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"Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt,
Das habt ihr ihm glücklich abgeguckt."

The edition of the GB. in the Bibliotheca Indica¹ is a marvel of editorial ineptitude. Dr. Otto von Böhtlingk has subjected the first prapāṭhaka to a critical review,² and has pointed out a considerable list of blunders in that part of the work.³ The text, however, grows worse as it goes on; the list of obvious mistakes is portentous. Especially do the editors betray a most thorough-going lack of knowledge of the subject-matter of grāuta-literature, as when they consistently print the words praṅga and evaẏā-marut as three words (e. g. pra u gaṁ, p. 180, l. 4; pra u ge, p. 187, ll. 6, 7, 9; eva yā marutam, p. 170, last line). Inasmuch as the text is to a great extent a compilation from other Brāhmaṇas, the work of the editors can to a considerable degree be controlled and amended, as, e. g., by comparing GB. i. 5. 2 with CB. xii. 2. 1. 1–9 (prasne yo, for prosneyo, kulyudaghnas for kulpadaghnas); GB. ii. 1. 11 with TS. ii. 5. 5. 3 (chaṁ vaṣṭaḥ for chambaṭ; anukītā-

² Berichte der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, April, 1896, pp. 12 ff. of the reprint.
³ P. 8, ll. 1, 2, read camasādhvaryaṇo for camasā, adhvaryaṇo, not throwing out adhvaryaṇo with Böhtlingk, p. 15. The first hemistich of the mantra in GB. i. 1. 9 (p. 6, l. 9) is quoted by Śāyaṇa, Introd. to the AV., p. 5, as ṛeṣṭho hi vedas tapaso 'dhijāto brahmajñānāṁ hydāye sambabhūva.
mukhyam upagalmo for anu hritamukhy apagalbho; pragalo for pragalbo; na dṛtyanta for ‘nādṛtya tad’); GB. ii. 2. 6 with AB. i. 18 (sambharāmūti for sambharāmuti; sambhṛtyocatur for sambhṛtyocur); GB. ii. 3. 6 (latter half) with AB. vii. 33. 6 (pratyavikarttum anarīhan for pratyavahartum anarhan); and so in very many more cases. Indeed, the future editor of the GB. will find his task sensibly relieved by following out the correspondences of the GB. with other Brāhmaṇa-texts as stated in the sequel of the present article. In general, the Hindu editors are conscious neither of any connection between the GB. and the remaining Atharvan texts (Sāṃhitā, Vaiśāna, Kāṇḍika, etc.), nor of any dependence of the GB. upon the older Brāhmaṇa-texts. Nor do they treat the text as though it followed any connected plan: in the main each section, or group of sections, is dealt with individually, as though it were a note or excerpt, without any reference to the scheme of the grānta-sacrifice. The case is by no means quite as bad as that.

1 The statement of the entire list of corrections which suggest themselves would amount almost to a new edition; we may content ourselves here with a small anthology: p. 23, last line, krodhopacāgham for krodho ‘pah glāgham; p. 24, l. 2 from bottom, pāpiyāni for pāpiyān eva; p. 25, l. 16, upāya for utthāya; p. 27, l. 16, pāpatāsma tam for pāpatāsmṛtam; p. 29, l. 6, asi tanyār for asītajñār; p. 29, l. 14, ucčayatanam tam for ucča patantam; p. 58, l. 5, ‘yeptyañces for ‘yetthām ce’; p. 60, l. 11, yaṁ vai loko for ‘yaṁ, etc. (a common type of error); p. 70, l. 2 from bottom, ‘navañca for ‘nvañca; p. 80, l. 2 from bottom, ‘tā bhūṛa for ‘tābhūṛa; p. 96, l. 2, cuṣṭir for cuṇṣṭir; p. 174, l. 2, anvīr for anvītir; p. 115, l. 15, stutope for stūtepe; p. 116, l. 15, aṁgīt, aṁgīn for aṁgīd aṁgīn; p. 119, l. 15, pi vā, somam for piṁa somam; p. 121, l. 14, ‘tṛpyantir for ‘tṛpyantir; p. 126, l. 18, ‘virya-vattayā for ‘virya-vattayā; p. 141, l. 9, ayamityam for apamityam; p. 142, l. 5, yanno for ‘yaṁ no; p. 148, l. 1, eky aśu vrayavi tā āgnir for eky aśu brvavāni tā āgnir; p. 150, l. 1, nivikṣayasyate for nivico chasayate; p. 150, l. 2, puroratna for puroruṇ na; p. 152, l. 1, antahsadaḥ, sāndhiṣṭāyā for antahsadsamas dhīpyāḥ; p. 154, l. 1, jaṁśire, sa saṁskṛtvā for yajñavecasamḥ kṛtvā; p. 154, l. 2, viṣṭāvanīcyarchat for viṣvaṇ vyārchat; p. 156, l. 7, tāṁ tā for tāṁtā; p. 158, l. 12, ‘iṣṭāḥ ca svadhiṣṭ sa aneṣ ca dhvā; p. 160, l. 1, satyo for ‘ā satyo; p. 161, l. 4, tvaṁ hi for nu ‘āhan; p. 162, l. 1, māmāśu for imām aśu; p. 168, l. 9, kuśin ‘ucchāmi for kuśiṁ ‘ucchāmi; p. 167, l. 15, stuno for astu no; p. 169, l. 9, kaipayati for kalpayati; p. 170, l. 13, tanyākākha iti for tāṁ nyāṅkhayati; p. 173, l. 9 and 14, prajāpatiḥ for prajāthiḥ; p. 180, l. 6, yajña for jañña; p. 181, l. 18, daddhikrāṇo for daddhikrāṇa. In general the mantra-quotations are especially faulty.
The most important single critical point of view in the analysis of the GB. is the distinction between the pūrva-brāhmaṇa in five prapūṭhakas and the uttara-brāhmaṇa in six prapūṭhakas. The pūrva is in no mean measure original, especially when it devotes itself to the glorification of the Atharvan and its priests; it does not present materials in accord and connection with the order of the sacrifice (yajñakrama) either in the Vāitāṇa or in any of the other grāuta-texts. The uttara follows in the main the order of the Vāit. by compiling—with slight Atharvanic adaptations—from a considerable variety of sources a fairly connected Brāhmaṇa to accompany the action of the Vāit. These adaptations are sporadic, hap-hazard, and incomplete both as regards subject-matter and mantras; the scrappy character of the result is superficially evident. Yet in a general way the uttara in its relation to Vāit. may be compared with the relation of the first nine books of the ČB. to the original nucleus of the VS. (books i.—xviii.); the pūrva being comparable with (as it is to some extent dependent upon) ČB. x.—xiv.¹ Both halves of the GB., however,—this is the second important point of view,—are very late productions, one cannot say from how recent a century; both halves were composed after the Vāit., without, or almost without, any independent Atharvanic tradition. Moreover, the uttara-brāhmaṇa makes the impression of a production later than the pūrva-brāhmaṇa. Thus the usual chronological relations in the redaction of Brāhmaṇa, Črāutatsūtra, and Ĝhyasūtra are turned about in the Atharvan: the Kāuçika (Ghyasūtra) was composed before the Vāitāṇa (Črāutasūtra),² the Vāitāṇa before the GB.,—the cone is inverted and balances upon a mere point of genuine Atharvanic tradition, as far as both Črāutasūtra and Brāhmaṇa are concerned. We may here characterize the relation of the GB. to the remaining Atharvan texts and to the Brāhmaṇa-literature in general, beginning with the uttara-brāhmaṇa, since its character is much less complex than that of the pūrva-brāhmaṇa. This will be followed elsewhere by a somewhat detailed account of the contents of the entire Brāhmaṇa, section by section.

1. The Uttara-Brāhmaṇa.—For the purpose of defining the history of this production it will be of advantage not to follow the text section by section, but to deal with certain select themes in the order of their clearness and suggestiveness. We may choose first the treatment of the seasonal offerings (cāturmāsyāṇī). To this theme are devoted sections ii. 1. 19–28 of the GB. These are purloined with slight modifications from the KB., being the fifth book of that work in toto. The Vāït. treats this subject in 8. 8–9. 27, and there are of course correspondences between it and GB. due to the sameness of the subject. Thus, the opening sūtra of Vāït. (8. 8) is literally identical with the opening of GB. (ii. 1. 19). The GB. does not mention the mantras of the Vāït., except that it works in the two formulas oṁ svadāḥ and astu svadāḥ (Vāït. 9. 11) in ii. 1. 24. We cannot therefore speak even of adaptation to the Vāïtāṇa. The transaction is an act of wholesale borrowing, to use no severer term, with a sporadic recollection of one or another point in the Vāïtāṇa. There can be no question that this part of the GB. was compiled subsequently to both KB. and Vāït. Even more characteristic is the treatment of the atirātra (soma-sacrifice), GB. ii. 5. 1–5. This is compiled from two sources, AB. iv. 5 and 6, and KB. xvii. 7–9, baldly put down, one after the other, without any attempt to assimilate the materials. Thus the three paryayas (periods) of the atirātra are explained twice as typifying the successive expulsion of the Asuras from the three periods of the night, once in the words of AB. iv. 5, the second time in the words of KB. xvii. 8. Very striking, too, is the case of GB. ii. 3. 11, illustrating, in the course of the aquaṣṭoma, the passage Vāït. 21. 3, 4: the Brāhmaṇa is copied with slight alterations from KB. xi. 4 and 5; the compiler does not even take the trouble to expunge the expression, iti ha smāha kāuṣītakih, which of itself would betray its origin: indeed in general, throughout the text, the Rishis are borrowed by our Atharvavedin along with the productions in which they figure. Again, cases of undisguised pilfering appear in the three kāmyeṣṭayaḥ, GB. ii. 1. 13–15, which reproduce almost verbatim MS. ii. 1. 10, and in the treatment of the anvāhārya, GB. ii. 1. 6, taken from MS. i. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.). These are only a few of the cases of this kind: the uttara exploits especially AB. and KB., but other Brāhmaṇas, GB., TS., MS., and even PB., are not exempt from depredation.

The scope and quantity of these processes may next be stated numerically: of the 123 sections of the uttara-brāhmaṇa 79 owe
their materials either entirely or largely to older texts, as far as is known to the writer. And there can be no doubt that future search will reveal still further instances of the dependence of GB., since there are at present no regular channels through which an investigation of this kind may be carried on. The correspondences, stated now in the order of the uttara-brāhmaṇa, are as follows: ii. 1. 1: KB. vi. 13;—ii. 1. 3 (latter half): KB. vi. 14 (beginning);—ii. 1. 6: MS. i. 4. 6 (p. 54, 1. 3 ff.);—ii. 1. 9, very similar to TS. ii. 5. 1 ff.;—ii. 1. 10 (beginning): Kāuṇ. i. 29, 30;—ii. 1. 11: TS. ii. 5. 2 ff.;—ii. 1. 13–15: MS. ii. 1. 10;—ii. 1. 18: MS. iii. 3. 7 (p. 40, l. 2 ff.);—ii. 1. 19–26: KB. v. (entire);—ii. 2. 2–4: TS. vi. 2. 2. 1 ff.;—ii. 2. 6: AB. i. 18;—ii. 2. 13; TS. iii. 5. 2. 1;—ii. 2. 20–22: AB. vi. 10 (complete), vi. 11. 6 ff., and vi. 12. 6 ff.;—ii. 3. 1–6: AB. iii. 5 to 8;—ii. 3. 6 (latter half): AB. vii. 33. 5 ff.;—ii. 3. 7, 8: AB. ii. 29, and vi. 14. 5;—ii. 3. 10: AB. iii. 12;—ii. 3. 11: KB. xi. 4, 5;—ii. 3. 12: AB. iii. 14;—ii. 3. 17–19: MS. iv. 8. 3;—ii. 3. 20, 21: AB. iii. 23;—ii. 3. 22: AB. iii. 24;—ii. 4. 5: AB. vi. 3. 8–11;—ii. 4. 6: KB. xviii. 7, 8;—ii. 4. 8: TS. iii. 3. 8. 2 ff.;—ii. 4. 9: TS. iii. 3. 8. 4 ff.;—ii. 4. 10: AB. iii. 44;—ii. 4. 19: AB. iv. 1. 5–8;—ii. 5. 1–3: AB. iv. 5, 6;—ii. 5. 4–5: KB. xvii. 7–9;—ii. 5. 6: ÇB. xii. 8. 3. 1, 2;—ii. 5. 7: ÇB. xii. 8. 3. 23–28;—ii. 5. 8: PB. xviii. 7;—ii. 5. 11: AB. vi. 17. 1, 2 and vi. 5;—ii. 5. 12: AB. vi. 6;—ii. 5. 13: AB. vi. 7;—ii. 5. 14: AB. vi. 8;—ii. 5. 15: AB. vi. 18. 4 ff., introduced by a sentence from AB. vi. 17. 2, and ending in a passage from AB. vi. 17. 3. 4;—finally of the 16 sections of the sixth prapāthaka all except one and a half (ii. 6. 6, and the first half of ii. 6. 7) are entirely or very largely dependent upon the fifth and especially the sixth book of the AB. These 79 sections do not by any means mark the limit of the materials in the GB. that can lay no claim to originality. Thus GB. ii. 1. 16; 2. 9; and 2. 12 are open to the suspicion that they are nothing but slightly Brāhmaṇized extracts from the Vāit. itself, respectively, 11. 1; 15. 3; and 16. 15–17. And there are other verbal correspondences between Vāit. and GB. which need not be detailed here, suggesting the superficial creation of Brāhmaṇa matter directly out of the sūtras of Vāit. Again, quite a considerable number of sections dealing with the āstras of the three daily savanas (ii. 3. 13–15; ii. 4. 1–3, and ii. 4. 11–18) seem to be little more than the statements of the RV. Sūtras worked over slightly into Brāhmaṇa-form; cf., e.g., GB. ii. 4. 1–3 with ÇC. vii. 22–24; AÇ.
7. 4. 1 ff. Future investigations on the part of the second editor of the GB. will doubtless narrow down the limits of the original materials of the uttara-brāhmaṇa to a mere minimum.

Just as the uttara-brāhmaṇa presupposes the older Brāhmaṇas of the Vedic literature, so it is no less certainly based upon the existing text of the Vāṁśa. The general correspondence of the uttara with Vāṁśa in the matter of themes, wording, and mantras is by no means to be judged as derivable from an indifferent source of common tradition; it represents rather an act of engrafting the Brāhmaṇa expositions and ideas upon such matters in the Sūtra as seemed to the compiler to stand in need of theological definition and motivation. One may say, in accordance with the paradoxical inter-relation of these secondary Atharvan texts, that to some extent the Vāṁśa figures, as it were, as the Samhitā of the GB. Thus, original mantras of Vāṁśa, or, at any rate, mantras stated in full, are frequently cited in the uttara-brāhmaṇa by their pratīka. The Brāhmaṇa is not consistent in these matters: the long yajus Vāṁśa 3. 20 is repeated in full GB. ii. 1. 7, but the yajur-formulas Vāṁśa 3. 14; 4. 16, are cited by pratīka GB. ii. 1. 3, and 4. Similarly the gharma-sūkta from the Pāppalāda is given in full Vāṁśa 14. 1, whereas its pratīka only appears GB. ii. 1. 6. In GB. ii. 2. 12 and ii. 2. 18 this relation is especially in evidence: GB. cites there the mantras in Vāṁśa 16. 17 and 18. 11 fragmentarily, with explanations in the manner especially in evidence in the treatment of the VS. mantras in the CB. Very characteristic, too, for the priority of the Vāṁśa is GB. ii. 1. 16, which deals with its theme out of order and connection, whereas in Vāṁśa 11. 1 it very properly introduces the agnistoma.

Nevertheless, the uttara-brāhmaṇa has certainly some, though probably very few, original sections. Thus the prācitra-legend, GB. ii. 1. 2, though based upon materials from older texts, betrays itself as an Atharvanic fabrication by the introduction of the clap-trap Rishi, Idhma Āṅgirasa and Barhi Āṅgirasa, leading up to Brhaspati Āṅgirasa, who, of course, represents the Atharvanic (fourth) Brahman-priest. Section ii. 2. 5 starts with an explanation of the word maṅka in Nirukta-manner, leading up to one of those disquisitions on the defects of the sacrifice (common in the pūrva) which can be corrected only by the glorified Bhṛgvaṅgi- rovind. Cf. also certain touches in ii. 1. 17; 2. 6, 14, 15; 3. 9, etc. Otherwise the originality of the uttara consists in a certain free
dom in transfusing the diction of the Brāhmaṇa-materials which it has adopted; in assimilating some of their statements to Atharvanic conditions; and, above all, in changing in no small measure the mantras contained in those Brāhmaṇas to those in vogue with the Atharvans. Thus in ii. 1. 1, a passage borrowed from KB., the formula idam aham arvavasoh is changed to idam aham arvāgvasoh (Kāu. 3. 7; 137. 39); in the stambhāga-legend, essentially identical with TS. iii. 5. 2. 1, the GB. ii. 2. 13 omits tasmād vāsiśṭho brahmā kāryaḥ, because its ideal of a Brahman-priest (fourth priest) is a Bhrgyaṅgirovid; in ii. 3. 10, almost identical with AB. iii. 12, the āhāva and pratigara-formulas (e. g. adhyāvyo ānāvom), appear not in their AB. form but as in Vāit. (20. 18). And other adaptations of this sort will be found upon a closer analysis of the text: they accentuate the consciousness of these processes, which are at times quite clever, at others most superficial and bungling.

2. The Purva-Brāhmaṇa.—The character of the first part of the GB. is not as easily definable as that of the second. The most conspicuous feature of the first part is that it does not follow at all the order of the Vāit., nor is its object in the main the illustration of the various kinds of grāuta-sacrifice. It is, to begin with, also a large borrower, but the source drawn upon is almost exclusively the Čatapaṭha-Brāhmaṇa (books xi. and xii.). From the beginning of the fourth prapāṭha through to i. 5. 22, i. e. all of the fifth prapāṭha excepting the last three sections, the text seems to be nothing but a secondary mouthing-over of a considerable part of the twelfth book of QB. The subject dealt with by both texts is a mystic, theosophic treatment of the satra of the year and other forms of the soma-sacrifice. Though there is some degree of independence on the part of the GB., both in the wording and in an occasional mantra, there can be in this part no question of independent Atharvanic school-tradition; nor can the subject as treated by both texts be referred to a common earlier source. The GB. purloins the materials of the QB. quite superficially; occasionally only it infuses into them those special Atharvanic traits which that text affects. The most prominent of these are the praise of the fourth Veda, the mention of Atharvan, Āṅgiras, Bhṛgu, etc.; see, e. g., GB. i. 4. 24; 5. 10, 11, 15, 19. The dependence in general of the Vāit. upon the school of the white YV. ensures a certain correlation of these
materials with the treatment of the *satra* as presented in Vāït. 31–34; but this is no more in the nature of close companionship than is the case in the relation of ČB. xii. to its Saṁhitā (VS.). Aside from this, as far as has been noted, only the eleventh book of the ČB. and a section or two of the AB. have been exploited by the author: GB. i. 3. 2: AB. v. 32. 3 ff.;—i. 3. 3: AB. v. 32. 5–33. 4;—i. 3. 4: AB. v. 34. 1 ff.;—i. 3. 6–10: ČB. xi. 4. 1;—i. 3. 11, 12: ČB. xi. 5. 3. 1–7;—i. 3. 13, 14: ČB. xi. 5. 3. 8 ff.;—i. 3. 18: AB. vii. 1. 1.¹

The last three sections of the fifth prapāṭhaka contain a metrical treatise on the sacrifice, directed largely towards the interests of the Atharvan. The lack of a certain unity of structure in the three sections makes it possible to imagine that they are not from one and the same hand. At any rate they are not far removed from the type of *pariṇiṣṭa*; they do not bear upon the individual acts of the ritual, but seem to be a statement of the position and beliefs of the Atharvans in regard to the general aspects of Vedic lore and sacrifice, with the special purpose of defining and glorifying the AV. This, indeed, is the leading theme of the pūrva-brāhmaṇa as a whole; to this it adheres throughout the considerable variety of subjects which are handled in the first three prapāṭhakas, whether they are cosmogonies, speculations in Upaniṣad style, comments on sacrificial details, grammatical disquisitions (i. 1. 24–28), or even statements in the manner of the *carana-vyāha* (i. 1. 29). To carry to the front the AV. and the fourth priest (the so-called Brahman), who must be an Atharvaṅgiroid or Bhrṛgaṅgiroid, and to point to failure and discomfiture in all holy concerns managed without the fourth Veda, is without question the original motive underlying the production of the Atharvan-Brāhmaṇa. Every tetrad is a veritable godsend to the author. Whether it be the four-footed animal (i. 2. 24); four metres (often); the syllable *om* divided artificially into four moras (i. 1. 16); the cosmic tetrads, earth and fire, atmosphere and wind, heaven and sun, moon and water (i. 1. 29 et al.); or psycho-physical tetrads like speech, breath, sight, and mind (i. 2. 11; 3. 14), they are all pressed into service to show the inherent necessity and primordiality of the *catur-veda*, as

¹ Note also the passage beginning with *tad yathā lavośena* GB. i. 1. 14, which seems borrowed from Chānd. Up. iv. 17. 7, and GB. i. 5. 11 end=Kāṇ. 94. 3, 4.
stated most formally i. 1. 16. Occasionally and quite familiarly (i. 2. 21, 24; 5. 10; cf. also i. 1. 7 and i. 3. 4) the fourfold Veda is expanded into the Atharvanic pentad by dividing the AV. into two, cānta = atharvan, and ghora = aṅgiras (see SBE. xlii. pp. xxiii ff.). Very neat manipulations are carried on to this end when passages are borrowed from older texts, as when GB. i. 4. 24 substitutes satvāro vedāḥ for catuspādāḥ paṣavaḥ in ČB. xii. 2. 2. 20, or when GB. i. 5. 10 assumes the above mentioned Atharvanic five Vedas for three in ČB. xii. 3. 3. 2. That the GB. clearly associates the AV. and its functionaries with brāhma in the sense of universal religion (sarvavidyā) and brahma in the sense of universal theologian (sarvavid) may be gathered from i. 2. 15; 5. 11, 15, 19; see the systematic exposition of this important theme, SBE. l. e. pp. lli ff.

Though the pūrva-brāhmaṇa, in distinction from the uttara-brāhmaṇa, leaves the impression of a certain elemental, energetic independence in its composition; though it does not borrow as much and as bare-facedly as the uttara; though it does not make it its business to follow and illustrate any other Atharvan text; yet it is without question an exceedingly late production, and also presupposes the Kau. and Vai., in addition to the Čāuṇakīya-sāṅhitā in 20 kāṇḍas.1 Nor are its materials, aside from the obviously borrowed passages, at all from the same hand; as can be seen by comparing, e. g., the first cosmogony, i. 1. 1–15 with the second, i. 1. 16–30. The section i. 2. 8 mentions the god Čiva and belongs rather to the Purāṇa than the Brāhmaṇa-period. Section i. 1. 28 mentions an evil divinity Doṣapati who figured as a Rishi at the beginning of the dvāpara-age, reminding us of Dūsin, a name of the devil Māra in the Buddha-legends.2 Sections i. 1. 25–27 contain grammatical matters of an advanced type, including the kārikā mentioned in the Mahābhhāṣya 1. p. 96

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1 Cf. GB. i. 1. 4, 5, 8, which allude in a cloudy way to the finished dasakeusasis in 20 books (see Kaučika, Introduction, pp. xxxix and xli). Note the contrast between rām maṇḍalaḥ (RV.) and rām kauḍāla (AV.) in i. 2. 9. The fact that in the late caraṇa-uyāha passage i. 1. 29 the initial stanza of the AV. is said to be rām no devir abhiṣaya does not, in our judgment, militate against the view that the GB. belongs to the school of Čauṇaka, rather than to the Pāippalāda. See Kaučika, Introduction, pp. xxxvii ff. The GB. is, however, not unacquainted with the Pāippalāda: see below.

2 See Windisch, Buddha und Māra, p. 151.
(Kielhorn's edition). Section i. 1. 29 is in the nature of a *carana-vyāha*, certainly very late. The proof that the *pūrva* is posterior to Vāït., just as Vāït. is later than Kāuṣ., can be rendered in definite technical form. In Vāït. 5. 10 two classes of plants, one Atharvanic, the other Aṅgirasic, are mentioned; the latter, unknown to Kāuṣ., is catalogued in full; the former, having been stated Kāuṣ. 8. 16, is merely alluded to with the words *cityā-dibhir atharvanibhiḥ*. The GB., in its turn, having both Kāuṣ. and Vāït. behind it,² is content to allude to both classes with the vague words *ātharvanibhiṣ caṅgirasibhiṣ ca* (i. 2. 18): they would be entirely unintelligible but for their reference to the preceding texts. Again, as in the case of the uttara, the *pūrva* at times treats the Vāït. as its Samhitā, as far as the mantras are concerned. Thus GB. i. 1. 12 quotes the pūda, *agnir yajñāniḥ trivṛtāṁ saptatantum* from the Pāipp. hymn given in full Vāït. 10. 17; and GB. i. 2. 18 (end) quotes by pratika the five stanzas given in full Vāït. 6. 1. Finally, aside from the general correspondence of subject-matter and terminology, as when, e. g., GB. i. 3. 11, 12 shares with Vāït. important words unknown elsewhere,³ the GB. occasionally presents Brāhmaṇa-matter which reads like a late note on Vāït. Thus, e. g., GB. i. 3. 17, describing the variety of *agnīṣṭoma* called *eṣaṭu*, is hardly more than an after-thought to Vāït. 24. 20; GB. i. 2. 18 (second half) contains an Atharvanic legend clearly built upon Vāït. 5. 10, and, more remotely, upon Kāuṣ. 8 and 9.

Yet the *pūrva*-Brāhmaṇa, though very late, is not devoid of a certain originality. The two cosmogonies, respectively i. 1. 1–15 and i. 1. 16–30; the *gāyatṛ*-theology i. 1. 31–38; the sections on the duties of the Brahmacārin, with itsrubrication of AV. xi. 5, in i. 2. 1–9; the Brāhmaṇa of the ‘fire-footed horse’ at the *agniśadhana* in i. 2. 18–21 (with quite a number of original words at the end of i. 2. 21); the trivial Brāhmaṇa on the *svāhā* in i. 3. 16, and other sections seem to represent a form of scholastic activity unknown elsewhere in this precise form. The list of

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¹See the author, JAOS. xi. p. 387.
²The passage, *esa ha vāt viḍvān sarvavid brahmā yad bhṛgaṅgirovid*, etc., GB. i. 5. 11 (end), seems to be copied from Kāuṣ. 94. 3, 4.
³Cf. also GB. i. 3. 19 with Vāït. 11. 17 ff.; GB. i. 3. 21 with Vāït. 11. 20–26; GB. i. 3. 22 with Vāït. 12. 1; GB. i. 3. 23 with Vāït. 12. 14; GB. i. 5. 8 with Vāït. 34. 21. For orthographic peculiarities shared alike by Vāït. and GB. see Garbe, Introduction to the text-edition of Vāït, p. vi, note.
Vedic subsidiary writings in i. 2. 10, though again late in character, does not occur elsewhere in this arrangement and extent.¹ A somewhat independent statement of the yujñakrama is presented in i. 5. 7. No Vedic text is entirely devoid of independent mantras and formulas, or fails to introduce independent variants into such as are paralleled by other texts. In this regard the pūrva-brāhmaṇa does not differ essentially from the older Brāhmaṇas: i. 1. 9 contains a mantra of Upaniṣad character (presṭho ha vedas, etc.), repeated with variants by Śaṅkara in his Introduction to the AV., p. 5, but unknown elsewhere in the literature; in i. 1. 39 the mantra, āpo garbham janayantīḥ, seems to be a somewhat independent (Pāippalāda?) version of AV. iv. 2. 8; in i. 2. 7 an expiatory mantra, recited by Brahmācārins in case they happen to step upon a burial-spot, is added to certain other formulas of a similar nature, shared by Vāit. (12. 8, 9) and GB.; at the end of the same section (i. 2. 7) AV. xi. 5. 23 is presented in sakalapāṭha with its second hemistic differing markedly from the vulgata form: this, in fact, is the version of the Pāippalāda at the end of the 18th book (see Roth, Der Atharva-veda in Kaschmir, p. 23). Similarly the mantra, catvāri grīgās trayo, etc., in i. 2. 16 is quoted from the Pāipp., the blunder grīgās for grīgā, RV. iv. 58. 3, et al., included; see Roth, ibid. In i. 2. 9 the mantra, antarikṣe pathibhir, etc., shows marked variants as compared with its parallel, RV. x. 168. 3; the formulas in i. 3. 13 do not occur in Vāit., and differ from those in the corresponding passage CB. xi. 5. 3. 8 ff.; the two stanzas at the end of i. 5. 5 also present variants as compared with CB. xii. 3. 2. 6, 7, occurring nowhere else; above all, the typical mantras at the three daily soma-offerings (cyeno, si, etc.) in i. 5. 12 differ not only from those of the corresponding passage, CB. xii. 3. 4. 3–5, but also from those of the Čauṇaka-samhitā (AV. vi. 48), and, as far as is known, from all other versions of these formulas.² And throughout the text, aside from the three metrical chapters i. 5. 23–25, there are ālokas and other metrical passages so clearly Atharvanic in character that they may not be expected to turn up in older texts (see, e. g., i. 1. 32. end): their paripṛṣṭa-character and their independence are equally obvious.

¹ List of subsidiary Vedic literary types are mentioned also in i. 1. 10, 21, 23, 24, 27 and in i. 3. 3.

² See the writer, JAOS. xvi. pp. 1 ff.
The Meaning and Etymology of the Vedic Word vidātha.¹—By Maurice Bloomfield, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The interpretation of words that are restricted in their occurrence to the poetic parts of the Veda is often a delicate task, even where the word is a very common one, as is the case with the subject of the present paper. The hieratic mysticism of the diction, that swollen utterance—a less severe expression seems inadequate—tends to inflate many words with esoteric shades of meaning which becloud their original value; in sober surroundings the same word would presumably betray its meaning almost of itself. The scene of the Vedic Rishis' imaginings is both earth and heaven, the persons both men and gods; frequently an inextricable blend of the two pairs, divine men upon earth and very earthy gods in heaven, obfuscate the situation still further. In the first interpretation of the Veda the inflation and vagueness of the original were reinforced by the very natural tendency to dress out the Veda in evenly consistent poetic clothes, even where the original stooped to state the plainest matters in the commonest language. I may refer by way of illustration to my remark on jāgrvānsaḥ in JAOS. xvi. p. 38, note, which means simply 'having waked up' (in the morning): the Pet. Lex. renders it, 'munter, eifrig, unermüdlich'; Grassmann, 'die wachsam sind'; Ludwig, 'die wachen' (in the sense of 'wide-awake, keen'). Such subtle shifts are common, and they betray the picture conveyed by the Veda to the mental retina of the early translators, as a kind of mediæval romantic poetry, in which naively pious sentiments and performances alternate with valorous deeds. This is what renders Grassmann's translation, the most complete and

¹ Since this was written Vedic interpretation has been enriched by Professor Oldenberg's scholarly 'Vedic Hymns,' SBE. xlvii. On pp. 26 ff. he analyses the word as vi-dātha for vi-dhātha from the root dhā, assuming the meanings 'distribution, disposition, ordinance,' and then 'sacrificial ordinance, sacrifice.' Aside from the problematic etymology, I have not been able to convince myself that he reaches the root of the matter, especially as regards the homelier aspects of the word which form the starting-point of the present discussion.
consistent expression of this conception of the Veda, in spite of many merits in detail, a medium full of refraction, in which the prismatic tints lend a fictitious beauty that overlays the original, which after all has a beauty of its own, though it is severer, and far from even.

In the case of *vidātha* the older translations have presented as the most prominent rendering the word 'opfersamsamlung.' One fairly sees the people moving in solemn procession to the sanctified spot where chanting priests with robe and tiara are to invoke the favor of the gods. Unfortunately the Hindus had no 'opfersamsamlungeng'; there was in the main no public cult; the sacrifice is strictly a private affair, a sacrifice in the home of, and in behalf of an individual sacrificer. There is always one *yajamāna*, or bestower of the sacrifice; the sacrifice redounds to his benefit, and that of his family.¹ There were, to be sure, priests, sometimes very many, at the sacrifice, but this does not constitute an assemblage in the ordinary sense of the word, at least not in the sense which naturally goes with the word 'opfersamsamlung.' This implies, unless defined to the contrary, a rather spontaneous, popular gathering. Now this *πρῶτον ψέδος* gave rise to another faulty view of the word: it contains the root 2. *vid*, as we shall endeavor to show, in its ordinary sense of 'get, acquire.' Instead of this, the radical idea underlying the word was generally felt to be 'come together, assemble' (as though it were *sāṁ vid*), and upon this a number of subsidiary meanings of the word were based. And, again, the false start from the notion of 'assemblage' resulted in an approximation of the word to other words for assemblage, especially *sabhā* with which *vidātha* was almost identified. We shall see that there are decided points of contact between the words *vidātha* and *sabhā*, but the contact is that of extreme opposites in a way: *vidātha* refers to home matters; *sabhā* generally, though not always, to public matters.²

In the interpretation of a term that figures prominently in the mystic-hieratic sphere of the Veda it is peculiarly necessary to

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¹ See Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 50.
² The word *sabhā* itself does not by any means always refer to a public place, but occasionally means simply 'house,' or 'parlor.' Thus *rayih sabhāvān*, RV. iv. 2. 5, means 'wealth consisting of houses,' and the *yōṣa sabhāvati vidāthyā*, RV. i. 167. 8, certainly does not refer to a woman in the assembly, but means 'a genteel woman of good house and with an establishment.'
search for its uses outside of that sphere, if there be such uses. In RV. x. 85. 26 the bride after the wedding-ceremony proper, as the newly married couple are about to travel to their new home, is addressed with the words: "May Puṣan taking thee by the hand lead thee home, may the Aśvins lead thee forth on their car! Go to thy house in order that thou mayst be mistress of the house," and next, vāgini tvāṁ vidātham ā vadāsi: "Full of authority shalt thou speak to the vidātha."¹ Now vidātha here can have but one meaning, 'household,' or something very like it. It certainly cannot refer to anything in the nature of a public gathering similar to the sabhā. In AV. vii. 38. 4 a woman who is pronouncing a love-charm takes especial pains to define the position of her sex, and to disclaim any connection with public matters: "My speech, not thine (in this matter of love) hath weight; in the assembly (sabhāyām), forsooth, do thou make thy voice heard! To me alone shalt thou belong, shalt not even discourse of other women." And the Māitrāyah-Saṁhitā iv. 7. 4: 97. 15 defines the same relation of the sexes from the man's point of view with the utmost neatness, nirindriyā stri, pumān āndriyavāṁ, tasmād pumānsaḥ sabhāṁ yanti na striyaḥ: "Woman is weak, man is strong; hence men go to the assembly, not women." These passages outline the state of the woman-question for early India with the most satisfying clearness: while in general there are no footprints of the slipper in the sand of time,¹ and both women and men are agreed that the legislative assembly is not the ideal sphere of woman, yet her own essential prerogative of being in charge of love and home is undisputed.

