

INSTITUTTET
FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

SANTAL FOLK TALES

EDITED
BY
P. O. BODDING

VOL. I



OSLO 1925

H. ASCHENHUG & CO. (W. NYGAARD) *

LEIPZIG

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

PARIS

HONORÉ CHAMPION

LONDON

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE

It has been my privilege to see Mr. Boddington's Santal Folk Tales through the press, and it has given me great pleasure to do so. That such has been the case is due not only to the intrinsic value of the tales, but also to the light they throw on several interesting questions.

That they are genuine folk tales cannot be doubted. They have been noted down by a Santal, whose horizon was limited to the Santal country and Santal traditions. It is not difficult to detect traces of Aryan folklore in these stories, and sometimes we can point to parallel tales in the well-known collections of Aryan India. It is probable that a not inconsiderable portion of Santal folklore has been derived from Aryan sources, and even from such as are available in printed books. Still we have no right to speak of these tales otherwise than as the property of the Santals, as real folk tales.

We must not forget that the folk tales and popular traditions of a people are nowhere entirely of indigent growth. Not rarely they have been imported from abroad, as is e. g. the case with more than one Norwegian fairy tale, which to-day makes the impression of having taken its rise on Norwegian soil. They are nevertheless the property of the people, if they have been adapted to its mentality: in folklore as in civilization generally property is not only inherited but also acquired.

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If we apply such a test to the Santal folk tales, we will find that every page bears testimony to the angle of vision characteristic of the Santals, the individuals whom we learn to know in the stories are Santals and not Hindus.

Much has been written about the various aboriginal tribes of India, but nevertheless they are still only imperfectly known. It is not easy for a European to become quite familiar with their way of thinking and of looking on the world, and even if he more or less succeeds in doing so, he will experience some difficulty in explaining things to other people. Even the most careful and conscientious observer has his bias and his particular idiosyncrasy, and the picture he draws will bear the stamp of his individual mentality. It will have to be filled up with numerous details and features.

It will be easily seen that there cannot be a better or more reliable guide to the mentality of a strange people than a comprehensive collection of such tales and traditions which live on the lips and in the hearts. Through them the people is able to speak to us without the aid of an interpreter, and we have only to listen and to concentrate our attention on what we hear. Therefore Mr. Bodding's folk tales should be welcomed by everybody who wishes to understand the primitive Kolarian tribe to which they belong.

The social and mental features of the Santals can, however, claim our interest also from another point of view. The Kolarian tribes, of which the Santals are the most important one, are the last Indian remnants of a race which in ancient times seems to have played a considerable rôle in India and in the countries and islands around the Indian ocean. When the Aryans entered India, they were met with the ancestors of the present day Dravidians and Kolarians, and the latter ones seem to have formed the bulk of the population in the northern and central parts of the continent. We would therefore expect to find a Kolarian substratum in the languages and in the civilization of India, and a critical examination of the remnants of the ancient population

which have preserved their ancient speech and mentality till the present day may be apt to throw light on several questions connected with the development of India through the ages. And because we know that the ancient civilization of the Kolarians and also their indigenous languages have to a great extent disappeared, having become inundated by the strong Aryan wave, we may reasonably hope, from a study of what still remains, to be able to draw general conclusions about the laws underlying the growth and expansion of a superior civilization. I shall only mention some few points.

In comparative folklore the traditional tales handed down in Indian literature have always played a prominent rôle, since a solid foundation of this branch of research was laid through Benfey's translation of the Pañcatantra. Now Indian tradition states that the Pañcatantra was composed in the Dekhan, dakshināpāthe, and similiary another important collection of Indian tales, Guṇāḍhya's Brhatkathā, is localized in the Vindhya country. In these parts of India the ancient population was not Aryan, but either Dravidian or Kolarian, or a mixture of both. It therefore seems probable that tribes related to the Santals have contributed to the rich store of Indian traditional tales, and a careful analysis of the folk tales now published may some day lead to important results.

In this connexion I should like to draw attention to the tales about jackals, because the jackal plays such a great rôle in Indian folklore. Even a cursory perusal will show that the jackal is not throughout described and characterized in a uniform way. Usually he is a clever and dexterous animal, which is always prepared to assist those who have suffered wrong in asserting their right. In some tales, however, he acts in a different way. He is malicious and treacherous, but usually he is defeated in the end, just like the foolish devil in European folklore.

This double conception is curious. It is possible that we have to do with two different elements, one originally Kolarian and

the other originally Aryan. It is, however, also possible that the stories about jackals, which are of such importance in ancient Indian folklore, originally belong to the Kolarian tribes, and that they have thence been adopted by the Aryans. The latter ones at an early period made use of tales about animals in order to inculcate certain doctrines, and more especially they were employed for the purpose of teaching political wisdom. The various animals were brought together into an organized state under the rule of the lion as king. The wily and crafty jackal then acted as the minister of the king, and as such he had to find a way out of difficulties. It is possible that this led to the conception of the jackal as the prudent adviser and dexterous helper, which was then reimported into Santal folklore, without the accompaniment of the organized animal state with its king. The crafty and treacherous jackal would then represent the more original type.

I can only point to these explanations as possibilities. The students of comparative folklore will some day be able to solve such questions in a satisfactory way, and the Santal tales here published are likely to be of importance to them in doing so.

They will also prove of interest to the folklorist in other respects. The 22nd story shows e. g. how different tales and motifs can be combined into one, a fact which is well known to every student of popular traditions. The chief interest about this tale rests with the fact that we can watch the process before the different tales have become really melted together, and see how insignificant the connecting idea can be.

The Santal folk tales also throw some light on the process of Aryanization which has been going on through the ages, and which has melted the different Indian races and tribes together in a common civilization. We can to some extent trace some of its different stages.

We can see how the Santals have been influenced by the Aryans in numerous details. Wild animals usually retain their Santali names. Thus the jackal is called *toyo*, but when the

gender is to be indicated, we find the Aryan word *aṇḍia* used to indicate the male jackal, and when the Santal narrator wants to speak about the shrewdness of the jackal, he talks about *sat siyaler budi*, the wit of seven jackals, and uses Aryan words throughout.

Domesticated animals are also largely distinguished by means of indigenous words, but the cow is called *gāi*, which is Aryan, and we should perhaps infer from this fact that the Santals did not originally keep cows. It is also characteristic that Aryan words are largely used in order to denote various things connected with the keeping and watching of domesticated animals. Thus we find *goṛa*, cattle-shed, *sukri*, pig-sty, (*məṛəm*) *gupi*, (goat) herd, &c.

Aryan designations are also largely used about articles of food and dress; thus *laḍu*, cake, *miṭhāi*, sweets, *dāl*, beans, *caole*, rice, *panahi*, shoes, &c. It will be seen that we are mostly concerned with such objects as bear witness to a certain amount of civilization.

The Santals themselves are skillful at such work which they are accustomed to. Specialized crafts, however, do not seem to belong to them. The shoemaker, *muci*, the blacksmith, *kamar*, the carter, *gaḍwan*, are designated with Aryan words and do not belong to Santal society, which is not differentiated in this way. Also the names of many implements, such as *bōtōl*, bottle; *basta*, bag; *sui*, needle; *loṭa*, cup; *ukhuṛ*, mortar; *churi*, knife; *lasēr*, razor, are of foreign origin.

In a similar way trade does not form a regular means of livelihood with the Santals. The trader is called *bepari*, and Aryan words such as *mal*, *cij*, *asbab* are used about different goods; the market is called *bajar*; depense is *khorca*, and even about the exchange of cows in order to cheat a person we find an Aryan term used. No wonder then that a word such as *kiriñ*, to buy, is of Aryan origin. It has, however, been so thoroughly assimilated that it has given rise to new derivatives such as *ākriñ*, to sell; *kikriñ hōṛ*, a selling man, a seller.

Money has evidently been introduced from the Aryans, and several terms of calculation have the same origin. We find *ṭaka*, rupee; *lekha*, counting; *mit hajar gan*, one thousand in number, &c.

Also in the calculation of time the influence of Aryan civilization can be felt. Thus we find *ghari*, a while; *tin din*, three days; *bar cando*, two months; *bochor puraṅkate*, after a year, and more general terms such as *cirokai*, a long time; *jivət bhor*, lifelong; *jaejug tire jug*, for ever, &c. Even a designation of time with reference to the height of the sun such as *bar ḍaṅ*, two poles, contains an Aryan word for 'pole'.

That the various notions connected with administration and law are of foreign origin is only what we would expect. The complainant goes to the *ḥakim*, to lodge a complaint, *lālis or*, with a Santali infix *lākliṣ*; the judge considers, *bicaṛ*, the case and is therefore a *bikcar*, and may give an order, *hukum*, or a decree, *ḍigri*, or he may dismiss, *ḍhismis*, the matter. He has at his disposal the police, *pulis*, messengers and peons, *caukidar*, *sipaḥi*, *ḍoroga*, &c.

The Santals themselves have their own village organization. Even here, however, we can trace the Aryan influence. The headman is designated as *maṅjhi*, and the village council is evidently framed on Aryan patterns, the *mōṛē hoṛ*, the five men, being an adaptation of the *pañcāyat* of the Aryan villages.

Even the life in the house and the family shows traces of Aryan influence. The house itself, *oṛak*, retains its old name, but it has been provided with a *bhitāṛ*, an inner apartment, and a door, *duāṛ*, and in the fire-place, *culḥa*, there may be coals, *aṅgra*. Near the village we further find tanks, *pukhri*, *bande*, and watering-places, *daḥ ghaṭ*, &c.

Even the terms of relationship are to a great extent of Aryan origin. A man takes a wife, *bāhu*, he has a *nāḥāṛ* or father-in-law, and he may become a *raṅḍi* or widower. We hear of *mama saṣur*, uncles, and *bhāgna*, nephews, and strangers may

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be of p̄or j̄at, lit. another caste. Even the father may be designated as janamdata, and the son as beta or as bacha, and the well-known word bh̄ai, brother, is also met with.

We are expressly told that the Santals have a recollection of having abandoned many of their ancient customs at a certain time and place, after long deliberations, that is to say, they have themselves a vague notion of the fact that they are becoming more and more aryanized. And that such has been the case is, as we have already seen, evident enough. When we are told that a woman is never her own master, but the property of her father or brothers until she is married, that she then belongs to her husband and after his death to her son, we are faced with well-known Aryan notions, though the position of Santal women may have been similar in ancient times.

We arrive at the same conclusions when we examine the terms used about sentiment and human feelings. We hear about māyā, affection, and daya, compassion, and when somebody has put me to shame it is said that he laj̄aokidiṅa.

Even the religious notions have not been proof against the Aryan pressure. The worship is still mainly directed towards the old bongas, but we also hear of bh̄uts and of higher gods such as Cando and Th̄akur, and the ancient Aryan idea of the jealousy of higher powers is known to the Santals, though here it is possible that the idea is old. Many of the sacrificial customs also make the impression of being Aryan or semi-Aryan, and when the women try to perform a sacrifice, they make themselves puj̄har or priests.

Altogether we can see how the Aryanization is steadily progressing, and it may be foreseen that the day will come when it has thoroughly refashioned Santal society and partly also the mentality of the people. From the point of view of the comparative study of the development of civilization the Santals of the present day are therefore of exceptional interest, and the folk tales here published offer a rare opportunity for observing the

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laws regulating the interchange of conceptions and institutions between peoples on a different stage of civilization.

The time may soon have past for making such observations. The few examples which I have mentioned show that the changes which have already taken place are great and thorough-going. And even the language is, to a great extent, giving way.

We have already seen many examples of this. Numerous common words are borrowed from Aryan vernaculars, and their number is increasing. In a sentence like *bicaṛ paḥiltalinpe*, first decide between us two, only the final elements *taliṅpe* are Santali, the remainder being Aryan.

This sentence also shows how the foreign elements are assimilated. The vocabulary gives way, but the grammar remains, the new words being inflected according to Santali rules. Thus we find Aryan verbs conjugated in the Santali way, e. g. *calakkan taḥḥkana*, he was going; *bujḥaukeṭa*, he understood, where the bases *cal* and *bujḥau* are Aryan, but the terminations indigenous. In other cases Aryan nouns are inflected as verbs in accordance with Santali grammar, where practically every word can be used to denote the predicate. Thus *biḍakaea*, they sent him off, gave him permission to go; *baḥuadea*, gave him a wife, &c.

This state of things⁸ is of interest, because it shows how the process of Aryanizing un-Aryan languages has apparently always been going on in India. The ancient vocabulary is replaced by an Aryan one, but the grammatical principles of the old language assert themselves and give a peculiar shape to the resulting mixed tongue. In Saṅtali we can see this process going on before our eyes, and the comparative philologist will not fail to see the importance of this feature. He will bear it in mind where he is met with a similar state of things, mixed languages where the vocabulary points in one direction and the grammar in another. He will be inclined to think that the grammar belongs to the

old substratum and the vocabulary to a language which has been subsequently engrafted on the old stock.

There are no doubt some features which are apt to make us cautious in drawing such general conclusions. And such are also found in Santali. We find several Aryan postpositions such as *laḡit*, for the sake of; *ṭhen*, at, with; *soṅge*, with; *uṡar*, above. And more especially relative idioms seem to be gradually introduced, while relative constructions seem to have been usually expressed in a different way in the old language. Thus we find *judi*, if; *je mōn*, so that; *jāhānaḡge jaṡuram*, whatever is necessary for thee, &c.

Here we are met with an introduction of grammatical principles belonging to the language which is gradually superseding Santali, but they do not, in the same way, affect the grammatical framework as the ordinary terminations, and rather bear testimony to an increasing faculty of compound thinking than to a change in grammatical mentality.

That the latter one is still strongly Santali is evident in many ways. I shall only mention the curious use of the inclusive dual in threatening language. Thus we read *amgelaṅ goḡmea*, which apparently means 'I and thou shall kill thee'. Similarly we read in Nr. 22 that there lived a carpenter in a certain village, and then the story goes on: *ar unkinren gidra do mittāṅ koṡa hoṡone taḡkantaḡkina*, and of them two a child a boy was of them, and they two, i. e. the carpenter and his wife, had a son.

Such passages are of interest because they throw light on the original meaning of the dual. It does not signify the number two, but one or two who necessarily belong together as a pair. The man who threatens another sees himself in the act which he is to perform as necessarily connected with the other one, and the man who has a son can only have him in necessary connexion with his wife.

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The fact that the original significance of the dual is still strongly felt by the present day Santals, in spite of the Aryan admixture in their language, shows that their linguistic mentality is still strongly Santal. Nevertheless it is to be feared that Santali will some day cease to be a living language. Even at the present time most Santals are bilingual, and the Aryan influence will certainly make itself still more felt in future. The more thankful we must be to Mr. Bodding for making his rich treasure of genuine Santal folk tales available to us.

Sten Konow.

STORIES ABOUT JACKALS

1. T o y o a r h a ṛ a m b u ḍ h i r e a ṅ .

Noa dō nonka leka kana. Sedae mare hapramkoko lai akata, adō cele nitre hō inā lēbēf laṅdhutege darabon kana. Adō onkoge oka dharare cōn lēg carko bandhaokēf, bāṅdō durupkate bāṅdō teṅgokate, jōṭqakge sire sire paṭhe paṭheko lēg akat car akata. Gam, kḥni, kudum emanteakko jōrao akata. Adō onkoak sik bidiṭege nit hābiē menak hatargea. Nit jōrao akat katha dō baṅ kana. Ar noko toyo emanteak reak katha hō un jōkheṅ reak kangea. Adō ale Hōṛ hōṇṇ lekha poṛha ma bale baḍae, ar nāthi sē puthi eman dō bānuḱtalea. Adō eṅre hō cekakote cōn nōkōe menakgetalea, baṅ at akantalea. Ar noa olok paṛhaok ma neko Saheb hōṇṇ rakap̄kate sē noa disom dōkholkate Hōṛ hōṇṇko ceṭ akawat̄koa. Adō eṅre hō unak hōṛ olok paṛhaokko ceketa. Adō eṅre hō Hōṛ hōṇṇak jug reak katha nāthi dōhokak lagaṭ dō oḱoe hō baṅ sarbharaoet̄koa. Ar in hō Sahebe ṅam kante miṭ bar kathaṅ khōṛe khōṛe barakak

¹ This expression refers to a statement in the Santal traditions according to which their ancestors at a certain time and place, after having deliberated for either twelve years or twelve days — they profess not to remember which —, gave up old customs and settled new usages, many of them certainly under influence from Hindu custom. The traditions proper do not mention anything of the matters here referred to; but that is no hindrance to popular thought suggesting a similar origin to folktales.

² There may be one or two very small attempts made by Santals to put down in writing something of their old traditions; but it amounts to practically nothing, and this in spite of the really very extensive oral 'literature' which they have. When a Santal gets sufficiently educated to be able to undertake such a work, his interests are generally drawn elsewhere.

1. THE JACKAL AND HUSBAND AND WIFE.

THIS story is as follows. Our ancestors of old have told it, and now also we are, I presume, following in the same trodden path. In whichever manner our forefathers settled customs and usages, whether they did it sitting or standing¹, they have established and made customary all and everything, rules and forms. They have joined together the stories and tales, riddles and so on, and, being learnt as they have told them, these remain with us until this day. They are not stories which have been composed now-a-days. These stories about the jackals are also from that old time. We Santals do not know to read and write; and written sheets or books and the like we have none. Still, somehow or other, we have these stories, as it is seen; they have not been lost to us. These Sahebs have taught the Santals to read and write, after they arrived here or after they took possession of the country. But in spite of so many people having learnt to read and write, still no one has felt impelled to make a record in writing of the old-times story of the Santals². As regards myself, the Saheb³ wants it done, so I am, without any form or method, putting down a few tales, otherwise who knows what I

³ The Saheb is the present writer. The Santal (Sagram Murmu of Mohulpahar) who here introduces himself has been in the writer's employ for about thirty years, and this story was one of the first which he took down for me. This explains this introductory chapter. It might be noted that the word Saheb is, in these eastern parts, pronounced as here written, and not Sahib.

kana, ar bañkhan ok̄o baḍae coñ. Ado noa katha dher lacharte calaena toyo reakbon laiakorege. Ona do nonka kana.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitt̄en korako bahuadea. Ado jokheç jokheçre unkin kuṛi koṛa do se haṛam budhi do n̄aih̄arkin hijuk̄ señoḱa. Miṭ̄ din unkin do n̄aih̄ar khonkin hijuk̄ kan tah̄k̄kana. Uni kuṛi do taben khaj̄ariko moṭra goṭ akawadea. Ona do ñel danaram sandesko metaka. Ar sedae jokhen sunum aṣen lagat̄ boṭol̄ coḷon ma bañ tah̄kan; maejiuko lagat̄ do kupi sunum ar heṛel hop̄onko lagat̄ do maṭ̄ thoṅga, noakin coḷon tah̄k̄kana. Ar nit̄kate do boṭol̄ko coḷon akata. Noa do saheb hop̄on rakap̄kate coḷon akana. Ado ona kupi cuk̄ak̄ tah̄kan jokheç reak̄ katha kana noa do.

Ado unre uni kuṛi do ona taben khaj̄ari moṭra doe dipil̄ akata, ar kupi sunum cuk̄ak̄ doe teweñ akata. Ar n̄aih̄ar khon jāw̄ae oṛakte se uni koṛawak̄ oṛaktekin calak̄ kana. Unre koṛa do laha lahateye calak̄ kana ar kuṛi do tayom̄ tayom̄te. Ado miṭ̄tan tapol̄ then kuṛi doe aṛgo akan jokhenge, kathae, bhut̄ do oka sen khon coe oḱok̄ goṭena, onka hoṛ chin lekate, ar uni kuṛi tayom̄ tayom̄tegeye sen idik̄ kana. Ar kuṛi doe meñeta, Okate coñ nui h̄e calak̄ hoṛ kangea cele. Onate ceṭ̄ h̄e bae metae kana ar bae kuli baṛayede kana. Ar bela do haṣurok̄ lagat̄ bar̄ ðañ gan menaea, ina ok̄te jokhen.

⁴ It is in fact a roundabout way of telling the story. This introduction has been kept here, because it gives a good insight into the Santal mind.

⁵ Two different kinds of parched rice.

⁶ Oil, especially pressed from the seeds of *Bassia latifolia*, or from mustard and similar seeds, is much used to keep the skin smooth and is considered a necessity.

⁷ A kupi is a small earthenware receptacle for oil. Cuk̄ak̄ mentioned further on is about the same thing.

⁸ It has been and still is very common for men to carry oil with them in a bamboo-bottle, i. e., a bamboo-joint so cut that one partition 'wall' forms the bottom, while the other one is perforated, a wooden stopper being used for the small hole. Those carried about are generally quite small, others of the same pattern are used at home as receptacles for oil for any purpose. Sometimes Santals carry with them long bamboo sticks, the upper joint being used as an oil-bottle.

should have done. Now this was a rather roundabout way when we should tell about a jackal⁴. But the story is this way.

Once upon a time, in the old days, people tell, it happened that a young man had been married. From time to time these two, the boy and the girl, or to be correct, husband and wife, used to go visiting the wife's old home. One day they were on their way back from this place, and there they had given the girl some *taben* and *khajari*⁵, which she had tied up in a cloth. This people call visitors' food-present. In the old days it was not the custom to carry oil about with oneself in a bottle⁶; for women it was the custom to use a *kupi*⁷, a small bottle of earthenware, and for men a bamboo receptacle⁸, these two. Now-a-days people have introduced the use of bottles; this has become the custom after the coming of the Sahebs. This tale refers to the time when the earthenware pot was in use.

At the time the girl was carrying the bundle with *taben* and *khajari* on her head, and the earthenware pot she was carrying in a string hanging down from her hand. They were on their way to the husband's house, i. e. this young man's home. At the time the boy was walking in front and the girl after him⁹. Once, whilst the girl had gone down into a hollow in the ground, a *bhut* suddenly came out from somewhere, in the likeness of a human being, and commenced walking behind her. The girl thought by herself: "This is presumably also a man who is on his way somewhere." She did not say anything to him, and he did not ask her any question. The sun was near the horizon, about two poles up¹⁰; that was the time.

⁹ It is customary to walk one behind the other in Indian file. When the family is out, the husband generally, but not necessarily walks behind.

¹⁰ When the sun is near setting, i. e. after *huḍḍā dak lo ber*, or after about 5 p. m., time is shown by saying, that the sun is one or more poles up. 'A pole' is about so high up as the sun is some fifteen minutes before sunset, two poles about, but perhaps not quite, half an hour before sunset. It might be noted that the sun is setting fairly vertically, not like in our northern latitudes.

Khange uni korā dō cekakote cōe bēngēt ruāret dōe nēlkede dō, ac bāhu tayom tayomte mit hōre calak kan. Khangeye tehgoyena. Adō jemōn uni korāe tehgoyena, temōn khange bhut dō uni kūrīye q̄ ruārede kana. Khange uni korā dō theṅga epelkateye nīr hēc gōfēna. Are ruhet gōtkedea, Inren hōr cēt iātem jōtōtkedea? Nitgelañ dāl gōc utarnea.

Adō bhute menketa, Nui ma inren hōr kane, ar am mam peṛa hōr kan. Onate am ma lahatem calak kan, nui mam baḡiae kan. Judi amren hōre tahentam khan, bam sotoḡkea? Nēlme, in dō inren hōr iāteñ sotoḡ akadegea. Adō q̄ bañkhan in cekayea? Am dō okate cōm calak kan, do calakme. Nui dō in oraḡteñ idiye lagat.

Adō onka menkate korā hō mit ti sopoye saḡ akadea ar nui bhut hō mit ti sopoye saḡ akadea. Uni hō ontēye q̄re kana, nui hō nōtēye q̄re kana. Adō un jōkhen uni kūrī dōe hōhōketa, Dela baba, hortenko birtenko, jāhāe menakpe khan, hijukte doḡkañpe, ar bañkhan in dōkin cirā jōmeñ kana.

Adō un jōkhenge, kathae, toyo dō oka sen cōñ aṭiñe calak kan tahēkana. Adō uniye hōhōket khan, ona anjōmte toyo dōe nīr hēc gōfēna. Adōe men gōtketa, Cedak, cedak, cedakpe ṭana ṭanik kana?

Adō uni hōr korāe men gōtketa, Nui kūrī dōe in bāhu kana, in oraḡteñ idiyede kana, nāihār khonliñ hijuk kana. Adō nui iā sala dō oka khon cōe oḡok gōfente in bāhu dōe q̄ ruārede kana.

Khange uni bhute men gōtketa, Baña, nui kūrī dōe in bāhu kana, ona iāte in dō nui sotoḡkateñ hijuk kana, bañ baḡiae kana. Ar nui iā salage aḡiñ laha lahate okate cōe calak kan tahēkan. Adō aḡiñe nēlkeḡliñ khan dō, theṅga epelkateye nīr hēc gōfēna, adō inē dhomkaediñ kana. Ar in bāhu sopore saḡkateye q̄re kana. Adō cak in idi ocoaea? Adō niā karōntegele ṭana ṭanik kana.

¹¹ When using threatening language about doing something or other to the one spoken to, it is very common to use the inclusive dual form and not the singular.

¹² The word, translated 'stranger' may mean a relative or a friend. The meaning here seems to be a stranger, but of the Santal race.

Then the young man somehow or other happened to look round and saw a man was coming along walking behind his wife. Then he stopped; but just as the young man stopped, at the same moment the bhut caught hold of the girl and pulled her backwards. The young man then ran up to them, brandishing his stick. "Why did you touch my wife?" he scolded him. "Now this moment we two¹¹ shall thrash the life out of you entirely."

"Why, this is my wife," the bhut said, "and you are a stranger¹². That is why you are walking on in front and are leaving this one behind. If she were your wife, would you not follow and look after her? Look, because she is my wife, I am following and looking after her. Then, have I not the right to take hold of her, or how? You go wherever you are going to. I am taking her to my house."

During this talk the young man had taken a firm hold of one hand, and the bhut had done the same with the other hand of the girl. The young man was pulling her in one direction, and the bhut in the other direction. Just at that time the girl called out: "Come, sirs, wayfarers, forest-dwellers, any one who may be near here, come and rescue me; else they are tearing me to pieces and will finish me."

At that time, people tell, a jackal was on his way somewhere to seek food. When the girl called out, the jackal heard it, came running to the spot at once, and said: "Why, why, why are you at variance?"

The young man then spoke out: "This girl is my wife; I am taking her home; we are coming from her parents' home. This unspeakable villain came out from who knows where and is pulling her back."

"Not at all," the bhut then said, "this girl is my wife; therefore I am taking her along, following after her; I am not leaving her behind. And this unspeakable villain was walking in front of us two, who knows whereto; then, when he saw us, he came running up to us, brandishing his stick, and he is using threats towards me. He has caught hold of my wife's hand and is pulling at her. Why should I let him take her away? This is what we are at variance for."

Ado khange toyoe menketa, Hape, alope tana tanika, bicarlegbon. Ado uni toyoe bujhaketa, mit dge bhut kana mente. Khange toyo do kuyiye metadea, Ona tire do cetem teweñ akata? Desegñ neltama. Adge emadea. Toyo do ona kupi reak sunume dul gidikatte cukak do kurigeye emadea. Ado toyoe menketa, Jähæge noa cukakreben bolq dareak, inige nui kuyi dge hataoyea; ar okqe bae bolq dareak hor do bae namea.

Khange bhut dge men gotketa, Acha besge. De ho, tpe bolok-talanme.

Ado uni hor korä dge menketa, Ohon bololena.

Ar uni bhut do phuc manteye bolq gotena. Ado jemone bolq gotlona, temongekin kilap eset gotkede. Are metatkina, Noa cukak do aloben idia, nonde bare gidikaben.

Ado sari ondegekin bagiatte akin dokin calaona. Ado pharak hok senkate toyokin hohadete tabenkin emadea.

Ado enq niä katha hon mucaketa.

2. Toyo ar tarup rean.

Sadae jokhen, kathae, mittan birre tarup adiyee cankelen tahkana, metakme gai kada, merom bhidi, se hor hse jometko tahkana. Nonka lekate adi barice cankelen tahkana, jahæge bir bolq akan seye atkir gotetko tahkana. Ina dhara dhäriren hor saname berostq cabaketkoa, Ar uni goje reak adi lekako upaketa, menkhan oka lekate ho bako dhej dareae kana. Dher horko senlen khan ma namge bako name. Ar mit bar hor ona bir senko senlen khan, mae kutun gotkako kana.

Khange ado ina dhara dhäriren hor jarwakateko ror thikketa, Ma arho horbo laiakoa, Nui tarup dqbön sendra gojea, ar bankhan

¹ It might be mentioned that leopards are very common in the forests of the country where the Santals live.

² The proceedings mentioned are as the writer has known such to happen. Some villages join together to get rid of a dangerous animal. The proposal to cut down the forest would not, however, be feasible at the present day.

"Please wait," the jackal said, "do not fight one another. Let us first investigate the case." Now the jackal understood that one was a bhut. So he said to the girl: "What is it you have there hanging down from your hand? Please, let me have a look at what you have." She gave it to him, and the jackal poured out the oil that was in the kupa and gave the pot back to the girl. Thereupon the jackal said: "That one of you two who can enter into this pot, he shall have this girl; the one who cannot do that, he shall not have her."

"All right," the bhut said at once; "now then, get in for us."

"I shall never get into that," the young man said.

Then the bhut entered with a swish, and the moment he got in, they at once closed the mouth of the pot and shut the bhut up. And the jackal said to them: "Don't take this pot along with you; throw it away here."

They did so and left it there and went their way. When they were some distance off, they called the jackal and gave him taben.

So there now, I have finished this story also.

2. THE JACKAL AND THE LEOPARD.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, a leopard¹ had been haunting a forest, that is, he was eating cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep, and people also. In this way he had become very ravenous; if anybody went into the forest, he would at once carry them off. The people in the vicinity, all of them, he had frightened out of their wits. They planned and tried in many ways to kill him, but were utterly unable to manage it. If many people went in search of him, then, of course, they did not find him. And if one or two went to the forest, then he, of course, carried them off at once.

So the people of the neighbourhood came together² and, after some discussion, agreed to the following: "Let us inform people that we are going to kill this leopard, or else, that we shall cut the trees

noa birgebon mak tañdi utara. Ado nonkako solhakefeko dharwaketa, banma, Nia phalna din hilok noa birbon sendraea, tarupbon gojea, ar bankhan birgebon mak ujarthe nui tarup dõbon laga nirea.

Ado sari ina neñda din hilok do udi utar phadko jarwayena. Ar aema tamakko jarwaketa, arko ruyeta, cet ban se, ona reak sadete ot ultauik leka aikauena. Khange ona sade anjomte uni tarup do botõrente ona bir khon nir odokente etak birteye ucarok kan tahkana. Nonka ac monreye hudisana, Noko hor din hilok ma bako sendrayin, gken tehen motoge tho. Acha, tehen din do jahã dosra birten sa hatarlenge. Ado okareko nameñteko gojena? Arho gapa don hocenge. Ado onka men barakateye ucarok kan tahkana.

Ado ona bir tala talate do mitan dhar sen akana, ar ona dhartege en hilok do bepari chala dangrawanteko calak kan tahkana. Ado jemõn nui ho botõrte noa bir khone ucarok kan tahkana, temõnge onko bepari hor tuluce napam gotena. Khange adge metañkoa, Ia ho, bepari hor, miñ kathan metape kana. Judi inak kathape anjomletin khan, ar ona kathape dõhõletin khan, jaejug hãbiac reak apeak suk hoeyoktapea. Ar bape anjomtin khan, ar ona katha bape dõhõetin khan, apeak do adi bariac harkhet hoeyoktapea. Ente in ma noa birren raj kanaan, baðaepe. Tin dhao in nampea, un dhaoge dangran jomkotapea.

Khange adoko metadea, Acha besge, masẽ ente roñlem cet lekan katha kantama. Adõle anjomle nãhi jahãtak dole rora.

³ When a day for a public function has been fixed, people are notified as described. Somebody is sent with a branch of the sal-tree (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.) to the market-places or similar public places where many people meet, sometimes with a drum. The branch has so many leaves as there are days left before the gathering takes place. This way of notifying may be seen every year in connexion with the tribal hunts. It might be noted that something similar is used to keep count of the occurrence of family gatherings, especially marriages. Here a string is sent to every family invited to be present, with as many knots tied on each as there are days before the celebration. The families untie one knot every evening. When all knots have been removed, the day has arrived.

⁴ The drums used are what the Santals call tamak, a kettle-drum made of iron covered with leather. It is used for making noise and for signalling, also sometimes in connexion with dances. It is a hunting and war-drum. It makes a

down and clear the forest entirely." After having decided on this they sent the branch³ round with this notice: "On such and such a day we are to hunt in this forest. We must kill the leopard, or else we shall have to cut the forest down to drive this leopard away."

On the day fixed an immense crowd came together. They brought a lot of drums together and were drumming, you can scarcely imagine what a noise; at the din of it it was felt as if the ground were turning upside down⁴. When the leopard heard this noise, he was frightened and ran out of this forest to move over into another. He was thinking by himself: "These people will not hunt me every day; it is surely only to-day. All right, to-day I shall take myself off to some other forest, in the meantime. Then, where will they find me and kill me? To-morrow I shall be coming back." Thinking thus he was on his way to another place.

Now a road is running through the middle of that forest, and that very day traders with their beasts of burden were passing along that road, and just as the leopard, in fear, was moving out of the forest, at that moment he ran across the traders. Then he spoke to them: "I say, you traders, I have one thing to say to you: if you listen to what I have to say and do as I tell you, there will be no end to the happiness you will get. But if you don't listen to me and will not do as I tell you, you will get into awful trouble. For know this, I am the king of this forest⁵. So often as I meet you, every time I shall eat your bullocks."

"All right," they said to him, "speak then and let us first hear what it is you have to say. Only when we have heard that, can we say anything."

tremendous noise. When a party like that one here described has a number of drums beaten, it may be heard some five-six kilometres away. It is a terrible din which leaves no room for anything else.

⁵ It is common in Santali to speak of leopards, and, of course, tigers when such are there, as *buru raj*, i.e., mountain king. They are lordling it and are subject to none. Sometimes expressions are used which might seem to imply that these 'kings' are masters only within certain circumscribed spheres, something like what the leopard here, hints at.

Adq unreye menketa, Iq ho, katha dq noa kana: tehen dq inko gojen lagat horko jarwa akana. Qte tamakko ruyet kan. Adq sendrakate inko gojen lagat. Adq onateh nghrape kana sen metape kana, tehen din noko sendra hor khonpe bancaolin khan, adi boge hoekoktapea. Dayakate mage oko bancaokan tabonpe. Nia noako bosta reak mal dq up gidikape, ar inge ona bostare bhoraoko-kanpe. Adq noko sendra horko parom calaolen khan, rarakanpe. Katha dq niage.

Adq khangе onko bepari horko cepet barayenteko menketa, Acha besge, aika noa katha jaejug tire juge tahentabo ma. Sin kan ninda kan, hijukale senokale, aika nae barapae barapae hoeyoktate ma; dangra se hor alom jomla.

Adge menketa, He ho ente, one con in ma laharen laiatpege. Adq nonkan muhim khonpe bancaolin khan, noa reak cedak gun ban manaosa? Do, noa dq cirokal napaege tahentabona. Jaha tinak nut nindape hijuk senok, in reak dq alogepe botoroka.

Adq onkako kiria barayen khan, kathae, mitan bosta reak malko up gidikata, adq ona bostare uni tarupko bolu ocokedeteko tol esekedeade, ar chala dangrareko ladekedeade. Ar dangrako lagakete ona bir khon dqoko paromkedeade. Ar onko sendra phad ho bako nam dareadete apan apin akoak orakkoteko ruar calaena.

Adq un jokhenko laiae kana, banma, Ona bir khon dqle parom aguketmete etak birbon tiok akata. Ar onko am sesendrako hoko ruar caba barayena, mit hor gan ho banukkoa.

Adq khangе tarupe menketa, Tobe khan ma nendege rarakan-tabonpe. Adq khangе bhagteko rara lede namlede uni tarup dqe ror gotketa, Nit mape bancaokadin, jom adopean. Dangra hon jomkotapea, ar ape hon jompegea. Onka adge boru ocoketkoa.

⁶ There are stories about people going for certain purposes being thought secure against attacks from animals. One of this kind will be translated below.

Then the leopard said: "I say, you good people, it is this: to-day people have come together to kill me. Listen, they are beating the drums: they are hunting and want to kill me. Therefore I implore you, or rather I tell you, if you to-day rescue me from these hunting people, it will be a very good thing for you. Please show kindness and hide and save me. Throw out the goods you have in one of these bags, and then put me into that bag and hide me. When these hunting people have passed away, you may let me out. That is all."

The traders then took counsel together and said: "All right, but understand this: this agreement shall remain between us for ever and always. By day and by night we the traders shall go and come, mind you, no accident or injury shall happen to us. Do not eat our bullocks or our men."

"Yes, surely," he replied, "that is just what I told you beforehand. And if you save me from such a danger, why should I not show my gratitude for it? Be sure, this shall be kept unbroken for all ages between us. Let it be the darkest possible night when you go and come; do not be afraid of me⁶ at all."

When they had sworn in this way, they threw the goods out of a bag and let the leopard enter into it and tied him well up, whereupon they loaded him on a pack-bullock, drove the bullocks along and brought the leopard past the forest. The army of hunters, thus, were not able to find him, so they returned home, every one to his own house.

After this they spoke to the leopard saying: "We have now brought you past that forest and have reached another, and those who were hunting for you have also all returned home; there is not a single one left."

"Then let me out here," the leopard said. No sooner had they let him out and set him free than the leopard said: "Now you have saved me, to be sure; I shall eat you in return. I shall eat your bullocks, and you also I shall eat." In this way he frightened them.

Ado onko hoꝛko menketa, Acha besge, jomlegeam. Hape tobe khan noa reakbon bicar ocolege. Judi onko bikcar hoꝛko hukumle khan, jomlem barę, onate jahn hat ad do banuktalea.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge. Okpe thenpe bicar ocoa? Delabo idibonpe.

Ado inakore hor ma bako nelok kan. Ado matkom dareko nel namketa. Adoko menketa, Acha, delabo ona darebo bicar ocoyea. Ado kathae, ona dare then calaonteko metae kana, Ia dare, bicarkatalem. Nui tarup doko goje kan tahkana, adu unrele bancaokedete ho ban? Ar nit dce metale kana, Jom adopegean. Pahil dce menketa, Nia muhim khonpe bancaolin khan do, qhoj jompea; ar nit dce metale kana, Jompegean. Ado dese bhala noage bicarkatalem.

Khange dareye men gotketa, Jomreye jompea. Ape manwa jat do adipe kharapgea. Dare umulre hope durupa, ar dare hope makaka, ar rehet hope makaka, onate khatigege jompegea.

Khange tarupe menketa, Ote con bicaren, jompegean.

Ado onko hoꝛko menketa, Hape, ar bar thenbo bicar ocolege. Ado onde ho nonkage hukum hoelen khan, jomlem barę.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge, delabon ayurbonpe.

Ado mitan darhako nel namketa. Adoko menketa, Delabon ona darha dakbon bicar ocoyea. Ado onde senkateko metae kana, Ia darha, bicarkatalem. Nui tarup doko goje kan tahkana, unrete metafla, Noa muhim khonpe bancaolin khan do, qhoj jompea. Adole bancaokedete ho ban? Adge, metale kana, Jom adopean. Ado dese bhala bicarkatalem.

⁷ The *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb., a large and very common tree, in Santal called matkom. Here a Hindi name is used, the one commonly used in official documents. The flowers which fall down during the early hours at blossoming time (the commencement of the hot season) are collected and dried and used for sundry purposes, as food for men and cattle, and to distil liquor from. The fruit is eaten, and the kernel is used for pressing oil. It is a most useful tree.

"Very well," they said, "you will eat us surely. But wait then, we must first get somebody to judge in this matter. If the judges pass such an order, please eat us, we shall take no shelter then."

"All right," the leopard said. "With whom are you going to seek judgement? Come, take us all there."

No one was to be seen there in the vicinity. Then they saw a mahua⁷ tree and said: "Well, let us ask that tree⁸ to judge." Whereupon they went to that tree and said to it: "Look here, you tree, judge in our case. They were trying to kill this leopard. Then we saved him, don't you see? But now he says to us: I shall eat you in return. At first he said: If you save me from this danger, I shall never eat you. And now he says to us: I shall eat you surely; so now, please, judge this matter of ours."

"He shall certainly eat you," the tree said at once. "You human beings are very wicked. You sit in the shadow of a tree, and a tree you also use the axe on, and the roots also you use the axe on. Therefore he shall surely eat you."

"Listen," the leopard said, "listen, there judgement was passed. I shall eat you."

"Wait," the traders said, "let us hear judgement from two more. If there also the same order is passed, please eat us."

"All right," the leopard said, "come along, lead us on."

They next caught sight of a water-pool and said: "Come, let us ask that water-pool to judge." So they went there and said to the water-pool: "Listen, you water-pool, judge in our case. They were trying to kill this leopard. At that time he said to us: If you save me from this danger, I shall surely not eat you. Then we saved him, don't you see? But he says to us: I shall eat you in return. So now please judge our case."

⁸ It might be noted that trees and other objects may be quoted by Santals as witnesses, or rather, appealed to.

Adq darhae mēnketa, Jomreya jompea. Ape manwa jat dō
 ədipe kharapega. Nēlpe, in dō nū hōpe nūh kana, ar ic hōpe
 əbukañ kana, onate khaṭigeye jompegea.

Adq tarupe mēnketa Qte cōh, bar then ma bicāren. Jom-
 pegeañ.

Adq un khangē onko bepari hōr dōko lukut lukudoḱ kana.
 Mēnetako, Durre! nāhāk khaṭigeye jombongea. Arhōko mēneta,
 Acha, jāhānakge hoyoktabon, miṭ thenbo bicār ocolege.

Adq tarupe mēnketa, Acha besge, dela idibonpe.

Adq calak calakte miṭṭañ toyoko nēl tiokkedeā. Adqko mēnketa,
 Acha, delabo uni toyobo bicār ocolege. Adq judi uni hō nonka-
 geye hukumae khan, ceṭbo mēnkea? Nonka hudiskate bebhōrsa-
 kateko calak kana. Adq tiok nōkkede khanko hōhōadeā, E ho,
 haṭe tēngolenme, miṭṭañ bicārkatalem.

Khangeye tēngoyena; adqe kuliketkoa, Masə laipe, ceṭpe bicār
 ocok laṭaṭ. Onkae kuliyetkoa, ar mēṭāhā sene beṅgeṭ rakapako
 kan dō, sanamge aditeṭ bapuric mēṭāhāko nēlok kan.

Adq bōṭor bōṭorteko rōrketa, Nui tarup dōko goje kan taḥ-
 kana, adq unreye metatlea, Də niā muhim khon bañcaokañpe. Judi
 niā dhaope bañcaoliñ khan, ninda nūṭa hijuk sēnok tisre hō qhōñ
 jompea. Nonka kiriakate bosta reak mal gidikatte nuigele bhoroa
 okokedeā. Onko sendra hōrko ruāren khan dō bosta khonle ra-
 kadeā, arle metadeā, Ma nit dō sōnjoñme. Adq khangeye metale
 kana, Uh! nit māpe bañcaokidiñ, jom adopegeañ. Adq də bhala,
 noage bicārkatalem. Bañcaokedete hō bañ? Arhō alegeye jomle
 laṭaṭ. Ninakgea kathatale dō.

Khangē toyo dō tarupe kulikedeā, Cele ho, katha dō onka leka
 kana sō ceṭ leka? Bañkhanem mēnkea, In dō miṭ katha gan

⁹ Santals, after a call of nature, always wash themselves using the left hand, which for this reason must not be used for anything in connexion with food, saluting, handing anything to others, and so on. The left hand is, on this account, often called *ic ti*, the excrement hand. It might be noted that the Santal oḥhas (medicine-men) use their left hand when applying medicine externally, probably to have the right hand undefiled, although the reason given is that the right hand is not propitious for such work.

"He shall certainly eat you," the water-pool said. "You human beings are very wicked. See, me you drink, and me you also use for washing yourself⁹ when you have gone to stool. Therefore he shall surely eat you."

"Listen," the leopard said, "listen, at two places judgement has been passed. I shall eat you."

From then the traders were trembling with fear saying: "Alas, in a moment he will surely eat us." Again they said: "Very well, whatever will be our fate, we shall first hear judgement at one place more."

"All right," the leopard said, "come, take us along."

As they were walking along, they caught sight of a jackal and said: "Well then, come let us ask the jackal to judge. If he also passes him such an order, what can we say?" Thinking so and quite without hope, they walked on. When they came near to him, they called out to him: "Hey you there, wait, stop a moment, there is a matter we want you to judge for us."

The jackal stopped and asked them: "Please then, tell what is it you want to have passed judgement on?" As he asked them this and looked up into their faces, he saw that all of them were looking utterly downcast.

Speaking in fear and trembling they said: "This leopard, — they were trying to kill him; then he said to us: Do save me from this danger. If you save me this time, at night and in darkness, when you come and go, I shall not eat you, no, never at all. After he had sworn in this way, we threw away the goods we had in a bag, put him in, and hid him. When the hunters had returned home, we released him, and let him out of the bag and said to him: Please now go your way. Then he says to us: Ho, now you have saved me; I shall eat you in return, surely. Do, please, pass judgement in this case for us. We saved him also, don't you see? Now he is on the point of eating us. That is all there is to our case."

Then the jackal asked the leopard: "I say, sir, is the case like that or how? Otherwise you might say: He did not ask me one

hõ bae kulilidiña. Onateñ kuliyetmea. Ma laime se, katha dq enka kangea?

Adq uni tarupe menketa, Baña, katha dq enka kangea.

Adq noko hõre kuliyetkkoa, Henda baba, oko ma okogepe laiyet kan, adq onage thõ bañ bujhauettapea. Cet lekape okoledea? Udukañpe, in mætten ñellege, tõe nãhi ñhik dqñ bicara.

Adqko metae kana, Bostarele bhoraokoledea.

Arhõ tarupe kuli gotkadea, Sãri ho, bostareko bhoraolefmea? Adqe menketa, Hõ sarige.

Adq onko hõre metako kana, Mase udukañpe, cet lekaledape. Onako jõtõqe udukañpe.

Khange mit hõr dqe bujhau ñhik gotketteye men gotketa, Dela hijukmeñ okolemge. Khange uni tarup dq bostareye bõlqyen khan, uni hõr dq khub lekae tqñ urickedeas, are menketa, Nõkkõ nonkale okoledea ar ñaᅇgrarele lade aᅇu akadea.

Adq toyoe menketa, Acha besge. Hape, bes õkõõte ari bañdhiñ ñellege. Adq un jõkhen uniye bujhau ñõkket hõre isarat gotadea. Khange uni hõr dq marañ utar dhiri hare phareye dipil aᅇu gotkette õkkalte bõhõkregeye gidõ gotadea. Adq jõtõ hõrte tiñko tiñkedeas dq, õkkaltekõ tiñ gõc utarkedeas.

Khange toyõ dq onko hõre metakkoa, Nõketape? In iate bañkhan nui nimukharami hõr dqe jõmkepegea. Adq unakpe dayawade reak gun dq okortae? In alo khan hutõc khatigeyõ jõmkepegea.

Adq unreko menketa, Hõ baba, boge Cando lekam hecen, bañkhan sãri utargeye jõmkelegea, ona reak digdhãdq bañ kana.

Adq noa katha hõ cabayena.

single word. Therefore I am asking you. Please say, is the case like that?"

"Quite so," the leopard answered, "the case is exactly like that."

Then the jackal asked the traders: "I say, sirs, you mention hiding; now that is what I do not quite understand in what you tell. In which way did you hide him? Show it to me. I must see it with my own eyes, then only I shall be able to judge properly."

"We put him into a bag and hid him," they replied.

Again he asked the leopard: "Is that so, sir? Did they put you into a bag?"

"Yes," he replied, "that is what they did."

Then he said to the traders: "Please show me how you treated him. Show me all of it."

One of the men suddenly saw what he was driving at and said: "Come here, let me hide you." When the leopard had entered into the bag, the man tied him up as tightly as he could, and said: "Look here, in this way we hid him and brought him along, loaded on a bullock."

"Very well then," the jackal said, "let me first have a good look and note everything carefully." At the same time he made a sign to the man who had understood what he was driving at, and this man at once fetched a huge stone, carrying it on his head, and straight away threw it at his head. Thereupon all of them started stoning the leopard and stoned him to death then and there.

The jackal then said to the traders: "Do you see? I helped you, otherwise this ungrateful person would have eaten you. Why, where was his gratitude that you had shown him so much kindness? If I had not been here, he would certainly have eaten you."

"Yes, sir," the traders said, "it was fortunate you came like Chando, otherwise he would surely indeed have eaten us; there is no doubt about that."

So this story is also ended.

3. T o y o r e a k k h i s a .

Mit̄an h̄or akin apa h̄onkin tapamlena. Ad̄o h̄aramge bae darelena, ota ocoyenae. Ad̄o bhala uni d̄o koṛa h̄or ar nui d̄o h̄aram h̄or, koṛa tulué d̄o cake dareka? Ad̄o bae darelente h̄aram d̄o bicar ocoe lagat̄ h̄ore lai barawatkoa. Ad̄oko metadea, Acha, ma sen laha hatarokme, uni koṛa lai hataraeme, jem̄on j̄ah̄ate aloe calak. Ma n̄ah̄ak ale dole calak kana. Ad̄o enka menkate uni d̄oko kol laha gotkadea.

Ad̄o orakre senkate uni h̄aram d̄o h̄opontet̄ koṛae metae kana, Iḡ ya phalna, laiam kanan̄ j̄ah̄atem sen bot̄et̄ekoka, alom calaka. On̄e holam ota akadiñ, ona galmarao ocoko lagat̄ h̄or iñ rak akawatkoa. Nitgeko hijuk̄ lagat̄, onateñ lai lahawam kana.

Ad̄o unre koṛae menketa, Henda baba, alañ apa h̄onlañ tapamena, ad̄o cedak̄ m̄or̄e h̄or then̄ dom̄ lalisketa? Onko ma n̄ah̄ak alaṅgeko jomlaña. Alañ eskarte d̄o hut̄et̄ oh̄olañ jutlea?

Ad̄o h̄arame menketa, Ok̄o baḡae, jutkok̄ c̄oñ bañ c̄oñ. Aḡi aḡem kurudadiñte aḡi baricem otakidiña, ona ter̄oñ m̄or̄e h̄or then̄ doñ lalisketa, ar bañkhan hut̄et̄ cak̄ iñ lalisa? Ad̄o jage m̄or̄e h̄or nisapre hoyok̄ kan, onalan̄ añjomlege.

Ad̄o koṛae menketa, Iḡ ba, iñ miñ kathan̄ metam kana, añjomtiñme bar̄e. Iñ d̄o bartiñ̄ dos akata: holanañ edre ma teheñ d̄o kusiḡ dal daleñme. Onate d̄o ceñ h̄e oh̄oñ metama ar bañ dal ruar̄mea. Eñteñ bujketa, hola d̄o bebujkate am janamdata h̄or iñ

¹ The introduction to this story is an example of how the Santal folktales may be told, and the rôle they may play in the life of the people.

² The proceedings here described are a good example of how the village council is appealed to and called together. The complainant goes to the village headman, who sends his goḡet or messenger to call the village people. The council is a kind of court of arbitration.

³ 'So and so', in Santal *phalna*, means that the name of the person in question is used.

⁴ 'To eat one' is a very common expression about doing anything in excess, taking too much, and so on. It is very frequently used about destruction supposed to be caused by bongas or witches. Here the meaning is, that the village council will fine and otherwise make these two pay more than they can afford.

3. THE ASTUTENESS OF THE JACKAL¹.

Two men, father and son, had been fighting with each other, and the old man did not get the better of it, he was thrown down and pressed against the ground. No wonder, the one was a young man and the other an old man, how should he be able to get the better of it with a young man? As it went this way with him, the old man told the village people of it, to get them to judge in the matter. They told him: "Very well, you go home in the meantime and tell the boy, so that he does not go anywhere. We are coming presently." With these words they sent him home in advance².

When he reached home, the old man spoke to the boy: "I say, so and so³, I tell you — you might go somewhere, — don't go. That which happened yesterday when you threw me down, — I have appealed to the village people and asked them to talk the matter over. They are coming just now; therefore I am telling you this beforehand."

Then the young man said: "Look here, father, we two, father and son, had a fight; why should you complain to the village council? They will presently devour⁴ both of us. Should we not be able to settle this matter between ourselves, we two alone?"

"Who knows," the old man said, "whether that would do or not. You showed an awful anger and pressed me to the ground something terrible; therefore I have complained to the village people; otherwise, why should I complain? Whatever it may come to in the estimation of the Five, that we shall pay heed to."

"I say, governor," the young man replied, "I have one word to say to you; please listen to me. I am most at fault; in return for yesterday's anger please give me to-day a beating to your heart's content. I shall not say a word to you and I shall not strike back, because I have understood that yesterday I very wickedly laid hands on you, who have given me life; that is my

jotet gotketmea, noa dō inak bhul kami kana. Adō enka rōr sāotege haramak jaŋgae sapkedeteye nehōradea are menketa, Baba, ikakame, ađi utar in dōs akata.

Adō harame dayayenteye menketa, Beṭa, nehōrenteyem ikakam kanañ. Ar in metam kana, adō tisre hō nonka harām hōr sē buđhi hōr sōngē dō alope thōka ar alope dabaokoa. Ente onko dō ako lagat dō bako rōra, ape hōponko lagitge. Ar ape hōponko dō ađu pichu bape bujhaute harām hōr sē buđhi hōr dōpe dabao gotetkōa arpe kārgo gotetkōa. Adō teheñ khon onkan cōlon dō bagime. Adō mōrē hōr in rak akawatkōa, adō khatige nāhākko hijuka. Adō un jōkhen am dō oṛak bhitri khonge alom ođokōka, hōhōam khan dō gōñ dō gōñkom, menkhan alom ođokōka. Ar jāhānākko kulime khan, ceñ hō alom ļaiakoa. Adō enkae sikhāu barakadea, adōkin thir barayena.

Adō inā miñ ghāri khange atoren hōr dōko hēc jarwayena, adō besge durup teŋgone metaṭkōa. Durup jarwa barayenako. Adōko kupuli barayena, Cele ho, jotōbon hēc cabayena sē bañ?

Adōko menketa, Hē, jotōbon jarwa thik barayena cele. Adō deṣe bhala nui phalna harām kuliyetabonpe ceṭko lagate doat delawatbona. Adō uni khon oṛ babon namle hōtēte dō, oka lekabon katha oco daṛeaka? Adō uni harāmko kulikedeā, Deṣe baba, am phalna, ceṭko lagatem dela jarwaketlea? Ma duk suk dō ļaiāleme.

Adō uni harame menketa, Onē cōñ, baba mōrē hōr, in ma enañre cōñ jotō kathañ ļai caba akawatpe, inaṅoge cele katha dō.

Khange onkoko menketa, Koṛa dō okare menaea?

Adōe metaṭkōa, Oṛakrege menaeā, onē enañpe men gotadiñte okate hō bañ sēn oco akawadea. Adō ma apege hōhōape.

⁵ Also among the Santals it is very common that a person appealing to the mercy and kindness of somebody catches hold of this one's feet, and does not let go until he has got what he wants.

⁶ i. e. the village council.

⁷ The whole shows the loose and free manner of getting along. Anyone who feels enough interested may take the lead, always provided that he acts in accordance with the sense of the whole company.

⁸ He addresses the council as 'father': they represent society.

wrongdoing." As he spoke thus he caught hold of the old man's feet⁵ and implored him. "Father," he said, "forgive me, I have sinned very much."

The old man felt pity and said: "Son, you have asked for mercy, so I forgive you. But I tell you this, never at all quarrel in such a way with an old man or an old woman, and don't illtreat them. Because they do not act for themselves, it is you children they are acting for. And as you children do not understand the ins and outs of things, you illtreat the old people, your parents, and bear them down. Quit such behaviour from to-day. Now I have appealed to the Five⁶, and they will be sure to come presently. But when they are here, don't you come out from the house; when they call out to you, answer them, but don't come out. And if they ask you any question, do not tell them anything." In this way he instructed him, whereupon they did not say anything more.

A short while afterwards the village people came together, and the old man very politely asked them to sit down. They found seats and then asked one another: "Well, how is it, have we come all of us or how?"

"Yes," they said, "we have all come together all right. Well then, please ask this so and so³ old man for us for what purpose he has called on us and asked us to come⁷. If we do not hear from him what it really is, how should we be able to take the matter up?" So they asked the old man: "Well then, sir, you so and so, for what purpose is it that you have called us together? Please tell us what is the matter."

The old man replied: "Well look, respected⁸ Five, a short while ago this morning I have told you all and everything; that is what there is to it."

"Where is the boy?" the people asked.

"He is at home," he replied; "in accordance with what you told me this morning, I have not let him go away, anywhere. Please, you call him."

Adoko hohgae kana. Khange gon doe gonetkoge, adq odok tho bae odokok kana. Pe pon dhaoko hohoketre hē, jonqonge bae odoklena. Adq harangeko metadea, Ale hohote dq bae odokok kana. Ma am barq hohgaeme.

Adq uni harame boloyena, adq cekko cokin galmarao baraket. Adq odokkate mōrē hore metako kana, Ia baba mōrē hor, cek bape galmarao? En kathae onako dq jotolin jutketa. Ma niā dhao dq ruarjonpe; arhō judiye onkaketa menkhan, unre dq bañtetgebon bagiaea, ekkaltebon sap dhumbak utarea. Ma niā dhao dqbon ikakaea.

Adq unre mōrē hor toyo reak khisako rorketa. Ona dq nonka kana:

Mitāñ toyo añdiā hōe rañdi akan tahēkana ar mitāñ toyo eñga hōe rañdi akan tahēkana. Adq unkin rañdi rañdikinge miñ din dq añiñ añintekin napamena. Adq khangekin akinena. Adq unrekin galmaraojon kana, Nit ma alangelañ harām buñhiyena. Adq hapen cekalekate gidra dolāñ ašulkoa? Adq budi balañ khañtaole khan, alañ hō cekate balañ ašulok?

Adq unre, kathae, uni añdiā toyo doe ror gofketa, Uh! cekate hale balañ ašuloka? In then dq barq bhari se barq gañi budi menaktina, unakre hō balañ ašuloka? Albot janiclañ ašulokgea. Acha, am dq tinañ budi menaktama?

Khange uni eñga toyo doe menketa, In dq tinañ bañ menaktin? Ina arak siñ tunkite miñ tunki budi menaktina.

Adq kathae, inakin galmarao jokhenge tarupteko se tarup tulud dqkin napam gotena. Khange, kathae, uni tarup doe ror gofketa, Hē, tehē dōñ nam akatbena. Khange, kathae, unkin dq uric hopon lekakin dupai dupaiyena. Arhō uni añdiā dq dhertetgeye dupai-

⁹ The basket here mentioned, in Santali *ṭuñki*, is a small basket with a comparatively narrow mouth, used especially by women for collecting pot-herbs in. The Santals make very extensive use of wild vegetables, leaves, &c. to prepare their curry.

¹⁰ The *uric* is a small bird which plays a rôle in giving omens in certain circumstances.

So they called him, and he answered them, but out he did not come. They called him three or four times; still he did not come out at all. So they said to the old man: "It is of no use, he will not come out at our calling him. Please you call him."

The old man then entered the house, and they had some talk together. When he came out, the old man said to the Five: "I say, respected Five, what is there to talk about? What I spoke to you about this morning, we have settled between us; so this time please go back home. If he should another time attempt the same, then we shall not let him off; we shall catch him at once and bring him to his bearings. Well, this time we shall leave him alone."

Then the Five mentioned the astuteness of the jackal. The story is as follows:

A male jackal had become a widower, and a female jackal had also become a widow. Then it happened one day that these two, the widow and the widower, met whilst they were out seeking food, and they became a pair. Thereupon they were talking together: "Now we two have become husband and wife. How shall we in future be able to support our children? If we two do not use our wits, how should we also be able to support ourselves?"

Then, they tell, the male jackal said: "Ho, how should not we be able to support ourselves? I have myself wit, twelve cartloads or twelve carriages full, with so much should we two not be able to support ourselves? We shall likely be able to support ourselves, I suppose. Well, how much wit have you?"

"I," the she-jackal replied, "how much should I have? If you measure by the basket⁹ used for gathering pot-herbs in, I have one basketful of wit."

Whilst they were talking together, they suddenly met a leopard. "Yes," he said, "to-day I have found you two." And those two were trembling like youngs of the uric bird¹⁰. The male jackal was especially afraid and trembling, his hind-quarters were

yena, liñdhi dō bhukué bhukuéntaea, ar rōr hō bōtorte at utāren-takina, ēkkaltekin kēklēsēt utārena.

Adō kathae, uni tārūpgeye rōr sādēkēta. Metafkinae, Cēfben galmaraojōñ kan tahēkana?

Khange uni āñḍiā dō kañṭa sudhā rōhōrentaete bae rōr dāreata. Adō uni ēngageye rōr gōtkēta, Iā mama sāsūr, nui dō tin anēc cōe rōr. Noaliñ galmaraojōñ kan tahēkana, āliñren dō mōrē gōṭen hōpōn menakkotaliña. Adō din hilōk onageliñ jhogrāk kana. Adō onko gidrageliñ rēpēc kana. Iñ dōñ mēnēta, Peañ hataokoa, am dō bareage; ente iñ dōñ nunu bāra akatkoa. Ar ac dōe mēnēta, Iñge pea dō, am dō bareagelañ emama. Nonka dingeliñ jhogrāka. Ar teheñ hō onageliñ rōpōr kan jōkhenge nēkēbon ṅapamen. Adō mama sāsūr, bhagebon ṅapamena; dēla am bāre ḥāñiñ oṭokakotaliñme.

Adō ona katha anjōmte uni tārūp dō āḍiye rāsāyena. Mōne mōneteye mēnkēta, Ho, khub nāhāk iñ besōka. Nikin barea ar enko hōpōn mōrē gōṭen, khub nāhāk iñ jōm bika. Adō onkae hudis bārakēt khan dōe mēn gōtkēta, Acha besge, okare menakko-tabena? Delabon idiñben, ḥāñiñkakotabenañ.

Adō uni ēngae mēnkēta, Delaliñ idimea, hana bhugākre menakkotaliña.

Khangekin laha gōṭentekin āyur idikedea. Adō bhāgte ona bhugākkin tiōkkēta. Uni āñḍiā dō hare phareye bōlō gōṭena are gampatao gōṭena. Ar uni ēnga dō duār ṭhengeye durūp akana.

¹¹ All Santals when living in the same village or having anything to do with one another will, if they are not related, construct an artificial relationship with each other. They say it is especially to avoid having to use the proper names in addressing people. Very likely they feel the necessity of belonging to one large family in their daily life. It is their way of visualizing society. They will also enter into the same kind of artificial relationship with others, non-Santals, when living in more or less close contact with them. Probably the supposed necessity for themselves makes them imagine that also the animals of the forest feel it the same way. The relationship generally mentioned in the folktales as existing between animals of different kinds is that between a person and his mother's brother or sister, in Santal *m a m o b h a g n a*. Such relatives are always treating

quivering, and out of fear they both lost the power of speech; they became utterly numbed with fright.

Then the leopard spoke and said to them: "What were you two talking together?"

Even the throat of the he-jackal had become dry, so he could not utter a word; the she-jackal then said: "I say, uncle¹, who knows how long a time it will take him here to speak. We were talking about this: we have five young ones, and we are every day quarrelling over them, who of us is to have them. I say: I shall take three, you take two, because I have suckled them. And he himself says: I take the three, and to you we shall give two. In this way we quarrel every day. To-day also we were having words on this subject, and just at that moment we met with you. Well, uncle, it was fortunate we met. Come along, you please divide our young ones between us."

When the leopard heard this, he became very glad. He was saying to himself: "Ho, I shall do exceedingly well presently; these two and those five young ones — I shall presently be well satisfied." Thinking this he said: "All right then, where have you got them? Come along, take me there; I shall divide them for you."

"Come along," the she-jackal said, "we shall take you there. We have them in that cave over there."

The two jackals went in front and led the leopard along. Fortunately the jackals reached the cave; the he-jackal hurriedly entered and rolled over like dead, and the she-jackal was sitting at the door, the leopard also sitting near by. As a long time

each other with the greatest respect; anything unseemly between them would be punished with great severity, in certain cases outcasting from Santal society. According to Santal standards, such people cannot intermarry. As is only natural, the bigger, and consequently more dangerous animal is represented as the maternal uncle and the weaker one as the nephew, *bhagnā*. The she-jackal here addresses the leopard as her maternal uncle-father-in-law. The Santals are always very exact in their relationship appellations, having a very large number of such.

Ar uni tarup hō inā phedregeye durup akana. Ado dher habic hoeyen khan, enga dōe hōhō sadeketa, Okor, tinrem aguyetkōa? Tin habiclin durupkōa?

Ado bhitri khonge uni andia dōe ror gotketa, Bogeteko hamal kana, eskarte ban idi dareako kana. Dela hijukme, bana hortelan idi hotkōa.

Ado engae ror gotketa, Ote, mama sasur, hamal iate eskarte dō bae agu dareako kana. Bololengeh, inā dō bana horte hare pharelin heo odok gotkōa.

Ado tarupe menketa, Acha besge, ma hako pako agu hotkoben. Ado monē monēte uni tarup dōe menjon kana, Bolok jokhen nahak ekalteh ger godea, bankhan nahak bana horkin bolō adok kana. Ado uni toyo enga hōe hudi gotketa. Bolok jokhen dō pāclateye bolok kana, lindhigeye lahakeftaea. Ado un jokhen uni tarup dōe ror gotketa, Oe oe, oe ki?

Khange toyo engae men gotketa, Oh, mama sasurke pand dekhabo.

Khange enē ini hōe boloyen dōe bolō gusauena. Khange tarup dōe hōhōketa, Okor? Tinreben aguyetkōa?

Ado uni engageye men ruaradea, Iā mama sasur, alintegelin hatihketkōa. In dō peae emadina, ac dō bareae hataoketkina. Onate balin idiyetkōa.

Khange uni tarup dō adi bariē edreyena. Menketae, Lahare hutē nonkan badaele khan, unrege bana hor in jomkekina. Ado bhugaktekin boloyen khan, ce in cekaea? Ar noa bhugakre in ma ban sahōp kan, ar bankhan nitge bolokateh ger gočekkina. Ado bhugakkoe rabor baraketa, oh baraketkinae. Ado oka lekate hō bae at dareatkin khan dōe calao dorokena.

Ado baba mōrē hor, masē bujtābonpe, nukin toyo sikketbonakin. Pahil dō abo mōrē hor thenkin laiketa. Ado ona katha anjom-

¹² The leopard is here introduced as speaking a low kind of Bengali. Especially the jackal is often made to speak either Bengali or Hindi. Here it is only this remark and its answer which is in a foreign language.

passed without their hearing anything, the she-jackal called out: "What's the matter? when are you bringing them? How long are we to sit here?"

The he-jackal then answered from inside: "They are so very heavy, I am not able to carry them out alone. Come, then we shall help each other to take them out."

"You heard, uncle," the she-jackal said, "they are so heavy, he is unable to bring them out alone. Let me get in first, then we shall help each other and carry them out in a moment."

"All right," the leopard replied, "be quick and bring them then." But in his mind the leopard was saying to himself: "When she is entering, I shall at once bite her; otherwise both of them will enter and be lost to me." The she-jackal also used her wits; when she entered, she did it moving backwards, she let her hind-quarters get in first. Then the leopard called out: "Was, was, was ist das¹²?"

The she-jackal then said: "Oh, ich wünsche nur dem Oheim Achtung zu zeigen."

In this way she also got in and out of the way, whereupon the leopard called out: "What is the matter? When are you bringing them?"

"O uncle," the she-jackal answered him, "we have divided them ourselves; he gave me three, and he himself took two. Therefore we are not taking them out."

The leopard now became awfully angry and said: "If I had known anything like this beforehand, I should have eaten both those at once. As they have entered this hole, what can I do? I am too big to get into this hole, else I should enter this instant and bite and kill them." He used his claws on the hole, he hissed at them; but as he could not in any way get at them, he had to go away.

Now, respected Five, please see how these two treated us just like the jackals did the leopard¹³. First they complained to us,

katebon mēketa, Khubbon dāḡḡomkina. Ado nōkōebon jarwayen khan dō unkin toyo leka kathakin mitketa. Ado okorbon dhej dare-ata? Niageko metaka, baḡma, Sat siyaer budi, caḡḡboltegeko ekrea. Ado nēkē caḡḡbolte bakin eḡe lipukketbona? Mase bhala uni tarup leka ceḡbon cekaea? Ina miḡ tuḡki buditege un maraḡ du-ḡmaḡ geger janwarkin bhagaokodea.

Ado aḡin haḡam buḡhikin galmaraojoḡ kana. Engae meneta, Am dō barḡ gaḡi budi dō nahakgem laia. Okor jojaolentama? Nahakge hutnem jom ocokelaḡa. Inak budi aloḡ oḡokle khan dō khaḡigege jomkelangea. Ado inaḡ budi iate bana hoḡ in baclaokelaḡa.

Ado nukin apa hoḡ hoḡ nāhāḡ onka lekakin galmaraojoḡa.

Ar noa kathate abo hoḡ miḡtaḡ nomonabon ceḡjoḡ kana. Mēnako, baḡma, Aimairen jhin dōbon heḡel kana. Jhin jāhā seḡgem oḡ, oḡtege sadom dōko aḡuroka. Se jāhā seḡtege sui paromok, enka-tege sutam hoḡ paromok kana. Se aimaḡ dō dhertḡḡ dundhibon metako kana. Ado mase bujpe, jōḡo aimaḡ dō bako dundhia. Miḡ bar dō bickom heḡel khon hoḡ upaḡe budi menaktakoa. Heḡel hoḡḡon boḡḡoko latar ocok kangea. Okoḡe mēn sikte ma heḡel hoḡḡon dō leḡa ti seḡreko dōḡoyetkōa. Ar niḡ miḡten bujhaḡupe se, taḡdire taḡḡkan bhergem mēneta, Inak cas. Oḡakrem aderket khan ma aimaḡalē cij hoeyentae. Am mam seta baragen. Tinrebo leḡ-ako kana, un utaḡ jom dōko nameta. Toḡe abo hoḡ onkage.

¹³ The story is nearly ended and someone of the village council makes the application.

¹⁴ Here the end comes, or, it may be, an addition.

¹⁵ The Santal writer gives vent to some opinions of his own, a side-application which did not interest the village council. The position of women among the Santals is theoretically low, see the introductory remarks to the stories about women, below. *De facto* the Santal women have a fairly good and strong position.

¹⁶ Especially the last proverb is very commonly heard when a man is told to consult his wife about any matter. He is naturally the lord and absolute ruler.

¹⁷ Before eating the Santals will always wash their hands. They do not use spoons or forks or knives, but only their right hand, in all cases when the food is not quite liquid. Then they eat with a 'spoon' made of a leaf.

the village council, and when we had heard the case, we said we should fine them heavily. But see, as soon as we came together, they just like the jackals found something and agreed on that. Then how could we manage? This is what people say: The wit of seven jackals — they take people in by their tail. Did not these two now take us in by their tail? Like that leopard, what shall we do? By the help of that one small basketful of wit those two got the better of such a big dangerous biting animal.

Now those two, husband and wife, were talking together¹⁴. The she-jackal said: "It is to no purpose your talking about twelve cartloads of wit. Why, what did it help you? For nothing you would have let us both be eaten. If I had not brought my wit out, he would certainly have eaten us both. By my wit I saved us both."

And these two, father and son, will also now talk together in the same way.

This story has something to teach also us¹⁵. People say: We men are the women's bridle. To whichever side you pull the bridle, to that side the horse will turn. Or, the way the needle goes that way also the thread follows¹⁶. Or, we men mostly call the women silly. Be sure, all women are not silly. A few of them have intelligence superior even to that of men. The men are rather worsted. In accordance with what some say they put the men to the left. And keep this one thing in mind: As long as the crops are in the field, you say 'my crop'. As soon as you take it into the house, it becomes the woman's goods. You become like a dog. When you call them, then only they get their food. It is just the same with us. When the women pour out water for us¹⁷, then only we get food. Am I then not right

The Santali writer rather overdoes the thing. It might be remarked that a woman, who gives birth to girls only, is sometimes said to be a mother of dogs.

These personal remarks of the Santali writer have been retained, because they show how a story told reacts on the minds of the people. A folktale very frequently gives rise to discussions or preachings of a similar kind.

Tinre dakko tahabon kana, un utar jom dõbo nameta. Adq kajege babon seta baragena? Adq amak tahentam khan, am sana leka bam jomkea? Adq okorbon dareak kana? Adq ona iate aimai hõ alope nihõt utarkoa. Adqm adqm aimai dõ herel khon bartige bud menaktakoa.

Ma nui toyo reak kahni bujhaũjoũpe. Aimai reak budte bana hõre rukhiaketkina, bankhan hutẽn bana hõre jom dorokkekina.

Adq niã kahni dõn mucatkefa.

4. T o y o b i c a r .

Sedaere mittañ raje tahẽkana, ar uniren miť gõtẽc kora gidraĩ tahẽkantaea. Khange uni gidraĩ hara ar bud akelen khan, miť din dõ ac apate galmaraoae kana, Iã befa, jãhã hilok iniñ gõclen khan dõ, am dõ marañ hõr tuluẽ barẽ hirlakme; marañ hõr tuluẽ hirlak dõ bogegea.

Adq tinaç din tayomte con apat hõe gõcena. Adq uni kora dõ ace hirlak lağıť haprak hõre nam barayetkoa. Adq khange ona takre mittañ raj pałkiteko gõk aguyede kan tahẽkanre khẽn leka mittañ toyo lenga pahta khon jojom pahtate onko lahareye hir paromona. Raj uni toyoye ñelkede khan, acak pałki khon argo gõtente uni toyo seẽ samañkate bogeteye salam salamkefa, jemõn oka kami lağıte calak kan, ona jemõn purauktae ma; ona ñutumteye salam gõtadea.

Adq khange uni kora dõ uni raj reak dosa mucat dhabiç tan mane ñelkede. Ar acak monereye monkefa, Dhorage nui toyo dõ janiç marañ hudaren kanae, onatege raj hõ raje salamadea.

¹ Up to not very many years ago the most common way of travelling was to go in a palanquin. The most ordinary form is a box with a curved roof and one opening on each side, which can be shut by sliding panels. It is just long enough for a grown-up person to lie down in, and high enough to sit in without bending; it is carried by generally four persons, two in front and two behind, by the help of two poles, fixed one in front and the other behind. The carriers, often of a certain Hindu caste, generally make use of a kind of sing-song to regulate the stepping, as they carry the palanquin along.

in saying we are like the dogs? If it remained yours, could you not eat at your pleasure? But when are we able to do so? Therefore, do not utterly despise the women. Some women have more intelligence than men.

Understand the story of this jackal. The woman's wit rescued both of them; otherwise, he would have eaten both of them, what could they have done?

So I have finished this story.

4. JACKAL JUDGEMENT.

IN the old days there was a king, who had one only son. When that child had grown up and reached the age of sense and discretion, his father one day talked to him saying: "I say, my son, when, some day, I am dead, then find refuge and protection with some big man; it is good to seek protection with such."

Some time afterwards the father died, and the boy commenced to look for great people to seek protection. At that time it so happened, whilst they were carrying a king along in a palanquin¹, that a jackal accidentally ran across the road in front of them, from the left to the right side². When the king saw the jackal, he at once got out of his palanquin, turned towards the jackal and saluted again and again, in order that the business he was out on might prosper and be accomplished. This was why he saluted him.

The boy was looking intently at the king, what he was doing, until it was all finished; then he said to himself: "Surely, this jackal must likely be one in high authority; therefore, even the king³ saluted him." Having come to this conclusion, the boy

² If a jackal crosses the road as described, it is considered a bad omen. If e. g. this happens when they are going to arrange some of the preliminaries of a marriage, they will return, and may even give the whole up.

³ What is here called a king, must not be taken as something necessarily very grand. Any landlord is called a raj, i. e. a king.

Ona niṭante uni koṛa dō raje salamadea, ar uni toyogeye pañja-kedea. Ar pañja pañjate miṭṭaṅ bhugaḱreya pañja aderkedea. Ar uni koṛa hō ona bhugaḱ ṭhengeye duṛuṛena. Ar uni toyoren eṅga hoṇṇ sanamge ona bhugaḱreko tahḱkana.

Ar baṛsiṅ pe māhāe hoṛhoḱetko khan, eṅga hoṇṇ kaṃmaṅ bogeteko garjaoketa. Ar hoṇṇ māyāte eṅga aṇḱiakin niṭketa, Ma jāhā lekatelaṅ bidakaea. Ado niṭkette miṭṭaṅ gaikin emadea. Ado uni gai reak gun dō nonka tahḱkantaeta, jāhānaḱgem koṛeye, onageye ulā toda. Uni gaikin emadea, arkin metadea, Ma nui gailliṅ emam kana, idijonme; ar jāhānaḱge jaṛuṛam, onage koṛeyeme.

Ar uni koṛa dō uni gaigeye idikedea. Calak calakte miṭṭaṅ bande tiokketa, ar reṅgeḱkedete oṇḱoge gai hō dake aṇḱiadea ar ac hōe daṭauniyena. Ar ṭhāri baṭiko paṅhil dōe koekedea; inaḱate jol pan hōe koekedea. Inako jom baṛakate adōe koekedea caole, daḱ, buluṅ sunum ar joto jaṛuṛ jinis ceḱko ac jom sanakedea, ona dō jotoe koekedea.

Ona takre menkhan miṭṭaṅ maejiu dakteye senlen tahḱkana. Ar uni maejiu dō eṭoḱoḱ khon tan mane neṅel kan tahḱkana. Sanam onakoe neḱ mucaḱketkin khan, hako pako oraḱte ruṛ senente adren jāwāetēṭ joto soṃbate laṛiadea. Are metadea, Do calakme, jāhā lekate eṛe aḱuyem baṛe uni gai dō.

Khan uni jāwāetēṭ dō hako pako nīr sen goṭente uni koṛae metadea, la ho, peṛa hoṛ, alom calaka nitok dō, ente tala birregem nīndaḱa nāhāḱ, ar bir hō aḱi bagahi akana. Dela

⁴ In Santali eṅga hoṇṇ means 'mother and son', the expression here used eṅga hoṇṇ, lit. 'mother-child' means the whole family, husband included. It is just mentioned here, as it might point towards a former state of matriarchy. It should, however, be noted that other traces are not found among the Santals, but much which points the other way. The whole Santal society is founded on the superiority of man over woman.

⁵ The climate makes it most desirable, not to say necessary, to have sufficient water, also for bathing purposes, more especially during the hot season. To store water, excavations are made, the 'holes' being square or rectangular in shape. The earth is thrown up on the sides, the embankments being planted with trees,

saluted the king and followed after the jackal. He kept on following him, until he saw him enter a cave, whereupon the boy himself sat down near the entrance. The whole family⁴ of the jackal was in that cave.

When the boy had remained watching them for two or three days, the mother and the young ones commenced to howl and cry, and out of compassion with their young ones the jackals, father and mother, determined that, somehow or other, they would send him off. And having determined this, they gave him a cow, and this cow had such a quality: whatever you might ask her for, that she would bring forth out of her mouth. They gave him this cow and said: "See, we are giving you this cow; take her along with you, and whatever you need, ask her for that."

The boy then took the cow with him. As he was walking along, he came to a tank⁵, and as he felt hungry, he gave the cow to drink and he himself also cleaned his teeth⁶. First he asked the cow for a brass plate and cup; thereupon he asked her for light refreshments, and having eaten this, he asked her for rice, beans, salt, oil and all other things; whatever he wanted to eat, all that he asked her for.

Just at that time a woman had gone down to the water, and she had from the very first been looking intently on. When she had seen it all, she hurried back home and told her husband everything and said to him: "Do go, under some pretext or other, bring that cow here."

Her husband then at once ran as quickly as he could and said to the boy: "I say, my friend, don't start now; you will in that case be in the middle of the forest by midnight; the forest is also much infested with wild animals. Come back and turn in

especially palm-trees, as the leaves of these do not fall down and rot in the water. Such is the 'tank' found where the country is flat. The size varies very much, some may be small, others may be large, up to an acre or even more. A very common size in the Santal country is something like a fifth to

ruarŋme ale ʈenge, gitié ʈhái hõle emama nãhãk. Adøe ruar ʈgukedeá.

Ar ʈyupen khane metadeá, Ma ʈai dø ʈora duarre ʈolkaeme, ar am dø noa pinðate hijukme. Aði noa disom dø bõʈorgea.

Adø sarige ʈai dø ʈora duarre ʈolkadeá, ar ác dø pinðareye gitiçena. Ar aði ʈhari emanteak galmarateye bodhao akadeá. Ar ona tayom aði áʈ dudrumkedete khube ʈapitketa. Ona takre uni hõr dø uni ʈai rara ʈgukedete áçren ʈaiko tuluçe aderkadeá ʈore, ar áçren ʈai ʈiak oðokkedete onðeye ʈolkadeá.

Khan adø anɣayen khan, uni koʈa dø ʈaiye nelkedeá, áçren døe bañ kan. Adøe meneta, Henda ho, cedak ʈai døm bõdõ-ladiña?

Adø uni hõre rõr ruaradeá, Okor bañ, okareñ bõdõl akawatme? Amge çom ʈol akade. Bejãe in dø amren ʈai laɣit in reñgejok kan! Inren bam ñeletkotiña miʈ ʈora ʈai?

Arhõ uni koʈae rõr ruar ʈotadeá, Miʈ ʈora mañ ñeletkotamge, ar onko ma bañ kqeyetme; eken in dø inren in nam kana.

Khange adø onka onkate kaphariukin sardiketa. Khange adø ona atoren hõrko metatkina, Aloben kaphariuka. Bana hõrge hõr jarwajõnben, okeko abenren ʈaiko nel akatko. Ar uni koʈa hõko metadeá, Am hõ uni ʈai okarem nam akadeá, onko hõr bare ʈgukom. Adøko nenðaketa. Ar uni koʈa dø toyo ʈene senena, ar áçak sanam ðuke laiatkina.

Ar nenða din seteren khan, uni koʈa dø toyoe ʈgukedeá; banarge enɣa anðiakin heçena. Ar uni dosarié dø khub moʈa moʈa raj hõrkoe baniжетkoa, ar jõtõ hõr ʈakae ematkoa, jemõn áç setge sanam hõrko rõr. Khange adø saľisko duruþena.

an eighth of an acre. The tanks are generally individual undertakings, but are sometimes given over to public use. Some people wish, in such a way, to make themselves a name to be remembered, or to do something meritorious. Where the country is hilly, the water-storage is very often effected by damming up a sloping depression in the ground. The natural depression is enlarged, the excavated earth being thrown across the 'valley', to form an embankment. This kind is less expensive and is very common in the Santal country. It is called a band, which means an embankment. The Santali text has band here.

with us; we shall give you a place to sleep in." In this way he brought him back and to his house.

When night fell, he said to the boy: "Please tie your cow at the entrance of the cattle-shed, and you come up here to this verandah. It is a dangerous country here."

The boy then tied his cow at the entrance of the cattle-shed and himself lay down in the verandah. Talking to him for a long time about this that and the other, the man put the boy at his ease. Some time afterwards, the boy felt very drowsy and fell fast asleep. At that time the man untied the cow and put her into the cattle-shed together with his own cows; thereupon he led a cow of his own out and tied her where the boy's cow had been.

When it became morning, the young man saw that it was not his cow that was there, and said: "Look here, why have you exchanged cows for me?"

"Why, not at all," the man replied, "where have I made any exchange for you? You yourself have tied your cow here. I am, of course, awfully hungry for your cow, don't you think? Don't you see my cows, one cattle-shed full?"

"To be sure," the boy replied, "I see your cattle-shed full; but I am not asking you for those. I want only my own cow."

In this way they quarrelled violently, so the people of the village said to them: "Don't quarrel. Both of you call people together who have seen your cows." And to the boy they said: "You also bring those people from whom you have got this cow." Thereupon they fixed a time, and the boy went to the jackal and told him all his trouble.

When the day fixed came, the boy brought the jackal; they came both of them, the he- and the she-jackal. The other party brought big big people, landlords⁷ and such, and all of them he gave money, to make them all speak up for himself. So they sat down to arbitrate.

⁶ Preparatory to eating. A twig of the sal tree is used as a tooth-brush.

⁷ In Santali 'kings', see p. 33 note 3.

Ado khange uni toyo anđiaí ghpokettakoa, Ia ho bhala, aliñ bana horge haram buđhi reak bicar pahiltaliñpe. Bhala bana hor mittegelin jom nuýeta, ar tahē hō mittegelin tahenkana. Cekate in dō mit dhaogen iceta ar enga dō pe dhao?

Khange tho okoe hō ceñ hō bako ror ruar dareata. Ado khange engako kulikedeā, Cekate am dō pe dhaoem iceta ar anđia dō mit dhaoge?

Khange adō toyo engae laiako kana, bañma, Okoe beđhoromko bicara, onkoren sat gustire paraoka ona bar dhao reak ic dō; ar mit dhaoak ic dō anđiañ juriatae kana.

Khange ona katha anjomte bikcaro doko thar bhasaena, ar monē moneteko menwana, Ere nahakbon rorlere ma toyo ic abore paraoka. Onate ere bako ror dareata. Khange okoe orakreye gitielen tahēkan, uni hor dō rajko metadea, Okare gai pal dō menaka?

Khane laiatkoa, Phalna tapdireko atinetkoa.

Metadeako, Nonde agu ocokom.

Aguketkoako. Khangeko metafkina toyotekin haram buđhi, Ma endekhan abenben em akawade gai ma nel oromeben.

Khange toyo anđia dō unak gai talare boloyente uni gai bachao tokkedeteye tiak odonkedeā ar korae jimawadetaea. Khan onko bikcaro doko thakente apan apin orakteko ruar barayena. Ar toyo hō akinak dandertekin ruar calaena. Ar uni korā hō adpe calao idiyena oka seć acak disom menaka.

Mucařena.

5. Toyo ar hor korā reañ.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mittañ hore tahēkana, ar mittañ korā hōpone tahēkantaea, ar uni gidra dō huđingeye tahēkanre, engattet dōe goćena. Khange uni gidra dōe tuarena, apattet dōe ranđiyena. Khange uni hor dō ađi bhahnareye paraena: kamiae, seye daka

¹ This and the following story are the same as the preceding one, which is taken down by the woman mentioned at the end of the story. The language is that of a woman in some places. Nos 5 and 6 are both taken down by Sagram Murmu, but at different times, and from different people.

The he-jackal commenced: "I say, please first decide a case between us two, husband and wife. Both of us eat and drink together, and we stay together. How is it that I go to stool once daily and she thrice?"

No one of them could answer anything to this. Then they asked the she-jackal: "How is it that you go to stool thrice and your husband only once?"

Then the she-jackal said to them: "On those who pass unrighteous judgements, to their seventh generation the twice passed stools will fall; that of the third time I match with that of my husband's."

When the judges heard this, they were terror-struck and were saying to themselves: "If we now speak falsely, the jackal's stools will fall on us." Therefore they did not dare to speak falsely. The landlords then said to the man in whose house the boy had passed the night: "Where is your herd of cows?"

"They are grazing them on such and such a plain," he told them.

"Let them be brought here," they ordered him.

When they had been brought, they said to the two jackals: "Now then, see which cow you have given to the boy."

The he-jackal then ran in among all those cows, found the cow, led her out and gave her over to the boy. The arbitrators were amazed and went home, each one to his own house. The two jackals also returned to their cave, and the young man thereupon went away to where his own country was.

That is the end.

(Told by Saṅkhi Hṛṣḍak wife of Lothro Murmu, late of Mohulpahari.)

5. THE JACKAL AND THE SANTAL¹.

In the old times, people tell, there once was a man, who had a son. Whilst the child was still quite young, his mother died; the child became motherless and the father a widower. Great trouble befell him: should he do his ordinary work, or should

utuia, seye gupia, se gidraı jotoınea? Nonka adı moskil kamireye paraoena. Khange bhabnateye osokena.

Mit din do ac hopon gidraı metae kana, Ia babu, in hon gujukge con cel con, ente ban jut mouren aikaueta. Ia babu, in metam kana, judin goelen khan do, laıtu hor se naprak hor then bare am do gutikme, se onkan hor then bare am do gitieme.

