

4. *Garhasthya* was considered the highest form of religion. (103). People were required to carry out the injunctions of God in their everyday careers of life. (180).
5. The people thought that God granted blessings only to those who approached Him with a prayer for them, and not to those who stood apart with no prayer for them. (39).
6. The people had unspeakable faith in the wise Providence of God. It was thought that a pious man had to suffer in an extreme degree, but if he still did not falter and continued on the path of virtue, triumph would come in the end and the choicest divine blessings would be showered on him. (193).
7. There was none to help a man in the next world except things which he has given away in this world as charity. (60). Charity had so high a place in the hierarchy of virtue, that people were instructed not only to give

away what they could spare out of their surplus but also to give away what they got from others by begging. (60).

8. The people believed in the doctrine of fatalism. (2), (223).

## CHAPTER XX.

### GENERAL MATTERS.

1. The Bhuyans wielded large powers and constituted the chief aristocracy of the day. (138).
2. A big moustache was considered a fashion. (121).
3. Good speaking was considered a qualification. (121).
4. Wealth commanded respect. (121).
5. Beauty was appreciated. (121).
6. Needy people were assisted by their kith and kin. (186).
7. The people were industrious. (57).
8. It was a disgraceful thing for a man to carry a woman's *mekhela*. (159).
9. The people used to keep parrots which were trained to imitate the human voice. (104).
10. There were sooth-sayers. The people had faith in *mangalchoa*. The *Ganaks* resorted to foretelling as a profession. (79).

11. Love-making was prevalent among the people. (79).
12. There were wells which were used for drinking purposes. (79).
13. *Kahis* and *batis* were used for keeping boiled rice and curry. *Safuras* were used for keeping betel-leaves and areca-nuts. (42).
14. Milk was largely used. (68).
15. Relatives were received with very great hospitality. (68).
16. The people practised economy. Each house-holder had a reserve fund to provide against emergencies. (6).
17. The dinner was prepared just in the evening, so that the small children might have a peaceful sleep with a full stomach. (6).
18. The people generally used *kharani* in lieu of salt which was scarce. (45), (47).
19. The people rarely caught fish by angling. This was not found as profitable as the other modes of catching fish. (32).
20. The people ate their food in *chang-ghar*. They slept in *mati-ghar*. (55).
21. Salt was scarce. Only the rich could afford the luxury of eating it. (28).
22. The joint family system was in vogue. In a family some had to work hard, while others led an easy life. (135).
23. The tie of relationship with a sister's son was extremely loving. (44), (183), (184).

24. Only the male members of a family were required to cut wood. The females had nothing to do with such hard work. (184).
25. The people worked hard. They did not like much talking. Eloquence was at a discount. It was considered that only a bad man had recourse to eloquence in order to show himself by such tactics to be what he was really not. (82).
26. The people used mosquito-curtains. (4).
27. The *Jugis* were noted for excellent speaking. (51).
28. The people appreciated good manners as highly as they deprecated bad manners, especially in conversation. (36).
29. Money was scarce. 5 *adhalis* (i. e. Rs. 2/8) was considered a big amount. (49).
30. *Kahis* and *batis* were the chief utensils in a house-hold. (41).
31. Men worked off debt by personal service. (117).
32. The people used to sleep on *dharis* and *patis*. (116).
33. A family who had plentiful paddy and affectionate sons was considered happy. (116).
34. The people set a high value to courtesy. It was considered a want of courtesy to make a request to a gentleman in any other place than his own house. (144).
35. The people used to catch fish, deer and birds for their consumption. (171).



36. Social matters were settled by *mels*. But the deliberations were not strictly impartial. The members of a *mel* did not shrink from taking undue advantage over people who were not members of it. (191).
37. The people were polite. They set a high value to kind treatment. In fact, they preferred being ill-fed to being ill-treated. (158A), (162).
38. The people set a high value to purity of descent and caste. (127).
39. Promises once given were never retracted. (127).
40. There was very great unity among people of the same village. They behaved towards one another, as if they were brothers of the same parents. (20).
41. Heroism was a special feature of the men. A soldier's highest desire was to lay down his life in the battle-field. (195).
42. Every one was expected to support his father in his old age. (43).
43. A father treated his son rather indulgently. (213).
44. The people were thrifty. (50).
45. There were expert archers in the country. Some were so skilful, that they could shoot the arrow through the hole in the lobe of a woman's ear. (1).
46. The people slept and dined in places, where no outsider could see them. (61).
47. The people were highly susceptible to flattery. (56).

48. A man who could find a surety for a debt neglected to pay the debt, with the result that the surety had to pay it himself. (62).
49. The people were self-reliant, (217), patient. (219).
50. They were considerate and consulted others before they undertook any important work. (198).
51. They were respectful to their superiors and grateful to their benefactors. (187).
52. Cattle were considered a man's chief asset. (189).
53. People refrained from doing harm to others, because they believed, that if a man harmed another, he would somehow come to be harmed in a similar way. (52), (192).
54. Those men were called great who had an extensive cultivation and employed a large number of labourers to do it. (190).
55. The people had a clear idea of morality. With them, silence was sometimes as bad an offence as directly speaking falsehood. If a man in a *mel* spoke nothing by way of protest, when he found some one making a false statement, he was considered as much guilty as the man who made the false statement. (182).
56. Old men were consulted in important matters. In fact, old men were the guiding power in every undertaking. (110).
57. Men were warned not to speak ill of others. It was thought, that one who cried down another would have to bow to him some

time. (125).