The stanza in the RV. following that commented upon above, RV. x. 85. 27 = AV. xiv. 1. 21 = Āpast. Mantrabr. i. 9. 4, addresses a similar statement to both parties to the marriage contract: "Unite thyself with this husband, then shall ye, long-lived, order your household" (jivṛi vidātham ā vadāthaḥ). Here the word 'long-lived' is significant: it is obviously a word redolent of family-life, not of public life. And what else but the household might that thing be which man and wife shall address or order? Similarly, AV. xii. 2. 30, folks returning from a funeral

¹ Cf. with this perhaps also RV. i. 167. 6.
² An occasional Xanthippus was not wanting, else there would be no occasion for the Ait. Br. iii. 24. 7 = Gop. Br. ii. 3. 22 to say, apanitādīnā hā 'nya grheṣu patni bhavati yatvā āvān vidvān, etc.: "His wife does not contradict him in his (own) house who knoweth thus."
pray that having succeeded in checking the advance of death upon themselves, they shall continue to live (long) and order their household (átha jivásö vidátham á vadema). This again leads over to the common expressions, suvnirásö vidátham á vadema (RV. i. 117. 25, etc.), and brhád vadema vidáthe suvniráh (RV. ii. 1. 16, etc.). Common as these two verse-lines are, they have been charged with over-much meaning, as when Grassmann renders the latter by, “lasst laut im Chore bei dem Fest uns singen.” Ludwig’s rendering, “laut mögen wir sprechen mit guten helden in der opfersversammlung” is far more sober, but also misses the point, as does also Bergaigne, Quarante Hymnes, p. 6, “puissions-nous, en parlant à voix haute dans l’assemblée, obtenir de bons héros.” And Oldenberg (SBE. xlvii. pp. 26 ff.) arrives at a similar rendering for these expressions, e. g. in his translation of RV. ii. 1. 16 (p. 188), “may we speak loud in the assembly, rich in valiant men.” The word suvniráh again refers to family-relations, not to public life, meaning, ‘having strong, or lusty, sons’: its rendition by ‘rich in valiant men’ is once more, in our judgment, a romantic or inflated one, suggesting vaguely a feudal picture of life (a lord with his vassals) foreign to the situation.

The two verse-lines mean, “let us have strong sons and control our household.” Similarly this scene from ordinary life is reflected in the prayer for life after death, AV. xviii. 3. 70: “Render up again, O tree (funeral-pyre), him that hath been deposited upon thee, that he may dwell in the seat of Yama, vidáthá vādan speaking (authoritatively) to his household.”

Thus far, it may not be doubted, the word appears in the language of ordinary life. But it is found to a very much greater extent in the sacerdotal sphere; indeed, as all interpreters from Yāsaka on have agreed, it often has a meaning very close to yajñá, ‘sacrifice,’ itself. This is as it should be. Inasmuch as the sacrifice is a private, home-affair, it is very natural that vidátha, the home, the premises, the establishment, should

1 The reader needs hardly to be reminded in this connection of the disturbances to which the early Hindu household seems to have been chronically subjected owing to the quarrels and disagreements of its members. A distinct class of charms, the so-called śāhmanasyāni, ‘charms to secure harmony,’ deal largely with this theme; see SBE. xliii. pp. 134 ff.; cf. also the story of Čyavana (see ibid. pp. 362), in which these conditions are depicted as a curse.
figure prominently in connection with the sacrifice. But the word has a distinct local color. Just as in the view of people of fashion a house is the scene of social amenities (cf. especially the German expressions ‘ein haus machen,’ ‘ein grosses haus machen’), so the vidātha in which lived the generous patron of the sacrifice (sārī) is the scene of the sacrifice. This is especially clear in such passages as exhibit the word yajñā by the side of vidātha, e. g. RV. vii. 84. 3, kṛtām no yajñāṁ vidātheṣu cārvah, kṛtām brāhmiṇī sārīṣu prapastā, “render ye (Indra and Varuṇa) our sacrifice pleasing in the establishments; prepare ye songs appreciated by the patrons (of the sacrifice).” Or RV. x. 100. 6, yajñāca ca bhūd vidāthe cāvur ántamaḥ; x. 110. 7, yajñām... pracoḍáyantā vidātheṣu kára (dánya hótařa); iii. 26. 6, gántáro yajñāṁ vidātheṣu dhīrāḥ (the Maruts); iii. 4. 5, (dvāraḥ) nṛpe- cāso vidātheṣu prá jāta abhiḥ ‘māṁ yajñāṁ ví caranta pūrvāḥ; viii. 11. 1. 2, tvāṁ (agne) yajñēṣu tādāḥ, tvāṁ asi prapāya vidātheṣu. In most of these cases the locative sing. or plur. of vidātha occurs with yajñā in a case other than the locative, rendering it clear that the sacrifice took place in the vidātha, and the assumed primary meaning, ‘establishment,’ with the understanding that it is the establishment in which sacrifices were offered, in which the sacrifice was at home, as it were, suits the connection most naturally.1 And thus the great mass of the occurrences of the word. We may pick out, e. g., the passages in which Agni is spoken of in connection with the vidātha, and the same sense ‘establishment (in which sacrifices are performed)’ appears. Thus: RV. iii. 1. 1, agne váhiniḥ cakartha vidāthe yājādhyāi; i. 60. 1, váhiniḥ... vidathasya ketām; x. 92. 2, agniṁ vidathasya sādhanam; x. 91. 8, vidathasya prasādham anagn; iii. 3. 3, ketūṁ yajñāṁ kim vidathāsya sādhanam; i. 143. 7, vidātheṣu didyat; iv. 6. 2, agniṁ manārō vidātheṣu prācetaḥ; iii. 14. 1, a hóta manārō vidathān yinstāḥ; x. 122. 8, gṛnānto agne vidathāsya vedhasah; x. 91. 9, tvāṁ... vrñate... hōtāram agne vidathēṣu; x. 11. 3, agniṁ hōtāraṁ vidathāya ċījanaṁ; iii. 8. 5, jālo jāyate... vidathē vārdhamānāḥ; iii. 28. 4, ágne... táva bhāgadhēyāṁ ná prá minanti vidathēu dātvāḥ.

1 Decidedly, it should be noted that the word vidātha does not occur in the nominative at all, but overwhelmingly in the locative sing. and plur., whereas yajñā is very common in the nominative. The local color of vidātha can be realized superficially by comparing the two words in Grassmann’s Concordance.
A little differently, yet clearly enough, Agni in RV. iii. 1. 18 is said to have sat in the dwellings of the mortals, *vidāthāni sādhanā*; or, in iii. 27. 7, Agni, the immortal god, leads the van, *vidāthāni pracoḍāyan*. Here it is difficult to determine whether *vidāthāni* still means, primarily, ‘(sacrificial) establishments,’ or, secondarily, ‘(sacrifices in the) establishments.’ Just as the Royal House of Stuart, or the House of Stuart means in reality the kings in Stuart’s House, so *vidātha* unquestionably advances from the meaning ‘(sacrificial) establishment,’ until it reaches the meaning ‘sacrifice.’ This meaning may preferably be assumed for some of the passages relating to Agni, above; it certainly seems likely in the expression *trīyē vidāthe*, RV. ii. 4. 8: *paṁrasyā 'vaso ādātāu trīyē vidāthe mānma paṇisi,* “in remembrance of thy former blessings this prayer has been recited to thee at the third sacrifice.” Here *trīyē* *vidāthe* seems pretty clearly=*trīyē sāvane* ‘the third, or evening pressure of the soma.’ The same three pressures of the soma seem to explain the word in RV. v. 3. 6, *vayām agne vanuyāma... vidāthesv āhnām... mārtān,* ‘may we, O Agni, overcome the mortals at the (three) sacrifices of the day’; cf. the expressions *prapitvē āhnām,* and *ahhipitvē āhnām,* RV. i. 126. 3 ; iv. 16. 12; 34. 5, which point out the particular pressures in the morning and the evening stated collectively in *vidāthesv āhnām*; cf. JAOS. xvi. p. 38.

Indeed it is scarcely possible to mark off from one another the two meanings just developed. Take, e. g., the pāda, *sā no mṛda vidāthe grṇānā,* addressed to lightning, AV. 1. 13. 4: it may mean “spare us, thou that art praised in our household”; or, “spare us thou that art praised at the sacrifice”; or, RV. vii. 57. 2, *asmākam adyā vidāthesu barbar & vidāye saḍata,* “sit down now (O Maruts), upon the barhis to refresh yourselves at our sacrifices,” or, “in our (sacrificial) premises.”

It would be useless, as it is unimportant, to attempt to catch or trace in such connection the more primary shading of the word, as this seems to me to be guaranteed by the passages discussed in the opening of this paper. Nor would it be worth while to

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1 Cf. also English ‘court’ in the two senses, regal and judicial; German ‘hof,’ etc., etc.

2 So Oldenberg, SBE. xlvii. p. 205, and previously my own marginal note.

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present here in writing the entire mass of passages in the Veda containing this word, in most of which the preceding meanings will be found satisfactory, in some of which the obscurity is due to the subject matter in general. But a few words on the derivative *vidathyā* will perhaps serve to further clarify the atmosphere.

By way of preliminary we again note that the word *sabhā* does not by any means always refer to a public place, but occasionally simply means ‘house,’ or ‘parlor.’ Thus *rayīḥ sabhāvān,* RV. iv. 2. 5, can hardly mean anything else than ‘wealth consisting of houses’; therefore, if not for other reason, *vidathyām... rayīm,* RV. vi. 8. 5, means ‘wealth in the establishment,’ i. e. ‘established wealth.’ Nor does *yōṣaḥ sabhāvatī vidathyāḥ,* (RV. 1. 187. 3 (cf. also st. 6) refer to a woman in the assembly but means ‘a woman of good house and with an establishment.’ In this light we may regard anew a passage like AV. xx. 128. 1 = ČC. xii. 20. 2, *yāḥ sabhēyo vidathyāḥ sūtvā yādvā va pārusaḥ:* what else may this soma-pressing, sacrificing man be but ‘a man of good house and establishment’? In RV. 1. 91. 20 Soma bestows upon a pious man, in addition to cows and horses, a son (vīrā) that is *karmanyāḥ, sādanyāḥ, vidathyāḥ, sabhēya,* and *pitrprāvāna,* i. e. the son is diligent or pious (*karmanyāḥ*); devoted to home (*sādanyāḥ*); obedient (*pitrprāvāna*); it seems altogether likely that *vidathyāḥ* and *sabhēya* refer to home conditions rather than to public matters: the words seem here to have an ethical tinge, ‘genteel,’ ‘of a good house,’ or the like. There seem to be no passages, not even *vidathyāḥ samrāṭ* (‘a ruler rich in establishments’), RV. iv. 27. 2, in which the word needs to be correlated with any kind of public assemblage.
The Puňjâb and the Rig-Veda.—By Edward Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

No greater disappointment awaits the Vedic student in India than a visit to the Puňjâb. Can this shallow stream, he asks, be the formidable barrier which he used to associate with the name Sutlej? And from the Sutlej to the Ravi, what a view of unbounded flatness! But the Ravi itself, little more than a brook, across which walk oxen and their masters, wet scarcely to the knee—is this one of the great Five? The student goes still further west, and what does he see? A veritable desert, green only by the river's bank; a level land, from which no mountains are visible; providing water for few only where frequent wells are dug, and made inhabitable for many only by means of the great canals with which modern enterprise has furnished it. At the Chenaub the anxious student finds a rougher country, but only in the river-gorge; and not till he reaches the very northwestern corner of the Puňjâb does he see mountains, at a distance. So he goes on till he arrives at the Indus—the mighty Indus—and sadly wades across it! If the traveller journeys south he finds the land still more arid, till it passes imperceptibly into the southern desert, where indeed the country is no flatter nor more devoid of trees, but the aridity is not broken by the narrow streaks which, as rivers, cut up the desert of the north.

Remembering that the Vedic bards were acquainted with the five (or seven) rivers, and have handed down some quasi-historical matter in regard to the crossing of them, the student in surprise asks himself where these hymns were composed. Some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda take cognizance of streams west of the Indus, but these seem to belong more to a special clan, perhaps to those that had not crossed the Puňjâb with the rest but lingered behind, as their hymns would indicate; hymns which show on the whole a late character and appear to have been added to the Collection after the latter was for the most part finished. In a very few hymns, moreover, there are direct invocations of the Sindhu, but the mention of other rivers (of the Puňjâb) shows at least that the hymnists were not confined to the
district about the Indus. Where then was the chief Collection made? It reflects not so much a wandering life in a desert as a life stable and fixed, a life of halls and cities, and shows sacrificial cases in such detail as to lead one to suppose that the hymnists were not on the tramp but were comfortable, well-fed priests.

Still more is the traveller impressed with the incompatibility of Vedic poetry and the land of the Five Rivers. Could the hymns have been composed in such a land, could they have grown up in such an environment? If the first home of the Aryans in India can be determined at all by the conditions, topographical and meteorological, described in their early hymns, then decidedly the Puñjab was not that home. For here there are neither mountains to be seen nor monsoon storms to burst, yet storm and mountain belong to the very marrow of the Rig-Veda.

Thinking thus, the student retraces his steps across the desert, and seeks a district where conditions favorable to the creation of the Vedic hymns are to be found, where the Vedic Aryans may be supposed to have had their first permanent abode, wanderers through the desert no longer. I believe he will not discover this early home of the Aryans of the Rig-Veda till he passes east of the old 'limit of India,' Sirhind, and comes to a district, the first on his way, where monsoon storms and mountain scenery are found, that district, namely, which lies south of Umballa (or Ambālā). It is here, in my opinion, that the Rig-Veda, taken as a whole, was composed. In every particular this locality fulfils the physical conditions under which the composition of the hymns was possible, and, what is of paramount importance, it is the first district east of the Indus that does so.

I venture to think that this interpretation of the physical aspects of the country is supported even by native traditions. At a very early (Brahmanic) period the 'Northerners' are regarded as a suspicious sort of people, whose religious practices, far from being authoritative, are censured. No tradition associates the ancient literature with the Puñjab. In fact, save for one exception, even the legal manuals do not take cognizance of the Northwest. They have the stanza that defines Āryāvarta, and also the stanzas that extend the geographical boundary still further south; but they ignore the North. Manus, however, has one verse that in connection with this subject is of interest, and deserves to be translated, though till now it never has been ren-
dered into English. I refer to ii. 17, and translate in paraphrase: "The country divinely meted out by the rivers Sarasouti and Ghuggar, and lying between them, is where the (Rig, etc.) Veda arose, and hence is called brahmāvarta or 'home of the Veda' in the tradition of the learned."

That brahma here means Veda is half recognized by the native scholiasts; but, as I shall show presently, it is still more important to notice that such meaning agrees with the general use of the word in Manu and particularly with the use in this second book. The point can be shown clearly by grouping the examples. The word brahma in Manu has, it is true, other meanings than Veda. But these are I think plainly ruled out here by the context. It will be necessary, therefore, to show first by a brief analysis what the context implies.

The second book of Manu is concerned with the correct dharma and conduct of the twice-born. 'Tell us the dharma practiced by the good' is the substance of its opening stanza. Authority is then said to be invested in the Veda, the traditions of the wise, and practices of the good; while all dharma is founded on the Veda (6-7). The Veda is thus established as the fountain-head of law, religious practice, and conduct. A few more stanzas emphasize this point still further, and then comes the stanza preceding the one under discussion. In this the author reverts to the Veda in particular, and now employs the word mantra, saying that only he who always employs mantra, Vedic verses, is an authority; and, after thus specifying where one is to look for precept and on what practice and precept are based, proceeds to give the countries where authority is to be found, beginning, as is observed by one of the Commentators, with the most authoritative. We are thus led to expect that the Veda will be mentioned first; and such, in my opinion, is the case. The following verses then show what are the less authoritative, but still authoritative countries. In abstract this appears thus: (The district between the Sarasvatī and Dhrṣadvatī is the home of the Veda); the religious practices found in this country are those of the good. Next to this lies the country south of it (from Thanesar to Mathūrā),1 which is the district of the seers of the Veda (brah-

1 The termination-dāla of so many of the towns in this part of the country would point to a word of this form with the meaning of village or settlement. So far as I have observed such endings uniformly indicate small places and, in general, places situated in anciently habi-
marṣideṇa), and from Brahmans of this district are to be learned the practices of men to-day. Taking a wider sweep, all the country from west to east between the place where the Sarasouti disappears in the desert and that where the Jumna disappears in the Ganges, and from north to south between the Himalayas and the Vindhya hills is the 'Middle Land.' The 'home of the Āryans' (āryavarta), as it is called, is the country between these mountains and the two seas.

The Puñjāb is thus omitted altogether from the list. The most western locality is the place where the Sarasouti disappears in the north-west, and the Arabian Sea, west of the southern line of the Vindhyas.¹

That, as Nandana observes at this point (ploka 22), each country is given in the order of its authority, the best being first, is clear not only from the last verse, but from the one that follows it. For here it is stated that the 'district fit for sacrifice' is all the country forming the natural habitat of the black buck, and this differs from the 'country of barbarians' in that the latter is not a place fit for the twice-born to live in. 'Natural habitat' is not to be taken with the Commentators as making a

tated parts of the country. Near Kurukṣetra there are Ambālā, Karnāla (with the southern Kurnool), and Patiālā on the Ghuggar or Drṣadvati, besides Pañcāla. In the Northwest are found Manikyāla, Dewāla, Kohāla, Margāla, partly in Gandhāra, partly in Cashmere. Near the old Kārli caves we find Khandāla and Nerāla; in Kathiawar, Verawāla and Gondāla. But in the South I have noticed only (all three near together) in the vicinity of ancient Bījaipur, Mīncanāla, Nimbāla, and Jumnāla; and in one of the oldest coast-stations, near Cochin, Narakāla.

I may add that Manu's determination of the habitat of the black buck probably shows that the author did not know the Deccan very well. The black buck are common about Hyderabad, at Sarur Nagar, and I have seen them, mixed with antelope, in the great plains about Gadaga south of Bījaipur, where probably they have always grazed. A few are found in Kathiawar. But the Deccan is excluded by Manu from lands habitable for the twice-born.

¹ The Ābhīra, mentioned in Manu as a mixed-caste, designates a shepherd race of Sind, Kuch, and Kathiawar. The other mixed-castes show acquaintance only with the South and East; rather a superficial acquaintance, as the Māghāda, for instance, is recognized only as a mercator or travelling trader, while the Vāideha is a 'servant of women,' M. x. 6 ff. The northern Daradas are known only as Gentiles or barbarians.
distinction between country and town, but between the plains and the hills. The Gangetic plain and the country about Kuruksetra, between Delhi and Umballa and south of the former locality, is still the ‘natural habitat’ of the black buck. This account in Manu concludes with the words: “thus have I briefly expounded to you the home (yoni) of dharma, and its origin (sambhava).”

In regard to the word brahmāvarta, the second member is found in the similar word āryāvarta (pl. 22), and that it signifies home or place of origin is recognized by the Commentators. Thus Kull. says, as does Me-lh., āryā ātrā āvartante punah punar udāhāvantī. Again in vii. 82, āvṛttās are ‘they that come’ (arrive, arise) from good families (abl.) ; and in iv. 172, Rāmacandra correctly gives pravartamāna as the equivalent of āvarta-māna. On this score then we are safe in rendering the latter half of the word as ‘home,’ in the sense of origin, or birth-place.

The word brahma has four, and perhaps five, meanings in Manu. In the stereotyped brahma kṣetra it is equivalent to brāhmaṇa-caste, as in v. 23 and ix. 320 ff.; or to a member of that caste, as in brahmahā, brahmaghna, brahmarākṣasa (xi. 54; xii. 55; viii. 89; xii. 60; and once in the second book, ii. 80). It may, again, stand for the Absolute or for brahmavā. In i. 98; xii. 102, brahmabhūyāya kalpathe, either meaning is possible, or even that of Brahmā. In xii. 123, brahma gātvatam, brahma is the equivalent of brahma param, which is found as a complete phrase, in vi. 85; ii. 82, 83. So in vi. 79, brahma sanātanam (compare 81). This meaning either appears in the purely philosophical parts of the work or is obtained by an epithet limiting and defining brahma, as in param brahma at ii. 81. I do not suppose, however, that anyone will claim that in brahmāvarta the first word means either Brahman or the Absolute.

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1 This word occurs again at x. 34.
2 In the Mahābhārata, Brahmāvarta is called Brahmakṣetra, kṣetra being a common equivalent of yoni, the place of origin. Compare the mythical abode of the ‘Northern Kurus,’ called Devakṣetra (perhaps the modern Dewāla in Cashmere?).
3 The meaning of the whole, given by Comm. at i. 98 as mokṣa, centers in the dhāya; mokṣa is the being of Brahmā (or the Absolute).
4 Sarvajñānārāyaṇa even says that brahma param is paramo vedas. But ‘going to brahma param’ ii. 82, must mean ‘going into the Absolute.’ Compare vi. 81, brahmāny eva vatiṣṭhathe.
5 In i. 11 (after 9, Brahmā) brahmeti kīrtaye must imply Brahmā.
The three other possible meanings of the word are Brahmā (in composition), Veda, and purity or holiness. The last of these is a meaning sometimes given to brahma in brahmaçarīn, but this word means nothing more than practicing Vedic study,¹ and is the exact counterpart of brahmavādin, 'declaring the Veda.' The only places where brahma goes so far from its original meaning as to be capable of the translation ‘purity’ are v. 93 and 158–160. In the first of these, brahmabhūta (v. 1. pūta) is regarded by all Commentators as the equivalent of ‘pure.’ But this is only the logical meaning. Here as elsewhere brahma may be and should be rendered (as in brahmabhūya above)² by ‘the being of Brahmā.’ The second case, too, is fallacious: stī brahmaçaraye vyuvassthitā is indeed ‘a pure woman;’ but the sense is so far from the original meaning, and the application is so figurative, that it is filled out in the text itself by yathā te brahmaçarinās, i.e. ‘a woman living like a student of the Veda’ is still the meaning. The meaning ‘pure’ comes from the chastity attributed to the student, to whom the woman is compared.

This meaning, therefore, ruled out by the context in any circumstances, cannot here be applied. I mention it only because the more general word ‘holiness’ might be supposed to be applicable, and these examples be considered as illustrations of that meaning. But in Manu brahma never means holiness.

We are, then, reduced to the meanings Brahmā and Veda. In ii. 84, brahma is thus used for Brahmā, but it is scarcely probable that brahmāvarta is an earthly equivalent of brahmaloka (iv. 182, 260; vi. 32). The brahmanas sabhā of viii. 11 depends on the four-foldness of the sabhā for its likeness. Other cases are brahmatejas, vii. 14;³ and brahmāprājīta vāk, viii. 81; perhaps also brahmānjali, ii. 71 (see below). The strongest argument against the interpretation of brahmāvarta as ‘home of Brahmā’ is, however, that the country thus described is devanirmita,

¹ Compare the use of the word in ii. 115, with the preceding context.
² Compare brahmīyan kriyate tanus, ii. 28. Medh. here, however, records one interpretation in accordance with which the implied noun is brahma=veda.
³ Compare brāhmanah tejas, iv. 186, as Vedic, apparently, which makes the case above doubtful. The adjective brāhma sometimes means Vedic, as in vii. 2, of saṃskāra; but generally it is equivalent to “of Brahmā” (fīrtha, ii. 53 (?); brāhma mūhūrtas, iv. 92, like Vas. xii. 47). It may, however, refer to the Brahms, as in nādiha, vii. 82 (compare 83). In iii. 74, brāhmyamah hutam means ‘of Brahms.’
‘divinely meted out,’ and the divinity here, from the context, can be only the divine rivers, as is said by the Commentators. It would not be probable that the country was said to be ‘meted out (or made)’ by the divine rivers and therefore called the home of Brahма, which is the substance of the stanza, if brahma here is Brahма.

Now I propose to show that in all other cases in Manu brahma has the meaning simply of Veda (as Vedic texts), and not of holiness or of any vague concept.

The meaning Veda comes out most clearly in brahmada = vedada,¹ iv. 232–3, in brahma $\tilde{a}$hana, Veda as wealth, ix. 316; and in vedasatra, Vedic session, iv. 9 (compare 11 and Comm.). So in xi. 192 and 265; in the latter case even vedasāra may be the true meaning. Again brahmavādīn (ii. 113; iv. 91, 199; vi. 39; xi. 42, 120; cf. 56, 97) must mean ‘he that declares the Veda,’ as is correctly stated by the Commentators, who are right also in giving the same sense to brahmavārca = vedabala (ii. 37; iv. 218).²

Most clearly does this, the regular meaning of brahma in Manu, appear in such expressions as that in iv. 110: tryahāṁ na kārtayet brahma (=anudhyāyaḥ syāt, Rāmacandra).³ So ib. 111 and 114, brahma is Veda; as in ib. 149, brahmābhyaśa;⁴ ib. 99, brahmādhitya; ib. 100, brahma ohandasktaṁ (pathet); or in iii. 41, where brahmaścharma is vedādharma (all Comm.). In like manner the Commentators all agree that brahmaṇo grahamā in ii. 173 is ‘attainment of Veda.’ Hence the threefold Veda is called simply trayam brahma in i. 23; and brahmaṇo dhāranāt in the same book, i. 93, as is agreed by all Commentators, means vedādhrānāt; while, ib. 97, brahmavedin (v. l., probably correct, vādīn) is defined as brahmātattva-jña.

The difficult passage brahmaṇa brahmaṇyānīsthas, x. 74, may mean ‘Brahmans by birth on the mother’s and father’s side’ as Nar. extraordinarily renders it; but the other Commentators are probably right in explaining brahma as (study of) the Veda. So Govindarāja says that brahma is here Veda, and Medh. says the same, though the latter erroneously defines yoni as kāraṇa; for yoni means home, as it does in ii. 25, cited above (ādharmasya

¹ Compare iii. 3: brahmadāya (=Veda).
² In iii. 39, brahmavārcaśinas is rendered by Rāgh. vedādhyayanajā-vīryayuktās. At ii. 118, Medh. gives vedādhyāyin for brahmavādīn.
³ Compare ii. 172: nābhyāhārayed brahma (=Veda, Medh., etc.).
⁴ Compare ii. 106, vedādhyāsa.
yonīḥ sambhavaḥ ca), and not kāraṇa or sādhana. But in this case the verse appears to mean that only those Brahmins may live by a Brahman’s six acts who abide by the Veda (‘stand in the abode of the Veda’), the abode here being the Veda itself.¹

I have given above several scattered instances from the second book, in which occurs the verse here in question, where brahma means Veda. This is here the prevailing meaning, as it is elsewhere. Thus ii. 71, brahmārambhe is ‘at the beginning of the Veda’ (lesson);² in ii. 74, brahmaṇaḥ (praṇavaṁ kuryād) ādāv ante ca, the same sense is found (all Comm.); in ii. 81 (Sā vitrī, etc.), brahmaṇa mukham, most of the Commentators say that brahma is Veda (Medh., Kull., Nār., Nand.), though Rāmacandra and Rāghavānanda take it as paramātmā, which Medh. and Kull. allow as an alternative. Govindarāja gives only Veda as the meaning. The various interpretations show the tendency to put a more philosophical sense into the text. In ii. 108, brahmāsattra and brahmāhuti (Nand., vedavyāhutī iti yāvat), the Commentators also give brahma as Veda. In ii. 116, Rāghavānanda rightly gives brahma as Veda. In ii. 146 (brahmāda, brahma- dātā, and brahmaḥjanma), all agree as to the meaning of brahma=Veda (brahmāda being ācārya). Here brahmāda is the equivalent of mantrada in ii. 153. So brahmaḥjanma is paraphrased by brahmaḥ janma in ii. 150 (Nār. as Veda).³ These plokas all contain rules for the student of the Veda, brahmaṇarūpin, and the same word brahma in the sense of Veda occurs again in the final verse of this section, 164: aṇena kramayognena saṁskṛtatamā dvijaḥ pāṇiḥ Gurūn vasan saṁcīrnyād brahmādhiṣṭiṣṭam kathāni tapah. Compare with this, in the next ploka, vedāḥ kṛṣṇo dhīgantavyaḥ. Nārāyaṇa paraphrases the first expression with vedādhiṣṭam ca rūpin tapah. I add to these one more instance, ii. 116: brahma yaśo tv ananyānām adhyāyanām avāpyanām Sa brahma- steyasānyuktam narākam pratipādyate (vedaṁ grhyāti is Kull.’s rendering).

As these are all the cases of brahma in Manu; as general holiness is not found to be one of the meanings employed; as the meanings Brahman, Brahman caste, Brahma, the Absolute, are

¹ In vi. 88, adhiṣṭaṁ brahma is also clearly Veda.
² In the preceding verse, brahmānjali may have the same meaning or brahma may be ‘Brahma’s’; but the former certainly seems to be the sense in this connection.
³ Compare also ii. 169–170, where ‘brahmic birth’ is ‘Vedic. With brahmāda compare ii. 171, vedapradānāt.
not admissible; there would seem to be no reason why we should not render brahmāvarta in ii. 17 as 'home of the Veda.' The Commentators are fairly unanimous in their treatment of this glossa. Rāmacandra, indeed, goes out of his way to say that the two rivers are the Ganges and Jumna, evidently having in mind a verse of the dharmasūtras which give these rivers as boundaries of another district. On brahmāvarta Sarvaṣajñānāraṇya says: brahmāvartata 'nuvartate yatra sa brahmāvartāḥ, and Nandana: brahma dharmāḥ āvṛttam āgataṃ mahārṣinām atra pratibhātam iti brahmāvartaḥ. Govindarūja merely says, brahma vartākhyam (degam). Medhātithi and Kullīka are not so explicit, but they too seem to take brahma in the sense of dharma as contained in the Veda. This, however, is never the meaning of brahma in Manu, who distinguishes brahma from dharma (the former being the base of the latter), and uses brahma, as above, only in the sense of Veda, or of Brahman, Brahmā, or the Absolute.

I believe, therefore, that in this verse is found an echo of ancient tradition which rightly ascribed the composition of Mantric literature to the only place which we to-day can regard as the first permanent abode of the Aryans in India, viz. the district about the modern town of Umballa, south toward Thanesar (Kurukṣetra), between the Sarasouti and Ghuggar rivers. In this district noble mountains are visible, which recede from sight as one approaches Thanesar. Here the monsoon still breaks in violence. Here are softly sloping hills and verdant pasturage. To the west, in the Puṇjab proper, no mountains are visible except in the extreme northwestern corner (about Rawal Pindi), and here there is no monsoon storm. There are, in the Puṇjab proper, no electrical phenomenon at all in the monsoon season, but only gentle noiseless showers; no verdure and no hills, but a waste of desert that only stops at the river's edge; no sloping pasturage, but a flat plain broken by a steep bank where the river cuts in. If we assume that the sight of the mountains at Rawal Pindi and further west makes it probable that the Vedic people inhabited this district, the only part of the Puṇjab where mountains are to be seen, then we must ignore the fact that the further west we get from the (modern) Northwestern Provinces the less we see of any real monsoon. In the central Puṇjab there are

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1 On a very clear day by climbing a high tower distant mountains are said to be visible from Lahore. I climbed the tower in normal weather, a bright winter day, and could see nothing but a plain, level as the top of an oven, on every side.
neither hills visible nor storms. Further we must remember that the Vedic Aryans had for the most part already crossed the Puñjāb rivers, as their hymns show, and that they must be located in the district about the rivers or to the east of them, where the crossing was a tradition of the past. But as the country about the rivers of the Puñjāb is just where all the conditions fail which the Rig-Veda would seem to demand, there remains only the alternative of finding a locality where those conditions do obtain.

One point more: I have watched the sun rise and set from the end of the rains to the beginning of the hot season, and, locally, from the Himālayas to far south of the Vindhyas. Almost always at sunset there is a sudden red glow followed by a dull copper-yellow, which soon fades, and at sunrise the same quick succession of colors reversed. Only in the Puñjāb have I seen a really beautiful sunrise (or sunset), such as is marked by bright yellow, slowly deepening into rose, and this continuing into a long flush of crimson. Now the Dawn Hymns are generally admitted to be among the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda. I could not help thinking, as I saw the sunrise and sunset of the Puñjāb and compared them with those I had seen at Kurukṣetra and Delhi a few days before, that the difference between them accorded very well with the fact that the bulk of the Rig-Veda was not composed in the sight of such eolian phenomena as are celebrated in the Dawn Hymns. Dawn too, be it remembered, is particularly celebrated as the goddess of wayfarers; the one that is invoked to give good paths. I may add that the conception of Varuṇa as found in the earlier hymns of the Rik is one more likely to be formed in the midst of a vast plain than in a circumscribed and hilly country. It is perhaps permissible to see in this, taken in connection with the other facts above enumerated, an indication that the Dawn and Varuṇa Hymns belong to the period of transit across the Puñjāb's desert plain, in distinction from the period of the mass of hymns, composed under the influence of Indra, the god whose rains make the smaller rivers swell.¹

¹ The Indus does not rise in June in consequence of the monsoon, but long before the monsoon breaks, and in consequence of the melting of snow in the northern mountains. The same is true of the other northern snow-fed streams. The little rivers about Umballa, on the other hand, are fed by the rains. The Puñjāb is scarcely affected at all by the monsoon. The rains there are chiefly the light winter rains. In summer the storms are mainly whirlwinds of dust, which turn day into night.
Notes from India.—By Edward Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

1. Bridles in sculpture and painting.
2. Buddha's wooly hair.
3. The veiled Jain at Bādami.
4. Wooden fences in India.
5. The Anandārāma.