Ona tayom khange sari uni apat hor hse goena. Khange uni gidraı doe tuaren khan doe awa tapayena. Ado kakattekoko idikedete onko thene hara juanena, ar sanam tij bostu se tij durib do onko-geko idi samtaokettaea, ar joto tij duribko hatao cabakeftaea, ar ondege joto maraoentaea.

Are juanen khan doko metae kana, Ia babu, orakre ho cel jomak banuktabona. De bankhan am do gutiktabonme, kisarle siriam.

Ado uni kora do cel ho bae rorleta, hape akangeye tahyena. Ado mone moneteıye bujhaı barajon kana, ado one apate metade tahkan, ona kathae disa namketa. Ado dosar hilok khange onko kakatteko then khon hse odokena, ado ac mongreıye menketa, Jahae naprak hor thengen gutika. Onka menkateıye odok calak kana.

Ado tin sangin ceı sen akan tahkan; khange mitan raj do palkire daharteko gok aguyede kane helketkoa. Ado menketa, Cele bhalako gok aguyede kana? Khange adoe kuliketkoa, Henda ho, celepe gok akadea?

Adoko metadea, Rajle gok akadea. Enka menkatege onko doko paromena.

Ado uni korae menketa, Nui kangeae laıtu hor do, tbe teronko gok akadea? Okoe tora nui thengen tahena; jaharege nuiıe calak, ontege in hon calaka. Ado onka menkate sari unigeyıe panjakadea, onko tayom tayomteıye calak kana.

² When a man dies and his children are not big enough to look after themselves, the brothers of the deceased are the natural guardians and take charge. The younger brothers — so here — most commonly act; a possible cause for this may be the relationship often found between a man and his hili, i. e. elder brother's wife.

he prepare food, should he herd his cattle, or should he nurse his child? In this way, he had fallen into the greatest difficulties, and he wasted away from sorrow and grief.

One day he said to his child: "Listen to me, my boy, I also am very likely going to die, I am feeling very unwell. Listen, my boy, I tell you this: if I should die, take service with big or important people, or pass the night with such people."

Some time after this the father also really died, and as the boy became an orphan, he became destitute. His uncle's family² then took him to themselves, and he grew up and reached manhood whilst with them. These people collected and took away all his property and all his goods and took possession of all he had, and there, with them, it was all utterly lost.

When he had grown into manhood, they said to him: "Look here, my boy, we have absolutely nothing to eat in the house. So you take service with somebody; we shall look out for a master for you."

The young man did not say a word, he remained silent and was thinking it over in his mind. Then he remembered what his father had said to him, and the next day he left the family of his uncle, saying to himself: "I shall take service with some big people." With this in his mind he was walking along.

When he had walked some distance, who knows how far it was, he caught sight of some people who were carrying a king in a palanquin along the road towards him. He said to himself: I wonder whom they are carrying along. When they met, he asked them: "I say, whom are you carrying?"

"We are carrying the king," they replied, and as they said this, they passed.

"This is likely a big man," the boy said; "therefore they are carrying him. I shall not wait a moment, I shall stay with him. Wherever he goes, there I shall also go." Having said this, he really commenced to follow him; he walked along behind those people.

Ado tin saŋgiñ coe pañja idiketko, khange adq onko gogokko laharege mittañ toyo aŋdiã dœe parom gofena. Khange uni raj dq uni toyoe ñelkede khan, gogokko se kahaŋko dœe metaŋkoa, Masę mit ghaŋi dohq ñõgeñpe. Khange saŋriko dohqokedeã; adq uni raj dq pałki se khurkhuŋi khone odokente uni toyo aŋdiã dœobokadeã.

Ado ona dœobok ñelte uni koŋa dq moŋe moŋeteye menjoñ kana, Ayo! nuige marañ hoŋ menkateñ pañja aguyede kana, arhõ nui dq uni toyoe dœobokae kana. Toŋe nui khon dq unigeye maraña, ona teŋõne dœobokadeã. Ac khon huđiŋgeye taheñ khan, hutęn qhœe dœoboklea. Onakoe buj baraketteye menkefa, Bañ, in dq laŋu hoŋ in pañjayeã. Ado onka menkate saŋi uni toyo aŋdiãgeye pañjakedeã.

Khange bhai, pañjae pañjakedeã se, jãhã man tãhãe pañjakedeã. Ar uni toyo dq ghaŋi hõ ghaŋiye beŋgeŋ ruŋeŋa, ar se uni hoŋ dq baŋgeye bagiae kana. Khange oka then dq uni toyo dœe daŋ ñõga, khange uni koŋa hõe daŋ idia; are ñel atkedeã menkhan ampa ompoe ñir calaka. Khange uni toyo dœe bujhaŋketa, Nui hoŋ dq ceŋ coñ in tuluç galmarao menaktaea. Khangeye taŋgikedeã, adœe metae kana, Henda beŋa, okatem calaka? Enañ khon in ñeleteŋmeã, in tayom tayomtem hijuk kana.

Ado uni koŋae menkefa, Am thenge, babañ calak kana; enteñ bađaeyefa dharti moŋtore dq am kangeam małik dq. Am thenge in dq gutiñ taheña; ente huđiñ huđiñ in tahękanre in ayo dœe gofena, unre in baba dœe metadiña, Iã baŋu, in bañ hilok dq haŋen am dq laŋu hoŋ se marañ hoŋ then baŋe gutikme ar onkan hoŋ then baŋe gitieme. Onate, baba, in dq amgeñ pañja aguyetmeã am then taheña meŋte.

Ado uni toyoe menkefa, Cekate am dom bađaekidiña in doñ marañgeã meŋte?

³ See p. 33, note 2.

⁴ Kahaŋ is the name of a Hindu low-caste man, one of whose occupations is to be a palanquin-bearer.

When he had followed after them for some distance, a male jackal suddenly passed the road in front of the carriers³. As soon as the king saw the jackal, he spoke to the carriers or palanquin-bearers⁴: "Put me down a moment." They put him down, and the king got out of the palanquin or litter and bowed deeply to the jackal.

When the young man saw that bow, he said to himself: "Oh mother⁵, thinking that this one was the big man, I have been following him, and now he himself bows to the jackal. It must be because this one is bigger than the other that he bowed to him. If the jackal was of less importance than himself, he would surely not bow to him." Having reached this conclusion he said: "No, I shall follow the big one." And, having said this, he started following the jackal.

If you believe it or not, he followed him; wherever he went, he followed after him. The jackal again and again looked backwards, but the man would not leave him alone. When the jackal here and there tried to run a little, the young man also ran along, and if he lost sight of him anywhere, he ran hurriedly here and there to find him. At last the jackal understood that the man had likely something he wanted to talk to him about. He therefore waited for him and spoke to him: "I say, my son, where are you going? I have seen you for a long while, you are coming after me."

"I am coming to you, father," the boy answered, "because I know, that in the whole world you are the master. I want to stay with you as your servant; when I was very young, my mother died, and then my father said to me: 'Listen, my boy, some day in future when I am no more, seek service with big or important people, and pass the night with such people. Therefore, father, I have been following you, in order to stay with you.'"

"How did you know me," the jackal asked him, "that I am the big one?"

Ado unreye menketa, In do nqtege maran hor then gutika mente orak khon in odok hijuk kan tahkana. Ado unreñ helkedea mitan raj do khurkhuriteko gok idiyede kan. Ado unreñ menketa, Nui kangae cele latu hor do. Ado onka menkate in do uni thenge gutika mente unigen panja aguyede kan tahkana. Ado un jokhenge am do uni laharem parom gotena; adq am nelte uni raj do khurkhuri khon argoyente ame do bokatmea, are menketa, In khon do nuigeye marana. Ado ona anjomkate in do monren bujhauketa, tobe dharti motore do unigeye marana mente. Onka bujhaukate in do amgen panja aguketmea am thenge guti tahena mente.

Ado uni toyo andiai menketa, Henda bacha, in ma cas bas ho banuktiñ, cefren kami ocomea? Ia bacha, ma ruarjohne, in do guti qhon dhoq darelema.

Ado uni korā do cef ho bae menleta. Khange uni toyo doe calaena. Khange uni korā ho panja idikedegea. Khange uni toyo do mitan danderreye boloyena. Khange uni korā ho ona dander duar then senkateye durupena, adq ondege adi habice durup akangea. Ar uni toyo do ghari gharigeye bengetae bengetae kangae. Ado adi habice durupen khan, enga toyo doe menketa, Nui hor do cef lagit nonde doe durup akana? Enan khone durup akan do. Se alān godlan lagitgeye durup akana, se amge cefem men akawadea?

Ado andiai menketa, Oko badae, ban badae kana.

Ado metadea, Cekte gndekhan am doe panja agu akatmea?

Ado unreye menketa, He, uni tulué thora thuri do katha menaka.

Ado menketa, Cef katha kana? Ma laianme.

Ado unreye menketa, Nui doe tuar gidra kana, adq alan thenge guti tahena menteye panja agu akadiña. Menetae, banma; Dharti motore toyogeko marana, toyo khon do celege bako marana. Onate

⁵ A very common exclamation to show surprise; if the most common Santal word for mother, go, or only the emphatic particle ge is added, it is also used to indicate pity and pain.

"I was coming from home," the boy replied, "in this direction, to seek service with some big person; then I caught sight of a king, whom they were carrying in a litter. Then I said to myself: This one is likely to be a big man. Thinking this, I was following after him, to take service with him. Just then you passed across the road in front of him, and, seeing you, the king came down from his litter and bowed to you and said: This one is bigger than myself. Hearing this, I understood that this one then is the biggest in the whole world. With this in my mind, I have been following you to be with you as your servant."

"Look her, my son," the jackal said, "I have no cultivation or farm-work⁶ of any kind, so how can I let you work at anything? I say, my son, please return home. I am unable to keep you as my servant."

The boy did not say a word, and the jackal went away. Then the boy again followed after the jackal, until the jackal entered a cave. The boy then went and sat down at the entrance of that cave, and there he remained sitting until late. The jackal again and again looked out at him, and as he remained sitting there until late, the she-jackal said: "What is this man sitting here for? He has been sitting here for a long while. Or perhaps he is sitting here to try to kill us, or has he said anything to you?"

"Who knows," the he-jackal said, "I don't know."

"How is it then," she asked, "that he has followed you here?"

"Well," he replied, "I have something, a very little, to do with him."

"What is it?" the she-jackal asked, "please tell me."

Then the jackal said: "He is an orphan boy and has followed me here to take service with us two. He says: In the whole world the jackals are the biggest; absolutely no one is bigger

⁶ It might be noted that other work than farm-work seems to be outside of possibilities. The Santals were formerly in the habit of working at whatever they could; even now there is no innate objection against any work; but under Hindu influence the Santals are becoming something like an agricultural caste; they feel this to be their natural and desirable occupation.

uni dō marañ hōr ðenge gutike mēnette in dōe pañja āgu a-kadiña.

Adō ēngae mēnketa, Cekateye badaeketa dhartire dō toyogeko maraña mēnte dō?

Adō aṅḍiāi mēnketa, Oka disomren raj cōñ palkiteko gōk idiyede tahēkana, unre in dō onko lahareñ parōmena, ar raj dō inē hēlkidiñ khan dō, onko palki gogōkkoe metatkoa, Mase miñ ghari dōhōlinpe. Adōko dōhōkedete palki khone oḍokente inē ḍōḍōkadiña. Un jōkhen nui gidrā dō onko tayōm tayōmteye hijuk kan tahēkana, unige marañ hōr bujhaukate ar uni ðenge gutika mēnteye mēñjōñ kan tahēkana. Adō uni raj dō inē ḍōḍōkadiñe hēlkede khan dōe mēnketa, Raj khon dō tōḅe nuigeye maraña, tōḅe tēḙñe ḍōḍōkadea, ar bañkhan dō hutēc ohoe ḍōḍōklea; tōḅe khan in dō nui ðengeñ gutika. Adō onka mēnkate oṅḍe khonge nui bapuriē gidrā dōe pañja āgu akadiña. Hōrre miñ dhao dōñ galmaraoadea, ēn kathae, Bābu, in dō cas bas hō bānuktiña; cefreñ kāmī ocomete in dō gutiñ dōhōmea? Ma jāhāe kisār bapē hēlkom. Adō unre cef hō bae rōr ruḙradiña. Khangeñ bagiadea, ar nīr adea mēnte āḍi āḍ in ḍarketa, mēnkhan nui dō rukhi pañjāe pañjakidiñte nōkōe alañ oraḱ hābiēce pañja āgukidiña. Adō dō bhala nui gidrā dō āḍi as mōnkateye hēcen dō, adō ceflañ metaea, cef kāmirelañ dōhōyea, sē ceflañ metaea?

Khange toyo ēnga dō ona kathae añjom puraukeftae khan dōe oḍokenteye kuliye de kana, Henda bābu, cef mēnkate nui ḍom pañja āgu akadea, sē cef lagatem hēc akana?

Adōe mēnketa, Aben ðenge gutika mēnteñ hēc akana.

Adōe metadea, Ālin ðhen dō kāmī bānukan, ceflin kāmī ocomea?

Adōe mēnketa, Jāhānakgeben kāmī ocoñ, onageñ kāmīa.

⁷ Note: the avoiding of using any kind of name.

⁸ Loṭa is a brass cup, wide at the bottom, with a narrow neck and fairly broad brim. It is a very common brass vessel of universal use for liquids, especially water for washing purposes. It is not originally a Santal household utensil. It is manufactured by Hindus. Within certain limits, the form varies considerably.

⁹ It is always an object with them to make sure that a gift is voluntary.

than the jackal. He is seeking service with some big people, therefore he has followed me here."

"How did he know," the she-jackal said, "that the jackals are the biggest in the world?"

The he-jackal then answered: "They were carrying the king of some country or other along in a palanquin; at that time I happened to cross the road in front of them, and when the king saw me, he said to the palanquin-bearers that they should put him down for a moment. They put him down, and he got out of the palanquin and bowed to me. At that time this boy was coming after them, because he had understood that he was the big man, and he intended to take service with him. When he saw that the king bowed to me, he said: Then this one is, of course, bigger than the king; therefore he bowed to him, otherwise he would certainly not have bowed; therefore I shall take service with this one. With this in his mind, this poor child has followed me right here. Whilst coming, I spoke to him once, saying to him these very words: "My boy, I have no cultivation or farm-work of any kind, so what kind of work can I give you, to keep you as my servant? Please find some one else to be your employer! At that time he did not answer a single word. Then I left him, and to put him off my tracks I came running very fast; but this boy tracked me everywhere all along and followed me, as you see, right here to our house. Well, this boy has come with great expectations, what shall we two say to him? in what kind of work can we keep him, or what shall we say to him?"

When the she-jackal had heard all this to the end, she went out and asked the boy: "Look here, boy, for what purpose have you followed this one⁷ here, or what have you come for?"

"To you I have come to be in your service," he replied.

"There is no work to be had with us," she said, "what can we let you do?"

"Whatever you give me to do," he replied, "that I shall do."

Adqe metadea, Ma calakme, alin then dq kamige banukan.

Enka menkate uni toyo ehga orakteye boloyena se ona dander-teye boloyena, adq enre ho uni koqa dq ondegeye durup akangea, bae beret kana. Adq dher dhabic hoeyen khan, unkin toyo dq bana horkin menketa, Nui gidra dq jahanak balañ emae khan dq qhqe uthaulena. Ma jahanaklan emaea. Adq mittan gaiye tahkantakina; adokin menketa, Ma nui gaigelan em daporaea.

Adq sari uni gainin udukadea arkin metadea, Ma babu, nui gailin emam kana, idijonme. Gutu dq balin dhogetmea, arlin lajam kana, nui gairege jotoak menaka, jegem khoje, onageye emama, metakme, thari bati, lota, taben khajari, mithai, kicric khaquak, caole, bulun sunum, mosola, se jotoakgeye emama. Arho jom nu barakate metaeme, ma baekam mente, adqe baekatama.

Adq onkakin metade khan, uni dq adi raskakateye beret gotente-ye menketa, Acha baba, khusiteben eman kan khan dqñ hataoea.

Adokin menketa, Khusitegeliñ emam kana.

Khange adq uni gaiye laga aguyede kana. Adq hijuk hijukte belayen khan dq, dak tetanede kana ar rengecede kana. Adqe menketa, Okare ban dak in nam? Bhala nui gaiyin qoe gelakea, sari se naseye emoka mente. Adq khange dadiye nel namketa; adq ona dadi-thene calaen khan dq, mittan maejiu dak lo ondegeye hgcena. Adq un johenge uni koqa dq gaiye metae kana, Den ayo, thari bati ar jol pan emanme. Khange uni maejiu dq tan mane hghol kana. Adq sari thari ar batiye emadea ar jol pan, noako jotoqe moca khone ula odokadea. Arho jom barakateye metadea, Ma ayo, baekakme. Adq sari ona thari ar bati dqe utketa.

¹⁰ Addressing as 'mother' shows honour and respect and endearment. The term is frequently used to females with whom no relationship is established, even to girls very much younger than oneself. It may be that this has come in from the Bengalis. Some of the Santal religious sects that have shown themselves sporadically since about 1874 have adopted this form of addressing all females. Our way of addressing children might be compared.

"Please go," she said, "there is no work to be had with us."

Having said this the she-jackal entered the house, or rather, she entered the cave. Still the boy remained sitting there; he did not get up. When a long time had passed, the jackals, both of them, said: "If we do not give this child something, he will surely not move from here. Let us give him something." Now they had a cow, so they said: "Let us give him this cow and have done with him."

Thereupon they showed him that cow and said to him: "Well, my boy, we are giving you this cow; take her along with you. We cannot keep you as a servant, but we tell you this, everything is to be found in this cow; whatever you ask her for, she will give you, that is to say, brass plates and cups and lotas⁸, taben and khajari, sweets, clothes, rice, salt, oil, spices, in short, everything. Again when you have had your food and drink, tell her to put it away for you; and she will do so."

When they had said this to him, he got up very glad and happy and said: "Very well, father, since you are giving me this with pleasure⁹, I shall take her."

"We give her to you with pleasure," they both said.

Thereupon he started driving the cow away. As he was going along and it became late in the afternoon, he felt thirsty and hungry, and said: "Wherever shall I find water? I wonder, I might try to ask this cow whether she really will give or not." He thereupon caught sight of a water-pool; when he went down to that, a woman came there to fetch water. Just at that moment the boy said to the cow: "Please, mother¹⁰, give me a plate and a cup and some light refreshments." The woman was looking on, all she could, and, in very truth, the cow gave him a plate and a cup and some light refreshments; all this she brought out of her mouth. When he had eaten, he again said to her: "Please, mother, put it away." And then, in very truth, she swallowed the plate and the cup.

Adq enkae ñellede khange uni maejiu dq dake lokette hare phare orakte senente adren herel noako joto kathae laideea are metadea, Mase uni gai dq jahã lekatelañ eroyegea. Khange sari phorpundikin joraoketa uni gai eroye lagit. Khange uni herel hor dq hare phare calaoente uni korae sen tiokkedeaa; adqe metadea, Den babu, cun thamakur emokme, jomletamgealañ. Ar nui gai dq okatem idiyea?

Adqe menketa, Hana phalna atote.

Arhoe metadea, Oka khonem aguyede kana?

Hana phalna ato khon.

Arhoe kuliyede kana, Henda babum kiring aguyede kana se orakren gai kangetamae?

Adqe menketa, Orakreng; ondeye tahékana, adon agu ruarede kana.

Adq henda babu, nui gai dom akriñkea?

Adqe menketa, Bañ, nui gai dq qhon akriñlea.

Khange adq uni hore menketa, Henda babu, teheñge nahãk orak dom tioga se qhom tioklea?

Adqe menketa, Teheñ dq qhon tiok darelea, gapa dq nahãk in tioggea ayup sumunkote dq, ar bankhan meañ dq nahãk adiren tioga.

Adq babu, teheñ dq okarem gitica?

Adqe menketa, Jahãrege ayubok, ondegen gitica.

Adqe metadea, Pera jahãn noakore menakkotama?

Adqe menketa, Pera dq banukkotiña.

Adqe metadea, Ia babu, tobe khan dq dela ale ñenge teheñ dq gitic angakme; jom nu hõle emama ar nui gai lagit jom hõle emama, cedak ente eskargeñ ñeletmeteñ metam kana.

¹ The Santal way of using tobacco is, as follows; a bit of a tobacco leaf and some unslaked mussel lime is put in the hollow of the hand and thoroughly mixed by grinding the stuff with the thumb or the end of a stick. A small pinch of the powder is then thrown into the mouth and chewed, the stuff being ultimately spat out. People meeting each other, strangers or not, will stop up and ask for tobacco, the one asking being quite prepared to give. It really means an

When the woman had seen all this, she drew water, hurried back home and told her husband all she had seen, saying to him: "This cow we must somehow or other cheat him for." So they concocted some stratagem for doing this, and the man went hurriedly and overtook the boy and said to him: "Please, my boy, give lime and tobacco" and let us taste what you have. Where are you taking this cow?"

"To such and such a village," the boy replied.

"From where are you bringing her?" the man again asked him.

"From such and such a village."

"I say, my boy," the man again asked, "have you bought the cow, or is she a cow from your own house?"

"She is from our house," the boy replied; "she was there, and I am taking her back again."

"Look here, my boy, would you be willing to sell this cow?"

"No," the boy replied, "I am not selling this cow at all."

Then the man said: "Look here, my boy, will you be able to reach home to-day now, or will you not?"

"To-day," he replied, "I shall not be able to reach home, to-morrow I shall arrive there at nightfall, or else I shall be home the day after to-morrow very early."

"Where are you going to pass the night then, my boy?"

"Wherever I may be at nightfall, there I shall pass the night," he said.

"Have you relatives or friends of any kind hereabouts?" the man asked him.

"I have no friends," the boy replied.

"I say, my boy," the man said to him, "in that case, come along and pass the night with us. We shall give you food and drink, we shall also give you food for this cow of yours. I say this to you, because I see you are alone."

invitation to stop and have a talk. If anybody refuses, it means either that the person is in a great hurry or that he is unwilling to talk with the other party. It is, of course, only men who practise this.

Adqe mēnketa, Okq baḍae, baḅḅo nōḅḅēn taḅēn, baḅḅo atra dhur in sēn nōḅḅōk.

Adqe metadea, Ancinre ḍerak dō ber taḅēnregeko ḍeraka, ar ber ḥasurkate ḍerak dō baḅ besa. Ar ḥēlme, am dō ḡai menaetama, jāḥā atore ḥuhumkatem rakaḅlen khan dō kombro ḥōko mēn ḍareama, ar nui ḡai ḥō miḥ lagate dō tinḥkem idiyea? Uni ḥō thora dō bam jiraḅ nōḅḅea? Inḅ ḍqe aḥin baḗajoḅa.

Adq onka ḗḍi leka najere udukadea. Ar ḗḍi lekae galmaraoade khan dō mōne laḅitkettaea. Khane mēnketa, Acha ḅḅḍekhan delaḅ am oraḅrege teḅēn ḍḅn ḡitiḅ aḅḡalenge.

Adq onkae mēnket khan ḍqe ḗyur idikedea aḅ oraḅte. Adq seḥer torage ḗimaitēḥ ḍqe mēn ḡḍadea, ḍḅn ḥare phare busuḅ ḗḡu ḡḍme, nui ḡaiye jōma becara, tin khon ḅḅn reḅḅḅetegeye laga ḗḡuyede kana.

Khange uni ḗimḗi dō busuḅ ḥḅḅor ḗḡu ḡḍketa; adq unre uni koḗa dō uni ḗimḗiye ḥēl oromkedea, ḍak ḡhaḥre jōl pan in jōm jōkḅēn dō nui maējiugeye taḅḅkana mēnte. Unre nui ḍqe ḥēlliḍiḅa, dhorage nui ḡai ḍḅḅin ḅḅḅn ḅḅn ḅḅn. Ona dō mōḅregeye mēnwana.

Adq uni herel ḥḅḅe mēnketa, Ma baḅu, ona ḡḅḅare tōlkaeme.

Adq ḡari uniak ḡḅḅareye tōlkadete busuḅḅe emadea, ḍakḅko emadea, adq inḅḅtege ḗyupena. Adq kedok ḡḅḅḅe hoeyen khan dō, kedokḅko isinketa, adq uni ḥḅḅe mēnketa, Nui peḗa ḡidra ḥō kedok ḍisḗyepē. Adq noa kathage uni ḥḅḅ dō phenteye roḗketa, baḅma, Usul buru rakaḅ tḗruḅ dharna buru siloda ḥo?

Adq ḗimaitēḥ ḍqe utḗr ruḗḗ ḡḍketa, Hoi, hoi! ḍamḥā khon dumḥēte ḍḅn ḗḡḅo akata.

Adqe lo baḗaket khan, herel ḥḅḅ dō oraḅteye bōḅḅyente aḅ riniḅḅe metae kana, ḗliḅ dō daka emaliḅme; ḗliḅ dakaliḅ joḅḅo jōkḅḅenge

¹² The two enigmatic sentences refer in a veiled way to the food. It is ready.

¹³ Directly from the cooking pot to the plate or cup.

¹⁴ Before eating water is always given, and they go aside and wash their hands.

The same is repeated after food, but not so carefully.

"Who knows," the boy replied, "whether I should remain here or walk on halfway?"

"To camp where you are unknown," the man said, "may do whilst the sun is up; after sunset, it is not safe to camp in that way. Remember also, you have a cow. If you, after it has become dusk, enter a village, they might call you a thief, and how can you drive this cow along without stopping? Ought you not to let her rest a little also? Then she will be able to graze a little also."

The man tried to persuade him in this way by mentioning several things, and when he had mentioned a great many considerations, he softened him, so he said: "Very well then, come, let me pass the night in your house to-night."

As he said this, the man led him along to his own house; when they reached there, the man at once spoke to his wife: "Do bring some straw quickly, let this cow get something to eat, poor animal; he has been driving her along since who knows when, without her getting any food."

The woman then brought some straw in her arms, and the boy recognized the woman: "It was this same woman who was at the watering-place, when I asked the cow for light refreshments. Then she saw me; surely, now they will cheat me for this cow, it seems." He said this to himself.

"Well, my boy," the man said to him, "tie your cow in the cowshed."

He did so, tied the cow there, gave her straw and gave her water, and during this it became evening. When the time for supper came, they prepared this; the man said; "Remember this young visitor also with supper." Thereupon the man spoke these words allegorically: "The leopard that ascended the high mountain, is he kept a prisoner, the huge mountain beast?"

And the woman at once answered: "Yes, yes, from the gorge I have brought it down to the foot of the hill¹²."

When she had poured out¹³ the food, the husband went into the house and said to his wife: "Give us two food; whilst we

am dō gorate bōlō godokte nuiren gāi dō rarakaeme, ar uni gāi lekaniōge aboren gāi ona babertege uni gāiye tōl akade t̄henge am dō hare phare tōl hōtkaeme, ar nonde ođok hijukme.

Adō sari dakae lo gotkette dake tañatkina are metatkina, Abukokben, kedokbon jomlege.

Adō sari uni herel hōr dō bañi dake sap gotkettēye menketa, Ma bābu lañ abukoķa, kedokbo jom barawanrege.

Adōe menketa, Ma amge jomme.

Adōe metadea, Bañ bābu, ma bana hōrgelañ jōma.

Adō uni korae menketa, Dēn oñdekhān in dō noterege aḡuañpe.

Adō uni hōre menketa, Oṛakregelañ jōma. Hē, oṛak bañ tañen khañ, niakore hō jutokgea; adō oṛak menak tuluc notere dō cedak? Hē, pōr jātem tañen khañ, noteregele emkema, menkhañ geāt kantem oṛaktele aderetmea.

Khañge onkae metade khañ, abukente oṛaktekin bōlōyena. Adō dakae em barawatkinde uni aimañ dōe ođokente oñeye metade lekaketae. Adō dakakin jomkef khañkin ođokena, adō abuk barakate cun thamakure emadea; benaokettekin jom baraketa. Adōe metae kana, Iā bābu, ma gāi dō rara ođokete notere barē tōletam, rōk bōtōcketamako.

Adō sari rara ođokkedete gōra duarreye tōlkadetaea, ar hūt iate bae nēl t̄hikledea. Adō gitiē angayente piāñ payañ jōkhēne lagakedeā, adō gñre hō bae nēl oromedeā. Adō rēñgeckede khañ, dak ghañ t̄hene idikedeteye koeyē kana, Dēn ayo, thāri bañi emañme. Adō bae emae kana. Adō bar pō dhaoe kōekedere hō bae emade khañ dōe bujhañketa, nui gāi dōe bañ kana mēnte, gāi dō oñdegeko bōdōladiña.

¹⁵ Here not the godet, but a person called 'chowkedar', a kind of village constable, who is supposed to walk through the village several times each night, calling out in a loud voice, as he walks along. The idea is to ascertain whether people are at home, and to warn against thieves. There is one chowkedar to each village, or if the village is very small, one to two or even three neighbouring villages. They are paid from certain taxes, and are appointed by the local magistrate. Here the chowkedar is brought in to give an official colouring to the house-search. Ordinary people have no right to such extremes.

are eating, you go to the cattle-shed and untie his cow; then be quick and tie with the same string and where he has tied his cow one of ours, looking like that cow, and then come out here."

She did so. When she had poured out the food, she brought them water and said to them: "Please wash your hands, we shall have supper at once."

The man then took a bowl with water and said: "Please, my friend, let us wash our hands; we shall now have supper before anything else."

"Please, eat yourself," the boy said.

"No, my friend," the man said, "we shall both of us eat together."

"Please then," the boy said, "bring it to me somewhere here."

But the man said: "We shall eat inside. Well, if we had no house, it would do also hereabouts; but when we have a house, why hereabouts? Yes, if you had been of another race, we should have let you have it hereabouts; but as you are the same as ourselves, we are taking you into the house."

When he had spoken to him thus, they washed¹⁴ and went inside, and the woman put food before them, whereupon she went out and did as the man had told her. When the two had had their meal, they went out and washed their hands, and he gave him lime and tobacco. When he had prepared this, they chewed, whereupon he said to the boy: "I say, my friend, untie your cow and bring her out and tie her somewhere here; the others might but and gore your one."

Then he really did this. He untied her, brought her out, and tied her at the entrance to the cow-shed; but as it was dark, he did not see the cow properly. He slept till dawn, and at daybreak he drove the cow away with him; still he did not recognize her, that it was not his own. When he felt hungry, he took her down to a watering-place and asked her: "Please, mother, give me a plate and a bowl." But she did not give him. As she, although he asked her two three times, did not give him anything, he understood that this one was not his own cow, but that they had exchanged cows for him there.

Khange uni koṛa dṛ ṇḍḍe khonge uni ḡai dṛe laga ruṛkedete, ṇḡeye gitiḍen ona atotegeye laga ḡgukedete ona atoren hoṛe jarwaketkoa. Adṛ jarwakateko kulikedeā, Cele baḡbu, ceḡ ḡḡifem jarwaketlea?

Adṛ unreye meṇketa, Iḡ baba, iṇ dṛ phalna ato khon miṭṭaṇ ḡai iṇ ḡgujoṇ kan taḡḡkana, adṛ nindḡyente noa oṛakreṇ gitiḍ kana. Adṛ daka joṃko aderkidiṇa, unreye ḡai dṛko boḡḡladiṇa; eṭak ḡai iṇiṇ ṭṭlede ṭṭen dṛko ṭṭkadeā. Meṇkhan iṇren ḡaire dṛ miṭ leka gun menakṭaeā, ṭṭari baṭi koele khan dṛe emāṅeā. Adṛ nui ḡai iṇ koṛe kana, adṛ bae emāṇ kana; onareṇ baḡaeketa, nui ḡai dṛe baṇ kantiṇa meṇte. Adṛ iṇ eskarte koṛeyere ma paṣete pheṛṛayīṇ, onate adṛ ape ato hoṛ dṛṇ rak akawaṭṭeā. Adṛ ṇḡ oromkate ḡaiye eṃkaetiṇ ma. Inḡe katha dṛ.

Khange ato hoṛ uniko kulikedeā, Cele ho phalna, maṣe ḡḡime, nui koṛae ḡaiket, ona katha dṛ ṣari ṣe nase kana?

Khange uni hoṛ dṛ pheṛṛae eḡoṛketa, ḡḡi lekae roṛ idiketa; meṇkhan ato hoṛ ona katha dṛ bako ṣeṇ ocaṭṭaeā, metadeako, Nui baṛuriḍ gidṛa alom poṣṛayeā; eṇte ale dṛ atoren hoṛ kanale, nui ḡaile ṇḡ oromedetama; nui mae amren kan, gidṛa pidṛa joṭṭo hoṛ geko ṇḡ akadetama; aṇari ḡai ma judḡeko ṇḡeloḡ.

Adṛ uni hoṛe meṇketa, Ma eṇte iṇren ḡai palre ṇḡkope, judi aṇari ḡaipe ṇamketkoa meṇkhan, ṣajaiyiṇpe.

Adṛ ṣari uniren ḡai palteko calaena; adṛ bako ṇamledeā. Adṛ maṇjhi hoṛe meṇketa, Judi nuiren ḡaile ṇamkedeā meṇkhan, tiṇkem eṃḡka?

Adṛ uni hoṛe meṇketa, ṇamle khanpe, ḡḡ ṭakaṇ eṃḡka, ar baṛe ṇamle khan dṛ, nui gidṛa tire menae ḡai iṇ hataoeā.

Adṛko meṇketa, Hḡ, hataoem.

Adṛ maṇjhiye meṇketa, Do ṣe ḡhor tolasitaṛe.

⁶ Every Santal house in which the head of the family lives has a bhitar. This is part of the otherwise one-roomed house, in one corner, separated from the rest of the room by a low wall, which runs out from the side-wall and some two to three meters into the compartment. It is a kind of stall, and is sacred to the ancestors. Here food &c., only a very little, is put for the ancestors.

The boy then drove the cow back from there, brought her to the village where he had slept, and called the people of that village together. When they had come together, they asked the boy: "Well, young man, for what purpose have you called us together?"

Then he said: "Well, sirs, I was bringing a cow with me from such and such a village, and as I was benighted, I passed the night here in this house. They took me inside to give me food, and just at that moment they exchanged my cow. They tied another cow where I had tied mine. Now my cow has a certain quality: when I ask her for plates and bowls, she gives me that. But when I ask this one, she does not give me anything. Thereby I understood that this cow is not mine. If I myself alone ask him, perhaps he might be obstinate towards me; therefore I have complained to you village people. Let him find out my cow and give her to me. That is my case."

The village people then asked the man: "Well, so and so, please tell, what this boy has now told, is that true or false?"

Then that man commenced to use falsehood and talked a good deal; but the village people would not let his word pass for good and said to him: "Don't treat this poor child in such an over-bearing way. We belong to this village, and we recognize this cow of yours. This one is your cow, that children and grown ups, in fact all people have seen. Strange cows look otherwise."

"Well then," the man said, "look over my cows in my herd; if you find any strange cow there, punish me."

Then they went to the cow-herd of this man and did not find a strange one. The village headman then said: "If we should find this boy's cow, how much will you give?"

"If you find her," the man replied, "I shall give ten rupees, and if you don't find her, I shall take the cow which is in the hands of this boy."

"Yes," they said, "take her."

The headman then said: "Do, search his house."

Khange sari caukidar lagaete orakteko bəloyen khan dɔ, bhitarre gai dɔtɔl akadeko namkedeae. Adɔ uni gidrāko metadeae, Cele bəbu, nui kantamae?

Adɔe mənkefa, H̄g, nui kangeae.

Tɔbɛ ma idiyetam.

Adɔe idikedeae, ar uni hoɣ dɔ gəl ʔakako ɔaɔɔmkedeae.

Adɔ ɛnɛ cabayena katha dɔ, in maraŋgea.

6. T o y o a r r a j h o p o n r e a n .

Sedae jugre, kathae, miʔtaŋ raje tah̄k kana; uni rajren dɔ miʔtaŋ koɣa hoɔn eskargeye tah̄kantaeae, ardɔ cele h̄o bako tah̄kantaeae.

Adɔ taheŋ tahente, bhai, cekakote coŋ adɔ uni raj dɔe reŋgece-ena, adɔ nunak ʔte reŋgeceŋa, ceʔ baŋ se, koɛ baɣae lekenae, ar uni koɣa gidrā h̄o meɣom gupi leke harayena.

Adɔ uni raj dɔ ac hoɔntɛʔ miʔ din dɔe sikhaukedeae seye galmaraoae kana, la bəbu, amgeŋ galmaraoam kana, nōkkoebon reŋgec cabayena; sedae dɔ aɔi baɣic cij tah̄kantabona, ar disom h̄o tah̄kangetabona, gai kaɔa h̄oko tah̄kangea. Adɔ nōkkoɛ ceʔre coŋ cekayente sanam dhon durib cabayentabona; adɔ am rean nitok dɔ aɔi bhabnaliŋ aɣkaueʔa. Sedae dɔ aɔi baɣic toa daheliŋ jomkefa, adɔ am bidal dɔ ceʔ h̄o baŋ juʔauk kana, onate aɔi bhabnaliŋ aɣkaueʔa. Adɔ bəbu, am in lai oʔoam kana, noa dhartire dɔ aɔi baɣic raj menakkoa, raj cetan raj menakkoa. Nitok dɔ in hoŋ harameŋa ar engam h̄oe buɔhiyena; aliŋ dɔ pase oka hilok coŋliŋ gujuk. Am dɔ haprak raj then baɣe hapen hirlajoŋme aliŋ baŋ hilok dɔ.

Adɔ orākre ceʔ upai h̄o bako aɣkaueʔte uni koɣa gidrā dɔ miʔtaŋ raj thenkin gutikadeae; adɔ uni gidrā dɔ meɣom gupiko

No stranger is permitted inside this stall. A married daughter of the house, who in her girl days might go in there, is frequently not permitted inside. She now belongs to another family and might cause religious pollution.

Then they together with the village watchman¹⁵ entered the house and found the cow tied in the *bhitar*¹⁶, the inner apartment reserved for the ancestors. They asked the boy: "Well, young man, how is it, is this your cow?"

"Yes," he replied, "it is this one."

"Well then, take your cow with you."

So he went away with his cow, and they fined that man ten rupees.

So there this story is at an end. It is thus much.

6. THE JACKAL AND THE PRINCE.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, there was a king, and this king had a son, an only one, and besides him he had no children.

Well, my dear fellow, as time passed, this king somehow or other became poor, he grew so poor, you can scarcely believe it, he became such as to go round and beg, and his son grew up to be fit to be a goat-herd.

One day the king gave his son some advice, that is, he talked to him: "Listen, my son, I am speaking to you; you see, we have grown poor. Formerly we had any amount of property; we had a kingdom¹, we had also cows and buffaloes. But now, however it has come to pass, all our wealth and goods have come to an end, and we are much concerned about you. Formerly we were having any amount of milk and curds; but in your time nothing at all comes into our hands; and we are feeling very dejected. Now, my son, I tell you this, before I leave you: in this world there is a tremendous number of kings, there are kings upon kings. Now I have become an old man, and your mother also is an old woman; we shall likely die some day, sooner or later. The day when we are no more, seek protection with some big king.

As they did not see any means of help at home, they let their boy take service with a king², where they set him to herd

dhurakudea, adq uni gidra dq ondegeye tahgyena. Adq jom nu, kicric, jotogeko emaea, ar bchcr purakate dq bar taka dorma-hako emaea; nonkate uni gidra dqe asulok kan tahskana.

Adq taheh tahente, kathae, uni gidraren apattet dqe goena. Khange uni engat budhi dq adi barice rak baraea. Adq uni gidra korae menketa, la raj, apuhe goena, adi uni reak in kaj korom lagit rinte thora thuri taka emanme.

Adq uni raje menketa, Em man emange, adq cekatem halaina?

Adq uni korae menketa, Ona taka surin halaetam dhabic am bare khataoinme.

Adq raj ho, kathae, uniak rre anjomkettaea, adq moro taka emadea. Adq uni gidrai menketa, Noate dq oka ho qh qho hoelena, arho moro taka emanme, ar bankhan moro taka reak caole bare emanme.

Adq sari moro taka reak caolegeye emadea. Adq onako idikate perae notaketkoa, adq pera jarwakateko kaj koromketa. Adq jom nu barakate onko pera dqe bida gotkatkoa. Adq arho uni korae dq uni kisar thengeye calaena.

Arho dapor akat ina moro turui mahā tayom khange uni engattet hōe goena. Adq arho ona katha uni acren kisare laideaa, are metadea, Den arho rinte taka emanme.

Adq uni kisare menketa, E ya, rinte adim tenok kana; ne bar takan emam kana; ma niate bare kajkame.

Adq uni korae menketa, Baṅa, raj, tinakre hon jahānre ho, pahil unak bare emanme; ban hala dareaktam khan, jivet bhor am thengen tahena, enre hom emangea.

¹ See p. 33, note 3. The Santal text has 'land', here meaning something belonging to a king or landlord.

² See the same note p. 33.

³ Servants wages have been: food and clothes (two sets) and one rupee per year. Now-a-days they are raised to something more, four or five rupees, or other arrangements are made.

goats, and the boy stayed on there. They gave him his food and drink and clothes, in fact everything, and when a year was past, they gave him two rupees in wages³. In this way this child was maintaining himself.

In the course of time the father of the boy died, and his old mother was crying very much. The boy then said: "I say, king, my father has died; as I have much to perform on his behalf⁴, please lend me a few rupees."

"I will certainly give you," the king replied; "but how are you going to pay me back?"

"Keep me in your service," the boy said, "until I pay you the money back."

The king listened to him and gave him five rupees; but the boy said: "With this nothing can be done; give me five rupees more, or else give me five rupees worth of rice."

So he gave him five rupees worth of rice; and, taking it all with him, the boy went and invited his friends and relatives, and when these had come together, he performed the usual ceremonies. When the friends had feasted, he bade farewell to them, and again returned to his employer.

Then, what a pity it was, some five or six days afterwards his mother also died. He again told his employer this, and said to him: "Please, lend me some rupees more."

His employer said: "Well, my lad, you are much burdened by debt; look, I am giving you two rupees; do what you have to do with this."

"No, king," the boy replied, "however much it may be and whatever may happen to me, please give me as much as the first time. If I cannot repay you, I shall stay with you my whole life; still you must give me."

⁴ The Santals have also a number of ceremonies to perform in connexion with death, the last among these being what is called *bhaṅḡan*, performed after some of the bones of the cremated body have been thrown into the Damuda river.

Ado bhāi, ādiye neḥōren khane emadea; ado jotōre kūrī ṭakae hiṣābadea are ḡl dōḥōkafa. Ado ona tayom uni rajren hōpōntētko aṅjōmketa, nui mērom gupi koṛa isi ṭaka rine emadea mente. Khange apattētko ruḥēṭ barakadea. Ado uni apattēte mēnketa, Acha cekaeam adōn emade khan?

Ar uni rajren dō eae goṭaṅ koṛa hōpōnko tahēkantaēa, ado onkoge onka dōko metae kana. Arko mēneta, Cēṭ ḥēlṭe unāk ṭaka dōm emadea? Uni dō cēṭte ona ṭaka dōe halaea? Uni dō abo ṭhene lade akana, arḥō rinem emae kana? Ado raj dō inā kathage arḥōe mēneta, Acha nit dō idi ocoae ma; hapen jāhā hiloḗe halaea.

Ado sari uni koṛa dōe idikette ēngat reaḗe kaj koṛōmketa. Arḥō ruārḗate uni koṛa dō uni kisār ṭhengeye tahēyena.

Ado taḥēn taḥēnte uni koṛa dō onko raj hōpōn koṛa dingeko aṛisea, ona ṭaka reakgeko dhiraēua. Khange uni koṛa gidra dō ḡṅē 'apate metadē tahēkan, ona kathae disaketa, baṅma, Noa dhartire dō āḍi utar raj menakkoa, raj cetan rajge menakkoa. Nonka khijlāute dō noko ṭhen dō ḡḥōn tahē daṛelena. Ōkōe tora nōṅḍē khon dōn daṛa.

Ado onka mēnkate uni koṛa dō ḡṅḍe khone daṛketa, adōe mēnketa, Jāhārege dharti mōṭōren maraṅ raj in ṅamkoa, onko ṭhengeṅ taḥēna. Ado onkae hudis idiyeta are calao idik kana.

Ado calak calakṭe, kathae, raj bariatḗe ṅamketḗe, baḥuko idiyede kan. Adōe kulikeḗe, Henda ho, okaren bariatḗe kanape?

Adoko lajadea, baṅma, Phalnaren raj kanae; baḥu aḡule ṣenlena; hōpōntēṭ koṛa laḡit baḥule aḡuyede kana, ar ḥaniaṅ ḥaram raj dō lahareko ḡōk akadea khurḗhure.

⁵ Marriages are as grand as possible, and a large body of men start from the bridegroom's house to attend the marriage ceremony and bring the bride back. These here are on their way back and are evidently Hindus.

⁶ See p. 32, note 1. There are several shapes, the one here referred to is called *khurḗhure*. These have a bottom hanging from a long pole, which is curved like a dromedary's back, with a cloth-covering hanging down over the litter on both sides from the pole.

As he implored him very much, he let him have it; he made an account with him for altogether twenty rupees, and wrote it down. Shortly afterwards the king's sons heard that their father had lent twenty rupees to this goat-herd boy, and scolded him on that account. The father only said: "Well, what will you do, since I gave it to him?"

This king had seven sons, and it was they who spoke thus. They said: "What did you see that you gave him so many rupees? What has he to enable him to repay the money? He has been thrown upon us, a burden; on the top of that, you are lending him money?" The king again replied in the same way: "Well, let him have it now; some day in future he will pay it back."

The boy went away with the money and performed the proper ceremonies for his mother, and having come back again, he stayed on with his employer.

As the days passed, those princes worried the boy every day and used threats towards him in connexion with this money. Then the boy remembered the words his father had spoken to him, namely: "In this world there is a tremendous number of kings; there are kings upon kings. When they are tormenting me in this way, I shall certainly not be able to stay. I shall run away from here this instant."

With this in his mind, the boy ran away from there. "Somewhere I shall find the biggest kings on earth and shall stay with them," saying this to himself, he went along.

As he was walking along, he met with a royal bridal procession⁵; they were carrying the bride along. "I say," he spoke to them, "wherefrom are you with this bride?"

"She belongs to such and such a king," they told him; "we went to bring the bride; we are bringing a bride for his son. Look there in the distance in front of us they are carrying the old king in a litter⁶."

Ado uni koṛa dōe mēnketa, Okōe tora ih hō nui rajgeñ pañja idiyea, paseṛe nui kange marañ raj dō. Ado onka hudiskate uni koṛa dō uni raj tayom tayomtegeye pañja idiyefkoa.

Ado un jōkheṅge, kathae, eṅga toyo dō onko lahareye nīr paṛom gofena. Ado khangē uni haṛam raj dō khurkhuṛi khon oḍokkate uni eṅga toyogeye salamadea. Ado uni koṛa dō onae ṅelkede khane mēnketa, Nui toyogeye maraña; judi nui raj marañ taḅen khan, uni toyo dō oḥe salamlea. Ado onka bujḅau baṛakate uni koṛa dō raj baṛiatko baḡikate uni toyogeye pañjakedea; jāhā seṅge uni toyoe calak, oṅtege uni koṛa hōe calak kana, uni toyogeye pañja baṛaye kana.

Ar se uni toyo dōe hoṇon akafkote hoṇon laḡif jomak sendrae seṅlena. Ado uni koṛae pañja baṛayedete okare hō bae at daṛeata. Uni toyo dō meṛomko se jāhānko uni koṛa bōṛte bae at daṛeata. Ado aṛisen khan, danderteye ruṛ calaena. Khangē hoṇonko dō keyon meṛonko rak daramadea. Ado uni eṅga toyo dō haṛamteṛe laṛiae kana, baṅma, Teheñ dō miṭṭan manwa goṛa ṭaṇḍiye pañja baṛayedina; jāhā seṅgeñ calak, oṅtegeye pañjayedin kana. Onate teheñ dō okare hō bañ at daṛeata, eḡeṅgeñ ruṛ heḡena. Inḡeye khudaḅu baṛañ lekañ aikaukette bañ goḡleṛkoa, ar uni manwa dō noṇḡe haḅiḡe pañja aḡukidina.

Ado uni aṇḍiaḡ toyoe mēnketa, Ado oka seṅ uni manwa dōe calaena?

Ado mēnketa, Hoṅteṛegeñ ṅel oḡokadea, ado oka seṅen coṅ.

Ado uni aṇḍiaḡ mēnketa, Do se ṅellem, bhalaē oka seṅena.

Ado saṛi oḍok ṅōkkateye ṅelkede dō, dander duṛreṛe japak akan. Ado paḡ ruṛkateye metadea, Noṇḡeḡe duṛ ṭhene japak akana. Ar uni koṛa dō japakkate oṅte noṛeṛe beṅḡeṛ baṛayeta. Ado ona dander seṅe beṅḡeṛkeṛ dō miṭṭan ḡaiye ṅel ṅamkedea; ado roḡ dō ceṛ hō bae roḡ baṛayeta, eḡeṅe thir akangea.

⁷ See p. 33, note 2.

⁸ The word used by the jackal, manwa, means man, one of the human species, as different from an animal.

The boy then said: "Well then, I also shall now this instant follow this king; perhaps he is the big king." Thinking this, the boy followed after the king's procession.

Just then, people tell, a she-jackal ran across the road⁷ in front of them, and the old king got out of the litter and saluted the she-jackal. When the boy saw him do so, he said: "This jackal is the bigger one; if the king were the bigger one, he would surely not have saluted the jackal." Having reached this conclusion, the boy left the royal bridal procession and followed after the jackal. Wherever the jackal went, there also the boy went, he was constantly tracking the jackal.

Now this jackal had got young ones and had been out to hunt for food for them, and as the boy was following her, she could nowhere get a chance to catch anything. Out of fear of the boy, she was unable to find an opportunity to take a goat or anything else. As she got disgusted at this, she returned to her cave, and her young ones met her whining and whimpering. The she-jackal then spoke to her husband and said: "To-day a man⁸ has been following me everywhere. In whatever direction I went, there he followed me. Therefore I have not been able to get a chance anywhere to-day; I have come back empty-handed. I felt as if he were pursuing me; therefore I did not kill anything, and this man has followed me right up here."

"And where has the man gone now?" the he-jackal asked.

"I last saw him over there," she replied. "Who knows where he has gone?"

"Do," the he-jackal said, "do look out and see where he has gone."

She consequently peeped out a little, and there he was, leaning against the side of the entrance to the cave. Drawing herself back she said: "He is here, leaning against the side of the entrance." The boy standing there leaning in this way, looked hither and thither. As he looked towards the cave, he saw a cow; but he did not say a single word, he remained silent.

Ado uni aṅḍia toyoe meneta, Do se kuliyeṃ, bhala uni manwa do cete nam kana.

Ado uni enḡa doḡe meneta, Do am baṛe kuliyeṃ. Ado onka bana hoṛkin apaj kana.

Ado uni aṅḍia doḡe meneta, Amge enan khone paṅja barayetmea, am baṛe kuliyeṃ.

Ado onka uni aṅḍiaṅi metade khan doḡe oḍokenteye metae kana, Henda manwa, cet nonḍe dom nam kana?

Ado uni koṛae meneta, Aben thenge hirlajoṅ in doṅ heḡ akana.

Ado uni enḡa doḡe bḡoyente aṅḍiaṅi laideade, baṅma, Uni do alaṅ thenge hirlajoṅe heḡ akana.

Ado onkae laideade khan, kathae, bana hoṛkin oḍokena, adḡkin metae kana, Aliṅ doliṅ toyo jaṭ kana ar am dom manwa kana; aliṅ then do cekatem hirla dareaka? Am laḡit jom do cekateliṅ kulaḡ darekema? Do calakme. Ar aliṅ then do kami hoḡe banuk-taliṅ, cetliṅ kami ocomea?

Ado uniye meneta, Ohogeṅ senlena; aben jāhānakgeben kami ocoṅ, onageṅ kamia. In do aben then askateṅ heḡ akana; nit do ohogeṅ senlena.

Ado onka aḍi jide roṛket khan, unkin toyo do māyā lagaoketkina, adḡ aḡin aḡinkin galmaraketa, baṅma, Nui manwa do alaṅ then aḍi askateye heḡ akana; jāhānak balaṅ bhḡrae khan do, nonḍe khon-ohogeye senlena. Ma nui gaigelaṅ em dapoṛae.

Ado saṛi uni gaḡkin emadeade arkin metadeade, Ado manwa, aliṅ then bhorsa montem heḡen khan do, acha eṅḡekhan amaḡ paṭiaḡ lekaliṅ emam kana. Nūkuṅ miṭṭaṅ gaṅye tahḡkantaliṅ; adḡ uni gaḡge amlin emam kana, ar nui gaḡ khonge amaḡ do sanamaḡ hoyoktama. Jāhānakge am jaṛuṛam, ona do nui gaḡ ayo menkate koeyeme, onako jotoḡ nui gaḡ khonem nama. Ar jāhānakgem

⁹ The Santal word *hirla* means refuge and protection, the protecting party standing between the other and all difficulties. The person seeking *hirla* acknowledges the protector as the one with whom he will deal in his relations to others. A servant is in his master's *hirla*, a wife is in the *hirla* of her husband, children in that of their father and so on.

"Do," the he-jackal said, "do ask him, what can this man possibly want?"

"You ask him, please," the she-jackal said. In this way they were urging each other.

Then the he-jackal said: "It is you he has been following the whole time. You ask him."

As the he-jackal said this, she went out and asked him: "Look here, man, what do you want here?"

"I have come to seek protection⁹ with you," the boy said.

The she-jackal then entered the cave and spoke to her husband: "He has come to seek protection with us."

As he spoke in this way, they both went out and said to the boy: "We are of the jackal race and you are a man; how could you possibly find protection with us? How should we be able to provide you with food? Please, go away. There is no work for you with us; what could we let you do?"

"I am not going away," he replied. "Whatever you give me to do, that I shall do. I have come to you with great expectations; I am certainly not going away now."

As he spoke so persistingly, the two jackals felt compassion for him, and had some talk together, saying: "This man has come to us with great expectations; if we do not give him some kind of blessing, he will surely not go away from here. Let us give him this cow and have done with him."

Then, in very truth, they gave him the cow and said to him: „Well, man, as you came to us with expectations in your heart, we are giving you something according to your-faith. Look here, we have a cow, and we are giving you this. From this cow you may get everything; whatever you need, ask this cow for that, calling her mother¹⁰, and you will get it all from her. But whatever you ask her for, don't do it in the presence of people; otherwise they will rob you. When you ask her for anything,

¹⁰ See p. 48, note 10.

køeye, ona do hõrko samañre dõ alom køeyea, bañkhanko rećmea. Am dõm køeye khan, eskarre køeyeme, ar jãhãeko buļumere hõ, am dõ alogem emakoa.

Adõ uni koraẽ menketa, Acha, adõ niãge bhõrben emadiñ khan, uđi maha bhãg, ma sarhaokokben, ar Cando aben hõe bhõraben ma!

Adõ kathae, uni kora dõ gãye tiãkkedea, adõ oraķ sene ruar kana. Adõ calak calakte miññan bajar atoe ñamketa, adõ ona bajar 'paromkate arhõ miññan bajare [ñamketa; adõe menketa, Akhir in calakgea, nećerege um barakate jol pankõñ jom barawanrege. Adõ miññan pukhriye ñamketa, adõe menketa, Niã pukhrirege um barakateñ jom barawanrege. Adõ ona pukhrireyeye um barayena.

Adõ ona pukhrireye pharak senre miññan maejiu dõ kicriće soķboť kan tahẽkana. Adõ uni kora dõe meneta, Nui aĩmai dõ oho janiće pohomiña. Adõ kathae, onka menkate uni kora dõ um rakaķkate gãĩ then senkateye metae kana, De ayo, palať emañme. Adõ kathae, kicriće ulawadea, adõe deñga barayena, adõ khub marañ bhõdro hõr lekae ñelena. Adõ onakate thari baťiye kœekedea, adõ inã hõe emadea; arhõ piñha tabenkoe kœekedea, adõ oha hõe ulawadea. Adõe jom barakeť khane metadea, E ayo, ma noa thãvi baťiko dõ baekakme. Adõ kathae, onako dõ arhõ uni gãigeyeye uketa.

Ar uni aĩmai dõ tan man onakoe ñeñel kana, adõ hare phare sen goťente uni aĩmai dõ ac hereltete ļaiadea bañma, Miññan birana hõrren gãiyiñ ñelkedea, onkan gãĩ dõ tis hõ bañ ñel akatkoa.

¹¹ Chando is the Santal name for the sun and also for the moon, in the last case generally, or, if necessary, with *ñinda*, i. e. 'night' put before. In the course of time, but so far as it is possible to ascertain now, not very long ago, the Supreme Being, called *Thakur* by the old gurus, has been to a certain extent identified with the sun. Chando here means the Supreme Being. It might be noted that some missionaries for some time used Chando as their name in Santali for the Christian God. This shows how Santals may be understood to use the word.

do it privately, and if people try to persuade you, you must not on any account give them anything."

"Very well", the boy said, "since you have given me this blessing, it is an exceedingly great luck for me; may praise be yours, and may Chando¹¹ also bless you two."

Thereupon the boy led the cow away and started for his home. As he walked along, he came to a bazar town¹², and having passed through this he came to another bazar; then he said: "Afterwards I shall go further; let me first have a bath and get some refreshments somewhere here." So he found a tank¹³ and said: "Here in this tank I shall take a bath and afterwards take some food." Thereupon he bathed in the tank.

Now a woman was washing clothes in the same tank some distance off, and the boy said to himself: "This woman will likely not be able to see me clearly." So, having come up from his bath, he went to the cow and spoke to her: "Please, mother, give me a change of clothes." She brought clothes out for him. He put the loin-cloth on, and now he looked like a very fine gentleman. Thereupon he asked the cow for brass plates and cups, and she gave him that also. Then he asked her for cakes and taben¹⁴, and this also she brought forth for him. When he had had his food, he said to her: "Please, mother, put these plates and cups away." And the cow, people, tell, swallowed those again.

The woman was looking at as much as she could, and hurrying away, she went to her husband and told him, saying: "I have seen a cow belonging to a stranger; cows like her I have never in my life seen. The man bathed in the tank; then he asked the

¹² People live in villages; when these are large, with shops and the like, they become bazars or towns. The name presupposes that it is not a Santal village but a Hindu or other town.

¹³ See p. 34, note 5.

¹⁴ See p. 4, note 5.

Uni hōr dō pukhrireye umena, adō uni gaige palate kōekedeā, arhō thari baṭiye kōekedeā, ona hōe emadeā; arhō piṭha tabene kōekedeā, inā hōe emadeā. Arhōe metadeā, Ma baekam; adō arhō uni gaige ona dōe utketa. Adōn metam kana, ma nui gāi dō jāhā lekatelañ eṛeyea.

Adō uni herel hōr dō bae paṭiauk kan tahēkana, menkhan uni aimai dō aḍiye jidketa. Khange adō uni herele menketa, Acha, bhalañ biḍaulege, adō eṇḍe anañ in paṭiauka, ar bañkhan qhogeñ paṭiaulena.

Adō uni hōrkin hōhō aḡukedeā, adōkin metae kana, Iḡ ho peṛa, okatem calaka? Teheñ dō nonḍe ale ṭhenge gitieme; gapa dō aḍire berekatem calaka. Am jom nūi laḡit dō alele emama, ar nui gāi jom laḡit ghās hōle emama.

Adō uniye meneta, Baña, in dō bañ gitiča am ṭhen dō.

Adō banar haṛam buḍhite aḍikin jidketa, adō aḡin oraḡtekin idikedea, ar miṭṭañ mela oraḡ gitič laḡitkin araḡadeā. Adō jom nū reaṅko kuli barakedea, adōe menketa, Bañ joma, nitgeñ jom bara akata. Ar se uni koṛa dōe meneta, Sanam hōr in jaḡiṭ ocoakoa, adō unre nāhāk jom laḡit dō nui gaigeñ kōeyea. Adō onka menkate onko ṭhen daka jom dō bae rebenlena.

Khange unkin ona oraḡren haṛam buḍhi dō nonka menkate kaphariḡukin qhōḡketa: uni herele menketa, Bhala eṛe eṛelañ kaphariḡua, adō nāhāk in dō usṛṭ in oḍok calaka, adō jāhā senreñ tāṛākkoka; adō bhalañ ṅelea ceṭkoe kōeyea, adō saṛi kana menkhan dolañ eṛeyea.

Adō onka galmarakate aḡin haṛam buḍhi kaphariḡukin qhōḡketa, adō aḍi baṛiḷ ceṭko coñ utkḡ paṭkakin kaphariḡuena. Adō khange uni herel hōr dōe usṛṭ ḡotena; adōe men oḡokak kana, Ma ape baṛe tahēkokpe, in dō bañ tahēna ape ṭhen dō. Adō onka menkate uni hōr dōe oḍok calaena. Adō arhō oka sente coñ ruṛṛ heḷkate uni hōr dō uni koṛae ḍera akan tahēkan oraḡ coṭre

¹⁵ The thing meant is a contrivance to be used with bullock-carts. It is a wooden frame with four uprights, the 'walls' being made from some kind of rough rope or twigs or the like.

cow for a change of clothes; brass plates and cups he also asked her for. That she also gave him. Again he asked her for cakes and taben; this she also gave him. Again he said to her: Please, put it away, and then the cow swallowed the things. I tell you this, somehow or other we must cheat him for this cow."

The man, her husband, did not believe this story; but as the woman persisted, her husband said: "All right, I shall put it to the test; then only I shall believe this; otherwise I shall certainly not believe it."

They thereupon called the man and said to him: "I say, my friend, where are you going? Stay the night here with us to-day; then you may get up and go away to-morrow, early in the morning. We shall give you food and drink, and we shall also give you straw for your cow."

"No," he replied, "I shall not stay the night with you."

But both husband and wife were very persistent, and finally took him to their home and let him have an empty house to sleep in. They asked him about food; but he said: "I shall not have any food, I have just had." The boy was thinking: "I shall let all people go to sleep; then I shall presently ask this cow for something to eat." Having this in his mind, he was unwilling to take food with these people.

Then the husband and wife living in that house commenced to quarrel in the following way: the husband said: "I say, let us pretend to quarrel; so I shall go out sulky and lie in wait somewhere; then I shall see what he asks her for, and if it is true, we shall cheat him for that cow."

Having talked together in this way, husband and wife commenced to quarrel; they quarrelled something awful, raking up old and forgotten matters. The husband then suddenly commenced to sulk and said: "Well, you stay on, I am not going to stay with you." Saying this, he went out. Some time afterwards, the man returned by another way — now there was under the roof in the house where the boy was staying a manuring basket¹⁵ —

mitšan gurić caklaoak duli tahkana. Ado oka sente coe dęcente ona duli cetanreye gitić akana; uni koŗa hō bae disa rakap-ledea.

Ado khangē mit għari tayom khan uni aimai dęe nam barayedeā, adō uni koŗa ŧhene calaoena; adęe metae kana, Henda baŗu, pase noņde am ŧhene heć akan?

Ado uni koŗae menketa, Okorić? Noņde do bae heć akana. Ado uni koŗae menketa, Ceka baralenaben?

Ado uniye menketa, Cefko colih joŗo barawana. Ado nelme se, okate coe ođok calaoen; in doņ meneta, pase noņde am ŧhene heć akan.

Ado uni koŗae menketa, Bań, noņde do bae heć akana; hećlen khan doņ laikema. Ado enka menkate uni maejiu hōe ruŗena.

Ado khangē uni koŗa dęe gitićena. Ado sac suć sanam hoŗko thir cabayene atkarketko khan dęe menketa, Nit do sanam hoŗko japitketa, ghō janićko disańa, jomak in kęeanrege. Ado sari onka menkate uni koŗa do gai ŧhen jomake khojkedeā, ar emadete jom nu barakate arhōe bae ocokedeā, are gitićenteye japitketa.

Ar uni tarak hoŗ do onako tan mane nelkede khane menketa, Bańa, oka kathaē lajadiń, ona do sari kangeā. Nui gai do phoŗ phundikateliń hataoetaegeā. Ado khub japit akate aikaukede khane aręoyente uni gai dęe rara idikedetaeā, ar uni gai muŗhan lekanićege acŗen gai agukate uniye tollede ŧhene tolkadeā, ar uniren gai do acŗen gai ŧhene ader mitkadeā.

Ado dosar hilok anęayen khan, uni koŗa dęe beretena, adō gaiye rarakedeteye tiage kana. Ado kathaē, uni gai do bae calak kana. Ado uni koŗae menketa, Iŗ ho peŗa hoŗ, gai dęe bōđo-ladińa; nui gai dęe bań kana inren do.

Adoko metae kana, Bań, uni gai kantamgeae. Eņdege holam tolledeā, ar amge teheń hō rarakatem tiak ođokkedeā. Cedak onka doŗ pharebeflea? Ma bhala noko ato hoŗ kulikom, nenkan

¹⁶ See p. 46, note 7.

and having mounted up there somehow, he was lying on the top of that basket. The boy was not aware of his mounting up there.

A short while afterwards the woman came looking for her husband; she came to the boy and said to him: "I say, my lad, perhaps he¹⁶ has come here to you?"

"Why, no," the boy replied, "he has not come here. What happened to you two?" he asked.

"Oh," the woman said, "we had some disagreement. Then, you see, he went out somewhere; I am wondering, perhaps he has come here."

"No," the boy replied, "he has not come here; if he had come, I should tell you." After this had been said, the woman went back again.

Thereupon the boy lay down; when he felt that all were resting and all was quiet as the grave, he said: "Now all people have gone to sleep; no one will be likely to be aware of what I do; let me ask for food." Saying this the boy asked the cow for food, and when she had given him and he had eaten, he let her put all away, whereupon he lay down and slept.

When the man who was lying in wait had been looking all he could at this, he said: "No, what she told me, that is the truth. We shall get possession of this cow by some stratagem or other." When he understood that the boy was soundly asleep, he came down, unbound the cow and took her away; thereupon he brought one of his own cows, looking just like the other cow, and tied her where the boy had tied his, and so he took the boy's cow in among his own cows.

When it dawned next morning, the boy got up, unbound the cow and commenced to lead her along; but the cow would not go. The boy then said: "Look here, my friend, you have changed cows with me. This cow is not mine."

"No," they answered him, "the cow is yours. You tied her there yesterday, and you have also yourself unbound her and led her out to-day. Why are you making such false charges

gaige holako ñel agu akatmea. Ado cekatem meneta, nui gai dpe ban kantiña mente?

Ado uni korae menketa, Inren gai do tiak hewa gai kanae; nun din in do gotan tiak barayede kana, ar nui gai do tiakte bae calak kana; are ban kantiña nui gai do, ohon idilea.

Adoko menketa, Bam idiye khanle cekamea?

Ado uni korae menketa, Acha, noa reanbon bicarlege.

Adoko menketa, Acha, do agukom.

Ado ona atoren mostajir ar atoren hore riaw aguketkoa. Ado uni hor do tinre con uni mostajir ar ato hor dpe ran gotketkoa; uni mostajir hor mit sae takae gokadea ar onko ato hor mit saeye gokatkoa, are metatkoa sanam hor, In sen bare rorpe ar iniye tol akade gai bare digriaepe.

Ado onko dos jona ho uniak takako jomkettae khan, uni sen lekageko rorketa, ar uniye bodol akawade gaigecko digriadea. Ado uni korae menketa, Ia baba moro hor, noa bicarre do ban khusi-lena; hape, uni okoe hor then gaiyin nam akade, uni hor in agulege; ado okotak gaiye em akawadin, unigeye badaea. Nui gaigeye metañ khan do, nuigen idiyea; ado hape, uni hor in agulege.

Adoko metadea, Acha, do aguyem.

Adoe metatkoa, Ma endekhan gai do ape jimagen bagiae kana.

Adoko metadea, Acha, do calakme, gai do ohoe cekaktama.

Ado khangeye calaena, ar unkin toyo do, kathae, cekakote cokin badae gotketa, uni gai dpe ere ocoyena mente. Ado uni korae sen tiokketkin khangekin kuli gotkedeo, Cele ya manwa, gai do en kathaeyem ere ocoyena?

¹⁷ & ¹⁸ In the first instance the village authorities are appealed to. Also Hindu villages have a kind of headman or leading man.

¹⁹ Now-a-days the Five are frequently called the Ten, (dos, the ten persons) always using the Bengali word. When speaking of the Five, both Santal — so most commonly — and Bengali are used; but if the Santal word for 'ten' is used, it does not mean anything else than the number.

against us? Well, ask the people of this village whether they have seen such a cow of yours yesterday. How can you then say that this cow is not your cow?"

"My cow," the boy said, "is a cow accustomed to be led; so long a time I have been leading my cow everywhere; but this cow will not be led. She is not my cow this one; I am not taking her away."

"If you don't take her away, what can we do with you?" they said.

"Very well," the boy replied, "we shall first let people judge in this matter."

"All right," they said, "do bring judges."

The boy then called the headman of the village,¹⁷ and the village people¹⁸. The other man in the meantime had found an opportunity of bribing the headman and the village people. He promised the headman one hundred rupees, and the village people one hundred, and said to them: "Speak on my side and decree him the cow he has tied there."

As the Ten¹⁹ had taken his money, they spoke on his side, and decreed the exchanged cow to belong to the boy. The boy then said: "Well, respected Five, I am not satisfied with this judgment; please wait, let me first bring the person from whom I have got the cow. He knows which cow he has given me. If he tells me it is this cow, I shall take her away. Wait then, let me bring that person first."

"Very well," they said, "bring him."

"Then I leave this cow in your charge," he said to them.

"All right," they replied, "do go; nothing shall happen to your cow."

The boy then went. Now the two jackals somehow or other had got to know that he had been cheated out of the cow, and when the boy reached them, they at once asked him: "Well, you man, they tell you have been cheated out of the cow?"

Adge menketa, Hē baba, sarigen grē ocoyena.

Adokin metadea, Tōbē cef laġitem hec akana?

Adge menketa, Aben ikdigen hec akana; delabon bicara.

Adq unkin kin menketa, Onđen ato hor ar mañjhi dq bam sapletkoa?

Adge menketa, Sap jarwalefkogean, menkhan uni sen lekage sanam hor ko rorkette in dq ban khusilena, adq onateh hec akawatbena. Adq delabon bicarkate gai delaoanben.

Adokin menketa, Acha, delabon.

Adgo calaoena; adq senkate ekkalte uni mostajir mañjhiko sapkede, adoko metadea, banma, Noa atore aleren gai bodolte dosra gaiko em akawaflea. Ma adq ato hor jarwakate uni hor sapaleme, adqbon galmaraoa, ar bankhan am upartele lalisa.

Adq khange uni mañjhiyo lolō gotente gođete kolkede ato hor lalai, ar uni kombro hor hōko laiadea. Khange adq mittan hesak butareko jarwayena. Adq onko toyoteko hōko calaoena, adq satranġi bichanakin atetketa unkin toyo dq, adq onare durupkate pankin jojōm kana. Adq sanam hor ko thir bara akana, okqē hō cef hō bako rōreta.

Adq uni toyo anđiai meneta, Okqē ghus jomkateye bicara, tōbē uniren bōs dq eae pusti dhabic ieko jomtaea noa purire hō ar hana purire hō. Ar judi ona ghusak mōrē hor samañre khulaukateye lai sqdorketa menkhan, tōbē ona bidhi dq ban lagaoaea. Nonka leka mare hapramkoko rōr akata. Ar jāhāeak jinis hañdikate jāhāeye hataoa, uni dq norok kũndreya qubauka. Noa hōko rōr akata. Adq bhala aboge mōrē hor, noa katha dāriap

²⁰ The jackal is acting in proper pleader style.

²¹ See p. 20, note 2.

²² *Ficus religiosa*, L.

²³ For important people a fine cloth is spread to sit on. What is here mentioned, is a kind of rug with stripes of different colours. It is scarcely ever found with the Santals, but used by the better class of Hindus.

²⁴ Betel nut, commonly chewed by the Hindus, sometimes also by Santals at the present day.

"Yes, father," he replied, "I have really been cheated."

"What have you come for then?" they asked him.

"I have come," he answered, "to take you along with me. Come, we shall judge the case."

"Did you not apply to the village people and the headman there?" they asked him.

"I applied to them and brought them together," he replied: "but as they all spoke on his side, I was not satisfied, and therefore I have come to you. Please come and judge and help me to get the cow."

"All right," they said, "come along."

So they went; having arrived there, they at once took hold of the headman and spoke to him: "Here in this village they have given us²⁰ another cow instead of our own. Please gather the village people and bring the man to us: then we shall talk the matter over; otherwise we shall bring a suit against you."

The headman then took the matter up at once and sent the godet²¹ to tell the village people; the thief he also called. They assembled at the foot of a pipol²² tree. The jackal-party also went there, and the two jackals spread out a many-coloured durrie²³, and sitting down on this, they were eating pan²⁴. All present were quiet; no one said anything.

Then the jackal said: "He who passes judgement after having taken a bribe, his descendants shall for seven generations eat his stools both in this world and in the next. But if he gives information about the bribe before the Five and tells everything, then this fate will not befall him. So the ancestors have told. And if anybody by oppression takes anybody else's property, then that person will be immersed in hell's dung²⁵. This they have also told. Now we are the Five, the judges; investigate this matter properly and speak. Let us judge righteously before

²⁵ The idea is a place in the nether-world filled with dung. Here those who have committed certain sins are immersed.

thikkate rortabonpe. Cando samahre dhõromgebon bicara, ar unkin badi ar protibadi hõ dhõromkin ror ma. Oka hike kan, onagebon bicara. Ma rortabonpe.

Ado uni manjhiye menketa, Noa katha do sari kangea, baba; in do nui kombro hor mit sae takae em akawadiña are metadiña, In sen leka bare rorme, onate noa bicar do bale phandaoleta.

Khange ato hor hõko menketa, Hõ, baba, sarige ale hõ mit sae takae em akawaflea, onate bicar do oka hõ bale gofaleta.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Ote, baba morõ hor, anjompe se, katha do sodoren do. Ma bhala, am protibadi hor, cetem meneta?

Ado uniye menketa, Baña baba, ini gai kangetaeyae, in do ban hatao akadetaea.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Pase noa katha sabudlen khan, cetem emoka?

Ado uni hore menketa, Sabudena menkhan, dobra sajaiyin emoka.

Ado toyoe menketa, Ma anjom dõhokape, baba ape morõ hor, ar katha hõ bujhautabonpe. Nui hor do acetegeye dandõmok kana. Judi bae hatao akade khan, cedaak ghus doe em akawafkoa? Nui do maran dakuren ses kanae. Nelpe, hatao akade tuluc bae gofaoeta. Ar ape do nui hor gai aguye jokhec janiõpe nel akadetaegee, ar alin do balin nel akadetaea? Ar delabon nahak, gai paltebon calaka; ekkalta uni gaigelin udugea se ban nahak, na honoc in do ban udugea, nui in bahugeye udugea, onare biswas nel-talinpe.

Khangeko menketa, Acha delabon, bhala onagebon nellege.

Ado sari gai palteko calaena; oketaak kane nuren gai, unige ekkalteye uduk gotkeda. Ado manjhi ar ato horteko kulikeda, Cele babu, nui gai kangetamae?

²⁶ See p. 68, note 11. The Supreme Being is believed to be the final judge.

²⁷ One is here reminded of the proceedings of a regular court. Some expressions used here and also further down are taken from the court language.

Chando²⁶, and the accused and the complainant²⁷ let them also speak righteously. What is right, that we shall decide. Please now, speak up."

Then the headman said: "That is a true word, sir; this thief has given me one hundred rupees and said to me: "Please speak on my side;" therefore we did not settle this matter."

Then the village people also said: "Yes, sir, in truth, he has also given us one hundred rupees; therefore we did not come to any decision in connexion with this matter."

"Listen," the jackal said, "do you hear, respected Five; please listen, the whole has been disclosed. Now you defendant, what have you to say?"

"No, sirs," the man answered, "this is his; I have not taken his cow."

"If by any chance," the jackal then said, "this case is proved, what will you give?"

"If it be proved against me," the man answered, "I shall pay double."

"Please remember this," the jackal said, "keep it in mind, respected Five; also understand what he says. This man is being fined by himself. If he has not taken the cow, why has he given bribes to these people? This man is the limit, the very worst type of a robber. Mark this, although he has taken the cow, he does not confess. And you have likely seen his cow when he was bringing it, and we two, have not we seen her? Please come then, let us go to the cow-herd; we shall at once point out the cow, you will see presently. If I should fail in doing so, this wife of mine will point her out. Thereby see our reliability."

"Very well," they said, "come along; let us have a look round first."

They then went to the cow-herd, and the jackal at once pointed out the cow that belonged to the boy. The headman and village people then asked him: "Well, my lad, is this your cow?"

Ado uni korae menketae, Hê, baba, nui kangeae.

Ado ona katha nelkate onko hor do adi baričko haharayena arko menketa, Baña, noa bicar do sari kangea, ar bankhan nukin toyo jat abo pharsi do ohokin rolea. Ar nelpe, nukin dokin oka disomren kan con, nui gai do cekatekin nel oromkedeadea? Ado khangae uni horko kulikedea, Cele phalna, sarige nui gai dom hataoleadea se ban?

Ado khangeye tirupena, cef ho bae roleta. Khangae adi baričko rokedee khane kabulketa. Adoko metadea, Cele nit do horem manaoketa se ban?

Adoe menketa, Hê, manaoketgean.

Ado khangae toyoe menketa, Ado de bhala abo moro hor, ado tinakbon dandome kana?

Ado onko moro horko menketa, De amge rortabonme.

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Tinaak babon dandome? Ono enanre acetegeye ro akat, Judi noa katha sabudena menkhan, dobra sajaiyin emoka. Nonka ac mocategeye ro akata se ban?

Ado onko moro horko menketa, Hê, noa katha dole anjom akatgea.

Ado onage tho, baba. Den nitok do dobra sajaiye emok ma; ape ato hor mit sae, ar manjhi hor mit sae, ar nui gai reak bar sae; ado jotore pon sae hoyok kana. Ado pon sae reak dobra, iral saeye emok ma, ar bankhan ohon bataolea. Judi ban hutec sabudlen khan, ac ho con dobrae hataoke. Ado den nitok do iral sae emokme.

Ado sari jotokoteko ruhekedete iral sae takako em ocokedeadea. Ado ona taka do onko moro horge joto takae ematkoa, ar uni gai kisar korae do gel takae emadea, ar uni toyo do cef ho bae hataoleta. Ado ini gaiko tiakkedete onko doko calaena; ado inaj bajar paromkatekin metadea, Men ado nonka hor samañre do jahanak alom koyea, bankhan arhoko ermea. Ado unkin toyo do akin oraktekin calaena, ar uni korae ho ac orak mohoda sene calaena.

"Yes, sirs," the boy replied, "this one it is."

When they saw this, the people were very much astonished and said: "Surely, this is the true judgement; otherwise, these two jackals would not have spoken our language. And mark this, how did these two, who are from who knows which country, recognize the cow?" They then asked the man: "I say, so and so, did you really take this cow or not?"

He sat there with bowed head and did not say a word; when they had given him an awful scolding, he at last confessed. Then they asked him: "Well, did you respect the way or not now?"

"I did so," he replied.

Then the jackal said: "Well, now then, we the Five, how much are we fining him?"

"Please," the Five said, "you speak for us."

The jackal then said: "Why, how much should we fine him? A while ago he himself has spoken: If this case be proved against me, I shall pay double. He has spoken in this way with his own mouth, is it not so?"

The Five then said: "Yes, we have heard that said."

"Just so, sirs. Now then let him give double punishment: You village people one hundred, and the headman one hundred; and for this cow two hundred; that is in all four hundred rupees. Let him so give the double of four hundred, that is eight hundred; otherwise I shall not heed you. If the case had not been proved, he would, of course, himself have taken double. So now then, out with eight hundred rupees."

As they all scolded him, they made him give eight hundred rupees. This money he all gave to the Five, and to the boy, the cow's owner, he gave ten rupees; but the jackal did not take anything. The boy and the jackals led the proper cow away and went along. When they had passed the bazar, the two said to the boy: "Be careful, don't ask her for anything in that way when others are present; otherwise people will cheat you again." The pair of jackals then went home, and the boy also started going towards his home.

Ado kathae, calak calakte uni koṛa dō arhō miṭṭan bajar atoe tiokketa, adō ona bajar ṭhenge ber hōe ḥasurok kana. Ado ona bajar hana sare miṭṭan maraṅ utaṛ ul bagwan tahēkana, ar ona bagwanre dō haṭ hō hoyoka, ar oṇḍege aḍi utaṛ bepari gaḍwanko ḍera akan tahēkana. Ado uni koṛa hōe menketa, Iṅ hō noa bagwanregeṅ ḍeraka, adō gapa setakre berekate oṛak seṅ in calaka. Ado kathae, onko gaḍwanko ḍera akan hana sare onko khon tophat ṅōkre miṭṭan dare butare aḍ hōe durupena, ar uni gai hō ona dare rḥetreye tolkadea.

Ado ina miṭ gḥari khange, kathae, maraṅ utaṛ hoedake unauketa, goṭa, kathae, nūt cabayena; ar ina miṭ gḥari khange hoedak heḡ gotena ar bogeteye daket kana. Ar onko gaḍwan dō, kathae, jōṭore miṭ hajar ganko tahēkana; ar ona hoedak jōkhen dō akoak gaḍi latarkoreko bōḷo akana. Ar uni koṛa dō, kathae, hoedak heḡen khan dō uni gaige ṭambui koekedete onae bereketa, ar ona bhitrīre bana hoṛkin bōḷo akana; ar miṭ ṅindaḍi dakketā setak dḥabiḍ.

Khange onko gaḍwan doko meneta, Durre! hola ma cet hō baṅ tahēkanta; adō okare noa ṭambu dōe ṅamketa? Dhora nui gai khonge noa dōe ṅam akata.

Ado kathae, aṅga marsalen khan, uni koṛa hōe as basaoena, adoe meneta, Nit nāhāk noa ṭambuṅ bae ocoye khan dō hoṛko ṅeḷeṅa. Pāhil feka baṅkhan arhō gaiko eṛe botēckina; teheṅ dō neṅḍegeṅ tahēna; ayup ocoak, adō unre nāhāk in bae ocoyea, adō gapa dō sim rakre neṅḍe khon in ḍara.

Ado kathae, goṭa siṅe tahē ayupena. Ado ṅindaḍi khange, kathae, ona ṭambu dōe bae ocokedeā. Ado uni koṛae japiket jōkḥenge onko gaḍwan doko heḡ gotena, adō miṭṭan dhīrū gai uni ṭhenko toḷ oṭokadea, ar ako dō uniren gaiko idikedetaea. Ado setak

²⁸ In the hot season, the eastern parts of India are very often visited by what is called Nor'westers, sudden and violent thunderstorms. Such a one is meant here.

²⁹ It often does not take so very many to make a thousand.

³⁰ The whole is a good description, so far as it goes. The heavy bullock-carts afford some protection.

As he was passing along, they tell, the boy reached another bazar, and there at this bazar the sun set for him. On the other side of this bazar there was a very large grove of mango trees; in that grove they also had a market, and a very large number of traders with their carts had camped there. Then the boy said to himself: "I shall also camp in this grove; then to-morrow morning I shall get up and start for home." So he himself sat down on the other side of where the carters had camped, some little distance away from them at the foot of a tree; and he also tied his cow to the roots of the same tree.

A short while afterwards the weather became very threatening, a thunder-storm was brewing, it became black all over²⁸. A few moments more, and the storm burst, and it rained very heavily. The carters were about one thousand²⁹ in number, and during the storm they had crept in³⁰ under their carts. But when the storm came, the boy asked his cow for a tent and put that up, where-upon both of them entered the tent. It rained the whole night incessantly until morning.

Then those carters said: "Strange, yesterday he had nothing; where has he got the tent? Undoubtedly he has got it from this cow of his."

When it became morning, the boy became very perplexed what to do, and said to himself: "Now if I let her put this tent away, people will see me. Then they will try to cheat me out of the cow again, like the first time; I shall remain here to-day, let it become evening, and then I shall let her put it away, and to-morrow at cock-crow I shall run away from here."

So he remained the whole day until evening, and when it became night, they tell, he let her put it away. When the boy had fallen asleep, the carters came, tied a cow in milk³¹ near him and came away; they took the boy's cow with them. When it

³¹ A cow in milk means with a Santal always a cow with her calf. They have the idea that a cow will not give milk unless she has her calf to look at or lick during the milking operation.

khange uni korā dōe bhabnak kana, are metako kana onko gadwan dō, Dini uni gai dō gmkaetiŋpe.

Adoko metae kana, Cele gai ale dōm khojetlea? Uni con gai ma am thenge menae; aleren ma ekenko dangra kange. Ar se uni gai dō idikate ona gōrē bostako agu jarwaketle uni gai berhaeteko cake acurketa, uni gai doko ad esetkedeae. Arko metae kana, Ukurié amren gai dō? Ma ente ale then menae khan, do nameme.

Ado uni korae meneta, Bañ; inren gai dō ape thenge menaea.

Adoko metae kana, Uni con gai ma am thengem tōl akade. Ado cele gaiyem nam kana?

Ado uniye meneta, Nui gai dōe bañ kana inren dō. Inren dōe thāt gai kana, ar nui ma mihū menaetae.

Adoko metae kana, Pase teheñ nindageye busakentam. Ado onako kathage gharī ghariko ropor kana.

Ado uni korae menketa, Noko gadwan dō nāhākko ereyina. Okoe tora atoren mañjhiñ laiaea. Adoe calaoente mañjhi ar caukidare aguketkina, adoe metaikina, Iā baba, inren mittan 'gaiye tahēkantiña, ar noa dare butareñ gitié kan tahēkana. Uni gai dō nui caukidar hōe nelledetiŋgea. Ado ninda jokhen nokoge inren gai doko atkirkedetiña.

Ado uni caukidare menketa, Hē sarige, in hō gai dōn nelledgea.

Ado onko gadwanko menketa, Besge ente gaiyem nelledgea; uni con gai ma menaetae.

Ado uni korae menketa, Baña, inren dōe thāt gai kana, mihū dō banugica.

Ado mañjhiye menketa, Ma nui gai bare idiyem; amren dō thāt gaiye tahēkana, adō mihūanié gaiyem nawana; adō cet barié? Bhage akange com.

Ado uni korae menketa, Bañ, in dō inren gaigeh hataoea; nui gai dō bañ hataoea.

became morning, the boy was in great sorrow and said to the carters: "Come with her, give me back my cow."

"Which cow are you demanding from us?" they replied; "why, there you have your own cow with you; we have only bullocks with us." Now the carters had taken the cow, collected a lot of gunny bags and piled these up round the cow, and they had, in this way, hidden her. "Why, where is your cow here? If she is with us, do find her by all means."

"No," the boy said, "my cow is with you."

"There she is," they replied, "you have tied your cow there with you. Which cow are you then looking for?"

"This one is not my cow," the boy said; "my cow is a barren cow, and this one has a calf."

"Perhaps," they said, "perhaps she has given birth to a calf to-night?" Again and again they were quarrelling using the same words.

Then the boy said: "These carters will cheat me presently. I shall go and tell the village-headman this instant." Consequently he went and brought the headman and the watchman³² and said to them: "Please, sir, I had a cow, and I passed the night here at the foot of this tree. This watchman also saw the cow. Then, during the night, these people have stolen my cow away."

"Yes," the watchman said, "I myself also really saw the cow."

The carters then said: "Very well then; you saw the cow; his cow, why, he has got her there."

"No, not at all," the boy said; "my cow is a barren one; she has no calf."

The headman then said: "Please, take this cow with you; your cow was a barren one, and now you have got a cow with a calf. What bad is there in that? Why, you are very fortunate."

"No," the boy replied, "I will take my cow; this cow I shall not take."

Ado onko gadwanko menketa, Ma ente namepe ale then menae khan; ale ma orak duar ho banuktale; orak taheh khanpe menkeke, Okare cipe oko akade. Nekke tho songerege ale do joto menaktalea.

Ado sari gotako nel barakodea, ado bako namledete manjhiye menketa, Cele babu, cetem meneta? Gai namea mentem aguleliha, ado nokke aliñ cakidarteliñ hotete do banliñ namledetama. Ado amge de cetem meneta?

Ado uni korae menketa, Iya baba manjhi ar cakidar, aben maujare ihren do gaiye at akana, ar in do noko gadwanreñ subha akatkoa. Metaben kanaan, noko gadwan do rahdani hatarkoben, ar nui dhiru gai do aben jimare dho hataroben. In do noko hutumten lalisa, ar judiben sen ocokefkoa menkhan, aben uparten lalisa.