58. The people were generally outspoken. One who was sullen and reserve was considered to be a dangerous person. (202).
59. The people were content with small gains, if such could be obtained frequently. (71).
60. The people were hard-working. Any one who worked hard had plenty to eat. (111).
61. The Brahmins and the Ganaks did not cultivate land. They earned their livelihood by following their respective callings. (146).
62. Self-restraint was regarded as the highest virtue. (194).
63. The people were self-reliant. (134).
64. They were extremely forgiving. (212).
65. The people worked hard, so that they might have plenty to enjoy. (11).
66. The Brahmins and the Ganaks did not carry *bhars*. But they carried capacious bags which were not less heavy. (209).
67. Wealth, amiability, eloquence and personality—these were regarded as the chief qualifications of a man. (121).
68. Debauchery was a heinous crime. Falsehood was more heinous. In fact, there was no atonement prescribed for a lie, although there was atonement for debauchery. (154).
69. Fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law were most unkind to their daughters-in-law. (100)
70. The people deprecated false shows. They cared more for realities than phantoms. (167).

71. The people were polite. (161).
72. The public opinion wielded the greatest power in guiding the every-day life of the people. (204).
73. No one undertook any important work without consulting the people of his society. (198).
74. The old men were worldly-wise and men acting against their advice found themselves stranded in difficulties. (153).
75. The *bar-sabah* was a grand festival which only the rich people could afford to celebrate. (230A).
76. The people in their dealings with others acted in a quite business-like manner. (115A).
77. The earliest settlements of the Assamese were in Tipam and Salaguri. (203).
78. The lower sentiments such as fear &c, played an important part in the social affairs of the people. (155).
79. Feathers were fixed to the arrows to make them go fast and straight. (30).
80. The people would forgive a man for a lapse, if the latter asked them for pardon by making a present of duck-eggs to them. (89).
81. A girl could be taken as a wife even from a low caste by the necessary purificatory ceremony. (120).
82. The people were extremely self-respecting. They would undertake any work, however hazardous it might be, if their co-operation was duly sought for it. But they would stand

aloof from any work and would have nothing to do with it, if they were not invited to participate in it, however profitable it might be. (177).

83. A married life was considered the best life. The people were fond of hearth and home. (208).
84. The people would take with them a *jhampi*, a stick and a *ianu*, whenever they would go out for a walk or for any other purpose. (91).
85. A statement made twice over was considered confirmed. (35).
86. The Brahmins performed the funeral rites. The Ganaks performed ceremonies to propitiate the *grahas* during illness. (150).
87. Some people of the Patia caste were made Brahmins and sent to the battle for fighting. (163).
88. The Marias did no cultivation of paddy. The Mussulmans were looked down upon by the general populace. (166).
89. Pans were not grown in the plains. It was grown by the *Nagas* in the hills. The Assamese used to take pan from them in barter. (136).
90. The people had generally two meals a day, but those in easy life had the luxury of 3 meals a day. (54).
91. Mother's sister's husband was held in veneration. (129).
92. The people were fatalists. (197), (223).
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## APPENDIX.

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*The Roman figure on the right-hand side of a proverb in the Appendix indicates the number of the chapter and the numerical figure indicates the serial number of the para in the body of the book, describing the historical facts of which the particular proverb forms the basis.*

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1. অভ্যাসব নব, কৰ্ণ-পথে কৰে শব। xx. 45.

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2. আইব ঘৰলৈ যাম, দুই হাতে খাম।  
বিধিয়ে বোলে মই পাচে পাচে যাম ॥ xix. 8.
3. আইব মান হব কোন্ ?  
নৈব মান ব'ব কোন্ ? ii. 16 ; vi. 1.
4. ঝাঁঠুৱা-তলৰ মহ মোহাৰিলে মৰে। i. 23 ; viii. 5 ; xx. 26.
5. আগল, গাগল, ছাগল।  
এই তিনিয়ে কৰে ব্যাধি পাগল ॥ x. 4.

6. আচুতত নিদিবা হাত ।  
লবা-ছোৱালীক লছোনে নথবা,  
দিবা গধূলিতে ভাত ॥ xx. 16, 17.
7. আটাইতকৈ তিতা নেমুৰ্টেঙ্গাৰ পাত ।  
তাতোকৈ তিতা মাহী আইব মাত ॥ ii. 9 ; v. 1.
8. আনব আন চিন্তা !  
বুঢ়ী বামুণীৰ দুখন কাণৰ চিন্তা ॥ ii. 26.
9. আপোন ভালে জগত ভাল ।  
শাহু ভালে বোৱাবী ভাল ॥ ii. 15.
10. আম কঠাল দুমাহ ।  
মাত বোল নাই ছমাহ ॥ i. 22.
11. আৰ্জ্জিলে ফল ভুঞ্জিবলৈ পায় । xx. 65.
12. আলহিয়ে বিচাবে শাকত লোণ ।  
ধান-কিনোতাই বিচাবে মাত-নেবীয়া দোন ॥ ix. 8 ; xiii. 4.
13. আলু খালে ভোলানাথে, কলা খালে জগন্নাথে ।  
বাকলি চুহিলে যি, ধন ভৰি মৰে সি ॥ xvii. 6.
14. আহোঁতে শূইন, যাওঁতে শূইন ।  
লগত যাব পাপ আৰু পুইণ ॥ xix. 3.
15. আহোম টেলেঙ্গা, ডোম ভেলেঙ্গা ।  
হিন্দুৰ ঘন ঘন গাঁথি ॥ i. 11, 12, 13.
16. আহোমৰ চক্ৰলং হিন্দুৰ বেই ।  
তোমাৰ পাটলিত পৰিছে। বেই কৰা সেই ॥ iii. 8.
17. আহোমৰ টোপোলা ।  
ভিতৰে ফোঁপোলা ॥ i. 11,

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18. উঠুৱাই মাৰিলে কাঠি ।  
জানোৱা ডোমৰ সাতজনী তিবোতা,  
শুৱলৈ নাটিলে পাৰ্শী ॥ ii. 28.
19. উকখা ঘৰত বাৰিষা থাকে ।  
যুৱতী কণ্ঠা বাপৰ ঘৰে বাখে ॥  
তিনি চাৰি খায় গোৰ্ট ।  
টকাচেবেক ভৰায় ৰূপ ॥ iii. 4 ; iv. 2 ; xvii. 3.