The following notes are chiefly observations made from time to time in connection with visits paid to several of the ancient monuments of India in 1896–97.

1. Bridles in sculpture and painting.

A curious study is afforded the archaeologist by the treatment of the reins and bridles carved and depicted on Indic monuments. The question whether of old the Hindu's horse was guided with a bit has never been very satisfactorily discussed. In an essay published in this Journal in 1888 (vol. xiii. p. 258–265), I pointed out that in the multifarious heaps of articles described as abandoned on the battle-field the Epic makes no mention of bits or saddles. Arrian says that the Indians had a bit but no curb bit, and directed the horse by a spike outside, i.e. behind the jaw. In Tree and Serpent Worship (p. 134), Fergusson says that the presence of the bit in the sculptures at Sānci is doubtful.

As the result of two visits to Sānci I can say without hesitation that there is no doubt at all in regard to the matter. The subject must have appeared of slight importance to the learned architect, for he selected, to illustrate the 'uncertainty,' the very worst examples of the monument at Sānci, one being weather-worn and the other being blurred with dirt. In figs. 1 and 2 of plate xxxiv, loc. cit., Fergusson has reproduced the car-horse and ridden horse of the left hand column of the north toraṇa. Had he chosen, instead, the car-horse of the right hand toraṇa he would have set the matter at rest. Here the chariot-horse is harnessed, as far as the curb goes, as described by Arrian. There is no bit, but the reins meet back of the jaw.
But the Sānchi tope will reward a closer investigation in this regard, the results of which I here give with the brevity demanded by the trivial character of the investigation, what importance it possesses resting less on the fact that some of the horses at Sānchi have bits and some do not, than in the instructive conservation of old forms plainly seen in much later monuments as compared with the earlier.

Some of the doubtful cases at Sānchi may be cleared up by observing that in cases where the sculpture is perfectly plain there are two distinct forms of headstalls, and these are systematically employed, so that even when the minuteness of the sculpture or its worn appearance renders it difficult to decide from the appearance of the mouth, the form of the headstall will often determine the point. Thus, in certain clear cases of the use of the bit the third strap across the face is lacking; but when the spike (behind the jaw) is intended, the strap passes over the nostrils, and, together with one beneath and one above the eyes, gives the three-fold headstall not found where bits are used.

At Sānchi there may be one important historical result yielded by the treatment of the headstall. It is this, that, if the testimony of the sculptures can be trusted to decide the point, the north torana is indisputably the oldest; for in not a single case is a bit carved upon it. In my opinion the east torana is next oldest, for here the only bitted horse is driven by a man, apparently a foreigner, who wears a fillet and not a turban as is the case with the other charioteers; and there is no case of a ridden horse having a bit. The south torana with its clear cases of bits on chariot-horses comes next; and the west torana, which has not only chariot-horses but ridden horses bitted, is the latest of all.

I must, however, here premise what I shall show in detail below, that whereas a total absence of bit may undoubtedly signify an antique piece of sculpture, the fact that any one specimen still retains the old style does not prove its antiquity. In fact, sculptures, both in wood and stone, executed long after the bit was known and used, are apt to hark back to the old spike-form. It must not be supposed that this is due either to carelessness or inability on the part of the artist. They that are acquainted with the delicate minuteness of the Indio artist in stone will not believe that he either could not or would not make the reins run to the mouth instead of grouping them in a block behind the jaw. The fact that on other sculptures the latter arrangement is often
given up for the former shows that one was as easy as the other to make. There are numerous small figures that have the reins to the mouth. The reason why the bit is not represented is in many cases, I believe, simply the conservatism of religious art. I will now take up the Sānchi toranaś in detail.

North torana. The left pillar (from without) has, on the outer face, horses ridden without stirrup or saddle or bit. The head-stall has the customary three bands, as described above. This figure is weathered badly, but is unmistakable if closely scrutinized and compared with others of like sort. On the inside of this pillar there is another well-worn horse, not, as before, ridden, but a chariot-horse. Here, despite the abrasion, the absence of the bit is perfectly clear. The reins are gathered in behind the jaw (where the spike is, apud Arrian). On the outer face of the right hand pillar the chariot-horse, with the three-banded headstall, stands out very conspicuously. The mouth is open, the reins meet behind the jaw, and are hung back from there upon the neck. The open mouth shows clearly that there is nothing in the way of a bit intruding within it. On the cross-bar of this torana there are, above, a number of ridden horses in full relief. Not one of them has a bit. Below are represented several chariot-horses, also without bit. From the inside (next to the tope), a corresponding row of ridden horses in full relief on the top of the second bar shows the same features. In all of these the reins are bunched behind the jaw. There are also some ridden horses in bas-relief on the lowest bar and on the right hand pillar (from within); but they are all harnessed with the rein behind the jaw, in marked contrast to the horned beasts also represented here, which have a rope (but no sign of a bit) in the mouth. The sculpture on the left (inside) pillar reproduces that of the right, and as the latter is a little more doubtful it should be compared with the other, its counterpart, and also looked at not only from the ramp of the tope but from the ground below. It will then become clear that here also the reins do not enter the mouth of the horses.

East torana. The pair of chariot-horses on the left pillar (from without) near the ground are very much worn, but they appear to have no bit. The inside of the right pillar, on the other hand, has a charioteer, wearing a fillet, driving two high-crested horses. These horses have but two bands in their head-stall (the one under the eyes is lacking), and wear bits, which plainly enter the mouth. On the cross-bar there is sculptured in
relief a chariot-horse without bit. From the inside the only animals having anything in the mouth are griffins and winged lions. This is the conventional harness of all such animals (griffins, tigers, and lions) on all the toraṇas. It is a simple rope (without bit or ring) passing through the mouth.

South toraṇa. Here, from without, there are seen two chariot-horses in bas-relief on the left pillar. They very clearly have bits in the mouth. In the case of the ridden horse, lower down on the pillar, the bit is doubtful. The horse has neither stirrup nor saddle. On the middle bar, in this case a chariot-horse, the use of the bit is also uncertain. Apparently there is no bit in use here. From the inside point of view appear, on the right and left corner of the upper bar, horses wearing a blanket (as saddle) and reinsed, but having no bit. These horses are neither ridden nor harnessed in chariot. At the extreme left of the lower bar there is a doubtful case of the use of bit in a chariot-horse, but all the other chariot-horses on the lower bar are devoid of bit.

West toraṇa. The wild horned beasts or griffins on the side of both pillars have ropes in their mouths. High upon one of the pillars, seen from without, is represented a horse ridden without bit or stirrup, having a three-band headstall. From the inside, a ridden horse is seen with two bands and a bit, on the right hand of the lowest bar. This horse has a saddle, and the whole is very clearly cut. In the middle bar the chariot-horses may have bits, but this is doubtful. In the upper bar a ridden horse with three bands appears to have no bit. On the lowest bar the chariot-horses have bits very clearly represented.

On the lone toraṇa standing in the northeast corner of the ground there is no representation of a bitted horse; but in the (pillar) figure of the second bar there are ridden horses with head-bands.

Before passing to a consideration of the use of the bit in other sculptures, I will here add one or two notes on near-lying topics from Śāhchi itself. The survey of all the monuments at Śāhchi seems to show that bits were used at the time all the toraṇas were erected except the north toraṇa. The same sculptures give us a clear notion of the way other beasts than horses were harnessed, and a very perfect idea of the ancient chariot.

In the lawbooks of Vasistha, Baudhāyana, and Manu, and perhaps in others, mention is made of bulls that have their nostrils
pierced, and of the nose-band, nāsya, of cattle (Vas. ii. 32; Baudh. iii. 2. 3; M. viii. 291). Medhātithi on the last passage distinguishes between the aṅkuṭa for elephants, the khatina (χαλώς) for horses, and the rajju for bulls or oxen dragging a yāna, or, as it is called to-day, a shigram, or bullock-cart. Now the curious thing is that bulls are never represented in the Sānchi sculpture as having a nozzle-band. They are frequently represented (the humped ox, as in the lone northeast toraṇa and in the north toraṇa), but always without reins, though ridden. On the other hand, the griffins, lions, and tigers, as remarked above, have a rope, not in the nostril but in the mouth. Furthermore, it is the universal custom to-day all over India to direct both bullocks (cows) and camels by the nozzle-band, a cord through the perforated nostrils. But on the east toraṇa there are represented two Bactrian camels (two-humped), whose driver is whipping them up from a kneeling posture. One of these has the rein in the mouth (left, inside, of second bar). But in two fine figures on the right of the same bar both nostril and mouth are free. In the left hand Bactrian camel, the rein passes beyond the mouth but touches it; whereas in the one on the right hand the rein is clear of both. The figure is very plainly sculptured, and the rein lies so far back of the nostril that there can be no mistake about it. I cannot imagine how the artist intends to represent the harnessing of this brute, but it is curious that in no one of the four camels represented is there any nozzle-band. The two-humped Bactrian camel, by the way, is the only camel represented at Sānchi, though only the single hump is common to-day. In the same way only lions with manes are represented, though the lions of India to-day have no manes. But maned lions are also found at Ajanta, and are spoken of in the Epic.¹

The goats (or bulls) and asses ridden by women on the lowest bar of the east toraṇa are all harnessed with a rope in the mouth, without bit. The doubtful animals (goats or bulls) have goats’ horns but are as large as bulls, the head being the size of the woman’s torso.

¹ For example, Mbh. xii. 117. 7, kesārin. Probably the sculpture shows the effect of ahīṁsā. I may add that the Epic condemns to hell those that pierce the nostrils of cattle, in the same passage which condemns to hell those who sell the Vedas or commit them to writing; xiii. 28. 72, vedānāṁ lekhakās, and 79, nāśīnāṁ vedhākāg ca ye bandh-akāg ca paçūnāṁ ye.
The chariot, as is shown in many of the sculptures, holds two men, the driver on the left, the Bowman on the right. The former is sometimes naked save for a loin-cloth. The chariot is almost exactly the size of a modern tonga. Were the splash-board of the tonga rounded to a fence and the awning and seats removed, the model of a chariot would appear, even including the little turned-up plank at the rear, which is conspicuous in the sculptured chariots. In these, the knee of the horse generally is on a level with the axle and the top of the fence lies almost over the haunches of the horse, so that the hands of the driver could rest on the back of the beasts in front. The ramp of the car is scarcely above the driver’s knees and well below the top of the haunch in the case of most of the chariot-horses. The top of the wheel is about level with the horse’s belly. Such a car is shown on the south torana, inside, rather smaller than most. Here the bottom of the car is close to the ground and the driver’s waist as he stands up does not come higher than the horse’s back. To the right of the same bar of the south torana there is a larger chariot, in proportion to the horses. The ramp of the car is here as high as the horse’s back. The fence (splash-board) of the car is hollowed forward (like that of a sleigh) and is seen in three-quarter view. The fence curves right over the horse’s back and is grasped by the lord of the car with the left hand. Both cars are open behind and have a tongue out in the rear as a foot-board. The place where the fence (forward) meets the ramp of the car, both curving down, is well below the driver’s waist. A car in the lowest bar of the west torana shows plainly that the fence (splash-board of to-day) overtops the back of the horses. Here the fence is straight (no curve as above). In this scene the lord carries a large bow. The driver leans over the fence on the horses, just like a jockey; and the fence is as close as possible to the horse, the top overreaching the haunches. The wheels of the chariots have 19, 20, 32 spokes, in different cases. The middle bar of the west torana has two fine cars (32 spokes). Here the ramp and fence are high above the horse’s haunches. The two pieces are like two equal wings, and in each are curious holes, one in the fence and two in the ramp, as if peep-holes. In one of these cars the ramp meets the fence above, in the other just below, the top of the wheel. The left (outer) pillar of the east torana shows a car (of 19 spokes) where the fence overtops very well and almost covers the horse’s haunch. In the south torana (outside, left
pillar) the fence of the chariot has a curious column to hold it. It runs straight up the middle of the rounded flange that makes the fence. The side of the car has none in the ramp. Here the tongue or foot-board is very plain, tipping up and running out quite a distance from the floor. Query, is this the Epic anu-
karṣa of Mbhā. viii. 19. 42, etc.?

To return to the bit: In the procession of the first cave of Ajanta (ascribed to the seventh century) there are some horses with saddles but without bits. Other cases here are doubtful owing to the worn state of the pictures; but in cave 17, ascribed to the fourth century, there are some finely painted horses, ridden, plainly having bits.

If we take this as a terminus, I can best show the point I wish to make by the following examples. Granted that between the first century B. C. (Sānchi) and the fourth century A. D. bits became common; then the religious conservatism of which I spoke may be shown by all subsequent sculpture. I have selected a few striking examples, as follows:

A row of horses, ridden, in the temple of Somnathpur, seem still to show absence of bit. The remains at Halebid show small horses ridden without saddle; but one large rider has saddle and stirrups, but no bit, though the head is in full relief. Here the mass behind the jaw is still bunched together, as in the old sculptures. In a large slab from Belur there are two huge horses having the reins going plainly to the back of the jaw and not to the mouth. They have the saddle but no stirrups. This stone is referred to the middle of the ninth century A. D., and is preserved in the museum at Bangalore. At Ellora there are only two cases.1 In one of these, in the Brahman caves, of two horses represented one has no bit and the other has a sort of button on the halter but it is far from the mouth. These, too, may belong to the eighth or ninth century. At Madura and Trichinopoly the superb granite horses (of the seventeenth century) are carved just as they would be to-day, with bits and rings at the side of the mouth; but at Seringapatam, the oldest of these pagoda temples, the old style is still preserved, even in the wooden sculpture of the triumphal cars of the temple, which date from this century.

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1 In the views from the Rāmāyaṇa here sculptured, the figures are all so badly weathered that the heads are almost worn away, and nothing can be determined.
There is, however, one modification of this fact. I noticed that at Seringapatam the present car-figures are in great part copies of the figures of an old car, which is now disused and thrown to one side. So the bitless horses may have been reproduced from a fairly antique model. Still it is remarkable, as the temple itself is not very old (it was probably not built before the ninth century), to find such plain evidence at a late date of the old style. The carving is very minute and clear. A double rein in the case of a large ridden horse goes back of the jaw, and the mouth is pressed open, but there is nothing in it. It seems to be drawn back from behind. The reins meet behind the jaw in each of the four large sculptured horses of the car of the western temple. There is an inner row of figures here in relief, exhibiting a hunting scene, with the same double rein to the back of the jaw. In the inner relief on the west side of the car, the rein passes to a strap at the back of the jaw. The figure at the back of the car has a saddle but no stirrups. The carving is as plain as at Sānchi in all these figures. Here then, at Seringapatam, is an excellent opportunity to see how the antique forms are preserved, not as copies of the actualities of the day but as reconstructions of the past. This raises an important question. How far can we trust the archaeological accuracy of any of the old sculptures? May not even the north torana at Sānchi simply reproduce the conventionalized headstall of sculpture?¹

ii. Buddha's woolly hair.

It has been claimed by Fergusson that Buddha was of Mongolian origin, and in support of this he makes the sweeping remark that "Buddha always has woolly hair."

This implicitly states, as well, that only Buddha is so represented; otherwise the argument would be without point. The errors in the statement and judgment are hence four in number:

1. Woolly hair would not show that Buddha is regarded as a Mongolian. 2. Buddha does not always have the hair which Fergusson calls woolly. 3. Other saints as well have this hair. 4. The hair is not woolly but curly.

¹ Chariots with four horses are found on the Bharhut Stūpa, but the reins do not show bits. The head-gear is arranged for the spike, apparently, but I do not think any one case is decisive here. The straps around the nose and jaw would, however, indicate rather the spike than the bit.
I take these points up briefly in order.—1. In the Ajanta caves there is a portrait of a Chinaman. As the cave is ascribed to the seventh century and contains historical scenes and personages (notably Khosru II) of the seventh century, the portrait is no doubt intended as the likeness of the famous traveller Hiouen Thsang, who visited India in that century. However this may be, the picture certainly represents a Chinaman, and his hair is black and straight like that of Mongolians of the present day.

2. In the caves of Bādāmi there is a Buddha facing a Jain, on the veranda of the fourth cave. This Buddha, with the sheshnag over his head, is perfectly smooth-haired. The other Buddhas of the cave have the lozenge-square hair which Fergusson calls woolly. 3. In the caves of Ellora, many of the Jain figures have exactly the same lozenge and curly hair in their caves as have the Buddhas in the Buddhistic caves. The huge Jain, 73 ft. in height, at Belgoa or Belagolla has plates representing the same hair in its first stereotyped form. 4. The hair of the Buddha has three stages of sculptured development. In the oldest statues the hair is gathered up in little spiral conch-shaped curls, rising in large statues some half inch above the head; and represented as rising thus not only on the forehead but on the crown and in the twisted top-knot to its very top. In the second stage, this curl is given by a single twist, or whorl, not raised to any extent. In the third stage, and found particularly in the small Buddhas, where the carving is less carefully done, this curl is conventionalized still more and becomes a lozenge-square, repeated over the whole head. Plain knobs occasionally take the place of the spiral. In all these forms except the lozenge-square the hair is plainly curly, and in the lozenge-square it is simply stereotyped.

The different statues of Buddha at Sānchi show these grades very plainly. No ‘woolly’ hair was ever long enough to be twisted into a great coil at the back of the head and show the ‘wool’ to the end of the coil, as is the case here in the huge Buddha of the vihāra. The figure has the true large conch-spiral, with the high top-knot containing the same curled locks. The same is true of the Buddha in the chapel, and of the red-headed Buddha back of the (oldest) north torana. Back of the east torana the Buddha is smaller, and has hair in whorled curls without the conch, though slightly raised; while the last Buddha, behind the south torana, has no conch, but only the scroll, perfectly smooth, a twisted lock.
One of these three forms is found in almost all the sculptured Buddhas. In the case of the Jain images at Ellora, alluded to above, the Jains sometimes have hair in straight rows // // //, but often it is exactly like the Buddhist scroll—whorled hair. In the case of the large Jains the hair is just like Buddha's; but in the smaller images it is either in whorls or parallel straight lines. In the Buddhist caves themselves (Ellora) the largest Buddha has hair in conch-shape, while lozenge-squares occur in the less important Buddhas of the same cave. In one of these caves complete circles show clearly the curly nature. One Buddha only has round smooth knobs; while all the rest have either circles, lozenge-squares, or complete conch-spirals. At Ajanta even the small figures have the spiral. Remarkable is the fact that in the turban-plaits of the god's head-dress of the eastern triumph-car at Seringapatam the same lozenge-square is reproduced to make the tower of the head-dress. Remarkable also is the fact that while at Ajanta all the figures of Buddha have scroll or conch-shaped hair, the attendants on Buddha in one of the later caves have ribbed hair (like the Jains above). Finally, in one of these caves, Buddha is painted black with red hair, and with white (female!) attendants. The most modern cave alone (No. 20) has small Buddhas with mere round knobs and no scroll.

I would suggest that the huge figure at Belagolla is perhaps not a Jain but a Buddha. It is called Gomata, possibly for Gotama? Whichever it is, it has this same conventionalized curly hair, as Buchanan rightly calls it.¹

¹ In being curly and short, the sculptured hair of Buddha simply preserves Buddhistic literary tradition. The Peshāwar Buddha (now in Calcutta) has long plaited hair, but it may be said in general that, while Buddha's hair in the Gāndhāra sculpture is arranged in an entirely new fashion, even here it is wavy, so that curly hair would be indicated. That others than Buddha have the same hair is shown best by the Jain figures at Ellora referred to above; but also by the fact that in the Gāndhāra sculptures, the murderers (with Devadatta) have this form of hair also; while the same kind of hair is found in the Mathurā sculptures, as well as on the heads of the Sānchi 'Scythians.' I cannot agree with Anderson's explanation, Handbook, i. p. 174, that all this is due to sculpture being "not true to nature," or to copying from Greek models. I am not sure that Gomata stands for Gotama, but the lower classes indulge in great freedom in respect of such changes, calling Lucknow Nuklo, and Eluru (Ellora) Erulu, etc.
iii. The veiled Jain at Badami.

Burgess speaks of "bands around the thighs" of the Jain in the fourth cave. This is, I think, misleading. The bands here go straight across the panel itself, as they do in the case of all the small Buddhas of the pillars, and notably in the case of the large Buddha at the other end of the veranda, who stands opposite to the Jain. These bands are dark colored stripes (not chiselled), and I think represent not clothing but a veil (both the Jain and Buddha being naked) hung in front of the whole figure. The Jain figure is whitewashed and the outer ends of the bands are almost marked out, so that they do not show very well, but they are precisely the same stripes as are found in the case of the other figures. These stripes cross the whole, both figures and background. The only difference between the two great figures of the veranda is that Buddha has seshnag over his head, while the Jain wears his hair in a top-knot. The bands go all the way up to the neck in the small figures, and in the large Buddha they cross the whole ground and extend from the foot to the shoulder. It looks as if some Cvetambaras had subsequently, by means of paint, attempted to modify the nakedness of the Digambara Jain. At any rate the bands are screens for the whole figure, not on or around the figure but in front of it, and extending beyond it to right and left across the whole panel.

iv. Wooden fences in India.

I would raise the question, why the stone fences of Bodh Gayā and Sānci necessarily imply a wooden model? There is only one way to hold the stone slabs up, and that is to insert them in the uprights. But why does this show that it is a copy of wood? Every railway station in India has its sign-board (with the station name) made on the same principle of two stone pillars and an inserted slab between. It is the simplest way to make a fence, almost the only way to make a stone fence. Why then must it have been an imitation? Conversely, where in India were wooden fences of this pattern ever used? The country usage to-day, and the allusions to fences in legal literature, both point to the same fence,—the only fence one ever sees in India,—one made of brush or of cactus. I do not believe that the "wooden model" of the stone fence ever existed. There is no such fence known on the soil and there is no necessity in the nature of
things for the assumption. It seems to be purely an architect's idea, without support in the historical fence of India.

v. The Anandasram.

The Anandasram, अनन्दश्राम, is a Poona institution, a description of which may perhaps interest the Society. In our own country men leave money to found colleges, but this is an institution founded exclusively for Sanskrit scholars, so that it surpasses in nobility every foundation for education yet invented.

The Anandasram is, in fact, a sort of monastic retreat for Sanskrit scholars. If one wishes to retire from the world and study Sanskrit, he applies to the Joyous Retreat, has a room given to him, is fed gratis, and may sit there all his life doing nothing but studying, not even having students to interfere with his work. When he has written anything there is a beautiful little hall ready for him, in which to read his lucubration to an audience of fellow-students. And when his work is completed there is a very good printing press, where his book can be published without expense to himself, no matter how unpopular and unprofitable it may be. The little rooms for the hermit scholars are airy and pleasant, and large enough for any ascetic scholar. Furthermore, there is a very good Sanskrit library and a large collection of Sanskrit MSS. all kept in a fire-proof building. The whole institution is built about one hollow square, one side of which contains the printing and publishing rooms, another the scholars' apartments, and a third the hall and library, while the fourth comprises the gateway and small outbuildings.

Here one might stay and pass a quiet life of literary ease. There is, I believe, no restriction on the freedom of the scholars who may make use of this retreat. Nor is there any special official tendency to follow or conform to. While many of the works published by the Anandasram press are of a religious nature, no attempt is made to restrict the scholarly inmates to metaphysical or religious investigation. On the contrary, the great work now occupying the attention of Mr. Apte, the learned Superintendent of the Institution, is an archaeological one, being in fact nothing less than a complete analysis and synopsis of all the antiquities of the Mahābhārata, an enormous work which, when completed, will be nothing less than an encyclopædia of all the isolated facts, reation, of the great Epic, collected and arranged for every point of view. Needless to say, the Superin-
tendent himself only oversees the labor. In this happy land of India one works a good deal by proxy. Thus Mr. Apte has three or four pandits constantly collecting his material for him; while he merely arranges it as it is brought to him.

The present Superintendent, Mr. H. N. Apte, is the nephew of the founder, Anandasarasvati Svami, alias Mr. Mahadevi Chimanaji Apte, B.A., LL.B., Pleader and Fellow of the University of Bombay. During his life-time he supported the institution, and at his death bequeathed a lac and twenty-five thousand rupees to endow it. It was established in 1888. The formal objects of the institution are, first, to form a collection of Sanskrit MSS. on all possible subjects, and to preserve the same; second, to print and publish correct editions of valuable Sanskrit works. The most important work yet published is a collection of thirty-two minor Upanishads (1895) in one stout volume, carefully edited, with commentaries.

Significant of the new direction given in the last few years to education in India is the fact that, despite the advantages of free board and lodging offered to any native Sanskrit scholar who wishes to study and work here, not one has yet applied. The rooms all stand empty. The Anandaram is, therefore, occupied solely with printing Sanskrit works and collecting MSS., and as yet the Superintendent with his pandit clerks are the only people in the institution.
The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians.
—By Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

PART II.

NOTES AND GLOSSARY TO THE SELECTED LETTERS.

As stated in Part I. of this paper (vol. xviii. p. 129, n. 2), the third and fourth volumes of Harper’s excellent Corpus Epistolarum appeared while my article was going through the press. All the texts I have treated are, therefore, now readily accessible to scholars; and, in view of the fact that accented transliterations have already been given in Part I., while syllabic transliterations of all the words which occur in them are given in the subjoined Glossary, it seems superfluous to publish these texts in syllabic transliteration, as was done by Delitzsch in his series of papers on Assyrian Epistolary Literature in the Beiträge zur Assyriologie. Nor has it seemed necessary, in the present state of Assyriology, to give any extensive philological commentary. Philological explanations have, so far as possible, been relegated to the Glossary, where they can be given in the most convenient form; the Glossary is, in fact, intended to supply all that is needful in this direction, and at the same time to serve as a commentary. The following notes have, therefore, been directed chiefly to the explanation of the more difficult syntactical constructions, to notices of previous translations of some of the texts, and to some general remarks in regard to the subject matter of certain passages. In the Glossary a strictly alphabetical arrangement has been adopted, which will, it is hoped, be sufficiently clear to require no explanation. It may, however, be well to note that if two words have the same consonantal skeleton, the forms with short vowels precede those with long vowels, and the forms with simple consonants those with doubled consonants; for instance,

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1 For Part I. see vol. xviii., 1897, pp. 125-175.

2 The following texts in Part I. are now published in Harper’s work:
1 (K 524) = H. 283 ; 2 (K 13) = H. 281 ; 3 (K 10) = H. 280 ; 4 (K 528) = H.
269 ; 5 (K 79) = H. 266 ; 6 (K 824) = H. 290 ; 14 (S 1064) = H. 392.

**NOTES.**

1. (K 524.)

I. 8. S. A. Smith and Strassmaier read the second character in this line dam, i.e. aššatu; Pinches and Harper nin, i.e. azītu.

ll. 9–11. ultu... ittalka. Strassmaier (S. A. Smith, Asurbanipal, ii. p. 87) renders: “von Elam aus ist in Gefangenschaft gerathen; zu den Tachå war er (gegangen==) gebracht worden,” which can hardly be reconciled with the text.

ll. 11–12. ultu... agbatu. Smith: “als ich seine Hände von den Tachå zurück erhielt.” What this means it is difficult to say.

1. 14. Smith reads here adu napšatešu, taking me as meš, and translates, “noch am Leben.” Pinches (p. 77) correctly zi-me.

1. 17. Smith: “es war ein Bote da,” but ibāšu would have to be the present, “there is a messenger.” In this case, moreover, we should expect ibāši, and it seems better to read ibāšu “has come to him.” Smith has also failed to understand the conjunctival use of ša in this line.

1. 19. Smith reads Ti-il-[mu-un], but the traces as given both by Harper and by Smith himself, hardly favor this restoration.

1. 22. Strassmaier (p. 87): “fragten um ein Orakel.”

1. 26. Smith: “50 Stück Kleider,” taking ku = qudu. ku is certainly obscure here, but it can hardly stand for qudu.

1. 27. ana kapti ina qātišu Ļubkāni. Smith: “mit Silber gaben sie in seine Hände.” For this phrase, which often occurs in the contract tablets, cf. T2 30, sub 𒗇.

1. 29. immereni ‘our sheep.’ Smith reads lu ardu-ni, and translates ‘Haussehfe.’ Of course lu-nata is merely the common ideogram for immeru, and ni is the pronominal suffix. For Strassmaier’s singular rendering of ll. 29 ff., which Smith, in spite of some objections, considers “sehr passend,” cf. Smith ii. p. 88. It is hardly worth while to reproduce it here.

1. 31. sādu. Smith compares sa-a-du = na-aru, V R. 28, 1 cf., which Strassmaier renders “Ufer des Flusses”; but cf. HW.

1 Wherever Smith is cited in these notes, S. A. Smith is meant.
p. 488a. In this line Smith translates sādu ‘Ufer(?); in l. 39, ‘Grenze(?).’

2. (K. 18.)

ll. 1–7. These lines, of which the beginnings are mutilated, may be readily restored, partly by comparing them with K 10 (H. 280), ll. 1–4, and partly from the context. In l. 5, we must evidently restore [diš Un-ma-xal-d]a-a-šu; in l. 6, [i-tu-ra]-am-ma is required by the context; and in l. 7, the restoration ki-[i ip]-la-xu is obvious.

l. 14. šakna, iqdat, circumstantial, § 152. Umma here refers to the whole of what follows, and this contains two separate quotations, each introduced by ki.

ll. 16–18. For my former reading of these lines (vol. xviii. p. 141) I would substitute the following: "Agd gabbî ina puḫetī ša emâqu ša’ bel šarrāni beliṣa. Māt Elamti kīma de’i xurrurā, marušši itârá, puḫetī ulteribā, “all these parts are in terror of the troops of the lord of kings, my lord. The Elamites are ravaged as though (by) a plague, they are in a state of utter calamity, they are invaded by panic.” Māt Elamti stands here figuratively for the Elamites, and hence the use of the plural, as constructio ad sensum, in the verbs that follow. —marušši itârá, properly “they have turned into, become, calamity”; cf. אָלְיוֹנִים לֶבֶרל “I am (all) peace,” Ps. cxx. 7, לֶבֶרל יְא “I am (all) prayer,” Ps. cix. 4. For examples of tāru meaning ‘to become,’ cf. HW., p. 702a.—puḫetī ulteribā, properly “they have been caused to get into a panic.”

l. 20. Delitltsch, HW., p. 362a, gives kutallu without translation, but I see no reason for departing from the generally accepted rendering ‘side,’ which is supported by all the passages in which the word occurs (cf. HW., l. c.; B.A., i. p. 227). Cf. לֶבֶרל, Cant. ii. 19; לֶבֶרל, Dan. v. 5; חָפֵל, Ezr. v. 8, ‘wall,’ i.e. properly side of a house or room; Syr. חָפֵל poop, stern ’ of a vessel, where it is limited by usage to the rear side.—muṣṣurat means not “was abandoned” (im Stich gelassen, HW., p. 382), but, as formerly rendered by Delitltsch (B.A. i. p. 227), “was let loose, fell away.” For muṣṣuru as a synonym of Heb. מְשׁוֹר, cf. Haupt’s remarks in PAOS., March, ’94, p. cvii. The sense of the passage is that, when famine was added to the many evils under which the land already labored, there was a general defection from the party of Ummanaldas, and factional spirit was rife. Some parts of Elam,
indeed, were in a state of open revolt, alleging as a pretext their
dissatisfaction at the slaying of Umkhulumā (l. 21–28). The
words mātunu gābbī ina kutallišunu mūṣṣurat, “their whole
land fell away from their side,” lead naturally to what follows.
1. 26. Literally, “is not this the word which,” etc.?—adī lā
azāligu, the present is here employed as the tense of incomplete
action.
1. 35. paširātī “as a guarantee, credentials.” Bel-ibni proposes
to arrange for the capture of Nabū-bel-šumāte by sending a pri-
vate message to Ummanaldas, with the royal signet to serve as
credentials and to lend force to his request, or rather com-
mand. He fears, however, that Sardanapallus may deem such a
method beneath his dignity, and may prefer to send his com-
mand, in the usual manner, by a royal courier. That—the king
may think—will be credentials enough for the Elamites. But
Ummanaldas, however willing he may be, is weak, and Nabū-bel-
šumāte, being not only exceedingly wary, but possessing, more-
over, great influence with the Elamite nobles, can easily make
himself secure by the judicious use of money, if once he gets
wind of the affair. The arrival of the royal messenger, accom-
panied by an escort of soldiers, will be sure to attract his atten-
tion and to arouse his suspicion. It is best, therefore, to use less
open means, and perhaps, if only the gods will be active in the
matter, the wily Chaldean may yet be taken unawares and deliv-
ered over to the Assyrian king.
1. 46. ulti Umezulūmā baltu, properly, “from, commencing
from (the time that), U. was alive.”
11. 47 ff. It had been the habit of Nabū-bel-šumāte to lavish his
portion upon his partizans, but now times are hard and grain is
scarce. He therefore alleges that the officers who controlled the
distribution of the grain had defrauded him of his proper share,
and claims restitution. Accordingly he seizes every šarnuppû he
can catch and compels him to hand over the original amount
claimed, together with an enormous increase by way of interest
and indemnity. Ummanaldas, who naturally objects to these pro-
ceedings, sends several times to demand the surrender of the
grain thus seized, but without success.

3. (K 10.)

1. 8. kādu: the meaning ‘post, garrison,’ seems to suit the con-
text. The general sense is clear. The Assyrians, under command
of Mušezib-Marduk (rev. 2. 12), were to use Sabdānu as a base of operations, and thence to harass the Elamites.