Ado uni manjhi ar cakidar gadwankin metafkoa, Cele ho gadwan, cetpe meneta? Nui koru do ape uparte lalise menet do.

Khange onko gadwanko menketa, Do ona do khahirjomae metaf ma; arho judi khorcako ban kuluk kantae khan, alele emaea.

Ado manjhiye menketa, Men ado ina kathage tho; aika noa bicar auri nisputik dhabic nondi khon qholin sen ocolepea. Ar judi noa katha nekke anjom torape uhaena menkhan, khaiti apegepe saboka.

Ado onkoko menketa, Acha, qhole calaka; calaenale menkhan, alege hajotrele boloka. Ado onka galmarakateko apan apinena.

Ado uniren gai do unkin jimareye bagiadete uni koru do hakim then laklise calaena. Ado mitan Musla Badsa hakim tahkana; ado uni thene lalisketa. Ado kathae, turatge parwana odok gotena. Ar uni hakim do, kathae bhaley tahkana, okoek ho behok do bae bicaret tahkana, thik thike bicaret tahkana, ghus

³³ The introduction of a Mohammedan judge does not make it probable that this story has been borrowed from Mohammedan sources. The law court, as described, is a somewhat misdrawn picture of a modern court, such as Santal imagination may like to think it. A Santal knows, of course, very little of the inner workings

"Please find her then," the carters said, "if she is with us. We have no house or hut either. If we had houses, you might say: you have hidden her somewhere. Look at us, why, we have all we have with us here."

Then they looked for the cow everywhere; but as they could not find her, the headman said: "Well, my lad, what do you say? You brought us to find your cow; and now you see, myself and the watchman being present did not help, we could not find her. What have you then to say?"

"I say, father headman and watchman, in your village my cow has been lost, and I am suspecting these carters. Now I say this to you two: keep these carters here in the meantime, and also keep this cow with calf in your charge for the present. I am going to bring a suit against these people, and if you let them go away, I shall bring a suit against you."

The headman and watchman then said to the carters: "Well, you carters, what have you to say? This boy is going to bring a suit against you."

"By all means," the carters said, "let him be confident as to that, and if he should not have enough money for the purpose, we shall let him have."

The headman then said: "Take care then that is the case. Mind you, until this case is settled, we shall not let you go away from here. And if you, after having heard this, nevertheless depart, you will certainly be caught."

"All right," they said, "we shall not go at all; if we, in spite of this, should go, we go to jail." After having had this talk, they separated.

Having left the cow in the charge of those two, the boy went to bring a suit before the judge. Now a Mussulman Badsha³³ was judge, and he made his complaint before him. A written order was sent out immediately. This judge was a good man; he did not judge anybody's case unjustly; he was judging rightly and truly; he did not take bribes and was not a respecter of persons.

hō bae jōmet tahēkana, ar hōrak mētāhā hēte dō bae bicāra, mēnkhan jāhā senge ān calak, onageye pachaea, bāndōe rōngēē hōr kan, bāndōe kisār hōr kan. Bicar darate jāhāegekin haraok, inigeye sajaiyetko tahēkana. Badi ar protibadi, bana hōr reakge lalise hatao marāna, ēnkhan teye bicartakina. Nonka thik bicar karonte uni hākim dō ādi bariēe namđak akan tahēkana — ar bānkhan okōe corpoť hākim dō okōege lahateye lalis marān, ini-akgeye senaka, ar okōe tayōmteye lalis, uniak dō anjōmge bae anjōmtaea, ar laha hōr dō thike lai akat sē be thike lai akat, uniakgeye senataea ar uniak kathategeye puťi cabakōka; onko dō lelha hākimko metakoa. Mēnkhan nui hākim dō bae onkana; bana hōr kulikate anēēe dusikoa seye hajotkoa.

Adō uni korāe lalisket khan, inā hōe atānketgea, ar onko gadwan hōe tōlōpketkoa ar unkin mānjhi čaukidar hōe tōlōpketkina, adō jōtō hōrak ijhare hataokōfa. Ar onko gadwan dō kiriakateko mēnketa, Ale dō bale hatao akadetaea; judi nuiren gāi ale thene namena mēnkhan, gāi hōle emkaetaea ar je kichu dhon durib menaktale, onako jōtō nuigele emaea. Onka oktiari kiriakateko mēnketa.

Adō khange uni hākim dō dorōga pulise metafkoa, Do senkate đera tolasipe.

Adō bhāi, onko dō senkate onkoak đerako tolasiketa, adō ona gōrō bostako cāke akat tahēkan, adō onako jōtōko ocōk ocoketko khan dō sari uni gāiko namkedea. Adō uni gāite ar hōrte jōtō

of a law-court. It may seem strange that a Mohammedan judge should be introduced as here done, when the Santals harbour such feelings as they do towards people of that persuasion. The explanation may be that the present-day Santals have had experiences which they like with Mohammedan judges. These are perhaps less liable to lose themselves in legal technicalities than certain other people, and are appreciated accordingly.

There are several points in this story which seem to make it likely that it has been originally borrowed from outside.

From a certain point of view it is of interest to compare this with the foregoing story. They have both been written by the same man, but at different times, some years lying between the two. The narrator has heard the story from other

Whatever be the law, that he followed, whether it was a poor man or a wealthy person. The one who was defeated according to law, him he punished. Accuser and accused, he listened to what they both had to bring forward; then only he passed judgement. Because he was such a true judge, he had become very famous, — otherwise one who is a corrupt judge will listen to him who comes first with his complaint; one who comes afterwards, him he will not even listen to, and whether the first one has told the truth or he has told what is false, he does what he says, and he permits himself to be filled with his tale, so there is room for nothing else. Such ones people call foolish judges. But this judge was not of that kind; only when he had examined both parties, did he find them guilty or sent them to prison.

When the boy had lodged his complaint, he took it up, and he also summoned the carters and also the headman and watchman, whereupon he recorded the statements of all of them. The carters swore and said: "We have not taken his cow; if his cow be found with us, we shall give him his cow, and whatever property we have, we shall give him all of it." They took their oath and spoke in such a highfalutin way.

The judge then said to the head constable: "Go and search the camp."

The police then went and searched their camping place; now they had piled up the gunny bags, as told, and when they made them take all that away, they found the cow. So they tied the cow and the men and took them all with them. Then

sources than when he first wrote. The last specimen shows more experience and acquaintance with certain sides of life than the first one. Chowkedars were formerly unknown in the Santal country; such were introduced some twenty years ago. This may throw some light on the way in which stories of this kind develop and, most likely quite unconsciously, are adapted to the circumstances of life or the environments of the narrator. Everything is internal evidence of how near the details of these stories lie to Santal life and ideas, when the folktale flight of imagination is deducted.

mit mitteko töl idiketkoa. Ado hakime metafkoa, Nelpe, gai do ape thenge menaea, enre hõ ape do bape kabuleta ar nahakgepe ekrarena. Ado de okape menlet, ona puraupе.

Khange ado emok bako reben kante onko gadwan do mit mitte joto hajotketkoa, ar onkoak dhon do mit mitte uni korae digriadea. Gai ar onako dhon do uni korae nawante ac orak sene mohndayena. Gadhiko, dangrako ar ona joto dhon uni korage hakime soprot gotadea.

Ado khange uni korä do ac atote, se onę engat apatkin tahękan, ondegeye calaena. Ado ona disomren hor do okoe hõ bako nel oromedeä. Adoko meneta, Okoeak nunak asbab do hecena? Ado khangeye laiatkoa, In don phalna hopon kana. Ado adiko haharayena.

Ado orakko benao barakate mit din do uniye tahękan raj thene calaena, ar onę engat apatkin goclenre takae rinlet tahękan, ona takae idi otokataea. Ado kathae, uni raj hõ bae nel oromledea. Ado lai thikade khane disakadea, are metae kana, Durre! am kanam, phalna?

Ado menketa, He, in kangean. Ado takako em barakate duk suk reakkın kupuliyena.

Ado kathae, sedae sedae apat jokheć reak rajostıye pachakette onae nam ruarketa. Khange uniye tahękan kisarge, kathae, mittan hoponeae gonadea. Ado onęye tahęyena.

Ar uniye tahękan rajren eae goten korä hoponko menketa, Ale hõ disomte bidesle calaka. Nelepe, nui do gutıye tahękana, ado disomteye odokiente nunak dhone aguana. Ale hõle senlen khan pasele agukatge.

Ado apattet takako koekedete bidesko calaena. Ado inako joto takako ubla dubla otokat khan, arhoko ruar hecena.

Ado onę cabayena katha do; in marangea.

the judge said: "Now look, the cow is with you; nevertheless you did not confess, and you have purposelessly bound yourselves by a promise. So now carry out what you have said."

As the carters refused to give, he put them all in prison, every one of them, and he decreed that all their property, everything, should be given to the boy. When he had got the cow and all the goods, the boy started homewards. The carts, the bullocks and all the goods the judge gave over to the boy.

Thereupon the boy went to his village, or rather to where his father and mother had been. None in that country recognized him, and the people said: "To whom do all the goods that have come belong?" Then he told them: "I am the son of so and so," and they were very much astonished.

After he had built houses, he one day went to the king with whom he had been, and he took with him the money he had borrowed when his father and mother had died, to pay that. The king did not recognize him either. When he told him who he was, he remembered him and said to him: "Strange, is it you, so and so?"

"Yes, it is I," he said, whereupon he paid him his money, and they enquired of each other how everything was going on with them.

Afterwards he took up and made inquiries regarding his father's kingdom of long long ago, and got that back. And the king who was there gave him his daughter in marriage. So he stayed on there.

The seven sons of the king with whom he formerly stayed said: "We will also go to a foreign country. Look, this one was a servant; then he went to a foreign country and brought so much wealth with him. If we also go, perhaps we might bring something."

So they asked their father for money and went to a foreign country. But when they had squandered all their money, they came back again.

There the story is ended; it is thus much.

7. Toyo reak phorphundi.

Mittan haram hore menketa, Gapa do merom bodabon kotekoa. Ona katha mittan merom boda doe anjomkette buruteye darketeta, adq tarup danderre dhirireye burum akana. Adq tarup doe hecena. Un jokhec merom boda doe menketa, Hum, pak pak! Un jokhec tarup do botorteye darketeta.

Adq mittan toyo doe namkedeo. Metae kanae, Ia bhagna, tehen do inak orakre cele coe hec akan.

Adq toyo doe menketa, Cef lekanié kanae, mamō?

Adqe menketa, Ia bhagna, keware sobot jariye tol akawana.

Adq toyo doe menketa, Ia mamō, in do nonkanko do kotō kotōn jom hajam akatkoa.

Adq canḍbōl canḍbōlkin jorao mit akana, adokin calak kana. Tiokketakin. Adq merom boda doe teḅoyena. Tarup doe menketa, Cefko con enahe metadiḅ tahēkana. Onka menkate adokin darketeta. Adqe or potakede kana. Adq toyo doe menef kana, Ia mamō, mare mare maīḷa, mamom chaḍaokettiḅa.

Adq mit then tarup ar tarup eḅgakin hopon akatkoa. Unkin do jāhā sen jel agukin calaokoka. Adq toyo doe hec godoka, adqe metakoa, Ere dhan dibe na? Coḅo moḅo dibe. Adq okako jelkin agu jaorakak, onageko emadege. Adq tarup andia do heckateye menket, Henda ya, unak jellin aguape kana, eḅhō cekatepe moḅo-dok kana?

¹ This story is one of the few that Phagu of Dhaka village told the writer. The language is very different from that of the stories written by Sagram. Phagu was more accustomed to the style of the gurus; the language reminds one of that found in the Traditions and Institutions, dictated by Kolean guru. See the Foreword.

² The operation here referred to is one commonly practised by the Santals. The seminal duets are destroyed by beating with a stone.

³ The words used in Santali are likely meant to remind one of the bleating of a goat. I remember Phagu enjoyed this part very much; he told me at the time that if I could only understand the inner meaning of this, I should have a good laugh. Hum is the word used to make bullocks stay quiet or stop, pak to turn.

7. THE JACKAL'S CRAFTINESS¹.

AN old man said: "To-morrow we shall geld² the he-goats." A he-goat heard this and ran away to the mountains, where he lay down on a rock in a leopard's cave. When the leopard came, the he-goat said: "Wo, back back³." Then the leopard, out of fear, ran away.

Running along, he met a jackal and said to him: "I say, nephew⁴, somebody, who knows who, has come to my house to-day."

"What is he like, uncle?" the jackal asked.

"Well, nephew," the leopard replied, "he has tied washed hemp-fibre to his chin."

"Well, you know, uncle," the jackal said, "such ones I have eaten and digested several."

So they tied their tails together⁵ and went along and reached the place. Then the he-goat stood up, and the leopard said: "He said something, whatever it was, to me a while ago." As he said this, they ran away, and the leopard dragged the jackal along so his skin was rubbed off. Then the jackal says: "I say, uncle, you are removing my old, old dirt⁶, uncle."

Now a pair of leopards had their young ones at a certain place. When the parents went somewhere to bring flesh, the jackal came at once and said to the young ones: "Du da, wirst du nicht den Reis geben? Du mußt augenblicklich etwas geben⁷." So they gave him whatever flesh the parents had brought together. One day the he-leopard coming back said: "Look here, we are bringing you so much flesh, how is it that, nevertheless, you are getting so thin?"

⁴ See p. 26, note 11.

⁵ A safeguard to prevent their being separated.

⁶ A fairly commonly used expression to say that one's skin is being abraded.

⁷ The jackal is speaking Bengali. The moneylenders and shopkeepers always make use of non-Santals to go round and tell debtors to pay.

Adoko mēnket, Tiskore cōn toyoak rinben dharao akattae; din hilokgeye kōe idilea.

Adokin tārākēna. Ado mit ghāri khange toyo dōe hēc gōtēna: Arē dhan dibe na? Coro moṛo dibe. Adōe lagae lagakēdea sē, mitṭān rehḍa bhugakre toyo dōe nīr tapēna. Ar tārūp hōe nīr tabok kan tahēkana, adōe riḍet gōcēna. Ado toyo dōe metae kana, Ai! bañ hēletmea, oṇḍem tārāk akana?

Ado lumam ṭhuyakṭeye panahi akana ar lumam dhutiteye dhutiyēna ar ḍekēye thayakēdea. Ado hēc ruarkate tārūp hōṇṇ thēne calaēna. Adōe metako kana, Okōe ṭhēnpe tahēna? Apum mañ gōckede.

Tārūp ēnga dōe mēnketa, Tōbē am ṭhēngele tahēna.

Adoko calaēna urni birte sendra. Ado onko doko sendraea arko jhōra āgukoa, ar toyo dō tārākkoka mēnteye tahēna. Bōtōrte bunum cōṭreye ḍēckoka. Ado jelkoko nīr hijuka, adō bōtōrte aḍēye ciḍira. Hēckate tārūp ēngatekoko metaea, Okorko, tinākem gōckekkoa?

Adōe metakoa, Sojhetēge bape laga āgukoa. Nōkōe nankatēn laga ciḍir akatkoa.

Ado tārūp ēngae tārākēna, adō toyo ar tārūpko jhōra āguia. Ado khange tārūp ēnga dō mitṭān jele sap gōtkēdea. Ado toyo dōe mēnketa, Cēl.leka sojhe sojheñ laga āguam kana, onatem gōc gōletkoa. Ado toyo dōe mēnketa, Hapē na, sedae haram in bōngawae laḡit. Gēr gērkatāe, adō bae bhugāk dāṛeta. Adōe mēnket, Ma na, ma na, gēr bhugākāme. Adōe bhugākādea.

⁸ The soil is here and there saline, containing salt. The rains may wash parts of this away, leaving narrow passages.

⁹ The cocoon of the silkworm generally reared by the Santals (*Antheraea mylitta*) has a hard cover and is fairly large. The peons mentioned in note 7 always wear some kind of heavy shoes. The cocoon-shoes are supposed to remind one of the noise made by these peons when coming.

¹⁰ A very common phenomenon always observed by the Santals; fear will cause it.

¹¹ The jackal makes use of a pretext to secure for himself what is considered the most savoury part. He pretends to offer something of the food to the dead leopard. Ancestors have food offered to them now and then.

"Sometime," the young ones replied, "you have become indebted to the jackal; he demands of us and takes away every day."

Then the parents lay in wait, and a short while afterwards the jackal came and called out: "Du da, wirst du nicht den Reis geben? Du mußt augenblicklich etwas geben." They started chasing the jackal and chased and chased, until the jackal ran through a hole in some saline ground⁸, The male leopard also tried to run through; but he stuck and died there. Then the jackal said to him: "Hey, I don't see you. Are you lying in wait?"

The jackal had put on silk-cocoons as shoes⁹ and had taken a silk loin-cloth on, and he kicked the leopard in his hind-quarters. Thereupon he went back to the young leopards and said to them: "With whom are you going to stay? I have killed your father, you see."

The she-leopard then said: "In that case we shall stay with you."

Thereupon they went to the jungle-forest to hunt. The leopards hunted and drove the game before them towards the jackal, who stayed in order to lie in wait and kill. Out of fear, he mounted to the top of a white-ants' hill. When the deer came running, the jackal himself purged¹⁰ out of fear. When the leopard mother and the young ones came, they asked him: "Why, where are they? How many did you kill?"

He then answered them: "You do not drive them straight towards me. Look here, along here I have been chasing them, so they have purged."

After this had happened several times, the she-leopard lay in wait, and the jackal and the young leopards drove the game towards her. The she-leopard caught one deer; then the jackal said: "How straight and direct I am driving the game towards you; therefore you are killing them so quickly." "Wait, girl," the jackal then said, "I shall just make a sacrifice¹¹ to the late old man," whereupon he commenced to bite; but he was unable to bite a hole and said: "Do, girl, do bite a hole for me." She made a hole for him, whereupon the jackal entered and ate the

Ado toyo dō bōlōkate inkoe jōmketa. Jōm biyenae are ođokena. Ado metako kana, Hē na, ma jōmpe nitōk dō. Enko hō ina jeltet-koko jōm baraketa.

Ado japuť japuťko hijuk kana; gađa hō perēc akana; adoko parōmok kana. Taruť hōpōn dōe mēket, Dē babañ ghōrāmea.

Duť! chajōkañ, gidrať then dōñ ghōrā ocōka.

Adoko mēnketa, Mabo parōmoka. Khange taruť eñga taruť hōpōnko dōn parōmketa. Ado toyoe donet tahēkana, tala dakreye nūrhayena. Adoko mēnketa, Ma ya, ma ya, oarepe.

Ado mēnketa, Alope oariña, in puruseťa.

Ado gađa dhipre tayane jeđer akan tahēkana. Ado toyoe mēnketa, Ma ya, ma ya, oarkañme. Itil itil jel in ađuama.

Ado metadea, Ia ya, japiťkate cahapkaťme.

Ado toyo dō jiveť dhiri ađukate mocareye tiñkedea, adōe dareteta. Ado mēnketa, Hape ya, ia toyom tiñ akadiña. Mit dinlañ nammae arlañ jōmmea.

Uni toyo dō dinamge miťtañ pukhri reak kauha rēhet cetan khon dake nūia. Ado tayan dōe ciakedea. Khange tho dak bhitrire tayan dōe unum akana. Ado kauha rēhet cetan khon dake nūñū kana. Ado kaťae orkedea. Khange orkede khane, toyo dōe mēnketa, Ia tayange, inak kaťa ger bagiata kauha rēhete gerakata. Khange, tayan dō toyo jañgae arak golkata ar kauha

¹² It is commonly observed that certain wild animals when they have killed, start eating from the hind-quarters, the intestines, liver, heart and kidneys.

¹³ The expression used in Santali really means 'carry on the shoulder', 'riding'.

¹⁴ The narrator has apparently forgotten all about the raining. The crocodile is represented as basking in the morning sun. The crocodile is now scarcely ever met with in the Santal country; in the flat low country, the crocodile is fairly common.

¹⁵ The narrator has omitted to tell that the crocodile has carried the jackal out of the water, and that the jackal has found the 'fat meat' to pay for the service rendered.

¹⁶ See p. 6, note 11.

¹⁷ Terminalia Arjuna, Bodd., a large timber tree, frequently growing on the banks of rivers and near water. The roots of the tree are generally much ramified, the earth being often washed away from between the more superficial roots.

liver¹². When he was satisfied, he came out and said to the others: "Well, girl, now please eat," and then they also ate; they got the flesh.

It was raining continually as they came along; the river was also running full. Whilst they were going to cross, one of the young leopards said: "Come, father, I shall carry you on my back¹³."

"Fie! confound it! I shall never let me be carried on the back of my child."

"Well, let us get across," they said, whereupon the leopard mother and the young ones jumped across. But when the jackal jumped, he fell in the middle of the water, and the other ones called out: "Do, do rescue him."

"Don't pull me out," the jackal said, "I am standing on the bottom."

Now a crocodile was lying on the river bank basking¹⁴, and the jackal said: "Please, please, get me out. I shall bring you some fat, fat meat."

The jackal¹⁵ then said: "I say, you, shut your eyes and open your mouth."

The jackal brought some quartz stones, and threw them, as forcibly as he could, into the crocodile's mouth, whereupon he ran away. The crocodile said: "Wait you fellow, you rascal of a jackal have stoned me. Some day we two¹⁶ shall find you and eat you."

The jackal was in the habit of daily drinking water from a tank, standing on the roots of a kauha¹⁷ tree, and the crocodile found this out. The crocodile then dived in the water and was lying so out of sight. When the jackal was drinking water there, standing on the roots of the kauha tree, the crocodile caught him by the leg and pulled. As he pulled him, the jackal said: "That rascal of a crocodile, he has let go of my leg and has bitten the kauha root." The crocodile then let the jackal's leg go at once and bit the kauha root. Then the jackal said:

reḡte gerkefa. Unre toyo dḡe mēnkefa, Iḡ tayan, ne yae jomeḡ kan tahēkana.

Adḡ arhō mit ṡhen janhe busup ṡhene jederkoka. Tayan dḡe ciakede khan, janhe busupreya topa akana. En hilok dḡ toyo dḡ mitṡan mērom ṡoṡke nam akawan tahēkana. Ona dḡ hoṡokreya ṡol akawana. Adḡ ṡokḡ ṡokḡre ḡon barae kana. Khange tayan dḡe mēnkefa, Hedok! iḡ mērom. Toyon ṡarāk akawade khan aḡeḡe ṡokḡ ṡokḡrok kana.

Toyo dḡe mēnkefa, Iḡ tayan, nonḡeḡe ṡarāk akana? Khange seḡḡel agukateye jereṡata, adḡ eneḡe lḡ ḡoḡena. Niḡ dḡ muḡatena.

(Told by Phagu, of Dhaka village.)

8. Mitṡen toyo reaḡ.

Mitṡan atore bar eḡa honkin tahēkana, hoḡontḡ dḡ Anua aea. Adḡ uni koṡa dḡe sioka ar uni eḡat buḡhi dḡ baskeake idi barawaea. Adḡ khange miṡ din dḡ baskeak idi jokheḡe mitṡan toyotekinkin napamena. Adḡ uni toyoe mēnkefa, E buḡhi, mase ḡḡḡem, cetem idiyeta? Ar bam ḡḡḡe khan dḡ nāhāklaḡ ger gitiḡ ḡḡ meḡ, ar nāhāk bogetelaḡ ṡḡayameḡ.

Adḡ khange uni buḡhi dḡ boṡorteye ḡḡḡkefa, adḡ uni hoḡontḡ Anua laḡite idiyet tahēkan khicri daka adḡ uni toyoge ḡhertḡ dḡe jomkefa, adḡ thoṡa ṡhuriye sareḡkefa. Inaḡe uni buḡhi dḡ Anua

¹⁸ Janhe, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L., is a very common cultivated millet. The grain is eaten; beer is made from it. The straw is not suitable for cattle-fodder, but is burnt. The potters use it to burn their earthenware. It is very warm to lie in.

⁸¹ During the agricultural season, or whenever the Santals plough, they start ploughing at about sunrise and continue up to nine or ten in the forenoon or, when very busy, perhaps a little longer. The Santal way of ploughing is very superficial, a kind of 'scratching' the soil, possible only when rain has softened the surface, consequently not very heavy and not very tiring. In spite of this

"That rascal of a crocodile, he was just going to eat me, the fellow."

The jackal was in the habit of warming himself in the sun lying in some millet¹⁸ straw. When the crocodile found this out, he buried himself in the straw. That day the jackal had found a goats' wooden bell and had tied that round his neck. He was jumping about making it jingle. The crocodile then said: "Get away, you silly goat. When I am lying in wait for the jackal, she is jingling-jingling here."

"The rascal of a crocodile," the jackal said, "is he lying in wait here?" So he brought fire and set fire to the straw, and the crocodile was burnt to death.

This is ended.

8. THE STORY OF A JACKAL.

IN a village there were living two persons, mother and son. The name of the son was Anua. The young man was ploughing¹, and the old mother was in the habit of taking his forenoon meal out to him. One day whilst she was taking this out to him, she met with a jackal. The jackal said: "Old woman, put it down at once; what are you taking along? If you don't put it down, we two² shall presently bite you, so you will lie there, and we shall give you a good kicking."

The old woman was frightened and put it down, whereupon the jackal ate most of the mixed rice and dāl³ that she was taking out to her son Anua; he left only a little, which the old woman

they do not work their bullocks more than as told, some three to four hours in the morning.

² See p. 6, note 11.

³ Dāl is the common name in a number of north Indian languages for split peas or beans. The dāl is in daily use for making curry. What is here mentioned is rice and dāl cooked together, sometimes prepared in this way by the Santals, but much more common with other races.

thene idiketa. Khange uni koṛa hō inā toyo itāṭgeye jomketa, ar uni koṛa dō bae baḍaeleta, je in dō toyo itāṭe aḡu akawadiṇa mente, bin baḍaeteye jomketa. Adō uni toyo dō din hilokge onkae eṛeyea uni buḍhi dō.

Khange adō miḥ din dō uni koṛae menketa, Henda gō, cekate baṅ netar dō sigiē bigiē dakagem aḡuaṅ kan, nonkagem dakayeta se?

Adō uni buḍhiye menketa, Baṅa baḡu, oṛak khon dō bhagegeṅ daka aḡuyeta; menkhan aḡui jokheḡge miḥṭaṅ toyo horregeye eṣeḍiṇa; adōe metaṅa, Ma buḍhi, daka dōhoeme, ar bam dōhoekhan dō nāhāklaṅ ger gitiē gōṭmea ar bogetelaṅ thayamea, Adō bōṭortē dōhoadege, adō uniye jom itāda, inā dakage adō am theniṅ aḡuyeta, adō am hōm ruhedin bōṭorte baṅ lai barawama.

Adō uni koṛae menketa, E gō, gapa dō amge siok then ḍaṅgra dō laga aḡukinme, inḡe baskeak dōṅ aḡuia.

Khange engattēte menketa, Acha, beṭa, bogege, gapa dō eṅḍekhan nahelko soḡ gōṭaṅme; in dō am leka ḍeṅgakate siok then ḍaṅgra laga aḡukateṅ teṅgokakina.

Adō koṛae menketa, Hai hai, onkage in auriṅ hijuk haḡiē dō noṅḍe bare ṭekaokakinme.

Adōe menketa, Acha bogege, beṭa. Sim rakre ḍaṅgram aṛakkin jokheḡge in' hōṅ daka oṭoama; adō nāhāk baskeak ber jokheḡ nāhāk am dō aḡuime. Adōe menketa, Acha besge.

⁴ The Santals are very careful not to eat anything left, i. e. touched by others. A woman may eat what is left by her husband and children, a man will never eat what is left by women. Two persons will not, e. g., drink water of the same cup, unless the cup is first scoured. They are very particular in this respect, from a sanitary point of view excellently so. To eat anything touched by an animal would be horrible.

⁵ The Santal plough is a very light implement, except for the ploughshare, made entirely from wood. The plough consists of three parts, the plough itself, the handle and the plough-beam, to which the yoke is fastened. To plough is always used a pair of bullocks or buffaloes. When going to or coming from the fields, they fasten the plough to the yoke in such a way that the plough itself hangs

took to Anua. The young man then ate what the jackal had left; but he did not know that he had eaten a jackal's leavings⁴; he did it unknowingly. After this the jackal every day in this way fooled the old woman.

Then, one day, the young man said: "I say, mother, what is the matter, that you now-a-days bring me such small dirty bits of food? do you prepare the food in this way or how?"

"Not at all, my lad," the old woman replied; "the food is quite good when I bring it from home; but whilst I am on the road with it, a jackal blocks the way for me and says to me: "Old woman, put the food down; if you don't put it down, we two shall presently bite you, so you will lie there, and we shall give you a good kicking." So, out of fear, I put it down to him, and he eats and leaves a little; that is the food that I bring you, and, fearing that you also would scold me, I have not told you of it."

"Well, mother," the young man said, "to-morrow you shall drive the bullocks to where I am ploughing; I myself shall bring my forenoon food."

"Very well, my boy," the old woman replied, "that is good; to-morrow then you hang the plough⁵ on the yoke for me; I shall take loin-clothes on like you, drive the bullocks to where you are ploughing and let them stand there."

"That is right," the young man said, "keep them here until I shall come."

"Yes, very well, my boy," she replied; "at cock-crow, when you loose the bullocks, I shall prepare the food and leave it for you; then you take the food along at mealtime." "All right, that is good," he said.

down just below the yoke, whilst the plough-beam points upwards. The bullocks then carry the whole along. Sometimes the plough is left in the field, only the iron ploughshare being taken home, sometimes the ploughman may carry it himself. Here the bullocks are to take the plough along.

Ado khange sari, ongkin galmaraolet lekage dangrakoe jorao gotadete uni buđhi dōe laga idiketkina, ar uni Anua koṛa dō kanthateye bandeyena are gogōkena, ar ḡaliere dakae sajaoketa. Ado baskeak beren khan dō ḡaliē dakae dipilketa, ado uni buđhi hoṛ lekage theṅga tirup tirupte ado baskeake idiyet kana.

Khange ado uni toyo dōe oḡok gotena, adōe men gotketa, Daka dohqeme, buđhi, baṅkhanlaṅ ger gitiē gotmea. Ado khangeye dohqoketa, ado uni toyo dōe jojom kana. Un jokheēge Anua dō ona theṅgate uni toyo dōe dal baji gotkedeā. Khange uni toyo dōe nīr beret gotenteye daṛ gotketa, are men gotketa, Durre; Anua kanae ya. Adōe ruhet gotkedeā, Hape ya, Anua, cetem dal akadinte, iaiēge, kārbaṅ jikiatama ar nahellaṅ icatama. Ado onkae ruhet barakette uni toyo dōe daṛketa.

Ado uni koṛa dō eṅgat buđhi then senkateye lai barawadea. Ado khange aḡi bariēkin landaketa; ado oraḡte dangrakin laga aguketkina. Ado khange dosar hilok khon dō uni koṛa dō ona kārbaṅe holate tol akata.

Ado khange mit din dō ninda jokheē uni toyo dōe heē gotena, ado nahele ic gotata ar kārbaṅeye jikiē kan jokheēge liṅdhiye geḡ gotena. Ado uni toyoe men gotketa, Durre, ia Anua ya, liṅdhiye geḡ ocokidiṅ dō. Hape ya Anua, malhanlaṅ jom aḡoetama.

Ado uni Anua dō ona malhan jhaṡa dō janumte goṡae ram esetketa. Ado khange ninda jokheē uni toyo dōe heē gotena, ado goḡ laḡit mocaē idi khangeye roḡoka. Adōe meneta, Durre,

⁶ Especially during the rainy season, but also at other times, women may dress not in one piece of cloth covering the breast and doing service for a petticoat, but in two pieces, one just big enough to go round the waist and cover the body below, whilst the other and smaller piece is taken up over the shoulder. It is a poor woman's clothing, but also used by all, when out doing fieldwork during the rainy season and the like.

⁷ The Santal word means a flat kind of basket. They have a large variety of forms—

⁸ Among the Santals, men carry on the shoulder, women on their head. When a child is born and people ask for or are told the sex of the new-born, the standard way of telling it is to say 'carrying on the shoulder' or 'carrying on the head', bharis or dipil, as the case may be.

Thereupon, in accordance with what they had talked together, he yoked the bullocks for the old woman, and she drove them along, whilst Anua dressed himself up in women's way, with a bit of cloth for a loin-cloth, and a piece over the breast⁶, and put the food ready in a basket⁷. When the time for the forenoon meal came, he took the basket on his head⁸, and leaning on a stick, like the old woman, he took the food along.

The jackal then all at once appeared and called out: "Put the food down, old woman, otherwise we two shall bite you, so you will lie there." So he put the basket down, and the jackal started eating. Whilst he was doing this, Anua struck the jackal with the stick, so he turned over and over. The jackal got on his legs in a hurry and ran away, saying: "Oh my! it is Anua, the fellow." Then he commenced scolding him: "Wait a bit, you fellow, you Anua; what, you have struck me, you unspeakable fellow, for that we two shall drag our posteriors along your plough-handle and pass stools on your plough." Having railed at him in this way, the jackal ran away.

The young man went to his mother and told her all, and both of them laughed heartily, whereupon they drove the bullocks home; from the next day the young man kept a razor tied to his plough-handle.

Then, one day, it happened at night that the jackal came and passed stool on the plough; when he was dragging his posteriors along the plough-handle, he cut himself in his hind-quarters. "Oh dear me!" the jackal cried, "this Anua has caused me to cut myself in my hind-quarters. Wait a bit, you fellow, you Anua, we two shall eat your beans for you."

Anua then fenced his bean-stakes⁹ in entirely with thorn-tree branches. When the jackal came at night and stretched out his snout to pluck beans, the thorns pierced him. "Oh dear me!"

⁹ This bean (*Dolichos Lablab*, L.) is generally grown in one small spot, the plant being trailed over the (dried) branches of a bush planted there.

Anuawak malhan dō bejāe yae gegera ya. Adō bae jōm dareafa. Khangeye menketa, Hape ya, Anua, malhan dō bejāeye gegertama, iaiċge, sim yalañ jōm atarkotama; hape gapa ocoak, dhoragelañ jōmkotama.

Adō khangē uni Anua dō datrom sapkate dosar hilok dō sim kundhi ðhene duřup akana, adō ħinda khangē uni toyo dōe heċ gořena; adō oraķteye boċo gořena, adō sim kundhi ðhene calao gořena, adō gerko laġit mocae idi khangeye tobaķ daram gořea. Khangē uni toyo dōe paċ gořenge; arhō onka mocae idi khangē ona datromte boħoke tobaķ gořea. Adō onka onkateye bhagaoen khan dōe ořokena, adō racare ořokkateye meneta, Cet ya, Anua simpe tobaķ akadiña, ar Anua hō liñdhiye geř oco akadiña; iā Anuage, eñgatem goċ ataroka. Adō onka ruheř barakate uni toyo dōe calaoena.

Adō uni Anua dō eře eře kathaeye gořena, adō uni eñgat buđhi dō, kathaē, adō dosar hilok dōe rak barayeta, adō eře eře, kathaeye rak barayeta, adō rak rakte, kathaē, adō bir řen calaokateye rak barayeta. Adō khangē uni toyo dō, kathaeye ořok gořena, adōe kuli gořkedeā, Henda buđhi, cedaķ adom rak barayeta?

Khangē adō uni buđhiye menketa, Amge tho ħoponiñ dom sarapadea, onatege uni Anua dōe gořentiña.

Khangē adō uni toyoe men gořketa, kathaē, Bhagelenam, iā Anuage, eñgate uđiyem dalañ kan taħekana — bam goċ atarena? Adōe menketa, Henda buđhi, adō tisem bhañđanea?

¹⁰ The Santal sickle looks very much the same as the Norwegian implement.

¹¹ The fowls live in the same house as the family. Generally a small part of the floor in a corner is set aside for the fowls. Here the fowls stay from evening to morning. A tiny ridge is often put as a barrier across the floor.

¹² It is very common that both men and women in speaking add to the verb a word which is supposed to emphasize the meaning, but is untranslatable, except by something akin to swearing. The men use a word meaning 'to urinate', and the women a word meaning 'to burn up'. The jackal here uses the latter word.

¹³ The last of the Santal funeral ceremonies, bhañđan, is regularly performed after the bones of the corpse have been thrown into the Damuda river. It is a

the jackal said, "Anua's beans are biting something awful, oh my!" He could not eat and said: "Wait a bit, you fellow, you Anua; your beans are biting something awful, you uspeakable fellow; your fowls, you fellow, we two shall eat up entirely; wait, let it become to-morrow, we two shall surely eat those you have."

The next day Anua took a sickle¹⁰ and sat down near the fowls' corner¹¹. At night the jackal appeared, entered the house and went straight to the fowls' corner; then, when he put his mouth out to catch some, Anua met him with the sickle and pecked him. The jackal then drew back, and when he again put his mouth out, he met him with the sickle and pecked him in his head. When he had to give it up after having tried the same several times, he went out. When he came out into the courtyard, he said: "What, you fellow, you Anua-fowls have pecked me, and Anua has also caused me to get my hind-quarters cut. You unspeakable Anua, dash it, you shall die and be done for¹²." Having scolded in this way the jackal went away.

Thereupon, people tell, Anua pretended to die, and his old mother the next day commenced to wail, that is to say, she pretended to wail, and crying she went to the forest and wailed there. Then the jackal came suddenly out from somewhere and asked her: "I say, old woman, what are you crying for?"

"It was yourself," the old woman replied, "who cursed my son; therefore my Anua died for me."

"It served you right," the jackal said; "you rascal of an Anua, dash it, you were beating me very hard, -- did you not die, confound you^{12?}" "Look here, old woman", he said, "when are you going to have the funeral ceremonies^{13?}"

circumstantial affair, with offerings to the spirit of the dead and feasting and drinking. What is here called *bhāṅḍan* is, of course, not the proper thing.

¹⁴ The woman is wailing in Bengali, possibly because it is meant to be more impressive, the jackals in the Santal tales being frequently introduced as speaking Bengali.

Ado uni buđhi dōe mēnketa, Teheñ nīndageñ bhañdane laḡit; onate am lalaige in dōñ heç akana. Adoñ mēnketa, O hae, bhala hōpōniñ lekage dakakoñ idiae kan tahēkana, ado niā bhañdanre dō okōe tora uni hōñ laiaegea. Ado onka mēnkate, beṭa, nōkōe am then lalai in dōñ heçakana. Dakaeañ, utuiañ, piṭhāiañ nāhāk, ado okōe in em pahilakoteñ jōma? Nin dara dō uniye tahēkante uniñ em pahilaea, eñḍe eñeç in jōmet tahēkana. Ado uni banu- giçte in dō aḍi bhabnañ aīkaueṭa.

Ado khange uni toyoe mēn gōṭketa, Alom bhabnaka, buđhi, uni bōḍol dō in menaṇa; inḡe nāhāk em pahilañme.

Adoē mēnketa, Acha, tōḃe calakme nāhāk.

Adoē mēnketa, Acha dhinañ ayuṭḡe tho?

Adoē mēnketa, Hē, dhinaṅge calao gōḍokme nāhāk, alom eṛeña.

Adoē mēnketa, Ma, ḡhōñ ḡṛmea.

Ado uni buđhi dōe ruṛarena, ar uni toyo dō ako jat aemae riāu jarwaketkoa. Ado ayuṭ khangeko calao ḡotena. Ado uni buđhi dōe mēn gōṭketa, Ma beṭa, duruṭṭabonpe. Khange adḡko duruṭṭ barayena. Ado uni buđhi dōe raketa, kathae, Hae! hae! Anuṛ beṭa muri gelae, hae! hae! Anuṛ beṭa muri gelae.

Onka, kathae, uni buđhi dōe rak barayeta. Ado, kathae, uni toyoe mēnketa, Alom raga, buđhi. Ma, hapekme, ināḡge ragme. Nitok dō ḡōçen hoṛ dō ḡhōm ṇamlea. Nitok dō hapekme, ar ma daka baraetabonme.

Khange ṭukuçkoe gitil bara aderketa, seṅḡe jolketa; ado uni toyoe mēnketa, E buđhi, ṭol hataṛkaleme, bañkhan nāhākke laṛḡai bṭeçkoka.

Ado uni buđhiye mēnketa, Saṛige, beṭa, bhagegem mēnketa; ṭol pahilkapegeañ. Ado joteko, barahiko ṇamkateye ṭolketkoa, ar uni pagla toyo dō khub kajake ṭolkedea. Adoē metae kana,

¹⁵ The Santal word, *karahi*, means a kind of shallow cooking vessel, used among other things to cook Santal cakes in; it is usually made from earthenware, but may also be of metal.

"To-day," the old woman replied, "this night I am going to have the funeral ceremonies; therefore I have come to tell you. I said to myself: Alas, I was taking food out to him like to a son of mine; therefore I shall this instant also invite him to the funeral ceremonies. Having this in my mind, my son, I have, as you see, come to you to let you know. I shall cook rice, I shall prepare curry, I shall make cakes presently: but to whom shall I give first, and then eat myself? Formerly, when he was there, I was giving him first; then only I took my food. Now when he is no more, I am feeling exceedingly sorrowful."

"Don't be sorrowful, old woman," the jackal replied, "I am here in his stead; give me first now."

"All right," she said, "come then."

"All right," he replied, "it is later to-day, in the evening, is it not?"

"Yes," she said, "be sure to come in the afternoon; don't fail me."

"Be sure," he replied, "I shall not fail you."

The old woman then returned, and the jackal invited a great crowd of his kind to come along. When it became evening, they went; the old woman met them and said: "Please, my son, be seated all of you," and they sat down. The old woman was crying: "Ach, ach¹⁴, Anua mein Sohn ist gestorben, ach, ach. Anua mein Sohn ist gestorben."

In this way, people tell, the old woman wailed. Then the jackal said: "Don't cry, old woman. Be quiet, stop that, let that be enough crying. Now you will not get the dead one back. Stop now, and please prepare food for us."

She then scoured the cooking pots and took them in; thereupon she lighted a fire. The jackal then said: "Old woman, tie us up for the present, otherwise we might commence fighting presently."

"That's true, my son," the old woman said, "it was well you said that; I shall first tie you all." She then found yoke cords and ropes and tied them all up; and that rascally jackal she tied very firmly. So she said: "First, my son, I shall make cakes

E beṭa, pahil don piṭṭa maraṅtabona, inaḅo jom hatara. Daka do qhō nāhāk isin hoḡlana: daka do tayomteṅ isina.

Adoko men goḡketa, Acha bogege, ma onḡekhan piṭṭa hoḡme. Ado, kathae, karahiye dhipauketa; adō onare pohrek pohrek dake chitkəu goḡak kana, adō choṅ choṅ saḡe goḡok kana. Ado uni toyo doḡe menettakoa, Oṭe ya, ceḡ leka moṅj saḡe kana! Khub nāhākbo joma. Ado onka choṅ choṅ saḡe torage, kathae, uni pagla toyo doḡe don goḡet tahēkana.

Khange uni Anua do bhitarreye gitiḡ akan tahēkana. Ado hape hapeteye beretente theṅgae ṅamketa, adō theṅga mūtḡkateye nīr oḡok hoḡena; adō dale dalketḡoa do, andhe mundheye uyukḡeta. Ado khange onko doḡo ger topak baraketteko darḡeta. Ar nui do bae topak dareata; khangeye dal jhin jhinakudea, adō leṭeḡ leṭeḡe tahē aṅgayena.

Ado dosar hilok do dak lo ghatṭeye idikedeā, ar onḡeye khuṅṭaukadea, ar miṭṭaṅ guḡṅa benaokate onḡeye doḡokata. Ado jāhāe aiṃaige dak loko calak, adō sanam hoḡ mimiḡ guḡṅako piṭṭauea. Onka onkate uni toyo doḡo dal moḡkedeā.

Khange adō miḡ din do ninda jokheḡ dosra toyo dak nū onḡeko hēcena, adō dakko nū baraketa, adoko metae kana, Henda ya, ceḡ jomte baṅ onka do beḅariḡem moṭa akan do? Bhala ceḡkom jometa, ar ale do okorle motak kana?

Adoḡe menketa, Dakaṅ jometa; tinak hoḡ nonḡe dak loko hijuk kan, sanam hoḡ mimiḡ bakhra dakako aḡu darawaṅ kana.

Adoko menketa, Ale hoḡ onḡekhan nonḡe khuṅṭaulele khanko aḡukelea?

Adoḡe menketa, Hē ya, aiḡa sanam hoḡ doḡo aḡukepe coṅ baṅ coṅ, menkhan mit hoḡ do khaṭigeḡo aḡukepea. Ar bam paṭiaḡ

¹⁶ See p. 56, note 16.

¹⁷ Ghaṭ in Santal means generally a passage down to, or the place where people fetch water. To have access to such a place means that one belongs to a particular society or caste. In the villages people are often rather strict and hard in respect of this. The ghaṭ may be at a river or a tank.

¹⁸ The Santal word is used about a heavy piece of wood, used for beating the rice bundles (bāndi) to tighten the ropes with which these are bound.

for us; we shall eat them for the present. It will take some time for the rice to be cooked; I shall cook the rice afterwards."

"Very well," they said, "please, then, be quick and make cakes." The old woman then put a pan¹⁵ on the fire and let it become hot; now and again she sprinkled a little water on it, so it made a hissing sound. The jackal every time remarked: "Listen, my friends, how beautifully it sounds. We shall get a rich feed presently." And every time he heard that hissing sound, the rascally jackal jumped for joy.

Now Anua had been lying down in the bhitar¹⁶. He very quietly got up and found a stick, and taking a firm hold of the stick with his fist, he ran out and commenced to beat the jackals all he could, he struck out in all directions. The jackals then tore the ropes with their teeth and ran away; but this one was not able to tear the cords, and he beat him so he became faint and was lying there utterly exhausted until dawn.

The following day Anua took him down to the place where people fetched water¹⁷ and tied him to a post there; he also made a club¹⁸ and put it there. It then came to pass that, whenever women came to fetch water, every one gave him a blow with the club. In this way they beat the jackal, so that he swelled up.

Then, one day at night time, some other jackals came there to drink water. When they had drunk water, they said to him: "Look here, you fellow, what can you be eating to become so enormously fat? What on earth are you eating? and we others, we do not become fat at all."

"I am eating rice," he replied; "every one who comes here to fetch water, all of them bring some along and give me a portion rice."

"Would they then," one of them said, "bring us also something, if we were tied to a post here?"

"Yes, of course, you fellow," that jackal replied; "now I could not say whether they would bring or not to all of you; but to one they would be sure to bring. If you don't believe it, please release me, and I shall tie you with the same rope that I am

khan dō hōṅé ma iñ rarakāme ar ona joratege amiñ jorakama. Nēlme nāhāk gapa setak khangeko āguama.

Khange thō uni dosra toyoe mēnketa, Acha bhalañ biḍautama. Ado sari onka mēnkate uni dōe rarakedea ar aḍe tōl ocoyena. Khange adō aṅgayen khan, sari adō mōrē goṭen aimañ dak loko hijuk kane nēl goṭkefkoa. Adōe mēnketa, Mōrē hoṛko hijuk kana, mōrē bakhra nāhākko āguyeta; khub jom nāhākiñ joma.

Onkae mēnjoñ kan tahēkange adōko setōren khan dō kaṅdako dōhō barakata, ar ona guḍṇa sapkate sanam hoṛ mimiṭ guḍṇako mukeṛkedea. Khange adō aṛiste uni toyo dō aḍi barice dōneta. Khange arhō pēa ponea aimaiko heḍ juṭucena. Khange adōe dōnet nēlṭe dalko dalkedea dō, ēkkalte oṅḍegeko dal goḍ utarkedea. Oṅe onka lekate uni pagla toyo dōe jitaṅuena.

Cabayena katha dō.

9. Turta koṛa ar toyo reaṅ.

Aḍi sedaere miṭṭaṅ raṅḍi maejiue tahēkana. Uniren dō miṭṭaṅ-getaeyae hoṇṇ dō sadherre. Unige miṭṭaṅ gaḍa aṛe beḍare eskare sioka. Eṅgat buḍhi dō baskeak dak maṅḍiye idiaea. Ar miṭṭaṅ toyo dō goṭe ciṅḍkareye tāṛākkoka.

Adō khange uni buḍhi dō koṛa baskeak dak maṅḍiye idiaea; adō uni toyo dō buḍhiye metaea, Dēn buḍhi, dak maṅḍi emañme. Bāḍo Turta dōe siok kan? Inge coñ siok kan tahēkan. Uni buḍhiren hoṇṇṭeṭ koṛawak nūtum dō Turtaṅwaca.

Adō onkae metade khan, eṅeye dōhōkeṭge, adōe dul barawadege. Adō uni Turta laḡit dō dak dake saré idiadege. Adō Turta dōe mēna, Henda go, ceṭ leka bañ dak maṅḍi dōm āḡuañ?

¹ The name of the man who wrote this story down is Kāṅhu Maṛṅḍi of village Chondorpura in the Dumka Damin. He was a well educated man, at one time a school teacher. Died in Mesopotamia during the war. The Santal original is considerably below the standard set by Sagram. It seems to be two stories, dimly remembered and joined together.

² The Santal word for food used here is lit. rice-water, a very common dish. The word is, however, often used as a modest name for food in general.

ted with. Be sure, as soon as it becomes morning to-morrow, they will bring you something."

The other jackal then said: "Very well, I shall like to try what you say." And verily, having said this, he released the jackal and let himself be tied up. When it dawned next day, he saw five women coming to fetch water. "Five persons are coming," he said, "they are surely bringing five portions; how well I shall eat!"

Whilst he was saying this to himself, they arrived and put their water-pots down; thereupon they took the club and all of them hit him one blow with the club. The jackal did not feel pleased at this and jumped and leaped all he could to get loose. Then three or four more women came, in addition to the first ones. When they saw how he was jumping, they beat him again and again; they beat him to death then and there. In this way that rascally jackal came away safely.

The story is ended.

9. TURTA AND THE JACKAL¹.

ONCE upon a time long long ago there was a widow. She had one son, an only one. This young man was ploughing some land along the bank of a river, quite alone. His mother was in the habit of taking his forenoon-meal rice-water² out to him. And a jackal was lying in wait in a croton thicket³ near by.

Well, the old woman was carrying the forenoon meal out to the boy, and the jackal says to the woman: "Please, old woman, give me food. Do you think it is Turta who is ploughing? Why, it was I who was ploughing." The name of the son of the old woman was Turta.

When the jackal spoke to her in this way, she put the basket down and poured food out for him, whereupon she took the remainder, just the water, to Turta. Turta asked her: "I say, mother, what kind of stuff is this rice-water you bring me?"

³ The tree or rather bush mentioned is *Croton oblongifolius*, Roxb., fairly common in the Santal country.

Ado buđhi dōe mēna, Uni toyogeye grēña. Din hilok metañae, Turta dō bacōe siok kan. Onka dinamgeye grēyēa ar deakoreye capo barāea.

Ado miť din dō uni kořa dō palkoe toťketa, ar řangra dō uni buđhigeye gupi barayetkoa. Ado aće buđhi lekae bandeyena ar sakomkoe hōrōkketa, ar miťtañ potam cupi řēngōće gok toraketa. Ado dak mañđiye dipil idiyeta. Ado khange uni toyo dō gajar khone nīr ođokena are metadea, Dēn buđhi, dak mañđi dul oťo-añme. Inge thōr in siok kana.

Khan adōe emadea, adōe jomjon kana. Ar aće dō uni dea sećreye duruřena, adō uni oňgat buđhi lekage cañđbolkoreye tunum barayedeā. Toyo dea seće duruřkate tunum barayede khane menketa, uni toyo dō, bañma, Noa dō kaca kantiña. Khan tunum bara tunum bara phēđ muñdre ona potam cupi řēngōće cañđbole samak kutřaketaea, adōe řar tapketa.

Ar toyoe menketa, Hape ya, Turta, cañđbolem samak akattiña, kārbañ jikiatama.

Khange Turta dō ona kārbañ miťtañ laser holate tołkata. Ado toyo dō kārbañreye jikiak jōkhen liñđhi dō geť māyāmentaea. Adōe menketa, Bejāe Turtawak kārba dō lasertaea. Hape, sim in jomkotaea. Ađi liñđhiye geť oco akadiña.

Onkae menket khan, Turta dō ayuř jōkhen datromante sim kundhi řhene duruř thirkoka. Ado toyo dō hape hapeteye nam barayetko kana. Uni Turta dō mar datromte tobage. Khange adōe mēna, Durre! bařic Turtaren sim doko tokbaktaea.

Ado arhō Turta dōe mēna, Hapelañ batraoetme kana.

Ado toyo dōe menket, Oh! Iā Turta, meromlañ jomkotama.

⁴ Santal women make extensive use of wristlets of sorts, every married woman has some.

⁵ The Santals have several forms of axes, the one here mentioned, called 'dove-tail' axe, being very small, size and form reminding one of the tail of a dove.

⁶ What is here translated 'trousers' is a piece of cloth, some 2½ m. long and ½ m. broad, taken round the loins and between the legs. It is the old regular form of Santal loin-cloth for men.

⁷ See p. 6, note 11.

"That jackal," his mother said, "he deceives me. Every day he says to me: Turta, why, he does not plough." In this way the jackal fools her every day, and she pats the jackal on the back.

Then, one day, the young man took the ploughshares off, and the old woman was tending the bullocks, whilst he himself clothed himself like an old woman and put wristlets⁴ on; as he went, he took a small axe⁵ along, carrying it on his shoulder, and he also carried the food on his head. As he went along, the jackal came running out of the thicket and said to him: "Please, old woman, pour rice-water out for me, before you go further. It is I who plough, you know."

He gave him some, and the jackal commenced eating. He sat down behind the jackal, whilst he, like his old mother, was touching him with his hand over his back and tail. As he was sitting there and touching the jackal, he, i. e. the jackal, said: "That's my trousers⁶." The young man kept on touching him until he suddenly, with his small axe, cut the jackal's tail off at the root, whereupon he ran away.

"Wait a bit, you Turta," the jackal called out, "you have cut my tail; I shall drag my posterior along your plough-handle."

Turta then tied a sharp razor to the plough-handle, and when the jackal dragged his posterior along the plough-handle, his hind-quarters were cut, and the blood flowed out. "Turta's plough-handle," the jackal said, "is awfully sharp. Wait a bit, I shall eat his fowls. He is the cause of my having got my hind-quarters so badly cut."

When he had said this, Turta, in the evening, took a sickle and sat down quietly at the fowls' corner. The jackal came and was trying to catch some without making any noise, and Turta at once pecked him with the sickle. "Oh my," the jackal said, "it is something awful those fowls of Turta's peck."

"Wait," Turta said, "we two⁷ are making a fine show of you."

"Oh," the jackal called out, "you unspeakable Turta, we two shall eat your goats."

Ado khange Turta dō merom gudri thene durupkoka muṅgarante. Ado ger barako jōkheć mar uni dō muṅgarte kuṭame. Ado mena, Turtareṅ merom dō bejāeko kuṭamtaea. Hape, Turtai goćen khan, bhaṅdan in jōmtaea.

Turta dō ona kathae añjomkef khan buḍhiye metadea, Iṭ go, birte calakme, sahan sakamko heć baraeme, ar in ṅutumte rak baraeme.

Ado sēnkate nonkae rak barayeta: Turta re, Turta mori gel re! Turta re, Turta mori gel re!

Ado khange toyoe hećena; adge kulikedeā, Henda buḍhi, cedakem raketa?

Ho, Turtai goćena, onateṅ raketa, ar bhaṅdane laḡit sakamkoṅ heć idiyeta; hoṅ hō banukkoa.

Ado toyo dōe menketa, Ho, ma am dō joto tear hatarme, in nahāk pera dōn nōta idikoa.

Khan uni buḍhi dō oraḡteye sēnena ar merome goćketkoa. Khange toyo dō toyokoe riṅ jaora aḡuketkoa. Ado onko toyo dō bebek poska poska sikol baberteye toḷketkoa jhaṅṅi are arete, ar uni baṅḍiṅ toyo dō khub keṭeć baberteye toḷkedeā, jemon reṭećkate aloko jom, adge ematkoa. Neḡo jom adha adhi akat jōkheṅ buḍhi dōe raketa: Turta re, Turta kahā gel re? Turta mutak lele an.

Ado uni baṅḍiṅ toyo buḍhiye metae kana, Ceṭ leka bam raket kan?

Adge meneta, Ceṭ leka baṅ raket kan? Turtaṅ wak mutak taḡkantaea, ona baṅ kolkattaea. Ona disaṭe ona mutak in ṅleṭa ar in raketa.

Ona tayom Turta dō mutakanteye oḡokena, ar uni dō mar ona mutakte ghatrako. Onko toyo dō topakkateko daṅketa; ar uni baṅḍiṅ toyo dō ukhuṛeye toḷledeā ar khub moṭa baberte. Chai

⁸ The Santal word likely means to convey 'with the hoof'.

⁹ The old woman is using Bengali.

¹⁰ Some of the personal belongings of the deceased are usually 'sent with' him. That is effected through certain symbolical acts.

Turta then sat down at the goat-pen with a wooden mallet, and when the jackal was biting at the goats, he hammered him with the mallet. The jackal then said: "These goats of Turta's are hammering⁸ something awful. Wait a bit, when Turta is dead, I shall feast at the funeral ceremonies."

When Turta heard this, he said to his old mother: "I say, mother, go to the forest to fetch firewood and leaves, and wail for me."

The old woman went and cried thus: "Turta oh, Turta ist gestorben⁹, oh! Turta oh, Turta ist gestorben oh!"

Then the jackal came and asked her: "I say, old woman, what are you crying for?"

"Oh, Turta is dead; therefore I am crying, and I am finding leaves to prepare for his funeral ceremonies; there are no people either to help."

"O," the jackal replied, "you make everything ready; I shall invite the friends and bring them."

The woman then went home and killed some goats, and the jackal called a crowd of jackals together and came with them. The old woman tied all the jackals with some rotten straw-rope along the fence; but the tailless jackal she tied with a very strong rope; she did all this to prevent them from fighting over the food; thereupon she gave them. When they had half done eating, the old woman wailed: "Turta oh, wohin ist Turta gegangen? Turta, hole den Hammer⁹!"

"How is it you are wailing?" the tailless jackal called out to her.

"How is it I am wailing?" the old woman said; "Turta had a wooden mallet, and I did not send that with him¹⁰. I remember this when I see the mallet, and wail."

After this, Turta came out with the mallet and slashed at them right and left with the mallet. The other jackals tore their ropes and ran away; but the tailless jackal he tied to the rice mortar¹¹

¹¹ A large and heavy wooden implement, used by the Santals and also by many other races for husking rice and other purposes.

dareatae topak dareatae. Mar bhagete mukere. Ado dal dalteye dal mōkedeā. Ado khange duar thene tolkadea, ado jao hilok odokok bōlōke dalea, ado artētgeye dal mōkedeā.

Khan mit din dō mittañ tarup aṇḍiai hecena, adge meneta, Henda bhagna, bejāeyem moṭa akan dō?

Oh mamō, cef bañ men? In dō bañ nēlak in nēleta ar bañ jomak in jometa.

Ado tarupe meneta, Tobē in nōṇḍēñ tahēlen khan, in hōñ mo-takoka?

Ado toyo dōe menket, Hē, am dō arhō barti moṭam nēloka; am ma ente naprak jat kanem.

Khange ado toyo dōe meneta, Dē eṇḍekhan rarakanme. Adge rarakadea, ado ac bōḍol uni kul aṇḍiageye tolkadea.

Ado Turtā korā dō racateye odokok kan tahēkana. Ado marañ utare nēlkede khan, mutak theṅgate bhageteye dalkedeā, dal aḍraokedeae. Onka dal dalteye dal mōkedeā. Ona dosar tesar khangeye gocena. Uni Turtā korā dōe khalkedeā. Khalkate ona harta dōe rok joraoketa ar busupe bhōraoketa. Ar ona dō ato atoe gok barayeta, are kōe baraca ar poesakoko emaea. Onatekin asuloka ḍakin banar eṅga hōn. Dher din onka onkateye poesa jaoraketa.

Ado mit din eṅgattgē metadea, E go, in dō banij bepar in calaka. Ma satu sambaranme.

Adge satu sambaradeteye odok calaoena mit raj disomte. Ado raj naṅgrahae namketa. Ado oṇḍeye kuli barayetkōa, Qkōeko sadōmpe akriṅkōa? Uni rajreṅge aḍi utar haṭi sadōm menakkōa. Ado ayupente eṅ hilok dō ona naṅgraha are sadōm oraḱ pheḍregeye derayena.

¹² This Santal word is generally used about the tiger, but is also used as a common name for tigers and leopards.

¹³ Pice, or in North Indian languages paesa or poesa, is 1/4 anna, about one farthing. In Santal it is very generally used to mean 'money'.

¹⁴ It is very seldom that Santals go about to buy and sell. They may take animals to a distant market to sell, or go to such places to buy; otherwise trading is something Santals have not as yet shown themselves fit for.

with a very heavy rope. He tried, but he was utterly unable to tear himself loose. So Turta laid it thickly on with the mallet. He continued beating him until he swelled up. Then he tied him at the door, and whenever he went out or came in, he gave him a blow every day, so he swelled still more.

Then one day a big leopard came. "I say, nephew," he said, "you have grown exceedingly fat."

"O uncle, what can I say? I see what is not seen, and I eat what is not eaten."

"Then," the leopard said, "if I stayed here, should I also grow fat?"

"Yes," the jackal replied, "you will look still much fatter; for you, you see, are of a big race."

"Please then, unbind me," the jackal said, whereupon the leopard unbound him, and the jackal tied the big leopard¹² there in his stead.

When Turta was coming out into the courtyard and saw that he was so immensely big, he gave him a good hiding with the club; he beat him so that he bellowed. By beating him in this way, he made him swell up, and two three days afterwards the leopard died, and Turta flayed him. When he had done this, he sewed the skin together and filled it with straw. This stuffed thing he carried about from village to village begging, and people gave him pice¹³. By these means they supported themselves, both mother and son. A long time they collected money in this way.

One day Turta said to his mother: "Mother, I am going off to trade¹⁴. Please, make me some provisions for the road."

When she had given him some food to take with him, he started and came to a king's country. When he reached the capital, he asked the people there: "Is there any one here who sells ponies?" Now the king had a large number of elephants and horses, and when it became evening that day, he stopped for the night in the outskirts of the town near the stables.

Ado ayup jokhen onko sadomko galmaraojon kana. Mittan sadom do jaugare khil menaktaea. Uni doe meneta, Noa khil jahaeeye qoqkletin khan, ekkalte ot ar serman udaukoka. Ar mit sadom doe meneta, In ho jauga ban murukok kante, bankhan gel bar kos otanok lekan dajkea, ar ona otanok dhuri çuri cabakregeñ hec ruarkoka. Ar adom sadom doko meneta, He, ale do bar sin pe mahā hor do mit dintele calaokoka. Ar uni Turtā koṛa do onako jeto galmaraoe anjomkettakoa.

Ado dosar hilok onko sadome bachaoetkoa. Khan raj sipahiye laiatkoa. Ado rajko laiaidea, Mittan hor sadome kirinko lagit.

Ado raje menket, Ho, ma emaepe jahæetaḡeye khusiako.

Adoko hecente uni kherdok kherdoke taram, uni sadomge hataoe lagite metaḡkoa, In do nuigeñ hataoea. Etaḡko ma moṛe gel turui gel dhaḡice damako kan. Adoe menketa, In do reṅgeç hor, ni khorḡa sadomgeñ hataoea.

Adoko damadea, Nui dom khusik khan, gel bar takale damae kana.

Ado khusiyente gel bar takateye hataokede. Ado ona disom khon etaḡ disomteye calak kana. Ado uni sadom do kherdok kherdoke calak kana.

Ado enka calak calak mittan etaḡ raj disome tiokketa. Onḡe do dinamge rajko bahaloka ar dinamgeko gujuka. Eken rajren era ar hoponerage menakkina. Ar uni koṛa sadomre deçkateye tiokket khan, onḡen sipahiko kuliyede, Okatem hijuk kana?

Adoe metaḡkoa, In do banij bepar in odok hec akana.

Adoko metae kana, Nonḡe rajem tahokoka?

Adoe menketa, In do reṅgeç hor, khusian bañe?

Adoko menketa, Ale hōle khusikoka ar uni raj era hōe khusi-koka. He, adom tahē dareak khan, ona reakle lai bujhaḡ bara-wama, bañma, uniak horṃore kal menaea. Uni adoe odoklen

¹⁵ Twelve is in Santal frequently used to express perfection, maximum etc. One kos in Santal is equivalent to about two English miles.

¹⁶ I. e. rupees. One rupee is about 1 sh. 4 d.

In the evening, the horses were talking together. One of the horses had a splinter in his hoof; he said: "If any one would remove the splinter I have, I should at once fly over earth and heaven." Another horse said: "As for me also, there is no power in my legs, otherwise I should run like twelve¹⁵ miles like dust carried away by the wind, and I should return before the dust ceased to be blown away." And other horses said: "Yes, we should in one day go two three days' way." And Turta heard all this that they were talking together.

The following day he picked out these horses and said so to the king's peons. Then these told the king: "A man wishes to buy horses."

"O," the king said, "let him have any he may like."

When the horses came, he said he wanted to take the horse that was limping. "This one I shall take," he said; "the others he is pricing fifty to sixty¹⁶. I am a poor man," he said, "I shall take this lame horse."

They told him the price. "If you like this one, we want to have twelve rupees for him."

He was pleased at this price and bought the horse for twelve rupees, whereupon he went from that country to another; and the horse was limping along.

Going along in this way he reached the country of another king. There kings were appointed every day, and were dying daily. Only the queen and a princess were living. When the young man reached there, riding his horse, the soldiers asked him: "Where are you coming?"

"I have come from home," he replied, "to trade."

"Would you like to stay here as our king?" they asked him.

"I am a poor man," he answered; "it depends on whether she would like me."

"We should be pleased," they said, "and the queen would also be pleased. Well, if you are able to stay, we shall tell you and let you know, how the state of matters is. It is this, there is

khan, ađi marañ janwar uni dđ. Qt khon serma tuńgau dħabiće cahaba. Uni dđ mŭ horteye ođokoka. Onate raj dđ paseć mit hajar ganko góć akana. Noakole ļajam kana.

Adđ uni koŗa sadomre dilte ar aćak dilteye menkefa, Acha, tahē dapeak khan in ģela.

Adđ enkako galmarakette adđ bapla hoeyena, ar raj ťika hōko emadea. Khan uni Turtā koŗa dđ mittañ sanđasiye namkefa ar mittañ piťi khańđa. Onako jōtōe tearante ać ťhene dđhōkefa. Ar uni puńkhi sadom hō ać ťhene dđhōkedea.

Ar ona ťindatōtrege uni kal karinańgin dđe ođok gotena uni hōrak mŭ hōr khon. Ar qt serma adđe cahafefa, uni raj jōme ļagife lagayede kana. Khan sadomre dećente ona khiltete toťket-taea, serma tuńgaue uđauk ļagife ģelede kante are lagayedete coťrege bar pe dhaoe bhuńgraukede a, adđe ģurena. Inā tayom sadome argo agukede a. Kate adđ raniye dđhōkede a.

Tahēn tahēnte raje menkefa, Inren buđhi eńgań menaea. Uni ťhen in calaka, hiri aguyeań. Adđ bana hōrgekin sapraoena, ar bana hōr sadomregekin dećena, adđ coťteye uđau calaoena.

Bar raj disom paromkate uni buđhi ťhenkin tiokkefa. Adđ jōtō duk kathae laikette ađiye raskayena. Adđ boge judā kupuli barakate adđko jōm nŭkefa. Jōm barakate adđkin metadea, Iā go, ońteregebon tahēna. Adđ jōtō sipahiko ruar hēćena. Ar ońđege raj oŗakre tahēn tahēnte ađi utar acel pacelge hoeyentakoa, ar ađiko kisārena. Adđ eńeko tahēyena.

¹⁷ What is here translated dragon, kal, is used about specially dangerous snakes, such as those kept by snake charmers.

¹⁸ Certain rajas get a sindur (red-lead) mark on their forehead as a kind of affirmation or 'coronation'. It is not a present day Santal custom.

¹⁹ What is here translated 'coll-sword', piťi khańđa, is not at present found among the Santals. I have heard told that they used such during the Santal rebellion in 1855, but have never succeeded in getting a reliable description of it. One old man described it as a kind of arrow 'mitrailleuse', another as a kind of boomerang; piťi means 'coil' and is e. g. used about snakes colling themselves up.

²⁰ The queen is meant.

a dragon¹⁷ in her body. When he gets out, it is a tremendously big animal. When he opens his mouth, he gapes from the earth to the sky. He comes out through her nose. Therefore perhaps about one thousand kings have died. We tell you these things."

The young man then said, trusting in his horse and in himself and his own courage: "All right, if I can stay, I shall see about this."

After they had talked together as told, the marriage was celebrated; they also put the mark of kingship¹⁸ on his forehead. Turta now got hold of a pair of tongs and a coil-sword¹⁹. When he had provided himself with all this, he kept it with himself. The lame horse he also kept near himself.

That very night, the black dragon came out from the nose of that person²⁰. He opened his mouth so that it reached from the earth to the sky, and he commenced to chase the king. Then the king mounted his horse, removing the splinter, and the dragon saw him about to fly up to the sky, and he was chasing him, when the king cut him through two three times up there in the air, and the dragon fell down. Thereafter he brought his horse down. After this was done, he kept the queen.

After some time the king said: "My old mother is living. I am going to her, I want to see how she is." Both of them then made themselves ready for the journey, and they both mounted the horse, and he flew up into the air.

Having passed the countries of two kings they arrived at his mother's. When he had told of all his vicissitudes, she became very glad, and after having asked each other how all was with them, they ate and drank. After this was done, they said to her: "I say, mother, we shall live there in that country." All the soldiers then returned, and they remained there in the king's palace, and in the course of time they got an immense amount of wealth and property, and they became very rich. And so they lived there.

10. Miṭṭaṅ ṭanti koṛa reaṅ.

Sedae jōkḥen, kathae, Jogesor nūtuman miṭṭaṅ ṭanti koṛae taḥkēkana. Uni dō ṭuargeye taḥkēkana, aḍ eskargeae. Adōe hara juanen khan dō, setoṅ din jōkḥen miṭṭaṅ gaḍa beḍare ṭarḅuj ar khīruakoe roḥoeana. Adō kathae, aḍi baṛiḍ jōyentaea. Adō belek ḡhoḥen khan dōe aḍriṅa, ar inātege anaje kiriṅ aḡujoṅa.

Adō ona takrege, kathae, miṭṭaṅ toyo dō ona khīruaḡ jōme parkaḡuena, adō dingeye jōmtaea. Adōe meṅa, Cele bhala noa dōko jōmctiṅa. Adōe oyoṅ baraket dō, toyo paṅjae ṅel ṅamket. Adōe meṅkeḥa, Ho, nui toyo dōṅ paṣiyea. Adō kathae, paṣiye bēnaokette onae oḍaoketa. Adō kathae, miṭ din dōe paṣi ḡotēna. Adō paṣi akane ṅelkede khan, mutakanteye ṅir calao ḡotēna. Adō daleye meṅeṭ taḥkēkan jōkḥenge uni toyo dōe meṅ ḡoṭketa, Hā hā! alom daleṅa, raebaramaṅ.

Adō uniye meṅkeḥa, Saṛigem raebaraṅa?

Adōe metadea, Hē, saṛigeṅ raebarama.

Khange saṛi adō bae dalledea, paṣi khone chaḍaokadea. Adō uni toyoe metadea, Adō ḡorren jōm laḡaṭ miṭṭaṅ khīruaḡ emāṅme. Nitge nāḥāk iṅ calao ḡoḍoka, Adō saṛi inai emade khan, unrege uni dōe calao ḡotēna.

Adō kathae, calaoe calaoena dō, aḍi saṅgiṅ disome calaoena. Adō miṭṭaṅ raj naṅgrahae ṅamkeḥa. Adō rajak pēa ponea pukhri menakṭaea. Ar ona pukhri piṅḍḥare dō emanteak dareko roḥoe akata; maṭko ḡōko roḥoe akata. Adō ona maṭ dandhi talarege,

¹ This story shows several traces of being of foreign origin.

² Tanti is the name of a Hindu weaver caste.

³ The sweet melon is *Cucumis Melo*, L. The water-melon is very commonly cultivated in the Santal country. For hot-weather cultivation water is essential; consequently it must be near to where water is obtainable, as on river banks.

⁴ The Santali word means a snare. The Santals have various devices for catching or killing animals, also large ones.

⁵ It might be noted, that all regular marriages among the Santals are family arrangements. The two most concerned do not meet or fall in love with each other and so get married. Such may sometimes happen among the Santals, but is irregular.

10. THE STORY OF A TANTI BOY¹.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, there lived a tanti² boy called Jogesor. He was an orphan, quite alone by himself. When he had grown up, it so happened that he once, during the hot season, planted sweet melons and water-melons³ on the bank of the river, and he got an immense amount of fruit. As they commenced to ripen, he sold, and for the money he bought food for himself.

At that time, people tell, a jackal had got into the habit of eating his water-melons; he did so daily. "I wonder who it is," the boy said, "who is eating my fruits." When he looked well below the leaves, he saw the footprints of a jackal and said: "Oh, this jackal I shall snare." So he made a snare and set it. One day the jackal was caught in the snare⁴, and when the boy saw this, he quickly ran there with a thick stick. But just as he was going to strike him, the jackal called out to him: "Hold, hold! don't strike me. I shall arrange for you to get married⁵."

"Really," the boy said, "will you really get me a wife?"

"Yes, in very truth," the jackal replied, "I shall arrange for you to be married."

Consequently he did not beat him, but released him from the snare, whereupon the jackal said to him: "Now give me a water-melon that I may have something to eat on the way. I shall start now at once." And when he had given him this, he started.

The jackal went and went, he went until he reached a country very far away, and there he came to the capital. The king had three or four tanks⁶, and on the embankments of these tanks they had planted different trees; bamboo they had also planted⁷; and the jackal was sitting in the middle of that clump of bamboos.

⁶ See p. 84, note 5.

⁷ Bamboo is very commonly planted in the vicinity of tanks, but not close to the water, as the leaves when falling would be liable to fall into the water and pollute it.

kathae, uni toyo dōe durup akana. Adō raj orakrenko dō thari baṭi mañjao laḡitko calak kana, ar raniko ar hoponeratko hō umok laḡitko calak kana.

Adō un jōkhen, kathae, uni toyo dōe rōr gōḡketa, Chi! nui dō cef lekan raj kanae? Inaregeko ija, arhō inaregeko jōma. Chi! nui dō cef lekan raj kanae? Raj dō Jogesor rajge sanam khone bogea. Uni dō oka tharireye jōma, ona dō ēkkalteye gidikaka. Sona tharireye jōma, ona dō ēkkalteye gidikaka. Chi! nui dō cef lekan raj kanae?

Adō, kathae, noa kathage ghari ghariye rōreta. Adō thari baṭi makñjaoko dōko menketa, Okōe bañ okareye rōret kan? Adōko bēnḡet ačurket khan dō maṭ dandhi talare toyoe rōrōr kanko nēl namkede. Adōko menketa, Ayo, nui toyo dō bejāe hēnostae rōret dō! Bhala sari se naseye rōreta. Noa katha dō rajbo laiaea.

Adō sari sengkate rajko laiaea, bañma, Okaren toyo cōñ ona pukhri piñḡha maṭ dandhi ṭhene durup akana, ar nonkae rōreta, Chi! nui dō cef lekan raj kanae? Inaregeye jōma, inaregeye ija. Raj dō Jogesor raj. Sona tharireye jōma, ar ona dō dingeye giḡi horaea. Nonkae rōreta.

Adō uni raje menketa, Acha, do hōḡ ḡuyepe.

Adō kathae, hōr kolkeḡkote uni toyo dō raj ṭhenko hōḡ ḡukede. Adō raje menketa, Henda ya, toyo, am dōm oka disomren kana?

Adō uniye menketa, In dōñ ḡi saḡiñren kana.

Adō cef leka pukhri piñḡha ṭhenem rōret taḡkana, maṣe ona rōrlem. Anjōmtamañ. Adō kathae, oñḡeye rōret lekageye rōrketa. Khange raje menketa, Sariḡe noa katha dō khaṭigem rōreta?

Adōe menketa, Khaṭiḡēñ rōreta.

Adō raje menketa, Am dō cef laḡat un saḡiñ khon notē dōm hēc akana?

⁸ It is very common, that the metal utensils are taken down to a tank or similar place to be cleaned there.

⁹ The Santals are very particular in the matter here hinted at.

Those belonging to the king's house came to this place to scour⁸ their brass plates and cups, and the queen and her daughters also came there to bathe.

At such a time the jackal all at once called out: "Fie, what kind of a king is this? Here in this place they pass stool, and here in the same place they take food⁹. Fie! what kind of a king is this? King Jogesor is a king better than all others. The plate he is eating off he throws away at once. When he eats off a gold-plate, he throws that away at once. Fie! what kind of a king is this?"

He kept saying these words again and again. Those who scoured the plates and cups then said: "Where on earth is he, where is he speaking?" When they looked round, they caught sight of the jackal speaking, and said: "Oh mother, this jackal is speaking in an awfully contumelious way. Wonder whether he is speaking the truth or it is false. We shall tell the king of this."

They thereupon went to the king and told him: "A jackal from somewhere is sitting on the tank embankment near the clump of bamboos and is speaking like this: Fie, what kind of a king is this? They take food in this place, and in the same place they pass stool. King Jogesor is a king. He eats off a gold-plate, and he throws that away every day. So the jackal is speaking."

"Very well," the king said, "send for him, bring him here."

So they sent for the jackal and called him to the king's presence, and the king spoke: "Look here, you jackal, from which country do you come?"

"I am from a country very far away," the jackal replied.

"Please speak now in the same way as you were speaking on the tank embankment. I want to hear what you say." The jackal then spoke in the same way as he had spoken there, whereupon the king said: "Are you really quite sure about this?"

"I am speaking the truth," he replied.

"For what purpose have you come here from such a distance?" the king asked.

Adq toyoe menketa, Uni raj lagatge in dq bahu name kol akadiña.

Adq raje menketa, Adom namketkoa se ban?

Adq toyoe menketa, Auriñ namkoa.

Adq rajren hō pe pon goten hoponerako tahgkantaeta. Adqe menketa, Bam nam akatko khan, inren hoponera menakkoa. Adom khusiako khan, ma nel thikkom.

Adqe menketa, Mase ente, notē hōhō ođokkom.

Adq sariko hōhō ođokketko khan dq talaić kuriye bachaokedeeta. Adqe udukkedeeta, banma, Nuiṭak kuriñ khusi akana. Adq, kathae, raeban hōr iate adiko perakedeeta. Adq jom barakateye menketa, Acha, ma durupjonpe. In dq noa katha unin lai oṭoeta.

Adqe calaoente uni tanti korae laiaeta, banma, Ma sapraokme. Bahu don hawatmea. Adq ma sapraokme.

Khange uni dq cet menakteye sapraoka? Aurigeye menketa, In don sapraogea. Ma ontēn pera laiakome, jemōn ekkalte bapla reakbon logon goda.

Adq, kathae, ona kathae idi ruarketa, are metatkoa, Ma bapla reakbon logon goda.

Khange sari ontēn pera hōko menketa, Acha besge. Nele girawam kana, ma idime.

Adqe menketa, Acha, den emanpe.

Khange sari girako emadeeta, adqe idiketa. Arhō pe pon māhā khangeye sen ruar gotena. Adq raje metae kana, Henda raj, bariatko dq tinaṭ ganle hijuka, miṭ isi, se bar isi, se mōrō isi, se tinaṭle hijuka? Ona kukli in doko kol akadiña.

Khange raj dqe menketa, Apeak khusi tinaṭ cope hijuk.

¹⁰ See p. 10, note 3.

¹¹ In regular marriages a party will always follow the bridegroom to the house of the bride's parents where the actual ceremonies are performed. When the bride, after the marriage, is taken to her future home she is accompanied by a similar number of her own relatives. All the followers are feasted. When a large party is coming along with the bridegroom, it is understood that the number shows his importance and wealth, and it is also taken as given that the bridegroom is prepared to feast as many of the other side as he is bringing with him.

"The king," the jackal replied, "has sent me to find a wife for himself."

"Have you found any or not?" the king asked.

"Not as yet," the jackal replied.

Now the king had three or four daughters, so he said: "If you have not found any, I have daughters of my own. If you like them, see whom you think suitable."

"Please then," the jackal said, "call them out here."

When they had called them out, he selected the middle one. He pointed to her and said: "I am pleased with this girl." Thereupon they entertained him in grand style on account of his being marriage-broker. When they had feasted, he said: "Very well, you remain, please. I am going to tell him of this."

The jackal then went and told the tanti boy: "Please, make yourself ready. I have found a wife for you. So please make yourself ready."

Now what did he have that he should make himself ready? So he said heedlessly: "I am ready. Please, tell the friends on that side that they at once fix a day for the marriage."

The jackal then took word back to them, saying: "Please, let us fix a day for the marriage now."

The friends on that side then also said: "All right, that is good. See, here we are giving you the marriage-knots¹⁰; take them along."

"Very well, please give me," the jackal replied.

Then they gave him the marriage-knots and he took them away. After some three or four days he came back again, and said to the king: "Pray, king, about how many shall we come with the bridegroom¹¹? one score, or two scores, or five scores, or how many are we to come? They have sent me to inquire about this."

"As many as you please," the king replied, "any number may come."

They are rather particular that the feasting expences should be the same on both sides.

Ado toyoe menketa, Pase ente adi utarle heçlen khan pase bam daram dareale, onateh kuli bujhaui idiyetmea.

Adqe metadea, Acha, unrege nahak in tojbijpea, tinaç in daram dareapea mente.

Ado enka menkatege uni toyo dqe sen ruarena. Ado neçda din tioken khan, toyo dq uni koçae metadea, Ma dqmko, kahaçko, paçkiko namme, bariatokbon calaka.

Khange uni koça dq pera hõ banukkotaete onako hõ bae jurçu dareak kana. Khange uni toyoge onako hõe nam juhçauketa. Ar bariatko dq ina dhara dhaireren toyo ar kõke nõotakeçkoa. Metaçkoa, Ape dq ma disaçape niç din hilok dq hani phalna disomren raj then bhõj jombon calaka.

Khange sari onko hõ adiko raçka gõtena. Ado ina din hilok dq jõtõgeko hajirena. Ar uni toyoge paçkiko, kahaçko jõtõe namkeçkote bariatõkko calak kana. Ado uni raebar toyoe menketa, Ape jõtõ kõk dq toyo deare deçkate calaktabonpe. Nonkakatebo senlen khan, raj dq nahak khube manõtbona. Ado sari qnõye metaçko lekage jõtõ horoko calak kana.

Adõko tiok nõkket khan, uni toyo dqe nir lahayena raj laiaç laçit. Ado seçerenteye metae kana, Henda raj, tinaç ganle hijuka? Ma oçokoçte bariatko dq nelkom. Unak bam cahao khan dqõ ruarçkoa. Ar heç seçerlen khanko, ar unre ruarçko dq laçao paçagea. Ma oçokoçte nel hoçkom; eken aswariageko hijuk kana.

Ado sari raj dq oçokenteye koyõkchetko dq, bañgeye nel muçaç dareatko. Miç qõs khon hõ bharti sañgin haçic menakko, ar toyo

¹² Dõm, a low Hindu caste; one of their occupations is to furnish the music, i. e. especially the drumming at marriages. Whenever a marriage party passes a village, they make a tremendous din, beating their drums. During the ceremonies and at the feasting, they also keep the drumming going, often incessantly.

¹³ See p. 42, note 4.

¹⁴ See p. 32, note 1.

¹⁵ The Paddy-bird (in Santali kõk, a name formed in imitation of the sound of the call of this bird) is very common. It is a kind of heron, the kind here men-

"You see," the jackal said, "perhaps if we came in a very large number, perhaps you will not be able to receive us; therefore I am asking you to take word to those others."

"Very well," the king replied, "when you come, then I shall estimate you and see how many of you I can receive."

After this talk the jackal returned. When the day fixed came, the jackal said to the boy: "Please get hold of Doms¹², Kahars¹³ and palanquins¹⁴; we shall start for the marriage."

The young man had no friends, so he was unable to provide any. The jackal then procured these also, and to come along in the marriage party he invited the jackals and the paddy-birds¹⁵ of the neighbourhood. He said to them: "Remember, please, that on such and such a day we are to go to the king of that country to partake of a feast."

Then these also became very glad, and on the fixed day they all presented themselves. The jackal provided palanquins and carriers, in fact everything, and they started for the marriage. The marriage-broker jackal then said: "You paddy-birds, all of you mount the backs of the jackals and proceed. If we proceed in this way, the king will presently do much honour to us." Then they really did as the jackal told them, and they all went along.

When they had nearly reached the place, the jackal ran ahead to inform the king. When he arrived, he said to him: "Pray, king, about how many are we to come? Please come out and have a look at the marriage party. If you don't wish for so many, I shall send some back. To send them back after they have come, would be a great shame. Please come out and have a look at them quickly; only mounted people are coming."

The king came out and had a look at them, he was absolutely unable to see the end of them. They filled the place up to more

tioned (there are several species) being entirely white, except for its legs and beak. They very frequently follow the cattle, catching grasshoppers and the like⁸ that fly up when disturbed by the movements of the cattle. As a rule they are seen in great flocks.

than two miles¹⁶ away, and as the paddy-birds were mounted on the jackals, all were looking white. The king was astonished at the sight and said to the jackal: "Please, send half of them back. I am unable to receive so many of you, and I have not sufficient provisions for so many either."

The jackal then ran to meet them half-way and called out to them: "Stop, stop! turn back! The king has said: 'I am unable to receive so many people; do please, turn them back.' Therefore I am turning you back." The mounted paddy-birds then went back from that place, and the Doms and the Kahars alone came. The king then said: "Did you turn the whole marriage party back? Will you not bring a few along with you?"

The jackal replied: "They said: If we go, we shall go all of us, otherwise we shall all of us return. That some of us should go and others turn back, how would that be? Those who returned would become very downhearted and hurt. Having said this, they all of them returned. We have come as many as you see here."

They then formally received¹⁷ these; the marriage was celebrated, and at night they had a feast. They had prepared some excellent and most savoury curry. Before they sat down to eat, the jackal gave the tanti boy some advice and said to him: "Look here, my lad, they will presently come and take you off to eat. They will certainly give you two three kinds of curry; eat all, now this kind, then that kind alternatively. In this way eat of all at the time; otherwise, as you are accustomed to eat only one course of curry at home, you might eat only one; that is not the way; but you must eat of all at the time. After you have eaten, they will offer you a quid of pan¹⁸. Don't take any. When they put the money into your hand¹⁹, then only you shall take the quid of pan. Please keep these things in your mind and act accordingly; then only they will call you a prince."

Now he had never in his life been accustomed to eat such savoury curry, so when he got this splendid food, didn't he eat?

hinda d̄oe ciđirkefa; kieriċko saname thoċo boċoċkefa. Khange toyo d̄o cekate c̄oe disaċede, ciđirkefae mente. Ad̄oe menkefa, Durre! nui d̄oe lajaokidiña. Ar se joto hoċko japiċ akafa. Khange toyo d̄o ona narak d̄o onko gitiċ hoċgeye jof idiatkoa đeċe đekere. Ar uni koċa d̄oe um ocokedeā are jal saphakeftaea. Arhōkin gitiċena.

Ad̄o sim rak khange, kathae, uni toyo d̄o lahategeye beref hoċenteye menefa, Okare bañ moela moelage so kan? Ad̄oe bas baraket khan d̄o onko rajren peċa geve metako kana, Ape senge so kana.

Ad̄o sari setak khangeko nelket d̄o, onkoak đeċe thenak kiciċre d̄o laċkao akan. Khange toyo d̄o rukhete portonkefa: Iaċo engate tisre utu dakako nel akawana? Salasreko nawan khanko jom ciđirena! Ad̄o eng boge barayena.

Ayup khange biđa hoevente uni tant̄i oraċteko calak kana. Ad̄o calak calakte onko lumti baretko doċo laŋgayena. Ad̄o uni toyoko metae kana, Okor tin saŋgiñre? Raj oraċ doċon tioketa?

Ad̄oe metakoa, Hape, aribon tioga. Arhō thoċa saŋgiñko calaen khan, arhōko kuliyede kana, Okor tinrebo tioket kana?