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20. এক গাৰুঁৰ, এক মাৰুৰ । xx. 40.
21. এক তিব্বীৰ পৈ লোদোব-পোদোব ।  
দুই তিব্বীৰ গাঁতৰ এন্দুৰ ॥  
তিনি তিব্বীৰ নাপায় ভাত ।  
চাৰি তিব্বীৰ মূৰত হাত ॥ iii. 2.
22. এক পুৰুষত গৰু খায় ।  
সাত পুৰুষলৈ নাম যায় ॥ ix 6.
23. এগাল বাছে এগাল খায়,  
সেয়ে ডোমৰ চিৰা ।  
এঠেং আছে এঠেং নাই,  
সেয়ে ডোমৰ পিৰা ॥ i. 13.



24. এটিং আছে এটিং নাট,  
সেয়ে ডোমৰ নাও ।  
পুৱা গধূলি হাই নুওচে,  
সেয়ে ডোমৰ গাওঁ ॥ i. 13 ; xiv. 2.
25. এঠাইত লাগে এঠাইত নালাগে,  
সতৰামৰ নাঙ্গল ।  
এখন ফলিয়ায় এখন নফলিয়ায়,  
বাইলুঙ্গনীৰ মঙ্গল ॥ ii. 32.
26. এডেও দুডেও, লোটা নিবৰ চেও । xvii. 1.
27. এন্দুবৰ কি সেন্দুব, নগাব কি গোন্ধ-তেল ।  
বেটীৰ কি গভুবা লৰা ॥ ii. 31.
28. এমাজ খায় এমাজ নাখায়,  
ন চহকীয়ে লোণ ।  
নাত কঠাতকৈ বেচি নাখায়,  
চাপবিয়ালৰ দোন ॥ xiii. 2 ; xx. 21.
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- ৩ ।
29. ওচৰৰ পুঠি খলিহা ।  
দূবৈৰ বোঁ ববালি ॥ vii. 1 ; xii. 3.
30. ওজা-লগা বিছা ।  
পাখি-লগা কাঁড় ॥ xvi. 2 ; xx. 79.
31. ওবণীয়ে-বাবণীয়ে দেখিবলৈ ভাল ।  
ওবণী শুচালে ওফোন্দা গাল ॥ ii. 33, 34.

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32. କଟନା କଟା ଭାତ ।  
 ବବସି ବୋରା ଗାଢ଼ ॥ ii. 10 ; xx. 19.
33. କଟାରି ଚିକୁଣ ଶିଲେ ।  
 ତିବୋତା ଚିକୁଣ କୀଲେ ॥ ii. 41.
34. କଠିରା ହେ ଚୁଟି, ଜେଠତେ ପବା । xv. 19.
35. କଥାର ଛୁ-ଆସାର, ବାଙ୍କର ଛୁମେବ । xx. 85.
36. କଥାର ମୂବତ ବଂଟା ପାୟ ।  
 କଥାର ମୂବତ କଟା ବାୟ ॥ xx. 28.
37. କଲିଆବରତ ପୈୟେକ ମବିଳ ।  
 ଟେକୀ ଦିଓଂତେ ମନତ ପବିଳ ॥ ii. 29 ; xi. 4 ; xii. 2.
38. କଲିଆବରୀୟା ମାକୋ ।  
 ଦିବ ନୋରାବୋ ଥବ ନୋରାବୋ,  
 ହୋବୋଷା-ହୋବୋଷେ ବାକୋ ॥ ii. 30 ; xiv. 1.
39. କଲ୍ଲ ତକ ବୁଝ ସବାତୋ ସମାନ ।  
 ମାଗନ୍ତା ଜନକ ଦେୟ ଫଲ ଦାନ ॥ xix. 5.
40. କାଁହର ଖାରୁରେ ଶୁରାୟ କି ନୁଶୁରାୟ,  
 ହାତ ଦାଞ୍ଜି ଦାଞ୍ଜି ଚାୟ ।  
 ଗାବ ନାଜେ ନୋ ଶୁରାୟ କି ନୁଶୁରାୟ,  
 ପିଚଲେ ଉଭତି ଚାୟ ॥ ii. 13.
41. କାଁହୀ ହେବାଲ, ବାଟି ହେବାଲ,  
 ତାକ ପିଚେ ପାମ ।  
 ଲା ଯେନ ଧପାତ ହେବାଲ,  
 ତାକ କ'ତ ପାମ ॥ xv. 13 ; xvii. 1 ; xx. 30.

42. কাঁহীত নাখাওঁ, বাটিত মাখাওঁ,  
নাখাওঁ দফুবাত গুৱা ।  
মনব জোখাবে নাপাওঁ মানে,  
দেহকো নকৰো ছুৱা ॥ ii. 43 ; xx. 13.
43. কাটক নাকাটক লোৱে ।  
পোহক নোপোহক পোৱে ॥ xiv. 4 ; xx. 42.
44. কাব জহত কোনে পিয়ে পানী ।  
কাব ভাগিনা মৰে, কাব হয় হাঁনি ॥ xx. 23.
45. কি ক'ম বুঢ়ী আইব গুণ ।  
এহাতে খাবগী, এহাতে লোণ ॥ xx. 18.
46. কি কৈ মৰিলোঁ কিহত ।  
ছুহাতে দুমুঠি কাঁহৰ খাক পাইছোঁ,  
এতিয়া নিয়াটোৰ জহত ॥ ii. 3.
47. কিনো মাহী আইব গুণ ।  
খোঁজো খাবগী, দিয়ে লোণ ॥ ii. 9 ; xx. 18.
48. কিনো মাহী আইব সাদৰ ।  
ধান খুন্দি দিয়ে মানিকীমধুবী,  
পানা আনি দিয়ে নাদৰ ॥ ii. 9 ; xv. 6.
49. কিহৰ জগৰত মৰোঁ ।  
আধলি পাঁচোটা ভৰোঁ ॥ xvii. 1 ; xx. 29.
50. কিনা হাঁহৰ ঠোঁটলৈকে মঙ্গহ । xx. 44.
51. কুঁহিয়াবৰ চিকুণ মুগী ।  
কথাৰ চিকুণ যুগী ॥  
মাছৰ চিকুণ নেৰিয়া ।  
মানুহৰ চিকুণ বৰিয়া ॥ i. 19 ; vii. 1 ; xv. 12 ; xx. 27.