1. 17. qaggar ina pānišanu rāqu “a long stretch of ground lay before them.” The small force of five hundred men operating in a hostile country, where they were constantly liable to attack, could hardly undertake a long march encumbered by a large number of prisoners, and for this reason more than two hundred had to be put to death.

Il. 24–25. pīšunu ʾiddanānu, literally, “they gave their utterance,” i.e. they sent a message to arrange the terms (ade) of capitulation.

4. (K 528.)

1. 9. tušaspāt-ma, here with ellipsis of xarrānu, as indicated by tašāpar which follows (l. 10). For the expression xarrānu ṣabātu, susbutu, cf. H W., pp. 561 a, 562 a.

1. 13. māta Elamti ʾiludā-dā-ma. For my former rendering of these words (vol. xvii. p. 145), I would substitute, “brought Elam (against us).” Cf. nakru u bābāti ina muxxi bit belika ul tašādā “thou hast not brought foe or famine against thy lord’s house,” 6, 27–29.—l. 22. For attallak (vol. xviii. p. 146) read addalāp.

Il. 29–32. nipxur-ma, nīliki-ma, nuterā-ma, niddin, are all cohortatives (§ 145).

5. (K 79.)

1. 7. In the name Pīrī-Bel, the original has, instead of din-gir-en, i-en (i.e. ištēn), which is doubtless a mere scribal error. I assume that the published text is correct as Pinches (IV R., 46) and Harper (No. 266) agree.

1. 8. šundāt agā x, literally, these ten years.

Rev. Il. 18-19 (=H. 266, r. 13–14). The text of these lines seems to be very uncertain (cf. Bezold, Literatur, p. 240). The following šumāti-ma . . . liqādā would seem to indicate that proper names preceded.

6. (K 824.)

1. 5. Note ša tašpur here and in l. 35 without the overlapping vowel. S. A. Smith has entirely misunderstood the passage that follows.
ll. 17–20. The construction of these lines offers some difficulty. It seems best to take *ul* as used absolutely *'No!'* and *ina . . . gatāta* as parenthetical. Ordinarily we should expect *ā amur* in l. 20, but the negation has already been expressed by *ul*, and it is not necessary to repeat it. This loose construction is due to the insertion of *ina . . . gatāta*, which interrupts the continuity. Smith renders: "Du bist nicht wegen des Dienstes des Hauses deines Herrn getrennt," etc.

l. 29. Smith reads *ultuššu*, but the usual form would be *ultuš-did*, and the context requires the second person.

l. 36. *ban ša tepuša* "the good (service) which ye have done." *ban* is construct (before the relative) of *banu*, 'honorable, good,' etc. Cf. *ba-ni ša tašpura* "it is well that thou hast sent," K. 95 (H. 288), r. 3; *ba-ni ša taqbatāšunāti* "it is well that ye have seized them," K. 94 (H. 287), 7. Cf. also *banu* in l. 39 of the present text.

8. (K 629.)

Rev. l. 6. *nāš-sappāte* is nominative absolute.—*ša nīgūšu iūšāšūnī*, literally, "(he) whose offering exists."


9. (K. 547.)

l. 1. *dupšar māti*. The traces given by Harper, and the following *māti* (cf. W. 24) shows that *a-ba* is to be restored here. Delitzsch (H. W. p. 4^a^) gives *a-ba* without translation, and refers to *dupšarru*, where, however, no mention of *a-ba* is to be found. In his Wörterbuch (p. 23) *a-ba* is fully discussed, but is not connected with *dupšarru*. In a note on K. 572, 6 (B.A., i. p. 218) he gives *dupšarru* as the equivalent of the ideogram *a-ba*, and points out the interchange between *a-ba* and *dupšarru* in III R. 2, Nos. iii, vii, xiii; 64, 35b. In III R. 2, Marḏuk-šum-iqša, father of Nabū-zuqup-kena, is designated, ll. 17. 22. 24. 38. 55, as *amēl* *dub-sar*, or, ll. 2. 8. *amēl* *dub-sar-riš*, while in ll. 2. 9, and III R. 64, 35b, he bears the title of *amēl* *a-ba*. In Knudtzon's Gebete an den Sonnengott, No. 109, 9, we find *[la* *amēl* *dub-sar*-]meš *Aššur* *la* *amēl* *dub-sar-meš* *Arēmā*, which may be compared with *amēl* *a-ba* *Aššur*, *amēl* *a-ba* *Arēmā* II R. 31, 64. 65. Further, in a large number of passages in the contract tablets we find the *amēl* *a-ba*
exercising the legal or notarial functions of the duṣpāruru (cf. W. 23). In view of these facts I have here, and in 19, 1, rendered A-BA by duṣpāruru. I have done so, however, with a certain reservation. While I believe that A-BA can in general be replaced by duṣpāruru, it is by no means certain that it is merely ideogram for duṣpāruru. Of course, A-BA must not be confounded with AB-BA explained by šibu 'old man, elder'; but it is entirely possible that A-BA had some similar meaning, and was applied to the duṣpāruru as a term of respect, in the same way that sheikh is used in Arabic. It is a fact worthy of notice that in K.B. iv. we find in the Assyrian legal documents, from Rammān-nirari III to Ašurbanipal, invariably A-BA, never duṣpāruru, while in Babylonian tablets of a similar character duṣpāruru (amēl DUB-SAR, amēl ŠID) consistently occurs from Šumu-abim (p. 10, l. 25) to Antiochus III (p. 319, l. 25), never A-BA; and Tallqvist, in his Sprache der Contracte Nabā-nā'id's, does not mention A-BA as occurring in any Babylonian contract. Moreover, in Babylonian tablets, dated in the reign of the Assyrian king Sin-šar-īškun, we find, not A-BA, but duṣpāruru. Cf. K. B., iv. p. 174, Nos. i. ii. (dated at Sippar); 176, No. iii. (dated at Uruk). In the earlier Babylonian documents (K.B., iv. pp. 1-48) we find invariably amēl DUB-SAR, while later amēl ŠID seems to be most commonly used.

14. (S 1064.)

ll. 9-11. S. A. Smith renders: "um die allgemeine Entzündung zu vermindern die um seine Augen ist," which needs no comment. Sikru stands for zikru 'man'; for similar interchange in case of the homonym zikru 'name, command,' cf. sikir šapitišu, Asurn. i. 5, sikir pēja, Lay. 43, 2, sikir Šamaš Tig. Pil. i. 31. I see no necessity to assume, with Delitzsch (HW., pp. 254b, 510a), the existence of two stems רכ and תכ. There is no evidence for the occurrence of ה in this stem except when followed by u, and in this case qu is merely a phonetic spelling, indicating the sound of the consonant as modified by the vowel following.

l. 14. Smith takes īrtumu as Q1 of בָּלָד. I prefer to take it as prt. of בָּל; see the glossary. For the use of the modus relativus without ša cf. § 147, 2.

ll. 24 ff. išnîka is nominative absolute.

l. 31, Smith: "noch 7 oder 8 Tage wird er leben," which is exactly the opposite of the true sense.
15. (K 519.)

Rev. l. 6. ma’adu, not adjective, but noun in apposition to dâme; literally, “blood, a (multitude, that is, a) profusion.”

l. 10. naxnaxete ša appi can only mean the alæ of the nose, as is shown by the context. Plugging the nares had not hitherto been resorted to, for that is the remedy suggested by Arad-Nanâ. The treatment must therefore have consisted in the application of external compresses, which could only have been placed upon (ina muxxi, l. 9) the alæ. In such a case the nasal breathing would be impeded by the compresses, while, unless skilfully applied, the bandages, required to keep them in place, would interfere with breathing by the mouth.

l. 11. naxnaxâtu ‘breathing’: this rendering suits the context, and is also suggested by naxnaxete (properly ’breathers’) in the preceding line.

l. 12–13. īstū páni dâme āpâni “the blood flows in spite (of them),” literally “from before (them)”; that is, they only serve to interfere with the breathing of the patient, and do not check the hemorrhage (cf. r. ll. 3–7).—šunu, referring to lippe, is to be understood after ina páni; cf. ina libbi used similarly without the pronominal suffix, 14, 25.

16. (K 504.)

l. 12. liḏbulu. We should, of course, expect liḏbul; liḏ-bu-bu may be a mere scribal error due to the influence of li-ru-bu in the preceding line.

l. 13. kētu (ki-e-tu). S. A. Smith renders ‘faithfully(?)’ and connects with what precedes. In a note he states that he is “not certain as to the meaning and derivation of this word.”

l. 16. Smith: “the house of the king, my lord sent to me.”

Rev. ll. 5–6. ina . . . liṣurâ. Smith renders: “suddenly they were destroyed; may they be written.”(!)

ll. 8–10. sunnu, eburu; the sign Mès is here not plural, but collective. Note the singular verbs. Smith: “Much rain constantly shall come. May the harvest (when) threshed the heart of the king, my lord, rejoice.”

17. (K 660.)

l. 14. karmatâni; 3 fem. permans. agreeing with naxxartu.

Strassmaier, Nbn., No. 386 is an account of the receipt of 34 vol. xix.
na-ak-ri-ma-nu (l. 14), which were made of leather, as shown by
the determinative sū (= mašak) ll. 1. 4., and served ana ki-ri-mu
ša šikar še-bar (ll. 1. 2.), and ana ki-ri-mu silqātu u šikar še-bar
(ll. 11–12). šikar še-bar, i.e. drink prepared from grain, must
certainly mean ‘beer.’ silqātu, which occurs in a list of plants and
vegetables explained by Meissner (Z.A., vi. pp. 289 ff.) means
‘beet,’ and corresponds to Aram. נָלִלָי (Z.A., vi. p. 295; Tc 111).
In the passage before us silqātu (ṣi-il-qa-a-tu) may be simply the
fem. pl. of silqu (cf. šumu, pl. šumāč), or, as it occurs here with
šikaru, it may be the name of a fermented liquor prepared from
beet juice. It is difficult to see what objects of leather could
have been used in this connection except the skins in which the
beer and beet wine (or beets, in which case the skins would be
used as bags) were contained. The words nakrimānu ana kir-
ma ša šikar še-bar may therefore be rendered “leather bottles
for bottling beer.” Meissner (l. c.) compares kirīmu ‘womb.’
Taking into consideration the analogy of ummu, the stem לְדָר might well mean ‘to be capacious,’ and so ‘to contain,’ etc. For
these reasons I have rendered karmatāni ‘is bottled,’ which suits
the context well.

Glossary.

N

u (י) and: (1) connecting nouns ẓūb libbi u ẓūb šīri
health of mind and body 1, 4–5; (2) connecting verbs ilu uše-
qā u ussaxxar he will carry the god forth and bring him back
8, r. 2–3.—Adversative, but: u Ašur... urāqāni but A. with-
holds me 6, 12; u ina libbi ša but because, etc., 6, 23.—
(HW 1)

aʿādu (עָדִי).—5 to apply, have recourse, to (properly to
make an appointment, יֶדֶר): kī tušeʾiṭā (tu-še-i-da) when
ye applied 2, 54; kī ušeʾiḍuš (u-šeʾ-i-du-uš) although he
has applied for it 2, 59.—(HW 230)

abu (אָבִ) father: abīja (אֱדַ-יַ) my father 4, 14; 6,
15; 20, 3. 5; a-bu-ṣu 5, 15, a-bi-ṣu 5, 9. 11, a-bi-ṣu 20,
2 his father; a-xe abīšu (אֱדֶ-וּ) his uncles 3, 15.—(W 17;
HW 3)

abāku (prop. to turn = לְבָע, in which ל is due to a partial
assimilation of ל to ל) to bring, carry off, purchase.—אָבָא
kaspi ina qâtišu ūtabkûni (i-tab-ku-ni) they purchased from him 1, 27; cf. T. 30.-(W 28; HW 6a)

abâlu (عالم), prt. ābil, prs. ubbāl, to bring. —G to send, convey: 1 pl. nušebila (nu-še-bi-la) 5, r. 13. 24; 3 pl. ušebilûni (u-še-bi-lu-[nî]) 3, r. 14. Prec. 1 sg. lušebilûnî-ma (lu-še-bi-lu-nim-ma) 2, 34; lušebil (lu-še-bîl) 2, 36; 3 pl. lušebilûnî (lu-še-bîl-u-ni) 16, r. 4.—G same, 1 sg. ussebila (u-si-bi-la) 10, r. 4; § 51, 2.—(HW 230b)

ubânu (عالم), finger: ubâni (šu-sî) qixirti the little finger 14, 23.—(W 41; HW 8b)

ebûru (عالم) harvest: ebûru-مش 16, r. 10 (where the plural sign merely emphasizes the collective meaning of the noun).—(W 66; HW 11b)

abarakkû, an official title, grand vizier: اسم abarakkû (شي-دوع) 18, 7.—(W 66; HW 12a)

agā this, these, for all genders, numbers, and cases; written a-ga-a 2, 16. 48; 4, 24; 6, 20, etc.; a-ga-ja 2, 26.—(W 76; HW 13b)

igaru (عالم, عل) wall: pl. igešît-مش 16, 20. r. 6.—(W 105; HW 18b).

egîrîtu (عالم) letter: e-gir-ту 4, 36.—(W 103; HW 18a)

idu (اتحاد, ل) hand: idâšu (13b-ش) his hands (preceeded by determ. uzv, i.e. šfru) 14, 25. Pl. idâste (i-da-te), but in what sense? 15, 12.—(HW 308a)

adû (عالم, عل), usually in genit. adîf, properly continuance, duration.—(1) a-du-u now, 3, r. 22.—(2) during, within, a-du úme vii viii ibâlat he will be well in 7 or 8 days 14, 31.—(3) as soon as, a-dî I, 14.—(4) until, a-dî 5, r. 13; 7, r. 17; 20, r. 2.—(5) as far as (of space) ultu... adîf (a-di) from... to 2, 49; 3, r. 18-19.—(6) adîf (adî) là (followed by prs.) before, a-dî là 2, 28; a-du-u là 19, r. 6-7.—(W 127; HW 22b, 24a)

adû (عالم) prt. ûdî, prs. ûdâ, to determine, decide: šârûbeli (belu) ûdâ (u-da) the king shall decide 7, r. 19; 8, 11; 17, 12; 18, 14.—(HW 232a)
adû (properly infin. of preceding) statute, law, compact: ade (a-di-e) ... ighton they made terms 3, 25; kî adî (a-di) according to compact 1, 23.—(HW 233a)

idû (יִד), pr't., and pres. ıdî, to know.—Pr's. 1 sg. mod. rel. ıdî (i-du-u) 6, 24; 3 pl. ıdî (i-du-u) 4, 11. Prec. 3 sg. lû ıdî (i-di) 5, r. 27.—(HW 303a)

adannu (=adânu, יָדַע) time, period: a-dan-nu šâ šûlum the propitious time 20, r. 1.—(W 185; HW 28b)

adanniš, addanniš (=ana danniš) greatly, exceedingly: a-dan-niš 7, 4; lo, 4; lî, r. 6; lî, r. 9; ad-dan-niš 14, 3. 8. 28; lî, 3. 7.—(W 160; HW 26b; Hebraica x. 196).

adru, perhaps enclosure (לְדָר): ad-ri ekalli the palace enclosure 8, 15. 16. (Cf. a-dûru enclosure, HW 29b)

idâte, see idu.

idatûtu, perhaps confirmation, ratification, of a bargain or agreement: ana i-da-tu-tu to bind the bargain(?) 1, 26. (Cf. Tê 76, sub יד) ezêbu (יְזֶבִּי), pr't. ezib, pr's. izzib, to leave: 5î to save, rescue: usezibû (u-si-zi-bu) they rescued 7, r. 4.—(§ 51,2; W 244; HW 34b)

axu (אָשׁ, אֲשׁ) brother: axiya (אָשֶׁ-יָא) my brother 6, 34;

axušu (אָשֶׁ-שֻ) ša the brother of 7, 14; axešu (אָשֶׁ-מָשֶׁ-שֻ) his brothers 3, 14; axe (אָשֶׁ-מָשֶׁ) abide his uncles 3, 15;

mâre axišu (אָשֶׁ-שֻ) his nephews, 3, 15.—(W 266; HW 38a)

axu, pl. axati, side (etym. identical with axu brother): ana a-xu agâ on this side 3, 12; ana a-xi-šu-nu ullî to their further side (i.e. to their rear) 3, 22-23.—(W 275; HW 39b)

axâ'iš (properly like brothers, axâmiš, cf. šamâmiš) together: a-xa-iš 7, 16.—(W 269; HW 39b)

axâmiš (see axâ'iš) together, mutually: ana a-xa-meš mutually 1, 22; ana tarqi a-xa-meš opposite each other 3, r. 23.—(W 270; HW 39b)

axâtu (אָשתָא) sister: mår axâtiša (נִינָ-יָא) my nephew 3, r. 1; mår axatišu (נִינָ-שֻ) ša the nephew of 1, 8.—(W 268; HW 39a)

eṭêru, pr't. eṭir(-er), pr's. iṭṭir(-er), properly to surround (לְעָל), then to hold, or keep, intact, to receive, buy: ul i-ṭir-

šu he has not received it 2, 60; râmânu iṭṭir he will buy himself off 2, 41.—(W 325; HW 46a; Tê 36)

āka (אָקה) where? whither?: a-a-ka niškun (cohort.) where shall we put (it)? 17, r. 7.—(W 338; HW 48a)
aki (a-ki-e) like, as: 15, 13; cf. kî.—(W 371; HW 52b)

aklu food, provisions: I QA ak-li-su one QA of his provisions 8, r. 8.—(W 381; HW 54b)

akalu (mişa), prt. ekul, prs. ikkal, to eat: likulâ (li-
ku-lu) let them feed (of sheep) 1, 31; ištu ... qarqeka ina
pânija ekulu (i-ku-lu) since he slandered thee (literally, ate
thy pieces; cf. qarqu) before me 6, 10.—Q1 same, 3 sg. e-tak-
la 7, 16; 3 pl. e-tak-lu 7, 13.—(W 374; HW 53a)

akalu (properly infin. of preceding) food: pl. akâle (ša-
meš) 7, 13.—(W 380; HW 54a)

ekallu (Sumerian e-gal great house; ḫurî) palace:
e-gal 2, 63; 3, r. 24. 25; 8, 15. 16; 19, 1. r. 5.—(W 338; HW
48a)

ul (estr. of ullah non-existence) not, never used in prohibition
like ḫim; 1, 41; 2, 60; 4, 26 etc.; no! 6, 17.—(HW 71b)

illu (mişa) god: illu (dingir) I, 22; 8, 15. r. 2; iluka (din-
gir-ka) thy god 8, 13. Pl. ilâni (dingir-meš) 2, 41; 4,
10; 18, 20. r. 1. 10; ilâniqa (dingir-meš-ka) my gods 6,
12; ilâniqa (dingir-meš-ka) thy gods 14, 24; bit ili
temple 16, r. 1. 7.—(W 402; HW 59b)

âlu (mişa), prs. âlî, pl. âlâni, city: written er 1, 19. 21; 3,
12. 17; 11, 7 etc.—(W 5; HW 59a)

elû (mişa), prt. elî, prs. illû, to be high, ascend.—I útûlî
(u-tu-li) I removed (i. e. took up) 14, 20.—G ša ... uselâ (u-
še-el-la-a) whoever offers (to the god, ḫûrî) 8, r. 8.—Q2 çâbe
usselû (u-sî-li-u) I brought up soldiers 7, r. 10; usselûnî
(u-sî-li-uni) they got (him) out (up) II, r. 2; šumû ili ... ul
telû (ul-te-lu-u) they swore by (made high) the name of
the god 1, 24.—(W 420; HW 60b)

ullah (mişa, ḫûrî) that, yonder (ille): axi ul-li-i the
further (yonder) side 3, 23.—(HW 73b)

ilkû lordship, worship, reverence: il-ku ana Ezida kun-
nâk I pay heedful reverence to Ezida 20, 6.—(W 481; HW
70b)

alaku (mişa), prt. illik, prs. illak, to go, come. Prt. sg.
il-lak 8, r. 1; il-la-ka 8, 17. r. 5; pl. il-lak-u-nî 15, r. 3.
Prec. sg. lillikî-ka (lîl-li-kam-ka) I, 34; 4, 28.—3 fem.
lû ta-li-îk 18, r. 3; lû ta-li-ka 18, r. 6.—1. la-al-lik 8, 14;
pl. lîl-li-ku-nî 7, r. 15; lîllikûnî-ka (lîl-li-kû-nî-ka) 1, 29;
pl. 1. ni-il-li-ku-nî (cohort.) 4, 30.—Q2 same, sg. it-ta-
lak 15, 11; i-ta-lak 16, r. 9; it-tal-ka 1, 11; 2, 10. 39.—1.
at-ta-lak 7, r. 7; at-tal-ka 5, r. 10; pl. i-tal-la-ku 7, 11;
it-tal-ku 1, 21; 2, 13; 15, r. 7; it-tal-ku-u-ni 7, 18; it-
tal-ku-nu 19, r. 4.—9 causative. Prec. 3 pl. lu-ša-li-ku
8, r. 21.—(W 461; HW 66b)

alpu (אַלְפּ) ox.: pl. a1_1pe (גָעְד-מֵאֶה) 1, 26.—(HW 75a)
elippu (Syr. נֵלָנָא) fem. ship: written gîš-mâ 18, 6. 11. r.
1.—(HW 75a)

ultu (אַלְתּו).—(1) Of space, from, away from, out of 1, 9. 11;
2, 46; 3, 5; ultu... adî from... to 2, 49; 3, r. 18–19.—(2)
Of time, ultu mûxî after, since 3, 21; 4, 11; ultu U. bal7u
as long as U. was alive 2, 46 (cf. note ad loc.)—(W 411; HW
77a)

ûmu (עין, מָע) day (written throughout ud + phonetic com-
plement mu, mj): 2, 23; 3, 5; 8, 7. 10; 15, 10—Pl. ûme (עָד-
מֵאֶה) 1, 4; 2, 3; 3, 3; 14, 31.—ûmu ša when 2, 23; ûmi
mûšu day and night 13, r. 6; gît ūme the end of time 8, r. 21.
(HW 306b)

umâ (עָמַּא) now: 15, r. 19; 16, r. 2; 18, r. 1.—(HW 82b)
ammu (אַמּו) pl. ammuîte, fem. ammâţe, that (ille):
lippe am-mû-ute those dressings, bandages 15, r. 8; dib-
bâte(?) ammete (am-me-te) those (such) things(?) 18, 16;
 cf. annetu, fem. pl. of annû, HW 104a.—(HW 84b)

umma (written um-ma but properly ū-ma, i.e. demonstr.
û + ma) namely, as follows, introducing direct discourse: 1, 23.
28. 36; 2, 14 etc.—(W 208; HW 86a)

ummu (עַמּו, מָעַר) mother: ummušu (אַמּו-ש) his mother 2,
8.—(HW 85b)

emêdu (אַמְדּ), prt. emid, prs. immid, to stand, place.—3
šumma idâšu ina libbi ummîdûni (u-me-du-u-ni) if he
has put his hand to the matter 14, 26; the bandages ummudû
(u-mu-du) are applied 15, r. 11.—(HW 79b)

ummânu (עָמַנְנ) master workman, skilled artisan: umm-
man ka thy master workman 20, r. 5.—(HW 86b)

ûmussu (ûmu) daily: ud-mu-us-su 4, 5. 16; 5, 4; 20, 4.
—(HW 307b)

emûqu (עַמּוֹצּ, מַעִיק) force, forces, troops: e-mu-qu 2, 16; pl.
emûqesû (e-mu-ki-shû) his forces 2, 29; 3, r. 21.—(HW 88b)
amâru (אַמּוֹרּ), prt. emur, prs. immar, to see: ultu mûx-
xi ša i-mu-ru-ma after they saw 3, 21. Prec. li-mur 12,
2, 1. lûmur (lum-mur) 6, 20.—(HW 89b)
ammu, ostr. ammar, fulness, as much as: am-mar qaq-qad ubānī ḍixirti the size of the tip of the little finger I4, 22. —(HW 91b)

immeru (𒄧𒈺) sheep: iṣten immeru (lu-nītā) a single sheep I, 38; pl. immereni (lu-nītā-meš-ni) our sheep I, 29.—(HW 91b)

amtu (𒄯𒈺) female servant, handmaid: amtuka (gēmeʔ-ka) thy handmaid I9, 2.—(HW 77b)

amātu, ostr. amāt (emû to speak).—(1) word, speech: a-mat šarri the word of the king 6, 1; a-mat-ja my word 2, 30.—(2) thing (like ṣabīl, āš) a-mat ša the thing which 2, 26; if I learn a-mat ša anything which, etc., 2, 60.—(HW 81b)

immatema (=ina matema, 𒄱𒈺) if ever, in case at any time: im-ma-tim-ma (i.e. immatēma) 4, 24.—(HW 439b)

ana, corresponds in meaning to Heb. ܢ and ܒ; written a-na or dē.—(1) Of space, to, towards: ana a1 Targibati ittalka they came to T. 1, 21; ana a2 Suxarisingur towards S. 2, 13. —(2) Of time, until: ana mār māre till (the time of our) children's children 6, 40.—(3) As sign of the dative, šulmu ana greeting to 7, 5; 9, 4; 10, 3, etc.; ana šarri...liqisḫu may they grant to the king 3, 4; ana belīja likrubu may they be gracious to my lord.—(4) Purpose or object, ana balāt nap-šāte ša šarri uqallu I pray for the king's life 4, 6; šaṭu ana alāki it will be well to go (literally good for going) 12, 4; ana idātatu to bind the bargain 1, 25; ana maxfri for sale (price) 1, 36.—(5) respecting, in regard to: ana mimma kalāma in regard to everything 20, 3.—(6) in conformity with, ana gibītu bel šarrāni to the king's liking 2, 60.—For expressions like ana libbi, ana muxxi, ana pānu, etc., see libbu, muxxu, pānu, etc.—(HW 94a)

ina, corresponds in meaning to Heb. ܢ; written i-na or rum.—(1) Of space, in, at, on, into, from: ina a1 Xa'ādalu in X. 2, 15; ina Upṭa at Opis 18, r. 7; ina kussī ǧūṣibu seated himself on the throne 2, 6; addan anāku qāṭa'a ina kīḇ-sāti I shall lay my hands upon the rascals 7, r. 8; ina bit Nabū errab he shall go into the temple of N. 8, r. 9; ina kuttālišunu from their side 2, 20.—(2) Of time, in, during: ina timāli yesterday I4, 16; I5, r. 5.—ina arax šabāti in the month of Shebat 8, r. 16; ina pānātu beforehand 7, 20.—(3) State or condition, ina puluxti in a state of panic 2, 16; ina qaštī ramfiti with bow unstrung 2, 42.—(4) Manner, ina lā
mūdānūti in an unscientific manner 15, r. 8.—(5) Means, in a būbāta tadūkā ye have slain with famine 2, 55.—For expressions like ina libbi, ina muṣxi, ina pān, etc., cf. libbu, muṣxi, pān, etc.—(HW 95a)

ēnu (ʼiš, ʿun)  eye: uzu (i.e. šfru)-ši, 3; pl. īnāšu (šišu) his eyes, 8, 11; cf. birtu.—(W 348; HW 49a)

enna (ʼiš, ʿiš) now: adī ša en-na until now 5, r. 13.—(HW 103b)

annū, fem. annūtu, pl. annūti, fem. annūti, this (hie): fem. an-nītu, 4, 36; pl. an-nū-te, 7, r. 17.—(HW 103b)

ennā (ʾiš) lo! behold!: en-na, 3, 3; 2, 31, 51, 56; 4, 21; 5, r. 7.—(HW 103b)

anāku (ʾiš) I: a-na-ku, 2, 35; 6, 7, 32; 7, r. 8; 8, 13; 16, 13; ana(n)šu-ku, 2, 35; 6, 23; 13, r. 6.—(HW 101a)

annāka here: an-na-ka, 19, r. 3; a-na-ka, 7, r. 12.—(Cf. PSBA. xvii. 237)

anīnū, anīnī (ʾiš, ʾiš) we: a-ni-ni, 3, r. 4; ni-ni(?), 18, 15.—(HW 103a)

unqu, pl. unqāte, ring, signet: un-qu, 2, 32.—(HW 104b)

annūši just now, immediately, forthwith: an-nu-ši, 16, 7; 19, r. 3, 9.—(HW 104a)

āsū (properly helper, prt. of asū to support; Syr. ṼN) physician: pl. āše (A-šu-mēš) 16, 5.—(HW 107a).

issi (by-form of itti with spiration of š, cf. §49, APR. 107, n. 2) with: i-si-ja with me, 7, r. 18; is-si-ka with thee, 9, r. 8; is-si-šu-nu, 19, r. 9; i-si-šu-nu, 7, 8, 11, 15; 16, 12, with them.—(HW 110a)

asāte reins (pl. of a noun asū): mukīl asāte (su-ša-šaš) the charioteer, 8, 21.—(HW 107a)

appu (ʾiš), pl. appū, nose, face: ap-pi, 14, 13; 15, r. 2, 10.—(HW 104a)

aplū, ostr. apil, pl. apa, son: Ummanigaš apil (A) Amedīrī A. son of A, 3, r. 16; apil(ša)-šu ša the son of, 7; apil šipri (A-šaš) messenger, 1, 17, 33.—(HW 113a)

epēšu, prt. epuš, prs. ippuš, ippaš.—(1) Transitive, to do, make, perform. Prt. 1 pl. nippušāni (ni-pu-šu-un) 15, 9. Prs. niqū ip-ppa-aš will offer (make) a sacrifice 8, r. 7; dūllu ippušū are doing duty 7, r. 21; ša tepušā (te-pu-ša-) which ye have done 6, 35, 36. Prec. parge ša ilāni...lippu-šu may they perform the commands of the gods 8, r. 13.—(2) In-
transitive, to do, act, be active; kî ša ilâ’u li-pu-uš let him act as he pleases 4, 35; nindema ilâni...ip-pu-šu-ša if the gods will bestir themselves 2, 42.—Q' same, sixu étépuš (i-te-pu-us) he made a revolt 3, r. 18; mimma...bīšu etepšu (i-te-ip-šu) they practiced all that was evil 5, 14.—N Passive, niqù in-ni-pa-aš a sacrifice will be offered 8, 19.—I to carry on: elippu...niburu tuppaš (tu-pa-aš) the ship...is carrying on a ferry 18, 13; lâ tuppiš (tu-pi-iš) let it carry on 18, r. 5; uppušu (u-pu-su) they are carrying on 18, r. 14.—(HW 117°)

açu (אכע, "praze"); prt. āgef, prs. ugegā, to go out, forth. Prt. 1 sg. āgā (u-qa-) 3, 6; pl. ugegā (u-qa-u) 5, 9; āgūni (u-ge-u-ni) 15, r. 18. Prs. ugegā (u-qa) 8, 16.—Q' same, pl. ittāgā (i-ta-qa) 7, r. 2; N' ittāgūni (it-tu-qa-u-ni) 7, 17.—S Causative, Prs. ugeṣgā (u-ṣe-qa-a) 8, r. 2; pl. uṣegūni (u-ṣe-qa-u-ni) 7, r. 18.—(HW 237°)

āru (גנ' ני) Iyyar, the second month of the Babylonian calendar: arač āru (iti-gud) 8, 7.—(HW 34°)

urū (גנ' נ) stable: uru-ša ilâni the stable of the gods (i.e. the stable for horses used in religious processions, etc.) 8, 20. (HW 130°)

erēbu (ערבע, "grább"); prt. erub, prs. irrub, irrab, to enter:
ūmuša...irubu (i-ru-bu) the day he entered 2, 24; irrab (ir-rab) he will enter 8, 9; irrab (e-rab) he may enter 8, r. 9; lirubū (li-ru-bu) let them go in 16, 11.—Q' ina libbī ali e-tar-ba he came into the city 11, 8.—S Causative, ilu uṣegā u ussaxkar u-ṣe-rab he will take the god forth and bring him in again 8, r. 4; adū...lā uṣerabanāšina (u-ṣe-ra-ba-na-ši-na) before we are brought in (literally one brings us in) 19, r. 7.—S' puluxti ulterībū (ul-te-ri-bu) they have been invaded by (literally caused to enter) panic 2, 18.—(HW 126°)

ardu (written NITA), pl. arādu (written NITA-MEŠ, NITA-MEŠ-ni) servants, slave: ardū’a my servant 6, 14; ardūka thy servant 1, 2; 2, 1; 3, 1; 18, 2, etc.; arāduNi servants 3, 6, r. 3; 19, 6; arādnika thy servants 12, 2; 17, 2.—(HW 129°)

arādu (ארדוע for ארדו), prt. drid, prs. urrad, to go down, descend.—Q' Causative, kaspu ina libbi usseridā (u-si-ri-da) wherein he conveyed the money down (the river) 18, 8; gābe uṣseridāni (u-si-ri-du-ni) akāle the soldiers took provisions down (with them) 7, 12.—(HW 240°)
arxu (אַרְצָו), Eth. væz), cstr. arax, month: arxu, arax (תִּרְיָי) 8, 7. r. 16; 11, 6; 17, 18, etc.—(HW 241b)

araxsamma (i. e. eighth month) Marcheshvan, the eighth month of the Babylonian calendar: ἈρὰξΑπι2 5, 17. r. 11. 22.—(HW 242a)

arku, fem. ariktu, long (arku): úme arkuti (ar-ku-ti 17, 8; gid-da-meš 19, 6) a long life (literally long days).—(HW 133b)

araku (אֲרָק), prt. erik, to be, or become, long.—Infin. a-ruku prolongation 1, 4; 2, 3, 3.—(HW 133b)

arkáníš (from arku rear; ַל, עַ֯) afterwards, later: arka-niš 5, 14.—(HW 243b).

eršu (עֶרְשָׁה) bed, couch: eršu (giš-na) ša Nabû the couch of N. 8, 8; bit erši (e-giš-na) bed-chamber 8, 9.—(HW 141b)

ašábu (בֵּשַׁע) for bashá)., prt. ušib, prs. ušab, to sit, dwell: ša...ina kussú u-ši-i-bu (pause form) who seated himself upon the throne 2, 6; nu-uš-šab ve will dwell 2, 15; partic. ušib (a-šib) inhabitants (collective) 4, 25.—Nt same, it-tu-šib (i. e. ittušib = intašib) 15, 13.—S Causative, šubtu ussešibu (u-si-ši-bu) he had laid an ambush 7, 21.—(HW 244b)

išdu (יוֹשַׁד, הַיָּשַׁד) foundation: iš-du ša bit abia the prop and stay of my father’s house 6, 15.—(HW 142b)

ištu, written ta.—(1) Of space, from: ištu Deri issapra he sends word from Der 16, 18; ištu pání dâme úguni the blood flows forth in spite of (literally from before) the bandages 15, r. 12.—(2) Of time, since: ištu Šamaš libbašu issuxa since S. perverted his understanding 6, 8.—(HW 159b)

aššatu (אֵשֶׁת, אֵשֶׁת) woman, wife: aššatsu (dam-šu) his wife 2, 8.—(HW 106b)

išten (יוֹשֶׁת) one, a single, a certain (quispiam): written i-ren; išten muššarú one inscription 16, r. 3; išten imméru a single sheep 1, 38; išten qallu a certain servant 5, r. 7.—(HW 158a)

atā (properly impv. of atū to see) well, now, see!: [umā a-ta]-a now, see now! 18, r. 1.—(HW 158b)

atta (אַתָּה, אָתָּה) thou: at-ta 6, 33.—(HW 160b)

itti (properly genit. of ittu side, fem. of idu hand) with: it-ti 2, 19; 3, 25; it-ti-šu-nu with them 2, 25; it-ti U.
ušazgušu they withhold it from U. (like 𒈗𒆠) 2, 58.—(HW 154b).—Compare issi.

itu’u, an official title: 𒀀𒊩𒌋 George 7, 11; amel Šanû i-tu’u K. 1359, Col. ii, 11 (PSBA, May,'89).—(HW 157a)
etšequ (𒈠𒀀), prt. etiq, prs. ittiq, to pass. Inf. e-te-qa route (of procession) 8, r. 5.—(HW 159a)
atâru (𒀀𒈵) to exceed, surpass.—I causative, to increase: ut-tir remu aškunâka I have granted thee greater favor (than ever) 6, 24.—(HW 248b).