Ad̄o tale bagwane nel namket khan d̄oe udukako kana, Hane nelpe tale bagwan. Ona d̄o nui rajak bagwan kangea. Ona bagwan talarege rajak oraċ d̄o menaka. Dolanko d̄o marcyente hendogea, onate saŋgiñ khon d̄o bañ nel thikoka.

Ad̄o kathae, calak calakte ona tale bagwan hoċo tioċkefa, ad̄o oraċge bako nel namet kan. Ad̄oko metae kana, Okor oka then raj oraċ d̄o?

²⁰ What is here described, is a fairly common sequence to feasting among the Santals, their daily diet being so plain and poor that any deviation is liable to have disastrous results.

²¹ See above note 17.

²² See above note 11. When the bride leaves for her husband's home, she is accompanied by a party, among these some old woman, who is to give her some final and formal advice.

Consequently he got indigestion and commenced to purge²⁰ during the night and dirtied all his clothes. Somehow or other the jackal became aware of his purging and said: "Oh my! this fellow has brought shame on me." Now all people were asleep. The jackal then went and daubed the people lying there with the filth in their hind-quarters. Thereupon he made the boy bathe, and he licked him and cleaned him, and both of them lay down to sleep again.

At cock-crow the jackal got up first and called out: "Where is it smelling so badly?" When he had sniffed round, he said to the guests of the king: "It is your way it's smelling."

Then really, when it became morning, they saw that something stuck to their clothes behind. And the jackal started scolding: "Those unspeakable ones, dash it, have they ever seen curry and rice? When they got it for the first time, they ate so they got diarrhoea." So nothing more was done in this matter.

In the evening, after they had been ceremonially bidden farewell to²¹, they started for the tanti boy's house. Walking and walking along, the followers and relatives of the bride²² became tired and said to the jackal: "Where is it, how far away? Are we reaching the king's palace?"

"Wait a bit," he says, "we are still a little way off." When they had come a little further, they asked him again: "Where is it, when are we reaching there?"

When they caught sight of a palm-tree²³ grove, he pointed it out to them and said: "Look over there, there is a palm-tree grove. That is a grove belonging to this king. The king's palace is in the middle of that grove. The mansions have become dark from age; therefore it is not possible to see them distinctly from afar."

Walking on, they finally reached the palm-tree grove, but did not see any houses anywhere. So they said to the jackal: "Where? why, where is the king's palace?"

²³ The most common palm tree in the Santal country is the Palmyra palm, *Borassus flabelliformis*, L.; it has very large fan-shaped leaves. It is very common on tank embankments.

Ado ona bagwan bhiritirege uni tanti kora do tale dhoakoteyo oraak akat tahakana. Ona oraakgeye uduk daporafkoa, Ado ona kumba oraakko nelkef khañ do, adiko khae khabrokana. Arko mepenena, Durre! nui toyo do adi bariçe erketbon do. Porkartegeye bapla ocoketbona. Pahilrebo baçaele khañ hutën, qhobo reben atarlana. Nit do cetbo ceka dareaka? Ado toyoko metadea, Cedak nonka dom erketlea? Menkefam, Sona tharire dakae joma ar ona sakri thari dge giði horaea.

Ado toyoe menketa, Onka ma ba con men akat. In don menleta, sakam patrareye joma ar ona do dingeye giði horaea. In do nonkan lai akata. Adope khusiyen khañ cet in mena? Ado engh baplakatpea.

Khangeko menketa, Ma ya, sabete humage ma! Ado onkako menlet khange uni toyo dge darkefa. Ado lumti baretko ho en hilokgeko ruarena. Uni kuri do ondegeko bagi oçadea. Ar ruar senkate noako joto katha raj ar raniko laiatkina. Khange unkin ho adikin bhabnayena, adokin menketa, Nit do cetbo cekaea? Chaça çadikin ho tho abore do çolon banukan. Mabon agu mifkinte ondegebon dhoçkina.

Ado Kaharko palikoko namketkote ar bar pe horoko kolketkote ako thenko agu ruarçekkina. Ar asulok lagat tara nakha disomko ematkina.

Ado onç onkate uni kora dge bahuadea. Ado ona khiruako ho okayen con thikan banukan.

Ado enç cabayena katha do, in maraagea.

²⁴ A distinctly Hindu trait. Divorce is very common among the Santals. Strangely enough, it is valid for this world, but in the next the man who has married a spinster will get this one there to be his partner whether he has divorced her or not.

In the middle of that palm-tree grove the tanti boy had erected a hut of palm-leaves. He showed them that wretch of a house. When they saw that booth, they became very downhearted, and said to each other: "Oh dear, this jackal has deceived us something terrible. He has tricked us into this marriage. If we had known about this beforehand, we should never have agreed to it, no never. But what can we do now?" They then said to the jackal: "Why did you deceive us in this way? You said: He eats rice of a gold plate, and he throws the used plate away every time it is used."

"No," the jackal replied, "I did not say so. I said, that he eats off a leaf plate, and he throws that away every time he has used it. That is what I have said. When you were pleased, what was I to say? So I had you married, you see."

Then they cried: "Do, do catch him and give him a hiding!" As soon as they said this, the jackal ran away, and the followers and relatives of the bride also returned home that same day; they left the girl there. When they reached home, they told the king and the queen all this. Then these also became very grieved and said: "What shall we do now? With us it is not the custom to dissolve a marriage²⁴ either. Let us bring them here to us, and then we shall keep them both here."

So they fetched carriers and palanquins and sent these with a couple of men and brought the two back to themselves, and to support themselves they gave them a strip of the country.

In this way the jackal procured a wife for the boy. What became of the water-melons there is no report of.

There the story is ended; it is thus much.

11. Mittaṅ tuar gidra re aṅ.

Sedae jugre kathae, mittaṅ hore tahēkana; uni hor dō mit gelekin gidrawan khangeye begarena, ar uni dō kuṛi gidraṅi tahēkantakina. Adō besge din nirbha dō calak kan tahēkantakina. Adō uni kuṛi gidra hōe nīr keṭeṭena.

Adō mit din ayup jōkhenkin galmarao kana; adō emanteak cekko con galmarao galmaraoṭe uni oṛak hōṛṭeṭ dōe mēnkeṭa, Arhō hōṛmōṭeak dō basawadiṅa.

Adō uni herel hōre mēnkeṭa, Cekatem baḍae kana?

Adō uniye mēnkeṭa, Ente nōkōe bar cando din baṅ nēl akata.

Adō inākin galmaraokeṭ tayom janié mit hapta gan hoe akan, khange uni herel hōṛ dō acōkge biṅ gerteye goḍena. Adō khange uni maejiu dō aḍi baṛiḍe bhabnayena, siṅ saṭupgeye raga uni

¹ This story is a vivid picture of life as it may be met with among the Santals, when certain features of pure folktale nature are eliminated. It touches on many sides of Santal customs or rather communal rules and practices.

² It is looked upon as good for the members of a family to live together as long as possible; it lends strength to the family. It is, however, fairly common among the people that the property is divided between the male members, when all or some of them have grown up and have married, even before the father's death. They love independence, and it naturally often happens that the strange element brought in through marriage makes it desirable to separate. The division is made in the following way: all land is divided into equal parts, one for the father, if he is living, and one for each son. The cattle is divided in the same way, the only difference being that daughters get a calf each, as it is called, at the time; it is generally a cow. Married daughters do not get anything, as they have already got one at the time of their marriage. Other property is also equally divided between the male members of the family. It is all done with the assistance of the village headman and people, especially as regards the cultivated land. This must be so to give the whole a legal stamp; the village community must be a party to all such transactions. When the division is completed, the parents will generally live with one of the sons, frequently the youngest one, the mother's pet. On the death of the father, his share is again divided between all the sons, although the widow is often permitted to cultivate this land until her death.

11. The Story of an Orphan Boy¹.

ONCE upon a time in the old days, people tell, there was a man; they had got one child, when the property was divided², and he set up a separate household. Their child was a girl³. Life was going well with them, and the girl also grew to be strong on her legs⁴.

One evening they were talking together; they were talking about this, that and the other, and in the course of their conversation the wife said: "It has again temporarily taken up its abode in my body⁵".

"How do you know?" her husband asked.

"Well," she replied, "because I have not seen⁶ anything for two months."

About one week after they had had this conversation it so happened, that the husband suddenly died from a snake-bite. The woman felt terrible grief; she wailed⁷ all day in affectionate

³ Girls are debarred from inheriting land. They are supposed to get married and go to their husbands' homes. In case of a family with daughters only, the Santals have found a way of circumventing the otherwise rigid rules of inheritance. It is also due to them to say that they are trying to better the position of their womenkind. If the first child had been a boy, there would have been no possibility for a story like the present. In that case, he would have been the natural heir. For further information with regard to the position of the Santal woman the reader is referred to the writer's paper in the *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, 1916, Some Remarks on the Position of Women among the Santals.

⁴ The Santal expression is used about children some two years old, lit. strong enough to run about.

⁵ One of several ways of expressing that a woman is with child. The Santali word means to lodge, stay for a time.

⁶ 'See' is the common way of referring to the menses.

⁷ Women give expression to their grief through wailing and lamentation, some words, more or less stereotype, being sung or chanted to a certain tune. It may be heartrending to hear a woman wailing, generally standing somewhere away from the house, turned towards the fields or the forest.

uiharte; oka dō daka hō bhabnate bae jōma; dine rateye guni bhabika ar Candogeye nūmea. Mēnae, O hae! Cando boŋga, cet baliñ ghaṭikette aliñ dōm jor bhaṅakefliñ? O hae Cando, barsiñ gan lagat aliñ dōm juri p̄arilefliñ dō! O hae Cando, iŋgem andak ocokidiñ dō! O hae, Cando boŋga, chatar umul reak rup dō cekate bañ ŋel nāmtae?

Nonka uni aiṃai dō nūm nūmteye homor halaña. Are mēna, E Cando boŋga, hereliñem idikedetiña; herel bōdōl koṛa gidṛa baṛe emañme. Oka iñak kukhire basa akan, koṛa gidṛa baṛe hoe ococitiñme; iñā dō ini gidṛa ŋelte jiviñ tentiña. Adō nonka dinge uni maejiu dō koṛa gidṛa lagit Cando ṭhene arōjoka.

Adō kathae, turui eae cando hoeyen khan, uni maejiu dō hōṛmote menaktae, ona dō ŋelentaea. Ar onko ɛrveltetteko ar bahōñhartettekoko menkeṭa, Nui phalna eŋgat dō ya, okōe tuluć cōñ mēnae. Ŋelpe, uni phalna apat tahēkan jōkhen dō besgeye tahēkana. Adō uni mae goćen; adō okōe nui dōe laćkedea? Dhorage nui dō okōe tuluć cōñ mēnae; onatege herel dō aćtegeye jomkedea; nui kangeae jōma dō. Eŋgate ma noako cij baṣut dō sanambon rejea, ar uni kuṛi gidṛa hō abo ṭhenbon aguyea.

Adō kathae, onka menkate bogeteko ruheṭkedea, ar jōṭo cij baṣutko rećkedea. Ar uni maejiu dōe lai gujuk kana, menetae,

⁸ See p. 68, note 11. The lamentations do not, as a rule, make any appeal, but only state the loss and personal feelings. The appeal here made to Chando is not, however, impossible. The idea of a Supreme Being is always present with the Santals, and there are several examples of Santals making direct invocations to Him. In their most solemn oaths Chando or Ṭhakur or Siñ boŋga, all names for the same, is referred to. Santal women are not permitted to participate directly in religious service; but I do not think that this would affect any proceeding like the one here described.

⁹ These words are very commonly heard in lamentations over a dead husband. The husband is the protecting and shadowing shelter.

¹⁰ See above note 3. A boy is supposed to support his mother; her rights rest with him. Even as a babe he is a kind of protector.

¹¹ See p. 20, note 3.

remembrance of him. Sometimes she could not even take food for grief; day and night she was filled with anxious thoughts, and she called on Chando⁸ saying: "Alas! Chando boŋga, what had we two sinned that thou hast separated us by taking him away? Alas! Chando, only for a couple of days didst thou join us together! Alas! Chando, thou hast thrown me into trouble! Alas! Chando boŋga, the form of my shadowing canopy⁹, why shall I not see that any more?"

In this way the woman enumerated her griefs and wailed, and she said: "O Chando boŋga, thou tookst my husband away; instead of my husband do give me a boy¹⁰! What has taken up its temporary abode in my womb, do make that become a boy for me! Then, by seeing this child, I shall keep my soul in patience." Every day the woman in this way implored Chando to get a boy.

When she was in her sixth or seventh month, it was to be seen that she was with child, and her several brothers-in-law said: "This mother of so-and-so¹¹ must be living with somebody, who knows who. Remember, when the father of so-and-so was living, she was well¹². Now he is dead, so who has made her pregnant? Surely this woman is living with somebody, who knows who; therefore she herself has eaten her husband; she is the cause of his death. Dash it, we shall take all the goods and property¹³ away from her; the girl¹⁴ we shall also take and keep with us."

Having said this, they abused her badly and took all her goods and property away from her by force. The woman assured them

¹² A common expression for a woman who is not with child, just as the opposite 'to be spoilt' is used about a girl, especially unmarried, who has been impregnated.

¹³ See above, note 2. The expression especially covers cultivated land and cattle.

¹⁴ When a man dies leaving only minors, it is customary for the brothers of the dead person to take these into their houses, at the same time taking over the property and cultivating the land until the minors grow up, when they are to have the whole back. What is here done, would have been in order if they had provided for the widow, i. e., had taken her into their house also. This they absolve themselves from doing by denying the legitimacy of the posthumous child.

Baṅa, baba, jāhāe dosra hoṛak dō baṅ kana; apat tahēkanre bar cando reak tahēadiṅ tahēkana. Adoko metaṅ kana, baṅma, okoe reak kan cōṅ; ar baṅkhan dosra hoṛak dō baṅ kana. Adoko rejeṅ kan khaé, ceṅ iṅ meṅa? Noa dō Candogeye bicartabona.

Ado enre hō bako bataolet khan dō saṛiko reé idikedegea; adō ina oṛakteṭ dō bako otorleṭa, adō ina oṛakrege uni maejiu dōe tahēyena.

Ado kathae, uniak duk saset harkhet Candoe ṅelkeṭtaete jemone meṅleṭa, koṛa gidṛa baṛe emaṅme, adō saṛi din tioken khan, koṛa gidṛageye hoeyentaea, adō uni maejiu dō aḍiye raṣkayena. Ado meṅkeṭa, Cando iṅak rake aṅjomkettiṅa, jemōṅ iṅ meṅleṭa, te-mōṅge Cando iṅak sanae puraukettiṅa; Candoe sarhaokok ma! E Cando, nitok dō iṅak jivigem rareḍkettiṅa; arhō, Cando boṅga, nui gidṛa hara burukaetiṅme.

Ado kathae, taheṅ taheṅte uni gidṛa dōe hara buruyena. Ado uni gidṛai meṅa, Henda ayo, iṅ baba dōe okayena?

Khange uni eṅgattēṭ dōe rak goṭkeṭa, are metadea, Am baba dō, beṭa, hoṛmōrem tahēkanrege biṅe gerkedeteye goḍena.

Ado uni gidṛai meṅkeṭa, E ayo, alom raga; iṅge am doṅ aṣulmea; apuṅ baṅugic khan doṅ cekaea? Iṅ ṅelte am dō jivi teṅtam.

Khange eṅgattēṭ, uni gidṛa reak bud aṅjomkateye haharayena, are meṅkeṭa, Candoge nui gidṛa dōe bud ocoyede kana. Ado uni maejiu dō siṅ saṭup Cando ṭhengeye dohae akae taheṅa. Ar jāhāeko ṭhen nalha tumale calaka, khubgeye ṅama ar nārā hō sanamko uni dō khugbeko nārāwaea; ar kokoe hō jāhā seṅgeye calak, uni dō baṅko baṅea, emaegeako; onkate unkin dō bakin reṅgejoka.

¹⁵ The literal meaning of the Santali words is something like 'speaking die', often used about persistent assertion of a statement.

¹⁶ It might be noted, that the inanimate construction is used in this passage.

¹⁷ *Lit.* 'cooled my soul'.

¹⁸ The translation is literal. Chando is considered as acting directly.

in the most solemn way¹⁵, saying: "No, sirs, no never; it does not belong to anybody else; when the father was yet alive, I had been with child for two months. And they say it¹⁶ is somebody else's; but it is not anybody else's. If they take all away from me by force, what can I say? Chando will judge between us in this matter."

As they, in spite of all, did not listen to her, they took all away from her by force. They did not pull down her house, though; they left that, and the woman continued to live in the old house.

Now, people tell, Chando looked to her sorrow and misery and affliction, and, in accordance with what she had asked: 'give me a boy', when the time came, she really got a boy and became very glad. She said, "Chando has heard my cry. In accordance with what I asked, just so Chando has fulfilled my wish. Chando be praised! O Chando, thou hast comforted¹⁷ me! Now again, O Chando, make this child grow up¹⁸ for me."

Days passed, and the child grew up. The child sometimes asked: "Mother, what has become of my father?"

His mother then cried and said: "When I was carrying you in my body, my son, a snake bit your father, so he died."

"Don't cry, mother," the child said; "I shall support you. As my father is no more, what will you do? Remember me¹⁹ and control yourself."

When his mother heard how intelligent her son was, she was astonished and said: "Chando it is who is making this child intelligent." The woman was continually and all day invoking Chando. And when she went to somebody or other to work for wages or to glean, she always got good pay, and all left abundant ears for her to glean. Also if she went anywhere to beg, they did not refuse to give her; they were sure to give. In this way these two did not suffer hunger.

¹⁹ *Lit.* 'seeing me, keep your soul pressed down'.

Ar uni maranié kuři gidra hō nuiye hoeyen torarege nōdōge arhōe heé ruarena. Adō unkin gidrage oraķre dōkin tahēna, ar ēngattēf dō ontē notē sē tumā tosāne dařana. Ar ađi khatūr montēko tahēna, cet hō bako bhabna bařaka. Adō simko sukrikoko juřau bařakeķkoa, adō enkoko aķrińkate meřom bhiđikoko juřau-keķkoa; adō onkoko bađ biritkeķko khan, saņđi dō gayako dōhō-keķkoa, ar meřom sukri hō kuđu doko bađhia ocokēķkoa, ar meřom bhiđi hō boda dō khaķikeķkoteko harayen khanko aķriń-keķkoa.

Adō řakako dōhō jarwakeķ khan, ēngattēf dōe meńkeķa, Iā beķa, noa řakate dō gaibon kirińjona; pheřār mihūbon kirińkoa.

Adō uni kořa gidra hō, kathae, harayen reak katha kana noa dō. Adō unre uni kořae meńkeķa, Henda ayo, cet lekan pheřārbon kirińkoa?

Adō ēngattēf meńkeķa, Iā beķa, meńako, kathae, oķoēřakko aķrińe, adō kikiń hōre udukam jōkhēn unī pheřāre ié goķkeķa meńkhan, ona dō ađi bhagana; onkanko dō, kathae, coř damte hōķo hataokogea; onkanko dō, kathae, oraķ duarķo rophaea, ađiko bađ godōķa. Ar bańko ijre hō, kathae, onkanko dō řařam řeľeľtaea, oķoēřakre are gořen řařa menaktae, řōbē onkanko hōķo boģeģea; enko hō inā bhēđ kangea. Ar onkanko ařim řamko dhābié dō řam kirińdeea; inā khon dosra lekanko dō řam kirińede kana.

Adō uni kořae meńkeķa, Iā ayo, ēņđekhan ģai kiriń dō inģēń calaka; onkanko ařiriń řamko dhābié dō bań ruara; tinreń řam-koa adō onko kirińleko ģneé in ruar hijuka.

Adō ēngattēf meńeķa, Bańa, beķa, noakoreģe hapēbo kiriń-koa.

Adō uni kořae meńkeķa, Bańa, ayo, ģai kiriń dō inģēń ca-laka.

Adō ađiye jidkeķ khane metadea, Acha, ma ēņđekhan kiriń aģukom.

Adō khange atoren hōre metako kana, Delabon ho, ģai kiriń ģořańtabonpe. Adō cetko coķo ańđuń bařakeģe, oķōe hō bako

The eldest child, the girl, also came back, when this boy was born. The two children remained at home, and the mother went here and there to glean. They lived with an easy mind; they had no cares at all. They gradually acquired fowls and pigs; when these had grown to a fair size, they sold them and acquired goats and sheep. When these had multiplied, they made the cocks into capons and kept them, and the boars they castrated, and the he-goats and rams they also castrated, and when they had grown sufficiently, they sold them.

When they had got together some money, their mother said: "I say, my lad, for this money we shall buy a cow. We shall buy a heifer."

Now this was something that was said when the boy had grown up. The boy then said: "Listen, mother, what kind of a heifer shall we buy?"

"O, my lad," his mother replied, "people say that, if at the time when the seller shows the buyer the animal, the heifer lets something drop, that is very fortunate; such ones people buy even at a very high price; such ones keep house and property in order; they also quickly multiply, people tell. If they do not let anything drop, you must look at their teeth, such who have nine teeth, they are also good; these also have the same quality. Until you find one of this kind, you are not to buy any; you are not to buy any of another quality."

The boy then said: "Well mother, then I shall go to buy a cow; until I find such a one, I shall not come back; only when I find such a one and buy her, I shall come home."

"No, my son," his mother replied, "not so; we shall some day buy one here in this neighbourhood."

"No mother," the boy said, "I shall go and buy a cow."

But when he persisted, she said: "All right then, buy and bring one."

The boy then spoke to the village people, saying: "Come along with me somebody, help me to buy a cow." But they pleaded some excuse or other; no one was willing to go. Then he spoke

rëben kana. Ado kakat goṅgottokoe metako kana, Delabon, baba, gai kiriñ goṛṛaṅpe, kiriñ aḡuaṅabon. Ado onko hō bako rëben kan.

Ado kathae, miṭ oṛak kamarko tahēkana, ado onkoe metako kana, Delabon ho, gai kiriñ goṛṛaṅpe. Eṅgate ato hoṛ iñ riṅu barayefkoa, okoe hō bako rëben kana; ar kakañ goṅgontekoñ riṅuefkoa, onko hō bako rëben kana. Jom nūiak do iṅge nāhāk iñ emok do, en hō eṅgate bako rëben kana. Nit do hoṛ menak bako basutañ kana; jāhā hilok hapen iñ hoṛ hartalen khan, unre do aḡi perako todoka; nit do cele hō bako basutañ kana. Ado kamare metae kana, Cele ho, amem goṛṛokiña se oho?

Ado uni kamare mēnketa, Acha, okoe hō bako goṛṛam kan khan, iñiñ goṛṛama.

Ado mēnketa, Acha bogege, eṅḡekhan gapa do jomakkoñ juṛauletalaṅge; meaṅ do aḡi aḡi sim rakrelañ calaka.

Ado uniye mēnketa, Acha, ma eṅḡekhan juṛaulem.

Ado uni koṛae mēnketa, Mēn aḡi alom eṛeña.

Ado mēnketa, Acha, ohoñ eṛemea.

Ado kathae, ina neṅḡa dinre do gai kiriñkin calaoena. Ado kathae, gaige bakin nam ṭhik dareako kan. Ado onka kuli kulitege aḡi saṅgiñkin calao idiyena. Miṭ raj disom paromkin calaoena, ado un saṅgiñre eṅḡ, kathae, miṭṭaṅkin namkedeā. Uni gaḡiñkin ṅele jokhen do bae iclefa; ado sapkatekin ṅelkede do, are goṭen ḡaṭa menaktae, ar marañ utaṛ pheṭāre ṅelok kana. Ado uni koṛae mēnketa, Nuigelañ hataoea.

Ado kamare mēneta, Bañ, nui do balañ hataoea; nōkōeye ḡaṭa puṛaena, eṅhō bae pal akana. Nui do baḡlaḡe coñ ceṭ coñ.

Ado uni koṛae mēnketa, Acha, baḡlaḡe hō ceṭre hō nuigelañ hataoea.

²⁰ There is no common word for uncle, and the text here speaks of the younger and elder brothers of the father, who each have separate designations.

²¹ One rupee is one fifteenth part of a pound sterling. The haggling here described is very much like what daily occurs.

to his uncles²⁰, saying: "Come with me, father, help me to buy a cow; we want to buy me one." But they would not consent to go either.

Now there was one blacksmith family living there, and he spoke to them: "Please come with me, help me to buy a cow. Dash it, I am calling upon the village people to go with me; but not one of them is willing. And I am calling upon my uncles, and they too, they are not willing. I am, of course, standing the travelling expenses; still they are not willing, dash it. Now they don't estimate me as a human being of any consequence; some day in future, when I behome well-to-do, then a crowd of friends will come out; now not one of them estimates me." So he said to the blacksmith: "Well, would you be willing to help or how?"

"All right," the blacksmith replied, "when no one else is willing to help you, I shall do so."

"Very well," the boy said, "that is good; then I shall to-morrow make up the necessary food for the journey for us, and the day after to-morrow very early, mind you, we shall start."

"All right," he replied, "then provide the necessary food."

"Take care then," the boy said, "mind you, don't disappoint me."

"All right, I shall not disappoint you," he replied.

On the fixed day they started to go and buy a cow; but they were unable to find a suitable one. They went along, making inquiries as they went, and in this way they got very far off. They went past the country of one king, only when they had reached so far, they found a suitable one. When they saw the cow, she did not drop anything; but when they lay hold of her and looked at her, they saw that she had nine teeth, and she looked an unusually large heifer. The boy then said: "We shall take this one."

"No," the blacksmith said, "don't let us take this one; as you see, she has got all her teeth; still she has not had a calf. She is very likely barren."

"Well," the boy said, "whether she is barren or whatever she is, this one we shall take."

Ado damkin kulikedeā, Cele, gaite doliñ khusi hõk akangea; ado ma bhala dam lailem, tõe baliñ hatao dareae kana.

Ado uni reak dame rořketa, Are řaka. Ado uni korae menketa, Baña, řhik dam laime.

Ado menketa, Do hataoe khanben, iral řaka.

Ado uni kamare menketa, Nui bařla gaige unakem damae kana, arhõ besko khan, tinak om damkekoa?

Ado uni hore menketa, Baña, řabu, bae bařlawa, miř bihãř hõ řuriye busagoka; nekẽ sor dingeye pal akana.

Ado kamare menketa, Ma neleme, řařa purauen hõ bae busak akana; ar bankhan gai do bar řařaregeko paloka ar pon řařareko busagoka; ar bankhan pon řařareko paloka, turui řařareko busagoka. Ar nui do neleme, řařa purauenre hõ bae busak akana. Nui do bařla bankhane cele kana?

Ado uni hore menketa, Acha, masẽ ente aben rořleben, tinakte khanben hataokea.

Ado uni kamare menketa, Pon řakate khanliñ hataokea.

Ado uni hore menketa, Bañ, turui řaka emokben.

Ado uni korae menketa, Turui hõ bañ ar ponea hõ bañ; do mořõ řakan emama.

Ado uni hore menketa, Baña, řabu, ađiñ marak kana.

Ado metadea, Khusi khan emokme, ar bankhan jãhã senliñ nelkoa.

Ado menketa, Acha, den endekhan emokme. Adokin emadea; ado uni gaikin tolkedeā arkin tiak ařuyede kana.

Ado hijuk hijuktekin ařupena; ado miřtañ bajar macha atokin namketa. Adokin menketa, Noa niñda do okatelañ calaka? Ma

²² What is here stated regarding the teeth and the age of cattle is in accordance with fact and daily practice. When buying a cow or a bullock they always ascertain the age by seeing the number of teeth in the nether jaw; when the calf is about three years the first two appear, then yearly two up to in all eight, according to the Santals. Nine teeth do not occur; that belongs to the folktales.

²³ *Lit.* 'a bazar village', i. e. a village with some shops.

Thereupon they asked the owner the price: "Well, we are fairly pleased with the cow; but you must first tell us your price, then we shall know whether we can take her."

The owner then named the price, nine rupees²¹. The boy then said: "Oh no, name the proper price."

"Well," the man said, "if you take her, eight rupees."

"You are prizing this barren cow so much," the blacksmith interposed; "I wonder what price you would ask if they were really good."

"No, my lad," the owner replied, "she is not barren; she has not had her first calf; but she has quite recently rutted."

"Please look at her," the blacksmith said, "although she has got her full set of teeth, she has not as yet had a calf. As a rule cows rut when they have got two teeth, and calve when they get four, or else they rut when they have four teeth, and calve when they get six²². But look at this one, although she has got all her teeth, she has not calved as yet. She is barren, what else is she?"

"Well," the man said, "well then, speak you, then, how much might you be willing to give for her?"

"If we get her for four rupees," the blacksmith said, "we might take her."

"No," the man said, "give six rupees."

The boy then said: "Neither six rupees, nor four; look here, I shall give you five rupees."

"No, my lad," the owner said, "that won't do, it will be a great loss to me."

"If you will agree to that, give her; otherwise we shall go somewhere else and look for a cow," the boy said.

"All right then," the owner replied, "give me that then." So they paid him, tied a rope round the neck of the cow and started leading her away.

As they were coming along on their way home, they were benighted; they came to a fairly large²³ village and said: "Where shall we go now at night? Let us pass the night on

niã atorege jãhãe piñdarelañ gitié aňgaka. Ado onka menkate ato senkin rakapena; ado miť hõrak piñdakiñ ñel ñamkettakoa, adõkin metako kana, Henda baba, noa piñdakore gitié thãokope arakkea?

Adõko menketa, Hõ janié, bale araga?

Ado onðekin ðerayena; ado taben khajari jom baraketto gaikin tolkadea, ar ona piñdarekin jaegayena. Adõkin japiťketre onko do uni gaiko rakadedetakina; ado etagié miťtañ akoren buđhi gai agukate unkinren gaiye tahẽkan then agukateko tolkadea, arko gitiéena.

Ado dosar hilok aňga marsalen khankin ñele kan doe bañ kan akinren gai do. Ado uni hõrkin metac kana, Iã baba, gai dope bõdõlatliña, nui gai doe bañ kantaliña; aliñren dope hataokedea, etagiépe em akawatliña.

Adõe metakin kana, Baña, nui kangeae abenren do; nui gaige holañ ñel agu akatbena.

Ado unkin kin menketa, Baña, aliñren gai do hani gorarepe ader akadea.

Ado uniye menketa, Bañ, uni gai doe inren kana; cedak in emabena? Okõe gaiben agu akade, ini barõ idiyetaben; inren do cak in emõka? Ado nonka ađi bařicko kaphariãuena.

Khange uni hõr doe menketa, Baña, nonka jhograk do bañ bogea; hape, nonðen hõr in jarwalekoge, nui gai reakhon bi-carlege.

Ado onka menkate mañjhi thene calao gotena, ar atoren miť bar bhõdro porja ado mañjhi orakreko jarwayena. Adõe lai bhõdako kana, bañma, Miťtan bidisiã hõren gai in doñ gabre akadea; uniren gai do ingeñ hataokedea ar inren buđhi gai uni doñ em akaawadea. Ado onah laiapena kana, ape do in sen leka barõ rorpe; ma ona reak doñ bujhaupea.

Ado miť hõre menketa, Achia, tinakem emõka?

somebody's verandah here in this village." With this intention they went up to the village, and when they saw a house with a verandah, they spoke to the people: "I say, sir, might you be willing to let us have a place to lie down in here somewhere on the verandah?"

"O yes," they said, "most likely; should we not let you have a place?"

So they settled down there for the night: after having eaten *taben* and *khajari* they tied the cow, whereupon they lay down on the verandah. When they were asleep, those other ones untied their cow, brought another, an old cow of their own, and tied her where the cow of these two had been, whereupon they lay down.

When it dawned the next morning, the two saw that it was not their cow, and said to the man: "I say, father, you have changed the cow for us; this one is not our cow; you have taken our one and given us another one."

"Not at all," the man replied, "this one is yours, I saw you two bring this cow yesterday."

"Certainly not," they said, "see there is our cow, you have put her into your cow-shed."

"No," he answered, "that cow is mine; why should I give you that one? Take away with you the cow you brought, please; why should I give you mine?" And they had a hot quarrel over this.

At last the man said: "No, it is no good to quarrel in this way. Wait, let me call the people of this place together; then we shall have this matter judged first."

Saying this he went straight to the headman, whereupon a few of the more respectable inhabitants came together in the headman's house; the man explained the meaning of it all to these: "I have helped myself to a cow belonging to a man from another country; I have taken his cow and have given him an old cow of my own. I tell you this; speak you in my favour, and I shall show you my appreciation of it."

"All right," one man said, "how much will you give?"

Ado uni hore menketa, Do jitaukidiñape menkhan, mōrē ſaka than manteh em godoka.

Adoko menketa, Acha, eñḍekhanle jita u comea.

Nonka ado sari ghus emkateko gohayente unkin hor thenko calaoena, ado bicarre unkin doko posraketkina, gai do ini buḍhi gaigeko metatkina, idiyeben mente. Ado uni tuar korae menketa, Ia baba, manjhi paranik ar ape mōrē hor, aliñ do noa bicarre baliñ khusilena. Noa do eken toropdari bicar lekageliñ aikauketa. Hape, aliñ hō mit bar galmarao horliñ banijanrege.

Adoko metatkina, Acha, do agukoben. Ado onko hor seko bujhauefa, banma, nukin do bidisiā hor, galmarao horkin agukore hō tho niakorenge; onko do nāhāk ekkaltebon ran gofkoa. Ado onka bujhaukateko menketa, Acha, do agukoben.

Ado uni tuar korae menketa, Ia ho, ma am do nonde bare tahē hatarok talañme, noako motra horho hatarame. In do hina ato khon mit bar hor in riāu agulekoge. Ado onko hō ni gaigeko digrialañ khan, nigelañ idiyea.

Ado onka menkate ad doe beret calaoena; ado hor hō bae nel akat iate aurige bin hortegeye calak kana. Ado sangin machare mittan atoe nel namketa. Ado ona ato nelkate hor doe atketa; ado patar potar mittan bir menaka; ado ona bir tala talateye calak kan tahēkana. Ado ona bir talarege, kathae, toyotekin haram buḍhiye namketkina, adokin daret tahēkana. Ado uni korae hohoketa, E ho, hape se, tengolenben, abengeñ nam barayetbena.

Ado kathaekin tengoyena, adokin menketa, Cedakem nam barayetliña?

Ado uni korae menketa, In do tuar hor kanaan, engañ kukhireñ tahēkanrege apuñ doe gocena, ar okako apuñe cijlet tahēkan, onako do gonon kakankeko enganko dhomkaokedete sanam cijko idiketa, ar jumi hoko reketlea; ado nalha tumalte poesa jarwa-

²⁴ *Ficus bengalensis*, Roxb. This tree grows to an immense size; the aerial roots coming down from the branches strike root and form a fresh stem; in this way one tree may become quite a grove.

"If you let me gain the case, I shall at once give five rupees," the man replied.

"Very well," they said, "then we shall let you gain the case."

After he had bribed them to be witnesses for him, they went to those two; in judging they bullied them; they told them that their cow was that old cow, and said that they should take that one with them. The orphan boy then said: "Well, sirs, headman and vice-headman and you Five, we two are not satisfied with this judgment, we feel it to be like a biassed judgement only. Wait, let us also bring a couple of men who can speak."

"All right, do bring some," they said to them; they were, of course, thinking by themselves: "these two are from another country; even if they bring some to speak for them, it must be somebody from hereabouts, and those we shall straight away medicine." It was with this in mind that they said: "All right, do bring some."

The orphan boy then said to his companion: "Look here, my friend, you please remain here for the present, and watch our bundles for us during my absence. I shall go and ask a couple of men from that village over there to come. If those also decree this cow to be ours, we must take this one with us."

Having said this, he got up and went off. As he had not seen the way, he was walking along at random, where there was no road. Some distance away he sighted a village; but when he had sighted it, he lost his bearings. There was some scrubby jungle there, and he was walking along through this. Then he suddenly, in the middle of that jungle, met a pair of jackals; they were running along. The boy called out to them: "I say, wait, stop a moment; it is you two I am looking for."

They stopped and asked him: "Why are you looking for us two?"

"I am an orphan," the boy replied, "whilst I was still in my mother's womb, my father died, and what my father had acquired of goods and property all that the elder and younger brothers of my father took away after having scolded my mother into silence; our land they took from us by force. After having

kate miſſaṅ mihūn kirin idijon kan tahḡkana. Ado ona bajar atore miſ horak piṅḡarelin gitié kan tahḡkana. Adolin japiſket jokhḡn uni hoṛ inren phetaṛ mihūi kombrokedete iniin tollede ṭhenge miſſaṅ buḡhi gai aḡukateye tol oṭokadea. Ado setak jokhḡn in ṅele kan doe baṅ kantiṅ, ar in aḡu gai do acaḡ goṛareye ader akade. Ado uni hoṛ in metae kana, Iḡ baba, nui gai doe baṅ kantiṅa, inren doe uni uni kantiṅa. Ado uni hoṛe meṅkeṭa, Baṅ, nui gaige coṅ holam aḡu akawan; inren do cak in emama? Ado ona karonte bogetelin kaḡhariḡuena. Ado ona karonte hoṛe jarwateḡkoa, ado joto hoṛ uni sen toṛopdari lekageko roṛkeṭa. Ado onare baṅ khusilente moṛṛe hoṛ in metatkoa, Iḡ baba, noa bicarre do baṅ khusilena; hape, in hoḡ galmarao hoṛ in aḡuanrege. Ado hoṛ nam in calak kan jokhḡnge ado aben in namkeṭbena. Ado dela abenge bicarkatinben.

Ado unkin toyokin meṅkeṭa, Bhala ato hoṛ ghus tanakko jom akata se?

Ado uniye meṅkeṭa, Oḡo baḡae, meṭte do baṅ nel akatkoa.

Ado unkin meṅkeṭa, Acha, delabonlin bicarkatama; ado askatem heḡena, delalin bicarkatama.

Adoko hijuk kana, ado unrekin metae kana, Atore oholin senlena, seta nahakko gerlina; ato bahre senre jahā dare buta tanakrebon jarwaka; ar unkin gai do banar baṛe aḡu darakinpe, ona bicar ṭhengebon tol hatarakakina.

Adoko heḡ seṭṛen khan, kulhi mucaṭre miſſaṅ baṛe dareko namkeṭa; adokin metadea, Do noa dare buta ṭhen hoḡo aḡukom; nondegebon galmaraoa.

Ado sari unkin do ondege dare butarekin tahḡyena, ar uni koṛa do ato sene calaoente manjhi paranik ar ato hoṛ ar uni mudai

²⁵ The end of the village street, i. e., the land just outside the last houses lying along the street, is a place very commonly used for sundry purposes. The 'Five' or the village council frequently meet here and not inside the village, because they here feel themselves less liable to interruption and may be sure that women are not listening. The Santals are very particular as to what should be said before women. It is one of their gentlemanly traits.

scraped together some money by working for others and by gleanings, I bought a calf and was taking her with me home. Then we two were passing the night in a man's verandah in that bazar town. When we had fallen asleep, that man stole my heifer, and, bringing an old cow, he tied that where I had tied mine. In the morning I saw that it was not my one, and that he had taken the cow I had brought into his own cow-shed. Then I say to this man: 'I say, father, this cow is not mine; that one there is mine.' Then the man said: 'Why, no it is this cow that you brought yesterday; why should I give you mine?' On account of this we had a hot quarrel, and on account of this he brought people together, and all of them spoke in his favour in a biased way. As I was not satisfied with this, I said to the Five: 'Well, sirs, I am not satisfied with this judgement; wait, let me also bring some who can speak.' As I was coming along looking for some such people, I met with you. So come along, you two, and be my judges."

The two jackals then said: "I wonder, perhaps those village people have 'eaten' bribes, or how?"

"Who knows?" the boy said, "with my eyes I have not seen it."

"Very well then," the two jackals said, "come along, and we two shall decide your case; you came with confidence, come, we shall judge your case."

Whilst they were on the way, the jackals said to the boy: "We cannot in any case go into the village; the dogs will bite us; let us meet somewhere outside the village, at the foot of some tree or other; and bring the cows, both of them, along with you; we shall tie them in the meanwhile there where we are to have the meeting."

When they reached the place, they came upon a banyan²⁴ tree at the end of the village street²⁵. So the jackals said to him: "Do bring them here to the foot of this tree; we shall have the discussion here."

The jackals then remained there at the foot of that tree, and the boy went to the village and invited the headmann and the

hōr, jōtōe riāukefkoa, ar unkin gai dō sōngeteko āgu daraket-kina. Adō jōtō hōr ona bāre dare buṭareko jarwayena.

Adōko metae kana, Okorkotam oaris dō, sē galmarao hōr dō okorkotam?

Adō unkin toyo dō pharak nōkrekin duṛup̄ akan tahēkana. Adōe metako kana, Hankinkin duṛup̄ akan.

Adōko mēnketa, Unkin makin toyo kan.

Adō uniye mēnketa, Unkingeñ āgu akat̄kina.

Adōko mēnketa, Acha besge.

Adō ona dare buṭareko duṛup̄ena, adō unkin toyo hōkin hēc̄ sorente mit āre sēnrekin duṛup̄ena. Adō sanam hōrko thir bāra akangea, oḳōe hō cet hō bako rōr bārayeta. Adō māñjiye mēnketa, Dur̄e! thir bārayen dōbo. Dē cet katha kana, lai saḍepe.

Adō adōm hōrko mēnketa, Oḳōe ente rōr saḍea? Oḳōeye jarwa-ketbon, uni bae lai mārañle khan, dosra hōr dō cet lekāe ehōba?

Adōko mēnketa, Dē ho, tōbē rōrtabonme, cetko katha kana; cet laḡitem jarwa akat̄bona, onako dōm lañle bañle baḍaetama?

Adō uni koṛae mēnketa, Hē, baba, sari kangea, lañle eñc̄ ba-ḍaeoka. Iḡ baba, katha dō noa kana, oñe enanbo galmaraokeṭ, ona kathage arhōbon galmarao dohṛaea.

Adōko mēn gōḳeta, Ona ma oñe cōñ enanrebon cabaket; adō cetem ṅam kana? Ma uni enanle metaṭme, uni gai bāre idiyem.

Adō uni koṛae mēnketa, Enan dō galmaraoe bañ khusilente bañ idiledea, ar in sēoren oaris oḳōe hō un dō bako tahēkana. Adō bar hōr in āgu akat̄kina, adō unkin salakrebon galmaraolege; adō uni gaiye thikōk̄ khan, inigeñ idiyea.

Adō onkako rop̄r̄ kan jōkhen dō unkin toyo dōkin tirup̄ akana. Adō onko hōrko mēn gōḳeta, Dōs nahīkin iḡ kana; mit ṅinda

²⁶ Jackals acc. to Santal observation largely feed on grasshoppers and crabs, these last ones being commonly found in the rice fields during the rainy season.

²⁷ The jackal quotes in a rustic Bengali. The sentence is very likely borrowed from Hindu villagers.

vice-headman and the village people and the opponent, all of them, to come and they also brought the two cows along. The whole party assembled there at the foot of the banyan tree.

"Why, where are your spokesmen?" they said, "where are those who are to speak for you?"

The two jackals were sitting a little distance off, and the boy said: "Look, they are sitting over there."

"Why, those two are jackals," they said.

"It is those two that I have brought," the boy replied.

"All right, it is good," they said.

When they had sat down at the foot of that tree, the two jackals also came near and sat down on one side. All were sitting quietly, no one of them was speaking a single word. The headman then said: "Dear me, we have become quite silent. Please speak out, what is the matter."

Then some one said: "Well, who should speak out? If he who has called us together does not first state his case, how can we other people begin?"

"Well then you," they said, "speak then what it is; for what purpose have you called us together? only when you tell that, we shall know what you mean."

"Yes, sirs," the boy said, "that is quite so; only when a thing is told, it will be known. Well, sirs, it is this; what we talked about a while ago this morning, that matter we must discuss once more."

"Why," they answered, "that we settled this morning; what more do you want then? Do take with you the cow we told you this morning."

"I was not satisfied with the decision this morning," the boy said, "therefore I did not take her away; neither had I then any one to be spokesman for me. Now I have brought two persons, so let us discuss the matter with them present. If then this cow is found to be the right one, I shall take her away with me.

Whilst they were talking together in this way, the two jackals were sitting with bowed heads. The other ones then said: "They

katkōm sosročkokin sendra kan tahiēkana, adq dudrumetkina. Nitōk dō galmarao hōr khan jāhān katha bakin rōrkea? Adq okorkin rōrefa?

Adq toyo aṅḍiaye rōr goṭketa, Hē, baba, galmarao hōr kangealiṅ. Ape dōpe mēneta, dudrumetkina; mēnkhan dudrum dō baliṅ dudrum kana. Miṭṭaṅ aliṅ mōṭorege jhogra menaktaliṅa. Adq nui koṛa reak bicar laḡifbon jarwa akana, ona ma hē kange, uniak hōbon bicargetaea, ona hō babon baḡiaka. Adq bhage noṅḍe ape mōrē hōrliṅ ṅamketpea; mēnkhan pahil dō aliṅak bicar maṛaṅkataliṅpe. Ape dō bikcar hōr kanape, nui koṛa reakpe bicarketa; besge ona hōliṅ metak kana. Adq aliṅak bicarlepe, tōbeliṅ metapea, noko dō nui koṛa reak ṭhikko bicar akata mēnte. Ar aliṅak bicar bape phāṅdaoketa mēnkhan, eṅḍekhan ṭhik bikcar hōr dōpe baṅ kana.

Adq onko mōrē hōrko mēnketa, Acha, ceṭ leka kana, masē laṭitaben.

Adq uni toyo aṅḍiaye mēnketa, Aliṅ dō miṭṭegeliṅ daṛan kana ar miṭṭgeliṅ jōmeta, dak hō miṭṭgeliṅ ṅūyeta; adq cekate nui dō bar dhaoe iceta? Iṅ dō din mōṭore miṭ dhaogeṅ iceta ar nui dō bar dhao. Adq masē noa baṛe bicarkataliṅpe.

Adqko mēnketa, Okq baḍae ente, cekate coṅ bar dhaoe icet kan.

Adq uni toyo aṅḍiaye mēnketa, Adq ona baṛe ente masē kuliyepe, cedak bar dhao dge icet kana.

Adq saṛiko kulikedeā, Saṛi am dō bar dhaoem iceta, sē nui dō aṛigeyē laiyeta? Onkako kuliyede kana arko landayeta.

Adq toyo aṅḍiaye mēneta, Hā! hā! alope landaea, landa katha dō baṅ kana. Hapṛamkoko rōrakata, "Bhalq bhalq loker soṅge dōrbar jachore putā hāsi katha na bōḷore." Onateṅ metape kana, landa katha dō baṅ kana, alope landaea.

Adq khangeko thirena, adqko kulikedeā, Ma laḡime, cedak bar dhao dōm iceta? Soṅgegeben daṛan kana, soṅgegeben jōm ṅūyeta, adq cekate am dō bar dhaoem icet kana?

²⁸ It is a common expression. When something is done or happens, different from the ordinary, without any observable cause, especially when it is of constant occurrence, it is supposed to be due to the 'command' of the higher powers.

²⁹ *Lit.* 'what is together with', the meaning apparently being that which pairs with that of others, perhaps of her husband's, in other words, what is natural.

are fine judges those two. They spent the whole night hunting for crabs and grasshoppers²⁶, and now they are feeling drowsy. If they were persons who can speak, would they not now say something? Why, they are not speaking a single word."

The he-jackal then said: "Yes, sirs, we are spokesmen. You are saying: they are feeling drowsy; that is not so, we are not feeling drowsy. We two are having a quarrel between ourselves. Now we have come together to decide this boy's case; that is quite so, we shall judge his case, we shall not forget that. It was very fortunate that we two met with you council-people here; but first judge our case. You are people accustomed to judge; you judged this boy's case; we call that quite good. Now first judge our case; then we shall be able to tell you that these people have judged rightly in this boy's case. And if you don't settle our dispute, in that case you are not proper judges."

The Five then said: "All right, state your case, what it is."

The he-jackal then said: "We two are going about together, and we are eating the same food: we are also drinking the same water: how is it then that she voids excrements twice? I myself void once daily and she twice. So please settle this matter for us."

"Well, who can tell," they said, "how it can be that she voids twice daily."

The he-jackal then said: "Then please ask her about this, why she voids excrements twice."

So they really asked her: "Is it true that you void excrements twice, or is he telling fibs?" They asked her and were laughing.

The he-jackal then said: "Hold! hold! don't laugh; it is not a laughing matter. The ancestors²⁷ have said: 'Wenn man mit vornehmen Leuten im Rate sitzt, kein leichtfertiges Sprechen.' I therefore tell you, it is no laughing matter; don't laugh."

So they stopped laughing and asked her: "Please tell, why are you voiding excrements twice? You two are going about together, you are eating and drinking together: how is it then that you are voiding excrements twice"?

Ado uniye mēnketa, Noa dō sari kangea, sōnggelin dāran kana, ar jōm nū hō mitgelin jōm nūyeta, mēnkhan sarige in dō bar dhao in icētgea. Ado nonka leka in dō hukum menaktiña, bañma, mit dō sōngē ic kantiña, ona dō dhartirege nūrok kante eñdege tañen kana; ar mit dhao in icēta, ona dō okoe hōr ghuse jōmet ar ona ghush karante rañdi dukhi, tuar amar, guni gurib reak bicare bēhoket, ado uniren usti pustikoak mocare ona ic dō paraok kana, ar uniye jōm akat mocare hō ona ic dō hapen hana purire paraoaea, ona ic dō moca ar mocarege hapen tañena. Ar okoe hōr ghuse jōm akatre hō, mōrē hōr then aņgockate in nū-tumteye dohaele khan, onako hōlōp do sanam kañakokketae; ar bae aņgoc khan dō, hapen oņe onka onko hōrak dosa dō hoyok-takoa. Ado oņe ona iate in dō bar dhao ij reak hukum menaktiña. Ma ado katha bujhaupe.

Ado aņdiaye mēnketa, Dē baba, ape mōrē hōr bujhaupe. Pasec ape motore nonka leka hoe akan khan dō, laipe ninañ mōrē hōr samañre; ar bañkhan dō hapen onka dosa hoyoka.

Ado okoko hōr ghushko hataolaka, se hataoko mēnet tahēkan, onko hōr dō akotege lañako portōnketa, ado joto katha thik thikko roñketa. Khange uni koraren gaiko delaokadetaea, ar uni kombro hōrge ulñaute mōrē takako dāñkdeea. Ado uni korā dō gaiye tiakkedetaea, adē calaoena; ar noko hōko biñ bhañgaena; ar nukin toyo hō uni korā tayōmtekin pañja idikedea, ado birko tiokket khankin mēnketa, Ma bābu, eñdekhan gai dō idiyeben, aliñ dō neteliñ calak kana. Ado eņeko apan apin barayena.

Ado uni gai dōkin idi seterkadea, ado gorare bañ dō sate umulre, kathaekin tōlkadea. Ado eņgattē dō bañiko mañjao barakate dake tañatkina; ado nū barakate jañga dhurikin aņbukena. Ado uni eņgattē dō bañire dak tañkate uni gaiak jañgae arupkettaea ar busupe aņuadea. Ado onakin señlenak duk suke kuli barayēt-

³⁰ Bribery as described occurs among the people. It is very common all over India. In the ordinary Santal village-quarrels only one form of bribery is common, that of giving food and drink, especially the latter, to the more important persons.

She then said: "It is quite true. We are going about together, and we are also eating and drinking the same; but in truth I void excrements twice. I have such an order²⁸, namely, one is my company-dung²⁹; this falls down on the earth and remains there; and once more I void, the meaning of that is: he who takes bribes³⁰ and for that bribe's sake judges unjustly the widow's, the orphan's and the poor and indigent people's case, in the mouth of his offspring for generations upon generations that dung falls; that filth will remain in their mouth for ever. But any person who has 'eaten' bribes, if he confesses it before the council and makes supplication in my name, from him all that curse will be removed; and if he does not confess, then such as stated the fate of those will be. For this reason I have order to void excrements twice. Please understand this."

The he-jackal then said: "Please, sirs, you Five, understand the matter. If by any chance such a thing should have happened among you, tell it before so many councillors; otherwise, such a fate is in store for you."

Then those who had taken bribes or who had intended to take, commenced of their own accord to tell, and they told everything exactly as it was. Thereupon they formally gave the boy's cow over to him and they turned the whole against the thief and fined him five rupees. The boy went away, leading his cow, and those other ones also went, each his own way. The two jackals also went along after the boy until they reached the forest, when they said: "Now, my boy, take the cow with you; we two are going in this direction." So they parted company there.

The two of them then brought the cow home and tied her in the cattle-shed or perhaps it was in the shade of the eaves. The boy's mother scoured and cleaned some cups and poured out water for them; when they had drunk, they washed the dust off their feet. His mother then poured some water into a cup and washed the cow's feet and brought her straw. Thereupon she asked them what had happened to them, good and bad, on their journey, and

kina, tinak̄teben kiriñkedeā, onakokin laiae kana, ar on̄eko kom-brolede tah̄kan ar ceka lekatekin nam ruar̄kede, onako jot̄o bean, je kichu hoelenak̄ d̄o, jot̄okin lai cabawadea.

Ad̄o uni kamare m̄enketa, In̄ d̄o unkin toyo n̄elte ar unkinak̄ katha an̄jomte ađin̄ hahar̄ayena. N̄elme s̄e ente, toyo jat̄ kana-kin, hor̄ r̄or̄ d̄o okarekin cet̄kette onka pust̄au d̄okin galmarao kana? Ona an̄jomte in̄ d̄o ađin̄ hahar̄ayena. Ar bicar̄ h̄o aik̄a khub̄ th̄ikkin bicar̄leta, ekkalte r̄or̄ sit̄ ut̄arena, ona khon̄ d̄o oele h̄o bañko r̄or̄ dareata, ekkaltek̄o h̄ek̄ ut̄arketa, gai h̄oko em̄ ut̄ar̄ got̄at̄liña, arh̄o m̄or̄e takako d̄and̄omkedeā.

Ad̄o uni kamare laieta s̄e, cet̄ bañ ona r̄or̄ an̄jomte ađi hor̄ko jarwayena, ad̄o cet̄ bañ seye mañuñ cabakef̄koa. Ad̄o uni kor̄aren en̄gatt̄ete meneta, Iā bañu, unkin d̄o toyo d̄o bakin tah̄kana; unkin d̄o Candogekin tah̄kana, onatege nonka hahara d̄okin r̄or̄-keta. Ad̄oko m̄enketa, H̄ege con̄.

Arh̄o uni kamare m̄enketa, Kakat goñgotteko nuiak̄ cijko hatao akat̄taea, ona h̄o hapene nam ruar̄taea; ente onko d̄o beñokteko hatao akat̄taea.

Ad̄o onko jarwa akan hor̄ko m̄enketa, Baña, noa katha d̄o th̄ik-gem meneta, ar ale h̄o ona d̄ole bujhañ akat̄gea. Ad̄o cetem mena? Ad̄o ok̄qe onaren dhat̄kae teñgolen bañ. Ar n̄elpe, jot̄oko reć caba akat̄kore h̄o, noko do Candoe dayawako kante reñgećte d̄o bako kořt̄o akana.

Ad̄o enka galmarao bar̄akate khange uni kamar̄ d̄e m̄enketa, Acha, ma galmarat̄abonpe, in̄ d̄o or̄akteñ senlenge, dakan̄ jom̄ agulege.

³¹ P̄ai is very nearly half a litre. The size varies with the different localities, the shopkeepers often also have several sizes, one to buy with, another to sell with, and a third used when dealing with those whom it might be inconvenient to try to cheat, viz. the standard measure. The standard p̄ai is half a seer, and this is to be equivalent to eighty tolas (one tola is the weight of one rupee, the silver coin unit). It is fairly common to see people in the rural shops testing the size of the measures. One way of doing it is to weigh dried rice grain with rupees. If the amount of rice contained in a p̄ai measure weighs forty rupees,

how much they had paid for the cow; they told her all that, also how people had stolen her, and in which way they got her back, the story of all this, every particular happening, in fact everything they narrated to her.

The blacksmith then said: "I was much astonished seeing those two jackals and hearing their words. For, remember, they are of the jackal race; where had they learnt the Santal language so they could speak so distinctly? By hearing that, I was very much astonished. And think, their judging, that was also excellent; all talk was immediately utterly put a stop to; no one could speak anything further; they at once agreed to all; the cow they also gave over to us immediately, and the man they fined five rupees."

The blacksmith was telling, you can't imagine how fine it was and by hearing his tale very many people came together, and you can't imagine how nicely he told, he absolutely fascinated them. Then the boy's mother said: "I say, my boy, those two were no jackals; they were Chando himself; therefore they spoke so wonderfully." "Yes, perhaps so," the others said.

Again the blacksmith commenced to speak: "His uncles, the younger and elder brothers of his father, have taken the boy's property; this he will also get back some day; for they have taken it from him unjustly."

"Yes," the assembled people said, "that is quite so; you are speaking quite right; we have also understood that. But what can you say? The claimant must, first of all, stand up. But see, although they have robbed them of everything, Chando is taking pity on them, so they do not suffer distress from hunger."

After they had had this talk, the blacksmith said: "Very well, you continue to talk; I must go home and have some food."

it is a correct or standard pal measure. It might be mentioned that the measures in common use are of a local manufacture, some made of wood, others of wood with brass or iron mountings, and others of metal cast by a certain Hindu caste.

Ado sari onkae menket khan do uni koraren engattet do boloy-ente bar pe pai gan caoleye odokkette uni kamare emadea; adoe metadea, Ne ghette, gidrako nahakko nel darammea.

Ado sariye ghetteketa, arho dal bulunkoe emadea, ado ina ghett barakate khangé uni kamar doe calaena. Ado onko jarwa hor ho cun thamakur jem barakateko apan apinena.

Ado ina dosar tesar khangé, kathae, kakat gongotteko doko anjomketa, banma, nui korá do apat reak jumiye pachae lagit. Ado onkoko menketa, Acha besge, mase bhala abo ho niá ađe tola horko thenbo bujhaú baralege; ar bankhan bhorme bhormetebon em ruarkataea.

Ado sari okakore coko bujhaú baraket, ar ong gai kirinkin senlenre toyoe bicarkettakin, ado ona katha ho ađe tola hor thenko lai saðeket khan, onkoko menketa, Ma uniak cijko do em ruarkataepe; ar bankhan hapen apegepe lajaoka. Nelpe, uniren do se uni uparte do bir janwar hoko teñgon kana. Abo hor horre ma jahá lekatebon ere darekekogea; menkhan pase Candoge uniake bicartae, ar uni hor leka pasge sabud ape ho bhoktegepe hatao akattae, tobe un jokhen moskil hoyoka.

Ado sari onkako bujhaú barawan khanko menketa, Mabon em ruarkataea, ar onobon hataotae jokhen hōe men akata, apat tahēkanre bar cando.reak tahēkategeye gōc akana. Pase ona kathage sari, tobe nahak cetbon mena? Kajetege babon lajaoka? Ma nenkare onako do jotobon emkataea. Ina do abore ho suluk tahena, ar bankhan hapen jahá hilok jhogra hapen hoyoka, abore bankhan hapen gidrakoko jhograktabona.

³² See p. 99, note 3.

³³ As they have no pockets, it is common to tie things they take along with them in their cloth.

³⁴ The Santals make beer from malted grain, now commonly from rice. The grain of j a n h e, *Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L., is also much used for the purpose and said to be more intoxicating than other kinds of beer. Beer is very commonly taken, thus at all festivals, and as the final part of any discussion or decision reached in the village council, and so on. The most objectionable thing about

When he said this, the boy's mother entered her house, brought out about two or three pai³¹ rice and gave the blacksmith, whereupon she said to him: "Here, take this and tie it up in your cloth; your children will be waiting for you now."

He tied the rice up in his cloth; she further gave him dal³² and salt, and having tied it all up³³ the blacksmith went. Thereupon the people who had come together separated, after they had chewed lime and tobacco.

A couple of days after this, his uncles heard it told that the boy was going to inquire into the circumstances of his father's land. They said: "Very well, let us also seek advice with people here in the vicinity; else we shall give it back to him without making any fuss."

They really did so and sought advice here and there, and when they told people in the nearest villages of how the jackal had passed judgement when they had gone to buy a cow, these people said: "Give him back his property; if you don't, you will certainly some day be put to shame. See, on his side or on his behalf even forest animals stood up. We human beings between ourselves, we may somehow or other be able to fool people; but perhaps Chando will judge his case, and perhaps the man also will prove that you have unjustly taken his property; then there will come difficulties."

When they had sought advice in this way, they said: "Well, let us give him back what is his; at the time we took it from him, the woman also said that his father died when she was two months with child from him. Perhaps that will be shown to be true, what shall we then be able to say? Without doubt, shall we not be put to shame? Let us, whilst it is like this, give him all that is his. Thereby there will be peace also between ourselves. If we don't do so, there will some day in future arise quarrels between ourselves, or, if not, then our children will some day quarrel."

Ado unak hăbičko bujhauket khan, hanđiko dŏhŏketa; ona dulkate uni koŕa ar enđattet ar ato hoŕ jŏtoko jarwaketkotoke galmaroketa. Ado gaiko ar jumi baŕgeko jŏtoko em ruŕ kattaeta.

Ado cabayena katha dŏ. Onŕ onkate, katha, uni koŕa dŏ jumi baŕgeye nam ruŕketteta. Saŕi coŕn nase coŕn, hoŕ onkako galmaroa.

12. Mitŕŕé toyo ar sim reak katha.

Sedae jugre, katha, mitŕaŕn toyo ar mitŕaŕn sim phulkin pataolet tahĕkana, ar unkin dŏ boehakin saĕailet tahĕkana. Ado mit din dŏ manŏtok reakkın nenđaketa; bana hoŕ hanđikin dŏhŏketa; adŏ isinen khan dŏ dul baŕakatekin nŕotayena. Paŕil dŏ toyo oŕakrekin nŭ baŕaketa, adŏ onakate sim oŕaktekin calaena.

Santal drinking is that the aim is to get drunk. As to beer itself, it is not very intoxicating; it is always made so by adding vegetable poisons. In the villages, these additions do not lead to more than intoxication. In the beer-shops, it sometimes happens that people die after drinking the drugged beer. They make use of one or more among 23 different kinds of vegetable poisons, so far as I remember. The matter here referred to is a peculiar custom, by which an intimate and lifelong friendship is established between two persons of the same sex. The parties concerned put a flower (frequently of the *Plumeria acutifolia*, Polre) in each other's hair and exchange presents of cloth and money. They address each other and speak of each other as *phul*, flower; they feast each other and assist each other in all circumstances. The ceremony gone through when first establishing this friendship is to a certain extent public, relatives and others being present. Persons of different race, i. e., a Santal and a Hindu, may contract this kind of friendship, although such is not often the case. The present story may possibly give a hint that friendship of this latter kind is unnatural and leads to disaster. According to what the Santals tell, they have got this peculiar form from the Hindus. The name *phul* is Hindi (from Sanskrit).

It might be mentioned that the Santals have a similar custom of their own. When two young people of the same sex, especially two girls, not so frequently

When they had got so far in thinking the matter over, they started making beer³; when that was ready, they called the boy and his mother and the village people together and talked the matter over. Thereupon they gave him his cows and his rice-lands and fields back, all of it.

Now there this story is ended. In this way that boy got his rice-lands and fields back. Whether it is true or not, people tell the story in this way.

12. THE STORY OF A JACKAL AND A HEN.

ONCE upon a time, in a former age, people tell, a jackal and a hen had engaged themselves to be flower-friends for life¹, and they agreed to stand in the relationship of brother and sister² to each other. Thereupon they fixed a day to celebrate their friendship³; both of them brewed beer, and when this was ready fermented⁴, they drew it off and invited each other. First they had a drink in the jackal's home; thereupon they went to the hen's house.

boys, have become intimate friends, they make this friendship public at a Karam festival. This is celebrated in the Santal villages immediately after the Durga festival. The persons concerned take two leaves of a branch of the karam tree (*Adina cordifolia*, H. f. & B.) and fix one leaf in each other's hair, whereupon they salute all the villagers there assembled, one after the other. Afterwards they treat the village-people to beer; they also give each other presents of cloth. These also do not use other names (especially of relationship) in calling to one another, but only karam đar (lit. karam branch). It is an idealistic friendship into which they enter, lasting for life. It is told that such friends have given their life to serve each other.

² This is against the rule; two persons of different sex must not become *phul*. Santal has here one word for brother and sister.

³ See above note 1. The feast here referred to is not the public ceremony, but the friendly entertainment following afterwards.

⁴ Beer takes five days to brew. See p. 166, note 3.

Ado khange uni sim dɔe bulena, adɔe kɔbɔk kɔbɔgɔk kana, ar uniren hopɔn dɔ ciãp ciãp bogeteko raket kana; adɔ enre hɔ uni sim enɔa dɔ bae disayetkoa. Adɔ uni toyoe mɛnketa, Nui sim dɔn jomegea. Adɔ sariye bul gitiɛn khan dɔ, gɛrkateye aƙirkedeaa are jɔmkedeaa. Adɔ khange onko sim hopɔn dɔko tuarena.

Adɔ dosar hilok dɔ ciãp ciãp aɔi baɔiɔko rak baɔayeta. Khange uni toyo dɔ noko hɔ jɔmko laɔite locor locorok kana; uni enɔa reak aɔi sebele aɔkaufette noko hɔ jɔm maraokoe mɛnketa. Adɔ khangeye heɔ gɔtena; adɔe kuliyetkoa, Henda bhagna, cedakpe raket kana?

Khange adɔko mɛnketa, Hola mahpɛerre, mamɔ, enɔane gɔɔ bagiatlea.

Adɔe kuliketkoa, Okarepe gitiɔa?

Adɔko mɛnketa, Ale dɔ pakharele gitiɔ kana.

Adɔ enka kuli baɔakatege uni toyo dɔe calaena, Adɔ noko sim hopɔnko galmarao jɔn kana, Nui toyoge tho ya aboren ayo dɔe jɔmkedeaa; adɔ abo hɔ jombon laɔite kuli thiketbona. Adɔko mɛnketa, Teheɔ dɔ pakhare dɔ babon gitiɔa.

Khange adɔ ona pakhare dɔ holafko, churi binthikoko dɔhɔkafa. Adɔ nindayen khan dɔ uni toyo dɔe heɔ gɔtena, adɔ ona pakhageye haɔraɔ gɔfketaa. Adɔ khange holafko churikote bhage-teye geɔ sirɔ sorɔyena. Adɔ hasokede khan aɔiye aƙ ukketa. Khange en hilok dɔe ruaf calaena.

⁵ The Santal word is ciãp ciãp, onomatopoeic like the English equivalent.

⁶ In the Santal folklore the animals make use of artificial relationship, just as the Santals themselves, and address each other accordingly. It is generally the relationship of mother's brother and nephews and nieces of such that is supposed to be established. These relatives are expected, according to the rules of Santal society, to 'honour each other like the Sun'. The bigger or dangerous animal is always the 'uncle'.

⁷ In houses with thick mud-walls (probably not originally Santal, but borrowed from the Hindus) small niches are made into the wall, intended for various purposes, such as putting a lamp or small things in.

After a while the hen became drunk; she was continually nodding her head, whilst her chickens were cheeping⁵ as much as they could. Still the hen mother did not mind them. The jackal then said: "I shall eat this hen." And when she was lying there drunk, he took her in his mouth, carried her away and ate her. Thus the chickens became orphans.

The day after the chickens were cheeping something awful, and the jackal's mouth was watering to eat these also. The hen had been so savoury that he thought he would eat all these also. So he one day came and asked them: "Look here, nephews and nieces⁶, why are you crying?"

"A few days ago, uncle," they replied, "our mother died and left us."

"Where do you sleep?" he asked them.

"We sleep in the wall-niche⁷," they replied.

Having enquired of them in this way the jackal went off. The chickens then had a talk together: "It was this jackal who ate our mother, and now he is making enquiries from us to be able to eat us also," whereupon they said: "We shall not sleep in the wall-niche to-night."

After this talk they put razors⁸, knives⁹ and carving-knives¹⁰ in the niche. As soon as it had become dark, the jackal came and commenced to grope in the niche with his forelegs, with the result that he cut himself badly on the razors and knives, so that he bled profusely. It pained him and he groaned much. So this time he went away.

⁸ The Santals ordinarily shave; their razors are country-made, small, fixed in a handle. Ancient stone implements, found in the country, are used as hones.

⁹ Country-made, generally something like kitchen-knives.

¹⁰ This implement (*biṅṅhi*) is a curved knife fixed slantingly in a piece of wood at one end, with the edge upwards. A person using it keeps it in position by putting his foot on the wood, the edge being towards the one using it. The *biṅṅhi* is used for cutting meat and vegetables into bits, and if needed and practicable, also for similar cutting of anything else. It is country-made; now-a-days one may sometimes see such knives entirely made of iron.

Khange arhō dosar hilok dōe hēcena; arhō onkageye kuli-yefkoa, Henda bhagna, cedakpe raketa?

Adoko mēnketa, Hola mahnderre, mamō, enḡaḡe goč baḡiaflea.

Adōe mēnketa, Okarepe gitič kana?

Adoko mēnketa, Ale dō culharele gitič kana.

Adō enka mēn barakatege ac dōe ruḡ calaoena. Adō ayuḡ khangeye hēč gofena; adō bako japiḡ akatḡeye ruḡ sēnena. Adō onko sim dō, kathae, culhare dō khubko tiḡi aḡra akat tahēkana; adō ona sēḡel aḡra dō tōrōčeko topa akat tahēkana. Adō ina miḡ ghari khange uni toyo dōe hēč gofena, adō culḡa duḡreyye paḡaḡdo gofena. Adō laha jaḡgate culhaye tamḡao gofketā; adōe lō gofēn khan dō aḡi garteye ḡaduč gofketā. Adō ona sēḡel aḡra dō goḡa lač senteye ḡaduč rakaḡ gofana. Khangeye lō gofēn khan dō aḡi garteye kikiḡu gofketā.

Adō un jōkhēč khange onko sim hōko landa gofketā. Onko sim dō miḡtaḡ tumbare bōlōkateko gitič kan tahēkana. Khangeye eḡefketkoa; adōe metako kana, Ape dō goḡa horḡope lō oco akadiḡa. Ape dō miḡ miḡtaḡ jōm cabapea.

Adō unre onko simko mēnketa, Iḡ mamō, aḡhirrem jōmleḡea; mēnkhan oḡakre dō alom jōmleḡa; eḡte aleren ayo hō oḡakre ma ba

¹¹ A Santal fire-place is made of clayish earth. The fire-place is made by women, who all know how to make it; sometimes men may also be seen making it. It is done in the following way: the earth is kneaded or pugged with the feet and formed into a mass some 40 to 50 cm. long, 25 to 30 cm. broad and 20 to 25 cm. high. (The measures given by a Santal woman for a two-holed culḡa are: one cubit long, one span and two fingers broad and one span high). When it becomes somewhat dry, two circular openings are made from above, and the earth is dug out with the hands. The openings are provided with three pommels or knobs; when in use, the cooking-pot rests on these, while there is just room enough beneath to permit of free draft. On the front-side a semicircular opening is made for the fire-wood. The space between the two openings is called the breast (koḡam), i. e., the top side; below the same is the 'stomach' (lač). This is the most common form of culḡa, the two openings enabling the housewife to cook rice and curry at the same time. There are other forms, with one opening, or three or four such, generally made for special purposes.

The next day he came again, and again enquired of the chickens: "Look here, nephews and nieces, why are you crying?"

"A few days ago, uncle," they replied, "our mother died and left us."

"Where do you sleep?" he asked them.

"We sleep in the fire-place¹¹," they replied.

When they had talked in this way, he went away. As soon as it became evening, he returned; but as they had not then fallen asleep, he went away again. Now the chickens, people tell, had made a fire and got a lot of live coals, which they covered up with ashes. A short while afterwards the jackal came again and sat down on his haunches in front of the fireplace-opening. Thereupon he put his foreleg into the fire-place, groping about; and when he burnt himself, he withdrew his paw in hurry and haste and at the same time scratched the live embers up over the whole of his stomach. He burnt himself still more and screamed loudly.

When this happened, the chickens commenced to laugh. Now the chickens had entered a gourd¹² and were passing the night there. The jackal then blocked the way for them and said to them: "It is your fault that I have burnt myself all over my body. I shall eat you, every one of you."

The chickens then said: "Look here, uncle, you may eat us afterwards; but please do not eat us here in the house. You

¹² Santals make, for various purposes, use of the shell of a pumpkin, called *hōtōf*, *Cucurbita lagenaria*, L. There are two kinds, one eatable, much used for curry, another bitter and not fit for eating. These pumpkins have many shapes, some being roundish, others long, like clubs or bottles, and varying in size. Both the eatable and the bitter pumpkins have, when ripe, a shell that hardens like wood. This shell is used for a great many purposes, according to size and form. Of such they make ladles, cups, water-bottles, receptacles of sorts (for mustard-seed, &c.), and so on. They are clean, according to their ideas; water keeps cool in them. These utensils were much more in use formerly than now-a-days, when brass-ware is ousting the old things. The *tumbā* is mostly used as a water-bottle.

çom jomlede; onatele metam kana, ale hō nonde dō alom jomlea. Hana barge mucatre dhiri caṭani menaka, onde idikate jom marao goṭkaleme.

Ado uni toyoe menkefa, Baṇa, bhagna, besgepe metañ kana; onde dō dhiri cetanre paṭgaṇḍokateñ jompea.

Ado sari onka men barakate khange ona tumba sudhageye kuṭuñ idikeṭkoa. Ado ona dhiri then seṭerKatege ceka lekate ce paskao goṭkeṭ khan, ona tumba dō dhirire aḍi garte nurha posak gotena. Un jokhen onko sim dō jotoḱo daṛ bara goṭkeṭa, onte note phar phurko uḍau bara gotena.

Khange uni toyo doe haemoekaṭena, onte noteye koyok goṭkaṭkoa. Ado latar utarre miṭṭane tahḱkana; uni dō jotoḱokoteko ic ṭheḱom akade tahḱkante bae uḍau dareata. Ado uni toyoe menkefa, Acha, in jom motō dō Candoe deao akawadiṅgea; onko dō bhokko tahḱkana, onate onko doe daṛ ocoketkoa; nitege in motō doñ besoka.

Ado uni sime menkefa, Akhirem jomeṅgea; nonka ic salak dō ceṭ lekatem jomeña? Arup saphaliṅme, adō jomeṅme.

Ado uni toyoe menkefa, Acha, eṇḍekhan arupKategeñ jommea.

Ado khange sariye arupkedeā. Ado arhō uni sime menkefa, Iḱ mamō, akhirem jomeṅgea; thoṛa hawet hōḱ ocoḱṅme; miṭ gharin roḱor hōḱlengē.

Ado uni toyoe menkefa, Baṇa, roḱorlen khan dō nāhākem daṛa.

Ado uni sime menkefa, Baṇa, mamō, judi unākem obiswasok kan khaç, eṇḍekhan amaḱ luṭire baṛe roḱorkaṅme, ar in roḱorlen khan inṭegeñ metama, ma cahabme mente.

Ado sari uni simak kathageye añjomkefa; adō sari acaḱ luṭiregeye apkadea. Ado khube roḱoren khane metae kana, Ma cahabme, roḱorenañ.

¹³ The house-field, in Santal barge, the field on which the Santals have their houses, used for Indian corn and cold-weather crops.

¹⁴ This and several other things mentioned give a local colouring. Large flat rocks belong to the Santal country and the hilly regions.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 68, note 11.

see, you did not eat our mother either here in the house. Therefore we tell you, don't eat us here either. Over there at the other end of the house-field¹³ there is a large flat rock¹⁴; take us there and eat us all there".

"Quite so, nephews and nieces," the jackal replied, "that is a good proposal; there on that large flat rock I shall sit down comfortably and eat you."

Having spoken in this way he really took the gourd up and carried it off with the chickens. When he reached the stone, he somehow or other let the whole slip down; the gourd fell with a loud crash and was broken into pieces. As the opportunity offered itself, the chickens all of them got off in a hurry, flying, flapping and fluttering hither and thither.

The jackal became stiff like wood from astonishment; he looked for them in all directions. Now there was one chicken underneath all the rest; all of them had dropped on this one and plastered it up, so he could not fly. "Very well," the jackal then said, "the needful food for me Chando¹⁵ has stood surety for; those other ones were unrighteous ones; therefore he made them run away. Now I shall do myself very well."

Then the chicken said: "To be sure you will eat me afterwards; but how can you eat me in such a dirty state? Wash me clean first and then eat me."

"All right," the jackal said; "I shall eat you after having washed you."

So he really washed the chicken. Then this one again said to him: "I say, uncle, to be sure you will eat me afterwards; let me get a little dry. Let me first dry myself a little."

"Not so," the jackal replied, "if you get dry, you will run away."

"Not at all, uncle," the chicken said; "if you have so little faith in me, please dry me on your lip; then when I get dry, I shall myself tell you to open your mouth."

Truth to tell, the jackal listened to what the chicken said and perched it on his lip. When the chicken had become quite dry, it said to him: "Please open your mouth wide; I am dry."

Khange adqe cahap ocokedeá, adq mocareye ic gotádea, adqe uđau gotena. Uđau uđauena se, adi sañgihre mittañ bunum danañreya tapuk gotena.

Adq uni toyo dq icetko melot baraketteye calaena ona bunum then, adq berhae bunume oyoñ acurefa. Adq mit secre ti bolok in marañ gan bunum bhugake namketa, adqe menketa, Dhora noa bhugakregeye bolq akana. Adq cur mar ona bhugakgeye soketa; adq ona hō bae sok tiok dareak kana. Adq khange jañgateye raboř gelak kana; ghañe dq mocate hōe ger chađao gelak kana. Adq oka lekate hō bae dareak kana, enre hō bae bagiak kana. Ar uni sim dq tãhã oka sen cqe calaen.

Adq uni toyoe menketa, Bhalare, sim, mocare ic otokatem đar akata; am dq aurlañ jomme dhabic dq balañ bagiam kana. Adq bae tiok dareae khane menketa, Iđ simge, tin hãbicem bolokka? Bhalalañ nelmea; bhugak in durup eseda; amtege nahakem ghul ghulau goe ađoka.

Adq sari onka menkate ona bhugak dqe durup esetketa. Adq, kathae, tin hãbic con ondegeye durupen khan bhuku dq gođa liñđhiko jom khalkedeá. Adqe durup arisen khan dq rongeekedeá. Adqe berefen khan dqe menketa, Amar muher mas gelo; nahakgeñ durup akana; nui sim dq ađiye erekidiña. Unre bareñ jomle khañ đon beska; nahakge moca reak jel in paskaoketa.

¹⁶ The termites or white ants are met with everywhere; the ant-hills are fairly frequent in the jungle and elsewhere, varying in size from below one up to two or three meters in height and correspondingly large in circumference. The ant-hills seen in this country are generally dark brown in colour (they consist of earth brought up from underneath by the termites and have consequently the same colour as the earth); in shape they are like miniature hills with peaks and pinnacles and steep, often nearly perpendicular 'ravines' or sides. Small holes may be found here and there; whether they are made by the termites or by animals, I cannot say. The ground below such a hill is correspondingly 'excavated' with passages, galleries and termites' nests.

As soon as it, in this way, had made the jackal gape, it eased itself in his mouth, and then at once flew away. It flew, oh, how it flew; far, far away, behind a white-ant hill¹⁶, it alighted on the ground.

The jackal again and again put his tongue out to get the dirt off, whereupon he went to that white-ant hill and looked everywhere round it. Ultimately he found a hole in the ant-hill, about big enough for a hand to get in; he said: "Undoubtedly, it has entered this hole." Then he commenced vigorously to thrust his paw into that hole; but he was not able to reach the bottom of it. Then he tried to scratch the earth away with his foot; now and then he also tried to bite the earth away with his teeth. He was not able to manage it in any way; still he did not leave off. And as for the chicken, it went who knows where in the meantime.

Ultimately the jackal said: "Well and good, chicken, you have run away after having eased yourself in my mouth; we two¹⁷ shall not leave you alone until we have eaten you." And as he was unable to reach it, he said: "You unspeakable chicken, how long are you remaining in there? Well, we two shall have a look at you; I shall sit and block the hole up; presently you will be choked and die by your own doing, you rascal."

Truth to tell, when he had said this, he sat down over the hole and blocked it up. Then when he had been sitting there for who knows how long, the white ants ate the skin off the whole of his hind-quarters. Ultimately he became tired of sitting and felt hungry. Getting up he said: "Das Fleisch meines Maules ist verloren gegangen¹⁸; I have been sitting here in vain; this chicken has cheated me badly. If I had only eaten it at that time, I should have done well; to no purpose I have let meat in my mouth slip away."

¹⁷ Inclusive dual used in threatening language.

¹⁸ The jackal makes use of Bengali.

Ado siṭṭḥal miṭṭḥal beretente baiḥar sen hako kaṭkōm sendrae beret calaena. Khange adō miṭṭḥan buḍhi hakoe sasap kane namkedeā; adōe metae kana, E buḍhi, in hō hako sap ocoaṇme.

Ado uni buḍhiye menketa, Arēc haron akanah, oḥon sap ocolema. Am dō kichum arēclaka?

Ado uni toyoe menketa, Ho, ia buḍhige, bam sap ocoaṇ khan dolaṇ ger adomea.

Ado uni buḍhiye menketa, Baṇa, sap ocoamgeaṇ, alom gereṇa. Dela hijukme! Bana hortelaṇ sap haṭiṇkoa.

Khange uni toyoe arḡoyena, adōkin sapetkoa. Ado uni buḍhiye meneta, Ma am hō leodaeme, umjḥaukoalaṇ. Ado uni toyo hōe leodayeta, khentē pere khentē pereye doneta. Ado khange miṭṭḥan puṭhiye nam goṭkedeā, adōe jom goṭkedeā. Ado uni buḍhi dō ghuṭuteye rakapena. Ado arhō onka khentē pere khentē pereye leoda goṭketa. Ado uniye jomlede puṭhi hakoge, kathae, liṇḍhi sen khone parom goṭena. Ado arhō inigeye nam goṭkedeā.

Ado uni toyoe men goṭketa, Henda buḍhi, cet leka bam sapketko? Ekti khaelom ekti paelom.

Ado uni buḍhiye menketa, Inige con ḡari ḡarim sabe kan.

¹⁹ The Santali word baiḥar is the name for the low-lying rice-fields, during the rainy season always more or less full of water. It is their best rice-land.

²⁰ Tiny fish, crabs, and so on, are to be found in these rice-fields, when the rains have lasted for some time. They are in the autumn caught by the Santals in a kind of fish-trap called ṭorḍaṇ, put in an opening made in the earth-ridge on the lower side of the field, through which superfluous water is let out. The jackals are said to feed on fish, crabs, grasshoppers, and so on.

²¹ Buḍhi, old woman, is quite proper when speaking of an old lady, but in addressing it is somewhat disrespectful. When not having any relationship, natural or artificial, with a woman, such a one older than oneself is generally addressed as 'mother', ḡo or ayo.

²² The locality in which the woman is catching fish seems to be some place outside, below or between the rice-fields, where there is water standing. In such places the Santals may catch fish in the way described. The water is first baled out sufficiently to make it possible to reach the bottom with one's hand. People then go into the water, moving about to stir up the mud.

He got up rather down in the mouth and went towards the low-lying rice-fields¹⁹ to hunt for fish and crabs²⁰. Then he met an old woman who was catching fish and said to her: "You old woman²¹, let me also catch fish."

"I have had no end of trouble baling out the water²²," the old woman replied, "I am not going to let you catch fish. Did you perhaps bale out the least part?"

"Oh," the jackal said, "you rotten old woman, if you don't let me catch any, we two shall bite you."

"No, no," the old woman said, "I shall let you catch; don't bite me. Please come! Let us both catch fish and divide them between us."

Thereupon the jackal came down, and they were both catching fish. The old woman was saying: "Now you also stir up the water and make it muddy; we shall make them exhausted²³." Thereupon the jackal also stirred up the water and made it muddy; he was floundering and plunging, jumping about. So he caught a small carp²⁴ and ate it at once. Then the old woman went up to the high ground near by. But the jackal kept on floundering and plunging and making the water muddy. Now, people tell, the carp he had eaten came out of him behind; again he caught this and ate it.

"Look here, old woman," the jackal then called out, "how was it you did not catch any? Wie ich einen gegessen habe, hab' ich einen gefangen²⁵."

"It is the same one, don't you see," the old woman said, "that you are catching again and again."

The fish becomes tired and 'confused' in the generally fairly tepid water, and is easily caught with the hand. I have seen this done, and have always thought that fish of a northern climate would not be caught in such an undignified way.

²³ See preceding note.

²⁴ The fish mentioned, in Santali puṭhi, said to be the small fry of what is called poṭha when fullgrown, is a tiny thing, a few inches long.

²⁵ The jackal again makes use of Bengali.

Ado uniye mēnketa, Baña, buđhi, etačkogeñ nametkoa.

Ado uni buđhiye mēnketa, Bañ, ini kangeae, liñđhi tapapge tamte inigeye parom godok kana. Bam paťiauk kan khać, ma nāhāk careć gutu cinhawacme ar jomeme; nelam nāhāk, inigeye parom godoka.

Ado sari buđhiak katha lekage careće gutuadea, are jom hočkedeae. Ado arhō onka kheñte pereye leodayet tahēkan jōkheñge uni puťhi hako doe parom gotena. Adoe nelkede ido, careć menaktae. Ado liñđhiye tunumlen doe aikauket, liñđhi do bhugakgetae. Adoe mēnketa, Henda buđhi, okge esedtiña?

Ado uni buđhiye metadea, Muci then calakme; uniye dapkatama.

Ado toyoc mēnketa, Acha, eñđekhan uni thengeñ calaka.

Ado mucu thene calaoena; adoe metae kana, E mucu, ma liñđhi dapkatime; mitañ sim in aguama. Ado sariye dapkattae, ar miť arere tiāle dōhōadea; adō onate calak jōkheñ dō dal calaka, adō teper teper sađe idika. Ado khange ađiye khusiyena. Khange adō mitañ sime sađ idiadea.

Ado ina miť għari tayom khange uni toyo dō tañđitejōn osorkedeae, adō bae leťeć dařeak kan khange mucu then arhōe nīr calaoena; adoe metae kana, Iā mucu, bañ ić dařeak kan dō, liñđhi dō cedak bam dōhōadiña?

Ado mucuie mēnketa, Do kamar then calakme, unige nāhāk liñđhi doe balkatama.

²⁶ The 'shoemaker', muchi, is the name of a low Hindu caste, working in leather, found here and there in the Santal country.

²⁷ In most Santal villages there are blacksmiths, called kamar. If the village is large enough, one kamar is kept; if it is small, two or three villages may have one together. The kamar's work is to make and repair all iron implements used by the villagers, the iron being paid for in money, but all work done, in kind, e. g., 30 seers paddy yearly for each plough a man has. The kamar is a kind of Hindu; some of them also work in other metals than iron.

²⁸ Although a kind of drill may be seen used by the country carpenters (they have not augers and gimlets except imported ones); the most common way of

"Not at all, old woman," the jackal replied, "I am catching different ones."

"Nö," the old woman said, "it is the same one; there is a gap in your hind-quarters; therefore this same one comes through. If you don't believe it, just put a straw through the carp and mark it, and eat it; you will see presently, it is the same that will come through."

In accordance with the old woman's advice he put a straw through the fish and ate it. Whilst he was floundering and plunging again to make the water muddy, the carp passed through. He looked at it and saw that the carp had the straw. Then he felt his buttocks with his paw: he had a gap there behind. "Look here, old woman," he said, "who will be able to close this up for me?"

"Go to the shoemaker²⁶," the old woman replied; "he will cover it for you."

"Very well," the jackal said, "then I shall go to him."

Thereupon he went to the shoemaker and said to him: "Shoemaker, please cover my buttocks; I shall fetch you a fowl for it." And really and truly, he put a patch on for him, and on one side he fringed it for him, so when he was walking, it was flapping and making a rattling rustling sound as he went along. He felt very pleased at this; thereupon he caught a fowl and took it to the shoemaker.

A short while after this the jackal felt a call to stool, and as he was unable to manage, he again ran back to the shoemaker and said to him: "I say, shoemaker, I am unable to answer the call of nature; why did you not put an opening for that purpose for me?"

The shoemaker replied: "Do go to the blacksmith²⁷; he will presently make you an opening for that purpose with a red-hot iron²⁸."

making a hole in wood or in leather is to make use of a red-hot iron of the required size. It might be noted that they make use of the same also to open a bolt. A blacksmith is naturally the nearest one to help the jackal.