52. কুটৰ ঘৰৰ কুটী ।  
লোকলৈ ছল পুতি আপোনি মৰে ফুটি ॥ xx. 53.
53. কেনেটোৰ কেনেজনী,  
ফপৰিয়াটোৰ তিনিজনী,  
ভালটোৰ এজনীও নাই ॥ iii. 3.
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## খ ।

54. খৰ বান্ধনী, খৰ বাঢ়নী পৈয়েকে লঘোনে যায় ।  
ওদা বান্ধনী, ওদা বাঢ়নী, পৈয়েকে তিনি নাজি খায় ॥ xx. 90.
55. খাওঁ মাটি-ঘৰত ।  
শোওঁ চাং-ঘৰত ॥ iv. 3 ; xx. 20.
56. খাটনি নে লোটনি । xx. 47.
57. খাবলৈ দাম-দুম, বনশৈ গৰীয়া ।  
পিন্ধিবলৈ লাগে আঁচুৰলীয়া চুৰিয়া ॥ ii. 5; ix. I; xx. 7.
58. খাবলৈ নাই কন্টো ।  
বৰ-সবাহলৈ মন্টো ॥ xix. 11.
59. খাবলৈ নাপালোঁ জহা ধানৰ ভাত ।  
শুনিবলৈ নাপালোঁ অমাতৰ মাত ॥ xv. 5.
60. খুজি আনি কৰিবা দান ।  
তেবেমে পাইবা বৈকুণ্ঠত থান ॥ xix. 7.
61. খোৱা আবুৰ, শোৱা আবুৰ । xx 46.
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## গ।

62. গছত উঠা মবে, লগা হোৱা ভবে । xx. 48.
63. গড়গঞা কটা বৰে ডাবে কাটে । i. 4.
64. গড়গঞা মিতিবৰ ভাও ।  
মুখে বোলে থাক্ থাক্, ভৰিবে হেঁচোকে নাও ॥ i. 4.
65. গড়গাওঁ, কথা শুনি তল যাওঁ । xi. 1.
66. গৰু হল গৰীয়া, পো হল চোৰ ।  
জী হল নটিনী, উপায় হেবাল মোৰ ॥ ii. 4; xv. 1; xvii. 1.
67. গাখীৰতকৈ শুকুলা হলে কুঠীয়া বোলে । x. I.
68. গাখীৰৰ গোন্ধে যাবা ।  
মিতিবৰ গোন্ধে যাবা ॥ xx. 14, 15.
69. গাত নাই ছাল-বাকলি ।  
মদ খায় তিন টেকেলি ॥ ix. 10.
70. গোৱ মাৰি গঙ্গাত পেলালে ॥ xix. 1.
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## ঘ।

71. ঘনাই খুটিলে শিন্ধবাও মাছ । xx. 59.
72. ঘৰৰ ঘৈণী লবাব মাক ।  
তোমাক নামাতি মাতিম কাক ॥ ii. 12, 27, 28.
73. ঘৰৰ বুঢ়া, জুহালৰ মুঢ়া । i. 7.

74. ঘৰে-পতি বৈনী, খালে-পতি যথিনী । ii. 13.  
 75. ঘোক বাই ঘোক, সাপে খুঁটিলে, তোক ।  
 মাছটি পালে, মোক ॥ ii. 46.
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## চ ।

76. চহাই বেহা শিকিলে ।  
 দিনক বাতি যেন দেখিলে ॥ xiii. 7.  
 77. চাই চাই বুলিবা বাট ।  
 দেহৰ ভিতৰত আছে খাল-বাম,  
 পিচলি পৰিবা তাত ॥ xix. 3.  
 78. চাউল দিয়া যেতেক, পানী দিয়া তেতেক ।  
 উতলা ভাতৰ ফেন কাটি,  
 তেহে চাবা ভাতৰ কান্তি ॥ ix. 2.  
 79. চাওঁ তিনি বেলি খৰিকা মঙ্গলে ।  
 মাতোঁ তিনি বেলি গণক ।  
 পদূনি ওলাই চাওঁ তিনি বেলি ।  
 এবেলিও নেদেখো ধনক ॥ xx. 10, 11, 12.  
 80. চালেও নাৰাখে, বাবেও নাৰাখে,  
 নাৰাখে ত্ৰিদশৰ দেৱ ।  
 গুৰু ভকতে নাৰাখে মানে,  
 বাখোঁতা নাই কেওঁ ॥ xix. 3.  
 81. চিকাই কৰিলে চিক ।  
 এৰিয়ে মুগাই যি লাগে কৰিলে ;  
 জেথা কাটিবলৈ শিক ॥ xiv. 6.