📖
bā’u (𒀀𒆠), prt. and prs. ibā’u, to come: apil šipri ibāšu ( {{--<i>ba-aš-šu</i>)) a messenger has come to him 1, 17.—(HW 167b)
bābū (Aram. 𒃔,باب), reduplicated form from 𒆠𒆠) gate;

part, portion: bābšu (𒆠𒆠) his portion 2, 47; cf. T° 58b.—(HW 165b)
bubētu (famine, hunger: bu-ba-a-ta 2, 55.—plur. of bubētu (properly emptiness: reduplicated form from 𒆠𒆠) famine, hunger: bu-bu-u-ti 6, 27.—(HW 166a)
bādū (cf. باد(باد) the, the) sunset, evening(?): ina timâlî kī ba-di yesterday evening 14, 16; 15, r. 5.—Cf. the following, from Harper’s Letters: ūmu ṣara ba-a-di egištusu an-nītu ina muxxiḫa issapra he sent me this letter the evening of the 6th (of the month) H. 101, 11; ina ši’āri ša ba-a-di, ri-in-ku ina 67 Tarbiqū to-morrow evening there will be a libation in T. H. 47, 7; ina ši’āri ūmu ṣara ba-a-di Nabû Tašmetu ina bit erṣī irrubû to-morrow, the 4th, at sunset, Nabû and Tašmet will enter the bed-chamber H. 366, 6; sîse ana ba-a-di lušaqbi sîse lušaqētu I will stable the horses this evening and assign them quarters (for lušaqbi, cf. qabar stable, pen, HW 578b; for šuṣbutu to station, place, cf. HW 562a). Cf. Hebraica, x. 196; AJSL, xiv. 16.
bīd (synonym of kī) as, unlike: bi-id šarru išāpar as the king commands (sends) 16, 16; ultu bīd ana Elamti...

ūšu since they went away to Elam 5, 8; ultu bīd...nušēbila since we sent 5, r. 11.—(HW 190a)

belu (𒄥) lord: belâ’a (EN-a) 4, 7.21; beliḫa (EN-ja) 4, 7.33. (be-ili-ja) 1, 6, beli (be-ili) my lord; beliḫa (EN-ka) 6, 28, (EN-ka-a) 6, 18 thy lord; belišu (EN-šu) 6, 31 his lord; belûni (EN-ni) 12, 11. r. 2, belini (EN-ni) 12,
1. 6. 8 (EN-i-ni) I7, 6. 11. r. 3, our lord; bel (EN) šarrāni the lord of kings I, 1. 5.—(HW 163b)

balū to worship, be submissive: immatema...ul ibalū (i-ba-su) if they will not submit 4, 26.—(HW 173b)

balātu (balātu, balāt, balāt) properly survive; cf. ḫalāt), prt. ibluṭ, prs. ibaluṭ, once ibaluṭ, to live; to recover from illness: ibaluṭ (i-ba-luṭ) he will recover 14, 31; balatu (bal-ṭu) he was alive 2, 46; ina libbi balṭu (bal-ṭu) they live (subjunct) upon it 2, 45.—I ul u-bal-luṭ-ka I will not let thee live 1, 41; ana bullāt (bu-luṭ) napšāte for the preservation of the life of 8, r. 11.—(HW 174b)

balatu (properly infin. of preceding) life: [ba-luṭ] napšiti 13, r. 1. 2; balāt (tin) napšāte life, preservation 4, 6; 5, 6; 20, 5; lale balāti (tin) fullness, enjoyment, of life 10, 10.—(HW 175a)

beltu (fem.of belu), pl. belēti, lady: belit (tin) Kidi-muri the lady of K. 10, 6.—(HW 163b)

banū (banū), prt. ibnī, prs. ibānī, to make, build, beget: bānū (properly participle) ancestor; māre bānūti (nu-ka-k-mēš) free-born citizens, nobles (properly sons of ancestors) 3, 16.—(HW 178b)

banū bright, honorable, excellent: ban (ba-an) ša tepušā the excellent (service) that ye have done (ostr. before ša) 6, 30; ša ina paniya banū (ban-u) which is honorable in my sight 6, 39.—(HW 180a)

BAR a measure of some kind, 2, 56.

būru (būru, būru) well, cistern: ina būri (pū) ittuqut he fell into a well 11, r. 1.—(HW 164a)

barū, prt. ibrī, prs. ibārī, to see.—I Causative, lā ubarrī (u-bar-ri) I have not disclosed 16, 14.—(HW 182a)

birdu (birdu) glance, sight: birit īni clear, plain sight; ina birīt (bi-rīt) īni lumandid let him make it clearly understood (literally measure out in plain view) 1, 34.—(HW 183a)

birdu (birdu) fortress, castle: šulmu anā šibāt (bi-rat) greeting to the fortresses 7, 5; bir-ti-su the (literally his) fortress (ZA. ii. 321) 7, r. 10.—(HW 185a)

bīšu (bīšu) bad, evil: bi-šsu 5, 13; dibbeka bīšūtu (bi-šu-u-tu) evil words about thee (cf. ḫāṭiṯ šēmāth, Gen. xxxvii. 2) 6, 6.—(HW 165a)

bašu (properly ba-šu en him; cf. Eth. bō, bōtu), prt. ibšī, prs. ibāšī, to be, exist.—Prs. sg. i-ba-šiši 14, 22; i-ba-aš-
šu-u-ni (mod. rel.) 8, r. 7; pl. i-ba-aš-šu-u 2, 12; 3, r. 5; ibaši’u (i-ba-ši-u) 15, r. 9.—(HW 188a)

biₜu (בִּית), pl. bitaṭe, written e₂, eₜₚₑₜ, house; with reference to gods, temple: bit Marduk-erba the house of M.-e. 19, r. 6; ina biti in the house of 9, r. 4; rab-biti major-domo 2, 52; bit ili temple 16, r. 1. 7; ilu mār biti the god of the temple 20, 10; bit Nabû the temple of N. 8, 12. r. 9; bitaṭe karāni store-houses for wine 17, r. 1.—(HW 171b)

bitxallu riding horse: pl. bitxallāṭi, amaša bit-xal-laṭi the cavalry 7, r. 22; cf. Hebraica, x. 109, 198.—(HW 190b)

1

gabbu (usually in genit. gabbi) totality, all, every: generally placed after, and in apposition to, the word qualified; maqṣa-rāte gab-bu all the gurarṣ 10, r. 6; qinnas̄u gab-bi his whole family 2, 8; matsunu gab-bi their whole country; bel ūbātēsu gab-bi all his partisans 2, 24; šarnuppi gab-bi every šarnuppu 2, 51; aqā gab-bi all these parts, this country (literally all this) 2, 16.—(HW 192b)

gāmaru (גָּמָר), prt. igmūr, prs. igamar, to complete, to pay: tapšuru igamar-ma (i-gam-ma-ma) he will pay a ransom 2, 40.—(HW 199b)

gušûru (gašâru to make strong) beam, timber: pl. gušûre (grš-gušûr-mēš) annute this timber (literally these beams) 7, r. 17.—(HW 207a)

7
de’u ( דוּ) disease, plague: kîma de’i (di-e) xurrurû they are ravaged as though (by) a plague 2, 17.—(HW 297a)

dibbu (דיבּוּ), pl. dibbe, word, speech: dibbuṣu (dib-buṣu) his word 20, r. 4; pl. dib-be (dib-bi) aqâ these words 5, r. 15; dibbe ka’āmānûtu reliable words 1, 41; dibbeka (dib-bi-ka) bīšûtu evil words about thee (cf. bīšu) 6, 5; dibbāte (?) ammete (?) (dib?-ba-te am-me-te?) these things, such matters (?) (cf. לַמָּה, ָא, thing) 18, 16.—(HW 209b)

dabābu, prt. id dibub, prs. idābub, to speak, converse: is-sišunu lid dibubu (lid-bu-bu) let him converse with them 16, 12.—טו same, idēbub (id-di-bu-ub) 2, 25; cf. dīnu.—(HW 208b)
dâku, prt. idâk, prs. idâk, to kill: šuxdû-ma...lâ adu-ku not willingly would I have slain 6, 16; tadûkâ (ta-du-ka) ye have slain 2, 23; idûkû (i-du-ku) they slew 11, r. 3; dûkâ (d-u-ka) stay ye! 3, 10.—Infin. dâku, ana muxxi dâkika (gaz-ka) ilû they have planned thy destruction 6, 22; ana dâki (gaz) idînûka they have given thee over to death 6, 11; ina pâni da-a-ku ša axiJa in order to slay my brother 4, 15.—Q same, idûkû (i-du-ku) they slew 3, 17; tadûkâ (ta-a-d-du-ka) ye have slain 2, 56.—(HW 212a)
diktu slaughter, slaying: di-ik-ti dûkâ stay ye! 3, 10.—(HW 212b)
diktu (Nisbeh form) troop of soldiers(?): ina qât di-ki-tu accompanied by a troop 2, 38.
dullu (dalâlu to serve; ḫûm to be poor, dependent) work, duty, service: dul-lu 6, 33; 7, r. 21; 15, 8.—(HW 219b)
dalâpu (dāfû) to go: adâlap (a-dal-lap) I will go 4, 22.
—(HW 217b below)
dâmû (mû) blood: pl. dâme (uš-meš) 15, r. 2. 6. 18. 17.—(HW 220a)
dinu (šûm) judgment, cause: di-i-ni ittišunu iddâbub he upbraided them (literally pleaded a cause with them) 2, 25.—(HW 215b)
duppu (Syr. Ṣûm) tablet, letter: duppu (rûm) Bel-upâq letter of B.-u. 20, 1.—(HW 228a)
dupšarru (Sumerian duh tablet + sar to write) scribe, secretary: dupšar (a-ba) mâti the secretary of state 9, 1; dupšar (a-ba) ekalli the secretary of the palace 19, 1, r. 5.—(HW 227b)—Cf. note on 9, 1, p. 47.
deqû, prt. idqû, prs. idaqû, to gather, collect: qaštâšunu ... idqû (id-ku-nu) they assembled their forces 3, r. 5; ebûru deqû (di-e-qi) the harvest is gathered 16, r. 10.—(HW 216a, sub Ṣûm)
dârû (Nisbeh of dâru, lûm to endure), enduring, everlasting: šanâte dârûte never ending years 17, 9.—(HW 213a)

zagû, perhaps to stand.—û ušazgûšu (u-ša-az-gu-u-šu) they withhold it (i.e. cause to stop) 2, 59; dinâtû attû’a... u-ša-az-gu-u I have established (i.e. caused to stand firm) my rights, Behistun (III R. 39) 9.—(HW 260a, sub Ṣûm)
zilliru (zi-il-li-ru) an Elamite official title 2, 11.—(HW 256³)

zîmu (ギ Dan. ii. 31, v. 6; properly, brightness) face, form, appearance: zîmišu (zi-me-šu) malû his complete health (literally full form) 1, 14.—(HW 252³)

zunnu rain; written A-an-mešš 16, r. 8, where the plural sign (mešš) has merely a collective force.—(HW 259³)

命 (ギ)

xi'ûlûnu, xijâlûnu troops: xi'-la-a-ru 4, 8; xi-ja-la-ni-ia my troops 3, 22.—(HW 275³)

xubûtu booty, prisoners (cf. xabâtu): xubte (xu-ub-ti) ol ixtabûni they captured 160 prisoners 3, 18-19.—(HW 269³)

xabâtu, pret. ixbut, to plunder, take prisoner: impv. plur. xubûtu xubtûnu (xu-ub-ta-a-ru) take prisoners! (= xubtâni) 3, 11.—ギ xtabûnni (ix-tab-tu-ni) they captured 3, 19.—(HW 268³)

xadû (ギギギ pleasure), pret. ixdu, ixdf, to rejoice, be glad. Stem of šuxdû q. v.

xazânu (ギギ) prefect, superior: xaza-na ša bît Naba the prefect of the temple of N. 8, 12.—(HW 272³)

xâkâmû, prs. ixâkim, to understand.—ギ lušaxkim (lu-šax-ki-im) I will give directions, explain 15, r. 19.—(HW 276³)

xalqu fugitive, deserter: pl. xalqûte (xA-A-mešš) 7, 9; xal-qu H. 245, 11; xal-qu-te H. 245, 5, r. 11.

xalâqu (Eth. xalqa), pret. ixliq, prs. ixáliq, to flee: kî ix-li-qu when he fled 1, 10; ša ix-li-qa who fled 2, 5; adî là axalîqa (a-xal-li-qa) before I fled 2, 26.—(HW 279³)

xamatta (xamadda) help, aid: xamât-ta 8, r. 17.—(HW 281³, sub xamât)

xannû, xanni'u (= annû) this: lakû sikru xa-ni-u this poor fellow 14, 10.—The following additional examples are taken from Harper's Letters: xa-an-ni-i H. 19, r. 12; H. 306, 10; H. 357, r. 10; xa-an-ni-e H. 355, 15; xa-ni-e H. 311, 13; xa-an-ni-ma H. 358, 29. r. 17; xa-an-nim-ma H. 362, r. 1.—Pl. xa-nu-ute H. 121, 8; xa-nu-te H. 99, 6; H. 121, r. 10; xa-an-nu-ti H. 306, 5. r. 7.—(HW 284³)

xasâsu, pret. ixsus, prs. ixásas, to think, perceive, understand: kî the king lá xassu (xa-as-su) does not understand 5, r. 24.—ギ kî amât... ax-tas-su when I learn anything 2,
61.—I xussu (xu-us-su) he is well informed 20, r. 6.—For these syncopated forms cf. § 97.—(HW 284b)

xepû, prt. ixpî, prs. ixâpî, to destroy: ultu muuxi... hit abija ixpû (ix-pu-u) since he destroyed my father's house 4, 14.—(HW 286a)

xorâdu, prs. ixârid.—Q' i-x-te-ri-di 15, 11.—(HW 289a)

xorâçu (ša-re) properly to cut, then to decide, fix, establish: xorâçu (xa-ra-šu) ša dibbe agâ confirmation of these words 5, r. 14; ţenšunu xariq (xa-ri-ig) he has accurate news of them 3, r. 25.—(HW 292a, sub xorânu)

xorâru, prs. ixârar, to plow. —I xurruru (xur-ru-ru) they are ravaged (literally plowed up).—(HW 292a)

ša'âbu (d, p? طعب?), prt. it'ib, to oppress (?). —I nax-naxûtu u-ša-ubû they oppress, interfere with, the breathing 15, r. 12.—(HW 722a, sub ṣa'âbu)

šâbu (بطيب, طاب), prt. it'ib, prs. šâbâb, to be good, well: ša-aba ana alâki the conditions are favorable for the journey (literally, it is good for going) 12, r. 3. 4. 5. 7; libbaka...lû ša-aba may thy heart be of good cheer 9, r. 3; lû-ša-abaka 6, 3; libbu ša šarrî...lû ša-aba 14, 30; lû dug-ga 16, r. 12; libbu ša mûr šarrî...lû šâbû (dug-ga-šu) 10, r. 8.—(HW 299a)

šûbu (شوب) good, welfare: šûbû li bi u šûbû širi(e) health of mind and body (šû-ubû) 1, 4. 5; 10, 8. 9; 10, 6. 7; (dug-ubû) 14, 6; 15, 5. 6; (šûbi) 2, 2; 3, 2. 3.—(HW 300b reads šûb and explains as str. of šûbû inšâ. 3 of šâbu)

šâbû, pl. šâbûte, benefit, kindness: šâbûte (mun-xi-a) favors 6, 39; bel šâbûte (en mun-xi-a-meš) partisans, friends 2, 12. 24. 47.—(HW 301a)

šebêtu, šebeth, the tenth month of the Babylonian calendar; written iti-ab 17, 13.—(HW 298b)

šemu (šemu) news, information: še-emû 1, 24; 2, 4; 3, r. 15; ţenšunu (še-en-šu-nu) news about them 3, r. 24.—(HW 297a; cf. Guthe's Ezra-Nehemiah, p. 35)

šânu (šânu) not: šânu (ša'-nu-u, i.e. šânu + interrogative u) is it not so? 6, 25.—(HW 49a)
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jahī me: šulmu ja-a-ši it is well with (as to) me 6, 2.—(HW 51b)

jātu mine: elippu ši ja-a-tu that ship of mine 18, 6; ja-a-tu lū tallika let mine (i.e. my ship) go 18, r. 6.

KU (?) 1, 26.
kī (JSONException), written ki-i, ki.—(1) Preposition, as, like, according to: kī adī according to compact 1, 23.—(2) Conjunction; (a) when, kī...ittalka when he arrives 2, 38; kī ʾṯābatu when he received 2, 47; kī itbū when they reached 3, 13; kī ṣīqanu having become afraid 3, 24; kī ṣīqanu having assembled 2, 24; cf. also 1, 9. 12; 2, 7. 9. 51. 54; 5, 12. 15. 19; 20, 12;—(b) ʾṯā, kī...taltapra ʾṯā thou sendest 1, 38; kī...

qibū ʾṯā he wishes 5, r. 14; kī...maxru ʾṯā if it be agreeable 2, 31; 4, 26; kī...axtassu ʾṯā I learn 2, 60; kī ša...lā xassu ʾṯā he does not understand 5, r. 21–24;—(c) that, ʾḏā kī they know that 4, 11;—(d) as, since, kī...karmatūni since it is bottled;—(e) although, kī ušeʾiddūš although he has applied for it 2, 59.—(3) Adverb, kī ša šāṭrā just as they (the letters) were written 5, r. 20; kī...kī now...again (literally thus...thus, introducing direct discourse; cf. note ad loc.) 2, 14–15.—(HW 325b)

kaʾāmānū (1) Adjective, steadfast, reliable: pl. dībbe kaʾāmānūtu (ka-a-a-ma-nu-tu) reliable words 1, 41.—(2) Adverb, libbaka ka-a-a-ma-ni lū ūṭaba may thy heart ever be of good cheer 9, r. 2.—(HW 321b)

kibistu (kaḇāsu, ḫalāh; properly, trampling, what is trampled under foot; cf. sīqiptu) base fellow, rascal: addan anāku qāṭāʾa ina kibšāte (kib-sa-ti) I will lay my hands upon the rascals 7, r. 8.

kādu military post, garrison(?): ka-a-du 3, 8. r. 2. 12.—(HW 725a)

kālu (TX), prt. ikūl, to hold, bear.—I part. ṣūqīl (mu-kiš) asāte charioteer (literally holder of the reins) 8, 21.—I ʾuktil (uk-ti-il) 15, 12.—(HW 319b)

kalū (TX), prt. ikūl, iklā, prs. ikālū, to check, restrain.—

N dame ikkaliʾu (ik-ka-li-nu) the hemorrhage will be checked 15, r. 17.—(HW 328a)

kalbu (TX) dog: kal-bi 2, 62.—(HW 328b)

kilāle (TX), Eth. kēlē) both: rabe-qiṣirja kilāle (ki-
lā-le) both my chiefs of battalion 7, r. 4.—(HW 331b)
kalâmu (= kâlu + ma) totality, all: ana mimma kalâmu (ka-la-mu) in regard to anything whatever 20, r. 3.—(HW 329a)

kalâmu to see.—I to show lukallimûnâši (lu-kal-li-mu-na-ši) let them show us 17, r. 4.—(HW 332b)

kîma (= kî + emphatic ma, Heb. יִמֶּה) like, as: kî-ma de'i as (with) a plague 2, 17.—(HW 326a)

kâmâsu, prt. ikmis, prs. ikâmîsîs (properly to bow, fall down), to settle, dwell, in a place; to remove (i. e., settle elsewhere); kî ikâmîsû (ik-me-su) when they had removed, left 2, 9. The following examples are taken from Harper's Letters: issuri ina bîtika-ma kam-mu-sa-ka, if indeed thou art dwelling at homes H. 97, 7–8; ilânî ammar, ina ësaggil kam-mu-su-ñi all the gods that dwell in ësaggil H. 119, 7–8; ilânî ammar ina bîtî kam-mu-su-ñi all the gods that dwell in the temple H. 120, 7–8; ëstu ál bît abika bid atta kam-mu-sa-ka-ñi when you removed from the city of your father's house H. 46, 11.—(HW 336a)

kanû, I to care for, give heed to: ilku ana Ezida kunnâk (kun-na-ak) I pay heedful reverence to E. 20, 9.—(HW 337b)

kanakû, prt. iknuk, to seal, execute a contract: ëmēl rešû iknukûni (ik-nu-ku-u-ñi) the officer who executed the contract 19, r. 8.—(HW 589a, sub קֶם)

kunukku seal, sealed document: kunukku (tak-šî) ina qâtišûnu provided with a warrant 7, 8.—(HW 589b)

kenûtu (כְנַדְו) loyalty: kenûtka (ki-nu-ut-ka) thy loyalty 6, 23.—(HW 322a)

kussû (כְבָס) throne: kussî (giš-û-za) 2, 6.—(HW 343a)

KAS-BU (or KAS-GID?) double hour: KAS-BU qaq-qar two double hours of ground 3, 12.

kis(i)limu Chisileu, the ninth month of the Babylonian calendar: îtî-gan 11, 6.—(HW 344a)

kaspû (כְסַב) silver, money: kaspû 15, 10; 18, 7; ana kasp-û (azâg-ûd) for money 1, 27.—(HW 345a)

kasarû, prt. ik-sîr, prs. ik-sîsîr, to dam, check, confine.—N šârû ikkasîr (i-ka-si-ir) the air will be kept away 15, r. 16. —(HW 345b)

kissûtu (= kissatu; Aram. כְסַע, כְסַב) fodder (for cattle, etc.): še ki-su-tu 18, 15, r. 8; še ki-is-su-tu ana temâرû-sî-meš H. 306, r. 12.
kùru (for kur’u; Syr. הָבִית to fall ill) distress, trouble: ša kùri (ku-ri) inâšu his eyes are diseased (ša like גו; cf. BA. i. 384 below) 14, 11.—(HW 352b)

kirû grove: kirû (gîš-sarû) ša Ašur the (sacred) grove of Ašur 11, 9; k. ša Nabû of Nabû 8, 7.—(HW 353a)

karâbû, prt. ikrub, prs. ikârab, to be gracious to, bless: ana šarri likrubû (lik-ru-bu) may they bless, be gracious to, the king 4, 4; 5, 4; II, 5; I2, 9; I3, 8; 18, 5; 19, 6; lik-ru-bu-šu may they bless him 12, 15.—(HW 350a)

karâbu; ul kir-bi-ku-ma (1 sing. permans. like gišriku?) 2, 61; cf. ul kir-bi-ka H. 202, 7.

karâmu to bottle: 3 fem. permans. kar-ma-tu-u-ni is bot-tled 17, 14; cf. note ad loc.

kurummatu provisions, food: pl. kurummâtani (šük-xî-a-nî) 2, 54, 57; kurummâtînî (šük-xî-a-i-nî) 2, 53 our provisions.—(HW 354b)

karânu wine: written giš-geš-tin I7, r. 6; bitâte karâni (b-geš-tin-meš) store-houses for wine 17, r. 1.—(HW 354b)

karâru (modern Arabic محمد to purify) to sanctify, consecrate: the city of Calah eršu ša Nabû tak-car-ra-ar will cons-\-crate the couch of Nabû.—Cf. the liturgical text K. 164 (BA. ii. 635), ll. 15. 32. 47.

kettu (properly feminine of kenu; כמה) truth: ki-e-tu I6, 13.—(HW 323a)

kutallu (כָּל, Cant. ii. 19; Aram. כָּל, Dan. v. 5; כָּל, Exr. v. 8, wall) side: ina ku-tal-li-šu-nu from their side 2, 20.—(HW 362a)

lā (ל) not: 2, 26. 29. 65; 4, 16; I6, 14. 15; I9, r. 7, etc.—(HW 363a)

lû (ל, J; cf. Haupt in JHU. Circ., xiii., No. 114, 107, July '94). (1) Asseverative particle, verily, indeed: lû ilda verily they know 4, 11.—(2) Precautive particle, lû šulmu ana greeting to 7, 3; 8, 3; IO, 3, etc.; lû tallik let it (the ship) come 17, r. 3; šârru lû ilda may the king know 5, r. 27; libbaka lû ilda may thy heart be of good cheer 6, 3.—(HW 373b)

la’û (לָה), prs. ilâ’î, ilé’î: ki ša i-la’û as he pleases 4, 34; ki ša a-li-’u as I please H. 402, r. 5.—(HW 364b)
libbu (לְבּ, לְבִּ), written lib-bu (bi, ba), ša, ša-bi(ba, bu).—(1) heart, mind: libbaka lû ūbka may thy heart be of good cheer 6, 3 (cf. ūbku, ūb libbi ūb šiři, cf. ūbku); ištu Šamaš libbašu issuxa since Šamaš perverted his understanding 6, 8.—(2) middle, midst, and in this sense used with the prepositions ina, ana; ina libbi in, among i, 30; 2, 2, 5, 17; i8, 7; ina libbi Upi’a at Opis i8, 12; ina libbi from, out of 8, 15; ina libbi balţu they live upon it 2, 45; ina libbi in order that i, 31; ina libbi ša because 6, 23; ana libbi ša ana until 6, 40.—(HW 387a)

libbû (= ina libbi); libbû (ša-bu-u) agû through, by means of, this (measure) 4, 24.—(HW 388a)

labâru, prt. ilbur, prs. ilâbir to be, to become, old: infinit.
labâr (la-bar) pale length of reign 2, 3; 3, 3.—(HW 370b)

lakû weak, miserable: la-ku-u 14, 9.—(HW 376b)

lalu fulness, abundance: lal-e balâti fulness, enjoyment of life 10, 10.—(HW 377a)

lamû, prt. ilmî, to surround, enclose, catch: kî il-mu-u-ni when they have caught 2, 51; ana muxxi dâkikas il-mu-u they have plotted (tried to encompass) thy destruction 6, 22.—(HW 379a)

lippu (ジュ to wind, wrap up) bandage, dressing: pl. lippe (li-ip-pi) 15, r. 7.

lâsu (= là + išu, י) there is not, there are not: mušša-
râne la-aš-šu there are no inscriptions 16, 20; gîllate la-
aš-šu there are no shelters 17, r. 1.—(HW 386a)

ma, enclitic particle; draws the accent to the ultima of the word to which it is appended.—(1) Emphatic particle, minû iqabûnî-ma what, indeed, can they say 6, 30; šuxdû-ma... lâ adûku not willingly, indeed, could I have slain 6, 14; nin-
déma ilâni... ippušû-ma if only the gods will bestir themselves 2, 42; šûtû-ma that (god) indeed (here like ב in apodosis of conditional clause) 14, 26; belijâ-ma my lord 5, 6; ilâni-
ma the gods 8, r. 1; emurû-ma they saw 3, 21.—(2) As con-
junction, and; lillikû-ma let him come and 1, 34; ša itûra-
ma who returned and 2, 6; išemî-ma he will hear and 2, 40, etc.—(HW 386a; 387a)
mâ thus, as follows; serves (like umma) to introduce direct discourse: ma-a 7, r. 6; 15, r. 4; 16, 19; 19, r. 5. 6.—(HW 387\textsuperscript{b})

ma’adu abundance, profusion: dame ma-’a-du much blood (literally blood a profusion) 15, r. 6; zunnu ma’ada (ma-’a-da) much rain 16, r. 8.—(HW 389\textsuperscript{b})

ma’âdu (’\textsc{N}â\textsc{N}â), prt. im’id, prs. im’a’id, to be much, numerous, abundant; permans. ma’ada (ma-’a-da) it is abundant 17, r. 7.—(HW 388\textsuperscript{a})

MU-GA, apparently an ideogram, 6, 39.

MU-GI, rab mu-gi the chief m., an official title, 15, r. 3.

madâdu (\textsc{L}\textsc{L}\textsc{L}), prt. imdud, prs. imandad, to measure.—\textsc{f} lumandid (lu-man-di-id) let him measure out (cf. birtu) 1, 35.—(HW 383\textsuperscript{b})

mûdânûtu science (abstract of mûdânû, a formation in -ân (§ 65, No. 35) from mûdû wise, \textsc{Y}\textsc{Y}\textsc{Y}’) ina là mûdânûte (mu-da-nu-te) unscientifically (literally without science) 15, r. 8.

mûxîxu proper top, summit (Sumerian mûx), written mûx-xi, mûx. Usually combined with the prepositions ina, ana, ultu.—(1) ina mûx-xi; (a) upon, over: ina mûx-xi (mûx) naxnaxête ša appi upon, over, the nostrils 15, r. 9; ina mûx-xi (mûx) kâdu over (in command of) the post 3, r. 2. 12; ina mûx-xi (mûx) bit belika ul tašdud thou hast not brought (foe and famine) upon thy lord’s house 6, 28.—(b) against: minû iqabûnî-ma ina mûx-xi (mûx) ardu ša what can they say against a servant who, etc. 6, 30.—(c) to: ittalkûnu ina mûx-xi-ja they have come to me 19, r. 4.—(d) as to, in regard to: 6, 4. 33; 12, 10; 15, r. 1.—(e) for: soldiers are sent ina mûx-xi (mûx) xalqûte for, after, deserters 7, 9; ina mûx-xi napîše ša belija uçallâ I pray for my lord’s life 13, r. 7.—(f) ana mûx-xi; (a) towards, against: ina lîbibi ana mûx-xi-ni tarâxuq that you may feel confidence in (towards) us 1, 32; emûqêšu ana mûx-xi-i-ni là išâpar that he may not send his troops against us 2, 29; sîxa ana mûx-xi (mûx) U. a rebellion against U. 3, r. 17.—(b) to, as for as: ana mûx-xi (mûx) ãIrgidû...ki itbû when they reached Irgidû 3, 11.—(c) as to, in regard to: 2, 33; 20, 11.—(d) for: ana mûx-xi (mûx) kurummatini for our provisions (ye applied) 2, 53; ana mûx-xi (mûx) dâkika ilmû they laid plans for thy destruction 6, 21; ana mûx-xi (mûx) abijâ for,
in behalf of, my father 20, 8.—(3) ultu mu xxi after, since: ultu mu xxi (mux) ša emurû-ma after they saw 3, 21; ultu mu xxi (mux)... ikkiru since, from the time that, he revolted 4, 11.—(HW 398a)

maxrû former (Nisbeh form): šarru maxrû (max-ru-u) the former king 2, 5.—(HW 403a)

maxâru, prt. imxur, prs. imâxar, properly to be in front (cf. ṭomîl to-morrow).—(1) to receive, accept, kî... maxru (max-ru) if it be acceptable, pleasing 2, 32; 4, 27; šumma maxir (ma-xi-ir) same, 15, r. 18.—(2) to bring (properly to place in front of): tamâxarâni-ma (ta-max-xa-ra-nim-ma) tanamdinânāšu ye shall bring and give us 2, 57.—(HW 400b)

maxiru (mîlîl, properly something received) price: ana maxiri (ki-lam) for sale 1, 36.—(HW 404b)

mukîl, see kâlu.

mala (properly fulness; accus. of målu = mall'u, nîlîl, written ma-la, never ma-la-a) as much, many as: ma-la nišêmû all that we may hear ḳ, 24; ma-la ibâsû all of them (literally as many as exist) 2, 12; 3, r. 5; ma-la dibbûsû šulum so far as (as much as) his words were propitious 20, r. 4.—(HW 410b)

malû (nîlîl) full, complete: zîmišu ma-la-a his perfect health (literally his full form) I, 14.—(HW 411a)

mîmma, mîmina (mîn + ma) whatever, anything: mînîma anything 1, 36; ana mîmma (nin) kalâmâ in regard to everything whatever 20, r. 3; mîmina (nin) ša... bîšu whatever was bad 5, 12.—(HW 418b) Cf. mî-nu, Eth. mî.

memenî (for man-man-ni) any, any one: ilânika šumma me-me-ni if any of thy gods 14, 24. Cf. the following, izîrtû me-me-ni ina libbi šârat is any curse written thereupon H. 31, 10; dûlu me-me-ni any work H. 109, r. 17; me-me-e-ni là is'âlûsû nobody has asked him H. 49, r. 23; ina mu xxi me-me-ni là šâltak I have control over nothing (or no one?) H. 84, r. 6.—(HW 407a)

mînu how? with ša, indefinite; mi-i-nu ša már šarri beli isâparâni as the prince may command 8, r. 14.—(HW 408b)

mînî wêhat? mi-nu-u 6, 29; mînâ-ma (mi-nam-ma) why? 2, 22; (me-nam-ma) how? 6, 5.—(HW 417b)

mindêma (cf. nindêma) when, if: mîn (man)-di-e-ma ana šarri belija iqâbi if he says to the king 5, r. 9.—Senn.
Bav. 40, arkiš min-di-ma Sin-axe-erba aggiš eziz-ma afterwards when Sennacherib became violently enraged.—(HW 416a)

minma, cf. mimma.

maçcartu (naçaru, ܢܢ) guard, watch (both abstract and concrete): mağgartā'a (EN-NUN-a-a) ša tağgurû the guard for me which ye have kept 6, 37; ana ma-ğar-ti lizzizû let them stand guard 7, r. 16; šulmu ana mağgarûte (EN-NUN-MES) gabbu greeting to all the guards 10, r. 5.—(HW 478a)

maqâtu, prt. imqut, prs. imâqut (i-tu-qut, for intamqut, intauqut) he fell 11, r. 1.—(HW 424a)

mâru son: written ĐU; mârušu ša the son of 1, 7; mår axâti nephew (sister’s son) 1, 8; 3, r. 1; mâre axi nephews (brother’s sons) 3, 15; mår mâre grandchildren 6, 40; mâre bânûti free born citizens (cf. banû) 3, 16; ilu mâr bîtî the god of (son of) the temple 20, 10.—(HW 396a)

marçu sick, sick man, patient: mar-gi 15, r. 1.—(HW 428b)

marâçu (مَرَّ) to be sick, ill: permans. maruq (ma-ru-ug) he is ill 1, 13.—(HW 428a)

maruštu (fem. of maršu, properly unclean) calamity, evil: ma-ru-uš-ti 2, 18.—(HW 428a)

mûšu (form like kûru, for muš’u), pl. mušâti (cf. مَسَ) Eth. mûšû, night: ûmî mu-šû day and night 13, r. 6.