Ado sari kamar ðene calaena, adoe metae kana, E ho kamar, ma liñdhi bal bhugakkatiñme, mittañ sim in aßuama.

Ado uni kamare menketa, Do eñðekhan aßu marañañme, eñðekhan in balmea; ar bañkhan do ohoñ ballema. Okoe baðae, aßuañ com bañ con; toyo do aßipe ekregea. Aßu marañlem, eñðekhan in balmea; ar bañkhan do ohoñ ballema.

Khange sariye calaena, ado inañ miñ ghañi khange oka khon con sari mittañ marañ utar gaya sime ger aßu gofkedea, adoe metae kana, Nüküi ñeñeme in aßuatmea; ma bal hoðeñme. Am do mittañ toyoe phasiarayentem meneta, je toyo do sanamko phasiaragea mente. In do bañ ekreña, se adom adomko do bale ekreña.

Khange sari sime hataokedea, ado ðaku dhipeukate ðekeye bal bhugak gofkede khan goña koram senteye ciðir goñadeteye ðar utarketa; ado ghuriñ bae ruñlena.

Ado tahen tahente, kathae, tin din badre con ado uni toyo do mittañ atote sim jome calak kan; ado ona ðalte dal calak kana, ado teper teper saðe idik kana. Ado aði raskai añauket khan do, sereñe diña gofkefa. Adoe sereñ idiyeta:

Neñe do jojom Turuk darako kan,
Neñe do Koenda rapajko!

Men yoe, ðarjonpe, bañkhanke sumar akatpea!

²⁹ It is very common with Santals to castrate cocks; they perform the operation themselves.

³⁰ The Santals have hand-spindles of sorts, smaller and larger, according to the thickness of the thread or twine to be spun. They consist of a rod, to the lower end of which a small 'wheel' or two cross-bits of a rod are fixed. The smaller hand-spindle, used for spinning yarn, has a rod of iron; this is called ðaku (like here); the same name is also given to the iron rod on which the yarn is wound in a spinning-wheel.

³¹ The Musalman, or Mogul, cavalry (in Santali called turuk) is still remembered by the Santals as cruel, depredatory bands. Mentioned together with these are the Koenda kings. The traditions of the Santals tell that whilst their ancestors were living in a country called Champa (possibly a part of the Chota Nagpur plateau) the Kisku sept were 'kings'; they had a gar, a fort of some kind, called Koenda. It must be these who are here referred to; it seems

Thereupon the jackal, truth to tell, went to the blacksmith, and said to him: "I say, blacksmith, please burn a hole for me with an iron in my hind-quarters; I shall fetch you a fowl for it."

"Well then," the blacksmith replied, "bring me the fowl first, then I shall burn a hole for you; otherwise I am certainly not going to do it for you. Who knows whether you will bring me any or not; you jackals are awful cheaters. Bring me the fowl first, then I shall make you a hole with a red-hot iron; and if not, I am certainly not going to do it."

Then, truth to tell, the jackal went, and in a moment from somewhere he really came with a tremendously large capon²⁹ in his mouth, and said to the blacksmith: "Here, look at this one I have brought you. Now be quick and make an opening for me. Because one jackal has been a cheat, you think that all jackals are cheats. As for me, I don't deceive, or, some of us do not deceive people."

The blacksmith then really accepted the fowl, whereupon he made a spindle-rod³⁰ red-hot, and with this he pierced the jackal's hind-quarters; when he did this, the jackal purged and squirted all over the breast of the blacksmith; thereupon he ran off and did not return there anymore.

Now as time passed, it once happened, who knows how long a time afterwards, that this jackal was going to a village to catch fowls; those fringes were flapping when he moved, and it was making a rattling rustling sound, as he went along. As he felt very pleased, he suddenly remembered a song, and commenced to sing, as he passed along:

"Here the devouring Mogul cavalry³¹ are coming,
Here the Koenda kings!"

"Beware³², look out, run away; else they will utterly destroy you!"

strange that the old Santal 'kings' and the Musalman cavalry should be paired together.

³² This does not apparently belong to the 'song', but is a warning shout.

Khange ona atoren hor dō onkako añjomket khan dō mit mitteko dərkefa. Adō uni toyo dō senkate ona atoren sim dō cur mare laga sapefkoa are jomefkoa. Adōe jom biyen khane calaoena. Khange onko hor hō arhōko ruar hečena.

Khange uni toyo dō arhō dosar hiloł dō ona atotege sim jome calak kana; adō onō pahile sereñlet lekageye sereñ idiyeta. Khange ona atoren hor dō arhōko dərkefa. Adō miñtañ buđhi dō bae dər dərata; adōe menketa, In dō ohōñ dərlea; in dōko goč atariŋe. Adō onka menkate uni buđhi dō bae dərleta, miñtañ sukri bārāreye bolq okoyena.

Adō uni toyo dō ona atore senkate onko sim dō lagae lagayetkoa se, cure mare lagayetkoa; haprakkoqe bachao bachaoteye lagayetkoa. Adō miñtañ sanđi dō lagae lagakedea se, ekkalte uni buđhiye oko akan țengeye laga idi gofkedea. Adō uni sim dōe parom gofena. Adō uni toyo dō uni buđhiye nel nam gofkedea. Adō uni toyo dō buđhiye metae kana, Ma buđhi, sim safañme; bankhan dō nāhāk dərta melan koțeč nūrta.

Adō uni buđhi dōe meneta, Ma, amte barē sap jōñme; in dō ohōñ sap dərlekoa. Khange adō bae rebenlen khan, acetegeye laga sapketkoteye jom biyena. Adō uni buđhi țhene calaoena, adōe metae kana, E buđhi, sim bam sap akawadiña; nitok dolan nam akafmea. E buđhi, masē menme — Toyo! Adō uni buđhi hōe menketa, Toyo!

Khange gurğute joto dərtae koțeč nūrkettaea. Adō arhōe metae kana, E buđhi, masē menme, — Toyo! Adō uni buđhi Toyo menae menleta, adō dərtae nūrkettaete toyo dō bac puștaleta; adōe men

³³ The Santals keep pigs; there is no curry they enjoy like that prepared from pig's meat. In appearance the Santal pig very much resembles his wild namesake. As a rule the Santals build a small sty for their pigs at one side of the court-yard, often a little out of sight, a small house, some 2 m. long and 1,50 m. broad, with a thatched roof. At one end there is an entrance that may be shut by means of a few bits of wood hanging down from a cross-bar fixed at the top of the opening. Only a small person would be able to enter such a place.

When the inhabitants of that village heard this, they ran away, every one of them. Hereupon the jackal went, and briskly chasing and catching the fowls in the village he ate them. When he had had his fill, he went away, whereupon the villagers returned.

Now the jackal also the following day went to this village to eat fowls, and whilst passing along he was singing the same song as the first time. Then the inhabitants of the village again ran away. But there was an old woman who did not run away; she said: "I am not running away; they may kill me and do away with me, the rascals." Speaking in this way the old woman did not run away; she entered a pigsty³³ and hid there.

When the jackal reached the village, he chased the fowls for all he was worth, chased and chased, all over; selecting the big ones he chased these. There was a cock he was chasing and chasing; he chased it straight to where the old woman was hiding. The cock passed in there, and the jackal at once caught sight of the old woman. The jackal then said to the old woman: "Hey, old woman, catch the fowl for me; if not, we two shall presently knock your teeth out for you."

"Catch them yourself," the old woman replied, "I am utterly unable to catch them." As she was unwilling, the jackal himself chased and caught fowls and ate until he was satisfied. Thereupon he went to the old woman and said to her: "Old woman, you did not catch any fowls for me; now we have found you, we two. Old woman, say toyo!" The old woman also said toyo.

The jackal then with a spice-roller³⁴ knocked all her teeth out. Then he again said to her: "Old woman, say toyo." Now the old woman meant to say toyo; but as he had knocked

³⁴ As the curry is always prepared with spices of sorts, a spice-roller is a necessary implement in every Santal household. It is a cylindrical stone of a not very large size, called gurgu. The spices are ground with this; it is also used for other purposes, to crush with; in this case one of the ends is used as a hammer.

gotketa, Hoyo! Ado onka bae pustaulet khan, uni toyo do adiyē raskuyena. Arhōe metae kana, Mase budhi, toyo menme. Ado menketa, Hoyo! Ado uni toyo do landa landatege oka sen cōe calaōen.

Ado ayup khangē onko dāret hōr doko ruar hēcena. Ado unre onko hōr uni budhiye laiko kana, Jōjōm Turuk nāhiko chāi kana, hoyo koṛa kanae! Sanam sime jōmetko do bañ? In hō sim sasape metadiña; ado bañ sapadete nōkōe nēlpe, joto dātae kōtēc nūr akattiña.

Khangē ado sanam hōrko menketa, Gapa do babon dāra, oṛakregebo siñ pōtōm hatarōkoka, adōbo dal gojea.

Ado miṭ hōre menketa, Baña, onkate do qhōbon gōc dārelea. Inīñ metabon kana, nui budhi lekage miṭṭaṅ sitetren hōrbo bēnaōea. Ado hana kulhi muṇtrebo idikaea, ar oṇḍe dūrupkate ti dōbo lap lapakataea; ado nāhāk uni budhiye ruhēdea, ado unregebo sōntōr gōdoka. Ado sanam hōrko menketa, Baña, ṭhikgem menketaṭbona; mabon onkaēgea.

Ado sari sanam hōr ṭhenak siṭṭko jaoraketa, ado ona ninda bhitartegeko bēnao gōkēdea. Ado setak khangē kulhi muṇtṭeko idikadea, ar ako do kapiko, ak sarko, ṭēngōcōko, ṭhēngako, onka apan apinko haṭhiāu akawana; ado onka sōntōrge menakōoa.

Ado uni toyo do jōm hewa sē bañ? Ado inā miṭ ghari khangeko aṅjōm gōkēdea, bañma, dāhar dāharteye sereñ aguyeta. Onkage pahil lekāe sereñeta, ar bin bōtōre hijuk kana. Ado noko ato hōr do sōntōrkateko siñ pōtōm bāra akana. Khangē uni toyo do

³⁵ The Santal word for 'jackal' is toyo. They have good ears and enjoy faulty pronunciation of their own language. There are many stories among them, immensely relished, of how foreigners have mispronounced their language. They also have a few stories, the points of which are to tell how Santals have, through false pronunciation, said something very different from what they intended to say.

³⁶ Wax may be found with Santals, although not likely in such quantities as here presupposed. Many kinds of wild bees are found in their country, and the wax is taken from the honeycombs. The Santals use wax for waxing thread; a Hindu caste living in the country use wax for their work as brass-founders.

all her teeth out, she did not pronounce it clearly, and said hoyo³⁵. Then, as she was unable to pronounce it clearly, the jackal felt very pleased. Again he said to her: "Old woman, say toyo!" And she said: Hoyo. Thereupon the jackal went away to who knows where, laughing as he went along.

In the evening all those who had run away came back, and the old woman said to them: "Devouring Mogul cavalry! Just so! no, nothing of the kind; it is a jackal fellow! He is eating all the fowls, don't you see? Me he also ordered to catch fowls, and as I did not catch any for him, look here at me, he has knocked all my teeth out."

Then all of them said: "To-morrow we shall not run away; we shall shut ourselves up in our houses, and then we shall beat him to death."

But one of them said: "No, not so; in such a way we shall never be able to kill him. I have a suggestion: let us make a woman of wax looking like this old woman, and take her to the end of the village street over there; there we shall place the wax-woman in a sitting position and make her arms stand out; then he will commence scolding the old woman; at that moment we shall keep ourselves ready." And all of them said: "Quite so, you have made an excellent proposal; let us act accordingly."

Thereupon they, truth to tell, collected all the wax³⁶ found with them, and spent the night preparing the wax-woman. When it became morning, they took her to the end of the village street, whilst they themselves got hold of battle-axes³⁷, bows and arrows, axes, sticks, and the like, each of them; in this way they kept themselves ready.

Now the jackal had acquired the habit of eating, as you know. A short while afterwards they heard him, he was coming along the road singing. He was singing just like previously and was coming along without fear. The village people kept themselves ready, having shut themselves up in their houses. When the jackal reached the end of the village street, he caught sight of

kulhi mucatreye seteren khan dō uni sitetren buđhiye ŋelkede tiye lap lapa akat. Adōe ruhet goŋkedeā, Mēn buđhi, ocoŋkañme! Cedakem ešet akadiña? Holanok đatan kotēc nūrlettam dō bam bōtorok kana? Mēn, hōr aŋak hōtañme, bañkhan nāhāklañ thaya biŋ goŋmea.

Adō bae ocoŋk kante sariye thaya goŋkedeā. Adō sari ona sitetreye jañga dō laŋha ŋarhaeontaea. Adō uni toyoe meneta, Mēn buđhi, aŋakkañme! Ayoge, nui buđhi dō jañgae sapkidiñ dō. Iā buđhige, bam aŋagiñ khan nāhāklañ ceŋak goŋmea.

Adō sari onka ruhet ruhettae bae chađao dareat khane ceŋak goŋkedeā. Adō ona ti hō laŋkaeontaea. Adō uni toyoe meneta, Ayoge, nui buđhi dō ti hō yae sapkidiñ dō. Adō nhoa titeye ceŋaklede dō, ona hō laŋkaeontae. Adō jōtō laŋkaeontae khangeye metae kana, Ayoge, iā buđhi, jōtō ti jañgae sapkidiñ dō! Mēn buđhi, aŋakkañme, bañkhan nāhāklañ ger ađomea.

Adō sari bae paskao dareat khan dō bae ger goŋkedete? Adōe gerkede khan, đata hō ona sitetreye laŋha ŋarhaeontaea; adō rōr hō bae rōr dareata. Adō oñdegeye laŋ paŋao bin-đarena.

Adō đher hañic hoeyen khan, onko ato hōrko menketa, Henda ya, enanre hijuk lekabo aŋkauledea; adōe oka sečena? Bae aŋkauk kan dō. Adō ođokkate oñtē nōtēko beñget barayeta. Adō khange kulhi mucat senre kha khok kan bañko añjom goŋkedeā? Adōko menketa, Oŋe ya, oñtere menaea. Adō sen ŋōkkateko ŋelkede dō, uni sitetren buđhi ŋhene bindar akan. Khange adō nir senkate kapiteko mak goc goŋkedeā, ar ŋhēngakote hō bogeteko dalkedeā luŋhum luŋhum.

Adō cabayena uni toyo reak katha dō; oñdegeko moħor me-ŋaokedeā.

³⁷ The old battle-axes (of various shapes) are still found in Santal houses, and also manufactured by the above mentioned kamars. They are now used exclusively in sacrifice, and even there they are gradually disappearing.

³⁸ A commonly used ejaculation, signifying astonishment, horror, pain, resentment.

the wax-woman, with arms stretched out, and he commenced scolding: "Have a care, old woman! get out of the way for me! Why have you blocked the road for me? Yesterday I knocked your teeth out, are you not afraid? Beware, get out of my way; if not, we two shall presently kick you and fix you in no time."

As she did not get out of his way, he really gave her a kick. Then, truth to tell, his foot stuck in the wax and was fixed there. The jackal then said: "Take care, old woman, let me go! Oh mother³⁸, this old woman has caught hold of me. You unspeakable old woman, if you don't let me go, I shall give you a slap now."

And truth to tell, as the jackal could not free himself by scolding in this way, he gave her a slap. Then his paw also stuck, and the jackal said: "Oh mother, this old woman has caught hold of my hand." And as he slapped her with his other paw, that also stuck. And when all his feet had stuck, he said to her: "Oh mother, this unspeakable old woman, she has caught hold of all my hands and feet! Take care, old woman, let me go; otherwise we two shall bite you presently."

And truth to tell, as he was unable to escape, did he not bite her? And when he bit her, his teeth also stuck fast in the wax; then he was not able to speak either. So he fell down there on that spot exhausted.

When a considerable time had passed, the villagers said: "Look here, some time ago we thought that he was coming; then what has become of him? Nothing can be heard any longer." They thereupon went out and looked in all directions; then did they not hear him puffing and panting somewhere at the end of the village street? So they said: "Listen, he is over there in that direction!" Going a little distance they caught sight of him, fallen down beside the wax-woman. So they ran up to him and killed him with a battle-axe, they also struck him blow after blow with sticks, thud upon thud.

Now there the story of the jackal is ended; then and there they utterly finished him.

13. Toyo ar sim hoponko reak katha.

Sedae jugre, kathaē, miṭṭaṅ toyo ar sim phulkin pataoketa; aḍi bariē unkin dōkin gateyena. Adō taheṅ taheṅte miṭ diṅ dōkin menketa, Iḷ phul, alaṅ dō aḍilaṅ gateyena, adōlaṅ nē-pōotaka.

Adō sime menketa, Acha bogege, eṅḍekhanlaṅ nēpōotaka.

Adō toyoe menketa, Acha, eṅḍekhan am jom laḡit iṅ kulau julaua, ar am hō iṅ jom laḡit kulau julauṅme; ar bana hōḡ haṅḍilaṅ dōhgea.

Adō sari onkakin cepetente bana hoḡge haṅḍikin dōhoketa. Sim dō hoḡo, joṅdra, bajra, janhe, se okako aēe jom, onako

1 This story has many points in common with the preceding one, but is in certain ways essentially different. The jackal is the false friend and the villain; he eats his friend the hen and wants to eat her chickens. In the first story the chickens escape, and the jackal comes to grief, after a good many eventful happenings. Here the chickens take action, engage the help of an egg, a pestle and a mortar, and manage to kill the villain, and end by eating his brain in revenge.

2 To give parties, or to entertain, except on special occasions such as marriages, certain family gatherings, and similar functions, is not common, but not unknown. To invite friends to drink beer, when such is brewed, is common. 'Flowers', like the two ones here mentioned, entertain each other; this is customary.

3 The beer manufacture here described is, as will be understood, not the way in which Santals go about doing it. The story may possibly imply that the 'persons' referred to manufacture their own kind of beer, something quite different from what Santals have. In any case Santal humour will enjoy the idea of beer manufactured as here told. As it may be of some interest, a description of how the Santals manufacture their beer is here given. They now-a-days commonly brew beer from rice; and it is this brewing which is here described.

The first thing is to prepare the pot in which the beer is to be manufactured. Any earthenware pot with a fairly large mouth will do, what the Santals call *ṭuké* or *haṅḍia* (the latter is the larger kind), especially the former one. The *ṭuké* is filled with dry leaves, straw, &c., which is set fire to. This is done in the morning of the day when they are going to start brewing. It takes some hours before everything is burnt. The pot is generally put a short distance away from the house, as there is much smoke. When the pot has cooled down, the ashes are taken out, and the stuff to be used is put in. This is prepared in

13. THE JACKAL AND THE CHICKEN¹.

ONCE upon a time in a former age, people tell, a jackal and a hen engaged themselves to be flower-friends for life; they became very close companions. As the time passed, they one day said: "I say, flower, we two have become very close companions; now we shall invite each other and feast²."

"Very well," the hen said, "then let us invite each other and feast."

"All right," the jackal said, "then I shall provide the necessaries for you to eat, and you also must provide for me to eat; and we shall both of us brew beer."

Having consulted together in this way they actually both of them started brewing beer³. The hen took paddy, maize, bajra

the afternoon. They take rice (*leko caole*, rice boiled in the husks before it is husked, what they use for their ordinary food, and not *adwa caole*, rice husked after having been dried in the sun, not boiled) and roast this a little. The roasting is said to give a certain flavour to the beer. Thereupon the rice is boiled, and after boiling spread out to dry. The quantity of rice used for one brew varies from four to six *pai*, or even to ten *pai*; it all depends on how many may be counted on to drink, and, of course, on the ability of the house to give rice for this purpose. One *pai* is half a seer; this is very nearly equal to one kg.

When the rice is fairly dry, it is mixed with *raṅṅa*, some vegetable fermenting stuff, which is rolled and ground and prepared. It might be mentioned that the *raṅṅu* ordinarily consists of some four or five different vegetable ingredients; generally it is bought in the markets prepared, in small white balls; but most Santals know how to prepare it. As the primary object of a Santal drinking is to become drunk, it is very common that certain vegetable poisons are added to the *raṅṅu* to make the beer intoxicating. I have heard as many as 23 different ingredients mentioned, of course not all used at the same time, only one or two in addition to the fermenting stuff, for the purpose mentioned. Especially the Hindu *suṅḍi caṣṭe*, which manufactures and sells beer in the country, makes use of these poisons, to make their clients quickly drunk. When they are drunk and continue to drink, the *Suṅḍis* are reported to give them practically only water in the last cups sold. It has several times happened that people who have been to such shops and have drunk have died on their way home, from the effects of these poisons.

reake d̄h̄oketa. Ar toyo d̄o kakra, ghirri, sosroc̄, roje, hako emanteak, uni h̄o okako ace j̄om, onako reake d̄h̄oketa.

Ado pe pon m̄ah̄a khange simak̄ d̄o isinena, ad̄o sime meneta, Cele phul, amak̄ d̄o isinok̄ kana se bañ? Iñak̄ d̄o isinena, hej̄emge so kana.

When the rice and the r̄anu are properly mixed, it is all put into the brewing pot, prepared as described above, generally in the evening. The contents of the pot (the boiled rice has swollen, so that the pot will be fairly full) are covered with a leaf-plate, pressed down on the rice. Another leaf-plate is put over the mouth of the pot, and a d̄hak̄nié, an earthenware lid for such pots, or a small cooking pot is put on the top, to keep it all in proper position. There is now nothing more to be done for some days, so the brewing pot is put aside in some place where people do not often go, commonly in the bh̄itar, the 'stall' walled off for the worship of the ancestors. As it must not tumble over, the pot is placed on a biñdi, a ring of straw made for putting pots on.

The rice takes some five days to ferment (isin it is called, the same word as that used for cooking); it can be heard outside the pot when the process is complete. There is an exudation (called j̄har) from the rice, looking like brown water. This stuff is ladled out with a leaf-spoon; it is said to be the most intoxicating part of the beer; it is drunk, generally mixed with a little water; this stuff may be kept, they say, up to a month; it does not go bad. As a rule it is finished very soon.

To get the beer proper, hot water is now poured on the rice left without the j̄har in the pot. During fermentation the rice subsides somewhat in the pot. If not sufficient hot water is available, ordinary cold water may be added, until the pot is full. The ready stuff looks like milk-water, a little brownish in colour. It has a peculiar acid-sweet smell; any one who has drunk a little may be detected by the smell from a considerable distance.

Before people drink, libations are made to Marañ buru, the principal national godling, possibly, however, in his capacity of belonging to the ancestors. (The Santal traditions tell that our first parents were taught to brew beer by Marañ buru, who came to them and told them he was their grandfather; by drinking the beer he taught them to brew they became drunk and fell in sin, i. e. had sexual intercourse). Further they libate to the ancestors, one after the other. It is done by pouring a little beer out on the floor inside the house (but not in the bh̄itar) for each.

After this is done, they take a broom (made from the straw of sirom, *Andropogon muricatus*, Retz.) that has not been used to sweep the floor with,

grain⁴, millet⁵, that is to say, what she herself was in the habit of eating, and started brewing from these. And the jackal found lizards⁶, brown lizards⁷, grasshoppers, frogs, fish and so on, i. e., he also took what he was in the habit of using for food, and commenced to brew⁸ from these things.

Some three or four days afterwards the hen's beer was ready brewed, whereupon she said: "Well, flower, how is it, is your beer getting ready or how? Mine is ready brewed; it has a sweet smell."

consequently generally a new one, or one kept for this purpose; this they put into the mouth of the pot with the broom in, the object being to prevent the rice from coming out when they tilt the pot to let the beer run out.

The beer is poured out into brass cups, with rims (this to make it easy to pour out of the cup); if there are enough cups, they drink from these; otherwise the beer is poured from the brass-cup into leaf-cups. Of such they have one kind, called *haṇḍi phuruk*, beer leaf-cup, as the name shows especially intended for drinking beer, although used for any household purpose that it will suit. The *haṇḍi phuruk* is made from one *sal* (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.) leaf; both ends are plaited (once on each side of the midrib, which the plaits cover), the plaits being kept in position by a pin of stiff straw, a thorn, or the like, stuck through. Filled up to just below the holes made by the pins at each end such a cup will take about two ounces fluid. It should be mentioned that the beer is stirred with a wooden ladle before it is poured out.

The leaf-cups are filled over and over again; it is said that it will take some twenty of these cups to make a person drunk.

When the first 'edition' is finished, fresh hot water is again poured on the rice; this is called *doja haṇḍi*, second brew beer; it is, of course, not so strong as the first, *tañ haṇḍi*, poured out beer, as it is called (*tañ* means to pour out by tilting the container). For the second brew the pot is not filled to the brim.

The same rice must generally also serve for a third brew, called *boḍoḍ haṇḍi*, lit. squeezed out beer. The rice is taken out of the pot and put into a *paṭiḷa*, a small basket made of bamboo; a little water is poured on, and the rice is squeezed with the hand. Another way is to put the rice inside paddy-straw, a hole being left above for the purpose of putting the right hand in; water is then poured on, and the rice squeezed. The 'beer' that trickles down is received in a cup and drunk.

The rice, or rather the refuse, is given to pigs to eat; if they eat too much, they get drunk, it is told.

Ado uni toyo hōe mēn gōketa, Hē, phul, ināk hō isinena. Adokin mēnketa, Eṇḍekhan dō malañ dula arlañ nūia.

Khange sarikin dulketa; ado toyoe mēnketa, Iḷ phul, dela ināk marañlañ nūia.

Khange sime mēnketa, Acha bogege, eṇḍekhanlañ nūia.

Ado sari toyo oraḷte bana hoṛkin calaena; ado toyoak haṇḍi-kin nūyeta. Ado khange sim dō seage soye kana, ar nū hō bae nūyeta. Ado toyoe mēnketa, Henda phul, am dō bam nūyet kan dō?

Ado sime mēnketa, E phul, amāk haṇḍi dō seage soyeñ kana; qhōñ nū dareletama.

Ado toyo eskargeye nū baraketa. Bhala, ona sea jaṭ dō bañhewa hoṛ dō cekateye nūia? Ado khange sime mēnketa, Iḷ phul, dela adq ināklañ nū aṭkara.

As remarked above, Santals drink in order to become drunk; there is no description needed of a drinking bout. According to what has been told to the writer, they pass through all the stages, some becoming hilarious, others melancholy, some scold and vituperate, others sing and tell stories; some become vile, lascivious and pugnacious, others moral, amiable, religious, and so on. The avowed object is to be able to forget for a few hours the miseries of this world and feel like kings, as they say. Drunkenness is one of the great obstacles to Santal developing.

The above description refers to the manufacture of beer from rice. It is manufactured in the same way from janḷe and other cereals, that are husked. It is also manufactured from maize and bajra (Sorghum vulgare, Pers.) in the same manner, only omitting the roasting at the start.

It might further be mentioned, that they prepare a kind of beer from matkōm, the dried flowers of *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.; these are steeped for three days in water, thereupon strained off; ranu is then added to the water, which is allowed to stand for five days, when it is fermented, and drunk. This stuff is called duhl, not haḷḷi. The Santals also know to distil liquor from matkōm; but such distilling is illicit; those doing it are punished when caught. It is not of very frequent occurrence, but it happens.

The beer has to be 'watered' and drunk when fermentation is ready; they say they may let the fermented stuff stand to next day and then pour on water; but if it is left longer, it turns very sour and unsuitable for any use.

⁴ See preceding note. Bajra is cultivated on high land, hill sides and the like. It is harvested about January. It is more common among other tribes than among the Santals.

They jackal also at once answered: "Yes, flower, mine is also ready brewed." Whereupon they both said: "In that case let us pour water on⁹ and drink."

They consequently poured it out, and the jackal said: "I say, flower, come let us first drink mine."

"All right," the hen said, "let us do so then and drink."

Thereupon they really both went to the jackal's house and commenced drinking the jackal's brew. But the hen was feeling the rotten smell and was unable to drink. "Look here, flower," the jackal said, "you are not drinking anything?"

The hen replied: "Oh flower, your beer smells rotten to me; I am utterly unable to drink yours."

The jackal then drank alone. No wonder, how should any one not accustomed to it be able to drink that rotten stuff? Thereupon the hen said: "Listen, flower, come then let us drink and taste how mine is."

⁵ Millet, in Santali *janhe*, is a jungle corn (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L.), fairly common with the Santals. It is cultivated on high land, ripens in Oct.—Nov., when it is cut or (if the straw is short) pulled out and thrashed. The straw is unfit for cattle-food, but is used for some purposes, thus by the potters as kiln fuel. The *hañdi* manufactured from *janhe* is said to be very intoxicating.

The hen collected all these kinds of grain to brew from; a Santal, of course, only makes use of one kind at a time.

⁶ The jackal collects what he is in the habit of eating, to manufacture beer from that; according to Santal ideas it must have become a wonderful brew. The first-mentioned lizard (in Santali *kakpa*) is a very common one, seen everywhere. There are several varieties, one with a red head. *Ara-k kakpa bhoqok*, lit. Red lizard head, is a velled name for a police constable among them, a part of the uniform of these people being a red turban.

⁷ What has been called 'brown lizard' is another very common reptile, by the Santals called *ghirpi*. They have some stories of having seen such a *ghirpi* come out of the mouth of a sleeping person; when the sleeper awoke, he told he had had such and such a dream; when put to the test, it was found that the dream, which to a large extent corresponded with the movements of the lizard, was true. Consequently, the lizard was the soul of the person out on an expedition.

⁸ Brew according to jackal ideas.

⁹ See above note 3.

Khange adq sim oraŋtekin calaoena, adq uniaŋkin nūyeta. Adq ađi sebelkin aŋkaŋeta. Khange tho adq nūkin nūyeta se, bebaŋiŋkin nūketa. Khange tho adq sim dqe lahraok kana, adq uni toyo dq moŋe moŋeteye kurmurauk kana, adqe meneta, Durre! nuiak haŋđi dq ađi sebeltaea. Hortet hō janić khube sebel coŋ ceŋ coŋ. Hape nāhāke bul gitićien khan doŋ jomea.

Adq kathae, uni sim dq bulente koŋok koŋogok kanae. Adq kathae, un jokheć uni toyo dq raŋkateye sereŋ goŋketa (sereŋako doŋ rarte):

Bargere, sim, nalom naŋiŋa,
 Nam ŋelte, sim, toyoe land kan,
 Gađiare, kōk, nalom naŋiŋa;
 Roŋe kaŋa mente suram sogakket.
 Haŋđi dq, sim, nalom nūia;
 Nam ŋelte, sim, toyoe land kan.

Onka uni toyo dq, kathaeŋe sereŋjoŋ kana.

Adq uni sim dq ađiteŋe lahraoena. Ar onae sereŋ baŋayet jokheće uni sim eŋgaren hoŋonko doŋo ŋeŋel kan tahēkana. Adqe bul gitićien khan dqe hoŋoae kana, E phul, ma beretme; ma bana hoŋlaŋ sereŋa.

Adq uni sim dq ceŋ hō bac roŋeta, gitić thirenae. Adq un jokhećeŋe jom goŋkedeŋa. Adq onko sim hoŋonko doŋo rak baŋayeta.

Adqe jom biyen khan dqe calaoena. Adq ac oraŋkre senkateŋe gitić akana, adqe meneta, Durre! sim jel dq ađi sebeltakoa. Gapa dq onko hoŋon hō jotoŋ jom cabakoa.

Ado onko sim hoŋon doŋo tuaren khanko bud baŋajoŋ kana. Cekakotebo aŋuloŋa, ar uni toyo dq ceŋ lekatebo goŋea? Adq un

¹⁰ There is a doŋ dance with a peculiar doŋ drumming; there are doŋ songs with doŋ melodies.

¹¹ The paddy-bird is very common in the Santal country. There are several species. The Santal name for some of these, kōk (with a prefixed word to

So they went to the hen's house and were drinking her beer. They both found it delicious, and consequently they drank and drank; they drank tremendously. The result was that the hen was becoming prostrate, and the jackal was becoming excited in his mind, and said: "Dear me, this beer of hers is very delicious. The person herself very likely also is very savoury, I reckon. Wait a bit, when she lies down drunk, I shall eat her."

Ultimately, people tell, the hen became drunk and was nodding with her head. When this came to pass, the jackal out of joy commenced to sing (here they sing at a dõñ¹⁰ melody):

"Do not feed, hen, in the house-field;
Seeing you, hen, the jackal is laughing;
Do not feed, paddy-bird¹¹, in the pond.
Thinking it is the leg of a frog you will
 peck a sedge¹² culm.
Do not, hen, drink beer;
Seeing you, hen, the jackal is laughing."

In this way, it is told, the jackal was singing.

Ultimately the hen became entirely prostrated. Whilst the jackal was singing as told, the hen's chickens were watching what was happening. When the hen lay down drunk, the jackal called out to her: "O flower, do get up! let us both sing!"

But the hen did not say a single word; she was lying quiet. Then at that time the jackal ate her; and the chickens were crying.

When the jackal had had his fill, he went away. He went home and was lying down; then he said: "Oh dear me, the flesh of fowls is very delicious. To-morrow I shall eat all those chickens also."

Now when those chickens had become orphans, they were pondering: "How shall we maintain ourselves? and how shall we manage

distinguish the different kinds) is onomatopoeic, i. e., their call or cry sounds very much like the Santali name. The paddy-birds feed on insects, fish and frogs.

¹² The sedge, in Santali *suṛa* or *suṛe* (*Cyperus tegetum*, Roxb.) is found in the more low-lying parts of the country, and is fairly common.

jokhege, kathae, uni toyo doe hec gotena; adqe metako kana, Cedak bhagnape rakjon kana?

Adoko metae kana, Hola mahnderre, maino, engahe goc bagiatlea, onatele rak barajon kana.

Adqe kuliketkoa, Okarepe gitića?

Adoko laiaaea, banma, Culhare ale dole gitić kana.

Adqe metaćkoa, Acha bogege. Ma enđekhan dandha barajonpe.

Ado kathae, uni toyo doe calaena. Ado onko sim hopon do ako motoko galmaroaketa, banma, Nui toyo do dhorage nahak abo doe jembongea; onatege gitić reak doe kuliyefbona, okarepe gitića mente. Holanok aboren ayo ho tho nui toyogeye jomkedetabona. Ma nui toyo do tehen dobo gojegea. Nokoe neltabonpe, ayo doe bele okata. Ado okoe busaga ona bele do? Ona beletegebo goc ocoyea.

Adoko menketa, E ya bele, am do culhare tahentabonme; uni toyobo gojea; met nahak sobok kara godeme. Ar am do ya tok, kocare tahentabonme; jemon met nahake sobogea, nir odokok jokheć nahak am do dal gitić godeme. Ado ukhurko metae kana, E ya ukhur, am do duar thenak sate then taraktabonme; jemon nahak orak bhiri khone nir odok godoka, un jokheć nahak am do ota godeme. Nui toyo do nonde gebo goć utarea.

Adoko menketa, Tise hijuka?

¹³ See p. 166, note 6.

¹⁴ A large wooden pestle.

¹⁵ The construction of the Santal language in this place is somewhat 'ungrammatical', but like what is often heard.

¹⁶ The ukhur is a large wooden mortar found in practically every Santal household. It is made of a log, some 30 cm., more or less, in diameter, and some 40 to 60 cm. high, hollowed out at one end, generally with a little 'waist' to make it easier to handle and less heavy. It is used for husking rice and for other similar purposes. Many who cannot afford a dhiñki have an ukhur and a tok. The ukhur is found all over the East; but the Santal form seems to be nicer to look at than what is generally seen with other races.

¹⁷ The eaves over the front side of the house are generally coming further out than at the other sides, in this way giving roof to a small front verandah. The entrance door is here.

to kill that jackal?" Just at that time the jackal suddenly came and said to them: "Why, nephews and nieces¹³, are you crying?"

"A few days ago, uncle¹³," they replied, "our mother died and left us; therefore we are crying."

"Where do you sleep?" he asked them.

"We sleep in the fire-place," they answered.

"Very well," he said to them, "now then take care to maintain yourselves."

Thereupon the jackal went away, and the chickens had a talk together, saying: "This jackal will without doubt presently try to eat us; therefore he is asking us about the place where we sleep. Yesterday this jackal ate our mother also. Come, let us kill this jackal to-day. Here, look, mother has laid an egg that she has left behind. Who is going to hatch out this egg? By the aid of this egg we shall get him killed."

So they said: "Listen, you egg! you please stay in the fire-place for us; we are going to kill this jackal; you hit his eyes and make him blind! And you, you pestle¹⁴, be standing there in the corner for us; just as it¹⁵ hits him in his eyes, when he then runs out, you be quick and knock him down." Thereupon they said to the mortar¹⁶: "Listen, you mortar, you lie in wait for us on the eaves¹⁷ above the door; he will presently run out from the house, at that moment you, please, press him down¹⁸. We shall kill this jackal here on this spot utterly."

"When¹⁹ will he come?" they asked.

¹³ The egg, the pestle and the mortar are all addressed as living beings. This does not seem to be Santali imagination. There are also some other points that might point to something borrowed in this part of the story. When the jackal runs out, he seems to be doing so twice, i. e., possibly from one room to another; a Santali house has not more than one room.

¹⁹ The Santali language has two interrogatives for our 'when', one asking about the day, the other about the time of the day. The former is used here.

Ado onko simko menketa, Teheñ hindaḡe.

Ado sanam horko menketa, Acha boḡeḡe, abo sanam hore tuar oco akatbona, ac hō nenḡeḡebo mōhor meḡaoea.

Khange ado onka apan apinko tārakena. Ar sim do tēḡoḡante pakhareko durup thir akana, ar ona bele do loḡo toroḡteko topa akata.

Ado ayupen khange uni toyo doḡe heḡ ḡotena; adoko bolō ocoadea. Ado ekkalte uni toyo do culha duar then senkateye patḡaḡo eḡeḡ ḡoḡketa, ado banar laha jaḡgate culha toroḡe ḡaduḡ ḡoḡketa. Khange ona bele do thu ḡotena, ekkalte mētreḡe paraodea; adoe kārā ḡotena. Adoe itkidok kana are meneta, Khaḡi-joḡaḡ! khaḡi-joḡaḡ! Adoe hir oḡokok kan tahēkana.

Khange tok bindar ḡotadea; adoe men ḡoḡketa, Khaḡi-joḡaḡ, khaḡi-joḡaḡ! Ado onka men tuluḡeye hir oḡokok kan tahēkana. Ado duar piḡḡai parḡmet khange saḡim khon ukhur hūr ḡotadea. Khange tho enḡeḡeye tep tepe ḡotena. Ado onko sim hepon tēḡoḡanteko hir heḡ ḡotena, ado boḡoḡko kuḡam ḡoḡkedea; ekkalte hataḡeko kuḡam tokkeḡtaea. Ado ina hataḡko jom barakeḡtaea, adoko menketa, Aḡoletam! Aḡi coḡ aleren ayom jomkeḡe; am hō bale jom halakeḡmea?

Enḡ ado cabayena katha do; in maraḡnea niḡ do.

²⁰ See p. 166, note 7.

²¹ The word khaḡi refers to a peculiar practice of the oḡhas for finding things out (such as character and cause of diseases) by magic, making marks on the ground or on a leaf. The idea is that the jackal is going to find out who is responsible, so that he may take revenge.

²² The Santal word used is aḡo, their most common word for urinating. It is extensively used as an expletive, and also in threatening language, or exultingly, like here. In cases like this it refers to the commonly observed happening that animals, and also human beings, when becoming suddenly frightened, unconsciously pass water. The word is not supposed to be used in this sense by women. As an expletive the women use atar, burn up, in stead.

²³ To eat an animal in revenge is not unknown among the Santals. I remember what happened here many years ago now. The Santals managed to take the

"This very night," the chickens replied.

So all of them said: "All right; he has made all of us orphans; here in this very place we shall make an end to himself also."

Thereupon they all, each one as arranged, lay in wait; and the chickens were sitting quietly in the niche²⁰ with a small axe; and the egg they had buried with hot ashes.

When it became evening, the jackal suddenly came, and they let him come in. The jackal went straight up to the fire-place opening, and sitting down on his haunches he shut this up, whereupon he with both his forelegs vigorously scraped the ashes in the fire-place towards himself. Then the egg burst and got straight into his eyes, so he became blind. The jackal was rubbing his eyes and said: "I shall find out by magic²¹, I shall find out by magic!" Hereupon he started running out.

The pestle then fell down over him, and he called out: "I shall find out by magic, I shall find out by magic!" As he was saying this, he ran out of the house. As soon as he had passed the verandah in front of the door, the mortar suddenly tumbled down on him. There was no help for it, he was at once felled down as long as he was, there, on that spot. Now the chickens at once came running, bringing their axe with them; they hammered his head; they hammered it with such force that the brains came out. Thereupon they ate his brain and said: "You managed it²²! You did much, you ate our mother; now we have eaten you also in return!²³"

So there the story is finished; it is thus much this one.

life of an ugly-looking leopard, measuring seven feet. They brought the dead animal to me and gave me the skin; but, they said, he has eaten so much for us, now we are going to eat him in return, and they did so; no one enjoyed the feed, some even vomited; but it had to go down.

14. *Toyo ar kōk_u reañ.*

Tis cōn sedae jōkheñ, kathae, toyo ar kōk phulkin pataolefa, arkin mepeñlena, Amak at bañ calak hiloċ dō in, ar inak at bañ calak hiloċ dō am ašuliñtalañme. In dō setoñ din am in ašulmea, ar am dō japuť din ašuliñtalañme. Adō sari ona katha dō bana hōrkin khusiat khan dōkin hē hūkefa.

Khange taheñ tahente toyo dōe meñkefa, Iā kōkgeñ ašulea, nui por jat dō! Engateñ ašul barayea, jāhā lekateñ bulāulege, ar miť din dōñ jom gōtkaea. Noa katha dō mōngeregeye dōhokata. Khange galmaraote dō khubkin gateyena, miť maçi mit gañdoyenakin.

Khange miť din dō toyoe meñkefa, Iā phul, nēotayefmean, ma niā phalna dinre dō in then hana thāire senoktalañme, oñde miťtelañ jom nūlege.

Adōe meñkefa, Achañ calaka.

Khange sari din tioken khan dōc calaoena. Ar uni toyo dō aema utař roře ar sōsroče jarwa akatko tahēkana. Adō nui kōke metadea, Ma phul, nōkōe in perayefmea; ma khub leka jowanme ašurim bik hābić; ar bam bik khan dō laime, arhōn ařti juťucama.

Adōe meñkefa, Achañ jomlekoge, enkhanteñ khoja.

¹ See p. 192, note 11.

² See p. 164, note 1.

³ It does not appear from the Santal text who is to maintain the other during the hot season, and who during the rains. But as the paddy-bird during the rainy season has opportunities of finding food everywhere, it is likely meant it is for this time the bird undertakes the provisioning.

⁴ The word used in the original is very commonly used, both as an abuse and as a term of 'benevolence'; it is really the name of a part of the male anatomy. It is usually cut short and Iā (which means 'so and so' and is constantly used for any other word not at once remembered, or for some other reason not wanted to be expressly mentioned, also often for the word here suppressed) substituted. The Santal word is eñd. It is not so many years ago that the use of this word as an abuse might be taken up before the Santal village council, and the offender was punished. Now-a-days the word seems to have lost every meaning and may be translated as done. Very frequently 'rascal' would seem to render it.

14. THE JACKAL AND THE PADDY-BIRD.

SOME time or other, who knows when, in the old days, people tell, a jackal and a paddy-bird¹ had engaged themselves to flower-friendship² for life, and had said to each other: "The day you have no means of support, I shall, and the day I am unable to maintain myself, you support me for us. I shall support you during the hot season, and you support me during the rains³". And in very truth, as they both were pleased with this arrangement, they both grunted their assent.

As time passed by, the jackal one day said: "This unspeakable⁴ paddy-bird! I am to support this fellow of another race⁵! Dash it, I shall support him somehow; in some way or other I shall trick him, and then some day I shall eat him." This matter he kept to himself. Talking together they were extremely companionable, they were quite inseparable⁶.

Then one day the jackal said: "Listen, flower⁷, I invite you; please come on such and such a day to me over at that place; there we shall eat and drink together."

"All right," he replied, "I shall come."

When the day came, the paddy-bird actually went and the jackal had collected an immense number of frogs and grasshoppers. He said to the paddy-bird: "Please, flower, look here, you see what I am entertaining you with; please help yourself to your heart's content until you are satisfied; and if you do not get enough, let me know, and I shall give you a second helping."

"All right," he replied, "let me first eat these; then I shall ask for more."

⁵ The word is Hindi and generally has an admixture of contempt, one born by another, of another race or caste, an alien, outside the pale.

⁶ The Santal word cannot be rendered literally; it is said 'the two became one stool, one sitting-board'; it is a common expression for extreme intimacy.

⁷ See p. 164, note 1.

Ado kathae, enko jom jomtegeye aloć paloćena. Khangeye menketa, Ia phul, inaķgeñ joma; jom bhagaoenañ.

Ado metadea, Acha, eñdeķhan de lañ joharjoña, ar ma lañ apan apinoka. Ado sari johar barakatekin apan apinena.

Ado tinaķ din tayom coñ uni kōķ hōe metadea, Ia phul, mañ nōotayetmea, niā din hilok do iañ then hañde calakme, oñdełañ jom nūia.

Khange toyoe menketa, Achañ calaka.

Ado kathae, en hilok do aema utar cutiā sapketkote miññan tumbareye bhōrao akatko tahēkana. Ado toyoe hećen khan do, miññan bunum thene idikedea are metadea, Ma onko tumbareñ doho akatkoa, jomkom arim biķ dhābić; arhō bam biķ khan doñ emama.

Khange, kathae, tumbare ma moca bañ bolok kantae. Khange bae tawak posak goķketa? Khange adom do jiveťko tahēkana; onko doko dař goķketa. Khange cure mare lagayetkoa. Ado un jokhen do kōķ do bogeteye landawadea. Khange toyo doe edreyena, menketae, Nui kōķ do manotiñ laģit do bae nōota akadiña; menkhan nui do landawañ laģitgeye nōota akadiña. Uni toyo do mon monte nonkae edreyena. Ado menketa, Hape, neko chutiāñ jomlekoge. Johar jokhenlañ nammea. Ado enko dař sarećko cutiāye jom cabaketkoa.

Ado kōķe kulikedea, Cele phul, bilenam sem bañ?

⁸ Salutation is a formal matter with the Santals and has, on 'official' occasions, to be gone through seriously. A full description of their customs in connexion with this is found in the writer's paper On the different kinds of Salutation used by the Santals, *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, Part III, p. 85 ss. Two phul are supposed to use so johar, i. e., they both 'receive', or salute in the same way, not like a younger to an older one, or vice versa.

⁹ See p. 169, note 12. A tumbā. is, as a rule, long and narrow with a narrow neck.

¹⁰ See p. 172, note 16.

¹¹ See above, note 9.

Now he kept on eating these until he was crammed and over-filled, whereupon he said: "I say, flower, I shall not have any more, I have done eating."

"All right," the jackal said, "then let us salute each other⁸ and say good-bye, and let us part each to our own place." Thereupon they, truth to tell, saluted each other and went each to his own.

Some time afterwards the paddy-bird also spoke to the jackal and said: "Listen, flower, I invite you; on such and such a day come to me over there; we shall eat and drink there."

"All right," the jackal replied, "I shall come."

Now, people tell, that day the paddy-bird had caught an immense number of mice and put them into a gourd⁹. When the jackal came, he took him near a white-ant hill¹⁰ and said to him: "You see these I have put into the gourd; please eat of them until you are satisfied; if you do not get enough, I shall give you more."

Now the jackal could not get his snout into the gourd¹¹. Then did he not dash the gourd down on the ground and break it? Now some mice were alive; these ran away at once, and the jackal chased them all he could. When this happened, the paddy-bird laughed heartily. Then the jackal became angry and said¹²: "This paddy-bird has not invited me to do me honour; but he has invited me to laugh at me." In this way the jackal was angry in his heart. So he said: "Wait a little, let me first eat these mice; when we salute each other-we two¹³ shall find you." Thereupon he ate the mice that were left after the others had run away.

The paddy-bird then asked him: "How is it, flower, are you satisfied or not?"

¹² The paddy-bird is not supposed to hear what the jackal says.

¹³ Here and below in several places the inclusive dual of threatening language.

Adqe menketa, Ho khub in biyena, phul. Adq cigari leka noa katha dqe metadea; tãhã bae bilena. Adq toyoe menketa, Iã phul, dq lañ johar hojjoña. Jom biyente erseñ tořseñ in aikaueta; gitiçge sanayedini kana. Adqlaň apan apinokteñ gitiç jiraũjoña.

Adq kũke menketa, Acha, dq eñdekhanlaň joharjoña.

Adq kathaekin joharjon kan tahẽkan jokhengeye ota gořkede-teye ger goç gořkedea. Khange uni toyo dq ađiye řaskayena, are menketa, Am dq enanem landa akawadiña. Ona bođol am hõ nit dq landakatelaň jommea. Adq kathae, khub toğoç đata nõkkate se thora dq isir nõkateye jome kana. Khange uniak dq jotoe jom cabakettaea; cettet hõ bae sareçlettaea, jaň hõ jaň, rama hõ rama, miř mitteye jomkettaca. Adq khange khube biyena ar monre ađi řaskai aikauketa. Adq řaskate miřtaň kathae roř gořketa, nonka leka: Tumbã tumbã cuřia khaelom, bunum danaň kũk khaelom tui here. Adq nonka rořkate bar dhaoteye don don gořketa. Adq oñde khone calak kana, ar řaskate oka leka ce tarãm idiyet kan.

Adq calak calakte miřtaň sim ac lahareye ařin kane nelkede khane hoħo gořketa. Men sim, hoř oçokañme, baňkhan in jom gořmea. Tumbã tumbã cuřia khaelom, bunum danaň kũk khaelom, tui here. Khange uni sim hõ hoř bae oçokadete nuiye jom gořkedea.

Arhõ eñde khone calak kana. Adq calak calakte ac lahare miřtaň merome nel namkedea. Adqe hoħo gořketa, Men merom, hoř oçokañme, baňkhanlaň jom gořmea. Tumbã tumbã cuřia khaelom, bunum danaň kũk khaelom, tui here. Adq uni merom hõ bae oçoklente kathaeye jom gořkedea.

¹⁴ See p. 196, note 23.

¹⁵ The jackal's outburst is partly Santali, partly rustic Bengali. The Bengali words are translated in German. The last two words, tui here, are doubtful. Tui is a form of the pers. pron. used in addressing inferior persons; here is an interjection, 'hey there'.

"O flower," he replied; "I am extremely well satisfied." It was sarcastically that he said this to the other one; in reality he had not had his fill. The jackal then said: "I say, flower, come let us salute each other and say good-bye at once. I have eaten so much that I feel unable to sit or stand; I feel the need of lying down. Let us separate and lie down and rest."

"All right," the paddy bird said, "come then, let us salute each other."

Whilst they were saluting each other, it is told, the jackal suddenly pounced upon the paddy-bird and pressed him down, and at once bit him and killed him. The jackal then became very pleased and said: "A short while ago you were having a laugh at me; in return¹⁴ for that we two shall now have a laugh at you also and eat you." Thereupon he ate the paddy-bird, gnashing his teeth somewhat or snarling a little. He ate up all there was of him; he did not leave the least bit of him; even his bones and his claws he ate, every bit. Ultimately he had his fill and more and felt very pleased in his mind. Out of sheer joy he called out as follows: "Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen¹⁵; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" And having spoken thus twice, he jumped and jumped. Thereupon he went away from that place, and out of joy he walked along in an indescribable way.

As he was walking along, he caught sight of a fowl in front of him, picking and feeding, and called out: "Take care, fowl, get out of my way; else I shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" And as the fowl did not get out of his way, he ate it also.

From there he went further on. As he was passing along, he caught sight of a goat in front of him, and called out: "Take care, goat, get out of my way; else we two shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Then, as the goat did not get out of his way either, he ate it also.

Ado arhō ɔndɛ khon calak calakte ac lahare mittan bhiḍiye ṅelkedeā. Khangeye hōhō gōketa, Mēn bhiḍi, hōr ɔcōkanme, baṅkhanlaṅ jōm gōtmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelōm, bunum danaṅ kōk khaelōm, tui here. Ado kathae, uni hō bae ɔcōklenteye jōmkedeā.

Ado arhō ɔndɛ khone calak kana. Calak calakte ac lahare mittan gaiye ṅelkedeā. Khangē ini hōe hōhōgadeā, Mēn gai, ɔcōkme, baṅkhanlaṅ jōmmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelōm, bunum danaṅ kōk khaelōm, tui here. Khangē uni gai hō bae ɔcōklen khane ger gōckedete im bōrōe jōmkettaea.

Arhō ɔndɛ khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte ac lahare mittan bitkile ṅel ṅamkedeā. Ado khangeye hōhō gōtadeā, Mēn bitkil, hōr ɔcōkaṅme, ar baṅkhanlaṅ jōm gōtmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelōm, bunum danaṅ kōk khaelōm, tui here. Ado kathae, uni bitkil hō bae ɔcōklente ṅir sēnkate uniye ger gitiḍ gōkedeā, ar uniak im bōrōe jōmkettaea. Khangē bebāriḍe bi puṅ puṅena.

Ado arhō ɔndɛ khone calak kana. Khangē calak calakte mittan darha ac lahareye ṅel ṅamketa. Khangeye hōhō gōketa, Mēn darha, ɔcōkme, baṅkhanlaṅ ṅū aṅjeḍ gōtmea. Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelōm, bunum danaṅ kōk khaelōm, tui here. Ado kathae, ona darha hō baṅ ɔcōklena; bhala ona dō okate ɔcōgoka? Ado kathae, ṅir sēnkate ona hō ṅūye ṅūketa sē, jōtō dake ṅū cabaketa. Khangē artēḍe biyena.

Ado inakate arhō ɔndɛ khone calak kana. Ado calak calakte ac lahare mittan khuṅṅiye ṅelketa. Ado hōhō gōketa, Mēn khuṅṅi, ɔcōkme, ar baṅkhanlaṅ dōn paṅōmmea. Ado kathae,

¹⁶ When wild beasts kill other animals, it is with many of them the custom to start eating from behind (the genitals); the liver, lungs, heart and kidneys are apparently delicacies and taken before the flesh. The jackal follows this custom.

¹⁷ The Santal khuṅṅi is a post of any form fixed at one end. It is not necessarily high.

As he was again passing along from that place, he caught sight of a sheep in front of him, and called out: "Take care, sheep, get out of my way; else I shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" And as the sheep did not get out of his way either, he ate it also.

Then he went further from there also. As he was passing along, he saw a cow in front of him, and he called to this one also: "Take care, cow, get out of the way; else we two shall eat you. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Then as the cow did not get out of the way, he bit her and killed her and ate her liver and lungs¹⁶.

He went along from there also. Then as he passed along, he caught sight of a buffalo cow in front of him, and called out to her: "Take care, buffalo cow, get out of my way; else we two shall eat you in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Then, people tell, as the buffalo cow did not get out of the way either, he ran up to her and bit her at once, so she fell down, whereupon he ate her liver and lungs. Then he was awfully crammed and distended.

Thereupon he went along from there also. As he was passing along, he caught sight of a water-pool in front of him, and called out: "Take care, water-pool, get out of the way; else we two shall drink you dry in a trice. Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy-bird gefressen, du da!" Now, people tell, the water-pool did not get out of the way either; I wonder, where should it remove itself to? Then, people tell, the jackal ran down there and commenced to drink that also; he drank and drank; he, drank all the water up. Consequently he became still fuller.

Thereupon he went along from that place also. As he was passing along, he saw a wooden post¹⁷ in front of him, and called out: "Take care, post! get out of the way, else we two shall jump

khunṭi hō bañ goṅklena. Khangeye mēn goṅketa, Tumbā tumbā cutiā khaelom, bunum danaan kōk khaelom, tui here. Onka mēn-kateye dōn paromet tahēkan dō, khunṭirege laḥe bhosa goṅtente ye sobok goḥena.

Ado enēn purauketa niā katha dō.

15. Toyo ar kulai rean.

Kulai ar toyokin galmaraaona, Alañ dō phullañ pataoa. Pholkin pataoketaa, dōkin menjoñ kana, Iḥ, phul, lañ toa dakaea. Khan adō en hiloḥ dō haṭ din tahēkana. Adō oka horte hoṅko haṭteko hijuk sēnok, ona hoṅ aṅere por latarre uni kalai dōe burum hape akana, ar toyo dō pharak nōkre ye tārāk akan tahēkana.

Adō khangē ona horte caole akriñkoko calak kana, adō uni kulaike nēl namkedeā. Khan caole dōhōkate hanḍe ota nhanḍe otako ota barayedeā. Un jōkheḥ toyo dō caole ye atkir goṅketa, adō tayomtekin nāpamena. Nāpamkate kulai dō toyoe kulikedeā, Cele, atkirkettalañam?

Ado mēnkeṭa, Hēñ atkir akata.

¹ This story has many points in common with the two previously recorded ones, about a jackal and a hen and a jackal and some chickens. Here it is a hare who acts the other part. The narrator was a man named Kanhu Marndi, who died in Mesopotamia some years ago. Kanhu was, for a Santal, a very well educated man; he belonged to village Chondorpura in Jubdi (or Damin-i-koh, as this part of the Santal Parganas district is called, a Government estate), and all his environments were fairly different from those of Sagram Murmu, who has taken down so many of these stories. This may to a certain extent explain the difference in their stories; originally identical, the stories may in the course of time have been clothed in different garb in different parts of the country. The language of this narrator is very different from that of Sagram. The latter is a born story-teller; he has a beautiful, easy-flowing language, just as it is spoken in the villages. He apparently enjoys telling, recording many details, and now and then also recording his own ideas and speculations. Kanhu's language is of a more dignified character and a good deal more staccato than that of the

right over you!" Now, people tell, the post did not get out of the way either. The jackal then called out: "Gourdfuls of mice habe ich gefressen; behind the white-ant hill habe ich the paddy bird gefressen, du da!" Saying this he tried to jump over; the wooden post ran into his stomach, and he was stabbed to death.

So there I have finished this story.

15. THE JACKAL AND THE HARE¹.

A hare and a jackal had a talk together: "Let us two engage ourselves to flower-friendship² for life." They did so, and they said among themselves: "I say, flower³, let us prepare rice porridge⁴." Now it was market-day that day, and close to the road by which people were going to and coming from the market the hare crouched under a bush and kept quiet, whilst the jackal was lying in wait a little distance off.

Presently people who were going to sell rice⁵ came along this road, and they caught sight of the hare, whereupon they put their rice down and chased the hare, trying to pounce on him, now here, now there. Meanwhile the jackal made haste and carried the rice off; afterwards the two met; then the hare asked the jackal: "Well, did you carry anything off for us?"

"Yes," the jackal said, "I did."

other one. He is not so unconscious. His language may perhaps show traces of his having been to school.

² See p. 164, note 1.

³ See p. 165, note 3.

⁴ What in Santal is called *toa daka*, lit. milk boiled-rice, is prepared by boiling sundried rice (*adwa caole*) in milk. It is not a common dish with the Santals, and is considered somewhat better than the ordinary. It is a dish more common among the Hindus than among the Santals.

⁵ Here and in the following things are mentioned that are supposed to be brought to every market-place every market-day, necessaries of the daily life of the villagers. Rice is the staple food of all classes of people in these parts.

Ina tayom arhō onkage toyo doe tārāk akana ar kulai doe obor akana. Khan adō toa ikdiyié hōre nēlkedea. Uni hō onkage toa dōhokate hanđe nhandēye ota barayedea. Enkate ađi saŋgiñe khudau idikedea. Adō oña takre toyo dō toae atkirketa. Khudau mōkoñkate uni hōr doe heć ruarena are calaena ekenakge. Tayomte unkin dōkin nāpamena. Adō kulai doe kukli kana, Cele, phulem atkirketa?

Menketae, Hēñ atkir akata.

Ina tayom sahan akkriñkoko calak kana, ar uni kulai hō pahil leka galasañe obor hape akana. Sen tiokkede khanko nēlkede, kulaiye burum akan. Adō onko hō sahan dōhokateko lagayede kana. Laga laga ađi saŋgiñko lagakedea, ota ota bako ota namledea, ar sahan patařak̄kote hō bhageteko lebda barakedea. Nōte inak̄tege toyo dō sahan atkirketa. Khan adō miť thenkin nāpamena. Adōe kuliyedea, Cele, phulem atkirketa?

Adōe menketa, Hēñ atkirketa.

Ona rōr barakate arhō pahil lekagekin tārākena. Khange miť għari tayom kuñkal bhajanko idiyet kana. Adō uni kulai dō hōrre menaea se bañ? Nēl namkedeako, adō bhajan dōhokateko otaye lagit. Hanđe nhandē ota bara ota bara ađi saŋgiñko lagakedea. Inak̄tege uni toyo hōe nīr hećena, ar miťañ bhajane atkir gotketa. Adō toyotekin arhōkin nāpamena. Adōe kuliyedea, Cele, phulem atkirketa.

⁶ Milk is not much used by the Santals for drinking; as for the Hindus, it is what they value very highly. Santals use milk for preparing ghl, for preparing food, like here, and for a few other purposes; Santal children get, of course, milk to drink; grown up Santals very seldom take milk 'neat'. They like to let it stand to become duhe, sour milk, or kephir.

⁷ In these parts fire-wood is to be had on the market-places, thin branches or pieces of wood, cut to short lengths (40 to 50 cm. long) and split. In other parts dried cow-dung, in cakes or rolled round the peeled stalk of jute or the like, is the most common fuel. Fuel for cooking food is a great problem in India, and very little is done to get the problem solved.

⁸ Earthenware vessels, for all kinds of household purposes, and of great variety of shape, are manufactured by the local potters; these are not Santals, but a Hindu

After this the jackal was again lying in wait, whilst the hare was squatting. Then a man who was carrying milk⁶ along saw him. This man also in the same way put the milk down and chased the hare hither and thither, trying to catch him. In this way he chased him to a great distance. At that moment the jackal carried the milk off. When he got tired of chasing the hare, the man returned and went away emptyhanded. Afterwards the two met, and the hare was asking: "Well, flower, how is it, did you carry anything off?"

"Yes," he said, "I did."

Afterwards people who sold fire-wood⁷ were passing, and the hare then also as previously was crouching absolutely quiet. When they reached the place, they saw that a hare was crouching there. Then these people also put their fire-wood down and commenced to chase the hare. They chased and chased, until they chased him very far off; they tried again and again to seize him, but could not; they also flung a good many pieces of split fire-wood at him. Meanwhile the jackal made use of his opportunity at his end and carried the fire-wood off. Thereupon the two met, and the hare asked him: "Well, flower, how is it, did you carry anything off?"

"Yes, I did," the other one said.

After having talked this much, they again lay in wait as previously. A short while afterwards some potters came along, carrying earthenware vessels⁸. Now the hare was there on the road, was he not? They spotted him, and having put their pottery down, they started chasing to catch him. Chasing him and trying to catch him, now here, now there, they chased him a very great distance off. In the meantime the jackal also came running and carried a cooking-pot away. Thereupon the hare and the jackal again met, and he asked the jackal: "Well, flower, did you carry anything off?"

caste. It is a curious sight to see these people coming along, carrying their pots, tied together by the necks, hanging down from the ends of a carrying pole, several dozens at a time.

Adqe mēnketa, Hēñ atkirketa.

Nokoko calaoen khan, adq arhō uni kulai dqe lambef hapeyena. Miť ghari khange patra akrikkoko calak kana. Khangeko űlkede, kulaiye burum akan. Adq onko hō uni kulaike ota legakedea, ar dher sañgiñko laga idikedea; bako goe dareadea. Adq toyo dq patrae atkirketa. Adqkin napamena. Kulikedea, Cele, phulem atkirketa?

Hē, phuliñ atkirketa.

Nokate jotoakkin nam tearketa. Señgelge thq okarekin nama? Khange toyo dq mittañ atote senkate mittañ rañdi buđhi orakte señgel kōkōeye calaoena. Uni buđhi dq janum loboqe hukruñ kan tahēkana. Adq uni toyo dqe mēnketa. Den buđhi, señgel emañme.

Uni dqe mēnketa, Ma aģujoñme. In dq reñgeć jalateñ huřuñ-joñ kana.

Khange toyo dqe mēnketa, Do, amge aģuañme. In nāhāk in huřuñ hatara.

Adq buđhi dq señgel aģui calaoena, ar uni toyo dqe hukruñ kana. Huřuñ bara huřuñ bara uni dq miť ukhurem ić perećkata, ar cetandre dq janum lobokteye eśekata. Adq buđhi dq señgele aģuadea. Adq toyo dqe mēnketa, Iq, buđhi, alom huřuñ hatara. Hape, miť por danañ ocoañme.

Toyo miť pore danañen khan, buđhi dq hukruñe portōnketa. Huřuñ huřuñ, adq iće huřuñ toťketa janum baja janum baja. Adqe mēnketa, Nui toyo dqe ić oťoatña.

⁹ Leaf-plates are always wanted; the brass thari, or plate, is heavy, and no one has any large number of them. If one has to feed many people, as at a feast, or working people, leaf-plates are used. They are made from sal leaves, fastened together with stiff straw pins. They are used only once and then thrown away. There is one central leaf with three or four others fastened round it.

¹⁰ It is even now a very common thing with the Santals to go to some neighbour to ask for fire. Matches are a 'luxury' with many; to make fire by mechanical means takes some time and exertion, and to keep fire from one day to another is not always successfully done.

¹¹ The woman uses a mortar and a pestle.

¹² The fruit of the janum, *Zizyphus Jujuba*. Lam., is eaten, both ripe and raw, as an ordinary fruit, or pounded into a flour and cooked, as here. In certain

"Yes, I did," he said.

When these last ones had gone away, the hare again crouched and was lying quietly. A moment afterwards some people passed, who were going to sell leaf-plates⁹. They saw him, there was a hare squatting; and these also tried to seize the hare and chased him a great distance off; they were unable to kill him. And the jackal carried the leaf-plates off. Thereupon they met, and the hare asked him: "Well, flower, did you carry anything off?"

"Yes, flower, I did."

In this way they collected everything necessary. But fire now, where should they get that? The jackal then went to a village to the house of an old widowed woman to ask for fire¹⁰. Now this old woman was occupied pounding¹¹ thorn-plum¹² flour, and the jackal said: "Do, old woman, give me fire."

"Do fetch it yourself," she replied; "I am suffering from hunger¹³ and am occupied pounding."

"Please, fetch it for me you," the jackal said; "I shall pound for you in the meanwhile."

The old woman then went to bring fire, and the jackal was pounding. He pounded and pounded, and whilst doing this he filled the mortar with his own dung, but on the top he covered it with thorn-plum flour. The old woman then brought him the fire, and the jackal said: "I say, old woman, don't pound just now; wait a little, let me get behind one bush¹⁴."

When the jackal had got behind one bush, the old woman commenced to pound. Pounding, pounding, she pounded the dung out, stringy plums, stringy plums, and she said: "This jackal has got away having stooled in my mortar."

respects the fruit reminds one of a plum, having a stone and flesh. The Santals enjoy eating the fruit, especially of the cultivated variety.

¹³ The Santal expression may have a double meaning, either as here translated, or, on account of, forced by poverty.

¹⁴ The expression is a common Santal one, hidden behind one (not a) bush; then no one knows what may happen, or no one will be able to find or find one out. It is more especially used in connexion with women. When a woman is out of sight there is no knowing what she may do!

Ado toyo ruarukate sengelkin jolkefa arkin toa dakayeta. Toa dakakate ado umokkin apaj kana. Toyo hōe meneta, Do phul, am marañ um hijukme; ar kulai hōe meneta, Do, amge um hec marañokme. Khange ado toyoge umoke calao marañena. Jāhā leka kheṛe peṭeye um gotena; adōe hecena. Tayomte ado kulaiye kolkadea, Do phul, um hec hodokme. Adōe calaena kulai dō. Aḍi saphae umok kana aḍi ghaṛiḍ.

Notō toyo dō celanregeye jom biyena. Jom bikate miṭ celane iḱkefa, ar cetanre dō dakateye topakata. Ado kulaiye hecena. Duṛup hapamenakin. Ado daka lolokin apaj kana. Toyo hōe meneta, Ma phul, amge loetalañme; ar kulai hōe meneta, Ma phul, amge loetalañme.

Khange ado kulai dōe lolo kana. Ado iḱgeye lo tiokket khane ṛelket, iḱge. Ado daḍuteye capat barakadea, are menketa, Noa khicri daka laḡitge unak hōr hōrteñ oḅor barae kana? Adōe laga ṛirkeadea.

Khange toyo dō mittane tumḍakkefa, ar mittan band latarre dinam hilokge jederkateye ru baraea. Ado kulai dō miṭ dine

¹⁵ The Santali word is used about urging each other to do something first; it may be out of politeness, or it may be because one does not care to take the first step.

¹⁶ Here the use of a ladle is mentioned; the story has forgotten to tell where they had procured one.

¹⁷ The dancing-drum (tumḍak) has a slightly conical body of burnt clay; the body is covered with batches of strips of bullock hide wound tightly round it; both ends are covered with skin, the broad end generally with bullock hide, the narrow end with the skin of a goat or of the hanuman monkey. Both ends are laced with strips of bullock hide, stretched from end to end, close together; these strips make the whole so much stronger, and they are placed closely enough together to prevent the clay body from being easily touched. The ends are given a small layer of boiled rice spread over the surface in circular form, often, when new, painted black, with a red and a white ring outside. The tumḍak is carried over the shoulder in leather thongs, the broad end always to the left side. It is drummed with the hands, the broad end with the left, the narrow end with the right hand. The tumḍak is always made in pairs, tuned

When the jackal returned, he and the hare lighted a fire and started cooking rice porridge. When they had prepared this, they urged¹⁵ each other to go and bathe. The jackal was saying: "Please, flower, you go and bathe first, do!" And the hare also was saying: "Please, you go first and have your bath." Ultimately the jackal went first to bathe. Floundering and plunging he had his bath quickly somehow, whereupon he came back. Afterwards he sent the hare off, saying: "Do, flower, be quick, have your bath and come back." The hare then went. He bathed so as to become thoroughly clean, it took a long time.

Here where he was the jackal ate his fill out of the cooking-pot. When he was satisfied, he filled the pot with his own dung, and on the top he covered it with rice. Then the hare came, and they sat down facing each other. Then they commenced to contend¹⁵ who was first to take rice out of the pot. The jackal was saying: "Please, flower, you take first for us;" and the hare also was saying: "Please, flower, you take first for us."

The hare then commenced to ladle¹⁶ out. When ladling out he came to the dung, he saw it, it was dung, whereupon he threw the contents about with the ladle and said: "Was it for the sake of this rice stew that I was crouching so many times along the road?" And he drove the jackal away.

Thereupon the jackal procured a dancing-drum¹⁷, and he was in the habit of drumming every day whilst he was sunning

together; the sound of the broad end is of a deeper tone than that of the narrow end, the difference being about a fourth. It is not unmusical in sound. It is the dancing-drum of the Santals above all other drums; but it is not uncommon to hear the sound of it from a Santal house, somebody enjoying to play it, just to listen to the two notes. That is what the jackal is supposed to do here. The Hindus have some drums of a similar shape, but not exactly of the Santal model; they use it for play. It might be remarked that the Santal drum is brittle and easily smashed; the rainy season impoverishes the clay, so it will never last long.

anjomketa ruru. Khange uni dō band piñdha piñdhatēye calaō-ena, ar tumdake kōekedea, Dē sē phul, iñ ru legaetam. Adō emadea. Ru bara ru bara uni dōm tawak posak goṭkattāea, are dārketa.

Khange adō lagae lagakedea sē, uni kulai dō miñṭañ bunum bhugaḱreye boloyena. Adō toyo sēnkateye duruṭ eṣṣekedea. Ona bunum bhugaḱ dō tapapge tahēkana. Uni kulai dō ona bhugaḱ khone nīr tofēna. Bae disaledea, dāṭ tapketāe.

Toyo dō duruṭ akan duruṭ akan dēkē dō tinre cōko nīndirkedea. Khange dōe beretēna, are oyoñ barayena. Adō baihaṭ sene calaōena. Miñṭañ buḱhi dō hakoe sasap kan tahēkana. Uni ṭhene calaōena, adōe metāe kana, Dini buḱhi, miñṭañ puṭhi hako emañme.

Adōe metāe kana, Ma bacha, sapjōhme.

Adōe sapjōñ kana. Miñṭañ puṭhi hakoe sapkedea are jōme kana. Adōe tabok kana miṭ talaoge. Adōe meneta, Eḱti paelam, eḱti paelam.

Adō buḱhi dōe mēnketa, Inige cōm jōme kana, inigeye tabok kan.

Adō khange dēkeye oyoñena, adōe nēlketāe dō, sariḱe. Adō puṭhi hako sapkate mucī ṭhene calaōena. Adō khange uni puṭhi dōe uduḱ gōde kana, arhōe cupuṭ oko gōde kana. Adōe metāe kana, Nōkōe ṭaka. Ma dēkē dapkatihme. Adōe dapkatae kana. Dap sapketāeae. Uni puṭhi hako dōe capat giḱi goṭkadea, are dārketa.

¹⁸ During the cold season people and animals may be seen every morning after sunrise in some sheltered place warming themselves in the rays of the sun.

¹⁹ In Santali baihaṭ, see p. 174, notes 19 & 22.

²⁰ See p. 175, note 24.

²¹ The word used (bacha) really means 'calf', and is very frequently used as a term of endearment in addressing young men and boys; it is especially used by old women.

²² The jackal gives vent to his joy in Bengali.

²³ See p. 176, note 26.

himself¹⁸ below the embankment of a tank. One day the hare heard him drumming; he went along the top of the embankment and asked him to lend him the drum: "Do give it to me, flower, let me try to play your drum." He gave it to him; he drummed and drummed, and then suddenly threw his drum down and smashed it for him, whereupon he ran away.

The jackal then chased the hare, chased and chased; and the hare ran into a hole in a white-ant hill. The jackal came and sat down blocking the way for him. Now this white-ant hill had a hole right through it, and the hare ran out at the other end of that hole. The jackal was not aware of it; the hare ran right away.

The jackal was sitting and sitting, and meanwhile the white ants, who knows when, attacked his hind-quarters. Ultimately he got up and peered down; thereupon he went towards some low-lying land¹⁹. Here an old woman was catching fish. He went up to her and said to her: "Give here, old woman, give me a carp²⁰ fish.

"Please, dear youngster²¹, catch some yourself," she said to him.

He commenced to try to catch. He caught one carp, and was eating this over and over again; it passed through incessantly. And he was saying: "Einen²² habe ich gefangen, einen habe ich gefangen!"

Then the old woman called out: "Why, it is the same one you are eating; this same one is passing through."

Then the jackal, truth to tell, looked at his hind-quarters, and he saw it was really so. So he took the carp and went to the shoemaker²³. Here he showed him the carp a moment, and then again he quickly closed his paw over the fish and hid it. He said to him: "Here, you see, is a rupee. Please cover my hind-quarters for me with skin." The shoemaker covered it for him with skin. He finished his work, whereupon the jackal just threw that carp down there, and ran away.

Khange adq buđhi ðhene calak kana kaskom gođa gođate. Adq ona kaskom darete phedok. Khange sadetaea. Adq ona petekateye ru baraea. Ar uni buđhi ðhen dinamge sim kokoye calaka. Uni buđhi dq hqontekoe laiko kana, Din hilokge mittan toyo sime koyeña.

Adq khange sitatren buđhiko benaokedea, ar chařkareko dohq-kadea. Adq toyo dq ru ruteye hijuk kana. Hećen khane adqe menketa, Teheñ dq iq buđhiye landa daramañ kana. Adq khange ona ruru dandomtegeye capat golkedea. Khange adqe loka gotketa. Ona dq bañ lařkaoena? Adqe meneta, Nui iq buđhi yae lokakeñña. Adq nir senkateye thayā gotkedea. Adq ona jańga hq lařkaoena.

Adq khange hqontet korakoko chařaokedea. Chařaokede khanko, gitilte bhageteko gadaokedea arko arak kadea.

Tayomte mittan puđhi hako sapkate kamar ðhene calaena. Adqe metae kana, Deqe balkatiñme. Adqe balkatae kana. Deqe dqe oyon akata. Adq khangeye tuñti goladea gođa meťahā sente. Adq toyo dqe darřketa, ar kamar dq sařasikoteye capat barakedea.

²⁴ The Santali word (phed) is used as in this place about a branch or the like striking when suddenly released from having been turned aside; it is also used about playing with the fingers or a small bit of wood on a stringed instrument.

²⁵ The Santali word chařka means the ground just outside the front entrance to the court-yard. In some houses there is a mud-wall with an entrance door between the chařka and the raca, the court-yard proper. It is, however, more seen in Hindu houses than with the Santals.

After this he was returning to the old woman through a cotton-field, and the cotton bushes were striking against²⁴ him, and it was sounding. So he broke off a twig and commenced to drum. And he went every day to that old woman to ask her for fowls. The old woman told her sons: "Every day a jackal asks me for fowls."

So they prepared an old woman of wax, and put her down in the street outside the court-yard²⁵. Now the jackal was coming along drumming. When he reached there he said: "To-day this unspeakable old woman is meeting me with a laugh," whereupon he threw that drum-stick at her; then he took the stick in his mouth. Then did not that stick? So he said: "This unspeakable old woman has caught it in her hands." Then he ran up to her and kicked her, and so that leg of his also stuck.

Thereupon the old woman's sons disentangled him. When they had extricated him, they crammed²⁶ him in good style with sand, and so they let him off.

Afterwards he caught a carp and went to the blacksmith, and said to him: "Pierce²⁷ a hole for me in my hind-quarters." He was doing this; the blacksmith was looking at the place, and he suddenly spurted at him over his face. Thereupon the jackal ran away, whilst the blacksmith flung his thongs at him.

²⁶ The word *gadao* is mostly used about filling and stuffing tightly; it is the word used about loading a muzzle-loading gun.

²⁷ See p. 176, note 28.

STORIES ABOUT WOMEN

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

A few remarks on the position of women in the Santal world will make it easier to appreciate some of the points of the stories here collected.

The original and still often theoretically accepted idea about women among the Santals seems to be that she is a kind of irresponsible and untrustworthy being, a necessary and useful, but somewhat inferior member of human society.

Some proverbs show how women are often considered to be morally irresponsible; they are not supposed to be able to resist a man. That this does not correspond with reality, it is unnecessary to point out. At the same time it might be mentioned that, whilst the Indian Penal Code makes adultery a criminal offence, it is only the man who is punished, not the woman. It is not the Santals alone who deem women irresponsible.

Stories are told about the foolishness of women, about their lack of sense and of understanding life and life's demands. They are supposed to be unable to see the consequences of their actions and words. In a quarrel, they will always try to carry the day by resorting to lies and whatever may be thought effective in order to vanquish the other part. They will act on the spur of the moment, heedlessly. And so on.

Further, every woman may be suspected of being a witch, and a witch is, according to their ideas, a demoniacal being, capable of the greatest atrocities and entirely devoid of mercy and human feelings.

These and similar ideas are found among the Santals with regard to women in general. The practical result of such ideas is that the Santal women are to a certain extent disqualified religiously and as regards civic rights.

A Santal woman may have movable property, money, cattle, clothes, &c., but she cannot properly possess real estate, i. e. land (landed property entails certain civic and religious duties upon the owner, which a woman cannot discharge). She has no direct influence on anything concerning the village, nor, legally, on the affairs of her own household. She is only to a certain extent responsible. She is not independent or her own mistress; she is always somebody's "property", first her father's (or her brothers' or nearest male relative's), later on her husband's or his family's, and as a widow she belongs to her sons; if there should not be anyone to represent the right of ownership, she will revert to her first "owners", or practically become a derelict.

It should be remembered that every woman is supposed to be married. Marriage is the goal of every Santal girl, and if a girl is not married, people will think that there is something physically, mentally or otherwise wrong with her. It should not be forgotten, either, that every Santal woman expects to be married. It is unnecessary to point out that such ideas cannot fail to influence the mental attitude, both of the women and also of the men.

If a Santal woman commits an offence against the laws of Santal communal life (we leave out here any consideration of the state of affairs brought about by the Indian Penal Code having been introduced), the matter is brought before the village "Five" and adjudicated, and sentence is passed. It is, however, always the husband or father or brothers, etc., who will have to pay. The punishment is always a fine, when the misdemeanour is not so heinous (according to Santal rules or ideas) that the woman is driven away. Until this happens, the responsible male relative has to pay.

It is not of very frequent occurrence, but it happens, that a man complains to the village "Five" against his wife. The matter is taken up; the wife is found guilty and sentenced to a fine. But the husband has to pay.

This impunity of the Santal women cannot fail to react upon the women themselves; many will, just on account of this freedom from direct punishment, permit themselves to do what they would not likely do in other circumstances; they are perhaps specially liable to let their tongue run without restriction.

The, not very high-classed, remedy that a man will resort to, when nothing else will avail, is the stick. Wife-beaters are not held in great respect by the people. On the other hand, I have heard a story of a termagant, who did not appreciate the qualities of her good and longsuffering husband. One day he could not stand it any longer, but found a stick and gave his wife a thrashing. "Now I can feel that you are a man," was what the woman said. She acknowledged the authority of the man.

Besides being so heavily disqualified as to civic rights, a Santal woman is also in very much the same position as regards religious rights. A woman may salute the Sun, i. e. the Supreme Being, and she may be made to take an oath, or may herself call on the Supreme Being; but she is not permitted to participate in worship. If she feels the need of invoking the *boŋgas*, she has to do it through her male "owners". She is, as is natural, incapacitated from officiating at sacrifices and also from participating in the act; she may partake of the flesh of most sacrificed animals, although never of the head. In the case of certain sacrifices, women are not permitted to eat anything of the sacrificed animals, and, with regard to certain *boŋgas*, the Santals are very particular that not even their names shall be known to women, the reason for this precautionary measure being said to be that if a woman should get to know such a name, she might be able to get into communication with the *boŋga* in question and seduce him to do her will.

Certain "holy" things are polluted by the presence of women.

That certain old women, especially the wife of the village priest, may get a little nearer to the "holies" than ordinary women does not alter the general state. It should be remarked that the women are supposed to prepare some of the ingredients, such as flour, used at sacrifices.

As I have remarked elsewhere, I am inclined to think that the practice of witchcraft by Santal women is, to a certain extent, really secret worship, resorted to by women because they are not permitted to take part with the men directly and personally in ordinary public worship.

In spite of all the disqualifications mentioned above, the position of the Santal woman is much better than with many other primitive races. Human feelings assert themselves, and nature itself makes up for much.

In spite of all the men may talk and possibly also think, they love and respect their women-folk. They are always and at once ready to stand up for sisters, daughters, mothers and wives.

With regard to the last mentioned ones, there are some reservations to be made. Regular marriage is among the Santals not the result of young people falling in love with each other. It is a family arrangement, a union between two families, arranged through a go-between; the two persons most concerned have very little choice, are not, before marriage, permitted to speak to each other, only just to see one another from a safe distance; they may now-a-days refuse to marry the party selected, but will otherwise leave everything to the older ones. A wife is bought (this is the legal base, but the bride-price should perhaps be considered more as a symbol than as an actual payment) and becomes the property of the husband's family. It does not always work well; the young ones are sometimes divorced after all accounts have been squared, and a new union is arranged. When it goes well, it will in any case take some time for the two to learn to know each other; but when they do so, their relations may become very good.

So far as natural abilities are concerned, the Santal woman does not seem to be inferior to the man; in many cases and with regard to certain matters she may give the impression of being better than the man, quicker and more sharpwitted. Otherwise the same differences in quality, found with other peoples between the male and the female, may also be observed among the Santals. The woman is generally livelier than the man and also more industrious. While the men may have long periods off work, the women have always something to do in the house or the family.

The Santal woman is a woman and knows her powers as such and how to use them. She manages the house and keeps it clean (as well as she may know), she prepares the food, &c., and as a matter of fact does everything necessary to make the man free to pursue his special work. She is what in Santali is called *orak'hōr*, i. e., the house-person (a term which may also, however, be used about a husband). She will frequently be found to be the one who rules in the house; frequently it is not so long a step from this to something more, if the woman is endowed with the desire for power and is ambitious. *Mutatis mutandis*, there is, so far as the writer has been able to observe, no great natural difference between the Santal woman and those of more civilized races, although, as could not be otherwise expected, there is a tremendous difference in practical life.

The Santal woman is not kept shut up in a *zenana*, more or less secluded from the outside world. She is free and may go wherever she likes, provided she has accepted or proper company. It might be said to be symbolic that she, unlike so many oriental women, goes about with an uncovered head and face.

In a good Santal household the state of matters will generally be as follows: the woman acknowledges the superiority of the position of the man. She depends on him; she is subordinate to him, but it depends to a large extent on herself how subordinate or co-ordinate her position will be. Husband and wife will consult each other in most matters. It is frequently the case that the

wife keeps the purse. It will never contain much, but still it will be enough for the man to show his confidence in his wife.

It must not, however, be lost sight of that the civic and religious disqualifications of the Santal women cannot but create a barrier between the two sexes, and it may happen that the female 'society' may be quite untouched, barring a few exceptions, when the men are much excited by some thing or other.

The following, which was told the writer by an English gentleman who played a rôle in it, will go some way to show what qualities may be found with Santal women. It happened during the war; the Englishman in question had been to a Santal village and was taking a number of men along with him to send them to the Front as members of a Labour Corps. They were walking along, the women following to say good-bye. So long as the men were there, there was nothing else than high spirits, nobody saying or doing anything to lower the spirits of those who were going away. Then a halt was called, the men were sent on, and the women had to return to their village. As soon as the men were out of sight and hearing, the scene suddenly altered entirely: all these light-spirited women crowded round the Englishman, commenced to cry, fell at his feet and gave vent to what was in their hearts, imploring him to do everything he could to bring their men back to their homes. He had only admiration for the spirit shown by these uncivilized women.

It should not be omitted that there is a kind of movement on foot among the Santal men to give their women a more secure position. They have long had a way of circumventing the law prohibiting women from inheriting land. In case of a man having only daughters and no sons, he may, with the knowledge and sanction of the village people, get a man to marry his daughter on the understanding that he is to remain in the house and take over the whole when the father is no more. No bride-price is paid, this being settled by the young man working for his wife (just like Jacob of old), and as far as marriage ceremonies are

concerned, everything is reversed. The girl's father acts as otherwise the bridegroom's father would have done. Only, of course, the bridegroom does what only the man can do, puts *sindur* on the girl's forehead.

The present day Santals have, at several times, given formal expression to a desire of theirs that the position of their women should be bettered, in as much as, on the one side, widows should have a right of sustenance from their late husbands' estate, and, on the other hand, that daughters should have the right of inheritance in preference to remote male relatives.

With reference to the folktales here translated, the points of which are various supposed qualities of women, whilst some of them are undoubtedly true to nature, others have to be marked as 'man-made'. Whilst the foolishness of women may be the subject of some, there are other stories showing quite the opposite. It is quite frequent to hear allusions to the cunning and guiles of women. In a story about the origin of witchcraft among the Santals it is told how the women outwitted not only their husbands, but even *Marañ Buru*, the Santal devil, himself.

16. Dundhi maejiureaṅ.

Sedae jōkheṅ Hōṛ hōṇ dō, kathae, dundhā dundhigeko tahēkana. Ona reak miṭṭaṅ kaṅni menaka.

Miṭṭaṅ atore, kathae, ato sudhā hōṛte kuṭam ḍaṅgrakko neṇḍaketa; adō oṛak oṛak mimiṭ goṭaṅ haṅḍiko dōhōketa. Adō ona neṇḍa din dō miṭ din baṅ tiok akan tahēkanrege, kathae, hēṛel hōṇ dō miṭ mitte jōṭō raj biṭhiko saṇ idikeṭkoa, arko metaṭkoa, Ape dō mōṛṣ māhā din oṇḍege taheṅ hoyoktapea. Adō sipāhi bōṭōṛte okōe hō cef hō bako ṛōṛ daṛeata. Adōko idikeṭkōgea.

¹ When the men also are here styled foolish, this likely refers to what is told about their permitting themselves to be carried away without the least show of protest or opposition.