82. চোৰ পোৰ মুখখনি । xvii. 5 ; xx. 25.
83. চোৰ বিদ্যা উত্তম বিদ্যা ।  
ধৰা পৰিলে শিলৰ খুন্দা ॥ xvii. 1.
84. চোৰ বুলিলেই ওৰ পৰে । xvii. 1.
85. চোৰে নিয়া গৰুৰ বাটে বাটে ঘাঁহ । xvii. 2.
86. চোৰে নিয়ে লফা দাই ।  
গিৰিহঁতে মৰে খৰলি খাই ॥ ix. 7 ; xv. 11.
87. চোৰে নেৰে চোৰ প্রকৃতি,  
শহাই নেৰে সব ।  
যিমান কি ডোম চহকি নহওক,  
নৈব কাষত ঘৰ ॥ i. 13 ; viii. 2 ; xvii. 4.
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## ছ।

88. ছয় পো বাৰ নাতি ।  
তেহে কৰিবা কঁহিয়াৰ-খেতি ॥ xv. 4.
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## জ।

89. জগৰ বা লগালোঁ কি ।  
মাতোঁ হাঁহ-কণী দি ॥ xx. 80.
90. জলা, জোল, জাল ।  
এইয়ে নহলে আঞ্জা নহয় ভাল ॥ ix. 3.

91. জাপি, লাঠি, টনা ।  
ইয়াক নিনিলে দিনতে কথা ॥ xx. 84.
92. জী তুলি জোৰাঁইব বুকত ।  
পো তুলি বোৰাবৌব বুকত ॥ i. 2; ii. 5.
93. জীটি লোকব, পোটি বুকব । i. 9; ii. 18.
94. জীৰন্তে নকৰিলে দয়া ।  
মৰিলে কি কবিব গঙ্গা গয়া ॥ xix. 12.
95. জীৰ লগত এৰিয়াব নাৰ ।  
পোৰ লগত মাধ-মাৰ ॥ i. 8; ii. 14.
96. জুইশালত গঢ়িলে হে কমাৰ-শালত গঢ়িব পাৰি । xiv. 4.
97. জোৰাঁইয়ে নিলেও নিয়ে, যমে নিলেও নিয়ে ॥ ii. 45.

## ট।

98. টিক্ বলধা ওলাই মাটি ।  
মাক ভালে জীয়েক জাতি ॥ iii. 1; xv. 1, 2 .

## ড।

99. ডোম চহকী হল, চুকত পাতিলে ডুলি ।  
ঘবৰপৰা উলিয়াই পেলালে,  
গা স্মুং-স্মুঙ্গায় বুলি ॥ i. 13.



৩।

100. ঢোলৰ মাত শুনি নিতৌ হওঁ গিয়া ।  
শাহ শহুৰ মাত শুনি আজুৰি পেলাওঁ গিয়া ॥ xx: 69.
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৩।

101. তলমূৰী শাহু, ঘনমূৰী আহু । ii. 15 ; xv. 3.  
102. তাহাণীয়ে খালোঁ টেঙ্গা ।  
এতিয়া হে পালে হি জেঙ্গা ॥ xv. 14 ; xvii. 1.  
103. তিৰী পুকুৰ হৈব এক মতি ।  
তেবে নে সিজিব হৰিত ভকতি ॥ xix. 4.  
104. তিৰী, মিৰি, ভাটৌ, কোৰা ।  
এই চাৰিৰ আশয় নোপোৰা ॥ i. 6 ; ii. 8 ; xi. 3 ; xx. 9.  
105. তিৰীৰ চুটি ।  
বাঢ়নীৰ বুটি ॥ ii. 48.  
106. তোমাৰ তেওঁ বৰ কাজী !  
এনেৰ কপাহৰ এসেবা পাঁজি ॥ ii. 21 ; xv. 8.  
107. তোৰ মাটিত মোৰ ঘৰ ।  
যি লাগে তাকে কব ॥ xv. 18.
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## থ।

108. থুপদীৰ পৈ, মাজে ফুটা চৈ, কাটি খায় কটনা ।  
এই তিনি বমৰ বাতনা ॥ ii. 48, 49.
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## দ।

109. দলনীৰ পোনা, বাগুণৰ মোনা ॥ i. 14 ; vii. 1.  
110. দহো আপুলীয়ে খায় ।  
বুঢ়াই গেচুকিলে হে যায় ॥ xx. 56.  
111. দুখ কৰিলে মুখ ভৰে । xx. 60.  
112. দু-ডাল সূতা এ-ডাল কৈ ।  
মহ-লহ-কৰে নিয়ে বৈ ॥ ii. 22.  
113. দেহত তৰণি নাই ।  
বলিয়া কুকুৰে খায় ॥ x. 1.
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## ধ।

114. ধন মহঙ্গলৈ গল ।  
কথা দু-আষাৰ মান কব খুজিলোঁ,  
ওচৰত মানুহটো হল ॥ xii. 2.  
115. ধন মহঙ্গলৈ গল ।  
লোণ ভাৰ পেলাই মাটি-ভাৰ অনিলে,  
ঠাই মুছিবলৈ হল ॥ xii. 2.

- 115A. ধন লয় লেখি ।  
বাট বুলিবা দেখি ॥ xx. 76.
116. ধান হল চাউল হল, হল মরমিয়াল পো ।  
ঢাবী নাই পাটী নাই, কিহত ধোর শো ॥ xiv. 3; xx. 32, 33.
117. ধিনিকি ধিন্দাও দাও ।  
ধনে কিনি বন্ধুবা সোমাঙ ॥ i. 24; ii. 38; iii. 9; xx. 31.

## ন।

118. নকলে নোরাবোঁ কটা মুখ ।  
কলেত্ত লাগে ভকত্তব দোষ ॥ xix. 10.
119. নগৈ গড়গাঙব বাতবি । xi. 1.
120. নবকব কণ্ডা উদ্ধাবিলে শুচি । ii. 42; xx. 81.
121. নাই পো গোকাল, নাই পো মুখাল ।  
নাই পো ধনী, নাই পো লনি ॥ xx. 2, 3, 4, 5, 67.
122. নাই বুলিলে সাপতো বিষ নাই । i. 22; viii. 4.
123. নাখাঙ শালি ধানব ভাত ।  
বোকাতো নিদিঙ হাত ॥ xv. 7.
124. নাৰব নুঠিবা ভগা ।  
দুখীয়া মিতিবব নহবা লগা ॥ iii. 10.
125. নিন্দিলে বন্দিব লাগে । xx. 57.
126. নুচুই ডুমুনী তুলিলে বোজা ।  
নপঢ়ি নুশুনি হল গৈ ওজা ॥ i. 13; xvi. 1.