—(HW 429b)

maš’u, prt. imšatu, to rob: kurûmâtani ša mašâ’ (maša-) our provisions which have been stolen 2, 57.—(HW 428a)

mašarû, I muššuru to leave, abandon; to let go, set loose (cf. Haupt in PAOS, March ’94, cvii): mâtsunu ina kutallı-šunu muššurat (muš-šu-rat) their country fell away (was let loose) from their side 2, 20.—I to leave, abandon: 11 Ma- dâkti undéšer (un-diš-sîr) he left (abandoned) Madâktu 2, 7.—(HW 429b)

muššarû, mušarû, musarû (from Sumerian mu name + sar to write, Assy. šiṭir šumi) inscription: muš-sha-ru-u 16, r. 3; pl. muššarâne (muš-ša-ra-nî-i) 16, 19.—(HW 421b)

mâtu (Syr. مَدَعَ) land, country: written kur 1, 9; 2, 9; 7, 6, etc; ma-a-ṭi 4, 30; šar mâṭâti (kur-kur) 3, 4; 4, 1. 4; 5, 1. 3, king of the world (literally of the countries).—(HW 434b)
mâtu (מָתּוּ), prt. imât, prs. imât, to die: permans. mîtu (mî-tu) he died 5, 16.—(HW 395a)
mutîr-pûti (cf. pûtu, târu) satellite: amēl gûn-ru-putu 5, r. 25.—(HW 517b)

nîburu (נִבְרוּ) ferry: ni-bu-ru 18, 13. r. 5. 13.—(HW 11b, nîbrû.)
nâgiru, an official title, probably overseer, superintendent: amēl ligir 2, 10.—(HW 447b)
nadû, prt. iddî, prs. inâdf, to cast, cast down, lay: anâ târî axâmiš na-du-u they are encamped (lie) opposite each other 3, r. 23.—Qâ qâtsunu ina libbi... it-ta-du-u they put their hand upon 3, r. 9.—(HW 448b)
nadânû (נָדָנֻ) prt. iddin, iddan; prs. inâdin, inamdin, iddan, to give, place.—Prt. iddanakunušu (id-dan-nak-kunu-šu) he used to give you 2, 55; anâ dâki iddinâka (id-dinu-ka) they have given thee over to destruction 6, 11; pîšunu id-danûnu (id-dan-nu-nu) they sent a message (literally gave utterance) 3, 25; nidindûni (ni-din-u-ni) we gave 15, 10.—Prs. addan (a-da-an) qâtâ'a I will lay my hands 7, r. 7; inamdûnu (i-nam-di-nu) they will give 2, 45; iddanû (i-dan-nu) they will give 13, r. 5; tanamdînûnušu (ta-nam-di-na-nû-su) ye shall give us 2, 58.—Prec. luddin (lu-ud-din) I will give 2, 28; liddînu (lid-di-nu) 14, 7; 15, 7; 17, 10; 19, 7; (lid-din-nu) 10, 12 may they give; nidinnu (ni-id-din) we will give (cohortative) 4, 32.—Qî ittedinšunu (it-ti-din-šu-nu) he has given, sold, them 19, r. 2; pîšu ittedin (it-ti-din) he has given command (properly utterance) 14, 27.—(HW 450a)
nadâru, prt. iddur, to lavish: anâ bal tâbâtesù id-dur he used to lavish upon his partizans 2, 47.—N and Nth to be angry, rage.—The stem may be compared to Syr. יְרַפֵּט se profudit, and so N and Nth would properly mean to overflow; or mali libbâti, libbâti ımtalí, etc.—(HW 452a)
nazâzu (Eth. názâza to console, properly to support, to try to raise up, hold erect), prt. izziz, prs. izzazz, to stand: elippu... ina Bâb-bitqi ta-za-za-za the ship is (stands) at B-b. 18, 10; ina pânja izzazz (i-za-zu) they are (stand) with me 7, r. 23; lizzizû (li-zi-zu) let them stand 7, r. 16.—Qî to place one's self: ittîsu it-ta-si-iz-su (i.e. ittasizzû for ittašizzû) they have sided with him 3, r. 20; ina muxxi
amāṭja tattašizzā (ta-at-ta-ši-iz-za-) ye can bear witness to (literally take your stand upon) my words 2, 31. In these forms the š for z is merely due to dissimulation.—(HW 455a)


naxnaxtu aša of nostril (cf. modern Arabic خنخس to speak through the nose= خنخس, خنخس): pl. naxnaxēte (na-ax-na-xi-e-te) ša appi 15, r. 10. Compare naxīru.

naxnaxūtu (na-ax-na-xu-tu) breathing 15, r. 11.
nixēsu, prt. ixixis, prs. ināxis, ināmxis, to retire, go back, go: ana Elamti kī ix-xi-su when they had gone to Elam 5, 15; ana Elamti ul ix-xi-is he has not gone to Elam 5, r. 14.—(HW 458a)

naxīru (ناخیر) nostril: pī naxīre (na-xi-ri) within the nostrile 15, r. 14.—(HW 458b)
naxxartu (= namxartu, from maxāru to receive) receipt, income: na-xar-tu 17, 13.—(HW 405b, namxurtu)
nakru foe, enemy: nakru (anmašku) u būbētu foe and famine 6, 27.—(HW 465a)
nakāru (ناکر), prt. ikkir, to be strange, hostile; to revolt: ina qāt šarrī ik-ki-ru (mod. rel.) he revolted from the king 4, 13.—(HW 404b)
nimēlu (properly result of labor, عمل, USūl) produce, gain; welfare: ni-me-il-šu his welfare 12, r. 1.—(HW 88b)
nīni (نفس) we: ni-i-[ni]? 18, 15; cf. anfini.
nindēma (= mindēma, with assimilation of m to n) if: nin-di-em-a...iqābī if the king thinks 2, 36; nin-di-em-a...ippušu-ma if they will bestir themselves 2, 41.
nasaxu, prt. issuax, prs. ināsax, to pluck, tear out; remove with violence: libašī issuaxa (zi-xa) took away his understanding 6, 8.—(HW 471a)
nasiku (ناصیک) prince: anmaš na-si-ku 3, 14; pl. nasīktāti (anmaš na-si-ka-a-ti) authorities, rulers 3, 19.—(HW 472b)
napīstu (نفس, ليه) soul, life, properly breath: pl. nap-ša-ate 8, r. 11. 18; zi-meš 13, r. 7 life; [balat] na-piš-tī 13, r. 1–2; balat napštāte (tin zi-meš) 4, 6; 5, 6; 20, 5 life; nī napštāte (zi-meš) šunu they are seven in number (literally seven souls) 19, r. 1.—(HW 476a)
nacāru (ناشتر) protect: 2 pl. taqṣūrā (taq-gu[r-ra]) 6, 37.—Prec. 3 pl. iqṣurū (li-iq-gu-rū) 8, r. 19.—Impv. sg. uqrī (uqr-ri) 4, 37; pl. uqrā (uqr-ra) 3, 8.—(HW 477a)
niqû (properly libation, naqû to pour out; cf. מִיָּלָהוּ) offering, sacrifice: written LU•SIGISSE 8, 18. r. 6.—(HW 479b)

nâru (נָרָר, נַ֫רָר) river: written ID 2, 9; 3, r. 22.—(HW 440a)

nišu, pl. niše (נִשֵּׁה, נִשְׁה), people: written UN, UN-MES; niše (UN-MES) bitini the people of our house 2, 55; niše (UN-MES) ša ina Ninua the people of Nineveh 9, r. 5. As determinative before gentilic names, passim.—(HW 483a)

našû (נָשָׁוּ), prt. iššî, prs. inâši, to lift, carry, bring, take: iššâ (iš-ša-) 5, 19. 20; iššâ-ma (iš-šam-ma) 5, r. 12 he brought; šâ...iš-šu-û whom he got 19, r. 1; rešî ni-iš-šî (cohortative) we will hold up our heads 17, r. 5.—Part. nâšî, crstr. nâš; nâš šappâte (šAMAN-LAL-MES) far bearers 8, r. 6.—N1 ittanâšû (it-tau-na-aš-šu) they levy, collect 2, 50.—(HW 484a)

našpartu (šapâru) command, behest: na-aš-par-tu ša šarri the king’s behest 4, 22.—(HW 683b)

D

sebû (סאָבּ) seventh: ūmu sebû (VII KAM) the seventh day

II, 6.—(HW 489b)

sâdu pasture(?): sa-â-du 1, 31, 39; see parâku, p. 76.
sîxu (for six’u) revolt: si-xu ana muxxi U. a revolt against U. 3, r. 17.—(HW 492b)
saxû to revolt: sîxû (si-xu) šûnûti they are in a state of revolt 2, 22.—(HW 492b). The š intrans. as in gîbû.
saxâru (סאָרְוּ), prt. isxûr, to turn (intransitive).—I1 to return, bring back: ilû...ussaxxar (u-sa-ax-xar, cf. § 51, 2) he will bring the god back 8, r. 3.—(HW 494a)
sikiptu (saకàpu) overthrow, defeat; as a term of reproach, smitten, accursed (cf. kibistû): si-kip-tî Bel accursed of Bel 2, 39; si-kip-ti Marduk agâ K 84 (H 301), r. 17; si-kip-ti Bel arrât ilânî smitten of Bel accursed of the gods K. 1250 (SK., ii. 59), 14.—(HW 499a)
sikru (=zikru, cf. sikru = zikru name, command, etc., partial assimilation of initial z to following k; placed in HW sub לָכָּב and לָכָּל respectively) man: lakû si-ik-ru xanni’u that poor fellow 14, 10.
sunqu (sunqu to squeeze, press; Syr. דַּלָּד to need) need, famine: su-un-qu 2, 19.—(HW 505b)
pû (דוע, דוע), genitive pi, mouth, then utterance, word: pi-i naxîre within (properly in the mouth of, dedi) the nostrils 15, r. 14; pi-i-šu-nu idanunu they sent a message (literally gave their utterance) 3, 24; pi-i-šu ittedin he has given his command 14, 27.—(HW 523a) Cf. pânû, pānātu, pûtu.

paxāru, prt. ipxur, to gather, assemble (intransitive): mât Akkadî ni-ip-xur-ma we, all Babylonia, will assemble 4, 29.—I transitive: bel ūbâtēšu gabbî ki u-pax-xîr having assembled all his adherents 2, 24; emûqēšu ki u-pax-xîr having assembled his forces 3, r. 21; u-pax-xa-rum they collect 2, 44.—(HW 520a)

paxātu (pexû to close, shut in) district, then for bel paxāti governor (דוע): asmâ en-nam, bel paxāti or simply paxātu 5, 19; 18, 11. r. 2; 19, 9.—(HW 519b)

paṭâru (דוע), prt. ipṭur, prs. ipṭar, to break, cleave, loose.

palû regnal year, reign: labâr pale (בָּלע) length of reign 2, 3; 3, 4.—(HW 525a)

palâxu (Syr. דוע to reverence, serve), prt. iplax, prs. ipâlax, to fear, be afraid: ki [ip]-la-xu (sg.) 2, 7; kî ip-la-xu (pl.) 3, 24 having become alarmed.—(HW 525b)

puluxtu fear, terror, panic: ina pu-lux-til in a state of panic 2, 10; pu-lux-til ulteribû they are invaded by panic 2, 18.—(HW 525b)

pânû (דוע, properly old plural of pû).—I face: pa-ni-šu-nu ana 41š. šaknû their faces turned towards (i.e., going in the direction of) š. 2, 13.—I front, presence: ina pâniya (ši-ša) izzazû they are with me (stand in my presence) 7, r. 22; ina pa-ni... qibî tell (say in the presence of) 19, r. 5; ina pa-an šarri lirubû let them come into the king's presence 16, 10; qaqqar ina pa-ni-šu-ru rûqu a long stretch of ground lay in front of them 3, 17; ina pa-ni dâku for the purpose of killing 4, 14; kî ina pa-ni šarri maxru 4, 26; šumma pa-an šarri maxir 15, r. 18 if it be acceptable to (before) the king (cf. 2, 32); ana pa-ni-šu-nu ašápar I will send to them 2, 38; kî... ana pa-ni-šu-nu ittalka when he reaches them (comes into their presence) 2, 39.—(HW 530a)

pānātu (fem. pl. of pânû) front (of space and time): ina pa-na-tu beforehand 7, 20.—(HW 531b)
paqādu (םַּפָּדּ), prt. ipqīd, prs. ipāqīd, to command, appoint: ša... ap-ki-du whom I had appointed 3, r. 3; šulmu issika... lipqīdū (lip-qi-du) may they ordain prosperity with thee 9, r. 10.—(HW 534b)

parāku, prt. ipriq, prs. ipāriq, to separate, shut off, lock.—* Q. ki... ištēn immeru ana šādu ša Elamiti ip-te-irkū (constructio praegnans) if a single sheep (is separated from your flocks and) gets over to the Elamite pasture(?) 1, 40.—(HW 539b)

parāsu, prt. iprus, prs. ipāras, to decide (properly to cut): ana pa-ra-su ša šarnuppi inamēdē they place (the grain) under the charge (subject to the decision) of the šarnuppu 2, 44; similarly pa-ra-su ša šarnuppi 2, 40.—(HW 542b)

parap five-sixths: parap (kiŋusili) kaspī five-sixths of a shekel 15, r. 10.—(HW 538b, parab)

parču (נָגַרְךּ) command, ordinance: pl. parče (pa-ar-qi) ša ilāni the commands of the gods 8, r. 10.—(HW 544b)

paširāti (properly explanation; pašāru to loose, solve; נְשִׁידָה) guarantee, credentials: pa-ši-rat-ti... lusēbilšu I will send it (the royal signet) as a guarantee (i.e., to give force to my request) 2, 35; ši-pirtā pa-ši-rat-ti... ašāpar I will send my (simple) message as a guarantee (i.e., my message will be guarantee enough for them) 2, 37.

pūtu (fem. of pū) front, entrance, border: mutfr-pūtu (amēl gur-nu pu-tu) satellite, body-guard (properly he who stood at the entrance and turned back those approaching) 5, r. 25.—(HW 517ab)

pittu (for pit′u, פִּיתּ) moment, twinkling; only in adverbial expressions ina pittu, appittma (= ana pitti-ma), etc.: ina pi-it-iti immediately 16, r. 5.—(HW 553b)

ל

čābu (for ḡabbu, ḡab′u; פִּיסָה) man, soldier: pl. ḡābe, written erim-meš 3, 6; amēl erim-meš 7, 12. r. 2. 5. 9; ḡābeša (amēl erim-meš-ja) my men 7, r. 19.—(HW 557b)

čibū (Aram. נֶבי) to wish, desire: kī... ջi-bu-u if he wishes 5, r. 15. The ī in ջibū is the intransitive ī as in ĭixru small = ĭaxir, Arabic nijs unclean = najis, etc. (Barth, § 21).—(HW 558b)
羰atu (חֶבִּית), where ח is due to influence of ר) to grasp, seize, take: ki iq-ba-tu when he received 2, 47; qatsu ki aq-ba-tu when I had taken his hand (i.e., taken him under my protection) 1, 12; adî zimisu malâ iqábatu (i-qa-ba-tu) as soon as he regains complete health 1, 15; iqábatû-ma (i-qa-ba-tu-ma), they will seize him and 2, 42; ana muixi qa-ba-ta (infin.) with reference to the capture 2, 53; širtu ša ina libbi qa-bit-u-ni (permans.) the bandage which held it on 14, 18.—Q to seize, take: iq-qa-b-tu they seize 2, 53; ade...iq-qa-b-tu they made terms (undertook agreements) 3, r. 3; addatu ša šlum adî ūmi rebi iq-qa-b-tu he fixed on (took) the (literally up to the) fourth day as the propitious occasion 20, r. 2. —Q xilânu tu-ša-aq-ba-tu (ellipsis of xarrânu) put troops upon the march 4, 9.—(HW 560а)

çibûtu wish, desire: ana gi-bu-tu bel šarrâni in accordance with the wish of the lord of kings 2, 60.—(HW 559а)

cixru (for ãaxiru, ãaxru, صغر = صغير, fem. ãaxirtu and ãixirtu) little, small: ubâni gi-xi-ir-te the little finger 14, 23.—(HW 565а)

cullâ (صلى) to pray: 1sg. u-qa-l-lu 4, 7; u-qa-l-li 5, 7; 20, 6; u-qa-l-la 13, r. 9 I pray.—(HW 567а)

cillatu (ظل, ظل) shelter, cover: pl. gi-il-la-a-te shelters (for storage of wine) 17, 15.

catu (properly pl. of ãitu, אנה; aqû to go out) exit, end: ana qa-at ūme to the end of time 8, r. 21.—(HW 239а)

QA, a measure: ana i qa a-an x bar a-an ten bar for one qa 2, 56; i qa aklišu one qa of his food 8, r. 8.

qebû (Aram. יְבִי to fix[?]), prt. iqbi, prs. iqâbî to say, speak, command.—Prt. ša...aq-bu-u-nu, whom I mentioned 16, 7; amât ša...aqbâkunušu (aq-bak-ku-nu-šu) the word which I spoke to you 2, 27.—Prt. la aqâbâšunu (a-qa-ba-aš-šu-nu) I do not tell them 16, 15; mindéma iqâbî (i-qa-bi) if he says 5, r. 9; mindéma šarru i-qa-bi if the king thinks (says to himself) 2, 36; minâ-ma...iqâbâma (i-qa-ba-am-ma) how can he speak 6, 6; i-qa-bu-u they say 2, 14; minâ iqâbûni-ma (i-qa-bu-num-ma) what can they say? 6, 30.—Prt. šarru li-qa-bu (prs. Qal, or Piel?) let the king give orders 17, r. 3; liq-bu-u may they com-
mand 1, 6; 5, r. 21.—Imv. fem. qi-bi'-say! 19, r. 5.—iq-te-bi-a he says 15, r. 4; iqtabûnîšu (iq-ta-bu-niš-su) they said to him 1, 28.—(HW 577a)
qallû servant, slave: written amel gal-la 5, r. 7. 16.—(HW 585b)
qinnu (IP) nest, family: amel qin-na-aš-su gabbi all his family 2, 8.—(HW 588b)
qâpu, prt. iqîp, prs. iqâp to believe, trust, entrust.—Prs. šarru là i-qâp-su let not the king believe him 5, r. 11; 1. a-qip-pu' (§ 115) I believe 6, 32.—ša u-ka-ip-[u]-ni who have appointed, put in charge 7, r. 13.—(HW 589b)
qiçru (qiçuru to bind) band, battalion: rabe-qiçir (amel gal-ki-qir- מק Chiefs of battalion, majors 7, 10. r. 3.—(HW 591b)
qqaqadu (קַקָּד) head, top, tip: qaqqad (sag-du) ubâni qixirti the tip of the little finger 14, 22.—(HW 592b)
qarâdu, pr. iq-ri-dan-nu 3, r. 18.
qarçu piece: qarçu akâlu (Syr.וּכָלָה) to slander, calumniate (properly to eat the pieces): qar-qi-ka ina pânîja ekulu he slandered thee before me 6, 9.—(HW 597b)
qâsû, pr. iqîš to grant, bestow: liqišû (li-ki-šu) may they grant 2, 4; 3, 5.—(HW 584b)
qaštu (קָשַּׁת), pl. qašâti.—(1) bow: ina qašti (giš-pan) ramit with bow relaxed, unstrung 2, 42 (cf.כָּשַּׁת, Ps. lxviii. 57; Hos. vii. 16).—(2) force, troops: qašta (giš-pan) śunu màla ibâšû kî idqû having mustered their entire force 3, r. 4.—(HW 598a)
qâtu, dual. qâtâ, hand: qa-ta-a-a (i.e. qâtâ'a) my hands 7, r. 8; elsewhere written šû; ša ina qât D....nušêbila which (i.e. the letters) we sent by (יל) 5, r. 23; ina qât dikitus accompanied by a troop 2, 38; kunukku ina qâti-śunu provided with a warrant 7, 8; qâtsu kî aqâbata having taken his hand (i.e. given him my protection) 1, 12; ina qât from 1, 27; 2, 60.—(HW 598b)
qatû to come to an end, perish: 2 sg. permans. qatâta, ina libbi ša itti bit belika qa-ta-a-ta because thou wouldst have perished with thy lord's house 6, 19.—(HW 599b)

rabû (רַב), estr. rab, great: rab bîtî (amel gal e) major-domo 2, 52; rab qiçir (cf. qiçru) chief of battalion, major 7, 10. r. 3; rab mu-gî 15, r. 3.—(HW 609a)
rubû (cf. rabû) magnate, noble: rubēšu (amēl gaš-meš-šu) his nobles 2, 40.—(HW 610a)
rebû (rebu) fourth: ūmu rebû (iwa-kam) the fourth day (of the month) 8, 10; 12, r. 6; 20, r. 2.—(HW 608a)
rixu remaining, the rest of: pl. rixēte (ri-xu-te) the rest (of the inscriptions, muššarāni) 16, r. 5.—(HW 618b)
raxāçu (lilārašu, Dan. iii. 28), prt. irxug, prs. irāxuš, to trust, to have confidence in: ina libbi ana muḫḫini tα-rα-a-xu-u-g in order that you may have confidence in us 1, 32.—(HW 617b)
rixtu (stem ṣaḫu?) pl. rixāti and rixāti, salutation, greeting: ri-xa-a-te ša Nabû greetings from Nabû 10, r. 1.—(HW 616a)
rakāsu (ransu, ṭaššu), prt. irtus, to bind.—Iō tal’itū ina muḫḫi urta-kkis (ur-ta-ki-is) I had applied (bound on) a dressing 14, 13.—(HW 620b)
rāmu (ramu, ṭemū), prt. irām, irem, prs. irām to love: ardu ša bit belišu i-ram-mu a servant who loves his lord’s house 6, 31;—prt. rā’imu (ra-ʾ-i-mu) loving 2, 62.—(HW 603b)
remu (for raḫmu) grace, favor, mercy: remu (ri-mu) aš-kenāka I have shown thee favor 6, 24.—(HW 604a)
ramû (ramu, ṭiššu), prt. irmī, to throw, throw down, lay; intrans. to be slack, relaxed.—Išubat ʾaḫḫe rammī (ra-am-me, impv.) establish a military post 1, r. 6.—(HW 622a)
ramū relaxed: ina qašṭi ramiti (ra-mi-ti) with bow relaxed, unstrung (cf. qaštu) 2, 42.—(HW 628a)
rāmānu (properly highness, ṭiššu) self: ra-man-šu himself 2, 41.—(HW 624a)
raqu (raqu), prt. iriq, to be, or become, distant; to depart: lillikū dullašunu ʾiḫpušu li-ri-qu-u-ni let them come, perform their duty, and depart H. 386, r. 3-5.—I Ašur urāqannī-ma (u-raq-an-ni-im-a) Ašur withholds me, keeps me far from 6, 13.—(HW 605b)
ruqu (lāruq) distant, remote: qaqqar ina pānišunu ru-u-qu they had a long stretch of ground before them 3, 18; [amē] ru-qu-u-te distant days 13, r. 3.—(HW 605b)
rešu (šašu, šēšu).—(1) head: rešni (ri-[š]-ni) niššēt we will lift up our heads (be all right) 17, r. 5.—(2) officer: written amēl saq, 19, r. 8; pl. amēl saq-meš 7, r. 1.—(HW 606a)
ratâmu (رياض), prt. irtum, to bind, wrap: ina appišu
ir-tu-mu (which) covered (enveloped) his face (nose) I4, 14.

ša (originally šå, and properly “accusative” of šû he).—(1)
Demonstrative pronoun, that one, those: amal Puqâdu ša ina
T. the Pukudians (viz.) those in T. I, 10; înâšu ša kûri his
eyes are diseased (those of disease, like ȝ with genit.) I4, 11;
ša bitxallāti the cavalry (they of riding horses) 7, r. 22.—(2)
Relative pronoun, who, which, for all genders, numbers and cases:
2, 5. 22. 57. 60 ; 3, 15 ; 5, 12 ; I6, 6, etc.—(3) Preposition, sign
of the genitive, qf, I, 5. 7. 8 ; 2, 4. 18. 38. 45 ; 3, 6. 13. 14 ; I0,
r. 7 ; II, 9, etc.; (as further development of this usage) from,
ša libbi adri ekalli from the palace enclosure (he will go,
etc. 8, 18; dâme ša appišu illakûni blood comes from his
nose) I5, r. 2.—(4) Conjunction, that: apil šipri ibâšu ša a
messenger has come to him (with the news) that I, 17.—(5) Used
in a variety of compound expressions; ina libbi ša because
6, 17. 23; adî ša until 5, r. 13; ultu muxxi ša since, after
3, 21; 4, 11-12; ki ša as 4, 34; how 5, r. 20; ʿif 5, r. 21-22.—
(HW 630a)

šû.—(1) Pers. pronoun, he, fem. šî she, pl. masc. šunu,
šun, fem. šina, they; šu-û he 5, 9. 11. 17; 6, 20; šu-nu
they 2, 37; 7, r. 7. 22; 8, r. 10; I9, r. 1.—(2) Demons. pronoun,
this, that, pl. šunu-ti(u), fem. šinâti, šinâtina: elippu
ši-i that ship I8, 6; šu-û eteqa illaka this is the route he
will follow 8, r. 4; sixû šu-nu-tu these (people) are in revolts 2,
22; šu-nu-ti-ma...liqû let these (men) tell 5, r. 19.—(HW
645a)

še’u grain, corn: še’ (še-bar) šibši (cf. šibšu) 2, 43.
48.—(HW 631a)

šá’alu (ناش, لش), prt. lš’al, prs. lša’al, to ask, inquire:
aša’al I will make inquiries 7, r. 6; kî aš’-a-lu when I
asked 20, 13; liš’-al let him question 5, r. 26; liš’-al-šu
let some one (subject indefinite) question him 3, r. 25.—(HW
633a)

ši’aru, šeru (ناش) morning, morrow: ina ši-a-ri to-
morrow I5, r. 18.—(HW 635a)

šabâtu Shebat, the eleventh month of the Babylonian calen-
dar: written iti-aš, 8, r. 16.—(HW 638a)
șibsu tax, impost, rent, apparently paid in kind: še šib-ši
tax-corn, grain levied as an impost 2, 43; še’ agā ša šib-ši
this tax-corn 2, 48; si-ib-šu eqli the rent of a field Str. Nbn.
167, 2; 753, 9.—Cf. KB. iv. 53 n.

šubtu (ašābu, ܒܢܘ) estr. šubat.—(1) dwelling, settlement:
šubat (kū) gābe a military post 7, r. 5.—(2) ambush: šu-
ub-tu ina pānātu ussešibu he had laid an ambush beforehand
7, 20.—(HW 246a; AJSL. xiv. 3)

šādādu, prt. išdūd, ildūd, to draw, bring: māt Elam ti
ildūdā-ma (il-du-da-am-ma) brought on Elam (against us)
4, 18; nakru u būbūti... ul taš-du-uūd fōs and famine
thou hast not brought on 6, 29.—(HW 64a)

šuxdū (from xadū; form like šurbū, šušqū, §65, No.
33b) glad, willing: šu-ux-du-u-ma... lā not willingly 16,
14.

šāṭaru ( amat, ܢܫܛܐ, prt. išṭur, prs. išāṭar, to write: kî
ša šāṭrā (šat-rā) how they (the letters) were written 5, r. 20;
lišturū (liš-tu-ru) let them write 16, r. 4. 6.—(HW 651b)

šaknu (šakānu).—(1) deputy, lieutenant: šaknušišunu
(ša-nu-mēš-šu-nu) their deputies 7, r. 13; ša-ak-nu Bel
the deputy, representative, of Bel, Sarg. Cyl. 1.—(2) governor,
i.e. the deputy of the king.—(HW 659b)

šaknu (šakānu; škan), prt. iškun, prs. išākan, to place,
make, ăo.—Prt. remu aškunāka (aš-kun-ak-ka) I have
shown thee favor 6, 25; xamaṭṭa iškununi (ša-nu-u-ni) they
rendered aid 8, r. 17; lā niš-kun we could not place 16, r. 1.—
Prs. iš-šak-kan 2, 65; nišākanūni we would (like to) place
17, r. 2.—Prec. liškunū (liš-ku-ru) let them place 15, r. 15;
16, r. 7; āka ni-iš-kun where shall we place? 17, r. 8.—Per-
mans, panišunu ana šiš šaknu (ša-ak-ru) with their faces
turned towards šī (circumstantial clause) 2, 13-14.—Nî
tti sunqu ina mātišunu it-taš-kin when need came (was laid)
on their land 2, 19.—(HW 657a)

šelību (šelānu), fox: written lub-a II, 7.—
(HW 634b)

šulmu (šalāmu), estr. šulum, welfare, prosperity: usually
written ši-mu; šulmu... lipqidū may they ordain pros-
perity 9, r. 4. 7; adannu ša šu-lum the propitious occasion
20, r. 1; māla dibbušu šu-lum so far as his words were fa-
vorable 20, r. 5; šulmu āši it is well with me 6, 2; šulmu
adannīš all goes well 14, 8. 28.—Especially frequent in formulas

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of greeting, šulmu, šulmu adanniš, ana šarri, etc., greeting (welfare), a hearty greeting (welfare exceedingly) to the king, etc., 7, 3. 5; 8, 3; 9, 4; 12, 5; 13, 3; 14, 3, etc.—(HW 664b)

šalāmu (šalām), Salm, Sūl, šalām, prt. išlim, prs. išlim, to be whole, complete, perfect.—I našparta ša šarri u-šal-lam I will fulfill the king's command 4, 23; lu šal-li-mu-ka may they keep thee whole 9, 10; lu šal-li-mu līpūšū may they perfectly perform 8, r. 13.—(HW 663b)

šālšu (šalšu, šalšu), ordinal number, third: ūmu šālšu (III kām) the third day 8, 7.—(HW 666b)

šumu (šumu, šumu, šumu, šûm, šummu), šumû, šumû, šumû, name: šu-mu ili the name of the god ū, 22.—(HW 663b)

šemū (šemū, šemū, šemū, šemû, šemû), prt. išmī, prs. išemī, to hear: išemî-ma (išimmiema) he will hear and, 2, 40; ašemîš (ašimmeš) I will hear it 6, 7; måla nišemû (nišimemu) as much as we may hear 1, 24; šulmu lašmî (laašme) let me hear (his) welfare (i.e. how he does) 15, r. 10.—N tattamāinni (ta?)-tashma-in-ni) yeheardme 2, 30. Harper, following Pinches (IV3, 52, No. 2), reads the first character, conjecturally, ri, tal, but some form of šemû is clearly required here.—Š ul ušašmû (ušašmu) I have not informed (or prs.?) 2, 62.—(HW 667b)

šummu 7f: šum-mu 7, r. 7; šumma 14, 24; 15, r. 18.

—(HW 670b)

šunu they, cf. šû.

šânû (for šani'u, šaniju), ordinal number, second: ūmu šânû (II kâm) the second day 12, r. 5.—(HW 674b)

šinâ (šinû, šinû) two: šinâ (II-ta) agâ šanâte these two years 6, 26.—(HW 674b)

šunûti they, those, cf. šû.