² Kuṭam ḍaṅgra, lit. 'felled bullock', is a sacrifice to the Ancestors. It is performed either as the result of a vow, or in connexion with the so-called jom sim, a large family festival with sacrifices in honour of the jom sim boṅga, originally, it is told in the Traditions, a sacrifice to Siṅ boṅga, the Sun, representing the Supreme Being. At kuṭam ḍaṅgra three oxen are sacrificed, one to the Ancestors, one to the oṛak boṅga, i. e. the house or family boṅga, and one to Maraṅ Buru, the chief national godling of the Santals. There is one notable difference between sacrifices to the Ancestors and to the boṅgas. A sacrifice of an animal or a fowl to a boṅga is performed by decapitation, whilst to the Ancestors it is done by striking the neck or back of the head of the animal with the head of an axe. This operation gives name to the performance, kuṭam in Santali meaning to strike with a hammer or the like. The kuṭam ḍaṅgra festival is the business of one man, the head of a family, and not, as might be supposed from what is told in this story, something undertaken by the village community as such.

16. THE SILLY WOMEN.

IN the olden times, people tell, the Santals, both men and women, were foolish and witless¹. There is a tale about this.

In a certain village, it is told, the whole village population had fixed a day for feasting with a sacrifice of a bullock to the Ancestors²; in every house they had consequently commenced brewing a pot of rice-beer³. Then just one day before the day appointed, it is told, people came and carried the men, every single one of them, away to do forced labour for the zemindar⁴; they told them: "You will have to remain there for five days." Out of fear for the zemindar's messengers⁵ no one was able to say anything, and they took the men away with them.

Where the whole village, as sometimes happens, belongs to the same family, they will naturally all participate.

³ See end of last note. If all do not belong to the same family, it is irregular that they brew beer in every house for this festival. Haṇḍi is beer brewed from rice or some other cereal. The process of fermenting takes five days; when it is ready, water is poured on, and the stuff drunk. The fermenting is done in earthen-ware pots. Haṇḍi cannot be kept for any length of time. See p. 186, note 3.

⁴ Forced labour is, I believe, at the present day illegal in India. In spite of this, it is even now very commonly practised especially by petty landlords and others who have some kind of power over tenants and subordinates. When people are taken for such service, they will generally get their food and sometimes a little more, the last to screen the illegality of the matter.

Ado khange onko aimai doko as chuṭaena; mənkefako, Oko baḍae, aboren herel doko arakko cōn bañ cōn; pasē nāhākko mak gōckotabona.

Ado ona atoren aimaike jarwayenteko ror ṭhikketa, Ma teheñ do hare pharebon teke sobot hōdoka arbon um narakaka; ado ayup jokhen herel hopon leka ngo dhōrom laḡitbon naekeka. Ma teheñ hinda do otregebon gitića, ar gapa do aboge gaibon kuṭamkoa hana birre idikate.

Ado sanam horko mənkefa, Acha, ma enḍekhanbo onkaea.

Ado sariko teke sobotenteko ngo dhōromketa. Ado aṅgayen khan, boṅga reak joto soromjamko sajaoketa, ar gaiko tolkedea. Ado birre idikate, kathae, miṭtan sarjom dare buta ṭhenko herheṭ ṭandiketa arko gurićketa. Ado khōṇḍ barakate caoleko curuc-

⁵ The word here translated 'messenger' is the word commonly used for native soldiers (sipāhī, sepoy, the same orig. Persian word which, with a somewhat different meaning, has come into French via Algeria as spahi). Every native 'king' or landlord and similar persons have, according to their importance and power, more or less of these. They are used for every possible purpose, as messengers, as private guards and to enforce commands. They very frequently do not seem to have any feeling of conscience. Their employer has the responsibility. The incident here reported is very much like what has often taken place.

⁶ When they think it is time to wash their clothes, the Santal women do the washing themselves. The clothes are first boiled with ashes at home, whereupon the woman puts them on the ends of a stick, and balancing this on her head she takes the clothes down to water and washes them there. The washing is done by dumping each piece of cloth on a stone, or by beating it against it. It is finally rinsed in water and spread on the grass or on a rock or anywhere to dry, a very short process in the Indian climate.

⁷ To wash their hair the Santals, both men and women, make use of a kind of alkaline earth that gives some lather.

⁸ Ngo dhōrom, here translated with 'sanctifying oneself', is something deemed necessary previously to the performance of a sacrifice. The male members of a household, especially the sacrificer, have during the night before the sacrifice to be abstinent. They are not to eat or drink, they do not sleep on a bedstead,

The women now lost hope and said: "Who knows whether they will set our men free or not; perhaps they will presently kill them for us."

The women-folk of that village then came together, and talked and decided: "Let us to-day boil and wash our clothes⁶, bathe and wash our hair⁷; then we shall this evening sanctify ourselves⁸, like the men do, and become priests⁹. This coming night we shall sleep on the floor, and to-morrow we shall ourselves take the cows¹⁰ over to that forest and fell them there."

"That is good," they all of them said, "let us then do so."

So they verily boiled and washed their clothes and sanctified themselves, sleeping on the floor. As soon as it became dawn, they made the things necessary for the sacrifice¹¹ ready and tied a cow up. Having taken the cow and everything to the forest, they weeded a small spot clean at the foot of a sal

but on a mat on the floor, and they must not go near to women. With some of the septs it is demanded of the sacrificer that he is not even to sit down on a stool until after he has performed the sacrifice; otherwise the whole will be vitiated. In some cases the wife of the priest has also to sleep on the floor, perhaps because she, in such cases, may have to come a little nearer to the performance than women are otherwise permitted to. Otherwise this *n̄ḡo dh̄oṛṇ̄* does not apply to the women of a household.

⁹ It is entirely against all Santal ideas that a woman should officiate as a priest, i. e., as a sacrificer. As already remarked, they are disqualified from participating in sacrificing. All religious ceremonies have to be performed for them through their nearest male relative.

¹⁰ The sacrificial animal should be an uncastrated male. It happens, however, now-a-days that female fowls, goats and sheep are used, but only when they are so young that sex has not commenced to manifest itself. A cow would be an impossibility for sacrificial purposes.

¹¹ I. e., an implement for beheading (ordinarily the old battle-axe, now-a-days used exclusively for this purpose, here an ordinary axe), some rice, *sindur* (the red lead used for applying religious marks), a little flour (not always) and a little cow-dung.

kefa arko sindur barawata. Ado uni gai dakko chitkavadete ona khõnd thenko samahkedeae; adoko meneta, De nabon bakhëra, de guruktaponpe, okoepe badae khan do.

Ado okoe hõ bako badaete sanam horko apaj kana. Ado okoe hõ bako reben kana.

Ado uni manjhi erage, kathae, bakkhëre shõpketa, Nõkõe kutam dangra boŋga, gãile kutamam kana; ma aleren herel jemnko ruar hijuk ma; raj aloe boŋgakotale ma, hec ruar godok mako.

Ado enka ropkatege manjhi erae menketa, De ho, cetkobo bakhëra? Ma ropkatege, jotkotebon bakhëra.

Adoko menketa, Baŋa, besgem bakhërkettabona. Ado cet babon bakhëra? Ma cabayena, adobon kutamea.

Ado kathae, sanam horko tehë mehë barae kana. Ado manjhi erae eger gotketkoa, Ma hako pako taŋga sapkate kutamepe.

Adoko menketa, Oka thenle kutamea? Ba ope badae kan.

¹² When a sacrifice is to be performed, they first make a so-called khõnd, a small magic circle. A small spot is cleaned, plastered with cow-dung and sometimes with flour. Here they put a handful of rice, and a small streak of sindur is put there. The animal to be sacrificed is then made to feed on the rice; whilst this goes on, the sacrificial invocation (called bakhëra) is offered, always a stereotype rigmarole, with now and then some words not understood by the present day Santals.

This khõnd is, when made at the foot of a tree, generally made at the foot of a sal (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.) tree, the only exception being that a matkõm (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.) tree is used when sacrificing to Gosãe era; when sacrificing kutam dangra, as here, no khõnd is made, but the bullock is made to feed on rice from a leaf-plate put before it. There is consequently a double mistake here.

¹³ See preceding note.

¹⁴ This is customary. Just previous to sacrificing, a handful of water is sprinkled on the animal.

¹⁵ See note 12. It should be remarked that the animal is made to face towards the East when feeding on the rice.

tree¹² and plastered it with cowdung. Having prepared the magic circle in this way, they put a handful of rice there and applied sindur¹³. Thereupon they sprinkled water on the cow¹⁴ and made her face the magic circle. "Now, girls," they said, "we shall offer an invocation¹⁵; do lead us, please, whoever of you knows how to do it."

But as no one knew how to do it, they all of them excused themselves and asked the other ones to act. No one was willing.

Then the wife of the headman of the village, it is told, commenced to offer an invocation¹⁶, as follows: "Look here, thou *bonga* of the felled bullock, we are felling a cow for thee; may our men come back; may the king not sacrifice them for us; may they come quickly back."

Having spoken in this way the wife¹⁷ of the village headman said: "Now then you, what are we to make invocation for? Do say something; we shall all of us make invocation."

"No," they said, "you offered a very good invocation for us. What need for any more invocation? That's finished; let us now fell the cow."

But all of them were hanging back. Then the wife of the village headman commenced to scold them: "Now be quick, please, take the axe and strike her."

"Where are we to strike her?" they asked. "Surely we don't know that."

¹⁶ The women knowing nothing of the regular invocations, against all practice give utterance to what at the moment is uppermost in their hearts. Ordinarily the smallest deviation from the stereotype form of the *bakhṣṛ* is supposed to give occasion for revenge from the side of the *boṅga* invoked. The idea of invoking a *boṅga* to get help is foreign to the Santals, the underlying idea always being to induce the *boṅgas* in question to abstain from hurting or harassing. This also holds good with regard to the Ancestors.

¹⁷ The wife of the village headman will naturally be expected to take the lead, if she is at all fit. The *maṅjhi* era has a reputation for wishing to rule the village.

Ado uniye menketa, Oka then jivi menaktaea, onde do bape kutamea?

Adoko menketa, Okor ente, oka then menaktaea?

Adoe metakoa, Jahā thenge laraokpe nela, onde bare kutamepe.

Ado khangе sariko bēngēt barawae kana, ado canḡbolge sari laraok kanko nelafa; adoko menketa, Onḡge jivi do menaktaea, ma kutam hōde ma.

Ado sari hoḡokreko tolkedete pe pon horteko sap akadea, ar mittan aimai doe kuktam kana. Ado ona pheḡ canḡbol thenak janregeye kutam goḡkedea bar dhaote. Ado uni gai do, kathae, hasokede khane ado goḡketa. Adoko menketa, Ma na, ma na, mayamteḡ atuk kana, ma baḡire atan hōdpe. Ado sariko atan-keta, kathae.

Arhoko kutamkede khan, uni gai do hasokede khan bogeteye donketa; adoe paskaoenteye darḡketa. Ado kaskom goḡa talateye darḡketa, ado bogeteko khudaḡkedea; ado kaskom oḡeḡ do bogeteye kolsa nur idiketa. Adoko menketa, Nōkōe na, itil do nonkate bogete joro idiyentaea."

Ado uni gai doe darḡketa, bako laga sap dareadea. Ado ona kaskomge itil menteko jomketa.

Ado cabayena katha do, in maraḡgea. Sedae jugren aimai do, kathae, oḡe onka lilhi se dundhiko tahḡkana.

¹⁸ The Santal idea of what the soul is, is difficult to determine. The soul, jivi, as it is called, is the principle of life or what is the condition of life in all beings that can move. A plant has life, but has not a soul. The body is the 'hut', as it is frequently called, of the soul. When the soul departs, death takes place. They may speculate on where the soul is, but do not, as is natural, come to any result, further than putting questions.

¹⁹ Movement in a body is a sign of life, and so they draw their own conclusions. It might be noted that, while they do not locate the soul, they make use of the expression jivi hōr, soul-way, for parts of the body from which the soul may

"Where the soul¹⁸ is," she answered, "wón't you strike her there?"

"Where is that then?"* they said; "in which place has she got her soul?"

"In any place where you see anything moving¹⁹," she replied, "strike her there."

So they looked at the cow, it may be, and in very truth they saw the tail moving; then they said: "There she has got her soul; do be quick and strike her."

Then, to tell the truth, they tied the cow²⁰ by her neck, and three or four of them caught hold of her, whilst one woman was giving her blow after blow with the head of an axe. She twice hit her on the bone close to the tail, and when the cow felt the pain of this, she urinated. "Look girls," they cried, "look girls, the blood is flowing; be quick, receive it in a cup." And so they did, it is told.

As they again hit the cow with the axe-head and she felt the pain of it, she jumped and kicked; then she got loose and ran away. She ran off through a cotton field, and they gave chase all they could. Running along the cow kicked down a good deal of burst cotton pods. "Look here, girls," they said, "all along here her fat has fallen down."

The cow ran away; they were not able to catch hold of her. So they ate that cotton, thinking it was fat.

There the story is ended; it is thus much. In olden times, people tell, the women were silly or witless in this way.

depart, especially where a hurt may cause instantaneous death. The genitals are also included in this.

²⁰ An animal to be sacrificed is led along by a rope or the like to the place of sacrifice; but there it is unchained.

17. Maejiuko reak katha.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, miffen atore' do ekhen akoge bhajadi hoponko tahēkana; mit' orak gan ho etak hor do banukkoa. Khange onko bhajadi doko menketa, E ya, qher din khon babon kutam dangra akana; ma nes dōbon kutam dangraka, hapram-kobon kutamakoa.

Ado adom horko menketa, Onabon kaj khan do, ma endekhan nia batarre, ar bankhan do adi dinte calaka.

Khange sari adoko nenda gotketa, Ma handiko doho bara ocoko ma, nin din in dinre dōbon kaj goda. Ado, kathae, orake do onkako lai sade baraketa. Ar ako herel hopon do banij beparko calak kana; ado onko maejiuko doko meneta, Noa kami mape batlao otokak kan, ar ape mape calak kan; ado okoe nahak noa do cekaea ar okoe ba get kutiale?

- ¹ This story is a variant of the preceding one. It omits something found in the first tale and has something not found there. Both stories are written by the same man, Sagram Murmu, the first about 1896, the second some twelve years later.
- ² See p. 228, note 2. Formerly it was fairly common that the inhabitants of a village belonged to the same stock, were descendants from a known, not remote ancestor. Even now there are villages where the majority of the people are related in this way. It might be mentioned in this connexion that the inhabitants of the same village will always, if they are not related, make up an artificial relationship. The reason given for this is that related people do not need to restrain themselves so much in their daily intercourse; they feel an absolute need, they say, of having such an arrangement and to feel themselves as belonging to one family. Another reason is that related people will naturally make use of the terms of relationship when calling to or addressing each other. To use names in addressing is not considered good and is avoided as much as possible. We possibly find something of a similar nature among ourselves, when children are taught to address family friends as uncles or aunts, etc.
- ³ See p. 228, note 2.
- ⁴ See p. 229, note 3. Beer brewing is ordinarily the work of women.
- ⁵ This is the regular way of letting the women know of anything of a public nature. The head of the family tells it so that all may hear. The Santali expression lai sade, lit. 'telling make a sound', speaks for itself.

17. THE STORY OF SOME WOMEN¹.

In the old days, people tell, in a certain village there once upon a time only lived people of the same stock, sons of brothers²; there was not even one family of others. One day these brothers and cousins said among themselves: "Look here, you, it is a very long time that we have not felled an ox in honour of our Ancestors³. Let us have the feast now this year; let us make a sacrifice to our Ancestors."

"If we are to have that," some of them said, "let us have it now at this time; otherwise it may be postponed for any length of time."

So they, truth to tell, at once fixed a day: "Well, get them to start brewing beer⁴; on such and such a day we shall have the thing done." Hereupon they mentioned the matter in their respective families⁵. The men were going away to trade⁶, and the women were saying: "Now you are giving instructions concerning this work, and you are going away; then who will presently do this, and who will cut the flesh into pieces for us⁷?"

⁶ It is not common for Santals to trade. No Santal keeps a shop; they may take anything they want to sell to a market-place and dispose of it there, otherwise there is little trading. The writer has heard of Santals who have gone away to sell cattle, or who have bought up clothes and the like at home and have gone away for shorter or longer periods to sell the goods. One man known to the writer was in the habit of going with cloth from his village in the Santal Parganas and up to the Assam districts to sell it to other Santals in tea-gardens. A variant states that the men went off to sell charcoal. In former days, when they were living in the forests, they cut down trees, prepared charcoal and went and sold this to the Hindus.

⁷ The remark is intended to show the women up. Their thoughts are only for the material side of the whole. Incidentally it may be noted that, when Santals prepare flesh of any kind for eating, the whole is, before being cooked, cut into small pieces. They have only their fingers to eat with, so all the pieces must be so small that there will be no need of cutting at the time of eating.

Adoko menketa, Ma se ape do tear hatarpe, niã inã dinre dole ruar hijukgea, ar niã dinre dobon kajgea.

Ado onkako nenɖawafko khanko thirena. Ar ako herel hopon doko calaengea, ar noko maejiuko do hanɖikoko doho tearketa. Ado ona nenɖa din tiokenre ho herel hoponko do bako seterok kan. Ado onko aimai doko meneta, Okor nako hijuk kana, na, noko herel do? Noko gapa dinge kaj reakko nenɖa oɖatbona, ado okorko seterlena?

Ado inã barsih dinko nel herketkoa; ado bako seterlen khanko menketa, Noko herel do, na, ohoko heclena; ma gapa dobon teke sobodokte ar geɖ gurijokte abogebo pujharoktebo kutamkoa.

Adoko mepen kana, Henda na, okoko boŋga nutumtebon kutamkoa?

Ado uni maran horren orak horko mukhiakede, en kathae, De dai, amge mukhiaktabonme; am do boŋga hom badaea ar okoko dar, ona ho janiɖ am dom badaegea, arem nel cef agu akatgea.

Ado uniye menketa, He, daroko doe lai cef oɖoadinge, banma, orak orak mimit goɖanbon odokkoa; ar boŋga do neko geɖ horkoge tinak haram buɖhiko geɖ akan, enkokogebon bakhɛrakoa.

⁸ See p. 230, note 6.

⁹ The smearing with cow-dung makes the place 'clean'; it is especially done before a sacrifice is to be performed. The floor and part of the court-yard is treated in this way.

¹⁰ See p. 231, note 9.

¹¹ Women will know the names of the common, national godlings, or the names used for these in common parlance; but they are not supposed to know any form of worship. In some cases the names of the boŋgas are kept secret with great care, to prevent the women from knowing them. The supposition that any woman should know anything is likely meant to show how utterly foolish they can be.

¹² The wife of the senior brother cannot resist this appeal. She has heard something, and she draws her own conclusions. 'One bullock for every house' is an idea that will appeal to the Santal sense of humour; it would mean a great feed and capacity for such.

"Do, please," they said, "you make everything ready; after so and so many days we shall return, and on that day we shall do the thing."

As they appointed a day for them in this way, the women did not say anything more. So the men went away, and the women commenced brewing beer. But the appointed day came; still the men did not arrive. The women then said among themselves: "How is it, girls, that they do not come, these men? See now, it was for to-morrow that they appointed the day for this matter for us when they went away; how is it that they have not come?"

They then waited for them for two days; still they did not come, so they said: "These men will never come, girls; let us therefore boil and wash our clothes⁸ and clean everything with cow-dung, ready for the sacrifice⁹; then let us ourselves become priests and perform the sacrifice¹⁰."

"Look here, girls," they said to each other, "in the name of which *boŋgas*¹¹ are we going to sacrifice the animals?"

They thereupon constituted the wife of the eldest brother their leader, saying: "Please, elder sister, you please be our leader; you know the *boŋgas* also; and what animals are to be sacrificed, that you also likely know; you have seen and learnt from time to time."

"Well, yes," she replied, "the animals to be sacrificed he has told me before he went away, namely, that we are to take out one for every house¹², and the *boŋgas*, they are these dead people¹³, as many men and women as are dead, to them we are to offer our invocation."

¹³ The dead ones are looked upon as having become *boŋgas*. It is not only the dead males but also the dead women to whom sacrifices are made. Otherwise those in the other world are thought to live in somewhat the same way as they do here; after death, at certain ceremonies, the first human pair are invoked to take care of the departed one.

Ado sanam hōrko mēnketa, De dai, eṇḍekhan amge purkhaḱtabonme.

Adoe mēnketa, Acha, ma eṇḍekhan iṅgeṅ purkhaḱtabona; aika kuṭam dō apege kuṭamkotabonpe.

Adoko mēnketa, Acha, ina dō jōṭokotele kamia.

Ado kathae, onka sanam hōr rōr ṭhikkateko teke sōḃōtena, ar gēc guricēnte hōlōṅkoko hūrūnketa; adō kuṭamko ṭhen gāiko laga idiketkoa. Adoko guricē ṭaṇḍiketke hōlōṅteye khōṅḱketa, caolekoe curucḱeta; adō gāiko aḡu sorkedete dakko chitḱkauadea. Adō khōṅḱ ṭhen samaṅkedeteko aṭiṅkedea arko bakhōrḱeta.

Ado uni purkha erae mēnketa, De, adō nui gāi kuṭameta-bonpe.

Ado jōṭogeko apaj kana; nui hōe mēneta, De na, amge kuṭamem, ar huni hōe mēneta, De na, amge kuṭamem. Ado onkako apaj kana. Ado miṭ hōre jhūk 'gotenteye mēnketa, Deṅ tho, ṭaṅga emāṅpe, kukṭamko apaj baṛae kana! Deṅ emāṅpe.

Ado ṭaṅgae sapḱeta are metako kana, Ma ape dō sapaṅpe.

Ado hōṭōkre baber akawadeteko sap akadea. Adoe metako kana, Ma laiaṅpe oka ṭhen in kuṭamea

Adoko mēn gōḱketa, Oka ṭheniṅ kuṭamea? Jivi hōrre dō bam kuṭamea?

Ado, kathae, phēḱ caṇḃōlreya kuṭam gōḱkedea. Adoe khēṅṭe pēre gōṭen khan dō, kathae, ḱēkēreya kuṭam gōḱkedea. Ado kathae, andhe pāṭhauriye kuṭamedea, ghaṅḱ ḱēkēre, ghaṅḱ caṇḃōlre. Khange uni gāi dōe aḱo gōṭ keta. Adoko mēn gōḱketa,

¹⁴ She draws the line here; it is otherwise the work of the sacrificer to kill the animal.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 238, note 9 and the notes to the preceding tale.

¹⁶ It does not seem that they have more than one cow. The plural is in Santali often used for expressing something indefinite, some one or other, about one only.

¹⁷ Note the different pronouns.

¹⁸ See p. 235, note 20.

"Do, elder sister," they all of them said, "you then please be our leader."

"All right,," she replied, "then I shall be our leader; but mind you, the felling¹⁴ -- you must do that for us."

"Very well," they said, "so far as that is concerned, we shall, all of us, see to that being done."

Thereupon they all talked together and came to a decision, boiled and washed their clothes, and cleaned the ground with cow-dung and prepared flour¹⁵; when this was done they took a cow¹⁶ to the place where they were going to sacrifice her. There they cleaned a place and plastered it with cow-dung, and she¹⁷ made a magic circle with rice-flour and put a handful of rice there. Thereupon they brought the cow near and sprinkled water on her; then they made her face the magic circle and offered the invocation.

"Now then," the leading wife said, "fell the cow for us."

But all of them were telling somebody else than themselves to do it. This one said: "Do, my girl, you fell her," and that one said: "Do, my girl, you fell her." In this way they were hanging back and trying to make somebody else than themselves do it. At last one of them plucked up courage and said: "Come then, give me the axe; they are all of them backing out of the felling; here, give it to me."

So she caught hold of the axe and was saying to the others: "You please, hold her for me."

Now they had put a rope round the cow's neck¹⁸ and were holding her. She then says to them: "Please tell me, where am I going to strike her?"

"Where am I to strike her?" they replied; "are you not to strike her where the soul's way is?"¹⁹

Then, people tell, she gave her a blow at the foot of the tail, and when the cow was jumping and struggling to get free, she hit her a blow on the hind-quarters; and then she hit her wherever she could, over and over again, now on the hind-quarters, now on the tail. The cow then urinated, and they called out:

Də na, də na, baṭiko aḡuipe na, māyāmbon ataṇa, māyām jorə giḡik kana.

Adə kathae, baṭikore celaṅkoreko ataṅketa; adə ona māyāmkə ataṅketre hō bae gujuk kan. Khange arhōe kuṭam dohrakadea. Khange arhōe adə goṭket khanko meṅ goṭketa, Ma na, ma na, māyāmtəṭ jorə giḡik kana. Khan də inə hōko ataṅketa, adə enre hō bae gujuk kan.

Khanko metae kana, Okor nam gōc dərae kana?

Adəe meṅketa, In dən kuṭam laṅgayena, adə də ape ku-ṭamletabonpe.

Khange sari onko hōko kuṭam laṅgayena, en hō bae gujuk kan. Khanko aṛak daporkadea. Khange uni gai dōe dərketə, adə bogeteko landaketa, adə māyāk mōyōkko ruṛ barayena. Adə en hilok khon hoṭ husitko baḡi utarketa. Ar boṅga hō bako khusilena, arko meṅketa, aimaṭi tite də baṅteṭgebon ataṇa. Un khon, kathae, aimaṭi də dārē bako samaṅetkəoa.

Adə, kathae, inə dosar tesar heṛel hopon doko seṭerena; adə onko aimaṭiko cepetena, meṭenenako, Okqe hō apnar heṛel then noa katha də babon laia.

Adə, kathae, apan apin oṛakreko kuliyetkəoa, Haṅdiko dōpe dōḡo akafa se baṇa?

Adoko meṅeta, Dōḡo akatgeale; heḡe bape heḡ hodok kan, ṅel hortele bhagaoena. Nōkōe neṅḡa din hō paromena.

Adə jōtogeke meṅketa, Ma gapa də teke sobotkalepe, arbon um narḡana, meaṅ dōbon boṅgana.

Adə onakoko kamikette dosar hilokko kuṭam daṅgrayena. Adə unreko ṅelketkəoa, baṅma, totkareko kuṭamkəoa. Khange onko

¹⁹ See p. 234, note 19. It may here be something else than the moving tail which is in the narrator's mind. A variant states that they took a bullock and tried to kill it by hammering where the 'soul moved', viz. the tail.

²⁰ The Santals have a strong sense of humour and are quite capable of enjoying a joke against themselves, women just as much as men.

"Do, girls, do, girls, bring a cup, girls; let us catch the blood; the blood is running out and away!"

So they received it in cups and in pots; but even though they did so with this blood, the cow was not dying. She then hit her again. As the cow again urinated, they called out: "Look, girls, look, girls, the blood is flowing out and away!" So they received this also in cups; but still the cow did not die.

They then said to the woman using the axe: "How is it you are not able to kill her?"

"I have been battering so that I am tired," she replied; "so now you have a try, do, and fell her."

Then these also hit and hit, until they became tired; still the cow was not dying. So they let the cow loose in disgust, and she ran off, whilst they had a good laugh²⁰. But thereafter they dolefully went back. From that day the women left this kind off utterly. The *bohgas*, also, were not pleased, and said: "At the hands of women we are utterly unwilling to receive anything." From that time, people tell, women do not offer sacrifices²¹.

Well, two or three days afterwards the men returned home. The women then took counsel together and said to each other: "None of us must tell our men about this matter."

The men asked them in their respective houses: "Have you brewed beer or how?"

The women replied: "We have brewed; but you did not put in an appearance; we lost all patience in waiting. Now see, the day fixed has also passed."

Then they all said: "Please then, boil and wash our clothes to-morrow; then we shall all of us bathe and wash, and the day after to-morrow we shall have the sacrifice."

They consequently did so, and the day after they sacrificed a bullock to the Ancestors. At that time the women saw how they

²¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that this is 'willkürlich eingetragen', to use a common expression in German commentaries.

aimai do muluc mulucoko landajon kana. Khande herel hopon doko meneta, Cetpe landayet kana? .

Ado un jokhen doko mena, Cet ho bale landayeta. Khande ayup jokhen do handiko nu nu kana, un jokhen arhoko landa gotketa. Ado khub lekako kuliketkoa; ado unreko laiketa, banma, Ape nel hortele, mokonente alegele kutametko tahakana; ado bhala dekerele kuktam kana, ado cak bhalam gojea? Ado onale landayet kana. Ado kathae, sanam horge bogeteko landaketa.

Ado ene cabayena, endege mucatena.

18. Aimai then alo lai rean.

Sedae pariã jokhecrege, kathae, mit hore tahakana; ado cet dorbar ce calak kan tahakana; ado barge simã senteye calak kana, ado bargere acen kamri kuri do ona takre guric do giã gotkata. Ado ona guric do pasirente uni horak denggan kicire laãkaena, Ado uni hore nelket khane menketa, Durre! noa do ban jut nglok kana, noa do ban idia; hor nahakko landawana; okpe tora ruarkate noa don dghokaka, etagaktegen dengga calaka."

Ado onka menkateye ruarena, ado etak kicireteye dengayena. Ar one guriden kicic do mittan celanreya bhoraoketa; ado

²² This would presuppose that the women were permitted to be present. This belongs to the story; it is against the common rule. See p. 231, note 9.

²³ When an animal is sacrificed in this way, it is hit at the back of the head, just where neck and head join.

¹⁸¹ The idea underlying this story is that women are incapable of keeping a secret. That is an axiom with a great many Santals.

² Meant is a village council called together to adjudicate some matter. The word used in Santali (dorbar) presupposes something grander than the ordinary village councils; hence the man feels the necessity of changing his soiled clothes.

³ The barge, home-field, is the plot of land on which a Santal builds his houses. The houses generally lie at the end of the field running up to the village street. It is used for Indian corn and cold weather crops. It is the only farm-land which the Santals ordinarily manure.

did it²², that they struck the animal on the neck²³; and they were smiling and tittering among themselves. So the men asked them: "What are you laughing at?"

Just then they were replying: "We are not laughing at anything." But when they were drinking beer in the evening, the women again burst out laughing. So they asked them persistingly, and then they told them: "We got tired of waiting for you, and so we ourselves tried to sacrifice the animal. "Why, we gave blow after blow on the hind-quarters; in such a way, why, how should you kill it? That is what we are laughing at." And then all of them had a good laugh.

Now this is finished, there is the end.

18. NOTHING MUST BE TOLD TO WOMEN¹.

At a certain time long ago, people tell, there lived a man. One day he was going to some meeting or other²; whilst he was walking along towards the boundary of his home-field³, it so happened that a servant girl of his just at that moment threw some cow-dung out on that field. Some of the cow-dung was spattered about and stuck to the loin-cloth of the man. When he saw this, he said: "Fie, fie! this does not look nice; I can't go with this, presently people will laugh at me. Let me go back at once and take this off and leave it and take some other loin-cloth on to go in."

With this intention he returned and changed his loin-cloth. The cloth that had been bespattered with cow-dung he put into a pot⁴, and having covered the mouth with a leaf-plate, he hung

⁴ The Santali *colan*, here translated 'pot', is an earthen-ware vessel of a peculiar shape, round with a very wide mouth. It is never very large, and is used by the Santals especially for cooking their *utu*, i. e., curry, but also for other purposes.

patrateye beſkette 'ona aſin haram buđhikin gitić mohđdare cötreje akakata; adö ać dö đorbare calaoena.

Adö inä dosar tesar hilok khange uñi horren orak hortet döe kuliyeđe kana, Henda, bhala ona celañre dö cetem aka akata?

Adöe metaea, Cet hō bañ kana, ar am laiamre hō cet bañ hoyok?

Adö kathae, en hilok dö bae laiađa. Adö arhō inä dosar tesar hilok khange gitić akan jekhēn uni aimai döe ñel ñamkefa; adö arhōe kuliyeđe kana, Ona dö bhala cet bam akaket? Mase laiañme.

Adö uni hore menkefa, Bañ, qhoñ lailema. Aimai dö laiape khan dope lai baraea, laćre dö bape sea dareaka; qhoge am đon lailema.

Adöe menkefa, Qhoñ lai baraea, mage laiañme. In ñenge ñte bam lai khan dö okoe ñenem laia? Ma laime, in dö okoe ñen hō qhoñ lai baraea.

Adöe metadea, Mēn enđekhan in laiam kana, aika okoe ñen hō alom laia.

Adöe menkefa, Cedak in laia? Laile khan apnar bhōromge bañ bhañgaoa? Apnar apnar reak katha dö cedak in laia? Qhoñ lailea.

Adöe metadea, Ia, ona celañre dö —, miť hor in mak akadea, adö nišan aloko ñama mente uni hor reak bōhok agukate ona celañre đon bhōrao akata.

Adö uni aimaiye menkefa, Sarigem bhōrao akata sem ęęyediñ kana?

Adöe metadea, Sarige; mēn noa katha dö jivi calakre hō alom laia. Arem laiketa menkhan, aika amgelañ goćmea. Adö enka roř barakategekin thir barayena.

⁵ A literal translation of the Santali expression, which is very commonly used, the meaning being that any information received must not be divulged to others; everything must be forgotten. About equivalent to: silent like the grave.

⁶ The woman is not startled at this horrible 'confession'; she seems only to be concerned with the question whether it is true or not.

⁷ A common Santal expression.

the pot high up somewhere near the place where he and his wife were in the habit of sleeping. Thereupon he went to the meeting.

A couple of days afterwards his wife was asking him: "I say, what is it you have hung up in that pot?"

"It is nothing," he said to her; "and even if you were told, what use would it be?"

That day he did not tell her. A couple of days afterwards it so happened, whilst she was lying down, that she caught sight of the pot and plied her husband with questions: "What in the world is it you have hung up there? Do tell me, please."

"No," the man said, "I shall certainly not tell you. If you women-folk are told anything, you tell it to others; you don't let a matter rot in your stomach⁵. I shall certainly never tell you."

"I shall surely not tell it to anybody," the woman replied. "Do, tell me, please! You see, if you don't tell me, then whom should you tell? Do tell, I shall never tell it to anybody."

"Take care then," the man said; "I am telling you; be sure you must not tell anybody."

"Why should I tell?" she replied; "if I told, should I not put myself to shame? Anything concerning ourselves, why should I tell that? Be sure, I shall never tell."

"The matter is this," he said; "in that pot, — I have killed a man, and to prevent them from getting any proof, I have brought the head of the man and put it into that pot."

"Have you really put that into the pot?" the woman asked, "or are you only fooling me⁶?"

"Really and truly," the man replied; "beware, even if your soul should depart⁷, you must not tell. And if you tell, be sure, we two⁸ shall kill you." After they had talked together in this way, they became quiet.

⁵ The inclusive dual (alañ), you and I, is very frequently used for the first person singular in threatening language. It is to be a matter between the speaker and the person addressed, which the speaker will see through to the finish.

Ado tin din badre coñ, kathae, miñ din do akin akingekin kaphariante bogetekin dapalena. Khange uni aimai doe menketa, Adim daleñ kana. Am do horeñ goe akadea, onalañ lai naporkama.

Ado khange sariye laiketa. Ado ondenic manjhi ato hore jarwakekote uni horko tolkedeo ar thanareko ijharketa. Ado thana khon pulis doroga hekkate ona celañ rara agukateko nelket do, kicrie kan. Ado ondenic manjhiko ruhetkedeo arko dandomkedeo, adoko ruañ calaena.

Ado unre uni hore menketa, E yoi, metape kanañ, teheñ khon jahan ontor katha aimai then do tis ho alope lai baraca se alope laiakoa, bankhan do jaha hilok daoko namle khan, ona kathako utlaue cahie. Ona iate sontorkate aimai tuluc do galmaraope, bankhan miñ din kalre do aimage aperen badiko hoyoka.

Ado un khon noa katha dole cet akatte goja tandi pasnao akana; ar noa katha do sari kangea; jahan oko katha judi aimai thenem laiketa menkhan, ona do sodorokge cahie.

Ado ene niñ katha do cabayena, in marangea.

⁹ What is here described is a trait of fairly recent origin. It does not necessarily mean that the whole story is of recent date, only that this feature has been painted in recently. If a serious crime has been committed and they think they have founded suspicion against a person, they will act as here told. Note that the headman takes the lead, but acts in conjunction with the village people.

¹⁰ The regulated districts and also the so-called non-regulation districts (the latter not to such an extent as the former ones) have police stations spread over the country, with resident subordinate police officers, who are supposed to be guardians of law within their sphere. Such a police station is called thana, a word in common use in the British administration, originally Skr. sthāna, and at first, it seems, used about fortified posts with a garrison. Being a convenient word

Then some time afterwards husband and wife one day had a quarrel and walloped each other in grand style. Then the woman said: "You are thrashing me. You have killed a man; we two⁸ shall give information about you and have done with you."

And this she really did; she gave information. The village headman there then called the village people together, and they bound the man⁹, took him to the police station¹⁰ and made a statement. Thereupon police officers came from the thana; they took that pot down and brought it out and had a look inside, — it is clothes. So they gave the headman of that village a good scolding and fined¹¹ him, whereupon they went away.

Then this man spoke: "Look here, you, I tell you, any secret or matter of importance¹² — from to-day never tell such to the women-folk, or so that they can hear; otherwise, some day or other, when they get an opportunity, they must necessarily divulge that matter. Therefore, be careful what you talk with women; otherwise, women will at some time or other in days to come become your accusers."

From that time we have learnt this story, and it has been spread abroad everywhere; and it is a true thing; if you tell any secret to a woman, it is sure to be made public.

There this story is ended; it is this much.

it was adopted by the Portuguese, and has from them been taken over by the present rulers, only, however, about the civil police.

¹¹ Quite a common thing, if one is to believe what is told. The police have naturally no right to such fining.

¹² The Santali word, *ontor katha*, literally means 'inner word'; *ontor* has been adopted from Bengali and means in Santali 'mind', 'heart', 'the inner man', if one likes. It is used in a double sense as here translated.

19. Mahra reak katha.

Sedae jokhen mitṭaṅ kisāre tahēkana, ar uniren dō aḍi utar gaiko tahēkantaēa. Adō onko gāi gupiko laḡit mitṭaṅ mahraḡo dōhōkēdea. Adō uni mahraḡe onko gāi dōe gupi kan tahēkana; adō urni birkoreye gupi kan tahēkana.

Adō kathae, gupi gupite miṭ din dō mitṭaṅ gāi tinre cōṅ ona urni birreḡeye busāk at ocokede, bae disāledea. Adō ayuṅ ber oraḡteye laga aḡuyetkōa, un jokhene lekha barayetkō dō, mitṭaṅ gāi dō baṅugi. Adō tayom sene beṅgeṭ ruarkeṭ khane ḡelkede dō, gāi eskarḡeye ṅir hijuk kan, miḡū dō bae aḡu daraledē. Khange mōṅreḡeye ḡeḡtata, are menketa, Kisār nāhāk cet cōe metaṅ.

Adō oraḡteye laga idiketkō khan, uni gupiyi. dō bae laiyeta, busāk at ocokēdeaṅ mēnte. Khange uni gāi dō, kathae, bebaṅi. cē bhokraoeta. Khange kisār dō mahrae kulikēdea, Henda ya, oḡcōetāk gāi bejāeye bhokraoet dō? Cedake bhokraoeta? Miḡū dō menaea sē baṅ?

Adō uni mahrae menketa, Nuiren miḡū dō okare cōṅ busāk at ocokēdea; baṅ disāledea; onate uni gāi dōe bhokraoet kana.

¹ The moral of this story is very much the same as that of the preceding one: it is impossible to trust the discretion of women. This story may have been originally taken over from Hindu narrators.

² Mahra is the name used by the Santals for a Hindu cowherd caste, generally known as goala. The word is of Skr.-Hindi origin, but is in Hindi mostly used about 'a man who appears in the habit of a woman', or 'an effeminate person', also about some palanquin bearers. Although the dictionaries do not mention the use of the word about goalas, Sir H. Risley is undoubtedly correctly informed when he mentions (in his Tribes and Castes of Bengal) that mahra is used as 'a title of Chamārs and men employed to herd cattle'. The Santal use of the word is a proof of this, as they have not invented the word. It may be noted that well-to-do people, also Santals, may make use of the mahra to herd cattle, sometimes only to milk their cows. They are also often called in for advice and assistance in the case of cattle disease.

19. THE STORY OF A MAHRA MAN¹.

ONCE upon a time long ago there lived a rich man, who had a great many cows. To herd these cows, he engaged a mahra², a man of the cowherd caste. So this mahra was herding the cows mentioned, and he was grazing them in the primeval³ forest.

Whilst he was occupied herding, people tell, it one day happened that he, some time during the day, lost sight of a cow while she was giving birth to a calf; he was not aware of it and did not remember her. Then, when he, at evening time, was driving the cows home, he was counting them, and lo, one cow is missing. When he looked towards the rear, he caught sight of the cow, she was coming running alone; she was not bringing her calf along. This gave him a fright in his mind, and he said to himself: "What will my master now say to me?"

Therefore, when he had driven the cows home, the cowherd did not tell that he had lost sight of a cow giving birth to a calf. The cow was lowing incessantly; the master, therefore, asked the mahra: "Look here, which cow is it that is lowing so incessantly? Why is she lowing? Has she got her calf with her or not⁴?"

The mahra then answered: "This cow's calf I have allowed to be lost, after she had given birth to it; I was not aware of it; that is why this cow is lowing."

³ The description of the forest would point to the scene of the story being far away from the habitations of the ordinary villagers.

⁴ What is here told of the behaviour of the cow is, excepting one detail, what may be seen every day in the Santal country. The cow is very anxious for the calf, and runs to it when she can. When a cow is being milked, the calf must always stand in front of the cow, which otherwise refuses to give any milk! With such anxiousness in the cow, it seems unlikely that she would leave her calf in the forest. As a matter of fact, they do not.

Khange uni kisār' doe edreyente uni mahra dō bogeteye ruhetkede hirkhage. Khange onkae ruhetkede khan, uni mahra dō acáak theŋga ar siliye sapketa, ar ona n'ndage uni mihū nañame calaena. Adō biro bolōyen khange thōe eskarok kana; are meneta, Nit ninda dō cekateñ ñamea? Nel hō qhōñ ñel ñam darelea, ar uni mihū dō qhōe bhokrao sađelea. Nahakgeñ haronoka, mihū dō qhōñ ñam darelea.

Adō onka hudis barakateye menketa, Noa ninda dō neteregeñ tahē aŋgalenge, gapa dōñ ñam barayea. Adō goṭe sahane ñamketa, ar ona khon seŋgele gharra totketteye jolketa. Adōe jorok akana are bhabnajoñ kana. Arhōe hudisketa, Durre! in eskarge noa bir bhitrre menaña; seŋgel dō bañ jola, bañkhan nāhāk jāhānkoko ñameña.

Adō onka hudiskate, kathae, ona theŋgate seŋgel doe sobok irickette ac doe menketa, Nonḍe dō bañ tahena. Onka menkate ac dō dareteye deçena onḍe gitié laḡit; ar theŋga ar sili dō onḍe otregeye baḡiata.

Adō kathae, inā mit gharī khange kul dō manwa basteye heḡ gofenteye durup gōtena, adō uni mahrae jome laḡit. Adō unre theŋga ar silikin galmarajoñ kana; menetakin, De bhala, nit dō alañren kisārren bañri doe heçena. De unilañ bañcaoea.

Unre theŋga doe menketa, Hē ma hege, menkhan inḡe tho meṭe kārakettiñ; cekate in dōñ laḡhai dareaka? In dō asol darege rapufentiña. Ma amge bañcaoletalañme.

5 The hair-string (still) is made of the tail-hairs of a cow generally; it is four to five feet long or even more, and of thickness like a thin cord. It is kept round the neck, but is not of a distinctive nature that might be compared with the brahminical poeta. Fakirs are in the habit of using it. It is supposed to be effective in driving evil spirits away. Very seldom seen with the Santals.

6 The *Croton oblongifolius*, Roxb., fairly common in the Santal forests. The wood is soft and dry, and is used for the purpose here described.

7 When out in the forests and without other means of lighting a fire the Santals may do so by taking a flat piece of wood like the one here mentioned, and another one like a thin stick, some 30 cm. long. The stick is given a blunt point at one end. Kept between the hands, the point is pressed down on the flat piece,

The owner then became angry and scolded the mahra badly and reviled him in a disgusting way. As he railed him in this manner, the mahra took his stick and his string of hair⁵ and went that very night to search for the calf. But when he came into the forest, he was naturally feeling lonely and said: "How shall I find it now at night? I shall not even be able to catch sight of it, and the calf will certainly not low loudly enough to be heard. I am quite uselessly giving myself trouble; I shall certainly not be able to find the calf."

Having reflected in this way he said: "To-night I shall remain somewhere here until dawn; then I shall search for the calf to-morrow." So he found some croton⁶ firewood, and having drilled fire⁷ out of this he lighted a fire. And there he was sitting and warming himself and thinking sorrowful thoughts. Then again he thought by himself: "Oh dear me, here I am alone in the middle of this forest; I must not light a fire; otherwise somebody or other⁸ will find me presently."

Reflecting in this way, he poked the fire with his stick and extinguished it; then he said to himself: "I shall not stay here." Having said this, he climbed a tree to pass the night there; but his stick and his hair-string he left on the ground.

In a short while, people tell, a tiger came, smelling man, and sat down there; he intended to eat the mahra. At that time the stick and the hair-string were talking together, saying: "See there, now our master's enemy has come. Look, we two must save him."

The stick then said: "Yes, that is quite so; but, you see, he has blinded my eyes⁹; how shall I then be able to fight? As for me, my real strength has been broken. You, please, do save him for us."

whilst the stick is being turned round by the flat hands being moved backwards and forwards against each other. With the proper kind of wood it does not take a man with experience any long time to produce fire. Now-a-days this method is very seldom resorted to; but the writer has seen it done.

⁸ Meant are wild animals of sorts, and also spirits.

⁹ By using it to put out the fire.

Ado siliye menketa, Acha, endekhan in larhai gelaka.

Ado kathae, unre ona sili do hurla ecurok kana, ac kathae, okge ghiriayet lekage; ar kathae, bhan bhan sade kana. Ar uni kul do, kathae, ona anjomteye bharoyena are meneta, Ayo! hortet ma bae helok kan, ado cet then onka do sade kana, se celeye bheonayedih kana?

Ado kathae, onka sade kante uni kul bae sor dareafa. Ado enge durupkategeye angaket khane calao daporena. Ado ona sili ho thirena.

Ado setak khange, kathae, uni gai do bhokraoateye hir calak kana. Khange uni mahra do hako pako dare khone argoyente ona thenga ar siliye sapkette uni gai tayom tayomteye calaona.

Ado uni gai acren mihui kuliye kana, metae kanae, Am do, bacha, tehen hinda do adi harkhettem angayena; tinak con janié rabañkemea.

Ado unre uni mihui ror ruaradea, Baña, ayo, in do ban harkhetlena. Noa ponea jangañ lebet akan, noa do pon ghara taka cetanren lebet akana; ar noa taka cetanregeñ burumlente jatar khon lologe rakapadiñte ban harkhetlena. Adokin thir barayena.

Ar uni mahra do noako joto kathae anjomketa. Ar uni gaiye calaon khan, uni mahra doe menketa, Sari se nase kana, bhalañ laea.

¹⁰ In Santali lit: 'the man is not to be seen', i. e. he who produces the sound.

¹¹ The Santali word has reference to happenings like what is here told: fright caused by something not understood and supposed to be supernatural.

¹² Animals are commonly supposed to be able to make themselves understood to each other. How the mahra understands their talk is not explained.

¹³ A very common term of endearment used, perhaps, especially by women to their sons or to young boys. Lit. 'calf'.

¹⁴ The ghara here mentioned is found among the Santals, but only with more well-to-do people. It is very common in Hindu households. It is of brass, round with a narrow neck and a fairly broad brim. It is used especially to fetch water. It has a capacity of several litres. As is well known, it is common with Indians

"All right," the hair-string answered, "then I shall try to fight."

Then, people tell, the hair-string commenced to swing round and round, just as if somebody were whirling it round, and it was making a high buzzing sound. When the tiger heard this, he became astonished and said: "Oh mother! no man¹⁰ is seen; where then is such a sound produced? or is some one trying to frighten me¹¹?"

Now as it was sounding in that way, the tiger was not able to go near, and when he had been sitting there until dawn of day, he went away disappointed. Then the hair-string also stopped whirling.

As soon as it was morning, the cow came running along lowing. The mahra then quickly climbed down from the tree, and, picking up his stick and hair-string, he followed after the cow.

The cow asked her calf¹², saying: "You, my darling¹³, you have spent this whole night until dawn in great misery; who knows how much you have suffered from cold!"

"Not at all, mother," the calf answered, "I did not suffer any hardship. I was standing on these four legs, and with these four I was treading on four brass-pots¹⁴ full of money; and when I lay down on the top of this money, warmth came up from below, and I did not suffer any hardship." Thereupon they ceased talking.

Now the mahra heard all this, and when the cow had gone away, he said: "I wonder, whether this is true or not; well, let me dig."

to hoard their money; they bury it in the ground or where they think it safe, with the result that the whole is lying there unused, and it very frequently happens that the owner dies without having told any one of his hiding-place. So the money is lost, until somebody some day happens to find the treasure. When hiding away in this manner, the money is generally put into some metal vessel, sometimes, if not a large amount, in a foṭa otherwise in a ghara like here.

Ado kathae, one mihūi burum angalen then uni dōe lakef khañ, sari ponea ghara reak kankhageye la namketa. Khane menketa, Baña, sarige uni mihū dō thikgeye menleta. Ado uni mahrae menketa, Noa taka don idia; ado orakre in bahuñ bidalege, bhala noa takan idile khañ dōe lai barakea seye okokea.

Ado onka menkate en hilok dō bae idilefte orakre senkate ac bahuñ metae kana, Ia, ma hare phare tehen dō daka hotaŋpe. In dō pera horok in calak lagit.

Ado metadea, Okatem calaka?

Ado metadea, Raj liñdhire horo bōlok kana, uni neñel in calak lagit.

Khange bahuttef dōe landaketteye menketa, Dak banukanec; ceten dakaea? Hape, endekhan dak in lo aguloge.

Ado kathae, kanḍae hermet gotkette dak lo adi aṭe tarām idiyet kana. Khange atoren maejiuko doko nelkede, adi aṭe taramet kan; ado bako kulikede, Henda ho, setakrege tehen dō bejae aṭ dakpe loyet dō?

Khange uni dōe ror gotketa, Hē ho, tehen dō setakregele loyeta, bañma, kathae, raj liñdhire horo bōlok kana. Uni neñele calaktale lagit. Unile daka hotae lagit, onate setakregele lo idiyeta.

Ado oneko mēnge, Jāhā miṭ lutur khon bar luturena menkhan, katha dō bañ okona. Uni mahra gimai dōe laiket khañ, ona katha dō miṭ gharite goṭa ato damḍahe gotena. Ado kathae, onka lai

¹⁵ The word used in Santal is about equal to rectum. It is not very elevated.

¹⁶ The Indian word raj or raja means a king, but is frequently and commonly used about a landlord or zemindar.

¹⁷ Hindu women very frequently carry their waterpots under the arm; when empty, they are easily carried thus with the arm round the neck of the vessel; when full and heavy, the bottom rests on the hip, the arm being kept round the neck.

¹⁸ Ordinarily they move 'mit Anstand und Würde'; the unusual speed and also the early hour attract attention.

And, so people tell, when he dug where the calf had been lying down until morning, he really came upon the rims of four brass-pots. Then he said: "To be sure, the calf really spoke the truth." Whereupon he said: "I shall take this money away; but at home I must first test my wife, and find out whether she, if I take this money home, will tell of it, or whether she will keep it secret."

Having come to this conclusion, he did not take the money away that day, but went home and said to his wife: "I say, please make haste to-day and give me food quickly. I am on the point of going on a visit."

"Where are you going?" she asked him.

"A tortoise," he replied, "has entered the back¹⁵ of the king¹⁶; I am going to see to that."

His wife laughed and said: "There is no water; what shall I prepare food with? Wait a little then, let me first go and fetch water."

She thereupon took a water-pot under her arm¹⁷ and went along all she could to fetch water. When the village women now saw her, that she was walking along in such a hurry, they-naturally asked her: "Listen you, you are awfully hard at¹⁸ it fetching water this morning?"

"That is so," she replied; "to-day we are fetching water in the early morning; it is this: a tortoise enters the back of the king. Our one¹⁹ is starting to see this. We are in a hurry to prepare food for him; therefore we are fetching water so early in the morning."

Now, as people say, "If anything from one ear becomes that of two ears, it is not to be hidden²⁰." When the mahra woman had told this, the matter was immediately spread over the whole

¹⁵ A very common way of referring to a husband. Husband and wife will not mention each other's names, fearing that in such case their children would become deaf. The best is to be as vague as possible in reference.

²⁰ The same as in Norwegian: 'Hvad tvende vet, vet hele verden'.

laitege raj then hābić bañ setērena? Khange uni raj dō mōņe mōņete ādiye edreyena are mēnketa, Ayo! noa katha dō ōkōe unānketa auriakte? Inko lajaokidiñ dō. Disom sudhā hōr noako bađaeketa, bañma, raj liñdhire hōrōe bōlōk kana. Bañ, noa katha dōñ sabgea.

Khange, kathae, raj dō suktike pōrtōnketa. Ōkōe noa khatae rōr akata, uni hōr dōbo sabea, ar sapkatebo kuliyea, Tisem hēlkedea, raj liñdhire hōrō bōlōk dō? Ma ona laime, tōbēm chuṭika, ar bañkhan dōle gōcmea. Cedak am dō un marañ hōrem bibhōrōmkedea? Onka raje mēnkete oņte nōtē peadakoē kolketkoa.

Khange bhāi, onko dō suṭik suṭikteko calaōena. Adō kathae, miṭṭāñ peada dōe suṭik hāmkedea uni mahra āimāige, adō uni khon hereltetge. Khange uni mahra hōe āngōcketa, Hō, sārigeñ rōr akata mēnte.

Adō peadako mēnketa, Acha, bogegem rōr akata; mēnkhan raje mēn akawālea, delabonle idimea mēnte. Raj nāhāk boksise emama.

Khange uni mahra dō ādi rāskakate oṛakṭeye bōlō gōfente daka jōmkateye dēnga pherao bāra gōfente peadae metadea, Delañ raj then idiñme.

Adō kathae, raj thene idi sētērkede khan dō, rajko kōbhēradea, bañma, Uni hōr dōle āgu akadea.

Khange raje mēnketa, Ma uni hōr dō barahite tōlepe. Khange sārī barahiteko tōlkedea. Adō raje kuliye dō kana, Ma laime, tisem hēlkedea raj liñdhite hōrō bōlōk dō? Dē ona sābudme, ar bañkhan am dōle gōcmea. Am dō raj lekan hōrem lajaokede dō. Dē ona sābud purāume, sē cetem mēneta?

²¹ Here the word *peada*, lit. one on foot, a footman, very much of the same importance as *sipāhi*, see p. 230, note 5.

²² The audience is addressed by the narrator. Lit. 'brother', the word is in common use like here with the Santals; but they ordinarily use another word for a real brother.

village. And then, passing in this way from mouth to mouth, did it not ultimately reach the king also? The king now became very angry in his mind and said: "Oh mother! who has started this lying report? They have disgraced me! Every soul in the country have now got to know that a tortoise enters the back of the king. No, this won't do! I shall follow this matter up."

The king thereupon commenced to make enquiries. "Any one who has told this we shall catch, and having caught him we shall ask him: When did you see the tortoise enter the king's back? Please tell that, then you will be let free; otherwise we shall kill you. Why have you dishonoured so big a man?" Having spoken in this way, the king sent his messengers²¹ out in all directions.

Thereupon, my dear fellow²², these went off making enquiries everywhere as they came along. In due course one of the messengers, at the end of his enquiries, came to this mahra woman, and from her he reached the man himself. The mahra also confessed: "It is quite true, I have said so," he said.

The messengers then said: "Very well, you have spoken quite-right; but the king has ordered us, so come along, we shall take you there. The king will give you a prize presently."

The mahra thereupon, highly rejoicing, went in and had his food; so he changed his loin-cloth quickly and said to the messenger: "Come along, take me to the king."

Now, when they had brought him to the palace, they sent word in to the king, saying: "We have brought the man."

The king then said: "Bind the man with a rope." And so they did, they tied him with a rope. Thereupon the king asked him: "Please tell, when did you see a tortoise enter the king's back? Do, prove that, otherwise we shall kill you. You have disgraced a man like a king. Do prove it entirely, or what have you to say?"

Ado unre uni mahrae menketa, Ia, raja saheb, horo bolok do ban nel akadea. Menkhan mit then takan nel akata, ado ona iate in bahu don bidauede tahékana, bhala ona takan agule khan dpe laikea se qho. Onka hudiskateh menketa, Bhala nonka in bahu don metaea, bhala noa katha do cete metaka, laia seye ban. Judiye lai barae khan, ona taka do ban aguia, ar bae lai khan don aguia. Ado one ente jemon in metadea, temongeye lai gotketa. Khan in menketa, nui do agulere ho qho okolea mente. Ado ona iate taka ho ban aguleta.

Ado raje menketa, Okarem nel akata?

Ado uni mahrae menketa, Tol raranpe, tobe khan in laiapea.

Ado kathae, tolko rarakadea. Ado raje menketa, Ma laime, tinak menaka ar okare.

Ado uni mahrae menketa, Ponea gharare menaka, adon udukapea, tinak in dpe emana?

Ado raje menketa, Ona do bara baritebon hatina.

Khange engeye ayur idiketkoteke laketa. Uni bar gharako emadea, ar raj bar gharae idiketa. Engko ikakadea. Ado uni mahra hse kisar utarena.

Ado cabayena, in marangea.

Ar noa katha reak bhed do nonka kana: Jahae horo tuluc gatek khub gate menamre ho, apnar ontor katha do alom laia, se apnar haram budhi then ho asol katha do tisre ho alogem laia. Arem laiketa menkhan, oka hilok con unim edre ocole khan, en hilok do ona kathae sodor goda, ar moro horo amko tol ultau gotmea. Ina kangea katha do.

²³ See p. 249, note 12.

²⁴ The advice is here given a much wider application than in the previous story. It is the narrator who gives vent to his own opinions. It may not be the opinion of all; but there is no doubt that distrust of others is a very common trait of the people. It takes a very long time before they will open themselves up to anybody, and they will not do so, unless they have convinced themselves that they can do it with safety and confidence. The story itself does not go so far as the narrator. The story preaches mistrust to women.

Then the mahra answered: "Listen, my Lord king, I have not seen any tortoise entering; but at a certain place I have seen money, and for that reason I was testing my wife, whether, if I brought the money home, she would blab or not. With this intention I said to myself: Well, let me tell my wife so and so; I wonder what she will say to that, whether she will tell it or not. If she tells, I shall not bring the money home; if she does not tell, I shall fetch it. Then see, no sooner had I told her than she told it to others. So I said: Even if I bring it here, she will certainly not keep it secret. Therefore I did not take the money home either."

"Where did you see it?" the king asked.

"Unbind me," the mahra said, "then I shall tell you."

So they released him from his bonds, whereupon the king said: "Please tell how much there is and where it is."

"It is in four brass-pots," the mahra replied; "if I show it to you, how much are you going to give me?"

"We shall divide it equally between us," the king said.

Thereupon the man guided them to the spot, and they dug. To the mahra they gave two brass-pots, and the king took two away with him. Therewith they let the man alone. So the mahra also became a very wealthy man.

So it is finished; it is this much.

And the meaning of this story is this: If you are on friendly terms, even very friendly terms with somebody, don't let your innermost thoughts²³ out, or, never tell the real thing to even your own husband or wife²⁴. If you tell, then if you some time in the future causes him or her to become angry, that day he will make that matter public, and the 'Five' will bind you and turn you over on your back. That's what it is.

20. Mohajon ar khatok.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, mitñan hõren 'maejuii tahõkana, ar uni hõr dõ mohajon reak tinak cõe dharao akat tahõkana. Adõ hala rakap hala årgoetege dher idiyena, adõ nawa hõe agu bõlõ idigea; adõ sõsre bae hala caba dareak kante mohajon ađiye ruheda. Adõ ona ruhet bõtõrte uni hõr dõ mohajon ađ orak sen calake

¹ The original title of this story, given by the Santal narrator, was Dundhi lillhi ãimãlak katha, the story of a silly foolish woman. Possibly two stories have been mixed up together, one about a woman who does not understand and cannot speak Bengali or Hindi, and another about a man who tricked a money-lender. It might be noted that the Santals look upon persons who cannot use any other language than their own as foolish. Living as the Santals do, among other races, speaking languages of their own, entirely different from Santali, it is an absolute necessity with them to be able to understand and speak at least one of these languages, seeing that very often they have to go to these other people for their daily needs. A man who cannot have intercourse with outsiders is handicapped in life and is naturally looked upon as one of inferior parts. As a matter of fact, there are very few grown-up Santals who cannot, to some extent, make use of Bengali or Hindi or some other language used by others who would never think of learning Santali. Their knowledge of the foreign language is naturally very limited and will not, except in a very few cases, go beyond the ordinary language of everyday village life. This story is one which the Santals enjoy very much.

² There are very few Santals who do not need money and therefore do not have transactions with money-lenders. At certain times of the year, they need some little capital to carry them through, and to get this they go to those who lend money out or give foodstuffs on credit. The interest paid is generally 25 per cent, often, however, much more, as, e. g., 37½ per cent per annum, or even 6¼ to 12½ per cent compound interest per month. This money-lending question is one of the big problems of the people, and it is beset with so much difficulty that the older one becomes among the people, the more wary and cautious one becomes. The ordinary Santal has few scruples against running into debt, as long as any one will lend; he thinks of his immediate needs and very little of how he will be able to repay. To his excuse must be said that his economic conditions are so straitened that it is difficult for us to grasp the possibility of such poverty. Further, that the average Santal has not got far in the way of understanding the value of money, especially sums of money. The writer has again and again seen things that have made him say to himself that they have learnt

20. A MONEY-LENDER AND HIS DEBTOR¹.

ONCE upon a time, people tell, there was a woman, the wife of a man who was owing money to a money-lender², who knows how much. In spite of his paying a little now and a little then, the old debt increased, he was also taking fresh loans; at last he was unable to pay it off³, and the money-lender was scolding him much. The man was afraid of this scolding; therefore as

to understand the value of a pice, but not of a rupee. It must also be added that they are not as yet far enough away from their old forest-life to have properly realized the value of property, as the result or fruit of their own work. It might be remarked that Government have enacted several laws to protect the Santals (and other aborigines) from the money-lenders, and from themselves. It is unnecessary to point out that the missionaries have done all they have been able to do to assist and guide in this respect, and some of the enactments of the early seventies were, I believe, the result of investigations started in the first instance at the earnest request of missionaries. Some of the money-lenders are reasonable, but many are quite the opposite, usurers of the very worst type, whose one object is to get the debtor and his possessions into their hands.

Santals are not, somehow, fit to become money-lenders; they are either too credulous or too grabbing and will, in a comparatively short time, run through their means. There may be a few exceptions, but they are not many; besides, as a general rule, they have no capital and must borrow themselves. ~~The~~ money-lenders are mostly Hindus, who at the same time do business as traders and shopkeepers. During later years Mohammedan weavers and others have commenced to get a rather large share in this business.

The common name for a money-lender is mohajon or mahajon, lit. a great man, in these parts, the first form being the common one (by the Santals pronounced with stress on the first and last syllables). The word is in common use over northern India. Another name, not quite so commonly used, is saṅu, probably also of Aryan origin (perhaps the same word as sadhu). I am under the impression that this last name was more commonly used formerly. In the Santal text both words occur. In the translation saṅu is rendered by banker. Both are used about the same man.

³ What is here told is of everyday occurrence. The original loan is permitted to run up with compound interest to several times its original amount. It may have been actually paid off and more; but as the Santal has no means of controlling this (at least he does not do so, barring a few exceptional cases) the debt remains. Then a little is added, and finally the result becomes like what is here stated.

ñelle khan, uni hōr' dōe oko barāea. Adq uni mohajon dō onka bar pō dhaoe calaoena, adq bae nam dārae khan, uni bāhuttēte kuli barākedēge, okayenae mente; adq uni āimai hō bae lai.

Adq arhō onkage mīf dhao Pus cando jōkhene calaoena; adq oṛākreye hōhō barayeta, Okayenam, phalna, menama sē bañ? Adq uni hōr ma setak akan sē, oṛakre ma bae taheñ. Adq uni āimaige arhōe kulikēdea, Phalna dōe okayena?

Adqe metadea, Uni dō aḡlā paclā ḡḡēce sēñ akana.

Adq uni dekoe mēnketa, Henda mañjhañ, dinge bañ fame dō?

Adq uniye mēnketa, Dinamge ḡḡēce calak kana. Tāhā uni dō rabañte sēḡgele jolkaka, adq ḡḡēgeye jorokkoka.

⁴ Also a very common device to avoid listening to the upbraidings of the great man, and perhaps also to avoid saying or doing things one might repent of later on.

Of daily occurrence. The money-lender will come himself or send his servants, when he has reached the psychological moment. Up to this time, everything is fair and friendly; from now on commences the pulling of the net. Not finding the man, he speaks to the wife.

⁶ Pus, a name received from Bengali or Hindi, is a month corresponding to the last half of December and the first half of January. The heavy paddy is harvested at this time, and it is the time when everybody has a little foodstuff, on the threshing-floor or in the house. It is therefore also the time when the money-lenders or people who have given others anything on credit try to be repaid. In the latter half of Pus the Santals have their sōhrae, a kind of harvest festival, generally a debauchery of a very low kind. Up to this time the Santals eat as much as they like of their new harvest of rice. One of the last days of the sōhrae, a man walks through the village street beating a branch with dry leaves, to drive the dardāha, the 'glutton' away, a symbolic action to tell people that from now on they have to eat measuring the quantity of rice. The money-lenders or their servants come to the threshing-floors and make them 'measure out to them' the largest possible amount of paddy, in repayment of advances and debts.

⁷ The Hindu is standing in the court-yard; it would be against propriety for the man to knock; so he calls out.

⁸ The Santali text implies that the Hindu calls out the name; this is against the rules of good behaviour, the name being used only in addressing persons much

soon as he saw the money-lender coming towards his house, he would hide himself⁴. The money-lender in this way came two or three times, and as he did not find the man at home, he asked his wife where he had gone; but the woman did not tell either⁵.

Then it happened once in the month of Pus⁶ that he again went there on the same errand, and he was calling out⁷ there in the house: "Where are you, so and so⁸? Are you here or not?" Now the man, as soon as it was morning, did not stay at home⁹. So the money-lender again asked the woman: "What has become of so and so?"

"He has gone," she replied, "to play Back and Forward¹⁰."

"Look here, madam¹¹," the Hindu¹² said, "how is it I never find him?"

"Every day," she replied, "he goes to play." What really was happening was that he, because it was cold, lighted a fire and was warming himself¹³ there.

younger than or inferior to oneself. The name may be used, provided an honorific title is added; but so is not done here.

⁹ See above note 4. To avoid the unpleasant meeting, if they cannot hide, they may go away somewhere, generally on some pretext or other.

¹⁰ *Aglā pācia*, lit. 'foremost backwards' (both words are of Hindi extraction), on account of this and similar stories being told among the Santals, is sometimes heard as a jocular name for moving backwards and forwards. They have no play so called.

¹¹ *Mañjhi* is a title used by 'foreigners' addressing a Santal; *mañjhan* is the same, to a Santal woman.

¹² The word of the Santali text, *deko*, is a name used to signify a person of another race than the Santals, i. e., Hindus and Mohammedans. Other aborigines and the so-called semi-hinduized races (Paharias, Bhuiyas and Doms) are not called so, and Mohammedans are now mostly styled either *muslā* or *jotha*, the latter being a Mohammedan weaver-'caste', to which very many of the Mohammedans living in these parts belong.

¹³ It is a very common sight in the early mornings of the cold season to see people sitting, alone or together, over or near to a fire to warm themselves. They do not, like us, attempt to keep themselves warm by exercise.

Ado uni deko dō malhan jō akane ſelkettako, jhatāre beḡarīc jō akana. Ado uni dekoa menketa, O mañjhan, mōrōd tō nai, sim amake dē.

Ado uni aimaīye meneta, Ki bōlchi, hēḡel? Amra nai bujchi.

Ado uni dekoa menketa, Sim, mañjhan, sim dē.

Ado uni aimaīye menketa, Oh! sim simok kanae! Am laḡit baḡḡole sim akatko? Bareakgetaleakin, unkin hō enḡa mentele dōḡ akatkina, are sim simok kana! Cele sim bhalale emama? Bale emam laḡit.

Janić ado deko hō bae bujhaḡeta uni aimaīak rōr dō, ar uni aimaī hō dekoaḡ rōr dō bae bujhaḡeta.

Khange uni deko dō malhan jhatāreya deḡok kana; ado uni aimaīye menketa, Ayo go! nui deko ya simteñ bhagaokede khan dō ya jhatārem deḡok kan. Khub leka kaḡaiye ma tho!

¹⁴ The bean here mentioned, malhan (*Dolichos Lablab*, L.), is a runner bean with large broad pods, very commonly found planted in the court-yards or near the houses of the Santals. The pods and beans are much relished as curry.

¹⁵ To support climbers of the kind here mentioned, the Santals simply take one or more bushes or small trees and fix in the ground. The climbers run all over the branches.

¹⁶ When in the following German has been used, it is to translate sentences given in what is meant to be a kind of rustic Bengali. The Santal woman does not understand Bengali; she has picked up a few words, but is in ignorance as to their proper use and speaks in a way delightful to the Santals. That happenings like what is here told are quite possible, the writer is able to testify. Some years ago it happened that a 'deko' came through the village street just outside our compound. There he saw a small goat and offered a Santal woman he saw twelve annas for it (it happened so long ago that a price like this would not be out of the ordinary at that time). The word he used was *barḡ*; the woman did not know that this meant twelve, but likely thinking that it had something to do with the Santal *bar* (also *barea*), which means two, she replied that he might have it for *ḡel*, ten, annas. Another time a Santal couple came to a market-place, wishing to sell a goat. A 'deko' offered *pēc sikā*, five four-annas (Rs. 1-4-0); hearing this the woman at once protested and said that if the man would give *mif ḡaka*, one rupee, he should have the goat. Her husband tried to persuade her that five 4-anna pieces were more than one rupee; but she would not have anything of this 'deko' nonsense; would he give one rupee, well and good, otherwise others might get

The Hindu now saw that their malhan Beans¹⁴ were bearing fruit; there was an immense amount of fruit on the bean supports¹⁵. So he said: "Frau, der Mann ist nicht hier; gieb mir einige Bohnen¹⁶."

"Was sage er¹⁷, you man¹⁸? Wir verstehen es nicht," the woman replied.

"Bohnen, Frau," the Hindu said, "gieb einige Bohnen."

"Oh," the woman said, "he is 'hen-hen'ning¹⁹. Is it for you, do you think, that we are keeping hens? Two are all we have, and those two we have kept to have them for laying eggs, and he is 'hen-hen'ning! What kind of hen, I wonder, are we going to give you?"

Now, likely, the Hindu did not understand what the woman was saying, nor was the woman understanding the Hindu's language.

The Hindu thereupon tried to climb the supporting poles; but the woman called out: "O ma, O mother²⁰! this Hindu fellow — I worsted him so far as the hens were concerned; then you are now, you fellow, climbing the bean poles. He should have a sound buffeting²¹, that fellow!"

the goat. The man felt so ashamed that he gave in to his wife. At the present time most women have learnt enough not to commit such blunders. Still, of course, as they have to depend on what they can pick up whilst they are not supposed to have any conversation with 'deko' men, it is only natural that they are not very proficient.

¹⁷ The woman uses a wrong form of the verb, but tries to speak Bengali.

¹⁸ Here she does not know what word to use and says *herel*, a Santali word meaning 'male' or 'man' (corresponding to Norwegian 'mandfolk'), never used in addressing in Santali.

¹⁹ The Hindu says *sim*, which is his name for this particular bean (in Santali *malhan*); now in Santali *sim* means the domestic cock or hen, and the woman thinks the 'deko' wants to take these and scolds accordingly.

²⁰ *Ayo go*, a very common interjection or exclamation used to express wonder or astonishment or pain, lit. means 'mother, mother', both words being in use in Santali.

²¹ The Santali word *kaṛai* means to beat with a club or heavy stick. To get alliteration to show the misunderstanding of the 'deko' 'buffet' is used in the translation. Hearing *kaṛai* the Hindu is reminded of *kaṛa* (in Santali *kaṛa*), which means a buffalo, and follows the idea up.

Ado uni dekoa m̄gen goŋketa, Hā mañjhan, kara dibi to kise abad kurbe?

Ado arhō uni aimaiye menketa, Ayo go! nui deko do bae baetaoet do. De se na, tok hawañpe, nāhāk khub in karaiyea.

Ado arhō uni dekoa menketa, Kara dibi to, mañjhan, bhalo hobe, sob khalas hūyā jabek.

Ado, kathae, uni aimai doe chuṭaulen, tok sapkate dale lagite epel idi goŋketa. Khange ado uni deko mohajon do botorteye dar tapketa, ado aḍiye edre calaena.

Ado dosar hiloḷ khange sim rakreye heḗente oraḷreye sen gsetkedeae. Adoē namkede khane metae kana, Henda phalna, je dharaoak do cedak bam emkañin kana? Adom emaña se bañ? Ma ona rorme. Dinge in do am then in hijuk kana, oraḷrege bañ heḗ nameña. Ado am bañuñ kuliye khan doe meña, bañma, Agla paḷa eñeḗe sen akante oraḷre do bam heḗ name kana. Ar hola do malhan in goŋet tahēkanre tokanteye lagakidiña. Ado cet lekam eñeḗe kante am do din hiloḷ eñdegem calak kana?

Ado uni hore menketa, Cet bañ se, sau, aḍi mōñj eñeḗe kana, onate in do dingeñ calak kana?

Ado uni dekoa menketa, Henda mañjhi, in don cet darekea se oñe?

Ado uni hore menketa, Deko hopon ma arhō aḍi algateko cetkea.

Ado uni dekoa menketa, Iḷ mañjhi, eñdekhan in hō cetañme.

Ado uni hore menketa, Hē entem ced khan don cetama; aḷka okoe then hō alom lai baraea.

Adoē menketa, Acha, okoe then hō bañ laia.

Adoē metadea, Acha bogege, eñdekhan ma gapa nonka aḍire hijukme; teheñ do nondege marsalena, onate oñe jutlena. Ona cecet do aḍire calak hoyoka. Ma gapa nonka aḍire hijukme, adon cetama.

²² The tok is an implement found in every Santal household. It is a heavy wooden pestle, some four to five feet long, with an iron ring in the one (thinner) end, primarily intended for use in husking rice or other cereals in the ukhuḷ, the wooden mortar.

"Ja, Frau," the Hindu said, "wenn man aber die Büffel giebt, womit wird man dann arbeiten können?"

The woman then again spoke: "Oh ma, Oh mother! this Hindu will not give in. Here, my girls, bring me the pestle²²; I shall buffet him and give him a good beating."

The Hindu then again said: "Falls Sie die Büffel geben, Frau, wird es gut sein; alles wird getilgt werden."

Then the woman made a start; she took the pestle, raised it high in the air and went towards the man to strike him. The money-lender then was frightened and ran straight off; he was very angry, as he went.

The following morning he came at cock-crow, before the man could get away. When he met him, he said to him: "Look here, you so and so, why don't you pay me what you are owing? Are you going to pay me or not? Please tell that. Day after day I am coming here to you; I don't find you at home. And when I ask your wife, she says: He has gone to play Back and Forward; therefore you do not find him at home. And yesterday, whilst I was plucking a few beans, she came with the pestle and chased me away. Now what kind of play is it you are occupied with, since you are going there day after day?"

"You have no idea, banker," the Santal replied, "what a beautiful play it is; that is the reason that I go day after day."

"Look here, governor," the Hindu said, "would it be possible for me to learn or not?"

"Of course," the Santal replied, "Hindus would learn it much more easily even."

"I say, governor," the Hindu said, "then teach me also."

"Well yes," the Santal replied, "if you will learn, I shall teach you; but mind you, don't tell anybody."

"All right," he said, "I shall not tell anybody."

The man then said: "Very well; come then to-morrow, early like this; to-day it has become full day already, so it will not be possible to-day. To learn, it is necessary, to be out early. Please, come to-morrow early like you did to-day, then I shall teach you."

Adge menketa, Acha, eṇḍekhan gapa dō aḍireñ hijuka.

Ado uni hore menketa, Hē, ma hijukme, aīka okoe then hō alom laia, ar bañkhan dō qhom cef darelea.

Adge menketa, Acha, qhoñ laia. Ado onka men barakatekin apan apinena.

Ado khange sari uni deko dō dosar hilok aḍireye hec gotena, adge hohō gotketa, Cele ho, orakre menama se bañ?

Adge gonkedeā, menaṅgea mente; ado enka ror sāotegeye odokena. Adge menketa, Raca sen in senlengē. Ado kulhi sen odok senkate miṭ hore hohō aḡukedeā. Ado uni dekoa metae kana, Aḡla pacla eṇe in cetam khan dō nāhāk cetem emoka?

Ado uni dekoa menketa, Takam nam khan, takage, ar jomakem nam khan dō, jomak in emama.

Ado uni hore menketa, In dō taka hō bañ ar jomak hō bañ; in dō tinaḡ korja menaktiñ, inaḡe khalaskañme, eṇḍekhan in cetama, ar bañkhan dō qhoñ ceflema.

Ado uni mohajon hōe menketa, Acha, eṇḍekhan in khalasmea, aīka cef utarañme.

Ado uni hore menketa, Acha, bhēd bhōñ sanam in lai utarama. Mā eṇḍekhan korja nutumte carec hulejme, ar delabon nitgeñ cef utar gotama; ar bañ cetamea menkhan, nui hore sakhi menaea.

Khange sari ado bujhaḡ barakate uni deko dō uni goha hore samañrege carece hulecketa ona rin pan nutumte, are menketa, Nēkē in chutiketmea. Ado delabon cetame.

²³ In Santali lit. 'I must first go towards the court-yard', the last words being constantly used as a veiled expression for passing water.

²⁴ The Santals like to make use of symbolic acts to testify to the reality of actions. In connexion with the sale of moveable property, e. g. of a bullock, they may finish the transaction by giving a bit of *dhubi ghās* (*Cynodon dactylon*, Pers.). The seller takes a piece of cloth over his head, takes a little of the grass mentioned and rubs it between his flat hands and gives it to the buyer with both hands. The buyer gives a little back. When no *dhubi ghās*

"All right", the other replied, "then I shall come early tomorrow."

"Yes, please, come," the man said; "but remember, don't tell anybody; otherwise you will not be able to learn."

"All right," the other replied, "I shall certainly not tell." After having had this talk they separated.

Then really and truly the following morning very early the Hindu put in an appearance and called out: "Hallo, so and so, are you at home or not?"

The man answered him, saying that he was there, and as he said this, he came out. "Let me first go a little aside²³," the man said. He thereupon went out into the village street and called another man; then he said to the Hindu: "If I teach you the Back and Forward play, how much will you give then?"

"If you want money, I shall give money," the Hindu answered; "and if you want foodstuffs, I shall give you that."

"Neither money nor foodstuffs do I want," the Santal said; "whatever debt I have with you, let me off that; then I shall teach you; otherwise I am not going to do so."

"All right," the money-lender said, "then I shall let you off; but mind, teach me all there is."

"All right," the Santal replied; "I shall tell you all there is about it, meaning and signification. Please then break the straw²⁴ to show you have let me off my debt, and come along and I shall now at once teach you all and everything; and if I don't teach you, here is this man as a witness."

After having thought the matter over, the Hindu thereupon really broke the straw in the presence of the witness, to wipe off all debts and obligations, and said: "There you are, I have let you off. Now please teach me."

is available, they may each take a bit of straw, break it into two, whereupon they give one another one bit and keep one bit for themselves. This is what is done in the story.

Ado sari uni hor do orakteye bloyente thutkut senggele odok-kefa, ar uni deko ar goha hor banargeye riagu idiketkina. Ado bir senre senkate janhe khari thenko durupena. Ado uni hore menkefa, Ma nondege kicric do sanam horbo dhohea; ar nui goha hor doe dhoere ho banre ho, menkhan ala do bana hor lañ dhole ane jutoka.

Ado sari bana horkin dhokefa, ar uni goha hor do ona kicric thengekin durup ocokede, ar akin do ona janhe busup sorrekin calaena. Ar en hilok do rabañ ho adi at rabañ kan tahkana. Ado uni hor do janhe busup te senggele jolkefa, adge metae kana; la sau, ma thoralan jorok hoklenge, adge nahak in cetama.

Ado sari bana horkin jorok akana; adge dher hoke thekaole khan do adi tapis dau dau jol godok kante kin pac godok kana; arho harsur idik khankin sor idik kana. Ado uni deko menkefa, Ma cet hofanme, inakgelañ joroka.

Ado uni hore menkefa, Nokoe colañ ene kange, bam bujhaeta? Nelme, laha sen holañ calak kana, tayom sen holañ pacok kana. Nia kangea agla pacla ene do. Ma adge kurumuute cet dho kam.

Ado khang e uni deko do adi barice kastaoena; adge menkefa, Bañ, noa ene babotte nunañ rin do ohon cabaletama. Am do adlin cekidina.

Ado uni goha hore metadea, Ma ho, katha anjom thikkatalinme. Nui deko enañ cete menlefa, ar nitok cete meneta? Ma anjomkam.

Adge menkefa, He, anjomkettabenañ. Khang e adoko apan apinena.

25 Janhe (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*, L.) is very commonly cultivated on outlying high lands. It is freely eaten by the Santals, is reported to give a rather intoxicating beer, but is not considered sufficiently valuable to be seized by the money-lenders. The straw is valueless as fodder, but is used during the cold season as here described. It is suitable for stuffing mattresses, and is much used by potters as fuel in their kilns.

26 For threshing jungle corn of sorts, they will plaster a small bit of ground anywhere near the field, not, however, in such a solid and careful way as when making their ordinary threshing-floors.

The Santal then, truth to tell, entered his house and brought out a small piece of burning firewood, whereupon he invited both the Hindu and the witness to come along. Having gone towards the forest, they sat down on a jungle-corn²⁵ threshing-floor²⁶. The Santal now said: "Let all of us put our clothes down here; it does not matter whether the witness will take off his clothes or not; but we two must take them off; then only it will do."

Thereupon both of them took off their clothes, and he made the witness sit down at the clothes, whilst the two went close to the jungle-corn straw. Now it also was very cold that day. The Santal then set fire to the straw and said to the other: "I say, banker, let us warm ourselves a little first; then I shall teach you presently."

Both of them were warming themselves at the fire, and as the man put quite a lot of straw into the fire, it suddenly blazed up into great flames, and they had to be quick and draw back. Again, when it burned low, they drew near to the fire. The Hindu then said: "Please, be quick and teach me; let this be enough warming ourselves."

"Look, here we are playing, don't you understand?" the Santal replied; "see, we are moving forwards, and we are also drawing back. This is the Back and Forward play. Please be diligent and learn so that you know it."

The Hindu then felt exceedingly regretful and said: "No, on account of this play I am certainly not going to wipe off so much debt of yours. You have played a trick on me."

The Santal then said to the witness: "Please, sir, hear and mark exactly what we two are saying. This Hindu --- what did he say a while ago, and what is he saying now? Please hear and mark what he says."

"Yes," he said, "I have heard what you have said." Thereupon they went, each their way.

Khange adq uni deko dqe lalisketa ona rin babotte. Adq din token khan, uni goha hōe idi torakedea. Khange adq hakim then uni hōr hō oneko galmaraolet lekae soalketa. Ar uni goha hō onkageye rōrket khan, mambla dq dhismisentakoa, ar uni dekoge ađi bařičko ruhefkedea.

Adq cabayena katha dq, onkate uni hōr dqe paskaoena.

21. Miřtañ kaxi engat reañ.

Miřtañ hōr, kathaeye bahuan tahēkana; adq uni eratae dq khub khařoya erae tahēkana, adq onate khubkin arjao gořketa. Ar gidra dq miřtañ kořa gidraye tahēkan řakina. Adq bana hōr onka rōd bođolkin kāmia; jāhān kāmī unkin dq hālaregekin kāmī caba gođa. Adq ona hiskate bañ dq cete řatakge uni bahutae dqe goćentaea. Pe pon māhāge bořok haso nōkleda; inategye goćentaea.

Khange uni hōr dq ađi bhabnae řamketa; adq en serma dq enkategye tahēyena. Adq eskar iate kāmī bañ calak kante, dosar serma dq chuřkiye řawana. Adq tařen tahentę cetko daete coñ ađikin jhograkgea; adq enka regeñ tegeñtegeko tahēyena; oka doē řařat godokgea.

²⁷ The conclusion is, perhaps, not impossible according to Santal, or even Indian, ideas.

²⁸ Stepmothers have no good reputation among the Santals.

² The Santali word would show that whatever they may have earned is the result of industrious agricultural work.

³ According to Santal ideas death is not natural; especially when young people die, they are always ready to believe that death in such cases is due to the malevolence of evil spirits and of witches. One of the causes inducing those beings to attack people, is envy. It is, it is thought, too much for them to see the happiness of people.

⁴ A very common description of how a person may come to die. It is the symptom observed, and deemed insufficient to cause death.

⁵ It would be quite out of the common for a Santal widower, still in his best years, to remain single. It would not, generally, be understood. A Santal man,

The Hindu thereupon brought a suit on account of this debt. When the day fixed came, he also took along with him the witness. Before the judge the Santal pleaded in accordance with what they had talked together; and when the witness also deposed the same, the case was dismissed, and they gave the Hindu a good rating²⁷.

So the story is ended; in this way this man slipped through.

21. A STEPMOTHER¹.

THERE once lived, people tell, a man who had taken to himself a wife; and this wife of his was a very industrious person, so they quickly earned some competence². As for children, they had one son. Both of them were equally industrious; whatever work they applied themselves to, they got through with it in an incredibly short time. Then, whether it was from envy³, or whatever the cause was, this wife of his suddenly died. She suffered a little, three or four days, from head-ache⁴; from this she died.

It was a great grief to this man, and that year he remained as he was. Then, as his work did not go well, because he was alone, he married again⁵ the year following. As time passed, for some cause or other they were always having a good deal of quarrelling, and they lived in this way squabbling; sometimes the woman had sulky fits.

needs a wife. When his wife has died, the widower will generally wait until the crops of one season have been harvested. Then friends will commence to offer to arrange a marriage with a widow (so generally; it seldom happens that a spinster will agree to marry a widower), and a marriage takes place, with, however, much less ceremony than what is used when previously unmarried persons are joined together, one reason for this being that a second marriage is only for this world. Bachelor and spinster, once properly married, will be husband and wife also in the next world, whether they have been separated by death or divorce or not, whether they have remarried or not. To remarry too quickly is

Ado mit din dge kulikedeā uni bahutae dge, Cef iate am dge siñ saṭupge mit raṅgaogen aīkaumea?

Ado unre uniye menketa, In dge cef iate con nui gidra dge aḍi sikir in nele kana.

Ado unre uni hore menketa, Cekate sikir dom nele kana? Nui ma ac daretegeye asulok kan. Cef ho tho bae sakearefmea, adge cekatem arisae kana?

Ado uniye menketa, Cekate con! Nui dge edregeñ nele kana; nui gidra nondeye taheñ khan, endekhan in dge bañ tahena.

Ado uni hore menketa, Endekhan nui gidra dge lañ ceka lekayea?

Ado uniye menketa, Ma nui gidra dge gojeme, ar bañkhan jahatege idi gidikaeme.

Ado uni hore menketa, Okateñ idikaea? Janamkedañ; adge unire ho con mayā menaktiñ, ar gogodem metañ kana. Cef lekate nui don gojea?

Ado uni aimaiye menketa, Nui gidra goje reak dge algagea; inren gidra khan don goe gofkea.

Ado uni hore menketa, Ma endekhan amge gojeme.

Ado uni aimaiye menketa, In dge qhoñ golea amren dge. Inrene taheñ khan don goe gofkea. Amren kanae, ma amtege gojeme.

Ado uni hore menketa, Cef lekateñ gojea? Magete ma inge aḍi botor in aikauet.

Ado uni aimaiye menketa, Acha, uni goje reak bhed don laiam kana. Siok jokhen uni dge lahakaeme, ar am dge tayomre siokme, ar am siok isi dge khub sagak leka lak coelokakme, ar siok

not thought quite proper; but a man must have somebody to cook his food and to do a woman's part of the agricultural work. If a man has children who can work, it is not infrequent that a widower will remain as he is, for the sake of the children. They dread a stepmother.

⁶ The Santal ploughing is something very superficial. Their plough is an instrument of very ancient model, entirely of wood, except for an iron ploughshare (a bit of iron, some 25 to 30 cm. long, some 3 cm. broad and some 7 to 9 mm. thick, placed in a space cut for it on the upper side of the plough, and kept in position by an iron staple). Except for the small iron part, the Santals make their own ploughs. It is easily understood that, with such an instrument, no

Then, one day, he asked his wife: "Why is it that, all day long, I feel that you are continually angry?"