127. নেৰিবা আদি মূল ।  
 নেৰিবা জাতি কুল ।  
 নেৰিবা বোল বচন ॥ xx. 38, 39.
128. নোহোৱাত এবাই বৰ বিবিধ । v. 2; xi. 2; xv. 9.

## প ।

129. পকা আমৰ বেলিকা কিহৰ কুজা মোগ । xx. 91.
130. পখীৰ টোকটোকী ।  
 পছৰ নোকনোকী ॥ ix. 5.
131. পছোৱা বতাহে দুৱাৰ মেলে ।  
 বৰলাৰ গাত জগৰ লাগে ॥ i. 3.
132. পঢ়ায় পঢ়ে বোৱে পান ।  
 এই তিনিয়ে নিচিন্তে আন ॥ xv. 15; xvi. 2.
133. পৰ-দেশ মৰ-ভেশ ॥ xii. 2.
134. পৰত আশ, বনত বাস । xx. 63.
135. পৰৰ মূৰত খাওঁ ।  
 ভটীয়া নাৰত যাওঁ ॥ vi. 1; xx. 22.
136. পৰ্ব্বতত কাছ-কণী ভৈয়ামত পান ।  
 বৰণাৰ গুৰিত বিচাৰিছে শুকান ধান ॥ xx. 89.
- 136A. পলাই-উৰাই গঙ্গালৈ যাবা ।  
 চুব-তাৰিকৈ বামুণক দিবা ॥ xix, 1, 2.

137. গোলৈ বোৱাবী চাওঁ ।  
ঘূৰি ঘূৰি মোলৈ হে পাওঁ ॥ i. 17, 18.
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## ফ ।

138. ফটা হক ছিটা হক পাটৰ টঙ্গালি ।  
ভগা হক ছিগা হক ভূঞাৰ পোৱালি ॥ xiv. 5 ; xx. 1.
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## ব ।

139. ব'ব নাজানো কাটিব নাজানো,  
হালোৱা চহাৰ জী ।  
এখন গামোছা বৈ থৈ আহিছোঁ,  
পছুম সাত শাবী দি ॥ ii. 23, 24.
140. বব বোঁ কেনেকুৱা কাজী ।  
বেবৰ জোলোঙ্গাই চাই পঠিয়ালোঁ,  
ধৰিব নাজানে পাঁজি ॥ ii. 21.
141. বাঁৰী বামুণীৰ ধন ।  
লোককো নিদিয়ৈ আপুনিও নাখায়,  
চাই থাকিবৰ মন ॥ ii. 2.
142. বাছি খাবা, জাগি শুবা । ix. 1 ; xvii. 1.
143. বাজ টেঙ্গৰ বনিয়া ।  
আধেৰ কপাহৰ কৰে নখন খনিয়া ॥ xiii. 6.
144. বাটত পালোঁ কমাৰ ।  
দা গঢ়ি দিয়া আমাৰ ॥ xiv. 4 ; xx, 34.

145. বান্দীয়ে ভান্দিলে কটবা,  
গড়গাঙ পালে গৈ বতৰা ।  
ঘৈণীয়ে ভান্দিলে কাঁহী,  
থলে মিচিকিয়াই হাঁহি ॥ ii, 11, 12,
146. বামুণ, গণক, কোৰা ।  
এই তিনি পৰব খোৱা ॥ viii, 6 ; xx, 6.
147. বামুণৰ গৰু শূদিবে বায় ।  
তাৰ কি আগ-গুৰি চায় ॥ xv. 17.
148. বামুণৰ চিকুণ ফোঁটে লগুণে ;  
হোমৰ চিকুণ ধোৱা ।  
পানীৰ চিকুণ পানী-পৰুৱা ;  
মাছৰ চিকুণ মোৱা ॥ i. 20 ; iii. 7 ; vii, 1.
149. বামুণৰ জোলোঙ্গা নুবুলিবা নক ।  
চাউল ধৰে, চক ধৰে ;  
আক ধৰে ভতৰা গৰু ॥ i. 14.
150. বামুণে শগুনে বিচাবে মৰা ।  
গণকে বিচাবে নৰিয়া পৰা ॥ xx. 86.
151. বাৰ দেশ ফুৰে যি ।  
বাৰ কথা শিকে সি ॥ xii. 12,
152. বাৰে ভতৰাৰ নাম জানে ।  
বেইতা পৈৰ নাম নাজানে ॥ iii. 11.
153. বুঢ়াৰ কথা নুশুন ডেকা ।  
টানত পৰি কিয় কেকা ॥ xx. 74,
154. বেশ্যাৰ পৰাচিত আছে ।  
মিছাৰ পৰাচিত নাই ॥ .xx 68.

## ভ ।

155. ভয়ত ভগবন্ত পলায় ।  
কীললৈ বাস্তুদেব ডবায় ॥ xx. 78.
156. ভাই-ভনী খেবৰ শনি ।  
ভাৰ্য্যা আছে গুলব মণি ॥ ii. 12.
157. ভাঙ্গি আন মুচৰি খাওঁ ।  
পুৱা হলে নাও মেলি যাওঁ ॥ xx. 44.
158. ভাত খাই উঠি যি খায় তিনি শিলিখা ।  
তাব মানত ৰোগ টিলিকা ॥ x. 3.
- 158A. ভাতৰ তিতা খাব পাৰি ।  
মাতৰ তিতা খাব নোৱাৰি ॥ xx. 37.
159. ভাতৰ ভতুৱা মেখেলা-ভাবী ।  
ভাত বাঢ়ি থৈছে খোৱাঁ হি আহি ॥ ix. 9 ; xx. 8.
160. ভাল ভাল ঘোঁৰাই নাপায় ঘাঁহ ।  
বটুৱা ঘোঁৰাই বিচাবে মাহ ॥ viii. 1.
161. ভাৱেবে কলে পকা ধানে বাট দিয়ে । xx. 71.
162. ভোজন মিঠা নে বচন মিঠা ? xx. 37.