šupālu (šupelu, šupelu, šupelu) lower part: for ana šu-pal šårû 2, 9, rendered southward, prs. tāmtim šalītu as applied to the Persian Gulf, Zâba šalītu the Lower Zab, etc.; šupal šari would be a construct relation (like ፣ vīb, meaning literally the lower (i.e. the southern) wind.—(HW 681b)

šipru (šipru, šipru, šipru) message, letter, writing, book; šāpru is an Assyrian loanword, therefore D for š) message: apil šipri (šmeššaškîn) messenger 1, 17. 33; 2, 38; 4, 27; 16, 8.—(HW 683b)

šapâru (šapâru, šapâru, šapâru, šapâru, šapâru) to set out, journey), prt. išpur, prs. išpur, to send, send word, often with idea of command im-
plied.—Prt. iš-pu-ra 4, 8; iš-[pu-ra-ni] 4, 21; 2. taš-pur 6, 5, 35; 1. aš-pu-ra 3, r. 24.—Pra. sg. iš-sap-par 2, 39; 16, 16; iš-sap-par-an-ni sends to command me 8, r. 15; 2. taš-sap-par 4, 10; 1. aš-sap-par 2, 38; aš-saprasu (aš-sap-raš-su) I will send him 1, 10; pl. iš-aparunisu (iš-sap-paru-niš-su) they will send him 2, 43; 1. niš-parāka (niš-sap-parak) we will send to thee 1, 25.—Prec. liš-pu-ra let him send orders 7, r. 14.—Mt same: issapra (iš-sap-ra) 16, 18; 2. tal-tap-ra 1, 37; 1. assapra (aš-sap-ra) 16, r. 3; al-tap-ra 1, 42; 3, 7, r. 14; 4, 33, 5, r. 27; assapašunu (aš-sap-raš-su-nu) I sent them 7, 10; assapašunu (aš-sap-raš-su-nu) I sent, have sent, them 16, 9, 9; assapašunu (aš-sap-aš-su-nu) I sent word to them 7, r. 5.—(HW 682b)

The primitive meaning of the stem šaparu may be to be swift, transit. to dispatch; šapparu wild goat (whence נַפָּן) may be the swift one; see Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. '98, p. clxxv, n. 4; Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1892, pp. 437-450.

šipirtu (fem. of šipru) message, letter: šipirta (ši-pir-ta-a) my message 2, 37; pl. šipirtēti (ši-pir-e-ti) letters 5, 17, 19. r. 12. 19. 22.—(HW 683b)

šappatu, pl. šappāte (better, perhaps, sappatu; cf. Heb. נָסָה basins, dishes), jar: nāš-šappāte (šel šaman-lam-meš) jar-bearers 8, r. 6; for the ideogram šaman cf. Be. 1, (PSBA. Dec. '88) Col. I, 6.—(HW 681b)

šaru (רַע, רַעַע) wind.—(1) point of the compass: ana šupāl ša-a-ru southward (cf. šupālu) 2, 19.—(2) air: ša-aru ikkasir the air will be kept away 15, r. 15.—(HW 685b)

šīru (רֵשֶׁ) pl. šīre flesh, body: ūtub šīri (uzu) welfare, health of body 1, 5; 2, 2; ūtub šīre (uzu-meš) 3, 3; 10, 9; 14, 6; 15, 6; 19, 7.—(HW 634b)

šarru (רֵשׁ), ostr. šar, pl. šarrāni, king: written lugal 1, 15; 2, 5, 28, etc.; pl. lugal-meš 1, 5; 2, 1, 3, etc.;—mār šarr (du lugal) prince 8, 1, 3, 5, 11. r. 12, 14, 18; 10, 1, 3, 11. r. 3, 7; 15, 8.—(HW 692b)

šīrtu (properly strip; šarātu to tear, cut, לָשׁ, לָשׁ) bandage: ši-ir-ṭu 14, 17.—(HW 690b)

šarku gus: šar-ku 14, 20.—(HW 692a, sub כֹּשֶׁ)

šarnuppu, Elamite official title: šel ša-ar-nu-up-pu 2, 45; šel ša-ar-nu-up-pi 2, 48, 51.

šārate (fem. plural of šaru wind, = Windbeuteleien?) lies, treason: šipirēti āga ša ša-ra-a-ti these treasonable letters 5, r. 20; ša-ra-te-e-šu (i.e. śarātešu) lá tašemā do not listen to his lies H. 301, 19.—(HW 648a)
šarrūtu (abstract from šarru) royalty, sovereignty: šarru-ut-ka thy sovereignty 8, r. 20.—(HW 698a)
šūtu he, that one: šu-tu-ma that (god) indeed 14, 26.—(HW 648b)
šattu (for šantu, يُنِي‬, سنَن) year: pl. šanāte (mu-an-\-na-maš) 5, 8; 6, 26; 17, 8.—(HW 673a)


tebū (تبع to follow), prt. itūbi, prs. itābī, itēbī, to march, go (especially with hostile intent): kī it-bū-u when they came (had marched) 3, 13; it-[bu-unī] they marched 3, r. 7; ti-bānu tebā (ti-ba-) make ye a raid! 3, 9.—Ωλ in it-te-ni-ib-bu-u they had come (marched) 3, 23.—(HW 698b)
tibnu (تبع, تبس) straw: written še-in-nu 18, 15. r. 8.—(HW 700b)
tibānu (tebānu) raid, incursion (tebū): ti-ba-a-nu tebā made ye a raid 3, 9.
taziru, an official title: ašel ta-zi-ru 7, r. 11.
talātu (stem 'Nā?) (surgical) dressing: ta-al-ītu 14, 12. 19; ta-al-ī-te 14, 21.—(HW 386a)
tullummā‘u, apparently a term of reproach; šunu tullu-

um-ma? they are ..., 2, 37.
timāli, imāli (אֹמְלְאָל) yesterday: ina ti-ma-li 14, 15; 15, r. 5.—(HW 158a)
tapsuru (pašāru) ransom: tap-šu-ru igāmar-ma he will pay a ransom 2, 40.
tāru (תהל to spy out, properly to go about, like ݁݁݁݁), prt.
itār, prs. itāru, to turn, return: ša ... [i-tu-ra]-am-ma (i.e. itūrāma) who returned 2, 8; ūmu rebū tāršu (gur-

šu) ša Nabū on the fourth day (will take place) the return of Nabū 8, 10.—I Transitive, utārāka (u-tar-rak-ka I will return to thee, requite thee 6, 40; nuterā-ma (nu-ter-ra-am-

ma) we will restore 4, 31.—(HW 701b)
tarçu (tarāqa to stretch out) properly direction: ana tar-

qi axāmiš opposite one another 3, r. 22.—(HW 715a)

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N

E-ana (Assyr. Bīt šamē), House of Heaven, name of the temple of Istar at Erech, 4, 3; 5, 3.
Uba‘anat (ašel U-ba-a-a-n-a-at), a tribe dwelling on the western frontier of Elam, 1, 30.
Idū’a (I-dū-u-a), servant of Kudurru, 5, r. 15.
Adjadi'a (Ad-ja-di'-a), a noble of the city of Irigidu and father of Dalan, 3, 16.

Adar (Dingir-bar 14, 5; 15, 4) spouse of the goddess Gula; both deities often invoked by physicians, as patrons of the healing art.

E-zida (Assyr. Bitu kenu) The True Temple, name of the temple of Nabû at Borsippa, 20, 7.—(HW 3233)

Akkadî, màt (Kur ursu) 4, 29; 5, 10, Babylonia.—Cf. Lehmann, Šamašsumukin, i. p. 68 ff.

Ula'a (ID U-la-a-a), the river Eulœus (Ἱλὼς, Εὐλως), i.e. the modern Kerkha (against Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 329); see Johns Hopkins University Circulares, No. 114, p. 111b; cf. Part I. of this article (vol. xviii. p. 145, n. 1).


Amedirra (A-me-dir-ra), an Elamite, father of the rebel Ummanigaš, 3, r. 16.

Ummaxaldas, Ummanaldas, son of Attametu, king of Elam [Um-max-al-da]-a-šu, 2, 5; Um-pa-xal-da-a-šu, 2, 23. 34. 35. 58; 3, r. 17; Um-pa-xal-da-a-šu, 3, r. 20.—The name is written Um-man-al-da-si (var. das), KB. ii. 194, 112; 196, 2; Um-man-al-da-a-si, ibid. 246, 74; cf. also Xum-ba-xal-da-a-šu, ibid. 280, 31. 33.

Umxumâ'- (Um-xu-lu-ma-'), an Elamite noble, 2, 22. 46. 34.

Ammaladin (Am-ma-la-din), prince of ḫišî'an, 3, 13.

Ummanigaš;—(1) king of Elam, son of Urtaku; Um-man-i-gaš, 6, 9. 21.—(2) son of Amedirra, rebelled against Ummanaldas; Um-man-ni-gaš, 3, r. 16.

Ummanšimaš (Um-man-ši-maš), an Elamite official (Nâ-gir), 2, 11.

Undadu (Un-da-du), an Elamite official (zilliru), 2, 11.

Upi'a (U-pi-a), Opis, a city at the junction of the Tigris with the Adhem, 18, 12. r. 7.—Cf. Part I. of this article (vol. xviii. p. 171).

Iqîsa-aplu (Ba-ša-ša), (The god) has bestowed a son, 3, r. 10. 23.

Arba'il (Tattab-dingir), Arbela, properly The city of the four gods, 9, 7; 10, 7; 19, 5.—(Delitzsch, Par. 124. 256)

Irígdu (Ir-gî-du), an Elamite city, two double leagues west of Susa, 3, 11.
Arad-Ea (nita-dingir-e-a), Servant of Ea, Assyrian priestly astrologer, 13, 2.

Arad-Nanā (nita-dingir-na-na-a), Servant of Nanā, physician of Esarhaddon, 14, 2; 15, 2.

Uruk (Sumerian unu-ki = Assyr. šubtu abode), the city of Erech (𒈹𒀭), in Southern Babylonia; written unu-ki 4, 3; 5; 5, 3; 5, 13, r. 8, 16.—(Par. 121 ff.)

Arapxa (Arap-xa), Arrapakhibis (Ἀρραπαχῆς), a city and district, north of Assyria, about the sources of the Upper Zab, 18, 12, r. 2, 11.—(Par. 124 ff.)

Išdi-Nabû (gir-dingir-pa), Nabû is my foundation, an Assyrian official, 10, 2.

Ašur (properly The Beneficent, 𒀭𒀭), the national god of Assyria; written dingir-âšur, 11, 9; 17, 6; Ašur (without dingir), 12, 13; 18, 4; dingir-dug, 1, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 6, 12.—(HW 146b)

Aššur, maternal Assyria (𒀭𒀭); written kur-âššur-ki, 2, 28; 3, r. 4; kur dingir-dug-ki, 5, 13.

Aššurû, Assyrian; pl. Aššurû (dingir-dug-ki-meš), Assyrians, 6, 34.

Ašur-mukin-palēja (âšur-mu-kīn-bal-ia) Ašur establishes my reign, son of Sardanapallis, 12, 10.

Ištar (beneficent, form of from 𒈹𒀭), the goddess Ištar; Ištār (dingir-nanna) ša Uruk, 4, 5; 5, 5; Ištar (dingir-xv) ša Ninua, 9, 6; 19, 4; Ištar (dingir-xv) ša Arba'il, 9, 7; 10, 7; 19, 5.

Ištar-duři (dingir-xv-du-ri), Ištar is my wall, an Assyrian official, 16, 2.

Bâbîlu, Babylon, properly Gate of God; Belit Bâbîli (ka-dingir-ra-ki), 19, 3.

Bâbîlā (ka-dingir-a-a), 17, 4.—The name means devoted to (the god of) Babylon.—Cf. Part. I. of this article, p. 168.


Bel (lord, 𒀭𒀭), the god Bel; written dingir-en, 2, 39; 8, r. 16; 9, r. 9; 10, 5; 17, 7; 19, 3; en (without dingir), 12, 13.

Bel-ibnî (dingir-en-ib-nî), Bel has begotten (a son), an Assyrian general, and governor of the Gulf District, 1, 2; 2, 1; 3, 2.—Cf. Part I. p. 134.
Bel-êter (DINGIR-EN-SUR), Bel has preserved, father of Pirî-Bel, 5, 7, 15.
Bel-upâq (DINGIR-EN-U-PAQ), Bel gives heed, writer of No. 20, son of Kunû, 20, 1.
Bel-iqûša, Bel has bestowed;—(1) Prince of Gambûlu; DINGIR-EN-BA-SA, 4, 12.—(2) One of the writers of No. 17; EN-BA-SA, 17, 3.
Balasî (BA-la-si-i), Assyrian astrologer (Bêlûrus), 12, 3.
Belit (fem. cstr. of Bel), the goddess Belit; written DINGIR-NIN-LIL, 10, 6; 18, 4; DINGIR-NIN (Brûmow, No. 7336), 19, 3; Belit (DINGIR-NIN) Bâbîli, 19, 3.
Bit-Na‘alâni (Na-a-a-la-nî), name of a district, 19, 0.

Gaxal (Ga-xal), grandfather of Šumû, 1, 7.
Gula (modification of GULÂ great), the goddess Gula, spouse of Adar q.v.; DINGIR GULÂ, 14, 5; 15, 5.
Gambûlu (GMam-bu-lu), a district of Southern Babylonia, 4, 9, 25.—(Par. 240 ff.)

Daxkâ (âmel Dax-xa-‘), an Elamite tribe, 1, 10, 11.
Daxkadi‘u’a (âmel Dax-xa-di-u-a), an Elamite tribe, 2, 21.
Dalân (Dâ-la-a-an), a noble of Irgidû, son of Adjâdî‘a, 3, 15.
Deri (DI-ri), a city near the frontier of Elam and Babylon 16, 18.—Cf. Part I. p. 165.
Dâru-šarru, The king is eternal, messenger of Nabû-ûšabû; DA-a-ru-LUGAL, 5, 20; DA-ru-LUGAL, 5, r. 28. 25.

ixa‘âdalu (IXa-a-a-da-a-lu), a city in the highlands of Elam, 2, 15; also called Xa‘išâlu and Xîdîlu.—(Par. 318)
ixa‘âdânî (IXa-a-da-anu), a city of Elam, 3, r. 19.—(Par. 329)
Xudxud (Âár Xu-ud-xu-ud), a river in Elam, 3, r. 18.—(Par. 329)
Xuxân (ââââÂU-xa-an), an Elamite tribe, 2, 14.

Tûb-çîl-Ešara (DUG-GA-NUN-E-ŠAR-RA), Good is the shelter of Ešara, governor of the city of Aššur and eponym for the year 714 B.C., 18, 2.—Cf. Part I. p. 171.
Iāši’ān (anāmī Īa-a-sī-an), a district of Elam, 3, 14.

Kidimuri, an Assyrian temple; Belit ilāt belit Ki-di-mu-
ri, 10, 6.—(HW 318a)

Kudurru (ša-du), Boundary, governor of Erech, 5, r. 16.

Kalu (ši-Kal-xi), Calah (𒂏𒅗), a city of Assyria lying a
little south of Nineveh, 8, 7. 14.—(Par. 261)

Kūnā (Ku-na-a), father of Bel-upāq, 20, 2.

Laxiru (ša-La-xi-ru), a Babylonian city near the Elamite
border, 3, 20.—(Par. 323)

Madāktu (camp), an important city of Elam (Bašāq); ša-
Madak-tu, 2, 23; ša-Madak-ti, 2, 7.—(Par. 325 ff.; cf. Haupt,
in Beitr. zur Assyriol. i. p. 171)

Marduk (din gir-maradda), Bel-Merodach, the national
god of Babylon, 1, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 8, 5; 9, 5; 11, 3; 12, 7; 13, 5.

Marduk-erba (din gir-maradda-su), Marduk increase,
19, r. 2. 6.

Musēzīb-Marduk (mu-še-zib-din gir-maradda),
Marduk delivers, nephew of Bel-ibni, 3, r. 1. 6. 10.

Nabū, Neba (𒉌𒂗), the special deity of Borsippa; written
din gir-ak, 8, 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. r. 9. 16; 11, 3; 13, 5; 17, 7;
19, 4; 20, 4; din gir-pa, 9, 5. r. 9; 10, 5. r. 2; 12, 7.—Cf.

Nabū’a (Na-bu-u-a), Devoted to Nabū (a name like Mar-
dukā, etc.), an Assyrian astrologer, 11, 2.

Nabū-axe-erba (din gir-pa-kur-meš-su), Nabū in-
crease the brothers, one of the writers of K. 565, 12, 4.

Nabū-erba (din gir-pa-su), Nabū increase, an Assyrian
physician, 16, 5.

Nabū-ušabšī, Nabū has brought into existence, an Assyrian
official of Erech; written din gir-pa-gal-šī, 4, 2; din gir-
ak-gal-šī, 5, 2.

Nabū-bel-šumāte (din gir-ak-en-šum meš), Nabū is the
possessor of names (i. e. many famous and honorable titles), the
last Chaldean king of Bit-šakīn.—See the genealogical table be-
low, p. 98.
Nabú-šum-iddina (dingir-pa-mu-aš), Nabû has given a name.—(1) An Assyrian priest, 8, 2; 9, 3.—(2) An Assyrian physician, 16, 4.

Nugû' (asmal Nu-gu-u.), an Elamite tribe dwelling near the Babylonian frontier, 3, 20.

Nadân (Na-dan), gift, a Chaldean of Puqûdu, 1, 17, 35.

Nanâ (dingir-na-na-a), a Babylonian goddess, 4, 6; 5, 5; 20, 4.

Ninua (Ninû), Nineveh, the capital of Assyria; written Ninâ-ki, 9, 6; 19, 4; ā Ninâ, 9, r. 6.—(Par. 260; cf. Beitr. zur Assyrisch. iii. p. 87 ff.)

Nin-gal (dingir-nin-gal), Great Lady (Assyr. beltu ra-bitu), the spouse of the moon-god Sin, 13, 6, 9.

Nisxur-Bel (Nis-xur-dingir-en), Let us turn to Bel, major-domo of Nabû-bel-šumâte, 2, 52.

Nuskû (dingir-nuskû), the Assyrian fire-god, 13, 6.

Sallukkê'a (asmal Sal-ru-ul-ki-e-a), an Elamite tribe, 2, 21, 50.

Sin (dingir-xxx), the moon-god, 12, 13; 13, 5, 9.

Sin-šarra-uçur (dingir-xxx-šegal-šeš), O Sin, protect the king, 6, 4.

Sin-tabni-uçur (dingir-xxx-tab-ni-šeš), O Sin, protect (what) thou hast created,1 governor of Ur in Babylonia, 6, 1.

Sarâ'a (asmal Sa-ra-a-a) writer of No. 19.—Cf. Part I. p. 178.

Penzâ (Pi-en-za-a), a city in or near the district of Tuš-khan, 7, 9.—Cf. Part I. p. 151.

Puqûdu (Puqûdu, Ezek. xxiii. 23), a Chaldean tribe dwelling in Babylonia near the Elamite border; amal Pu-qu-du, 1, 18.—(Par. 240)

Pir'i-Bel (Pir'i-tingir-en), Offspring of Bel, son of Bel-eter, 5, 7; cf. note ad loc.

Çabṭânû (Çab-ta-nu), a city near the western frontier of Elam, 3, 7, 8.

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1 This explanation I owe to a personal communication from Dr. Bruno Meissner. I had rendered the name differently in Part I. p. 148, but Dr. Meissner's rendering seems preferable.
Radê (Rad-e), a city of Elam, 2, 49.—(Par. 327)
Rammân (Dingir-im), the god of the atmosphere (Ramân),
12, 14.

Ša-Ašur-dubbu, governor of Tuškhan; written Ša-Asur-
du-bu, 7, 2; Ša-Asur-du-ub-bu, H. 139, 2.—The word
dubbu, which forms part of this name, would seem to be from
the stem dâbâbu to speak.
Šuxarisungur (ŠUX-ri-su-UN-gur) a city of Elam, 2,
13; Par. 327 reads the final syllable si instead of gur.
Šumâ (Šu-ma-a), My name, nephew of Tammaritu, 1, 6.
Šum-iddina (Mu-si-na), (The god) has given a name, father
of Šumâ, 1, 7.
Šamaš, the sun-god (Šamaš); Dingir-babbar, 1, 3;
2, 2; 3, 2; 4, 16; 12, 14; Dingir-giš-šir, 6, 8.
Šamaš-bel-uçur (Dingir-babbar-en-êbu), O Šamas
protect (my lord), Eponym for the year 710 B.C., 16, 17.—Cf.
Part I. p. 165.
Šupri'â (Šu-pri-a-a), the Suprian, 7, 14, 19.—Cf. Part
I. p. 151.
Šušan (Šu-ša-an), Susa (Šuš), the capital of Elam, 3, 13.
—(Par. 326)

Til . . . , a city on the frontier of Elam and Babylonia, 1, 19.
Talax (Ta-la-ax), a city of Elam, 2, 10, 49.—(Par. 327)
Tammaritu (Tam-ma-ri-ti), king of Elam, 1, 8.—See
genealogical table, p. 92.
Tâmtîm, mât (properly the sea country; cf. šamâ, the
name of a sandy stretch of coast along the Red Sea), the Gulf
District, i.e. the district lying about the shore of the Persian
Gulf; mât Tam-tim, 3, 5.—Cf. Haupt, in Hebraica, i. p. 220,
n. 4.
Targibâti (Targi-ba-a-ti), an Elamite city near the
Babylonian frontier, 1, 21.
Tašmetum (intelligence, properly hearing), a Babylonian god-
dess, spouse of Nabû; Dingir-Taš-me-tum, 19, 4.
THE SARGONIDE KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

Šarru-kenu
(Sargon),
1 r. 722-705.

Sin-axe-erba
(Sennacherib),
1 r. 705-681.

^1 Ašur-nādin-šum,
King of Babylon 700-694.

Ašur-aka-iddin
(Esarhaddon),
1 r. 688-688;
his mother was Nikā.

^2 Nergal-šar-uqur
(Sharezer).

^3 Adar-mālik
(Adrammelech).

Ašur-bān-apal
(Sardanapillus),
1 r. 699-626.

Šamašt-šum-ukin
(Saosduchis),
King of Babylon
688-647.

^3 Sin-iddin-apal

^4 Ašur-mukin-palē'a,
High-priest of Sin.

^4 Ašur-ētēl-šame-ērōti-balāt-su,
High-priest of Sin.

^5 Serū'a-etherat,
a daughter.

^6 Ašur-ētēl-ilāni,
r. 626 ——.

^1 Sin-šar-ilēkun
(Sarakos),
Succeeded his brother.

^2 Šerū'a-etherat,
a daughter.

1 K. B., ii. p. 278, l. 30.
3 Knudtzon, Gebete an den Sommengott, No. 107, 2. 7.
5 Lehmann, o. c., Pt. II. p. 75; Harper's Letters, No. 113, rev. 8.
6 K. B., ii. p. 298.
7 Zeits. für Assyrisch, xi. p. 47.
8 K 1619 b (Harper's Letters, No. 306), rev. 2-4;
The Royal Family of Elam,

Contemporary with Esarhaddon and Sardanapallis.

1 Ummanaldas,
King of Elam 681-675.

2 Urtaku,
King of Elam 675 —.

3 Te'umman,
King of Elam, succeeded Urtaku; slain in battle.

4 Ummanigaš

Kudurru 5 Parâ

6 Ummanigaš, King of Elam, succeeded his uncle Teumman.

7 Ummanappa
King of Khidalu.

8 Tamritu,
eldest son; slain with his father.

9 Tamritu

10 Undâši
11 Ummanaldas

12 Tammaritu,
King of Elam, succeeded his cousin Ummanigaš, whom he dethroned.

13 Ummanaldas

14 Parâ

15 Attametu, commander of archers under Ummanigaš.

16 Indabigaš,
usurper; succeeded Tammaritu, whom he dethroned, 660; slain in a revolution.

17 Ummanaldas, usurper; seized the throne on the death of Indabigaš.

18 Pa'e, usurper; claimed the throne in opposition to Ummanaldas.

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1 K. B., ii. p. 281, l. 33; p. 282, col. iv, 11.
3 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 71.
4 III B, 38, 54.
5 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 78, 82; p. 248, l. 88.
6 K. B., ii. p. 183, l. 44; p. 246, l. 78, 82; p. 248, l. 86.
7 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 78, 82; p. 248, l. 86.
8 K. B., ii. p. 182, l. 48; p. 246, l. 78, 82; p. 248, l. 86.
10 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 6.
11 G. Smith, Aarb., p. 195.
12 III B, 38, 84; K. B., ii. p. 188.
13 G. Smith, Aarb., p. 191.
14 Ibid., p. 195.
15 K. B., ii. p. 264, l. 10.
16 K. B., ii. p. 188, l. 11; p. 266, l. 72; Tiele, Assyr. Gesc., p. 390.
17 K. B., ii. p. 268, l. 114.
18 K. B., ii. p. 212, l. 51; p. 230, l. 17; p. 254, l. 6.
The Chaldean Kings of Bit-Jakin.

1 Marduk-apal-iddina (Merodach-baladan) of Bit-Jakin, King of Babylon 721-719, 705-703.

2 Nabû-šum-škun, captured at the battle of Khadlu, 692.

3 Nabû-zer-ilhûr, King of the Gulf District, slain in Elam, 690.

4 Na'id-Marduk, King of the Gulf District, 690.

5 Aplâ, surrendered to Sardanapalus by Ummaginaš, King of Elam.

6 Nabû-bel-šumâ-te, King of the Gulf District; rebelled against Sardanapalus, and was finally, at his own command, slain in Elam by his armor-bearer.

1 K. B., II, p. 14, l. 26; p. 275.
3 Also called Nabû-zer-napišti-ilhûr, and Zer-kenis-ilhûr; K. B., II, p. 126, l. 33; p. 144, l. 15; p. 282, l. 39.
4 K. B., II, p. 126, l. 35; p. 144, l. 20.
5 K. B., II, p. 256, l. 65; Smith Assy., p. 135, l. 61.
6 K. B., II, p. 212, l. 23; p. 266.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

As the literature of the subject is not extensive, I have endeavored to give here a complete bibliography of all works dealing especially with Assyrian Letters. It has not, however, been thought necessary to notice all epistolary texts incidentally published or translated in Assyriological publications. For these see Part I. pp. 125–129, Dr. Berry’s paper noticed below, and Bezold’s Catalogue of the K. Collection.


Deltitzsch, Friedrich, Beiträge zur Erklärung der babylonisch-assyrischen Briefliteratur (three papers). Beitr. zur Assyr. i. pp. 185–248 (list p. 327); 613–631; ii. pp. 19–62.—Forty texts in transliteration, with translations and explanatory notes.

Harper, Robert Francis, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K. Collection of the British Museum. Vols. i. (1892), ii. (1893), iii. (1896), iv. (1896).—Containing in all 435 letters, not only from the K. Collection, but also from the other Collections of the British Museum.


—— An Assyrian letter anent the transport, by ship, of stone for a winged bull and colossus. Bab. and Or. Rec., i. 1886-87), pp. 40-41; 43-44.—Text, transliteration, and translation of S. 1031, with notes.

—— *Specimens of Assyrian Correspondence*.—Records of the Past (2d series), ii. (1889), pp. 178-189.—Translations of S. 1064, K. 538, K. 84.

Smith, Samuel Alden, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals* Leipzig (Pfeiffer), 1887-89.—Vols. ii. (1887) and iii. (1889) contain text, transliteration, and translation of thirty-five letters, with notes by the author and additional notes by Pinches, Strassmaier, and Bezold.


**List of Abbreviations.**

AJSL: *American Journal of the Semitic Languages.*

APR: Meissenr, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht.*

BA: *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Delitzsch and Haupt).

H: Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.* Texts are cited by number, not by page.

HW: Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*

JHU Circ.: Johns Hopkins University Circulars.

KB: Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.*


Par.: Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*


TSBA: *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*


ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

Numbers in heavy-faced type, not otherwise qualified, refer to the texts treated in Part I. of this article. For example, 17, 2, refers to No. 17 (Part I, p. 169), line 2; 8, r. 6 = No. 8 (Part I, p. 155), reverse, line 6.

§ refers to the paragraphs in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar.*

The verbal stems are designated as follows:—\( Q^1 \) = Qal, \( Q^2 \) = Iftēał = Piel, \( Q^{1n} \) = Iftanēał, \( N \) = Nifal, \( N^t \) = Ittafal, \( J \) (Intensive), \( J^t \) = Ittaal, \( S \) = Shafel, \( S^t \) = Ishtafal.

Other abbreviations used require no explanation.
Contributions from the Jáiminíya Bráhmaṇa to the history of the Bráhmaṇa literature.—By Professor Hanns OerTEL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Second Series:¹ I. Saramā and the Pāṇis.

Rig-Veda x. 108, with its spirited dialogue between Saramā and the Pāṇis, belongs to that class of epic hymns to which attention was first drawn by Windisch,² and which since then has been very fully treated by Oldenberg³ under the name of ākhyāna-hymns, and by Geldner and Pischel⁴ under the name of itihāsa-hymns. But of the frame-story which formed the setting of the dialogue we know but little. The Bṛhaddevatā (ed. R. Mitra, viii. 24 ff.—p. 221), to be sure, gives in twelve stanzas a brief outline of which the essential points are these: The Pāṇis, a class of Asuras, living beyond the river Rasā, steal and hide Indra’s cows. Bṛhaspati sees their hiding-place and, on his information, Indra sends Saramā in quest of the cows. Being asked by the Pāṇis about her errand, she tells them that she has come in search of Indra’s cows. “Never mind the cows,” the Pāṇis reply, “stay here as our sister” (mā sarame gās tvam ihā ’smākaṁ svasā bhava). Saramā, while she rejects this offer and other gifts, declares herself willing to be bribed into silence by a draught of the milk of the hidden cows (nā ’ham icchāmi svatvam vā dhanāṁ vā | pibeyan tu payas tāsāṁ gavāṁ yās tā nigūhatha). After this wish has been gratified, she again crosses the Rasā and returns to Indra. Indra asks her: “Hast thou seen the cows?” And she, at the instigation of the Asuras, replies: “No.” Thereupon Indra in wrath beats her. She, terror-stricken and throwing up the milk, runs back to the Pāṇis. But Indra, following the track of the milk, drives against the Pāṇis, slays them, and recovers the cows (pupracche ’ndraç ca saramāṁ kaccid gā ḍrśavaty asi | sā něti pratyuvāce ’ndram prabhāvād āsurasya

² Verhandlungen d. 33. Versammlung deutscher Philologen, etc., in Gera, 1879, p. 28.
³ ZDMG. xxxvii. 54, and especially xxxix. 52.
⁴ Vedische Studien, i. 248; ii. 1 and 292.

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This story, as will be seen at once, cannot have formed the setting for RV. x. 108. The Saramā of the Brhaddevatā who betrays Indra and the gods for a mess of the stolen milk, and, beaten by Indra, shows him against her will the way to the Panis, is utterly different from the haughty Saramā of the Rig-Veda who refuses their offer of friendship (vs. 10, na 'hām vedā bhrātra tvāṁ nō svasātvām).

We must therefore look elsewhere for the legendary setting of RV. x. 108. Śāyaṇa does not help us; for in his commentary on the hymn he has unfortunately been napping. Instead of following his excellent habit of supplying, by way of introduction or interwoven in his notes, the pertinent frame-story from some Brāhmaṇical source,—and whatever may be said against his exegesis, he must be given credit for wide and accurate reading in the Čṛuti-literature, not inferior to that of the Dutch scholars in their classics,—he is here satisfied with giving us a barren sketch of a few lines recounting that “when the cows of Brhaspati, Indra's chaplain, had been driven off by certain Asuras called Panis, hirelings of an Asura by the name of Vala, and had been hidden in a cave, the divine bitch, Saramā, was sent by Indra, at Brhaspati's request, in search of the cows. And she, having crossed a large stream and having come to Vala's stronghold, discovered these cows in their hiding place. At this juncture the Panis, with friendly condescension, had the following conversation with her.” The barrenness of this introduction is so much the more provoking, because Śāyaṇa knew the version of the Saramā-story as given in the Čātyāyana Brāhmaṇa. Here certainly was the place to give in full this story, to which he briefly alludes in his note on RV. i. 62. 3 in these words: “Concerning this there is the following story (ākhyāna). The bitch of the gods was called Saramā. When the cows had been driven off by the Panis, Indra sent this Saramā in search of these cows, even as in this world a hunter would send forth his dog in search of game gone to the woods. And this Saramā spoke thus: ‘O Indra, I will go under this condition, that thou wilt give to our offspring the food belonging to these cows, viz., milk, etc.’ He said: ‘Yes.’ And so the Čātyāyanaṇaka says: ‘Food-eating I make
thine offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows (annādininā te sarame prajām karomi yā no gā anvāvindaḥ). 'Then going she learned about the abode of the cows. And having learned it, she told it him. And having been informed about the cows, this Indra, slaying this Asura, regained these cows.'

If the Cātyāyana version of the legend has thus been lost to us by Sāyaṇa's negligence, the only other Brāhmaṇical version\(^1\) of which I know is that of the Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 438 ff.). The wording of the fragment of the Cātyāyanaka preserved by Sāyaṇa (on RV. i. 62. 3) and just quoted is identical with JB. ii. 440. 2; and on the basis of the material which I collected in this Journal, xviii. pp. 15–48, we are entitled to infer a close similarity between the versions of the Cāṭ. B. and the JB., which latter I here subjoin.\(^2\) It is given à propos of the jyotiṣṭoma, goṣṭoma, and āyusṭoma, which in the order 1. jyotiṣṭoma, 2. goṣṭoma, 3. āyusṭoma, 4. goṣṭoma, 5. āyusṭoma, 6. jyotiṣṭoma, are distributed over the six days (=two tridents) of the Abhiśekam-ceremony.\(^3\)

JB. ii. 438. 1: aha ha vāi pānayo nāmā 'surā' devānāṁ gorakṣā āśuh. tāhīr ahā 'pāstasthuh.' tā ha rasāyāṁ nirudhyā valānā 'pi dadhuḥ. 2. te devā atikupaḥ lepus\(^4\) supārne 'mā no gā anviče 'ti. tathā 'ti. sa hā 'nuprapapāta. 3. tā hā 'nvājyaṁ asaṁantarvalānā 'pihitāh. tasmaṁ hā 'nvāgatāya sarpiḥ kṣirām āmikṣāṁ dadhī 'ty atad upanidaḥ. tasya ha suhita āsa. tāṁ ho 'cus supārṇī 'ṣa eva te balīr bhavisyaty

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\(^1\) Nor does the legend seem to appear in the post-brāhmaṇical epics; though the finding of Sitā by Hanumat is compared by H. Jacobi (Das Rāmāyaṇa, 1898, p. 138) with Saramā's search of the cows.