She replied: "For some reason or other it always irritates me to see this boy."

"How can it irritate you to see him?" the man said. "Why, he is supporting himself by his own ability. He is certainly not giving you trouble of any kind whatever; how then can you be annoyed with him?"

"How?" she replied; "it makes me feel angry to see him; if this boy is to remain here, in that case I shall not remain."

"What are we then to do with the boy?" the man asked.

"Well," the woman replied, "kill the boy, or else take him somewhere and get him out of the way."

"Where am I to take him?" the man asked; "I am his father; I have affection for him also, you must understand, and you tell me to take his life. How could I possibly kill him?"

"It is easy enough to kill this boy," the woman said; "if he were my child, I should soon kill him."

"Well then," the man said, "then you kill him."

"No," the woman answered, "I shall certainly not kill any one who belongs to you. If he were mine, I should soon kill him. He is yours; do kill him yourself."

"In what way can I kill him?" the man asked. "To cut him down, — — I am feeling very much afraid at the thought."

"All right," the woman said, "I shall tell you how you are to go about killing him. When you are ploughing, make him lead, and you follow⁶ ploughing; cut the beam of the plough you use

deep ploughing is possible. The earth is just scratched a little. Ploughing can be done only when the earth is soft from rain. This method explains how it is possible for a boy to handle a plough. It is not hard work, demanding the strength of a full-grown man. Generally several ploughs are worked at the same time, one following the other, with an experienced man in charge of the front plough. When stating the age of a Santal boy, it is often done by telling that he is 'fit to plough', or, 'he can plough following after people'. Such a boy is anything from 10 years and upwards.

jokhen khub laga lagakinme. Ado ona isi coelote sobok harar ocoyem.

Ado sari uni hor do aimaiak kathageye senafte ac siok nahel isiyē lak coeloketa. Ado sarikin sioka; ado ac do adi taenq-m-reye tahena, ar uni gidra do adi sangine laga jitaukakina. Ado din hilok onkage bae laga bhiraukina. Ado uni aimaiye mena, Okor, tsem goje kana? Am do eken ingem andha barayedin kana.

Ado unre uni hore menketa, Acha, gapa don gojea, aika, setakre lolō daka bare em gofaeme.

Ado menketa, Acha bogege endekhan.

Ado sari dosar hilok khange setakrege lolō lolōe daka utu gotketa; ado metadea, Ma auriye bik dhabic emame; akhir in gojegea, lolō dakae jom torawange.

Ado uni herel hore menketa, Okarelin sioka? Siokteak ma jotelin si cabaket; ado okarelin sioka.

Ado uni aimaiye menketa, Hana tandire gundlibo er akaf, ona gundlige si gidiben; ado nahak ona gundlire dangrako atinte qoko sen senoka. Am do nahak tayom kakinme; ado ona atin jokhen khub leka laga bhirau gotkinme, ado ona isite nahake sobok harar godoka.

Ado sari onka ror mitkate en hilok do setakrege lolō dakae emadea; ado jom barakate nahelkin joroketa. Ado uni gidra menketa, Henda baba, okare tehen dola sioka?

⁷ Her Santal word is *sagak*, the awn of *sauri* (*Heteropogon contortus*, R. & S.), sharp and piercing.

⁸ There are many analogies to such an attitude, even if we do not count what is reported to be done in the way of food for persons about to pay the last penalty. The writer remembers what happened some years ago to a young man, who insisted on becoming a Christian. When the day for his baptism came, he was given by his own mother the best food she could prepare, whereupon he was told that after baptism he would not be their son any longer, but a stranger, who might go wherever he liked, but not think of coming back to his old home. He was henceforth dead to them.

and give it a point sharp as a needle⁷; then whilst ploughing you drive the plough bullocks all you can. In that way stab him and transfix him on the pointed plough-beam⁶."

Then the man really listened to what the woman said and cut the end of his plough-beam into a fine point. So they were ploughing; he himself remained far behind, and the boy was driving the bullocks far away in front, always gaining on his father. In this way, his father never any day drove his bullocks close up. And the woman was constantly saying: "How is it? when are you going to kill him? You are only trying to hood-wink me."

"All right," the man then said, "I shall kill him to-morrow; mind, be sure to give him some nice warm food⁸ in the morning".

"All right, that is well then," she said.

Then really, next morning she made haste to prepare some very nice and warm rice and curry; the man said to her: "Now give him until he is satisfied; now I shall kill him; let him first have some nice warm food, as he goes away."

The man again spoke: "Where are we to plough? We have finished all there was to plough; where are we to plough?"

"In that field over there," the woman said, "we have sown millet⁹; plough that millet down; the bullocks will feed on that millet and will consequently not move quickly. You keep your bullocks behind, and whilst his ones are feeding, be quick and drive yours at once close up; then he will certainly be stabbed and transfixed on the pointed plough-beam."

So really that morning, after they had talked together and agreed as mentioned, she gave the boy some nice warm food; after they had eaten, they yoked the ploughs; then the boy said: "Look here, father, where are we to plough to-day?"

⁹ The millet here mentioned, gundli (*Panicum miliare*), is fairly commonly cultivated on the outlying high lands by the Santals.

Ado uni apattete menketa, Hane hana tandirelan sioka.

Khange nahelkin sok idiketa ona tandite; adoe metae kana, Ia babu, noa gundlilan si gidia, ado surgujalan era.

Ado uni gidraye menketa, Henda baba, noa gundli do adi con hoe akan, gapa mean khange nahak beleka. Cedaqlan si gidia? Ado ma helme, noa do hoe cas kana, nahaklan barié gidia, ar tayomtela era. Ona do okoe nel akata, hoeyok con ban con. Nahak niagelan kharapaka.

Ado sari ona kathage apattet doe bujhauketa, Baña, nui gidra do thikgeye metañ kana, banma, pahil cas do pahil gidra tuluc jurik kana; nui gidra do kami leke hoeyena. Ado nui gidra hon gole khan okoe asulina? Ar sarige tayom cas leka, tayom era doe gidrako con ban con, okoe nel akata? Baña, nui gidra do qhon golelea, ni kahiste doe tahenre ho banre ho.

Ado onka menkatekin arak barakatkoteye ruar hecena; adoe metadea, Gogocem metadina, ado ban goledea, ar qhon golelea, ni kahistem tahenre ho banre ho. Ni eskargetinae, arhom goc ocoyedina? Ado hapen tayomte dom janamko con ban con, ona do okoe nel akata?

¹⁰ The plough-cattle work in pairs. A yoke is put across the necks of the two bullocks or buffaloes, and the plough-beam is fastened to the yoke with a leather-thong. When going to or coming back from the field, the whole plough is hoisted up and carried on the yoke between the bullocks, the beam standing high up into the air.

¹¹ Surguja (Guizotia abyssynica, Cass.) is one of the most commonly cultivated oil-yielding plants. The seed (called Niger seed) yields the oil. Whilst gundli is cultivated during the rainy season, surguja is a cold-weather crop, often sown where gundli or some other crop has grown earlier in the year.

¹² Support in old age is a problem with the Santals as with other people. It is solved by giving the son with whom the old people stay some small advantage (in case there are more sons than one). If there are no sons, they will arrange with some one else (a son-in-law or an adopted son) to take care of them, on the understanding that the care-taker will get the land when the old man dies. It would not be possible to enter on details here; I only wish to say that

"You see that field over there," his father replied, "there we shall plough."

Thereupon they let the bullocks carry the ploughs suspended on the yoke¹⁰ over to the field; then the father said to him: "I say, my boy, we shall plough this millet down, and then we shall sow sunflower¹¹."

"Look here, father," the boy replied, "this millet, why, it is a heavy crop; in a few days it will ripen. Why shall we plough this down? And remember, this is a ready grown crop; to no purpose we shall destroy this, and then afterwards sow. Who has seen that, whether it will come to anything or not? To no purpose we shall ruin and destroy this."

Then the father in very truth realized the meaning of these words: "No, this boy is quite right in what he says to me; the first crop and the first children tally; this boy has become fit to work. And if I should now kill this one, who will support me¹²? Truly, like a second¹³ crop, who can tell whether a second wife will bear children or not? who has seen it? No, I shall certainly not kill this boy, whether she, being annoyed at it, will stay or not."

After having spoken in this way, they unyoked the bullocks and returned home; then he said to her: "You told me to kill; I did not kill him, and I shall certainly not kill him, whether you, being annoyed at it, will remain here or not. He is my only child; in spite of that you try to make me kill him? And whether in days to come you will bear me children or not, who has seen that?"

when it has been said that the Santals do not practise adoption, it is a mistake. The idea underlying adoption is not, however, to secure a successor, but to secure support in old age.

¹³ Meant is the cold weather crop cultivated on the same ground as the first crop, estimated as the more essential or real one. With the Santals, the second crop is practically always cultivated on their high lands, not on the lower lying rice-fields.

Adq onka mēn barakate bhageteye ruhet barakedea; ar onka ror rorteye raŋgaoen khane humak goṭkadea. Adq uni aimai usafe darṭeta; adq pañja hō bae pañjalēdea.

Adq tin din cōe tahēyen; adq apat baretko agu oṭokadea; adq unre noa kathae laiketa onko samahre; adq apat baret hō bogeteko, ruhetkadea, adqe tahēyena.

Adq cabayena katha dō.

22. Baḍohi sē chutar hō reaṅ.

Sedae jokhen, kathae, miṭṭaṅ atore miṭṭaṅ kaṭ baḍohi sē chutar hōre tahēkana. Ar unkinren gidra dō miṭṭaṅ koṛa hōpone tahēkantaṭakina, ar uni chaḍa dosra gidra dō banukkoṭakina, janamreye ini eskargea. Adq sadher hōpon iate uni dō aḍikin jōṭon ar aḍikin dulārea, ar haṭia baṭia khon laḍu miṭṭai sē uni dō bes besak jomkin emaea sekin āguaea. Arkin cerejea, Ma baḅu, hara hōdokme, aṣulliṅam, kaṃi goṛoliṅam. Adq onkakin landawaea.

¹⁴ To run away, home or to near relatives, is a very common expedient with newly married women, when they are in the sulks, or are dissatisfied. If there is nothing really serious at the bottom, the husband is expected soon to follow after his wife and bring her back again, he thereby showing that he wants to live in peace. If the woman is guilty of any serious offence, or rather has given her husband real cause for complaint, the husband will often not follow his wife; others may try to make peace; this may succeed, or it may end in a divorce. Sometimes, when the relatives of the woman understand that she is at fault, they may, as here, take her back to her husband themselves. It is an acknowledgement that the husband is not to be blamed.

²² The title given by the Santal to the following story is Baḍohi sē chutar reāṅ katha, the story of a worker in wood or carpenter. The first part is the story of a spoilt child; the latter part may to some degree remind one of the Askelad of the Norwegian folk-tales. Except for the last portion the whole background of the story is genuine Santal.

² The present day Santals have become agriculturists. As clearers of jungle they have few to equal them in India; as agriculturists they have not as yet advanced

Having said this, he roundly rated her, and as he continued in this way, he flew into a passion and gave her a licking, whereupon the woman ran away in the sulks; but he did not even once go to look after her¹⁴.

The woman stayed away for some time; then her father and brothers brought her back¹⁴. On that occasion the man told this story to their face; then her father and brothers also scolded her roundly, whereupon she remained there.

So it is finished, this story.

22. THE STORY OF A CARPENTER¹.

ONCE upon a time long long ago, people tell, there lived in a village a man who was a worker in wood, i. e., a carpenter². He and his wife had one child, a boy; besides this one they had no other children; this was the only one born to them. And as he was their only child, the parents were taking great care of him and loved him very much; from every market-place they were in the habit of bringing him cakes and sweetmeats, and they were giving him the best kind of food. They were fondling him, saying: "Please, young man, be quick to grow big; you will support us two; you will help us in our work." In this way they were playing with him.

very far; but it may be said that it is a goal with every Santal to have, or to acquire, some land to cultivate. Whilst this is so, the Santals are not, like the Hindus, bound by caste rules to occupy themselves with any special work. A Santal man is expected to be able to make all his own implements (except at the present day what is of iron and bamboo); they have formerly generally woven their own clothes; now this is not so often done. It seems as if they have more than ordinary ability in using their hands. A good deal might be said on this point. Here I shall only mention that it is not uncommon to come across Santals who are quite good carpenters. Although the names used for people engaged in such work are of Hindi or Bengali origin, this is no reason for supposing that people so called should not be Santals.

Ado sariye harayena, kami reake lek manena. Khange apat hor do kamiye acuyea seye riavea, Ma ya, noa ona kamime; se, hona noa den aguitalanme; se, dela telfen do kami kisare metadin tahkana, dela ondelan calaka.

Ado onkae acu baraye khange engat hor doe dhomkao godea, seye men goda, Alo sem acuyea, haralengeye. Haralen khan dingee kamigea. Alan dare bhor do alantegelan kamia. Dare ban calaktalan hilok do hapen bae asullangete? Asullangeae dingee. Ar gidra hoe ni eskargetalana. Ado kichu bae mayakgete? Mayakgeae dingee.

Ado apat hore mena, Nit khon kamilan cetae nahi thoe asullana. Nit khone kami hewalen anee, aris ho bhangaoктаea ar kami hoe ceda, ar bankhan boe boeye harayenge. Kami ho bae ceda, tobe khan cekateye asullana? Kami darele nahie asulmea, ar bankhan boser take asulmea. Onaten acuyede kana sen delawae kana, jahalekate jemon inak kamiye ced. Nit khon aris bhangao akan tahntae khan, seye nel cet idile khan, ina do algategeye kami goda. Ona menkaten acuyede kana. Ar am se etakgem metañ kana. Am do ingem hantao ruaredin kana.

Ado engattete menketa, Koru hopon kanae, ban dingee cedgete? Bae asullan khan, hapen khublan dalea.

Ado metadea, Harakate dom dal darekea? Ohom dal darelea, am khon uni ma khube dareyen. Ado uni tulue dom darekoka? Ohom darelena. Ar hara hopon dalko do lajao paragea. Horro rorgea. Auri harak khon tinakem sikhau parhaoea se tinakem

³ The father takes it for granted that any one at first will feel dislike for work. The Santal word is generally used about becoming 'tired of', 'disgusted at', and the like. The talk between the father, who wants to make something out of his son, and the doting mother, may to some extent be typical. The training of children is one of the weak points with the Santals. When the young ones so often become nothing, the fault is very commonly to seek in circumstances like those here described. On the other hand, when Santal children turn out well, according to their circumstances, as often as not the mothers are to have the credit.

So he really grew up and became fit to work. His father then tried to make use of him or requested him to help, saying: "Come, my boy, do this or that," or, "Please fetch that thing or this," or, "Come along, the rich man told me to work for him to-day; come, we shall go there."

When he tried to make him work in this way, the boy's mother would at once rebuke him, or say to him: "Don't, please, make him work; let him grow up first. When he grows up, he will be sure to work some day. We two shall ourselves work as much as we can. When the day comes that we cannot work any longer, will not he support us, or how? He will be sure to support us some time in future. He is also our only child; will he not feel pity for us, or how? Of course, he will have pity for us."

The father would then reply: "Only when we teach him from now on to work, he will support us. Only if he, from now on, becomes accustomed to work, he will not feel the dislike of work³, and he will also learn to work; and if he does not now, he will only grow up into a lazy sluggard. Work he will not learn either; then how will he support us? Only when he is able to work, he will be able to support you. That is the reason why I try to make him work, or why I ask him to come along, in order that he may somehow learn my work. If from now on he learns to get over the dislike of working, or if he, by looking on, gradually learns, he will in that way easily and quickly become competent. It is for this purpose that I am trying to employ him. Whilst you, see now you are telling me to do something else. You are putting me down."

"He is a boy," the mother said, "will he not learn some day? If he will not support us two, we shall give him a good beating by and by."

"When he grows up," the man replied, "will you then be able to beat him? You will certainly not be able to do that; he will be much stronger than yourself. Would you then be able to be a match for him? No, you will certainly not. And to thrash grown-up children is disgraceful. People will talk. As much as

ceſſea, onageye guna aꝥ onage kajre lagaoka. Ar harakate do muskilgea. Ceſ leka gidraꝥo do hako baꝥſiko lagat khicarege janum doꝥo liveda, ar joakate ma raꝥudokge, onkage gidraꝥ ho kaꝥic khon tinaꝥem acu hewayea, uni gidraꝥe kaje gma. Ar onkan gidraꝥeko maꝥaꝥa arko aꝥſula arko guna. Ar bam acu hewale khan, uni ma amren baꝥiriye hoeyoktam. Jahaꝥnak aꝥ hoꝥk kaꝥim acuꝥe khan, amgeye tardham ruarꝥea. Ado cekate uni doꝥm acu dareaea? Eꝥe ado amge bae bhagaoketꝥea? Onate koꝥa hoꝥon se kuꝥi hoꝥon gidraꝥ khongem acu hewayede kana, ar gidraꝥ khonge kaꝥi senem ayur idiyede kana.

Ado onka engattete dulaꝥkedete gidraꝥ hoꝥ dhomokꝥe ceſketa; apatak roꝥ do baꝥgeye baꝥutaka. Ado bana hoꝥtekin galmarao baꝥawade khan, oka do apat saote kaꝥiye calaka ar oka do baꝥ.

Ado onka taheꝥ taheꝥte uni doꝥe hara juꝥnen khan, ato koꝥako tuluce gate hewayena. Kuꝥi sendrako ghoketa, doꝥn lagre eꝥeꝥe seꝥge se kuꝥiko seꝥge moꝥn calaontacte kaꝥi doꝥe dhilauketa. Jahaꝥnakkin acuꝥea, ona seꝥ do luturge bae luturaka. Apat kaꝥiye riꝥuꝥea, ontꝥe hoꝥ baꝥataea.

⁴ Such relations between child and parents as here hinted at may seem strange to us; but I am afraid it is often what is met with.

⁵ Formerly, perhaps not so frequently now-a-days, Santals made their own fishing hooks as described. I have seen it done with the long sharp thorns or spikes of the bael tree (*Ægle Marmelos*, Correa). When the thorns are young, they are quite supple and flexible. At this time the thorn is bent to the required shape, the point being fixed in the bark and thus kept in position until the thorn matures, when it is removed and is strong enough to be used for catching small fish.

⁶ Doꝥn is the name of a Santal dance, one of their most common. It is danced in daylight and at night, by all people, male and female, small and big. Doꝥn is danced at marriages and at chaꝥtiar (the festival when a young Santal is given tribal rights), now-a-days also at any other time. The music is furnished by drums, flutes, &c., and by songs. They have a special kind of drumming for this dance, also special songs and melodies.

⁷ Lagre is the most common Santal dance. When any dancing is going on, they will nearly always also have lagre. At lagre they may use drums, flutes, cymbals and other musical instruments. They also have certain melodies sung. Mostly young people make use of this dance. The girls make a row (or two rows, if necessary) with arms linked together and move slowly backwards and

you instruct and tutor a boy, or as much as you can teach him, before he grows up, so much will have an effect, and that will be of any worth. But when he is grown up, it is difficult⁴. Just like children when they are going to fish, they bend the thorn while it is immature⁵; if it is matured, it will break; in the same way, as much as you can make children accustomed to be employed from they are small, just as much that child will be of worth. And such children have affection and support their parents and are of value. And if you don't make him accustomed to be employed, he will surely become your enemy. If you put him to any kind of heavy work, he will snarl back at you. And then, how will you be able to make him work? There then, did he not gain the upper hand with you? Therefore you make both boys and girls accustomed to work from childhood on, and from childhood on you gradually lead him to work."

As his mother idolized him in this way, the boy also learnt to be arrogant; he did not at all like his father's talking to him. When both his parents spoke to him, he sometimes went with his father to work and sometimes not.

The time passed in this way, and when the boy had grown up, he became accustomed to keep company with the village boys. They commenced to run after the girls; his mind was drawn towards dancing *doñ*⁶ and *lagrô*⁷, or towards the girls, and he neglected work. When they attempted to put him to something or other, he would not give ear to that at all. When his father asked him to come along and work, he was absolutely unwilling.

forwards, with their bodies swaying, the whole row at the same time circling round, so the dancers gradually face from one direction to another. Whilst the girls move in this way, they sing, and a couple of boys are jumping in front of the girls, beating the drum or whatever instrument they may have. It should be noted that Santal boys and girls in dancing never take hold of each other; this would be thought an absolute indication that there was something wrong. Except for a couple of dances that are downright obscene (danced by men alone) the Santal dances look decent and quiet; but especially the *lagrô* gives the two sexes an opportunity of meeting at night time, with inevitable consequences.

Khange apattet 'dqe acu arisen khan dqe endreyena. Adq engattete metadea, Nelketam? In dq pahil khon in metam kangea, alo se onka dom dularea. Am dq inak 'rorge bam anjomlet khan dqin cekamea? Un jokhen ma ingem dhomkaoedin tahskan. Adq cef cekayena, ma nelme. Okor nit dq alanak ror dqe anjometa? .

Khange uni engattet dqe kekleset hapeyena, cef ho bae ror ruar dareata. Khangeye metadea, Tehen in laiam kana; judi inak katham anjomtin khan, nuilan koboj dareaea; ar bam anjom khan, nui dq oholan kobojlea.

Adqe metadea, Acha, ma rorme.

Adqe metadea, Katha dq noa kana: judi in saote kamiye calak khan, daka utu emaeme, ar bae calak khan, alom emaea.

Adqe menketa, Achaa batlao gelawaea, ar bae anjom khan, endekhan dakage ban emaea.

Adq sari batlao barakate pe pon mahae nelketa seye batlao barawadea. Adq bae anjomlettae khan, sarige pe pon mahā dq bae emadea. Adq atore okoko then con gate korako orakregeye jom baraketa. Ar oka dq mayate engtate ho apat ban taheh ghuriye em okowagea. Are metaea, Kami bam calak kante, babu, apume edren kana. Apum songete kami do calakme bare. Am karonte apum dq inge bogeteye dhuugrauedin kana. Kami do calakme bare.

Adq un jokhen uni kora dq cef ho bae ror ruara, hape akangeye tahena, enhō kami sen dq bahataea. Khange mit din dq daka em akawade, are jojom kane hec nam gotkedeae. Khangeye ruhet gotkedeae, Kurhia hengla mara, okoe arjaoak yam jojom

⁸ The whole might be taken out of life; but it is evident that the narrator does not approve of such behaviour.

⁹ The Santals have not the kind of swearing and cursing used by Europeans; the only expression coming near to it, which the writer for the moment can call to mind, is one used by women, viz. *tēnae* (or with another pronoun, *tēnam*, or *tēnape*, &c.) *ganōke herēl*, lit. man on which a log should be pressed down; the expression implies a wish that the person in question might be on the funeral pyre when logs are put across the body. The language is, however, full of expletives. Women may use a few of these; but it is not considered

His father ultimately became tired of asking him to work, and got angry; he said to his wife: "Do you see? I have from the very first been telling you, please don't love him in this way. As you have not listened to what I have said, what can I do with you? When I spoke, you rebuked me. Now see what it has resulted in. Whenever does he now listen when we speak to him?"

The boy's mother then became frightened and silent; she could not answer a single word. Her husband then said to her: "I am telling you to-day; if you listen to what I say, we shall be able to subdue him; but if you don't, we shall never be able to bring him into subjection."

"Very well," she replied, "speak then."

"What I have to say is this," the man said, "if he goes with me to work, give him curry and rice, and if he won't go, don't give him."

"Very well," she replied, "I shall try to make him understand, and if he will not listen, then I shall give him no food."

She thereupon really tried to make him understand, and looked for results for three or four days, that is to say, she tried; and as he would not listen to her, she really did not give him food for three or four days. He had food somewhere in the village, in the house of some or other of his chums. And sometimes his mother also, when his father was not there, would out of pity secretly give him food. She would then say to him: "As you do not go to work, my boy, your father is angry. Do go with your father to work. On account of you your father is speaking very harshly to me⁸. Do go and work, please."

At such time the boy would not answer anything; he would remain silent; still go and work, that he was quite unwilling to do. Then one day when she had given him food and he was eating, his father came and found him. "You lazy sluggard," he scolded him, "whose earnings are you eating now, you scamp? If there is any work, then he stares like a dead cat, and if there is food to be had, if he can get a lot of food, then, dash it⁹, he

kata ya? Kāmi sex khan, gōé pusiye bēngēda, ar daka jōm sēn khan dō khub daka jōm khan ēngate bege begeye cahaṣ ḡguia. Iḡ gidra, dallañ dalmea sē, ḡai dallañ dalmea.

Adō onkae ruhefede kanre hō uni koṛa dō cef hō bae rōṛ ruṛleṭa, tumbuṭkate dakae jōmjoñ kana. Adō uni apat hōṛ dō, ēngattēṭ sēn kathae ucaṛketa. Eṅgattēṭe ruhefede kana, Am hō iñak kathage bam añjōma. Nōkōe nonka iñ bañ tahēnre dakam emaea. Oko okotem em okowae kana. Nonkate dō chāiaie iñak katha dōe añjōma. Amge ēngate nui dōm barmañḡkēdea, tōbērege iñak katha dō bae añjōmeta. Iñak katha dō icāk jōṭak. Ḃsulok sēn iñ budiyet khan, iñak katha ma talḡe bañ tahēn kan, adō boser ṭākem batlaoa. Kāmi ḡgu sēñ nalha ḡguaben kana, ar aben dō ēngā hōn bege begeben jōmjoñ kana ēngate. Nonkate aben dō iñgeben andak hāmkiḡiña. Aben ēngā hōn dōben miṭ mōnena, adō iñ eskarte dō cef iñ cekaea?

Adō unḡke rōṛ idikeṭre hō unkin dō miṭ katha hō bakin rōṛleṭa, bana hōṛ thirgekin tahēyena. Adō enka rōṛ barakate khange nui hōe thirena.

Khange dosar hilok uni koṛa dō ac ēngattēṭe metae kana, Iḡ ayo, iñ dō oṛakrege bañ tahēna. Bogete babae ruhetediñ kana, ar iñ karōnte am hō bogeteye ruhetēṭmea. Iñ karōnte cakben kaphariṅka? Iñge bañ tahēna, inḡ dō jhograge caba daporōka.

Adḡe metadea, Okate, beṭam calaka? Alom calaka. Apum dō rōṛ ocoae.

nice and comme-il-faut. Many men seem unable to speak without filling up with this kind of words, feeling, as they express it, that their language is 'tailless', if they leave these words out. It should, however, be noted, that the use of all these expletives is not considered fully proper. At the present day some of them, perhaps most of them, have worn down to mean very little, especially not what they have originally meant. But it is not more than a generation ago that people were brought before the village Five and fined, if they had used certain improper words. Some of the expletives have lost every meaning; the one used in the Santal text here (ēṅ g a t e, pronounced sometimes with stress on the initial vowel, sometimes with stress on the much lengthened a)

comes with his mouth wide open. You unspeakable child, we two¹⁰ shall give you a beating, be sure; as they beat a cow, we two shall beat you." •

Although he was scolding him in this way, the boy did not answer anything; with his head bent he continued eating his food. His father then turned towards his mother, and commenced to scold her: "You don't listen to what I say either. Here you see, in this way you give him food, when I am away. Secretly you give him on the sly. In this way he will be sure to heed my words! You, dash it⁹, you have indulged and spoiled the boy; that is the reason he does not heed what I say. What I say is like dirt, at once wiped off. When I am having in mind how we shall be supported, what I say does not count at all; and you instruct him to no purpose whatever. I am working at home or working for wages and bring you what you need, and you, both mother and son, are eating as much as you can gape over, dash it. In this way you two have made me sick. You two, mother and son, have become of one mind; then what can I do alone?"

Although he talked on in this way, the two other ones did not answer a single word; both of them remained silent. And when the man had spoken in this manner, he also stopped.

The following morning the boy said to his mother: "I say, mother, I shall not stay at home. Father is scolding me exceedingly much, and for my sake he is scolding you also exceedingly. Why should you two quarrel on my account? I shall not stay at home; then there will be an end to the squabble at least."

"Where will you go, my son?" she asked. "Don't go away. Let your father talk."

I have not heard a Santal able to explain. It likely originally means 'by the female principle', 'by mother', or something similar. It might be noted that most of the expletives used by men seem to have reference to the sexual organs or to natural functions.

¹⁰ Dual in threatening language.

Ṙaṇa, ayo, calakgeañ. Am hõm edreañ kangea. Am hõ pẽ pon din ma daka hõ bam emadiña, onate inak mon dõ ađi utar lođ kantina. Abengeben janamkidiña, abengeben așul harakidiña, adõ nõkõe nitkate dõ abengeben koștoyediñ kana. Abenge baben emañ khan, in dõ okareñ nama? Boge dõ atore gate korako tahõkan teřõñ, ar bañkhan in dõ reñgeçteben goçlidiñ tahõkana.

Adõ metadea, Apumge tho onkae metadiña, onatege bañ ematmea. Henda beța, tqbe ingeñ bařicketa? Acha, adõ qhõñ onkamea. Uni dõ ror ocoae ma. Ror dõ sahaokakme.

Adõ menketa, E ayo, harayenañ, nit dõ onkan ror bañ sahao dareak kana, ar okare bañ taheñ? Siñ sațup nãhãk onkageye rorẽña. Ar am hõ tinre bam emañ? Eng tho hola hõ dakan jojom kan jokhengeye heç namkidiña. Daka hõ sukte dõ bañ jomleta. Adõ inã karõnte am hõ tinãke ruhetketmea. Adõ, ayo, jivire bañ sahoř lekageñ aikaueta. Adõ nekõñ lai oțoam kana, jãhãteñ ođok calaka.

Adõ metadea, Jãhãte dõ, beța? Okatem calaka? Alom calaka. Bañ jut nãhãk in aikaua.

Adõ metadea, Jãhãtege mẽt lutur calaktiñ, õtegeñ calaka.

Khange engattetak mẽt dak dõ hiđir hiđir joro gotentaea. Adõ jãhãnak bae ror dareata, ekkalte linkede lekae aikauketa. Adõ en hilođ ñindage tinkore cõñ kicriçkoe ñamketæa, ar mițañ bașlã ar mițañ rukai okoketa. Adõ kedokko jom baraket khan, uni

¹¹ In Santali lit. 'burning'.

¹² A very common Santali expression, lit. 'anywhere eyes ears go'!

¹³ The adze (in Santali bașlã) is a tool like an axe, but with the edge crossing the direction of the handle. It is used for cutting away surface of wood, the end of the handle being kept in the armpit or near there, while the worker catches hold of the handle near to the adze itself. It is slow work, but a skilled man may do very nice work with it. The Santal uses the adze in many cases where others would make use of a plane. There are several forms of the bașlã, but the principle is the same with all.

"No, mother, I shall go. You also are angry with me. You also did not give me any food for three to four days; therefore, my heart is feeling exceedingly sore¹¹. You two have given birth to me; you two have maintained me and brought me up; and then, see now, now you two are making it hard for me. If you two don't give me, where am I to get anything? It was fortunate there were some chums of mine in the village, otherwise you two would have made me die from hunger."

"It was your father," she replied, "he told me this; therefore I did not give you. I say, my son, have I then done wrong? Very well, I shall not treat you so any more. Let him talk as much as he likes. Stand the talk."

"Mother," the boy said, "I am grown up; I cannot stand such talk now any more, and where should I stay? All day long he will be sure to give me a talking to of this kind. And when would you find an opportunity of giving me anything? Remember, yesterday also, whilst I was having my food, he came and caught me unawares. I could not have my food in peace even. And then, on this account, how much did he not scold you also? Therefore, mother, I feel as if I cannot stand it any longer. So there now, I am telling you beforehand; I am going away to some place or other."

"To some place or other, my son?" she asked. "Where are you going? Don't go away. I shall feel heart-sick."

"Wherever my eyes and ears will lead me¹²," the boy replied, "there I shall go."

Then the tears commenced to flow down from his mother's eyes, and she was unable to speak; she felt just as if some one was throttling her. That same night, some time or other, the boy collected his clothes and hid an adze¹³ and a chisel¹⁴. When

¹⁴ The chisel (in Santali ruka) used by carpenters does not in form diverge much from the plain bevelled-edge chisel of others. It varies in size. Both this and the adze are manufactured by the local blacksmiths.

engattet do korawak katha apattete laiae kana, banma, Babu do nonka onkae menet kana.

Khange apattet doe rangao gotenteye men gotketa, Bese calaoen khange, kurhia mara. Sen ocoae.

Khange riniéte hōe thir dorokena. Arhō uni korā do ona kathaē anjoman khan, artéte mon do khatō cabayentaea. Ado tin nindare cōn orak khone ođok calaoena, disa hōe bakin disa gotledea. Ar hortē jom nūi lagat do cetge bae idiana; ina başla ar rukageye idi toraketa. Ado kadraote ulți baē ođok calaoena.

Ado calak calakte ađi saŋgiŋe calaoena. Mon kadrao akantaete tin saŋgiŋ cōe calaoen, ona do bae disa hudisleta, ar un jokhen do reŋgeč hōe bae aikauleta. Ado tara siŋ jokhen se huđiŋ dač lo ber khange reŋgečkedeā, ar jaegak reake hudis barayeta. Ado onka hudis barakate miŋtaŋ dare buřareye duřupena. Miŋtaŋ ato sor dare buřareye duřup akan tahōkana. Ar ona dare buřarege ona atoren hor do goč daŋgrako khal jom barakoa. Ado oneye duřup akan řenge daŋgra jaŋko do bogete menaka. Ado cef cōe hudiskette ona daŋgra jaŋ doe sapkette başlateye lak engē kana, ar kačiče kačiče lak chađaoeta. Ar mon do okaretae cōn, ařrige ona doe lak barayeta. Ado cekate cōn onae pohomket khan doe nelket do taole leka nelok kan. Khangeye menketa,

¹⁵ It seems strange that the story does not reflect on the boy being himself the cause of his father's attitude.

¹⁶ If a Santal takes himself off, having, or imagining he has, a grudge, he will generally start without saying good-bye. If there are any formalities imposed by custom and usage, they have ceremonial leave-taking; but otherwise there is the least possible. It has been a pitiful trait in Santal history that they take themselves off, instead of standing up.

¹⁷ The Santals having no clocks, divide the twenty four hours according to what is done at certain times, according to the position of sun or stars, or according to light, cock-crow, etc. They are never far out of the true reckoning. In the afternoon they have maraŋ dač lo ber (big water drawing time) and huđiŋ dač lo ber (lit. small water drawing time), the former referring to a time when the sun is high up, and the latter to a time about one hour later.

they had had their supper, the boy's mother told the father what the boy had said, viz. "the boy is saying so and so."

The boy's father then flew into a passion and said: "Excellent if he goes away, the lazy sluggard. Let him go."

His wife then did not say anything more, what would be the use? The boy also, when he heard what was said, became still more down-hearted¹⁵, and some time during the night he went away from home; they were not aware of his going¹⁶. He did not take anything with him to eat and drink on the way; only his adze and chisel he took with him, and in high dudgeon he went off, not knowing whereto.

Walking along he went far away. He was so upset in his mind, he was not aware of and did not think how far he had gone, and all this time he felt no hunger either. Then, in the middle of the afternoon, or at the time when the women fetch water¹⁷, he became hungry; he also commenced to think of where he should spend the night. Whilst his thoughts were occupied in this way, he sat down at the foot of a tree. He was sitting under a tree that was near to a village. At the foot of that tree the inhabitants of the village were in the habit of flaying and eating dead bullocks¹⁸. In the place where he was sitting there was consequently a lot of bones of bullocks. Who knows what was in his mind, as he picked up a bullock-bone and commenced to amuse himself chipping it with his adze; he was chipping off tiny bits. His mind was wandering, who knows where; he was chipping and chipping, without giving it a thought. Then, as he somehow became aware of what he was doing, he saw it was looking like rice. So he said to himself: "Oh, I have no rice;

At these times women go to fetch the water they need for cooking the evening meal, &c. They approximately correspond to our 4 p. m. and 5 p. m.

¹⁸ This can scarcely be said to be Santal. The writer has never heard of anything of this kind among them. They will, of course, slaughter and eat bullocks, but it is of necessity of such rare occurrences that there would not be time for any collection of bones.

Ho, caole hō banuktiā. Noage bes hikmōtkateh lak caolea, ar jāhāe in daka ocokoa. Ado onka menkate sariye lak caolekef khan, amda j mit lot tala gan hoeyena. Ado menketa, Ho, niage jāhāegiñ daka ocokoa. Ado onka menkate kicriēreya ghētkefa.

Ado ondo, khon calak calakte mittañ atoe namketa. Ar bela hōe jhōl phōlaok kanteye menketa, Teheñ dō niā atoregeñ gitiē aṅgalenge. Gapa dō arhō jāhā sen in calaka. Ado onka menkate ona atoteye rakapena. Ado mittañ oṛakre bes piṅṅako menaktakoa. Ado menketa, Neko. ṭhengeñ bōlōka, neko ṭhen in tahē aṅgalenge. Judi raca senak piṅṅare bako gitiē ocoañ khan, niā kuḍam senak piṅṅare dō jāniēko gitiē ocoāngea. Monre onka hudis barakette ona oṛak raca sene bōloyena, adō hōhō sadeketa, Cele, baba peṛa, menakpea sē bañ?

Ado ona hōhō aṅjomte mittañ kuriye odokena. Ado peṛa menette parkome beladea. Ado kulikedeā, Oka sen khon peṛa dō? Ba coñ hōl orometne.

Ado menketa, Peṛa doñ bañ kana, ayo, in doñ gitiē reṅgec hōṛ kana. Ado noa piṅṅako aḍi sapha ar uḍi sahtañ hēlkettapeteñ

¹⁹ An approximate Santal way of giving a measure. When they are to state the size of, or to give the measure of something, they do it by showing how much or how little, how big or how small, with any suitable part of their body, especially hands and fingers. Their standards of measure are consequently in accordance with this. For comparison they also use well-known natural objects of a fairly uniform size. At the present time they have, as a matter of course, had to learn to make use of standardized weights and measures.

²⁰ Santal houses are built round a court-yard, to which the doors lead. On the same side as the door the dwelling houses generally have more or less of a verandah, according to circumstances, the eaves being more or less lengthened.

²¹ Now and then, but not as a general custom, the eaves on the back side of the house are also lengthened, so as to form the roof of a small verandah. This is, however, seen more frequently with other races.

²² In Santal *baba peṛa*, lit. father friend. *Baba* is used in respectfully addressing men older than oneself; *peṛa* means a relation, or a friend, and may originally have been used about a person known to be, or supposed to be related, in any case belonging to the Santal race. Now the word may be used also like our

I shall use my skill and chip this into rice, and then I shall get somebody to prepare food with it." He was thinking this, and when he had chipped the bone into bits like rice, he had about as much as will go on the open hand¹⁹; and he said: "Oh, this I shall get somebody to prepare food of." With this intention he tied it up in his cloth.

As he was walking along from this place, he reached a village. As the sun was just setting, he said: "I shall sleep to-night in this village. To-morrow I shall go somewhere else." Thinking so, he went into the village. In one house they had good verandahs, and he said: "I shall go in to these people; let me stay the night with these. If they will not let me sleep in the verandah facing the court-yard²⁰, they will likely let me lie down in the verandah here on the backside of the house²¹." Having thought so by himself, he entered the court-yard of this house and called out: "I say, good friends²², are you here or not?"

Hearing this shout, a girl came out, and as he used the word 'friend', she placed a bedstead for him to sit on, whereupon she asked him: "From what side is the friend? Why, I cannot recognize you."

"I am not a related friend, mother²³," the boy answered, "I am a person in need of a place to pass the night, and as I saw

'friend'. It may be noted that, when a Santal meets a stranger at night, and he thinks it is another Santal, he will address him (or her) by *pera hor*, somewhat corresponding to 'kinsman'. When known to each other, they will use the special term, or, e. g., 'father of so and so', 'aunt of so and so', and so on.

Santals may be heard to address girls, even children, as 'mother'. It is intended to show respect and to reassure the person addressed that the speaker may be trusted. People of the so-called *kharwar* movement among the Santals have at times insisted on their followers always using this term in addressing females. I believe also people of other races may do the same. I have heard Bengalis do so. When we do the same, the 'sentimental' background is somewhat different.

boloŷena. Adoŋ menketa, Orakre bankhan niŋ piŋḍakore do janičko gitić ocoakgea. Ado onka menkate, ayo, ape then doŋ boloyena, ar bankhan peŋa doŋ baŋ kana.

Adoċe metadea, Hĕ, nõkĕe piŋḍako do uđi sahta menaktalea. Noakore dole araggea. Nonkage ađi hoŋko gitićale kangea. Ma nõkĕe, aika piŋḍakorege tho.

Adoċe menketa, Acha, in bidisiŋ hoŋ do piŋḍakore hĕn bes-oċgea.

Arhĕ uni kuriye menketa, Ale do bađohi hoŋ kanale. In baba ađiye bađohia, onate ale oraċre do siŋ saŋuŋ hoŋ reak hel kana. Setak ayuŋ miŋ lagharge hoŋko tahena, onate sahta dole piŋḍa akata, jemon noakore hoŋko duruŋ. Teheŋ do in baba ar in go banuċkinte hoŋ hĕ bako hĕċ baŋak kana.

Adoċe kulikedea, Am go ar am baba do okatekin sen akana?

Adoċe metadea, Nhatere phalna ato menaka, oḍḍe peŋa hoŋroċkin sen akana. Teheŋge ruŋa mentekin sen akana. Ado nõkĕe, nit hĕ bakin hĕlok kana. Baŋdoċin hijuċ kan baŋdo baŋ.

Ado uni koŋae menketa, Iŋ, ayo, miŋ kathaŋ metam kana. Katha do ceŋ hĕ baŋ. Caole do menaktiŋa, ado dayakatem dakaletiŋ khan, ađi boċe hoekoċa.

Adoċe metadea, Hĕ, daka dareakaŋ. Deŋ ente caole emame.

Ado haŋake aguketa, onareye raŋawadea. Ado idikate uni kuri do ona caole do hĕle hĕleta se, khub leka ari baŋdhiye hĕleta. Are meneta, Caole ma saphage hĕlok kan, ado cekate keċeċe aċkauċ kana? Adoċe menketa, Noa caole do baŋ dakaea; aleak dakagele emaea. Ado onka menkate ona caole doċe dohoċata, aċoakgeye isinadea.

²⁴ See above note 20 & 21. To build for a purpose like that here mentioned is not common, but may be met with "also among the Santals. It presupposes some kind of position which involves visits of strangers.

²⁵ A standing formula, used to introduce even the most momentous matter. It is possibly intended to imply that the person addressed may do as he likes, to take notice of it or not.

these very clean and spacious verandahs of yours, I entered.* And I said to myself: 'They will likely let me lie down, if not in the house then somewhere here in the verandah'. With such thoughts, mother, I have come in here to you; else I am not a related friend."

"Yes," the girl replied, "as you see, we have very spacious verandahs. Hereabouts we permit people to find a place. In this way lots of people lie down with us. Please, find a place; but, mind, somewhere in the verandahs."

"All right," he said to her, "a man from another country like myself will do very well in the verandah also."

Then the girl spoke again: "We are carpenters. My father is much occupied working in wood; therefore there is all day long lively with people. Morning and evening we have constantly people here; therefore we have provided spacious verandahs, in order that people may sit in these²⁴. To-day my father and my mother are not at home; therefore people do not come."

"Your mother and your father", he asked her, "where have they gone?"

"Over in that direction," she replied, "there is such and such a village; they have gone there on a visit to friends. They have gone with the intention of returning to-day. But you see, even now they are not to be seen. A question whether they will come or not."

"I say, mother," the boy said, "I have something to say to you. It is not worth mentioning²⁵. I have some rice, and if you would be so very kind and cook it for me, it would be very well."

"Yes, I am able to do that," she said to him. "Please, then, give me the rice."

She brought a winnowing fan, and he untied and let it run out on this for her. When she had taken it in, the girl commenced staring at this rice; she looked carefully at it and examined it, and she was saying to herself: "The rice is looking clean enough; how is it that it is so hard to feel at?" Again she said: "I shall not cook this rice; I shall give him of our food." With this thought she put that rice aside and cooked some of their own for him.

Ado daka auriye emaerege engat apatkin seter gotena. Ado ontgnak duk suke kuli baraketkina. Ado onakate uni korā daka-katae lagif caoleye em akawade, ona caoleye udukakin kana. Metakin kanae, Mase, ayo, noa caole nelben; cet leka nelok kana?

Ado sari bana hor sapkatekin nel barayeta. Adokin metadea, Henda mai, noa caole do okarem namketa? Nonkan caole ma banuktabon con. Okarem namketa?

Ado menketa, Mase ente nelben, caole kana se ban.

Ado arho divhe marsalkate khub leka ari bandhikin nelket khan dokin metadea, Noa do, mai, caole do ban kana. Noa do jan leka nelok kana. Okarem nam akata?

Ado menketa, Nui abo thene hec akan, nui korage daka ocok lagate em akawadiha. Metadihae, Ne, ayo, nia caole dakakatihe! Ado caole leka ban aikulettae ban dakalettaea, aboakgen khadle barti akata, ar em do ban em akawadea.

Adokin kulikedea, Henda mai, bam kuliledea okaren kanae mente?

Ado menketa, Onako do ban kuliledea, Eken gitié thayo kulikidiha, Aragape se ban? Ado metadea, Nokoe, noa pinakore dole arakkegea. Ado onka menkateye durupena. Are menketa, Tehen do nonde ape thengeh gitié renggetapea. Ne ayo, nia caole dakakatihe. Onkae menkette in do caoleh atanketteh aguketa. Ado okaren gitié rengget hor kan ce, ona do ban kuliledea.

Adokin menketa, Achalin kuliyea. ar uni lagat hom daka akat khan, ma emaeme. Arkin menketa, Nui do khub badohi hor kanae. Nokoe jokhon jane caole oco akata, nui kiye kom badohi kana? Kom badohi hor do nonka bako tear dareaka. Badohi do sorogea.

Arhokin menketa, Henda mai, cet lekan hor kanae, harama seye koragea?

²⁶ This part of the story is not much in accordance with what is usual. But it is not impossible.

Before she gave him his food, her parents arrived. She asked them how people were faring where they had been. After this she showed them the rice that the boy had given her to cook for him, and said to them: "Look here, mother, look both of you at this rice; how does it look?"

Then both of them took a little and had a look at it, whereupon they asked her: "Look here, my girl, where have you got this rice? Why, we have no rice of this kind. Where did you get it?"

"Do look well at it," the girl said, "is it rice or not?"

And when they with lamp light had again looked very carefully at it, they said to her: "This, my girl, is not rice. It looks like bone. Where have you got it?"

"He who has come to us," she replied, "that boy has given it to me to get food cooked. He said to me: Here, mother, please cook this rice for me. But as I did not feel it like rice, I did not cook his; I put in some more of our own; but I have not given him anything."

"Look here, my girl," they asked her, "did you not ask him from where he is?"

"No," she replied, "I did not ask him about those matters. He only asked me for a place to lie down in, saying: Do you allow people a place here or not? Then I said to him: Here, somewhere on the verandah, we might let people have a space. And after having talked in this way, he sat down. Then he said: To-day I shall pass the night with you. Here, mother, please cook this rice for me. When he had said this, I received the rice and brought it in. But from where he is, this man in need of a place to sleep in, that I did not ask him."

"All right," they said, "we shall ask him, and as you have prepared food also for him, give it to him." They said: "He must be an excellent carpenter. Look at this, since he has been able to make bone into rice, would you think he is an inferior kind of carpenter? An inferior kind of carpenter would never be able to make anything like this. As a carpenter he is first rate."

Again they said: "Look here, my girl, what kind of a man is he? is he old or is he a young man?"

Aḍe menkeṭa, Bae haṛama, baba, khub koṛa kanae, ar dekte sunte hō khub mōñje ṅloḷ kana.

Adoḷin menkeṭa, Henda māi, nuige għardi jāwaeliñ doḥoam khan dōm tahḡokoka se qhō? Am hōm am eskargea, babon saṅgea. Ado doḥole khan dōm khusikoḷa se qhō?

Ado uni kūrīye menkeṭa, Oḷo baḍae ente, ona do abengeben baḍaea. Abenge ceṭ lekanko then cōben ṭhāoeñ, ona do abengeben baḍaea. Abenge ṅel khusikben ente. Nigeben doḥoañ khan dōñ tahengea, ar abenben bañle khan, ina hō bogege. Inṭeñ mena, nui doḥoañben mente, adq tayomre hapen in cōben nisrañiñ. Ona iate in do ceṭ hō qhōñ menlea. Ado abenak khusi.

Adoḷin menkeṭa, Acha, gapa setakliñ ṅellege, eṇḍe ena jāhatak doliñ mena. Ma daka loepe, ar bes lekage daka do emaepe. Oka do dakate hōko loḅhaokgea.

Ado daka lo barakette, dakko tañkette oṛakteko hōḥo aderkedea, adq rokoṛoḷ lekageko emadea. Ado ona daka jojom kan jokhenkin ṅele kana. Ado nakhe mukhe do besgekin ṅelkedea. Khange un jokhenkin kuliyyede kana, Henda baḅu, am dom okaren kana, ar okatem calak kana?

Ado uniye menkeṭa, Phalna disom phalna atoren kanañ, ar in baba do, phalnawaea. Ar in do disom ṅelgeñ oḍok akana. Jāhā senge calak sanañ, oṇṭegeñ calaka. Jāhāre kisār in ṅamleko khan, enko ṭhengeñ tahḡokoka.

Adoḷin metadea, Henda baḅu, ale ṭhenle doḥomea; tahḡokokam se qhōa?

Aḍe menkeṭa, Hape ente, aṅgalenge, inaḷ mōnreñ bujhañ baralege. Nit do ceṭ hō qhōñ men daṛelea. Noa katha gapa kuliñpe, adq unre joto katha doḅon galmaraoa.

²⁷ Baḅu, the common word of address to a man younger than oneself, has possibly no connexion with the Bengali title of 'babu'. The word is in Santali used also about membrum virile.

²⁸ A genuine Santal trait. There are very few Santals who do not enjoy disom ṅel, to see country, as it is called. They do not object to hardship and real difficulties, if they can satisfy their wishes in this respect.

"He is not old, father," she replied; "he is a strapping young man, and as to appearances, he is very nice-looking."

"Look here, my girl," they said, "if we give you this one for your husband, would you stay with him or not? You are also an only one; we are not many. If we kept this one, would you be pleased or not?"

"Who knows?" the girl replied; "you two will know about that. What kind of people you will settle me with, that you two must know. You two see that you are satisfied, therefore. If you give me this one, I shall stay; but if you two are unwilling, then that is also good. If I myself should say that you should give me this one for a husband, you would without doubt afterwards some day upbraid me. Therefore I shall say nothing at all. It is as you like."

"Very well," they said, "we shall first have a look at him to-morrow morning; then only we shall decide one way or the other. Now take the rice out of the pot, and give him a good portion. Sometimes food will also make a person desirous²⁵."

So they took the food out of the pot, poured out water and called the boy in; and they gave him so that it was a feast to his eyes. Whilst he was now eating his food, they were looking at him. They saw he was of good appearance and comely. At this time they commenced asking him: "Look here, young man²⁷, where do you come from, and where are you going?"

"I am from such and such a country and such and such a village," he replied, "and my father's name is so and so. I have come out to see foreign countries²⁸. In whatever direction my mind takes me, there I shall go. If I find a good master anywhere, I might stay with him."

"Look here, young man," they said to him, "we shall keep you here with us; would you be willing to stay or not?"

"Wait a while then," he answered; "let morning come first; I must think the matter over. Just now I am unable to say anything. Ask me about this to-morrow morning; then we shall talk together about it all."

Ado enka men barakatege en hiloĳ doko thir barayena. Ar uni do dakaē jom oĳoken khan, ar hō pindategeye calaoente otre bin aųettege otreye ku᳚᳚a᳚ akana. Ado ako hō dakako jom baraket khan, parkomko ader baraketa, adoko galmaraojo᳚ kana. Menetako, Jāwāe lek do bhagegeye ᳚elok kana, ar ror hō ara᳚ do besge a᳚jomok kantaea, bae gu᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚. Ar nui ar abo māitikin do khubkin jurikoka. Cet ba᳚ se, boeha lekakin ᳚elkoka. I᳚, ti ja᳚ga nakhe mukhe ma besgeye ᳚elok kan. Ado kāmige cet lekantaea, ina᳚ge qhobon men darelea, ar ba᳚khan hor do besgea.

Ado uni maejiu hore menketa, Horųe do khub in khusiyena; hor do᳚bon enkangea. Ar kami bae ba᳚ae khan, babon cetaea? Ja᳚ jokhone caoleketa, ona do begor ba᳚aetegeye caole akata? Ba᳚aegeae. Ado pa᳚iskoge cet leka jutoka se ba᳚, ina᳚ge mi᳚᳚a᳚ katha do.

Ado uni herel hore menketa, Hē sa᳚i, ina do ᳚hikgem meneta. Onako auri᳚o kuliyetege jāwāeye reakbon galmarao kan, noa do a᳚i lelha reak katha kana. Ado men go᳚keta, Do tho no᳚ge hohgae ma. Tina᳚k ontēre a᳚ eskare tahena? No᳚ge hohgae ma, ar onakobon kuliyea.

Ado sa᳚i uni bu᳚hige uni ᳚hen calaoenteye hohq sa᳚eketa, Japitketam, ba᳚u pe᳚a hor?

Ado ųiye menketa, Ba᳚ japit akata, ku᳚᳚el akangea᳚. Ado cedakem hohga᳚ kana?

Ado uni bu᳚hiye menketa, Dela no᳚e ora᳚k senregele jaegamea. Am eskar no᳚ere tina᳚kem tahena? Ale hirlam he᳚ akana. Dela no᳚e ora᳚kregele jaegamea. Oneko men᳚e, Horųe ror hor do

²⁹ The bedsteads are light and easily moved from one place to another by one person. During day-time they are frequently used to sit on; when not in use, they are put somewhere out of the way, generally on end, or rather on side.

³⁰ The appearances play a considerable part in choosing a mate.

³¹ The Santals are endogamous with regard to tribe, but exogamous with regard to sept. A Santal must marry a Santal, or be outcasted; but he must not marry within his own sept or sub-tribe; if he does this, he is also outcasted.

³² See above notes 22 & 27.

After they had had this talk, they did not mention this any more that day. When he had done eating, he again went out to the verandah and was lying on the floor, having thrown himself down without anything underneath. When they themselves were ready with their food, they took their bedsteads ^{ig}²⁹ and commenced talking together. They were saying: "He looks very well, suitable as a son-in-law, and his talk and voice are nice to hear; he is not tongue-tied. And he and our girl would be splendidly matched. What would it not be? they would look like brother and sister. I say, his hands and feet, his countenance are looking nice; but then, what he is as a worker we are unable to say; otherwise the man is good enough ³⁰."

The mother then said: "I am very well pleased with the man; we Santals are such. And if he does not know to work, can we not teach him? As he was able to make bone into rice, has he done that without knowing how to work? Of course, he knows. But then the septs ³¹, how will they fit in? that is one matter."

The man then said: "Yes, that is true; it is right what you say. Before we ask him about these matters, we are talking about making him our son-in-law; that is very foolish." Then he quickly added: "Do let him be called in here. How long is he to remain alone out there? Let him be called in here, and we shall ask him about these matters."

Then, truth to tell, the old woman went out to him and called out: "Are you asleep, young friend ³²?"

"No," he replied, "I am not sleeping; I am lying down. Why are you calling me?"

"Come over here," the woman said, "we shall give you a place for the night inside. Why should you remain alone out here? You have come and taken shelter with us. Please come over here, we shall give you a place for the night in the house. It is a common saying: People speaking to each other on the road are all related ³³."

³³ When you have entered into conversation with somebody, you are not strangers any longer.

jotoge pera. Eka hañdi salpat manwa dobon mitgea. Gai do gai palge, ar hor do hor palge. Jähäre mit hor eskar do babon tahē dareaka. Ar okoe hor murukkate eskafko tahē aṅgak kangea, menkhan uđi nacarte. Ar gai hō jähärenko aflen khan, ar jähären gaike namleko khan, enko sāotegeko tahē aṅgaka. Ar bako namleko khan, tahē doke tahē aṅgak kangea, menkhan uđi jivi koṭokate. Ar am dom manwa kana, ale hirlam boloyena. Toḡe khanem pera kangea. Dela bes okōtele jagakama. Ina do jāhā hilokem lai baralea, bañma, Phalna atore, phalna hor then in bololena. Uđi bhale sabit pera kanako. Jom hōko emadiña ar apnar hor leka oraḡreko jaegakidiña. Nonka hapen senlen khan, bam lai baraea? Ar noa dhartire do, baḡu, bar lekan horgeko nutumok kana. Mit do khub bhage hor se khub māyāk hor; ar mit do aditeḡ kharap hor se bodmas hor. Neko bar lekan horge noa dhartire do man menaktakoa, ar bañkhan celeak hō man do banukan. Arhō mucaḡre do ulṡagea kathateḡ do. Metakme cet leka ulṡau? Ona do nonka kana: metakme bes hor do baḡic sene lekhayena, ar baḡic hor do bes sene lekhayena. Ona do metakme nonkare roḡogok kana. Bes hor judi jāhān kaire, se hajotreye paraolen khan, seye goḡlen khan, unre horko mena, Uh! phalna do ađi bhage hore tahēkana, goḡ giḡiyenae. Ado geḡ unre uni bes hor dom giḡiyena. Ar jāhāe baḡic hor onkan ghoṡnareye paraolen khan, seye goḡlen khan, unre horko mena, Bhageyenae, goḡenae. Uni do nonka se onkae tahēkana. Ado geḡ un jokhen uni baḡic hor doe bhageyena. Ado mase oka lekan katha araṅok kana?

Ado inaḡ khange harame hoḡo goḡketa, Onteregeben leḡer maraoet do! Note do baben hijuka? Ina do ale hōle aṅjom cet barajona. Noteḡe aḡuyem; noteḡebon galmaraoa.

34 The Santali expression may also be translated 'he has become good, or well'; it is a play on words.

35 The Santali expression lit. means make soft, semi-liquid, viz. in order to make fit for use.

We people who drink beer with sal-leaf cups of the same, pot are one and the same. Cows go to the flock of cows, and people to the flock of people. Nowhere are we able to remain by ourselves alone. Some people make an effort and remain alone over night, but it is out of helplessness. Also if somebody's cows get lost, and they meet with somebody else's cows, they will stay the night with those. And if they do not meet with any, they will naturally have to stay over night, but only with straining of every nerve. And you are a human being; you have taken shelter with us. Therefore you are a friend. Come, we shall give you a good sleeping-place. Then you will also some day speak of us, saying: In such and such a village I once entered the house of so and so. They are excellent splendid friends. Food they also gave me, and they gave me a place to sleep in, as if I were their near relative. If you should go away afterwards, will you not speak in this way? And in this world, my young friend, two kinds of people are given a name. On the one hand very good or very compassionate people, and on the other hand utterly wicked people or scoundrels. These two kinds of people are famed here in this world; and otherwise no one has any fame. And further, when the end comes, the word is reversed. In which way reversed? It is this way: good people are counted with what is bad, and bad people are counted with what is good. In cases as these it is said: if a good man finds himself in some fault, or in prison, or if he dies, then people say: What a pity! so and so was a splendid man; he is dead and thrown away. There you see, then, that good man was thrown away. And if some wicked one finds himself in such a case, or if he dies, then people say: Excellent, served him right³⁴; he is dead. He was such a one or such a one. There you see, then that wicked man was called good. And see, what kind of word is being voiced."

When she had got thus far, the old man called out: "What are you two soaking³⁵ out there? Will you not come in here? Then we shall also hear what it is about. Bring him in here; we shall talk together here."

Ado budhiye menketa, Dela babu, tobe nqte orakregele jagea.

Ado oneye agukedea. Mit secre mittafi parkomreko jagakedea. Ado unre jat paris reakko kulikedea, ar uni hōe laiketa, ado bañ mitlena. Ado ako motoreko amdajketa, jutokgea mente. Khange adoko thir barayena.

Ado tinre unkin budhi haramkin japitketa, khgr khgrkin uduref kana, un jokhgr uni kuři dq kořa then heckate uni tuluce gitic mitena. Ado khange kořa hō bae bataolefa. Menketae, Jokhgr bakhra dakae hartawañ kana, cedak bañ joma? Jāhāe hōř acá bakhra dakae emam khan seye metam khan, Ne, in khusitege inak dakañ emam kana, ado reñgeć akame ghuri dq, cekate hale bam joma? Ado onka uni kořa dq monreya gañđon barakef khan dq lotghutiye lagaoketa. Khange uni kuři dq adiyeye khusiyena. Ar uni kuři dq ac monre nonkae hudis pahilketa, Jemon nui kořa dq jāhā lekate ale thene tahen ar nuireko jāwāekañ. Ado marsalrege akin akin dqkin nepel akana se bañ? Unrege uni kuřiak mon dq gađao akan tahēkantaea. Monē monete dqe menjoñ kan tahēkangea, Nenkan kořareko jāwāelīñ khan dqñ tahē gořkoka. Ado bahuanic kořa kanae seye đāñguagea, onako dq bae onmanleta. Jāhā mon dq gađaoen dqe hoegea.

Ar nitre hō kuři hopon dqko onkangea. Jāhā ac moneteye menkef dq, ona dqe hoegea cahiye, gñde ena mon dq tirpitoktakoa. Ado onka leka nui kuři hō pahilkin nepelenrege mon dq gađao akan tahēkantaea. Ado ona iate oneye jaegayen khan, uni kuři dq luřuk luřuke aikauet tahēkana. Monē moneteye menef tahēkana, Tinre bako japit? Nui tuluc dqñ lotghutiyegea. Ado onate onē acá sana dqe purauketgea.

Ar noa katha dq sari kangea. Nitre hō kuři jokhgr dq jāhāe kořa bes, nōke nēlok khan, kuři dq akotege uni tuluc dqko leao godoka, arko joř baraka, ar uni songeko roř siñđana. Kuli

36 There is accordingly no hindrance to marriage, as far as septa are concerned.

"Come along, young man," the old woman said, "we shall give you a place to sleep in inside in the house."

Thereupon she brought him in. They gave him a bedstead to sleep on at one side. At that time they asked him about his tribe and sept, and he also told them; their septs were not the same³⁶. So they calculated between themselves that it would be suitable. Thereupon they all became quiet.

When the old people had fallen asleep and were loudly snoring, at that time the girl went over to the boy and lay down with him. And the boy did not restrain himself. He said to himself: 'When any one puts a share of his food before me, why should I not eat? If any one gives you a share of his rice, or he says to you: Here please, I am of my own accord and pleasure giving you my food, then, when you are feeling hungry, why should you not eat? When the boy had been pondering in this way, he had illicit intercourse with her, and the girl was very pleased. The girl had from the beginning thought in her heart: O, that this boy might somehow or other stay with us and be married to me! Now these two had seen each other whilst it was daylight, you see. At that time the girl's heart had become attached to the boy. She was thinking and saying to herself: If they would only marry me to such a boy, I should at once stay with him. Whether he already had a wife, or he was a bachelor, these matters she did not give a thought to. Whatever the mind fixes itself on, it will carry through.

Now-a-days also girls are of the same kind. Whatever a girl may decide in her mind, that she is sure to carry out; then only they are satisfied in their mind. In this way, when they first saw each other, the girl had got a strong impression. Therefore, when he had gone to bed, the girl was feeling excited. She was thinking in her mind When will they fall asleep? I shall enjoy myself with him. Thus she did what she wanted to.

Now this is a true thing. Also now-a-days, in the time of girl-hood, if some boy is looking fairly nice, the girls will on their account mate themselves with such a one and pair themselves

godloako, Henda pera, okaren kanam am do? Okatem calak kana? Se. Okatem calak kan laialeme, pera. Nui ma bhala ror ho bae rora; bando pane kopet akat bando cet, bandoe gungage. Nonka emanteakko ror sindana. Ado inatege korā doko badae goda, nui kuri do mon hecae kana mente. Ar judi korā ho ona menaktae, khan, onka lekageye ror idia, onko tuluē beceroka. Ar bae monak khan, sojhe sojheye ror ruaratkoge. Kurikoak mon do onē onkana. Ar tire juge bhunjau lagat mon un jokhen do ban tahentakoa. Eken onko do inā atkar barajon lagatgetako mon do.

Ado onate nui kuri ho uni korā reak atkar sanakedete oneye purakutgea. Ado enka lotghuti barakate uni kuri do arho acak parkomtēye calaena. Ado jēneko gitiē angayen khan, budhi haram do khub lekakin beñget barawae kana. Ado sanam horge inā hara godok se juanok takre do monjgebo neloka. Kuri se korā inā jokhen do cehra begarokgea. Bariē hor ho inā umerre do jutgeko neloka. Ado onkage nui korā ho inā takre do khub dhobe nelok kana.

Khange jotō horko khusi utarena. Adoko menketa, Ma nui gidra ghardi jāwāelañ dōhōaea. Ado onako nitkette uni korā

³⁷ The story as told is perhaps not impossible; but I could not think that such behaviour should be common. The comments of the narrator may be taken for what they are worth. Nature is undoubtedly strong with them; on the other hand it is nature.

³⁸ To understand the following it is necessary to bear in mind one particular Santal custom in connexion with marriage. To put it bluntly, a Santal buys a wife and brings her home as his property; she belongs from marriage on to his family. When a Santal has only girls, he would ordinarily lose all his children when they are married, and would remain behind alone. To obviate this, and especially also to make it possible for girls to inherit land, they have introduced the system of ghardi jāwāe, house-son-in-law, as it might be translated. There are two varieties of such. One is that a man pays for his wife by working five years with his father-in-law, with liberty after that time to go elsewhere with his wife. Another is that the son-in-law pays for his wife in the same way (by putting in work), but with the understanding that he is to remain with his parents-in-law, inheriting their property, as if he were their son. This kind of ghardi jāwāe is now generally called ghar jāwāe.

with him, and they will speak to him to find some pretext. They will ask the boy something like this: "I say, friend, wherefrom are you? Where are you off to?", or, "Tell us where you are going, friend. This fellow, well, he does not even speak; perhaps he has his mouth full of betel-nut or whatever it may be, or perhaps he is dumb." In this way they speak this, that, and the other to provoke him. By this a boy will at once know that the mind of this girl comes out to him; and if the boy also is of the same mind, he will answer in similar way and keep the talk going with the girls. But if he does not care, he will give them a straightforward answer. Girls' mind is of such a nature. To get a mate with whom to spend life for ever and always, for such they have no mind at such times. They want experience³⁷.

This was what was in the mind of the girl, and when she had had her wish, she went back to her own bed. When they had passed the night and got up, the old man and woman were looking hard at the boy. Just when we reach maturity or are in our prime, at that time all of us look fine. Whether it is a girl or a boy, at that age the whole look is different. Even evil-favoured persons look well at that age. In this way this boy also was looking very comely at this time.

All of them became absolutely pleased, and they said: "Well, let us give our girl this boy for a husband³⁸." When they had decided this, they spoke to the young man that he should

an expression framed, I believe, by Settlement officials, and now commonly adopted by the Santals. It is in very common use, but must be done with the approval of the village community. In such cases the father of the bride pays all expenses in connexion with the marriage, and the bride is, as far as possible, acting as if she were the principal.

For further particulars the reader is referred to the writer's paper 'Some remarks on the Position of Women among the Santals', *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Sept. 1916. See also the introductory remarks pp. 221—227.

The young man of the story is to become a *ghardī jāwāe* (or, if one prefers, a *ghar jāwāe*). The Santal text has all along this (former) word.

jāhāte aloe calaka mēnteko metadea, Ia bābu, sēn bōtēčkōkam. Alom calaka; alegele dōhōmea. Arem calakre hō besge, mēnkhan daka jōm barakatem calaka.

Adō uni korāe mēnketa, Dōhō ma dōhōngēpe mēnet kan, adō cef leka dōhō ar cef leka dōrmaha, onakope laiaha, tōbē thō jut dōhō aikāua, ār bānkhan jut dō qhō cōh aikāule.

Adōkin metadea, Guti leka dō bañ, ghārdi jāwāe lekaliñ mēneta. Gidrā hōe ni eskargetaliña, onate amge nui kuřire ghārdi jāwāe dōhōmeliñ niñ akata.

Adō uni korāe mēnketa, Acha besge. Dēn bar pē hōř agukope, galmaraoabo. Ar ona reak cef leka lēg dustur kana, onakobo rapuda, enko hōřko añjōmkaka. Inā dō jāhā hilok gohako purāua.

Adō uni hařame mēnketa, Onkoko aguko lagat iatege thō am dōhō hapeam kana, ēn kathae, hape dakako jōm barakatem calaka mēnte.

Adōe mēnketa, Acha, nit dōhō bujketa, adō qhōh calaka; dō agukom.

Adō hōř agu uni hařam dōe calaoen khan, uni kuři dō korawak rukā ar başlā dō orakteye aderkettaea. Adō uni hařam dō qntērege hōřko tuluc cefko cōko galmarao kan inaktege tikinen khan, dakako isinkette uni kōřa dō dakako emadea. Adōe jōm jirāu akan jōkhenge uni hařam dō turui hōre aguketkōa. Adō gořare parkōm idikateko belketa, onareko duruřena. Khange buđhi dō uni korāe metadea, Do onko gořareko duruř akan hōř am dō dōbōk barawakome.

³⁸ A marriage is, of course, a public affair in which Society or the community is concerned and must take part. The young man is cautious and thinks it necessary to have witnesses to the proposed settlement. A Santal will ordinarily act in this way.

⁴⁰ It is very common to let visitors sit down in the cow-shed, which is empty during day-time. Their cow-sheds are generally open to one or more sides, often all round. Here is shelter and air, and the state of the ground will not affect them; as a rule it is fairly dry. Bedsteads are taken here to sit down on.

not go anywhere: "I say, young man, you might perhaps go away. Don't go; we shall keep you here. Even if you go away, it is all right; but only when you have had food, you may go."

"Well," the boy replied, "you talk about keeping me; then how am I to be kept and at what wages, that you must tell me; then only I shall feel well; otherwise I shall not feel well at all."

The old couple then said to him: "Not as a servant, but as a husband for our girl we intend to keep you. This girl is the only child we have; we have therefore decided to keep you as a husband for this girl of ours."

"Very well," the boy replied, "that is all right. Please fetch two or three people: we shall talk the matter over. Then we shall settle what is usual and customary on such an occasion, and those people will hear it. Then they will some time, if necessary, be able to bear witness³⁹ to it."

The old man then said: "Why, it is just to be able to bring those people that I am telling you to wait, as I said, wait, when you have had food, you may go!"

"All right," the boy replied, "now I have understood it, and I shall certainly not go away. Please, fetch the people."

When the old man had gone to fetch people, the girl took the boy's chisel and adze and brought them into the house. Now it became noon, whilst the old man was talking about something or other with the people he had gone to, and they prepared food and gave it to the boy. Whilst he was resting after food, the old man came with six people. They took some bedsteads out and placed them in the cow-shed⁴⁰, and they sat down there. The old woman then said to the boy: "You go and salute those who are sitting in the cow-shed." *

³⁹ and the conversation may go on without disturbing, or being disturbed by, the routine of the household.

Ado sari senkateye dōbōkatkoa. Inakateko metadea, Ma bābu, thamakur benaoletabonme, jomabo.

Ado uni korae mēnketa, Thamakur cunige tho, baba, banuktiñ.

Ado miť hore mēnketa, Neñ emok kana, benaokate emabonme.

Ado sariye atankesteyē benaoketa, adge em barawatkoa. Ado unreko bēngēf barawade khan, miť hōr dge rōr gōtketa, Nūki cōñ khub korā kanae. Nui kuri gidratikin dō khubkin jurika; boeha lekako metakina.

Ado miť hore mēnketa, Henda bābu, am dō celeama ar amren baba dō celeaea?

Ado uni korā onako tināk kathae kulikedeā, ťhik ťhik onako jōtō katha reak rōr ruāre emadea. Arhōe kulikedeā, Henda bābu, bāhu akawatmeako sē bañ? Ar cekate nun sañgiñ dōm heć akana?

Ado korae mēnketa, Bako bāhu akawadiña, dañguageañ. Ar orakregele ropōr baralena, ona karōntege in dō usat in ođok calak kana. Onatege nun sañgiñ disom dōñ heć akana.

Henda bābu, adō usat rarećlentam khan, orakte dōm ruāra sē bañ?

Adge mēnketa, Jāhāre kisār in nam ťhikleko khan, orakte dō bañ ruāra, ar bañ namleko khan dōñ ruāre cōñ, purā dō qhōñ mēn dārelea.

Ado bābu, noakore kisārle sapam khan dōm tahēkoka sē qhō?

Adge mēnketa, Suk in namle khan, ekkalte jonōm kal in tahē utarkoka.

⁴¹ Santals do not ordinarily smoke tobacco; those who do so have learnt it from the Hindus. (Cf. p. 50, note 11.)

⁴² They ask for tobacco to get an opportunity of having a good look at the young man. It is customary to make use of dodges of this nature when they want to 'inspect' a person without making him (or her) embarrassed. Of course, all know what is going on.

⁴³ It might be noted that here and in the following the village people called in act on behalf of the old man. The responsibility is put on others, who cannot be called to account.

He then really went and saluted them. When this had been done, they said to him: "Please, young man, prepare some tobacco⁴¹ for us; let us take a pinch."

The boy replied: "Tobacco and lime, sirs, I have none."

Then one of them said: "Here, I am giving tobacco; prepare it and give to us all."

The boy then received the leaf, prepared it and gave them. Whilst he was doing this, they were looking well⁴² at him, whereupon one of them said⁴³: "This one is a strapping young man. The girl and this boy will be exceedingly well matched; people will say they are like brother and sister."

Then another said: "Look here, young man, what is your name and what is the name of your father?"

The boy gave correct answers to everything he asked him about. Then again the man asked him: "Look here, young man, have they given you⁴⁴ a wife or not? And how is it that you have come so far away from home?"

"They have not given me a wife," the boy answered, "I am a bachelor. We had some altercation at home, therefore I am out of temper and am going away. That is the reason why I have come to a country so far away."

"Look here, young man, when your temper cools down, will you go home again or not?"

"If I can find a master to serve somewhere," the boy replied, "I shall not return home; but if I do not find such a one, I may perhaps go home again; I cannot say that for certain."

"Then, young man, if we get you a master to serve hereabouts, would you stay or would you not?"

"If I find happiness and ease," the boy replied, "I should immediately stay on for all time."

⁴⁴ The form of the question is due to the way in which a regular Santal marriage is brought about. Ordinarily the father, or somebody representing a father, procures a wife for a son; it is not his choice.

Adq inačkate khangge uni khamid haramko kulikede, Cele baba phalna, deşş bhala lailetam, ceſko lagat ale dom dela aguketle dq. Adq am then khon aran bale anjgmle khan, jahanak dq cekatele men oco dareaka?

Adq uniye menkefa, Katha dq noa kana. Nui peſa koſage okateye calaka ar tinake darā baraea? Adq jawae gomkeye lekaſ menefa. Gidra hōe miſ goſen eskargetina, adq uni gidraſe ghardi jawae dohqae in menefa. Nui koſageſ nel ſhike kana.

Khangge onko ato hoſko menkefa, Qte, babu, amge, kathae, ghardi jawae dohqmeko menefa. Khusikokam se qhqa? Maşş ona katha khulaſate laialeme. Ar ale bujre dq besgele metak kana. Am hōe kişarſeyem nam barayetkoa. Adq cak guti lekam tahena? Ekkalte amgele tala oračkam kana.

Adq uni koſae menkefa, Toſe baba ape moſſe hoſ, bogepe metak kan khan, in hōe khusige. Adq jaha hilok agoſ digoročk khan, ape ato hoſtege bape nelkatina? Ar inren engañ apuſ dq tin jojonre con. Adq un jokhen onde tho qhqa senlena. Ape ato hoſgeſ rakapea nit oka katha kana. Adq tayom hilok ona baſ purauk khangge tho roſ dq janamoka, ar baſkhan kişar reak bam roſ barae.

Adq onko moſſe hoſko menkefa, Albot un jokhen dq neheltege hoeyoktalea. Amren enga apa dole ale kangea.

Adq uni koſae menkefa, Toſe baba, inren oaris dope ape kangea. Adq ondekhan ghardi jawae reak ceſko leg dustur kana,

⁴⁵ Tala is in Santal in expressions similar to the one here made use of employed to signify, 'belonging to'.

⁴⁶ Note the way of addressing. 'The Five' represent the community-in-Council, if such an expression can be used. Moſſe hoſ (lit. the five men, or, Santals) corresponds to what in Hindi is called panchayat, a village council, or a court of arbiters, as the name would show, properly of five members. Whether the institution has been originally borrowed by the Santals or not, it is working on Santal lines. The headman is the natural president and must be present, or represented. Any male Santal, belonging to the village, may be present and speak. There is no voting properly speaking; but they will generally do what they consider to be the sense of those assembled. The headman, if he is any-

When they had got thus far they asked the old master of the household: "Well, sir, now please tell us what is the matter that you have brought us here for. If we do not hear anything from you, how shall we be able to get anything said?"

"The thing is this," the man said; "this young friend — where is he to go, and how much is he to wander about? I am thinking something about making him my son-in-law. I have only one child, and I am thinking of giving this child of mine a husband. This boy seems to me to be exactly suitable."

"Listen, young man," the village people then said; "they are thinking of keeping you, as you hear, as a son-in-law. Would you be pleased at that or not? Please tell us freely what you think of it. In our opinion we say it is excellent. You are seeking a master to serve. Why should you remain as a servant? We are placing you at once in the middle of the house⁴⁵."

The boy then said: "Then, my fathers village-Five⁴⁶, when you say it is good, I am also satisfied. Then if, some future day, there should come any hitch, will not you village people look into the matter for me? My parents are so very far away; at such a time I should not be able to go there, you see. I shall put my case before you village people in connexion with what we are now arranging. If some time or other in the future it should not go well, then the matter will come up; otherwise you will not speak about your master."

The village Five then said: "Of course, on such an occasion it will be our duty to look into the matter. Your father and mother are we."

The boy then said: "Consequently, my fathers, you are my helpers to stand up for me. Then let us see what is usual and

thing of a personality, will generally make his will prevail. On the whole it is a very well-working institution, that might with advantage be much more used than it is at present. A Santal will, as a rule, not think of defying the council of his own village. He would, if he did so, not be able to stay there long.

onabq ñela. Ar un, jòkhen sedae mare hapramko cet lekako katha akata, inakobo galmarakaka. Ar cetko un jòkhenko kamia, inakobon kamikaka. Do, adq begege. Nit dq in hñ gòket khan dq nukin buđhi haram şurin şsul goćkin dhabić dq inak chuđi dq banukan.

Adoko menketa, Hęge, bađu, acha katha bachaokatem roręeta. Onako dq katha kangea, baña mente dq bañ. Katha kangea. Nui korawak katha dq mucatena, ar in habićgeko kathaea. Onę con, acętege gujuk gurok habić reake kathaket. Adq dese bhala, am khamid hqř le kuliyefmea, sę aben haram buđhigele kuliyefbena, noa jòkhen cetko lagaoka, ona doben emoka sę bañ?

Adokin menketa, Jòkhen etak hoponlin apnarede kana, adq cedak balin emoka? Nit dq emoktege hocoka.

Adq uni buđhiye menketa, Cetkolin emoka? Onę con jotq orak duar, ghor korna, cij basut, jotolin jimawae kan. Adq ceflin emaea? Alin dq mit lapet daka ar mit bita bostor, inq khajukkin emalin. Inate khajuk alokin kostolin. Inage tho alinak reņęeć dq, jemon jiveř bhor suktekin doholin, ar goćen gurlen hilokkin gaya gaņgakalin, inage. Ar noako cij basut dq akinakęe. Nękęe con jotolin soprotakin kan. Adq ceflin emaea?

⁴⁷ It might be noted that the idea of the Santals when taking a man as a son-in-law, as here described, is to make sure of support, when they cannot work any longer. The idea of succession does not come in, properly speaking.

⁴⁸ The Santal expression *gaya gaņga* (also *gaņga gaya*) most probably has reference to the Ganges and to Gaya (Hindu śrađdha performed here sends the soul of the departed to the paradise of Vishnu, it is said, and the ashes of the dead bodies are thrown into the Ganges); but it must not here be taken to mean anything more than what is translated. The Santals take the bones of their dead ones to the Damuda river, and the funeral ceremonies are, except for this, all performed at home. The expression may likely be taken as a testimony that the Santals have adopted much in connexion with their rites and ceremonies from the Hindus! As a matter of fact, the Santal traditions explicitly mention that their ancestors, at a certain specified time, decided to give up certain old customs and adopt new ones. Among the customs given up.

customary when one becomes the son-in-law and comes to live with his wife's father. Let us discuss what our ancestors of old have ordained for such occasions. What people do at such a time, let us do exactly that. Please do so, and it is well. As I have now taken this upon myself, there will be no release for me, until I shall have supported⁴⁷ this old couple as long as life lasts."

"Yes, that's it, young man," they said; "you have chosen your words well in speaking. That is the real thing, there is no gain-saying that. That is what there is to it. Now the matter of this boy has come to an end; it is as much as people have to say. We have heard it, he has himself mentioned everything, right up to death and decease. Then now, you master of the house, we are asking you, or rather, we are asking you both, husband and wife, whether you two will give the things that are due on this occasion, or not?"

They answered: "When we are making somebody else's son our own, why should we not give? Now we are bound to give."

"What shall we have to give?" the old woman asked; "you see, the whole house and possessions, household chattels, goods and property, everything we are giving into his charge. What more are we to give him? Provided those two will give us a mouthful of food and a span of clothes, only this much. Provided they will not let us suffer hardships in connexion with this. That is what we two are in need of. That these two, so long as life lasts, will keep us comfortable and happy, and, when we shall die and fall away, that they will then perform the last rites with our bodies⁴⁸, that is all. And all these goods and chattels belong to these two. You see, here we are giving everything over to them. Then what more are we to give?"

⁴⁷ was the burial of the dead, in stead of which they adopted cremation, following the Hindus.

Ado ato hor̄ko m̄nkefa, Noako tin̄ak katham r̄or aguketa, noako do asol katha kangea, auri do ban kana, ar dusaŋ lek h̄o ban kana. Ar abo eŋga apa ma kam̄i ban calakte, se hor̄te khaṭo iate, se gidrakoren peṛa bako lagaok kar̄onte gh̄ardi jāwāe doko dohqkoa. Abo do aosanoka m̄ntebon m̄na. Ado pasec̄ aboren kuṛi gidra bae khusik, ar pasec̄ nui tuluc̄ bae r̄or, bakin bonotok, toḅe khan cekate nui jāwāe doe tah̄e dareaka? Eneye dar̄ketge. Ado nahakge tho aboren gidra kuṛi doe kh̄o-kadea, bh̄alo name durkadea. Ona iate uniak̄ m̄on ropha do emoktege hoeoka. Ado kuṛi nui tuluc̄ bae tulujok̄ khan, eŋ hilok do in̄ sapkateye seŋjoŋa.

Ado buḍhiye m̄nkefa, Toḅe baba ape m̄or̄e hor̄, in̄ do ban baḍae kana. Ape then in̄ kulijoŋ kana, noa kuli jugreŋ kulijoŋ kana, cetko lagaoka laiaŋpe. In̄ doŋ m̄neta, aliŋ eŋga apateliŋ r̄oh̄ekae kana. Aliŋak̄ katha do janić qh̄e neh̄ottaŋiŋa.

Ado onko m̄or̄e hor̄ko m̄nkefa, Ona ma h̄e kangea. Abo ma besoka m̄ntegebon m̄neta. Pase bakin jutok̄. Nāh̄ak̄ do disom huti cayayena, eŋga apawaḅ r̄or ban tah̄ena. On̄e lagr̄e sereŋ sikte ma: Lok hoelo caṭur, muluk hoelo ph̄atur, dekho he raja Dasar̄at; gh̄ore gh̄ore ṭikis joma laḡilo, dekho he raja Dasar̄at. Ado ona sik katha nitkate do abo khon gidrage b̄arti

⁴⁹ People with girls are not supposed to seek husbands for them; they are to be sought by other people, who have sons. The initiative must come from the male side. This does not preclude hints from the party with girls.

⁵⁰ It is customary what is here demanded. When a man becomes a gh̄ardi jāwāe, a calf is shown to him, i. e., is given him at the time of marriage; the reason for this act is as here stated, whatever it may have originally been. It is a fact that the parties generally know very little of each other, and the possibility of their not being able to hit it off with one another is always to be taken into account.

⁵¹ The Santal expression kuli jug (asking age) is likely meant as a play on kalli jug (the Kali age, the fourth age of the Hindus), often heard mentioned.

⁵² Lit. translated.

⁵³ A rather drastic description. The weevils (in Santal huti) are larvae of sorts that eat and destroy timber and foodstuffs, always present in the country and causing much damage. The caya is an unpleasantly stinking bug, also very common.

The village people then said: "All that you have mentioned is to the point; there is nothing irrelevant. There is nothing to blame either. And when work does not go any longer for us who are parents, or when we are short-handed, or when no friends come for the children⁴⁹, then for such reasons people take in sons-in-law to live in their homes. We think we are going to get relief. Then perhaps our girl is not pleased, and perhaps she will not talk with him, perhaps they will not pull together, then how will this son-in-law be able to remain? You see, he would run away. Then without cause our girl would cast a slur on the man; she would take his good name away from him. Therefore you will have to give him something to make his mind content and quiet⁵⁰. If the girl should not hit it off with her husband, that day he may take this and go his way."

The old woman then said: "Then, sirs, you Five, I do not know. I am asking you, in this asking⁵¹ age I am asking, tell me what are the dues? I myself mean that we, the mother and father of the girl, are planting⁵² him. Likely he will not transgress our word."

The Five then answered: "That is quite so. We of course mean that all will be well. But perhaps they will not hit it off. Now-a-days the land has been damaged by weevils and made stinking by bugs⁵³; the word of parents is disregarded. Just as it is in a *lagrē* song: The village people have become clever, the country has become upset: look out, O king Dasarāt! In every house rent notice is fixed: look out, O king Dasarāt!⁵⁴ And corresponding to this, now-a-days the children are sharper than we are. If they bring you to silence on one

⁵⁴ The *lagrē* verse is in a kind of Bengali. It might be remarked that, whilst *phatur* in Bengali means weak, infirm, &c., the word is here used in a meaning found in Hindi. Dasarāt is the father of Rama. I have been told by Santals that this verse dates from a time shortly after the Santal rebellion (1855). If that is so, one might think that somebody has assisted in producing this verse. The last words refer to the agricultural land being assessed. It seems strange

21 — Inst. f. saml. kulturforskning.

doko calaka. Okatãk con mit kathaeseftlem khan, qhom ror ruar darelea. Onate nitre katha do chinqau idikakge bogea. Ina do tayomre bako ror dareaka. Katha reak dog do hulec idikakge thika.

Ado budhaye menketa, Acha besge. Ma tobe uni gidra kuribo kulikaea ninak hor samañre, khusik kana seye ban, ar nui jawaeeye khusiae kana se ban. Ma ape moro hore kuliyetabonpe.

Adoko menketa, Thik, niã dõle patiquena. Ma uni kuri gidra hohqaepe.

Ado sariko hoho agukedea. Heçenae. Adoko metadea, Ma mai, durupme, mit kathale kulime lagat.

Ado durupenteye menketa, Cet katha kana, baba? Ma kulinpe.

Ado moro horoko menketa, Katha do noa kana, mai. Amren ayo babate, se ale moro hore, ghardi jawaele dhoam kana, nui korage. Adom khusik kana se ban, ar nui koram khusiae kana se ban? Ado amak monre khub leka bujhaũ kandhaokate laialeme. Nitrege joto lai cabawaleme, jemon tayomte alo didhi badhiktabon.

Ado menketa, Qho janiã didhi badhika, baba. Inren engañ apun se ape moro hore nel thikkatege janiãpe dhoan kana. Ado apepe khusiyen khan, in ho janiã khusige. Ado apasula mentegẽ janiãpe juri parikalin kana; ado in hon khusigea. Ado mit katha, baba, ape inore hor samañre ar inren engañ apun samañre mit kathan rorkak kana.

Adoko menketa, Moro goñen rorme.