## ম।

163. মই আছিলোঁ ঢাৰি বৈ ।  
মোক আনিলে বামুণটো কৈ ॥      xx. 87.
164. মই কওঁ বাজ ভগনব কথা ।  
সি কয় কল থোকা বাতুলিয়ে খালে ॥      xv. 10. xviii. 1.
165. মনক বান্ধিবা, মনক ছাটিবা,  
মনক নিদিবা লাই ।  
দুৰ্জ্জয় মনক বাখিব নোৰাবি,  
পঘা ছিঙ্গি ছিঙ্গি যায় ॥      xix. 3.
166. মৰিয়াক ধান কৈলে ।  
গৰীয়াক কাণ কৈলে ॥      xx. 88.
167. মহলৈ নমবি যহলৈ মৰোঁ ।  
কটা আঁঠুৰাখন টিঙ্গালিকৈ তৰোঁ ॥      xx. 70.
168. মাকে চায় মুখলৈ ।  
তিৰোঁতাই চায় হাতলৈ ॥      ii. 16, 17.
169. মাকে শলাগে জী, বাপেকে শলাগে জী ।  
চা-চুবুৰিয়াই বাক, শলাগিব সেই হে মাকৰ জী ॥      ii. 19.
170. মাছ-পোহাৰীৰ গোন্ধালে গা ।  
চুণ-পোহাৰীৰ কাতিহা চা ॥      xiii. 3.
171. মাছ-মৰীয়াৰ মোচোৰা ।  
পত্ন-মৰীয়াৰ ডোখোৰা ।  
চবাই-মৰীয়াই শুদা ভাত খায় ॥      xx. 35.



172. মাছৰ খাবা বটিয়া ।  
পছৰ খাবা খটিয়া ॥ ix. 4 ; 5.
173. মাছে গৰকা পাচলি খাবা ।  
শাহুৰে গৰকা বোৱাৰী বাবা ॥ ii. 15; ix. 4.
174. মাজ মূৰত নাই চুলি ।  
পৈয়েকে মাতিছে ৰূপহী বুলি ॥ i. 16.
175. মাটি ল'ৰা মাজ খাল ।  
ছোৱালী আনিবা জাত ভাল ॥ ii. 16 ; iii. 2 ; xv. 2.
176. মানুহৰ গাইমুৱা ।  
কুকুৰৰ ছাইমুৱা ॥ i. 25.
177. মাতিলে বগলৈ যাবা ।  
নামাতিলে ভোজলৈও নাযাবা ॥ xx. 82.
178. মাৰিব নোৱাৰে, বৰ কাৰৈ ॥ vii. 2.
179. মাৰোঁ বেটি গমহ গমহ ।  
কপাহ-মূতা নকৰাৰ বঙ্গহ ॥ xv. 8.
180. মুখত হৰি-নাম, হাতত কৃত্য কাম ॥ xix. 4.
181. মুনিহৰ বগ, তিবীৰ বিয়ন ॥ i. 10. ii. 20.
182. মেলত বহি যি নামাতে উচিত ।  
তাকো পায় দোষে কিঞ্চিৎ কিঞ্চিৎ ॥ xx. 55.
183. মোমাই মৰক, ভূতক পাচে পাম ॥ x. 2 ; xx. 23.
184. মোমায়ে কাঠ কাটে ।  
মাইয়ে পানী যেন দেখে ॥ xx. 23. 24.

য।

185. যমপুরী নিজান ঠাই ।  
এখেত দিগে ত'ত পায় ॥
186. যাক বোলোঁ আপোন ।  
সি ভবায় ছ পোন ॥ xx. 6.
187. যাক নেবা কবাঁ, তাক নুবুলিবা গোধা ।  
যাব লোণ খাবা, তাক নুবুলিবা শুদা ॥ xx. 51.
188. যাব যহত শাঁক সেন্দূব ।  
তাক পাতিছে ভোকোবা এন্দূব ॥ ii. 1.
189. যাব নাই গক, সবাতকৈ সক ॥ xx. 52.
190. যাব পোনে ব্রহ্মস্ৰুতি পোন ।  
তাৰ পধাবত নবয় কোন ॥ xx. 54.
191. যাব পো মেলত নাই ।  
তাৰ পো গোধীরা ॥ xx. 36.
192. যি কবে পবত ।  
তাৰ মিলে ঘবত ॥ xx. 53.
193. যি কবে মোত আশ ।  
তাৰ কবো সৰ্কনাশ ॥  
তেও নেবে মোব আশ ।  
মই তাৰ দাসবো দাস ॥ xix. 6.
194. যি থাকিব ধৈৰ্যক ধৰি ।  
পিছলালে তাৰ নিপিছলে ভৰি ॥ xx. 62.

195. যুঁজব কুকুৰা যুঁজত মৰে ।                   xx. 41.
196. যেতিয়া মাৰিব ঢোলত চাপৰ ।  
তেতিয়া লৰা মূৰত কাপোৰ ॥                   ii. 47.
197. যেতিয়া হে পাব কালে ।  
কি কৰিব বেজব মেলে ॥                   x. 5 ; xx. 92
198. যেনে হওক মুনিহ জন ।  
তেও সোধে তিনি জন ॥                   xx. 50, 73.

## ব ।

199. বজা নাই পাটত ।  
ধৰি কীলা বাটত ॥                   xviii. 1.
200. বজাই ভাল পায় যাক ।  
তেটিও নালাগে তাক ॥                   xviii. 2.
201. বজাব উঁবি, বনত বাস ।                   xviii. 2.
202. বহুবহীৰ উঠে গাওঁ ।  
নিবুকীয়ে ভান্ধে গাওঁ ॥                   xx. 58.
203. বহৰ বহুদৈ, টিপামৰ ভান্ধৈ,  
সলগুৰিৰ আঘণী বাই ।  
তিনিবো ডিঙ্গিত ধৰি তিনিয়ে কান্দিছে,  
সম্বন্ধৰ কুটা-গছ নাই ॥                   xi. 4 ; xx. 77.
204. বাইজেই বজা, জাতিয়েই গঙ্গা ।                   xix. 1, 9 ; xx. 72.

## ল ।

205. লগৰীয়াই বগৰি খায় ।  
কিনো অপৰাধী হলোঁ লগৰীয়াৰ,  
জাঁপিব আঁৰ দি যায় ॥ ii. 7.
206. লবৰ মন গ'ল আঁচুৰলীয়া বিহা,  
হাতেও নহলোঁ কাজী ।  
যাব খুজিলোঁ পিলিঙ্গা ডেকালৈ ।  
কপালত নাহিলোঁ নাধি ॥ i. 9 ; ii. 6 ; iii. 6.
207. ল'ৰা ধান, ছোৱালী পতান ॥ ii. 18.
208. লবাই-লুৰিয়ে ঘৰখন ।  
মুঢ়াই-মুঢ়িয়ে জুহালখন ॥ xx. 83.
209. লাজত নবয় ভাব ।  
জোলোঙ্গাই ভাঙ্গে কামিহাৰ ॥ xx. 66
210. লি-লিয়া বৰঘুণৰ সি-সিয়া জোক ।  
কথা দি কথা লয় উজনীয়া লোক ॥ i. 1.
211. লুইত ফুৰিলে গাটি চিকুণ হয় । vi. 2.

## শ ।

212. শত্ৰুক বৰ-পিৰা দিবা । xx. 64.
213. শহ চিকুণ পৰব, পো চিকুণ ঘৰব ॥ xx. 43.

214. শাল শিঙ্গৰী কৈবৰ এফাল ।  
 হাঁকবাই বোলে গিণ্ঠিতিলে মই বা বাওঁ কত কাল ॥ v. 3.

215. শালক শিঙ্গীয়ে হাঁহে ।  
 তয়ো একাজী ময়ো একাজী,  
 ভালে ভো গবাকি নাহে ॥ ii. 50 ; vii. 3.

### স ।

216. সন্তিনী-বহীয়া পৈ ।  
 এবাৰ হুঁহুৱায়, এবাৰ কন্দুৱায়,  
 পখালি-কোলাত লৈ ॥ iii. 2.

217. সাঁতোৰ নাঁতোৰ বাউনীৰ বলে ।  
 সাঁতুৰিব নোৱাৰিলে যাবি বসাতলে ॥ xx. 49.

218. সৰু সৰু কৰি সাজিবা ঘৰ ।  
 যেতেকে লাগে তেতেকে কৰ ॥ iv. 1.

219. সাহিলে সম্পদক পায় । xx. 49.

220. সাজি পাৰি গলেঁ নগাই নিয়ে বুলি ।  
 নগাই নিনিলে সাজ-ডাল্লৰী বুলি ॥ ii. 36, 44 ; xiii. 1.

221. সাজে-পাবে তিৰী ।  
 বান্ধে-ছাটে মিৰি ॥ i. 21. ii. 39.

222. সাপে খায় ।  
 কাপে খায় ॥ viii. 3 ; xiii. 5.

223. সাপে খায়, বাঘে খায়, বদি মবে জলে ।  
 যাব যি হব লাগে, নিজ কৰ্ম্মৰ ফলে ॥ xix. 8 ; xx. 92.

224. সাপেও তিনি বাৰ হাঁচিয়ায় । i. 22.
225. স্ম-বাট দূৰ গমন,  
তেও নাযাবা ছাৰি ।  
সক ছোৱালী আনিবা,  
তেও নানিবা বাঁৰী ॥ ii. 51.
226. সোণৰ কঁৰিয়াৰ খোপ ।  
তোলৈ নাযাওঁ, যাম বাপেবলৈ,  
মাহী আই বুৰিবি মোক । i. 15.
227. সোতোৰা গালত থিয় খোপা । ii. 35.

## হ।

228. হৰিয়ে দিলে হৰি-নাম, ঈশ্বৰে দিলে বৰা ।  
গুৰু ভকতে দিলে খাবা নো কেই চপৰা ॥ xix. 10.
229. হাঁহ-চোৰৰ মূৰত পাখি ।  
কঠাল-চোৰৰ এঠাই নাকী ॥ xvii. 1.
230. হাত ডাঙ্গৰ ভৰি ডাঙ্গৰ,  
ডাঙ্গৰ মানুহৰ জী ।  
থুকীয়া তামোলে মুখ নভবে  
এখন দি কৰিবি কি ? ii. 37.
- 230A. হাতত নাই কণ্টো ।  
বৰ-নবাহলৈ মনটো ॥ xx. 75.

231. হাতৰ নিব কাণৰ নিব ।  
 দহো আঙ্গুলীৰ কোনে নিব ॥ ii. 25.
232. হাতী-দাঁতৰ কৰা, বদ জিলিকিল পুৱা ।  
 দুহাল বাবলৈ তিনটা লাগে,  
 শহুৰ ছোৱালী দিয়াঁ নে নিদিয়াঁ ॥ iii. 5.
233. হাতীয়ে কান্দে ওডালৰ গুৰিত । v. 4.
234. হাতীয়ে ধান খায় সিপাৰে ।  
 আটি-মুটি কৰে ইপাৰে ॥ xv. 16.
235. হাতে খালে পাতে খোৱাৰ সমান । ix. 9.
236. হালতকৈ কোৰত টান ।  
 তেও নহয় বাহী বনৰ মান ॥ ii. 40.