Ado baba, katha do noa kana. Doho mape dhoan kange, ar in ho nui then tahentelin mit monokgea. Ado koto nahi kam kaj menaktabona, ruã haso menaktabona, neao jhgor menak-

that a foreign language should be used to express such thoughts. On the other hand it is of a very common occurrence that Santals, both men and women, make verses, sung to tunes of their own, describing or criticizing contemporary and local events. It apparently causes them no trouble to produce them.

⁵⁵ The responsibility is to be with others.

⁵⁶ A common way of saying that one is at liberty to speak. It is especially made use of by people in authority, just like here.

point, whatever it may be, you will not be able to answer. Therefore it is better to settle everything now at present. Then they will not be able to say anything about that afterwards. It is good to break off the buds of words as they come out."

The old woman then said: "All right, that is good. Let us then, please, ask the girl in the presence of so many people whether she is pleased or not, and whether she is pleased with this man for a husband or not. You Five please ask her for us."

"Excellent," they said; "we believe in that. Please call the girl."

So they called the girl out. She came, and they said to her: "Please, my girl, sit down. We are going to ask you one question."

She then sat down and said: "What matter is it, my fathers? Please ask me."

The Five then said: "The matter is this, my girl: Your father and mother, or we village people are arranging to give you a husband to remain with your parents, namely this young man. Are you pleased or not at this? and are you pleased with this young man or not? Think it over and consider it well in your mind and tell us. Tell us everything there may be now at the present time, that the matter may not afterwards get out of order and be spoilt for us."

"Oh no, likely not," the girl replied; "it is not likely to get out of gear, my fathers. My father and mother, or you Five have likely seen to it that all is right, as you are giving him to me for a husband. When you are pleased, then, likely, I am also pleased⁵⁵. Likely it is in order that we shall live together and support each other, that you mate us as husband and wife. Then I am also pleased. Then there is one word, my fathers. In the presence of you Five and in the presence of my father and mother there is one word I have to speak."

"Speak five⁵⁶," they said.

"This is what I have to say, my fathers. To be sure, you are giving me a husband, and we are, of one mind as to my staying with him. Now all of us have our work to do, we suffer from fever and pain, we have quarrels and disputes. Now perhaps, on

tabona. Ado kam kaj karonte, se daka utu karonte, se cet karonte con, paseelin roporenge, ar pasene usafenge are odok calaoenge. Ado baba, un jokhen do okaren panjaye? Orak duar ma ban nel akattae, ado okaren panja seterea? Onage muskiltet in metaik kana. Ado cet leka abo ho jahā khon bahukobon aguyetkoa, ado usatkateko daple khan, engat apat orakrebon panja seterkako kana — ado baba, nui do okaren panja seterea? Ona reak hor udukañpe.

Ado joto horko menketa, Nui gidra thikgeye meneta. Ina do sarge, aboak bhul kami kantabona.

Ado mit hore men gotketa, Acha, onate ho ban cekaKa. Aika lai godme tinre usate calaka. Un jokhen am do ruarem, ar judi bae ruar khan, sat mente lai gotaleme. Un jokhen korakole dhuraukoa, khubbon thayā ococyea. Ar inate bae ruar khan, onkogebon metakoa, Do panja seterkaepe.

Ado kuñye menketa, Tobe katha don muçatketa.

Ado morē horko menketa, Joto katha dōbon khuda muçatketa, ar joto ghor kornabon jimawakin kana. Judi arho korā gidrakō tahen khan do, mit bighā jumibon udukkea sebon lebet acurkea. Se leka ma kathage banuktabon. Tobe khan mon ropha den mitñā gai udukaeben. Uni ho nit do aperengeye tahena. Ado judi nit se jahā hilok nui jawāe bape khusiaea sepe laga todea, ado en hilok morē hore rakalea. Ado unre galmarakate ape

57 She speaks as if she were a man. A Santal wife is not expected to trace her husband.

58 The village community promises to assist, while she is exhorted to do all she can herself, before applying to them. All talk about kicking, &c., is not here to be taken at its face-value. Santals do not resort to such drastic measures in cases like the one here supposed. When a man has forcibly applied sindur to the forehead of an unmarried girl (thereby making her his wife), they will use violence, otherwise not.

59 If there is a son, he is the proper heir. Santals arrange with ghārdi jawāe, also when there are sons, but only when the girls are grown up and the sons very small, the object being to get help to work. In such cases they may give the son-in-law a small plot of land. It is often done, but is not obligatory. The bighā is the common unit for land-measure, in these parts 80 cubits (120 ft.) square, about one third of an acre.

account of the work, or on account of the food, or for some cause or other, whatever it may be, perhaps we two may some day have words together, and perhaps he may become sulky and dissatisfied and then walk away. If such things should happen, my fathers, where shall I then try to find him⁵⁷? I have not seen his house and home, so where shall I be able to follow him? That is what I call the difficulty. You see, when we bring a bride from somewhere or other, and she runs away in the sulks, then we follow after her to her parents' house, — but this one, my fathers, where am I to follow him home? Show me the way there."

"This child is speaking right," they all of them said. "That is true; that is our mistake."

Then one man said: "All right, it does not matter. But mind, tell at once when he becomes sulky and takes himself off. At such a time bring him back yourself, and if he will not come back, tell us immediately⁵⁸. Then we shall call out the boys; we shall let him get a good kicking. And if he will not return with this, we shall order them: do, follow after him to his home."

"Then I have nothing more to say," the girl said.

Thereupon the Five said: "We have followed everything up to the end, and we are giving these two charge of all the household goods. Now if there had been sons also, we should have pointed out⁵⁹ one bigha of rice-land, or we should have walked round it⁶⁰. We have nothing to do with anything like this here. Therefore you two old people show him a cow, please, to keep his mind at ease⁶¹. He also will now be yours. But if now or some day in the future you should not be pleased with your son-in-law, or you should drive him away, then he will apply to us, the Five. If we, on such an occasion, after having talked the matter over, should find fault with you, he will drive this cow

⁵⁸ The Santal way of pointing out land. They walk round the boundaries, noting any natural objects that may serve as landmarks.

⁶¹ See above note 50. At such a marriage a 'calf' is also 'shown' to the bride, as a general rule.

senge dösle namle kñan, ini gai sotokkateye senjoña. Ar bestepe dohöye khan mae aperen kange. Ado ma ceñben meneta? Ar bankhan den udukaeben, ale mörö horle fişkaka.

Ado harame menketa, Acha, mon ropha dolin emaegea, ape mörö hor lagaete bon hela. Ado ina chaða ar ceñko katha menaktabona? Nið duruprege joto katha dohon macoñ utarkaka.

Ado mörö horko menketa, Katha do noa kana. Judi kuñan menak khan, mabon bapla utarkakina; ar kuñan banuk khan, nenda gonðakama. Ona hõ bochor din se mahna din do bañ jutoka, nið dos baro din se hapta din, in dinge jutoka.

Khange haram budhikin cepet barayentekin menketa, Ma nið sat dinlin nenðayeta. Ma inre nið phalna din hilok bon bapla-kakina. Ape hõ en hilok do alope okakotektabona.

Ado mörö horko menketa, Bahu kicrið, sara dahri, sindur, daura, tetre kuñi — noako do amge lagaoama. Ar marañ baplam nam khan do, Domko hõ jarurgea.

Ado banar haram budhitekin menketa, Hõ, unak dohon ikakaka.

⁶² As remarked above, at a ghardi-jawāe-marriage all expenses are borne by the bride's father. All dues and customary outlays, ordinarily paid, or paid for, by the bridegroom, are met by the bride's father. The things here mentioned are not all the dues. Bahu kicrið (also, and commonly, called sindur kicrið) is a plain piece of cloth, ten to eleven cubits (about 5 m.) long. For use at the present occasion it is steeped in a solution of turmeric and made yellow. The bride is clothed in this just before the sindradan, the binding act, when the bridegroom applies sindur, the red-lead, to the forehead of the bride. Hence the name sindur kicrið.

⁶³ The sara dahri (dahri means head-cloth or turban, sara is another form for sala, wife's brother, found in some Hindi dialects and adopted by the Santals for use in this term; it is one of the words that may be of help in showing where the Santals' ancestors have been) is a plain piece of cloth, five cubits long (2.5 m.), also coloured yellow for the occasion. Just before the sindradan the bridegroom puts this cloth on the head of the bride's younger brother. Both are during the act riding on the shoulder (not on the neck) of the husband of an elder sister (or some corresponding relation, if there are none such).

in front of him and go his way. And if you keep him well, he is, of course, yours. Well then, what have you to say? Otherwise, please point her out to him; we Five shall see it done."

"All right," the old man said, "we shall give him heart-content; we shall together with you Five look to that. Besides this, is there then anything else for us to do? We shall finish and settle everything whilst we are sitting here now."

The Five then said: "The matter is this: if you are sufficiently prepared, let us marry the two and have done with it; and if you are not prepared, a time shall be fixed for you. But as to that, in a year's time or in a month's time, that will not do; ten or twelve days, or a week's time, such a time will do."

The old man and woman consulted together and thereupon said: "We fix the day for to-day seven days. Then on such and such a day we shall marry them. You also please do not go anywhere on that day."

The Five then said: "The bridal cloth⁶², the brother-in-law's head-cloth⁶³, sindur, the flat bottomed basket⁶⁴, the anointing girls⁶⁵ — all this you will have to provide. And if you want a big marriage festival, Doms⁶⁶ will also be necessary."

Then the old man and the old woman both of them said: "O well, that much we shall leave out".

⁶⁴ Among the many kinds of baskets found with the Santals, there is one called *bahu tul dāra*, bride-lifting basket. It is a wide, flat-bottomed bamboo basket with low sides. Sitting in this, the bride is lifted shoulder high by the bridegroom's followers and is carried opposite to the bridegroom, who is riding on the shoulder of the *babr̥ kora* (lit. brahmin boy, his elder sister's husband; see preceding note). While they are both up in the air, the bridegroom, with his right-hand little-finger, five times puts sindur on the top of the girl's forehead.

⁶⁵ The anointing girls are girls from the village of the bride, called *tetre kūrī*, because their special work is to anoint, or rather rub in (from *tere*), especially bride and bridegroom, with oil and turmeric.

⁶⁶ See p. 128, note 12.

Ado mōrē hōrko mēnketa, Cele ado cefko katha menaktabona sē bañ? Menak khañ, ma niā takre rōr godpe, ar bañkhan delabon.

Ado miť hōre mēn gotketa, In miťtañ huđiñ huđiñ kathañ disa. akata, ado onage bañđoñ rōr bañđo bañ.

Adoko metadea, Disaket khanem, ma rōrme.

Adge mēnketa, Acha, tōbē añjomkatiñpe. Katha dō noa kana. Enanrebo heć akana; kam kajbon bađiatte nuiakge jōtokotebon kamiketa. Ado niā mañjan mañđi dō bae emabona? Setakreye ađukēbonte in dō baske mocage menaña.

Adoko mēnketa, Jōtō hōr enkage. Onē cōñ miť dhaotege jōtō hōre ađu akatbon.

Khange uni kuři dō dak ar daťaunikoe ađuatkoa. Ado ađuk bōlōyente dakako ematkoa. Daka jom ođokkate thamakurko beknao kan jōkhenge mōrē sika poesae ematkoa, ado enēko beret barayena. Ado onēko batlao bara oťoade, onakoe juraketa, ar bhojko lagat hōe tearketa.

Ado ona neñđa din tioken khan, setakre jōg mañjhi țhene calaena; uni ar mañjhi paranik ar atoren miť bar hōre hōhō

⁶⁷ The matter now mentioned is not, of course, something suddenly remembered; some one has to mention the matter, and it is done in this way. When the Five work as arbiters, they generally demand five sika (Re. 1—4—0) from each side, or the double. This money was formerly spent in buying a goat, a pig or something that was divided and taken home for consumption. Now-a-days they mostly go to a liquor shop and spend it there. In cases like the present, when only comparatively few have met and the people are fairly well-to-do, they are often invited to take a meal.

⁶⁸ Before sitting down to eat they always wash their hands and rinse their mouths. When there are guests, a loța (or a cup) with water is given to them successively; they take this, go to the border of the court-yard or to the nearest vicinity and wash. This is an intimation that they are to sit down to eat. As they always eat with the (right) hand, this ablution is necessary. If needed, the feet are also washed. Besides with water, the guests are here also provided with tooth-brushes. The Santals are very careful with their teeth. They brush them with a twig of the sal (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.). The twig is chewed at one end, until it becomes like a brush; this is then used, and the mouth is

The Five then said: "Well then, what else have we to talk about, or how? If there is anything, then please say it at once now at this time; otherwise, come, let us be off."

. One of them then said: "There is one very small matter that has occurred to me⁶⁷; but then, whether I shall mention it or not, I am not sure."

"If you have come to think of something," they said to him, "out with it."

"All right," he said, "then listen to me. It is this: we came some little while ago; we left our own work and have all of us attended to the business of this man. Will he not then give us this mid-day meal? He brought us here in the morning, and I for my part have a mouth for breakfast."

"It is the same with all of us," they said. "As we know, he brought us all here at the same time."

The girl then brought them water and tooth-brush-twigs⁶⁸. They washed their hands and mouth and went in, whereupon they gave them food. After they had finished eating and had come out, while they were preparing tobacco for chewing, the old man gave them five four-annas in cash⁶⁹, whereupon they rose and went their several ways. What they instructed him about before they went, all that he provided; he also made preparations for a feast.

When the fixed day arrived, he went in the morning to the headman of the village morals⁷⁰; he called on him, on the village

finally rinsed with water. The sal contains some resin that may be of assistance in cleaning. The Santals get accustomed to this tooth-brush from childhood on; they all look upon the use of it as a necessity; one might say it has become an instinct with them. This tooth-brush (*daṭauni* as it is called) is used the first thing in the morning, many refusing even to drink water until they have cleaned their teeth and mouth in this way. If thought necessary, the cleaning may be repeated before a meal.

⁶⁸ See above note 67.

⁷⁰ A Santal village has five officials, viz., (1) headman (*mañjhi*), (2) his deputy (called *paranik*), (3) headman of morals (called *jog mañjhi*), (4) his deputy

aguketkoa. Adq hañdiye ematkoteye galmaraoatkoa, bañma, Teheñ dq alope okateka; nukin gidrabo baplakakina. Atoren joto guni guribge laiakotabonpe, niã tikin okte jemõn joto hor nõnde in thenbo jarwak.

Adq jog mañjhiko dhurakadea, Ma ya, jog mañjhi, tqbe ina okte dq joto hor lai barawabonme. Ar tetre kuri dq nitrege nam agukakome, jemõnko kami gofo hatarako.

Adq uniye menketa, Acha besge, katha bajaoen khan, onako don kamia.

Adq kurikoe nam aguketkoa. Ar uni mañjhi dq bako hec ocoadea, õdegeye tahyena, bud batlao barawako kanae; ar daka ho õdegeko emadea. Adq tikin khangе jog mañjhi dq atoren hore rak jarwaketkoa. Adq sunum sasañ ojqok barakate ar hañdiko nu barakate adqko ituf sindurkatkina. Ar badhiako gurlede tahkarta. Bhojketako. Mit nindaiko ençeketa, ar bhõj hõko jomketa. Ar setak jokhen uni jawae korã mittañ gaiko udukadea. Adq enqko apan apinena. Cabayena.

Adq taheñ tahente uni jawae korã dq cet ho bae kamia; õte noteye tap barageea; huni nui then ekene ajare barajõngea, ar daka jom ghuri dqe hecenge. Adq mit cando din onkageye ayak baraea.

Khangе uni kuriren apat haram dq bebarice edrena. Menae, Cele kurhia jawae con jawae gomkekede? Kami usasoã menteñ menlet khan, okor engateye usasediã kana? Uh! nahakge engate bon dohqkedea. Adq orakre se horko then ho onkae rof baraea.

(called jog paranik), (5) the headman's messenger (called gofet). Besides these there are the naeke, the village priest, and the kudam naeke, who worships certain bongas, when the naeke sacrifices to the national bongas or spirits. The 'headman of morals' here mentioned is the village custos morum, supposed to be responsible for the good behaviour of the young people of the village, and the one to take action if anything has happened. The jog mañjhi is the ceremonial leader at the name-giving festival (janam chañter), at the festival when a Santal is given full tribal rights (caco chañter) and at marriages. He is also the leader at certain other festivals, when young people came together. The traditions tell that, in former days, the jog mañjhi was looking

headman and his deputy and on a couple of the village people and brought them along. He then gave them some beer and spoke to them: "Do not go anywhere to-day; we shall marry these two children. Tell all we have in the village, poor and indigent, that to-day at noon we shall all come together here with me."

Thereupon they set the headman of morals to work: "Please, you headman of morals, tell all of us at that time. But fetch, now at once, the anointing girls, that they may help here in the work."

"All right," he replied; "as the matter has been told, I shall do this."

He then brought those girls. The headman they would not let come away; he stayed on there, giving them advice and instruction; they gave him his food also there. When it became noon, the headman of morals called the village people together. Having got through the anointing with oil and turmeric and having had some beer to drink, they had them perform the ceremony of applying sindur. They had killed a hog and had a feast. They danced the whole night and feasted. And in the morning they showed the bridegroom a cow. Thereupon they dispersed to their several homes. The whole was over.

Now as the time passed, this son-in-law did not do any work; he was always slipping through hither and thither; he did nothing else than to go to some one or other to gossip; but when the time for food came, he was always coming. About one whole month he was skulking in this way.

Then the old man, the father of the girl, became awfully angry and was saying: "What kind of a lazy fellow is it I have made my son-in-law? Whilst I thought I should get some relief in my work, how is he, dash it, giving me any relief? Oh dear, it is to no purpose, dash it, that we have taken this one to be with us." In this way he was talking at home and also before other people.

after his work in a proper way; now-a-days he is perhaps often the opposite of what he ought to be. He is generally fully aware of all intrigues going on, the young people keeping him informed.

Adq atoren erveltet korako dqko metaea, Henda ho, am dq cet hō bam k̄ami barae dq? Nahakgele dqhō akat̄mea.

Adqe metakoa, Noa ulpha dinre dq ę̄te cet in̄ k̄amia? Dak din tioklen n̄h̄i thōn̄ sioka. Nętar dqko sia? Nętar ma bako siok.

Adqko metaea, J̄ah̄akore kat̄ka koṭko hasako dq bam laea?

Adqe metakoa, Okakore cōn̄ khę̄t hō menak̄, bañ̄ nę̄l akat̄ khan okareñ̄ laea?

Adqko metadea, K̄ami bae nę̄l orometa, oñdqot! Dela gapanok̄ ale s̄aote, birtebon calaka.

Adqe mę̄nketa, Birre dq cet̄bon cekaea?

Adqko metadea, Durre! bam baḏaea? Nętarrege cōn̄ k̄ami din lagat̄ko jogarjōn̄, isi arār, nahel, k̄arba, argom, kuṭhe, pareare — noako se k̄ami din sukok̄ lagit̄. Sahan hō nętarregeko ę̄gu rañjkaka. In̄ dq ona din n̄aṅam bañ̄ hoyoka.

Adqe mę̄nketa, Acha ho, ę̄ñdqkhan gapa dqñ̄ calaka. Riḏuinpe, in̄ dqñ̄ ę̄narigea; eskar dq oka sę̄n in̄ calaka?

Adqko metadea, Acha besge, ę̄ñdqkhan alele riḏu idimea.

Adq ę̄nę̄ dosar hilok̄ khange, kathae ko riḏu idikede. Adq tę̄ngoc̄ n̄amketa, adq noko sōngete birteye calaena. Birre onko dq sojhe sojheak̄ kat̄ko maketa, ar adom̄ hōj̄ dq cur mar sahanko n̄am jaṛwayeta. Ar nui dq cet̄ hō bañ̄. Ona birre hō nui dq oñte nōte ę̄urigeye d̄ar̄a barae kana. Adq d̄ar̄a d̄ar̄ate eskarge miṭṭaṅ dhasna sę̄n eskargeye calaena, ar kat̄kogeye nolao bara

⁷¹ The girl is an only child; the younger brothers here referred to are either cousins (called brothers) or others standing in artificial relationship to the girl. See p. 236, note 2. It might be remarked that the relationship between a man and his wife's younger brothers is called *landa saḡal*, lit. laughing relationship, i. e., people standing in such relationship to one another are permitted to laugh and jest with each other and to be intimate. They need not observe the forms otherwise considered necessary.

⁷² It is customary with the Santals to use the off-season for preparing implements and household goods.

⁷³ The Santals have different sizes of axes. The ones here mentioned (*tę̄ngoc̄*) is small, fit only for cutting branches and small trees. All axes used by the Santals are manufactured by the local blacksmiths.

The younger brothers⁷¹ of his wife in the village were constantly saying to him: "Look here you, you are doing absolutely no work? It is to no purpose that we have taken you in."

He would answer them: "What shall I do then in this dull time, when there is nothing on? Only when the rainy season comes, I shall have to plough. Do people plough at present? Of course, they don't."

Then they say to him: "Could you not use the spade here and there where the ground is rough and uneven?"

"Where should I dig," he would answer, "as I have not seen whereabouts the ricefields are?"

"He does not recognize what work is, the imbecile scamp," they said to him. "Come along with us to-morrow to the forest."

"What are we going to do in the forest?" he asked.

"Oh dear!" they said to him, "don't you know? Why, at the present time people make the necessary preparations for the working season: plough-beams and yokes, plough-handles, clod-crushers, legs and frames of bedsteads⁷², these things are all needed to be comfortable in the working season. Firewood also people collect and pile up at the present time; then it will not be necessary to fetch it at that time."

"All right," he replied; "then I shall go to-morrow. Call me to come along; I am a stranger here; where should I go alone?"

"Very well," they said; "then we shall call you to come along."

So the next day they called and took him along. He found a small axe⁷³ and went together with the other boys to the forest. In the forest the other ones were cutting straight and good timber, and some were busily engaged collecting firewood. But this one was doing absolutely nothing. There in the forest also this fellow was walking about hither and thither at random. As he was rambling about apart from the others, he quite alone reached the slope of a hill; during this he was looking at the timber, what it might be good for. Then there on that hill-slope

idiyeta. Ado ona dhasnare mitan kat dge roret kane anjomketa. Ona do nonka leka arano k kana, banma, In do jahae ko idilin khan, ar parkom kutheko benaolin kham, uni hor do ekkalte rajgeye hoyoka.

Ado onkae anjomket khan dge sen sorena. Ado arho mit dhaoe rorketa. Khange nui dge menketa, Noa katgen maga ar kuthe benaoa. Ar kattet do ban sojhea, aditet karban kurban gea. Ado ona anjomtegeye makketa. Menketae, Bhalan bidagea, sari se nase kana.

Ado onko atoren kora do mak barakateko durup akan tahakana. Ondege nui kora hoe gok agukettaea, ado bogeteko landa dhufadea. Metae kanako, Nui ia hor ya, un maran birre katge engate ban jutauade. Noa do cet yae makketa ya? Hor do sojhe sojhe-akko bachao barayet khan, nui do engate kondeawakgeye nam barayeta.

Onkako metae kana, arko lebet ultau barayettaea. Ar nui do cet ho bae ror barayeta, thir akangeae. Ado enko songete ina katge orakteye gok agukette had bađe giđi gokata. Ado atoren kora do ako orakreko laiyeta, ado bogeteko landawae kana. Ado hekkateko nel barayet do, sarige kondeage. Adoko men barajon kana, Nui jawae dge lelhagea. Ako orakre doko aculede bandu ban, aditete lelhage do. Uni honhartet haram hoe meneta, Cele lelha jawae con engate n jawae gomkekede? Nui do hapen batlao bhorsae kamia, acete do ohoe nel oromla. Adoko men baraketa, Cekaeam? Abo gorjbon dghokede, batlaotege hoyoktabona.

Dosar hilok khange, kathae, jokhaketeye giriketa, ado parkom kutheye benaoketa. Ar ona kuthe do aisa hikmotkatete benaoketa do, ekkalte horak met lagao utarena; nel torage ekkalteko malu

⁷⁴ A Santal bedstead consists of eight pieces of wood, the four legs and four pieces for the frame, two short and two long ones, fixed in holes cut in the legs. The bottom consists of string, quite artistically woven on the frame. A properly made Santal bedstead is quite good and might be used as a model for camp bedsteads.

he heard a log speaking. It was sounding like this: "If any one would take me away and make me into the legs of a bedstead, then that man would at once become a king."

As he heard this he went near to it. Then it spoke once more in the same manner. He then said to himself: "I shall cut this tree-log and make bedstead-legs out of it." Now this log was not straight, it was very twisted and crooked. But having heard this, he cut it, saying: "Well, I shall test it, whether it is true or not."

Now the other village boys had cut what they needed and were sitting down. There to that place this boy also carried what he had on his shoulder, and the other ones laughed him to scorn. They were saying to him: "This unspeakable humbug! in such a big forest there was not, dash it, any timber found to suit him! What is this that he has cut, boys? Whilst other people are in the habit of choosing what is straight and good, this fellow, dash it, is searching for what is crooked."

They spoke to him in this way, whilst they were kicking at and turning his wood over. And he was not saying a single word; he kept quiet. So together with those others he carried this same bit of timber home and threw it with a clash down on the ground. The other village boys told of it in their several homes, and they were laughing a good deal at him. And people were coming to have a look at it; it was quite true, it was crooked. Then they were saying: "This son-in-law is a fool. We wonder whether people in his own home ever put him to work or not; he is extremely foolish." And the old man, his father-in-law, was also saying: "What a fool of a son-in-law is it that I, dash it, have brought in? In days to come this fellow will have to rely on what other people show him to work; he himself will not be able to see what is proper." Then they said: "What will you do? It is at our own desire that we have taken him in; we shall have to instruct him."

The next day, it is told, he cut the wood up in measured lengths, whereupon he made bedstead-legs. And these legs he made so deftly that people's eyes were at once taken in; as soon as they

utərəna. Un utərko' mənkefa, Durre! kami dō khubgeye baḍaea, lelha dōe bañ kana; ona dōe sean kan tahḡkana. Adō onako kuṭḡe benao sətkeṭteye pareare barawat khan, khub sqjontqr űelena. Khange uni jāwāe koṛa dōe mənkefa, Noa parkom dōḡ aḡriña. Jāhāege miṭ ṭakako emañ, onkogeñ emakoa.

Adō joṭq hoṛko metaea, Miṭ ṭaka dō qhō damlentama, ar unāk dam dō okqe hō qhōko emlema.

Adqe metakoa, Bako emañ khan, qhōñ emlekoa.

Adō sari benao sətKate miṭ cando gan hoeyena. Adō cekakote cōñ raj dōe añjom namkefa, phalna atore khub mōñj parkomko benao akata mente. Adō sipahiye kolkatkoa, Do ona parkom dō kiriñ aḡuañpe barē. Jāhā tinākgeko damak, unākge emakote ona parkom dōpe aḡuañgea.

Adō dame ematkote sari onko sipahi dōko heḑena. Adō ona parkomko űelkeṭ khan, onko hō ekkalteko maļuñ utərəna. Adō begor dam kulitege bar ṭakako raṛa goṭkeṭte uni koṛako emadea. Khange onko atoren hoṛ dōko haharayena. Menkeṭako, Durre! abo dō bañ aḡriñokbon metatṭaea, oraḡ khonge aḡriñentaea. Adō ṭakae atañkeṭ khan, uni hoñhartṭeṭ haṛam dō khube raṣkayena. Ar ona ṭaka dō atañkate uni hoñhartṭeṭ haṛamgeye caladea. Adō un khon dō ceṭ hō bako mēn daṛeaea, ar landa hō bako landawaea.

Ar ona parkom dō onko sipahiko idikefa. Adō kuṭḡeko pareareko nunāk husnaḡ, ar aṣa mihī baberteye teñ akat tahḡkana, qṛḑeko seṭerkeṭ khan dō, kathae, raj hō űel torageye maļuñ

⁷⁵ The story refers to a time when money had another value than it has at present among the Santals. As an example it may be mentioned that I have heard it said that formerly cows were paid at the rate of one rupee per half seer (one seer about one litre) of milk they gave per day. A Santal cow very seldom gives so much as 'half a seer per day. I think I have seen a small bedstead sold for eight annas (8 d.).

⁷⁶ They have no pockets in their cloths, which are ordinarily draped round the body. Money and small articles are tied up in the cloth at an end-corner.

⁷⁷ He had not even to take the bedstead to a market-place to get it sold; people came for it.

saw them, people were at once utterly bewitched. Then only people said: "Oh dear me! as for work, he knows that excellently well; he is no fool; that other thing only meant that he was cunning." When he had made those legs ready and he had provided a frame for them⁷⁴, it was all looking exceedingly beautiful. The son-in-law then said: "I shall sell this bedstead. Any one who is willing to give me one rupee I shall give it to."

All people then said: "It will certainly not be priced at one rupee⁷⁵; so much certainly no one will be willing to give you."

"If they don't give me," he said to them, "I shall certainly not let them have it."

After he had made this ready, about one month had passed. Then somehow or other the king heard about it, that in such and such a village they had made an exceedingly beautiful bedstead. He sent his messengers, saying: "Do buy and bring that bedstead to me. Whatever price they put on it, pay them that and bring the bedstead to me."

He gave them money to pay with, and the messengers came. When they saw the bedstead, they also at once became utterly bewitched, and without asking about the price they untied their cloth⁷⁶, took out two rupees and gave to the boy. Then the village people became astonished. They said: "Oh dear! we were saying that it would not be sold; and it has been sold from his home⁷⁷."

When he had received the money, his father-in-law became very pleased. When he had received that money, he handed it over to the old man, his father-in-law. From that time on they could not say anything to him, nor did they laugh at him.

The king's messengers now took the bedstead away. The legs and the frame of the bedstead were so delightful to look at, and he had woven the bottom⁷⁸ with such fine cord, — so when they reached there, the king also, it is told, was charmed as soon as he

⁷⁴ See above note 74. The string used is twined very carefully and otherwise stretched and worked, so as to be strong and even. The Santals weave the bottom in a way peculiar to themselves, commencing with a string stretched

gōtēṇa. Landakate ṛakṭeye ader ocoketkōa, adō ṇḍē miṭ pōḥṛ ganko ṇēlketa. Adō onko sipāhiye kuliketkōa, Noa reak dam dō tinākpe ḡmketa?

Adōḡ mēnketa, Raja saheb, cetle mēnkea, baṇḍḡm edreale baṇḍo cet. Parkḡm ṇēl toragele maḷuṇ gōfente bar ṭakale emadea. Ar uni tulué dḡr dam reak dō jāhān katha bale ṛḡṛeta, ale khusitege unākḷe ḡm gōfena.

Adō raje mēnketa, Baṇa, besgepe emadea. Arhḡ bickom pon ana gan haṇḍi ṇū hḡpe emae khan jutkokgea. Boge jinis hataote dō bāṛti dam ḡmokre hḡ baṇ haksoa. Baṇa, besgepe emadea.

Adō ṇinda khange raj dō ona parkḡmre gitičkateye jāpitketa. Adō onako ponea kuṭḡḡe dō, kathae, parkḡm khon bōcena. Miṭṭaṇ kuṭḡḡe dō purubte calaena, miṭ dō pačimṭe, ar miṭ dō utḡṛte ar miṭ dō daḡhinte. Adō purub reak kuṭḡḡete dō uni raj uparte larḡai laḡiṭ phāḡko hijuḡ kan tahḡkana, onkoe daram akatkōa. Ar pačim senak kuṭḡḡete dō raj cetanre dolan bhīt bindarōḡ kan tahḡkana, onae oṭkao daram akata. Ar utḡṛ senak kuṭḡḡete dō biṇe eṣeṭ akadea; uni raj jḡme laḡat rajak panahireye bḡḷo akan tahḡkana; uniye ḡḡḡḡ akadea. Ar ona daḡhin senak kuṭḡḡete dō cete celaketa? Miṭṭaṇ rakas uni raj jḡme laḡate caḡaṭ ḡguyeṭ tahḡkana. Adō ona kuṭḡḡete mocae ṭibhi daram akadea, bae sor ocoadea. Nonka uni raj dḡe kukmū kana.

Adō saṛi setak jḡkḡḡen beretenteye ṇēḷeṭ kan dō ponon kuṭḡḡege baṇuḡ, ḡṛeye gitič akan. Adḡe mēneta, Ayo! noa kukmū dō saṛi kangea ṣḡ? Bhala oḡokkateṇ ṇēḷḷege. Adō onka mēnkate panahi ḡḡḡḡ laḡate ṇam baṛayeṭ khan, kuṭḡḡeye ṛḡḡ gōḡketa, Hā hā! alom ḡḡḡḡa. Onare dō amren baṛiṇ eṣeṭ akadea; iṇ

diagonally over the frame from one end-corner to where a rope is fixed right across the frame, near the foot end. This contrivance makes it easy to stretch and tighten the bottom when it is sagging.

⁷⁹ A pourboir is not common, but it is occasionally given. A bakshish is very frequently spent as here indicated.

saw it. Laughing he ordered it to be taken into his house, and there they looked at it for quite a while. He then asked the messengers: "What price did you pay for this?"

"Raja Saheb," they replied, "what should we say? We don't know whether you will be angry with us or not. As soon as we saw the bedstead, we were quite bewitched and gave him two rupees; but we did not speak anything with him concerning the price; we gave him so much of our own accord with pleasure."

"That is nothing," the king said; "it was quite in order what you gave him. Rather if you had given him some four annas more to drink beer with⁷⁹, it would have been nice. When you receive a good thing, it does not give pain, even if you pay too much. It is nothing; it was quite in order what you gave him."

That night the king lay on this bedstead and fell asleep. Now the four legs slipped off from the frame, it is told. One bedstead-leg went towards the East, one towards the West, one towards the North and one towards the South. The leg that went towards the East — armies were coming to fight against this king, and it was meeting them. As for the leg gone towards the West, — a wall of the palace was going to fall over the king, and the leg was hindering this. And the leg in the North had shut up a snake; this one had entered the shoes of the king with the intention of killing him; the leg was keeping a watch on the snake. And what was the leg that had gone towards the South doing? An ogre was coming with his mouth wide open to eat the king. And this leg met him and put itself as a prop into his mouth; it did not permit him to come near. This was what the king was dreaming.

Then when he got up in the morning, he in very truth sees: the four bedstead-legs are not there; he is lying on the floor. Then he says: "Oh mother! should this be a true dream, or how? Well, I shall go out and see, before doing anything else." When he, thinking this, was searching for his shoes, the bedstead-leg called out: "Stop, have a care! don't take them on. I have shut your enemy up in them; if I had not been there, he would have

bankhan hutene jomkema. Khange raj doe hohoketa, adq thengako aguketa, arko dal gockedeadea.

Inakate pachim senak duarteye odokok kan tahkana. Adq ontanak kutheye menketa, Ha ha! note dq alom hijuka. Notere dq amren bairin eset akadea. Adq sariye nelket dq, dolan bhiti laqe akan, ar ona kuthege tesa daram akan. Khangeye hohokette ona bhiko tesakefeko dhaka ruarkata.

Adq bahre sen odokkateye nele kan dq, mitan rakase cahap akat nui jome lagat. Adq kutheye menketa, Den banduk aguime, gojeme. Nui dq amren bairin daram akadea. In bankhan huten tehegeye jomkema. Adq iniko thu gockede khan, kuthe dq tinre con hec gaten.

Adq ini gockate raj dq orakteye hecente kutheye todarotet kana. Pea dq tinre con hecente pareare gotao akan, ar mit dq banuk. Khangeye menketa, Noako kuthe jokhon inren bairiko eset daram akatko tahkana, nui ho onkage janic bairigeye eset akatko, onatege ban hijuk kana.

Adq satori phade jutaukefko. Adq purub nakha se cando raka senko calaen khan, aema utar phade eset akatkoko nelkedeadea. Adq nokoko calaen khan, kathae, ona kuthe dq tinre con hecente parkom pareare dq gotao gaten. Ar raj dq onko phad tulu laphiyente, onkoe bhagaofekko. Adq ruar hekateye nelket dq, ponon kuthege pareare pahrau akan menakegeye nelketa.

Khange adi bari ce raskayena, are menketa, Noa parkom iate inak bancao hoeventina, ar bankhan in dq huten tehearen mohor metao koka. Adqe menketa, Okoe hore benao akata noa parkom, uni don aguyegea.

⁸⁰ On special occasions the principals are expected to give a feast of some kind, to show their satisfaction and joy and to make others merry. We are here fairly near to primitive customs.

⁸¹ Curds (in Santal *dahe*, Hindi *dahi*, from Skr. *dadhī*), sour milk, something like kefir, a very common article of food, also much appreciated as a remedy in certain complaints. As the name shows, the stuff belongs originally to the Hindus, and is much more in use with them than with the Santals.

eaten you." The king then called out; they brought a stick and killed the snake.

Thereafter the king was on the point of going out through the western door. Then the leg that was there called out: "Stop! have a care! don't come this way. Over here I have shut your enemy up." Then in very truth he sees: the wall of the palace is slanting and the leg is standing as a prop to prevent it from falling. He then called out, and people came, put props against the wall and pushed it back into position.

When he came outside, he saw: an ogre has opened his mouth wide up to eat him. The bedstead-leg then said: "Do bring a gun; kill him! This enemy of yours I have opposed. If I had not been here, he would have devoured you to-day." When they had shot the ogre dead, the bedstead-leg came back some time or other.

When this one had been killed, the king went inside his house and commenced to investigate concerning the bedstead-legs. Three had some time or other come back and fastened themselves on to the frame-pieces; but one is missing. Then he said: "As these bedstead-legs have been opposing and keeping my enemies back, this one also has likely shut my enemies up; therefore, it is not coming."

He thereupon collected the soldiers of his guard regiment. When they reached the eastern part of the country, or towards the rising of the sun, they saw he had stopped an immense army. And when these came there, this bedstead-leg some time or other came back and fastened itself again to the frame-pieces of the bed. The king fought with that army and vanquished it. And when he returned home, he looked and saw, all four legs are there, fastened to the bedstead-frame.

Then he became very glad and said: "On account of this bedstead I have been saved; otherwise I should have been utterly annihilated to-day." Then he said: "He who has made this bedstead, him I shall surely fetch."

Ado sari hore kolketkote unkin do haram budhiko idiketkina. Ar raj do disom hore jarwaketkoa, are lai pasnaoketa, banma, Nui hor hotete inak jivi do rukhia akanfina. Onate nui hor do tehen inak rajosti mit khap in hafinae kana. Ado tehen khon badae orome lagat iate ape disom hor don dela akawatpea.

Ado disom horke menketa, Nawa rajem bohalkedea. De tobe bhaj emalem. Inage ale do, ar jahan do ban.

Ado sari dahe taben disom hore ematkoa, ado gngko apan apin barayena. Ar nui korā doe rajena.

Ado dosar tesar serma khangē uni korā do adren engat apate aguketkina. Ar dosar serma do unkin hanhar hqhhartete idiketkina. Ado ene joto hor raj nangraharegeko tahēyena.

Ado ene niā katha don caba hatar akata. Inak habickak kangean.

23. Mitān mahra korā reaṅ.

Sadae jokhen, kathaē, mitān mahra korāe tabēkana; ado uni korā do gai gupi gupitegeye harayena. Adoe harayen khan do bahuko namkedea uni korako bahuae lagit. Adoko neṅḍa gonḍaketa, Niā phalna dinre do bariatokbon calaka. Ado sari neṅḍa din hilok do bariatokke calak kana; ar uni korā doe jāwāe beṅa akana, palgireko tul akadea.

³² Taben is parched rice, pounded flat in a qhiki, a husking 'machine', especially set up for this purpose. The sun-dried paddy is first soaked, then roasted and finally pounded. It is generally eaten with dahe. It is not much of a feast they get; but as there was no time for preparing, it was what they could do.

³³ The end here given would seem to presuppose that there should be a continuation. I have not heard any.

²³ In spite of the Santal garb this story seems to be borrowed from Hindu sources.

² Mahra is the name used by the Santals for the Hindu caste commonly called goala or gowala. The caste occupation is more especially to herd cattle.

He then sent people and they took both of them, husband and wife, away with them. The king called the people of his country together and announced: "Through this man my life has been saved. Therefore I am to-day giving this man a share of my kingdom. And in order that you may recognize him from to-day, I have invited you, the people of my country, to come."

The people then said: "You have appointed a new king. Please, then, give us a feast⁸⁰. That is what we want, and otherwise nothing."

The king then, in very truth, gave his people curds⁸¹ and flat rice⁸². Thereupon they dispersed, every one to his own home, and this young man became king.

After a couple of years, the young man fetched his father and mother; and the next year he took his parents-in-law away there. So all of them lived in the king's city.

So now there I have for the present ended this story⁸³. I am telling as much as up to this.

23. THE STORY OF A MAHRA BOY¹.

ONCE upon a time, long ago, people tell, there was a mahra² boy; this boy grew up herding cows. When he had grown up, they sought and found a girl to marry her to the boy; and they fixed a time: "on such and such a day we shall start for the marriage ceremony". On the day fixed they really started; the boy was now the bridegroom, they were carrying him in a palanquin³.

In the Santal country mahras are fairly common; most of them have some land to cultivate; all of them have cattle, some living on the produce of these. By more well-to-do people they are employed as cow-herds. They also have some experience in veterinary matters. When the cattle is suffering from some disease or other, the Santals will often call a mahra in to help them.

³ Cp. p. 32, note 1. What is here told, refers to the Hindu custom.

Khange calak calakte adq mittan gai dq hqr arerege mit-
tan lqdreya thali akana. Khange uni korako tul idiyede khane
metadea, E jawae beta, bahu agum calak kana, adi raskam
aikaueta. De noa thali khon qr odokkanme.

Adq uni kora dq ona rqr anjom thikketteye rqr ruarketa,
Qhqn odoklenia, losodokan nahak.

Adq gai dq, kathae, uni korae sarap gotadea, menketae, Cet,
in bam beretlidiinte nelme nahak am dq bahum jotetle khangem
gadhaka.

Adq uni kora dq onae anjomket khane metafoa, Mase kahar,
doholepe, tanditen senlenge.

Adq sariko dohkedeade; adqe argoyente uni kora dq uni gai
thene calaenteye qr beretkedeade. Adq uni korae menketa, Henda
gai, cedak onka dqm asisadiha? Ma ona asis dq agu ruartam,
bankhan dq nahak hqr adi baricko landawaha.

Adq uni gaiye menketa, Nitok dqn rqrketa, ona dq amre
paraokgea; ar nitok dq cekate ona dqn agu ruara? Ona dq qh
jutlena, nitok dq enten rqr cabaket dq. Pahilre barqm beretlin
khan hutec, bes hoekoka.

Adq uni korae menketa, Endekhan in dq cekate bahu tulué
dq n rqr landaa? In dq adim moskilkidiha.

⁴ A thing like this would not happen in the Santal country proper, where the country is a little hilly. In the low-lying, flat and muddy Bengal country such incidents are of common occurrence. The writer has a vivid recollection of a journey at night in a bullock-cart across country in one of the eastern Bengal districts. The driver kept him awake by his talk, generally to the bullocks, but sometimes also to the occupant of the cart, telling stories of what had happened here and there, as we were passing along. At one place he called out that at that particular spot in the month of July-August two years previously a cow belonging to a certain person had sunk in the mud and had died, as they had been unable to get the animal out in time.

⁵ To the Hindus the cow is a sacred animal, in which divinity is residing. Not to help a cow is therefore to them a more serious matter than it would be to a Santal. To the Santals the cow is a useful animal. The idea of a cow cursing is not Santali.

⁶ Cf. p. 42, note 4.

Whilst they were travelling along, they happened to pass a cow, which had sunk and stuck in a miry hole by the side of the road⁴. As they were carrying the young man along, the cow said to him: "O bridegroom, you are going to fetch your wife, you are feeling very happy. Please pull me out of this mud in which I have stuck."

The boy heard and clearly understood what the cow said, but answered: "I cannot pull you out, I should only be bespattered with mud."

The cow⁵ then cursed the boy and said: "What! as you did not raise me up, behold, as soon as you touch your wife, you will be turned into a donkey."

When the boy heard this, he said to the carriers: "Please, bearers⁶, put the palanquin down a moment; I have to go somewhere⁷ at once."

They consequently put him down, and the boy got out, went to the cow and pulled her up on her legs. Then he said: "I say, cow, why did you curse me in such a way? Do take that curse of yours back again; otherwise people will laugh very much at me."

The cow replied: "Now I have spoken, and what I have spoken must come to pass with you; how can I then take that back again? That would never do, as I have completed the whole utterance⁸. If you had only put me on my legs at once, everything would have been well."

"How then," the boy said, "shall I be able to talk and laugh⁹ with my wife? You have put me in an awful difficulty."

⁷ Lit. go to the field, one of several Santali veiled expressions about going to respond to the call of nature. He prefers not to tell at once why he wants to get down.

⁸ The word already spoken cannot be taken back; the only remedy is to give a blessing which will counteract or remedy the curse. The same idea is, as is well known, met with among other peoples.

⁹ 'To talk' or 'to talk and laugh with', when used about persons of different sex, is often a veiled expression for sexual intercourse. It has not, of course, always this meaning. It is significant for what they think of the mutual relations especially of young people.

Ado uni gaiye menketa, Acha, alom raga; thorañ bhqram kana: uni am̄ bahuge hapēne hq̄ ruq̄ ocomea, ar bañkhan dō okōe hō ohoko hq̄ darelema.

Ado sari enkae metade khan, uni koṛa dō aḍi bhabnakate uni gai then khone calaoente palkireye degena. Ar uni gaiye ror̄ket katha dō uni koṛa chaḍa okōe hō bako bujhauleta. Ado uni koṛako kulikedeā, cetkoben galmarao kana mente. Ado unre uni koṛae laiketa, Inak dō nonka onka hal hoyoktiña nāhāk, ona katha uni gai dōe metadiña.

Khange ado ona katha añjomte sanam hōrko bhabnayena, arko menketa, Acha delabon sē, bhalabon biḍaḍua, sari kana sē nase.

Khange ado sariko tul idikedeteko calao tiokketa. Ado sarige baplak jokhen sindurade torage, kathae, eḍḍeḍe uni koṛa dōe gadha gotena. Ado sanam hōrko ŋelkede khan dō, aḍi baričko bhabnayena arko haharayena. Ado kuṛiren engat apatko menketa, Baña, nui dōe gadhayena; hoḍḍonera dō ohole kollepea.

Ado ona katha uni kuriye añjomket khane menketa, Baña, in̄ dō uni jāwāe thengeñ tahēna. Ado Thakurge cet̄ iate coñ nonka likhon dōe emadiñ. Jāhānić akangeye, in̄ dō ini jāwāe thengeñ tahēna.

Ado sari onkac menket khan dō, engat apat hō cekko mena? Khangekō bidā gotkadea, adōe calaoena koṛa reak orakte, sē koṛaren engat apat orakteko idikedeā. Ado bapla nimbhañen khan,

¹⁰ Red-lead, applied to the bride at marriage.

¹¹ Thakur is the name commonly used by the Santal gurus for the Supreme Being. It is known to all Santals, but except on special solemn occasions, such as when taking certain oaths, this name is not commonly used now-a-days. Some attempts have been made to prove that this word is the original Santal name for God, and that it is a non-Aryan, or non-Sanskritic word, introduced into Sanscrit at a very late period. The present writer has not been convinced by the arguments adduced, but is inclined to think that the word is of Aryan origin and to be derived from the root sthā (so prof. dr. Sten Konow). It might be remarked that the word is a fairly common brahminical family-name in certain parts of northern India. It might be noted that the well known Indian name written Tagore is the same name, pronounced like the Santal word.

"Well, well," the cow replied, "don't cry; I am giving you a small blessing: your wife, she will some time in future make you turn into a human being again; otherwise no one will be able to do that."

As the cow spoke to him in this way, the boy went away from her much grieved and mounted the palanquin. Now no one except the boy had understood what the cow said, and the other ones asked the boy what they had been talking together. The boy then told them: "Such and such my fate will be presently, that's what the cow told me."

When they heard this, all of them became much grieved and said: "Well, come along, let us put it to the test, whether it is true or false."

So they carried him along, until they reached their destination. Then in very truth, people tell, as soon as he during the marriage ceremonies applied the sindur¹⁰ to the bride, then and there the boy at once became a donkey. All those who were present there saw this and became awfully grieved and astonished. The parents of the girl said: "This won't do; the boy has become a donkey; we are utterly unwilling to send our daughter with you."

But when the girl heard this, she said: "Not so, I shall remain with my husband. It is Thakur¹¹ who, for some reason or other, has given me such a fate. Let him be turned into whatever he may, I shall remain with this husband of mine."

As she spoke in this way, what could her parents say? They thereupon bade her farewell, and she went away to the boy's home, that is to say, they took her off to the home of the boy's parents. When everything in connexion with the marriage had been finished, the girl said: "I say, father, we two¹² shall go on

¹² It might be noted that parents-in-law and children-in-law always in Santal address one another in the dual number and also use the exclusive dual form of the personal pronoun when speaking of themselves, even if only one person is meant. The husband or wife, as the case may be, is always mentally included when these relatives talk together. It should be borne in mind that the dual

uni kuṛiye menkeṭa, Iḡ baba, balamtekoliṅ hiri ḡgukoa. Ado tāhā énkate onḡe khon uni koṛa se jāwāetete andije laḡit. Ado onkae roṛ saḡeket khan dḡ, saṛiko sapaoketkina, adḡ nāihṛtekin calaena.

Adḡ onḡe hū uni kuṛi dḡ ḡdiko landawaea, adḡ ona lajaote uni kuṛiye menkeṭa, uni gadhae metadea, Nonḡe dḡ balaṅ tahona, delaṅ jāhā disomteṅ idimea; nonḡe dḡ ḡḡi baṛic hoṛko landawaṅ kana. Adḡ onka menkate hoṛte jom laḡite sajaoketa, adḡ uni gadha sotokkatege, kathaekin oḡokena.

Adḡ calak calakte, kathae, miṭṭaṅ raj disomkin tiokkeṭa. Adḡ uni rajakge pukhri menaktaea, ar ona pukri arerege miṭṭaṅ indara kūi menaka, adḡ uni gadha dḡ ona pukhri are aṛeteye aṭiṅ baṛayede kana. Ar ona atoren hoṛ dḡ ona kūi reak dakko

number does not properly denote two separate individuals but marks them, or one of them, as belonging to a pair. In a similar way people whose children have married use the Inclusive personal pronoun of the plural when speaking together, even when actually only one person is meant. Only when absolutely necessary, they may use the exclusive form of the plural to one another. Cf. next note.

- ¹³ Bala (the word is in Santali never used without the abridged personal pronoun suffixed, thus balaṅ, balam, balat, my, thy, his or her bala) means what has been called a 'co-parent-in-law' i. e., a man or woman whose child has been married to a child of the other person. The writer is inclined to think, that bala is derived from Sanscrit, where the word means strength. Balaṅ hoṛ would thus in Santali really mean 'the man of my strength', or 'who is my strength'. The common word in Santali for marriage is bapla, which is a reciprocal form of bala, and consequently really means 'mutual strengthening', if the original meaning is as supposed. In support of this view the following may be mentioned: a marriage among the Santals is, when regular, always arranged, not by the young people, but by the heads of the families concerned; the bride is bought by the family of the bridegroom and is the property of this family, legally speaking. It is a family arrangement. Balaya, i. e., two whose children have been married, are considered special friends, who are always supposed to honour one another and behave towards each other in a special, polite way. Cf. what is mentioned in the note above about the way in which these relatives address one another. The Santals have a proverb: haka leka utu, seṅgel leka paṛa, balam leka paṛa, okarem ḡamkoa?

a visit to the family of your bala¹³." What she really wanted to do, was in this way to get a pretext for taking the boy, i. e., her husband, away from there; and when she had spoken in this way, they made them ready for the journey, and they started for the girl's parents' home.

There also they laughed very much at the girl, and as she felt ashamed at this, she said, i. e., she said to the donkey: "We shall not remain here; come along, I shall take you to some country or other; here people are laughing at me immoderately." Having said this, she prepared what was needed for the road, whereupon she took the donkey with her, and they went away.

As they were walking along, they reached the country of a certain king. Now there was a tank¹⁴ belonging to the king, and by the side of this tank there was a masonry¹⁵ well, and the girl let the donkey graze on the sides of the tank. The people of that village

Curry like fish (curry), liquor like fire, friends like your bala, where will you find them? It might further be mentioned that most of the names for relationship brought about by, or founded on marriage, are of Aryan, or Sanscritic origin. — So much has been said about this matter, because it is of some ethnological interest. It tends towards showing, not that the Santals or their ancestors received the idea of marriage from the Aryan peoples, but that marriage in its present form among the Santals owes much to Aryan influence. Their traditions mention that their ancestors at the time when they were leaving Champa (probably a part of the present Chota Nagpur plateau) deliberately decided to give up some of their old customs and to adopt new ones. It is not unlikely that the marriage forms and customs were among the things altered.

¹⁴ See p. 54, note 5. It might be mentioned that agricultural lands lying lower than a tank are always considered very good for rice cultivation, because they will generally have a sufficiency of moisture, a prime necessity for the rice plant.

¹⁵ The common Santal wells are narrow pits, where a man can go down and come up by putting his feet into small hollows made for the purpose on opposite sides of the well. Larger wells with masonry walls, as the one here mentioned, are generally the property of well-to-do Hindus or Mohammedans; in outlying places like that here described they are frequently dug and built by some person who wants in this way to make himself a name or to acquire merit by a good act. Now-a-days the local authorities build such wells at roadsides or in public places.

lo idiyeta. Ar uni kūrī hō ona kūi t̄henge jol pane jomketa. Ar ona pukhri latarre dō rajren sioḷko menaḷkoa, kūrī pocis nahelko jorao akata. Ar uni kūrī dō onko sioḷ sor macha senreya durup akana.

Adō t̄kinok kan hō onko sioḷko dō baskeakge bako idiako kana. Adō onko sioḷko dō aḍi bariḷko kadraok kana, menetako, Henda ya, teheñ dō cet iate bako aguabon kana? Noakoren sanam hōrko aguatkōa; abo bhala cet iate teheñ dō bako aguabon kana? Nitok nāhāk jāhāeko aguketa menkhan, dalbo dalkoa se, khub lekabon dalkoa. Cet iate nun maraḅ berenre hō bako aguyeta?

Adō kathae, enka hōko rōr sāotegeko bēngetlet doko nelketa, rajren kāmri kūrī aḷren gidra sotokkate baskeake dipil aguako kan. Adoko menketa, Hani ya darae kana; nit enēc eḅgate baskeake berae kana? Adō enka rōr barakategeko thirena. Adō uni kāmri kūrī dō onko sioḷko phēdre baskeake dōhokatte aḷ dō ona kūite dak lo aḅui laḅit kaḅḅa hermetkateye calaona. Ar uni aḷren gidra hō tayom tayomteye paḅja idikedeā.

Adō ona takrege okaren bariatko coḅ aḍi bariḷ rajan bhajan-ateko ru idiyeta. Adō uni kāmri kūrī dō onko bariatko sengeye bēnget akata; ar uni aḷren gidra dō aḷ samaḅregeye teḅgo akan dō bae disayede kana. Adō kaḅḅa paḅia mente uni gidra hoḷok-

¹⁶ When not carried on the hip, children are generally kept walking in front, so as to make it easy to keep an eye on them.

¹⁷ A very common way of carrying an empty water-pot, the arm being kept round the neck of the pot. A full water-pot is generally carried on the head, but may occasionally be seen carried on the hip, with the arm round the pot-neck, very much like the way in which children are carried on the hip. Hindu women frequently carry the filled water-pot in this way.

¹⁸ A marriage-procession generally has a number of musicians in attendance. The musicians are mostly of the dōm caste (see p. 128, note 12), the instruments used being drums of sorts, clarinets, pipes, triangles, cymbals and several kinds of horn. The number varies according to the importance of the party. Every time the marriage-procession passes a village, they start drumming, tinkling and blowing and make a tremendous noise, easily heard even at a great distance.

were in the habit of drawing water from this well. The girl herself also took some refreshments at that well. Below the tank the king's ploughmen were at work, they had twenty to twenty-five ploughs going. The girl was sitting somewhere fairly near to where they were ploughing.

Now it was becoming nearly noon, they were hot even then bringing the forenoon meal out to those who were ploughing, and the ploughmen were grumbling, saying: "Look here, why are they not bringing us anything to-day? They have brought food to all the rest round here; what can possibly be the cause that they do not bring anything to us? Now if anybody should bring anything, we shall beat them, we shall give them a good thrashing. Why don't they bring, even when the day is so far advanced?"

Even whilst they were talking in this way, they looked up and saw that a servant-girl of the king's was coming towards them, having her child walking in front of her¹⁶ and carrying their forenoon meal on her head. "Look," they said, "over there she is coming; now only, dash it, she is finding time to bring the forenoon meal." Having spoken in this way, they did not say anything more. The servant-girl put the food down near the ploughmen, whereupon she, with a water-pot under her arm¹⁷, went to the well to draw water, and her child also followed after her there.

Just at that moment some marriage-procession or other was passing with great pomp and music, drumming¹⁸ as they went past. The servant-girl was looking at the marriage-procession and was not aware that her child was standing there just in front of her. Thinking that she was putting a noose round the neck of the water-pot she put it round the neck of her child and let it

The idea seems to be to make people take notice, but also to scare ghostly enemies away. It is a non-Santal custom, but now frequently adopted by them.

¹⁶ The number of dogs hired by Santals varies according to their means, but is never very large.

geye pasikefte kúiteye árgokedea. Ado or rakab jokhóce hékede do, gidrai pasi akade. Ado uni gidra doe goócentaea; ado ádiye bhabnayena. Ado phorphundi joraoa mefite uni gidra do onko siokko thene hóbor idi hófkedea, ar onako baskeak do jotqo chitiáu gidikata. Ado gidra hóborcate káumáu bogeteye rakketa. Ado gidra hóborcate uni kámrí do raj thene lálisketa je, Amren siokkoge ínren gidra dóko dal goókedetiña.

Ado raje menketa, Cédak, céf íateko dal goókedetama?

Ado menketa, Apege berenre hó baskeak bape em hófadiña; réngécteko kadraoente baskeak hó jotqo chitiáu gidikete ínko daleñ kan tahékana, ado nui gidrageko dal goókedetiña. Ar bam patiauk khan, mitán okaren maejiu con onde gadhae átiñede kana, uniye hellelea.

Ado raje menketa, Durré! noa do bhári moskil hoeyena. Ado sipahikoe kolkekote onko jotqo siokkoko hóho águketkoa. Ado onkoe kulikekkoa, Henda ya siok kora, sári nui kámrí kuriren gidra do apegepe dal goókedetaea? Ar katha, baskeak hó bape jomleta, jotqo, kathaepé chitiáu gidikata. Mase bhala dhóróm dhóróm rorpe, noa katha do sári kana se nase. Ma siñ boñga sewakate dhóróm rorpe. Noa do bhári íngepe modoikidiñ do.

Ado onko siok hó Siñ cando sen sewakate dhóróm phukar-kateko menketa, Ale do dhóróm dhórómle roreta, ma áñjomtaleme. Nui kámrí kurí do baskeake idikete onale siok kan arere-

¹⁹ The way in which the woman here acts is not impossible; the writer has seen Indian women trying to get out of a scrape in similar absurd ways.

²⁰ Shop-keepers, people who have any kind of business of some importance, not to mention 'kings', i. e., zemindars, always have a smaller or larger number of persons round their offices and elsewhere, doing service as watchmen, messengers, &c. These people are a kind of private soldiers. The greatness and importance of a potentate is calculated according to the number of these attendants. Santals have no such servants, except very exceptionally.

²¹ What is here described is very much what may be witnessed in a village-council, before 'the Five'. The person exhorted to swear salutes the sun, &c. one bows to some superior person. It is remarkable that, if the council sits in

down into the well. When she drew it up, she saw that she had snared her child. Her child was dead, and she was very much grieved. To concoct a false story and put the blame on other people she quickly carried her child in her arms to where the ploughmen were, and scattered the whole forenoon meal over the place and threw it away. Thereupon she commenced to make an awful noise crying, whilst she had her child in her arms¹⁹. Carrying her child in her arms the servant-girl went to the king and complained: "Your ploughmen have beaten my child to death."

"Why," the king said, "what was the cause that they beat your child to death?"

"You," she replied, "even when the day was far advanced, you did not give me the forenoon meal quickly; out of hunger they were grumbling and angry, scattered and threw away all the food and beat me, and this child of mine they beat to death. If you don't believe it, a strange woman is grazing a donkey there, she saw us."

"Dear me," the king said, "this has become an awfully difficult matter." He thereupon sent some peons²⁰, who summoned and brought all the ploughmen, and asked them: "Look here, you ploughboys, did you really beat the child of this servant-girl to death? You did not even eat your forenoon meal, it is said, you scattered the food over the place and threw all of it away. Now, please, speak what is right and true, is this true or false? Make your obeisance to the day-god and speak the truth²¹. You have put me in an awfully difficult position with this."

The ploughmen then made their obeisance towards the sun, swore and said: "We are speaking what is the truth, listen to us. This servant-girl brought our forenoon meal and put it down close to where we were ploughing; she also had this child with

the afternoon, the person in question salutes the sun and also towards the east, the region of the rising sun. As a rule the oath taken is a promise to speak the truth, adding that Chando is seeing; the speaker is to be responsible

geye d̄oh̄oketa, ar n̄ui gidra h̄je idi toraledgea. Ad̄e d̄oh̄okatte ac̄ d̄o kan̄dae her̄mekette k̄ui sene calak kana, ar nui gidra h̄j ac̄ tayom̄ tayom̄tegeye calaena, bana h̄orge. Ona indara k̄ui thenkin sen akan j̄okhenge okaren b̄ariatko c̄on ādi b̄arīc̄ rajau bhajanate on̄a phalna d̄aharteko calak kana, ad̄o onko sengeye b̄onḡet akata. Ad̄o on̄te k̄yoȳkkatege kan̄da pasia m̄onteye m̄enleta cele, ad̄o ac̄ren gidra samāreya tēngo akan d̄o bae h̄ele kana. Ad̄o uni gidrāge h̄ot̄okreya pasikedete ona indara k̄uireye ārgokede. Ad̄o or rakap̄kateye h̄ele kan d̄o, ac̄ren gidrāgeye pasi gōckede. Ad̄e rap̄akedete ale then hare phare on̄le siok kan thene h̄ob̄or āgu gōckedete ona baskeak̄ d̄o j̄ot̄e chitīu gidikata, ad̄o cur mar kaumāu bogeteye garjaoketa. Ad̄o ale h̄ole h̄ir hēcentele h̄elkede d̄e gōcentae. Ad̄o alege cur mar bogeteye egerkeflea are metale kana, Apege in̄ h̄ope dalkidīna, ar in̄ren gidra h̄j apegepe dal gōckedetīna. Ad̄o enka m̄enkatege nui d̄o ac̄ren gidra h̄ob̄orkate rak̄ rak̄te not̄ege orāk̄teye h̄ob̄or āgukede. Ar ale d̄ole metae kangea, Īa āim̄ai, ac̄tegeye gōckedetaea, ad̄o ahak nahakte aboe b̄odnamef̄bona. Ad̄o on̄e onka ac̄tegeye gōckedetaea; ad̄o āuriākte ale d̄e b̄oh̄ok̄ akatlea. Ma en̄e anān̄ katha d̄o. Ale d̄o dh̄orom̄ dh̄orom̄le r̄orēfa. H̄orren h̄opon d̄o cet̄ iatele gōkkoa? Ale d̄o kichu b̄ot̄or d̄o banuktalea?

Ad̄o raj̄e m̄enketa, Dh̄orom̄ dh̄orom̄gepe r̄orēfa, s̄e ērepe r̄orēfa? Judi ērepe r̄orēf̄ khan d̄o, apetegepe sen hamaloka.

Ad̄oko m̄enketa, Ale d̄o dh̄orom̄gele r̄orēfa; judi ērele r̄orēf̄ khan d̄o, aletegele sen hamaloka.

Ad̄o arh̄o raje m̄enketa, Ona siok ārekore d̄o ōk̄oekoko tah̄ḡ-kana bhala? Baskeake chitīu gidikata, ona d̄oko h̄elledea s̄e bāna?

before him. This kind of oath is, in its present form, likely something introduced from the local law-courts. The Santals have a number of additional forms of oaths, the swearer calling some specific curse down on himself. In such cases they always have something symbolic to visualize the consequences of perjury.

her. When she had put the food down, she took a water-pot under her arm and went towards the well, and this child also followed after her; they went there both of them. Just as they had gone to the masonry well, some marriage-procession or other was passing along that particular road with great pomp and music, and she was looking towards them. Whilst she was looking away towards them, she apparently intended to put a noose round the neck of the water-pot, and she did not see her child, which was standing in front of her. So she put a noose round the neck of her child and let it down into the well. When she had drawn it up, she saw that she had strangled her own child. Then she loosed it and in a hurry brought the child in her arms near to where we were ploughing and scattered and threw all our forenoon meal away; then she started to make all the noise she could and howled. Then we also came running up to her and saw that her child was dead. She at once commenced to abuse us something awful and said to us: You, me you have beaten, and this child of mine you have beaten to death. Speaking in this way she took her child in her arms, and carrying it thus she went crying away in this direction towards your house. We were saying to her: This unspeakable woman, she has herself killed her child, and without any cause at all she puts the blame on us. As we have stated, she herself killed her child, and she has falsely accused us. Well, that is what there is to it. We are speaking the truth. Why should we kill anybody's child? Do you think there is no fear in us?"

"Do you speak the truth?" the king asked them, "or are you telling lies? If you are telling lies, you will yourselves bear the consequences."

"We are speaking the truth," they replied; "if we are telling lies, we shall ourselves take the consequences."

Again the king said: "Close to where you are ploughing, I wonder who happened to be there? She scattered and threw the food away, did anybody see that or not?"

Ado onkoko menketa, Noa atokoren do okoe ho bako tahkana, menkhan okaren con miitan maejiuye halletlea. Uni do ona puhri are arete miitan gadhae atin barayede kana. Uni do khub khatye nel akatlea.

Ado khangе raje menketa, Do se bhala uni maejiu hoho aguyepe. Ado sari bar' hor, dosrakingeko kolketkina, ado raje menketa, Do aben phalna phalna sipahi calakte hoho aguyeben bes okote; aloben hurum dhurumea, arben hurum dhurumkedea menkhan, nahak abengeñ sajaibena.

Ado enkae metafkinte sari unkin sipahi dokin calaena; adokin metae kana, Ia mai, delalin idimea, raj cet lagit coe khoj akatme.

Ado uniye menketa, In bidisia hor do cet lagite khojen kana?

Adokin menketa, Baña, cet lagit con adi jarurgeye khoj akatmea. Delabon hare pharelin idi hofmea; am hokhoge alin doe kol akatliña.

Ado menketa, Acha bogege, delabon gndekhan.

Adokin menketa, Baña, songetelin idi toramea, alin eskar do qholin lahalena. Ado uni gadha thene senenteye laga torayede kana. Ado unkin menketa, Baña, mai, gadha do nonde bar' atin hatar ocoame; arho nahakem hec godoka.

Ado uni kuriye menketa, Baña, nui gadha do qhoh bagilea, in do songeteñ idi torayea. Ado sari uni gadha hōe sotok torakedeā.

Ado raj saman thenkin tengoyena; ado raje menketa, Nui gadha do, mai, cedakem agu darakedeā? Nonde do cete joma? Onde khan do hutce atin hatarkea.

Ado uni kuriye menketa, Baña, raj, nui gadha do qhogen bagilea.

²² The Santal, word shows that the two were called by their names.

²³ The text does not seem to justify this rejoinder. The woman has agreed to go with them. The meaning may possibly be that the two peons object to the girl taking the lead.

"No one from any of the villages about here was there," they answered; "but a woman from we don't know where saw us. She was grazing a donkey there by the side of the tank. She has certainly seen us."

The king then said: "Well then, fetch that woman." So they sent two men, others than the ploughmen, and the king said: "You two, so and so, and so and so²², peons go and fetch this woman in a nice way; don't hustle or illtreat her; if you do that, I shall punish you presently."

When he had spoken to them in this way, the two peons went and said to the woman: "I say, my girl, please come along with us, the king has for some reason or other asked for your presence."

"I am from another country," the girl replied, "what can he possibly want to see me for?"

"Don't say so," they said, "for some purpose or other he has demanded your presence very urgently. Come along, we shall take you there in a hurry; he has sent us two to fetch you."

"Very well," the girl replied, "let us go then."

"Not so," they said, "we shall take you along with us²³; we two cannot go ahead alone." The girl then went to the donkey and commenced to drive him along with her. "No, my girl," they said, "let the donkey graze here in the meantime; you will presently be back here again."

"No," the girl replied, "I am not going to leave the donkey here; I am taking him along with me." And this she actually also did.

Presently they were standing before the king, and the king said: "My girl, why have you brought this donkey along with you here? What can he eat here? If he had been left there, he might have been feeding in the meantime."

"No, king," the girl replied, "I am not going to leave this donkey behind."

Ado mēnketa, Acha bogege eṇḍekhan. Ado amgeñ kuliyetmea, okam ṇel akat, onage ṭhik ṭhik laiañme.

Ado uni kuṛiye mēnketa, Cet katha kañā, raj? Adoñ aṇjomle ṇahīñ ror dareaka.

Ado raje mēnketa, Acha, ona reaṇ bhōṇṭeṭ doñ laiam kana. Bhala ona pukhirege gadham aṭiñ baṛayedo kan tahēkana. Ona pukhri latarrege iñren siokkoko tahēkana; onko doṃ ṇellekko sē bañ?

Ado mēnketa. ṇellekogeañ; nōkōe nokogeko siok kan tahēkana.

Acha, ar nui kuṛi baskeake idileṭ doṃ ṇelledea sē bañ?

Ado mēnketa, ṇelledegeañ.

Acha, eṇḍekhan thirokme; nitok do bhedem ṇamketa. Ado aṇjom mucaṭlem, eṅkhanthem rora.

Ado mēnketa, Acha bogege, ma eṇḍekhan do rorlem.

Ado raje ror idiyeta, Noko iñren siokko do pukhri latarreko siok kan tahēkana, ar nui kaṃṛi kuṛi do gidra sotokkate baskeak idile kolledea. Ado bhala am do onakoregem tahēkana. Ado saṛige nuiren gidra do noko siokkogeko dal gockedeā, sē ac̄tegeye gockedeā? Ma ado amge oṇṭe ṇoṭeṇren goha kanam. Ale mōṛē hoṛ do alom boṭoralea; coṭren Siñ boṅga boṭoraeme, uni do sanam hoṛe ṇeleṭṭongeā, ar oṇḍe khētrepe tahēkanre hōe ṇel akatpegeā. Ado dhoroṃ dhoroṃ roṛme; okam ṇel akat ona baṛe roṛme; nit turtakate do alom rora, ar bañkhan amtegem seṇ hamaloka. Ado ma inaṅgeñ kuliyetmea, dhoroṃ dhoroṃ roṛme.

Ado mēnketa, Acha, raj, eṇḍekhan iñ rōṛeta, aṇjomtiñpe, dhoroṃ iñ rōṛeta. Siñ boṅga pukarkate nui iñren gadhareñ dibok kana; judi dhoroṃ iñ ror khan eṇḍekhan nui gadhae hoṛoktiña, ar judi bēdhoroṃ iñ ror khan, eṇḍekhan gadhageye tahentiña. Ina baṛe baḍaetiñpe.

²⁴ She has been cited as a witness by both parties.

²⁵ See above note 21. These words are commonly heard, when a witness is warned to speak the truth.

"Very well then," the king said. "Now I am asking you a question: tell truly and correctly what you have seen."

"What is the matter, king?" the girl replied. "When I hear that, then only I shall be able to speak."

"Well," the king said, "I shall tell you the gist of it. As a matter of fact, you were grazing your donkey near the tank. Below that tank my ploughmen were; did you see them or not?"

"Yes, I saw them," she replied; "those here present were there ploughing."

"Very well, and did you see this girl carrying food there or not?"

"Yes, I saw her," she replied.

"Very well then, be quiet; now you have caught the purport of it. Hear the whole to the end; thereafter you shall speak."

"Very well," the girl said, "please then first tell everything."

The king then continued speaking: "These ploughmen of mine were ploughing below the tank, and we sent this servant-girl, who had her child with her, to carry the forenoon meal out there. You were there in the vicinity. Now did these ploughmen really beat this woman's child to death, or did she kill it herself? You are a witness for both parties²⁴. Don't fear us Fiye; fear the day-god²⁵ above; he is seeing us all, and whilst you were there at the rice-fields he also saw all of you. Now speak what is the truth; please tell what you have seen. Don't speak anything you concoct now here, otherwise you will yourself bear the consequences. Now this is what I am asking you. Speak what is the truth."

"Very well, king," she said, "then I am speaking, listen to me; I am speaking the truth. Making my obeisance towards the day-god²⁶ I swear by my donkey: if I speak the truth, this donkey of mine shall become a man, and if I speak what is false, he shall remain a donkey. Please know this."

Ado raje menketa, Acha bogege, má gndekhan rorme; amak kathatege bicar do phandaoka.

Adqe menketa, Sarige in do ona pukhrire gadhañ atinede kan tahékana, ar noko siokko do ona latarregeko siok kan tahékana. Ado sanam hor lagit baskeakko idiketa arko jomketa, ar noko lagit do baskeakge ban setorok kan. Ado adi barioko edren kana, menetako, Nun marañ beren hō abo do bako aguabon kana; nit nāhākko aguketa menkhan, dalbo dalkoa se, khubbo dalkoa ar baskeak hō babon jomtako. Ado enkako ror barae jokhengeko nelkede, nui kamri kuri do gidra sotokkate baskeake dipil idiyet kan. Khange adoko thir barayena. Ado nui kuri do baskeak onko phedregeye dhoqkatte ac do kanča hermekate kuite dak loe calak kana, ar uni acen gidra do ac tayom tayomteye panja idikede. Ado ona kui thenkin tiok akaf jokhenge okaren bariatko con adi rajan bhajanate ona hortegeko calak kana. Ado nui kamri kuri do onko sen koyokkatege kanča pasia menteye menleta, acen gidrage hotokreye pasikedete kuireye cadokedea. Ado or rakapkatete nele kan do, gidrage hotokreye pasi akade are gocentae. Ado hako phare noko siokko thene hobor agu gotkedete baskeak do jotoe chitiau gidikatte ac do gidra hoborkatege cur mare rarak kana, ar noko siokkogeyete metako kana, Apege inren gidra dope dal gockedetiha. Ado noko hō nir jarwakateko nelkede do, sarigeye gocentae, arhūko ruheskede, Actegeye goc akadea, ad ahak nahakte abo doe bodnametbona. Ado onkako ror barakede khan, nui do gidra hoborkatege noteye hobor agukede. Ado notere doe cet lekakede con, ona do ohon menlea. Ado eng in

²⁶ See, above note 21. In addition to the ordinary oath she refers to her donkey. In a village-council a thing like this will of course not happen; it belongs to the fairy-tale and has numerous parallels in Hindu tradition. In real life it is always a curse which is called down on the person in question. He may, e. g., be made to stand on a leopard skin and to say that if he does not speak the truth then may a leopard take him, or, as in boundary disputes, he may be made to take some earth from the land in question and keep this on his head whilst swearing, the idea being that if he speaks falsely, the land will become a curse to him, and so on.

"Very well," the king^s said, "that is good; please speak then; by your statement the case will be settled."

She then said: "It is true, I was grazing the donkey at the tank, and these ploughmen were ploughing below the tank. For all the other ones people brought their forenoon meal, so they had their food; but for these their forenoon meal did not arrive. They were very angry and said: The day is so far advanced, still they are not bringing us anything; if they should bring food now, we shall beat them, we shall give them a sound thrashing, and we shall not eat their food either. Whilst they were speaking in this way, they caught sight of her; this servant-girl was coming having her child in front of her and carrying the food on her head. Then they became quiet. This girl put the food down there close to these people and herself went with a water-pot under her arm to the well to draw water, and her child followed after her. Just at the moment when they had reached the well, a marriage-procession from somewhere or other was passing along that road with much pomp and music. Whilst this servant-girl was looking away towards it, she intended to put a noose round the neck of her water-pot, but putting the noose round the neck of her child she let it down into the well. When she had drawn it up, she saw she had put the noose round the neck of her child, so it had died. Then she in a hurry carried her child to where the ploughmen were, and having scattered and thrown away over the place all the food she commenced, whilst holding her child in her arms, to cry violently and said to the ploughmen: You, you have beaten my child to death. Then these also came running together and saw that the child was really dead; so they again scolded her, saying: She has herself killed her child, and now she is without any cause whatever putting the blame on us. When they had rebuked her in this way, she, took the child in her arms and carried it away in this direction. What she did to it here in these parts, I am unable to say. That is what I have seen, please understand that. If I have spoken falsely, Chando is seeing, and if I

ñelak katha dō, ma bujhautabonpe. Ereñ ror akat khan Candoe ñeñel kana; ar dhōromgeñ ror akat khan, nui gadhae hōr godok ma. — Adō onka ror sāotege uni acren gadha deareye ceṭak goṭkedeā. Adō khange sariye hōr goṭentaea.

Khange adō sanam hōrko paṭiṭuena. Ar raj hōe menketa, Baṅa, sari kangea. Ñelpe, pahilreye menketa, Dhōrom in ror khan dō gadhae hōroktiṅa, ar baṅkhan dō qhōe hōrlena. Adō oṅe thōbo ñelketa biswas dō. Adō uni kāmri kūrī raje metadea, Oṭe māi, amtege com goṭkedetam, adō cedak noko dōm dohmoteṭkoa?

Adō uni kāmri kūrī dō ceṭ hō bae rorleta; gidra hōbōrkate hape hapeteye sayena. Adō uni raje menketa, Do aben dō senjoṅben, adō cabayena katha dō. Adō onkae metaṭkin khan nukin dōkin heṭena, adō ako akoge ceṭko cōko galmaraket.

Adō nukin mahra kūrī koṛa dō nāihārte hō bakin heṭlena, ar koṛawak eṅgat apat oṛakte hō bakin heṭlena. Adō ontorege kisārkin sapante oṅdegekin guti kāmriyena. Adōkin oṛak duarkeṭte tayomte dō casakin hoeyena. Adō un khonge, kathae, mahra jat dō gai dō aḍi baṛicko jotoṅkoa.

Adō eṅe anañ katha dō, in maraṅgea, cabayentakina.

24. Ṭakate bañ ṅamoka.

Miṭṭañ mahra kisāre tahēkana. Unkin dō miṭṭañ kūrī gidrai hoelentakina, adō inaṅategekin teṅgoyena; adō bakin gidraletkoa.

¹ The following story touches one side of the inner life of Santal women, and also of Santal men. To be childless is considered a great calamity, often a curse. The Santal traditions tell that, in the old days, when a wife remained barren, she would herself bring a second wife into the house, that there might be children. This is explained to be the first, originally the only cause for a man having more than one wife among the Santals. The story of Abraham and Sarah might fit a Santal family in many points. As to 'cattle-owner', in Santali mahra, see p. 342, note 2.

have spoken the truth, may this donkey become a man." As she was speaking in this way, she suddenly gave her donkey a slap on the back with her hand. And in very truth, her donkey at once became a man.

Then they all believed it, and the king also said: "Undoubtedly, that is the truth. Observe, she said beforehand: 'If I speak the truth, my donkey shall become a man; otherwise he would certainly not have become a man. So there we have seen visible proof of the truth.'" The king thereupon spoke to the servant-girl: "Listen, girl, do you hear? you yourself killed your child. Then why do you falsely accuse these?"

The servant-girl did not say anything; carrying her child in her arms she quietly went aside without saying a word. The king then said: "Now you two, please, may go away; the case is finished." When he had said this to them, they came away, and those other ones had some talk, who knows what, among themselves.

Now the mahra boy and girl did not go to the home of her parents, nor did they come to the house of the boy's father and mother. They found a master in those parts and took service there. So they made themselves house and home, and afterwards they became farmers. From this time, people tell, the mahra caste people take such intense care of cows.

Now that is the story, it is thus much; the story of those two is finished.

24. NOT TO BE HAD FOR MONEY.

THERE was once a rich cattle-owner¹. One child was born to them, a girl, whereupon they ceased² getting children; they did not get any more.

¹2 The Santal word is *teŋgo*, stand, come to a standstill, their term. *tech.*, so to say, for what is here referred to.

Ado uni gidraĭ hārayenre hō peṛage³ bako lagaok kan. Ado kathae, ghardi jāwāekin dōhōadea. Ado unkin hō baplakate ađi din hoeyena, pase isi bochor gan, enre hō bakin gidrajoñ kan. Khange uni kuṛi dō gidrajoñ reak hēl horteye mokōnen khān dō, dingeye raga; adō ona bhabnate uni kuṛi dōe osokena. Ado eṅgat apatkin⁴ metaea, Henda māi, cekate beḅaricem osoken dō? Cet bhabna menaktama?

Ado metakina, In dō, baba, ađi marañ bhabna menaktiña. Aben ļaiabenre hō ona bhabna dō qhoben cabaletiña.

Adokin menkefa, Mase ente ļailem, bhala cet lekan katha kana.

Ado unreye metakina, In dō, baba, dhulā muṭi kicricge bañ bandelet dō, onate in dōñ bhabnak kana.

Adokin menkefa, Ho, ona ļagit am dōm bhabnak kana? Ona dōbon kiriñ aḅua. Ado ṭaka ematkote horĭkin kolketkoa. Metakokin, Do ape dō dhulā muṭi kicric kiriñ aḅuipe.

Ado sari calaoente goṭa bajarko kuli baṛayetkore hō, onkan kicricge bako nam dapeak kan. Ado kathae, jemōn temōnak miṭṭañ kicricō kiriñkefa. Ado aḅukate onako emadea. Ado ona hō bae khusilena. Ado arhōko menkefa, Do eṭagak kiriñ aḅuipe.

Ado uni kuṛiye menkefa, E baba, aṛiakte ṭaka alope khōṛoca. In dō Candoge dhulā muṭi kicric dō bae emadiñ khan in cekaea? Ape dō dhulā muṭi reak bhēd dō bape bujhauefa. Dhulā muṭi reak bhēd dō noa kana: gidraĭko tahentiñ khan, dhuṛite kicricō

³ The same fate follows the child. No one wanted to ask for the girl; they had to arrange for a husband for her themselves.

⁴ Cf. above p. 310, note 38.

⁵ The two words translated 'dusty' are not Santali, but Hindi. The first word dhulā means dust; the other word muṭi may have several meanings; it may in Santali pronunciation be the same as maṭi, earth, or dirt. It may mean a handful, and also other things. The girl's parents and the others think it is the name of a special kind of cloth.

⁶ The word bazar, the same as our bazar, is a town with shops, not necessarily only shops, in Santali.

When this child grew³ up, no one asked for the girl in marriage either³. Ultimately, it is told, they procured⁴ a husband⁴ for her, who was to stay with them. Now these two also lived together for a very long time after their marriage, perhaps for twenty years or so; still they were not getting any children. When the girl at last understood that she could not any longer hope to get children, she cried every day; and because she was grieving over this, she wasted away. Her parents often said to her: "Look here, our girl, how is it you have become so awfully lean? What is preying on your mind?"

"Father," she replied, "I have a very great sorrow. But even if I tell both of you, you will not be able to end my sorrow."

"Do tell us, so we may know it anyhow," they said, "we wonder what kind of matter it is."

"Father," she replied, "I have never dressed in dusty⁵ cloth; that is what I am grieving over."

"Oh," they said, "is that what you are grieving over? We shall buy and bring you that. So they gave some people money and sent them off to buy. They said to them: "Do buy some dusty cloth and bring it here."

These people really went, but although they asked people all over the town⁶, they were unable to get any such cloth. So they bought a cloth such as they could find⁷, and brought it and gave it to the girl. But she was not pleased at that either. They then said to them: "Go, buy some other and bring it."

The girl then said: "Father, don't spend money to no purpose. When Chando⁸ has not given me the dusty cloth, what is there for me to do? You have not grasped the meaning of dusty. The meaning of dusty is this: if I had children, they would make

⁷ The word used in Santali generally connotes that the thing so described is what may just pass, but what is not quite up to the mark or satisfactory.

⁸ See p. 68, note 11.

mailaketiña. Ona kaña dhulã muṭi kierié dõ. Adõ gidrage banuk-kotiñ khañ, okortiñañ ona kierié dõ?

Khange engat apatkin rak gõtkefa, arkiñ menkefa, Cekaialiñ, biṭi? Hõr hõtete hoyok khañ, jãhãeko açukatebon benao ocokekõa. Adõ ona lekañ kathage bañ kan. Adõkin rakkefa: —

(Sereñ. Lagrẽ rãr.)

Porõr putã hoeto kiba yayo jala, kiba bẽdon kõrẽ;
Apon putã hoeto aiso putã kole libã he.

Metakme, Eṭak hõrren hõponko taheñ khañ, ceñ hõ jala joñjal bhabna banuk; ar apnarren hõpon taheñ khañ, dhurĩ akanre hõm heo gõtkefa.

Adõ kuriye menkefa, Onẽ onatege, ayo, iñak jivi dõ sarage patale lõk kantiña. Onateñ metaben kana, ṭaka aloben khõrõca. In dõ Candoge bae emadiñ khañ, ceñ in mena? Ona bhabnate in dõñ osogok kana. Nit dare calak bhor ma hẽge. Adõ jãhã hilok aliñliñ buḍhi haṣamlen khañ, cele asulliña ar cele jõtõnliña? Onako bhabnate in dõñ rakẽ kanteñ osogok kana.

Adõkin metadea, Nit dõliñ baḍaekettama. Adõbon cekaea? Ma jivi dõ tẽtam. Bhabnakate hõ õhõbori ñamlekoa. Dare calak

⁹ Grief is very commonly given vent to in song; the Santals have a special melody, always used in their lamentations over dead ones. Such 'songs' as a rule consist of only a couple of lines, quite exceptionally there is more.

¹⁰ The melody here used, according to the narrator, is lagrẽ, a dance melody par excellence.

¹¹ The song is in a rustic form of Bengali.

¹² The narrator has, for the benefit of his audience, given a free translation of the 'song'.

¹³ In Santal also the soul or heart 'burns'; the way in which it burns is here described as sarage patale, lit. heavenwards, hadeswards; there is nothing left to live for.

¹⁴ A common expression for resignation.

¹⁵ The thoughts here given expression to are those of a Santal. It is not succession that is uppermost in their minds, but to have somebody to look after them when

my cloth dirty with dust. That is the dusty cloth. I have no children, then where can I have that cloth?"

When they heard this, her parents commenced to cry and said: "What shall we do, daughter? If such a cloth were made by man, we should hire some one or other and let them make it. But it is not anything of that kind."

Thereupon they cried⁹: (here is the song, sung at lagrê melody¹⁰).

"If it is a son of other people, what gives anxiety,
mother, what gives pain?"

If it is your own son, come, my son, I shall take
you in my arms¹¹."

That is to say¹²: If it is other people's children, there is no anxiety, trouble, sorrow; and if it is one's own child, you will at once take him on your hip, even if he is dirty from dust.

Then the girl said: "That's the reason, mother, that my soul burns within me and I am grieving unto death¹³. Therefore I am saying to you both, don't spend any money. When Chando has not given me a child, what can I say¹⁴? That is my grief, therefore I am wasting away. It may go so long as my strength lasts. But some day in the future, when my husband and I become old, who will support us, who will take care of us¹⁵? It is on account of these anxieties that I am crying and wasting away."

"Now we¹⁶ know what is the matter with you," they said to her. "But what can we¹⁷ do? Be patient, control yourself. Even

they become old and cannot work any longer. To a childless Santal it is a real, often grave and vital problem,

¹⁶ The pronoun used is the exclusive dual.

¹⁷ The pronoun used is the inclusive plural; it may, besides the one addressed, include the whole world, or only the family.

bhor dō apnartegebon laraoka, ar bañ hilok dō jāhāe perako māyākṛe ma hēge. Ar bañkhan niā cij baṣut nēlte jāhāeko aṣulbongea. Noa cij jimawako khan dō, jōniē albotko aṣsulgea. Ar rak ar bhāṇakate hō ceṣbo cekaea?

Adō eṇe cabayena katha dō.

¹⁸ See above note 15. Above were the feelings of a woman, here are given the reflexions of an elderly, resigned man.

if we grieve, we shall not get any. As long as our strength lasts, we shall move about ourselves; when we cannot do that any longer, if some relative or other will feel compassion, well and good. If not, then some one or other will support us, seeing all this property. If this property is given into their charge, they will likely be sure to support us¹⁸. And even crying and grieving, what can we do?"

So there, the story is ended.