\(^2\) These passages, by the way, conclusively prove the correctness of Oldenberg's assumption (ZDMG. xxxix. 77): "Hierher (i.e. to the ākhyāna-hymns) möchte ich den Dialog von Yama und Yamī (x. 10) rechnen, und ebenso den der Saramā und der Pāṇis (x. 108); wenn auch die Verse dieser Gespräche eine prosaische Ergänzung, eine Erzählung dessen was dem Gespräch vorausging und was ihm nachfolgte, vielleicht nicht unbedingt verlangen, so wird doch einem Ausleger, der die Ākhyāna-Form als eine von den vedischen Poeten gern und häufig gehandhabte anerkennt, die Annahme derselben auch für diese Sūktas sich wohl empfehlen."

\(^3\) Cf. AB. iv. 15; KB. xxi. 1 f.; TS. vii. 4. 11; Kāṭh. xxxiii. 3; CB. xiii. 5. 4. 3, with Eggeling's note\(^4\) on CB. iv. 5. 4. 2 = SBE. xxxvi. p. 498, and Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 156.

\(^4\) -āṅk., 5 pāstastus. 6 alikupalopus, 7 -coheṣe.
etad annam mā nāḥ pravoca iti. 4. sa ha punar āpapāta. tam ho “cus suparnā ’vido gā iti. kā kīrtīg cit gavām iti ho ’vāca. 5. esāi ’va kīrtir gavām iti tasya he ’nāro galam’ pīlayamā uvāca gosv evā ’hain kila tavo ’suṣo mukham iti. sa ha dādhirapsam vā “mikṣām vo ’dāsa. so ’yam tabhāva yo ’yam vasantā bhūtikaḥ prajāyate.” 6. tāni ha ta ca chaśāpā ’pīlayanma’ te jīvanam bhāyād yo no gā anuvidyā ta’ na prāvoca’iti. tasya hāi ’tad’ grāmasya jaghanārāhe yat pāpīṣṭham taj jīvanam.

439. 1. te saramām abruvan sarama śrāṇa śrāṇa tvām gā anvicche ’ti. tahe ’ti sā ha ’nuprajasāra. sā ha rasām ājagāma.” 2. tām ho ’vāca ploṣye tvā gādhā11 me bhavisyaśa ’ti. plavanva me ’ti ho ’vāca na te gādhā11 bhavisyami ’ti. 3. sā ha ’vācyā karṇām ploṣyamāṇa sasāra. sā he “kṣām ca kathānu na mā pūṇi plaṣeta hantā ’sāyā gādhā11 sānī ’ti. tām ho ’vāca mā mā ploṣthā gādhā te bhavisyāmi ’ti. tahe ’ti. tasyāi ha gādhā13 āśa. sā ha gādhena ’tisasāra. 4. tā hā ’nvājaṅga raṣṭayam antarvalenā ’pihitāh. tasyāi hā ’nvāgaṭāyai tathāi ’va sarpiḥ kṣīrām āmikṣām dadhi ’ty etad upaniṣadhaḥ” 5. sā ho ’vāca nā ’ham etāva apriya devānām. avidam yaḥ vo ’gniyaṁ.15 ta u vāi devānām steyān kṛtvā carathāi ’tāsām vā aham gavām padoṣva asmi. na mā lāpiṣyaṛadhve na ’ndraṣya gā upaḥarisyadhva iti. 6. sā ha ’nācīṣy upasasāha. jārayu apāni’16 ta’d” viveḍa. tad dha cakhāda. tām hāi ’ka upajagau tyam iva vāi ghnati’13 saramā jāru khādaṭi ’ti. tad idam apy etarhi nivacanaṁ tyam iva vāi ghnati saramā jāru khādaṭi ’ti. jārayu ha sā tao cakhāda. 7. sā”13 ha punar àsasāra. tāṁ ho ’cus ’vāce ’mā rasāyam antarvalenā ’pihitāh. tā yathā ’manyaḥdhvam evam ājihirṣate ’ti. 2. tāṁ he” ’nāra15 uvācā15 mnādām ore te sarama prījaṁ karomā” ya no gā anvāvida iti. te hāi ’te vidarbheṣu mācālaś” sārameya ṣapi ha gārādaṁ16 mārayanti. 3. te devā etam abhiplavam samadhanam. tenā21 bhyaplavanta. tad abhiplavasyā ’bhīplavatvam.”

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1 galem. 2 upiṣdyaṁ. 3 vayo. 4 bhūmika. 5 pāṣṛjāyate. 6 śvilajānma. 7 tā. 8 prāv. 9 jayan-. 10 After this is added the evident gloss: esa ha vai sa rasā esa ’rvāk samudrasya (genitive! cf. Delbr. A. S., p. 163, § 112) vāpāyati(!). 11 gāthā. 12 goyā. 13 Note the masc. 14 avoparidadhus. 15 ‘gniyaṁ; the short I also in the MBh., cf. Whitney, Roots, Verb-Forms, etc., s. v. ac, but a correction to i seems probable. 16 apanā. 17 taṁ. 18 snatī. 19 sā. 20 ha. 21 daḥdra. 22 va. 23 -mi. 24 māc-. 25 lān. 26 tenenā. 27 bhiplavam.
The rest of the chapter is purely ritualistic. I subjoin a translation of the legend in the JB. version.

438. 1. Now the Asuras called Panis were the cowherds of the gods. They made away with them. At the Rasā they penned them up and hid them in a cave. 2. The gods, exceedingly wroth, said: "O Eagle, search after these our cows." "Yes." He flew after them. 3. He came upon them hidden in a cave at the Rasā. Before him, when he had come, they placed this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. He was well sated with this. They said to him: "O Eagle, this shall be thy tribute, this food; do not betray us." He flew away again. They (the gods) said to him: "O Eagle, hast thou found our cows?" "What news is there about the cows?" he said. 5. "This news," said Indra, compressing the eagle's crop. "I for one am the mouth (to declare that) thou hast stayed among the cows." He (the eagle) threw up a drop of sour curds or some clotted curds. That same became the camphor-plant which grows here in spring. 6. Indra thus cursed him (the eagle): "May thy sustenance be of bad origin, who, having found our cows, hast not informed us." Thus his sustenance is the worst that is (found) in the rear of a village.

439. 1. They said to Saramā: "O Saramā, do thou search after these our cows." "Yes." She set out after them. She came to the Rasā. 2. She said to her: "I shall swim thee (unless) thou wilt become fordable for me." "Swim me," she (the Rasā) said, "I shall not become fordable for thee." 3. She (Saramā) laying back her ears came forward in order to swim her. She (Rasā) considered: "How, indeed, should a bitch swim me? Come, I will be fordable for her." She (R.) said to her (S.): "Do not swim me; I will be fordable for thee." "Yes." There was a ford for her. By means of the ford she (S.) crossed over. 4. She came upon them (the cows) hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Before her when she had come they placed, just as (they had done) before, this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. 5. She said: "I am not so unfriendly to the gods. I have

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1 The emendation of the corrupt text is tentative only.
2 Hemacandra's identification of dræsæ with 'sour milk' may be the result of the abbreviation of a compound like this, of which Francke has collected examples in ZDMG. xlv. 481 and Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. viii. 241; cf. also Geldner Ved. Stud. ii. 214.
3 This emendation is a mere make-shift.
found what I may obtain of you. You, verily, have stolen from the gods. Truly of these cows I am the guide. You shall not make me prate, you shall not keep Indra's cows." She... prevailed. The outer membrane of the waters—that she found. That she split open. One cried out against her: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramä splits open the outer-membrane." Even now there is this reproach: "As if she were to kill that one, Saramä splits open the outer-membrane." For she did split open that membrane. 7. She came back again. They (the gods) asked her: "O Saramä, hast thou found the cows?" 440. 1. "I have found them," she said, "hidden within a cave at the Rasû. Be pleased to take them just as you thought." 2. Indra said to her: "Food-eating, wench, I make thy offspring, O Saramä, who hast found our cows." And indeed among the Vidarbhans the māca-las², descendants of Saramä, kill even tigers. 3. These gods prepared this Abhiplava-ceremony. By means of it they sailed over (abhī+plu). That is the etymology of the term Abhiplava.

It will be seen that chapters 439–440 above give an excellent setting for RV. x. 108. The correspondence between hymn and prose version is close even in details; the atiśkādo bhīyāsa tān na āvat tāthā rasāyā atarain pāyānsi (RV. x. 108. 2.) is elaborated in JB. 439. 2–3; and the spirit of Saramä's reply to the offer of the Pañis is alike in RV. x. 108. 10 and JB. 439. 5.

Without chapter 488, the story in the JB. version would tally exactly with the Rig-Vedic account. In both Saramä remains faithful to the gods, while in the Bṛhaddevatā she betrays them. This latter motif is retained in the JB. in the introductory chapter. But it is not Saramä who appears in the JB. in the rôle of a traitor, but the eagle, who is first sent out by the gods in search of the cows. If it should seem surprising and unnatural that it should yield to the temptation of a draught of milk, we must remember that the haṁsa has become proverbial in Indian literature for its ability to separate the milk from the water; and, at VS.

1 The next word is not clear to me, the reading is evidently faulty. What follows, especially the tyam, is also somewhat obscure.

2 jāru = ārāyu, heretofore only in the compound jāruja, Ait. Up. v. 4.

3 If the reading is correct, it may be the name of a breed of dogs. The compounds karimācala and gajamācala are given by grammarians in the sense of 'lion.'

4 Professor Lanman in a paper read some years ago before the American Oriental Society, but not yet printed, has collected a large number of post-vedic passages dealing with this taste of the haṁsa for milk.
xix. 73, we read the same of the kruioc (adhyah kṣaraṇ vyapibat' kruoṇ āṅgiraso dhīyā), where the Commentator, apparently for this very reason, assumes a transformation of the kruioc into a haṅsa, noting kruoṇ haṅso bhūtvā).

I do not venture to determine the relation of these versions to each other. It might be surmised that the JB. version is an attempt to fuse the two conflicting legends of the Rig-Veda and the Bṛhaddevatā, keeping Saramā's character clean without sacrificing the motif of the betrayal of the gods. But such an assumption would, after all, rest on almost purely subjective grounds, and could no more be proved than the view that the Bṛhaddevatā-variation is a condensation of the JB. form could be disproved.

II. The Ritual of Burial according to the Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa.

To W. Caland's indefatigable industry we owe a very complete digest of the ancient Hindu Ritual of Burial, based upon the (partly unpublished) texts of thirteen schools. A glance at Caland's sources (p. iv-x) will show the scarcity of gruti-texts dealing with the funeral rites. As such the Jāminīya account is of some interest, while at the same time it is the oldest document of the school of the Sāmavedins for which the sūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Gāutama have hitherto been our earliest sources.

As in ČB. the funeral rites are incidentally dealt with in the JB. in connection with a possible mortal illness of the sacrificer, his death being considered as one of many disturbances of the sacrifice which call for an expiation (prāyaṇcittā).

JB. 1. 46. 1. sa yado 'patāpi syād yatā 'syā samān' subhāmi- spaṣṭaṁ syāt tad brūyād iha me 'gnim' maṃthate 'ti 'varo hā gado bhātoḥ. 2. yady u tan na yaḥ asmaḥ lokāt preyād athāi 'nam ādaśrana. 3. nānāsthāyor agnir 'opya' hareyur anvāhāryaṇacanād ultukam. 4. ādaśrana yojñapāṭrāṇi sarpir apo

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1 On vi + 4/ at see Oldenberg, GGN. 1893, p. 342.
2 Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, in Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. Deel i. No. 6. Amsterdam, 1896. In the following I refer to this paper by 'Caland' with the page added. The pitṛmedhasūtras of Bāudhāyana, Hiṇayakeśin and Gāutama have lately been edited, also by Caland, in the Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. x. no. 8, Leipzig, 1896. For a brief summary of the burial rites see also Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, 1897, p. 87-97.
3 B. sam. 4 A. saṃbhūti. 5 -gni; read, perhaps, -nīn.
6 B. C. -ī. 7 A. vopya; B. devya; C. tapya.
H. Oertel, [1898.]

dārīṇy anustaraṇāṁ kyūram nakhanikṛntanan. 5. te yānti yatār 'syā samaṁ subhūṁispaṭaṁ bhavati. tad asyā 'gnin vi-

harantī.

"If he (the agnihotrin) should fall ill—where he may have a
level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot, he should say :
'Here churn my fire.' It is possible, indeed, that he may re-
cover. 2. If not, if he should depart this world, then they should
take him. 3. After throwing two fires into two separate pots,
they should snatch a fire-brand from the anvāhāryapacana-fire.
4. They should take the sacrificial vessels, liquid butter, water,
wood, the anustaraṇī-victim, a razor, a pair of nail-scissors. 5.
They go where he has a level [plot of ground] such as is a favor-
able spot. Thus they transfer his fires."

1. On the transfer of the fires of the sick āhitāgni in the hope
that he may recover, see Caland, p. 5, § 1 with note 31.—subhūṁi-
spaṭam here and in 5 offers difficulties. As second member of
the compound spṛṣṭam might be conjectured, for if subhūṁispaṭam
were 'plainly a favorable spot' the order of the members of the
compound ought to be reversed, as in spaṛṭāksara, spaṛṭāmbuj.
For subhūṁi compare Caland's critical note 5 on Hiranyakeśin's
Pitṛmedha S. p. 332 and Gobh. GS. i. 4. 5, subhūṁin kṛtvā, with
the Commentary, subhūṁin gőbhanāṁ bhūṁin kṛtvā. The require-
ments for a subhūṁi, of which evenness is one, are collected by
Caland, p. 31, §14.

3. Cf. Caland, §11, p. 19 ff. As to the transfer of the sacrificial
fires, the JB. ritual is peculiar in taking along two (the āhavanīya
and the gārhapātya) fires in two separate pots, but a fire-brand
from the dakṣināgni. According to the other texts all three fires
are taken along in separate pots.—agnī opya as in ČB. xi. 5. 1. 13
tasmāt ha sthāyām opya 'gnin pradaudh. Our text apparently
knows nothing of the circumstantial procedure of generating the
three fires within the pots (such as the ČB. describes; Caland p. 19),
but seems to imply that they were simply put into the vessels.—
yajña-pātraṇī, etc., cf. Caland, p. 21; on the anustaraṇī especially,
p. 22, note 36.

47. 1. athā 'syāṁ dipi kūpaṁ khātvā vapanti kecāmaṇกร graini.
2. upṭvā kecāmaṇgrūṇi nakhān nikṛntanti. 3. nakhān nikṛtya
 nirāntraṁ kuryanti. 4. nirāntranāṁ kṛtvā nispuṣṭaṁ kuryanti.
5. nispuṣṭaṁ kṛtvā pāṁsubhiḥ kūpe puruṣam abhisahāvapanti.

1 A. kṛta-; B.C. kṛtāntateh.
2 A. C. subhūṁisp.; B. sumisp.; H. subhūmysłsp.
3 I do not think that the parallels adduced there are weighty enough
to warrant a change of the MSS. reading.
4 A. u. 5 A. B. -tam. 5 -tam. 7 A. -phu.
pāṃmānam evā 'syā tat pracakādayantii. 6. pracakādyā' navrīṇi pratayavadāyāt 'nam āharantii. 1. tam antareṇā 'gūnā nirāha gārhapatya ājayaṁ vidāpyo 'tpūyaś caurṛghitaṁ grhhvāvatā 'havanīye samidevaty anvārabāhē juhoty ayaṁ vai tvād asmād asi tvam. etād ayaṁ te yonir asya yonis tvam. pitaḥ putrāya lokakṛj jātavedo nayāḥ hy enam sukṛtāṁ yatra loko 'smād vai tvam ajayā- thā esa tvaj jāyatāṁ svāhe 'ti. 8. so 'ta āhutimayo nanomayo prānamayaḥ caṣkṛmayaḥ pūtramayo vāṁmaya rūmaya jajurmayas sāmamayo brahmamayo hiraṇmayo 'nītas saṁbhavati.

47. 1. "Then, having in this quarter dug a hole, they cut the hair and the beard. 2. Having cut the hair and the beard, they trim the nails. 3. Having trimmed the nails, they take out the bowels. 4. Having taken out the bowels, they remove the feces. 5. Having removed the feces they (throw them) in the hole (and) carefully cover them with sand; thus they cover his evil. 6. Having covered them, having replaced the bowels, they take him. 7. Having deposited him between the fires, having melted the ājya-butter over the gārhapatya-fire and purified it, having taken four ladlings, going up, he makes oblation in the āhavāṇya-fire which is supplied with kindling wood, while he touches (the corpse, with the words): 'He verily is of thee, of him thou art; thus he is thy womb, his womb thou art. (As) a father unto (his) son, O world-making Jātavedas, do thou lead him where the world of the righteous is; verily, from him thou wast born, let him be born of thee; svāha.' 8. He thence comes into being possessed of obligation, of mind, of breath, of sight, of hearing, of speech, of re, of yajus, of sāman, of brahman, of gold, immortal."

1. ff. The cleaning and dressing of the corpse takes place at the burial-spot as with the Rāṇāyanīyas and Mādhyamāṇīs (Caland, p. 39, § 20), not previous to the conveyance of the body to the place of burial (Caland, p. 14, § 7). This accounts for some of the implements taken along by the funeral procession (above, JB. 46. 4).

4. 5. The disemboweling of the corpse, etc., is not approved of by the other schools (Caland, p. 15) which mention it, save by the Cāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa as quoted in Hiraṇyakeśaṁ's Piṭrumedhastūtra (ed. Caland) p. 37. 3, athā ī 'nam udare vidārya hiraṇtram nippuriṣam

1 A. -cchālyā; B.C. -kṣaly-. 2 A. lp- 3 B. ārabāhē. 4 sic.

hiraṇāhmaniyā; C. hiraṇmayaṁ.
H. Oertel, [1898.]

krīvā vaṭe purīṣam avadhāya prakṣāya pratyavadhāya sarpiṣā pūrayati 'ti cātyāyanakam. (Hiranyakeśin opposes this practice much on the same ground as the CB. xii. 5. 25: prajāhā 'syā kṣo-
dhukā bhavati). We thus have here another point of contact between the JB. and the Cāṭ. B. But it seems noteworthy that the direction of the Cāṭ. B. with reference to the anas on which the corpse is conveyed to the burial-place, viz. kṛṣṇagavaṃ syāt (quoted in Hiranyakeśin’s Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 33. 6, anāśa vahanti 'ty eke kṛṣṇagavaṃ syād iti cātyāyanakam) has no parallel in the JB.1

7. Cf. Bādhāyana’s Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 4. 6 athāi ‘nam aḍāyā 'ntarvedi prākārvasaṃ āsādānyaty atra havir āsādayata ity atha gārhapatiya āyanaḥ vilāpya 'tpāya sruci caturgrhātanāṃ gḥātavā pre-
tasya daksīṇaṃ bāhum anvārabhya juhoti. Cf. on the whole, Cal-
and, p. 13.—The words uttered during the oblation are not RV. x.
14. 1. which Bādhāyana prescribes (p. 4, 10) but almost identical with the mantras Čānkh. ČS. iv. 14. 36, ayaḥ vāi tvat tvam asmād ayaḥ te yonis tvaman asya yoniḥ. jātavedo vahusvati ‘naḥ sukrītāṃ yatra lokāḥ. ayaḥ vāi tvaman ajanayad ayaḥ tvad adhitayatam, 
asū svāha, and TĀ. vi. 1. 94, ayaḥ vāi tvaman asmād adhi tvam etad ayaḥ vāi tad asya yonir aṣṭi. vaivānaraḥ putraḥ pitra lokakṛj 
jātavedo vaihe ‘maṁ sukrītāṃ yatra lokāḥ. Cf. also TĀ. vi. 2. 3 as-
mātvam adhi jāto ‘si tvad ayaḥ jāyataṁ punaḥ. aṅgaye vāivā-
narāya svargāya lokāya svāha ; TĀ. vi. 4. 12, asmātvam adhi jāto 'śy ayaḥ tvad adhi jāyataṁ. aṅgaye v. s. l. s.; Kāuç. S. 81. 30, as-
mā tvaman ajaḥāthā ayaḥ tvad adhi jāyataṁ. aṣṭu svāha ; Āṅg. G.S. iv. 3. 27, asmād vāi tvaman ajaḥāthā ayaḥ tvad adhi jāya-
taṁ. aṣṭu svargāya lokāya svāha. But this mantra, among the 
Tāttrāyasa, follows the upoṣaṇa, Caland, p. 62, § 32 a with note451.
Here also belongs JB. i. 2. (second half) tad yadā vāi manā utkā-
mati yadda prāṇo yadda caṅṣur yadda gṛomana yadda vāg etāṁ evā 'gīnīn ahūgačchati. athā 'syā 'dāśa caṅṣraṃ ete vā 'gīnī avaprajñā-
yanty asmād vāi tvam ajaḥātha āsa tvaj jāyataṁ svāhe ‘ti. so ‘ta bhūta yam manomayaḥ prāṇaya caṅṣura-
haya gṛomanaḥ vāmayaḥ yamayaḥ yajurmayo sāmanayo brah-
mayo hṛjumayaḥ ‘mṛtas śanbhavati. armtā hāv 'vyā prāṇa-
prayā ṣaṅhastya amṛtām caṅṣraṃ idaḥ kurute. so ‘mṛtaṃvam ga-
ṛchati ya evam vidvān anighotham juhoti.

JB. i. 48. 1. athāi ‘tāṁ cūtanīcinvanti. tasyām evam adhāha-
ti. 2. tasya nāśikayo ṛuruvaḥ nidadhyād daksīnaḥsa juhoti

1 Similarly the quotation from the Cāṭ. B. given by Lāṭ.ČS. i. 3. 24 with reference to the subrahmānyo-ćeremony is without a parallel in the JB. (cf. JAOS. xviii. 34). But I am doubtful whether by Čātyāyanaka the Brāhmaṇa is necessarily meant. It is quite possible that the term includes the Sūtras. Some quotations from the Čātyāyanaka in the Upagranthasūtra and in Bādhāyana’s G.S., to which Caland was kind enough to direct my attention, have a distinct sūtra-tone.

A. cintām.
savaya upabhṛtam urasi dhrvām mukhe 'gnihotrahavanam
gīrastaḥ camasaṁ īlopavahanaṁ karnaṁ prāṣṭraharanē
udare pāṭrīṁ samavattadhānīṁ 1 aṇḍayaṁ ċṛṣṭadupalī gīne
ghanyām upaste kṛṣṇājinam anupṛṣṭhāṁ ephayam pārpaṁyora
musale ca pūrpe ca patta ulākhalam. 3. paricīṣṭāṇi yajñapā-
trāṇy upari dadhati. 4. apo mṛṇmayāṁ abhyavaharanti2
dadatē evā 'yasmayāṁ. 5. athāi 'naṁ sarpiśā 'bhuyotpūrayanti
yajñapātreśu sarpīr āsīṇcanti.

"1. Now they construct the funeral pyre. On it they place
him. 2. He should put down on his nostrils two sruva-ladles; in
the right hand the juhū-ladle; in the left (hand) the upabhr- 
ladle; on the chest the dhrvā-ladle; on the mouth the agnihotra-
ladle; on the head the camass-beaker for carrying the īḷā; on the
ears the two prāṣṭra-vessels; on the abdomen the vessel contain-
ing the cuttings; on the testicles the upper and the lower mill-
stones; on the penis the wedge; on the pudenda the skin of the
black antelope; behind the back the wooden sword; on the ribs
two pestles and two winnowing baskets; at the feet the mortar.
3. The other sacrificial vessels he puts on top. 4. They throw
the earthen (vessels) into the water, while they give away the
iron (vessels). 5. Then they fill him up with liquid butter.
They pour liquid butter into the sacrificial vessels."

1. The directions for the construction of the funeral pyre, etc.,
are here omitted. Cf. Caland, p. 85 ff. § 17. The text passes on at
once to the pāṭracayana (Caland, p. 49, § 27). The similarities and
differences in the distribution of the implements over the body will
be seen from the following tables.6

1. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PARTS OF BODY.

Head (gīrasi, gīrastāḥ, gīrastaḥ, jīrṣan): kapalāṇī A, H, B, Ć;
kapalāṇī samopitadhanāṁ ca camasam L; kapalāṇī samav-
attadhānāṁ ca camasam G; camasam prāṇītraṇayaṁ
kapalāṇī cāi 'ke Kāṭ; prāṇītraṇayaṁ camasam B;
camasam prāṇītraṇayaṁ ĆB; camasam īlopavahanaṁ
J; idācamasam K; upasādanīyaṁ kūrcam B; upasādanīyaṁ
idāpūtraṁ ca H.

Hairtufts (gīkhāyām): vedam H.

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1 śm. 2 A. -ttyā-. 3 B. -ṭanā; C. -ṭam. 4 A. abhyahar-. 5 A. om.
6 Abbreviations: A = Āgv. GS.; B = Bāudhāyana's pṛitṛmedhasūtra ;
Ć = Čaṅkh. ČS.; ĆB = Čatap. Br.; G = Gāutaṇa's pṛitṛmedhasūtra ; H =
Hiraṇyakeśin's pṛitṛmedhasūtra ; Kāṭ = Kātyāyana's ČS.; L = Lāty.
ČS.; J = Jāminīya Br. A few other texts referred to by Caland were
not accessible to me.
Forehead (lalṭe): ekakapālam H, B; prācitraharanam L, K, G.

Eyes (akṣeyoḥ): hiranyākakalāv ațyasruvā vā H, B.


Nostrils (nāsikayoḥ): sruvāu J, CB, Kāṭ, Č, L, H, B; [karnaryor vā] G; sruvāu bhittvā cāi 'kam A; sruvā u K.

Mouth (mukhe): agnihtrohavanāṁ J, CB, Kāṭ, L, G, H, B, K.

Teeth (datu): grāvapā Ṇ, Č; [yadi grāvāṇo bhavantī] H.

Jaws (hanyoḥ): utkhalamulasē H.

Throat (kaṭhe): agnihtrohavanāṁ Č; dhruvām K.

Trunk

Shoulders (anše): [daksine] mekṣaṇam [savye] piśodavaṇāṁ B.

Chest (uras): dhruvām J, CB, Kāṭ, L, Č, A, G; dhruvām-araṇī ca H, B; purodāgaṃ K.

Waist (madhye): camasaṃ H.

Ribs (pārṇayoḥ): ērpe CB, Kāṭ; ērpe chittvā vāi 'kam A, H, B²; musale ca ērpe ca J; pātryāu Č; sphyogpāsāu G; [pārṇe daksine] sphyam A, Č, K; [pārṇe savye] upaśeṃ K; kṛṣṇājīnām Č; agnihtrohavanāṁ A.

Groin (vānkaṇayoḥ): sāmnāyākumbhīyāu B, [yadi sāmnayati] H.

Navel (nābhīyām): āyjasthālīm H.

Abdomen (udare): pātrīm L, K, G; pātrīṁ samavattadhānam ca camasaṃ A, pātrīṁ samavattadhānam J, CB, Kāṭ; samavattadhānam Č; piśastamyaṇāṁ pātrim H; dārupsātram B; [kuועyο] camasaṃ sāmnāyādpidhānāṁ ca dopahavanāṁ ca B.

Pudenda (upastre): kṛṣṇājīnām J, L, G; çamyām A; aranī Č.

Penis (śtre): çamyām J, CB, Kāṭ; vrśāravāḥ çamyāṁ ca H, B.

Scrotum (aṇḍayoh, vrṣaṇayoḥ): aṇḍay Kāṭ; aṇḍadupale J, H, B; [aṇḍayor ante] vrśāravān anvag utkhalam ca musalaṃ ca CB.

Hand (haste, pāṇāu daksine): juhām J, B, K, A, G, Č, L; juhāṁ sphyam CB; juhām ... sphyam ca Kāṭ; sphyam juhāṁ ca H.


Leg

Thighs (gronyoḥ): çakaṭaṃ K; anvahāryasthālīṁ carusthālīṁ ca B.

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1 The Mānasvas, according to Caland, place the juhā and upabhṛt on both shoulders.
2 Read ērpe for ērpaṃ in Bāudh. p. 10, 16.
3 The Mānasvas, according to Caland, place here the purodāga (-pātrī.)
Loins (ürvoḥ): arañī A; ulūkkalamusale B; [aṣṭhivatoc ca] Ç.
(antarεrao 'rū): anyāni yañkapātraṇi ÇB, Kāt, K.
(antarā, antareṇa sakthini): avāciśtiṇī H; avāciśtiṇi
pāṭraṇī B; canyāḍṛṣadupale yac ca nā "desḥ/yaṁaḥ"
L, G.

( anusaktham, anusakthi): musalam L, G.
Upper leg (ukhasya daksīṇasya daksīṇataḥ): ulūkkalam L, G.
Knee-cap (aṣṭhivatoc): ulūkkalamusalam K; ulūkkalamusale
[ürvoḥ ca] Ç.
Lower leg (jaṅghayoh): ulūkkalamusale A.
Feet (patataḥ, pādayoh): ulūkkalam J; aṇṇhotrapātraṇi Ç; upā
vaharaṇiṣyam kūrcam H; upavaharaṇiṣyam B; aṇṇhotraṣṭhā
lim ajjyaṭhālin ca B; cūrpaṃ L, K; cūrpe bhittvā cāi 'kam
A; gakaṭacūrpe G; gūrpaṇakaṭe Ç.
Back (anuṣṭhham, pṛṣṭhe): sphyam J, B; kṛṣṇājinam ... pra
stīrṇa ... tasminn enam ... nīpadya CB.
Indefinite: upari pariṣṭiṇi yajñapātraṇi (dadhati) J.

2. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO IMPLEMENTS.
agṇhotrahaṇaṇīṃ: kaṇṭhe Ç; pāṛce savye A; mukhe J, ÇB,
Kāt, L, G, H, B, K.
agṇhotrapātraṇi: pattaḥ Ç.
agṇhotraṣṭhālim: pādayoh B.
avāhāryaṣṭhālim: śroṇyoḥ B.
araṇī: urasī B, H; urvoḥ A; vṛṣayaḥ Kāt; upaṣthe Ç.
avāciśtiṇi, pariṣṭiṇi, anyāni yajñapātraṇi; yac ca nā "desḥ/yaṁ
maḥ":1 antareṇa sakthini L, G, B; antarā sakthini H; antar
erā "rū CB, Kāt, K; upari J.
ajjyaṭhālim: pādayoh B; nābhyaṃ H.
ajjyaṣṭhānu: aksyōḥ H, B.
idācamaṃsa2: ciraṇi K.
idāpatraṃ: ciraṣtaḥ H.
idopavaṇhānam (camaṃsa): ciraṇaḥ J; kuṣyōḥ B.
upabṛktam: haste savye J, H, B, Kāt, K, A; pāṇāu savye ÇB, Ç,
G, L.8
upala v. ḍṛṣadupale.
upawesaṃ: pāṛce savye K. Cf. sphyopaṇesaū: pāṛceyoh G.
upasadaṇyam (kūrcam): ciraṣtaḥ B, H.
upavaharaṇiṣyam (kūrcam): pattaḥ B, H.
ulūkkalam: pattaḥ J; ukhasya daksīṇasya daksīṇataḥ L, G.
ulūkkalamusale: jaṅghayoh A; aṣṭhivatoc K; āurvar aṣṭhivatoc
ca Ç; urvoḥ B; hamaṇoḥ H; anvag aṅḍayor ante CB.
ekakapālam4: lalāte H, B.

1 Cf. Caland's note on Gāūtama, p. 90.  2 =iḍāpāṭṛ, Caland, p. 51.
2 The Māṇavas, according to Caland, place the juṅha and upabṛkt on
both shoulders.
kumbhi, v. sāṁhāryakumbhāyu.
kurca, v. upasadāntya and upāvaharaṇiya.
krṣṇājīnām: upasthe J, L, G; ... prastārya ... tasminn enam ... nipadya ÇB; pārve savaye Ç.
grāvyāḥ: datu A, Ç, [yadi grāvyāno bhavanti] H.
camasam: madhye H. Cf. also idācamasa, idōpavahana, praniṭā- 
prāṣayana, samavattadhāna, samoptadhānana.
carushāhām: gṛnyoḥ B.
juhūṃ: hasie dakṣiṇe H, K, A, B, Kāt; pāṇāu dakṣiṇe ÇB, L,
Ç, G1.

dārupāṭrīṃ3: udare B.
dṛṣṭadupale: āṇḍayoh J, B, H; antarena sakthiṇi L, G; ama 
putraḥ kurvita A. K.3


dhruvām: urasi J, ÇB, Kāt, G, L, Ç, A, B, H; kaṇṭhe K.
pāṭrīṃ1: udare A, K, L, G.
pārtyah: pāṛcyavoḥ Ç. Cf. also agniḥotrapāṭrāyi, idāpātra,
dārupāṭrī, piṭasahayavanā, piṭodvapani, puroḍāca, sama- 
vattadhāni.
piṭasahayavanīṃ4 (pāṭrīṃ): udare H.
piṭodvapaniṃ4: aṁse savye B.
puroḍācaṃ4: urasi K.1
praniṭāprāṣayananam (camasam): cīrasā ÇB; cīrasī Kāt; cīra- 
stah B; karṇe savye Ç.
prācitraharāvamāṃ: [bhūttvā] karṇayoh B; karne dakṣiṇe Ç;

alūṭe L, G, K2.
prācitraharāvane: karṇayoh J, ÇB, Kāt; [bhūttvā cāi 'kam] H.
musalam: anusakthiṇam L; anusakthi G.


musale: pāṛcyavoh J. Cf. also ulākhalamusale.
meṣṭhaṇam: aṁse dakṣiṇe B.
vṛṣārvamā: cīṇe H, B.
vṛṣāravāvā: āṇḍayor ante ÇB.
vedaṃ: cīkāhāyām H.8
čakataṃ: gṛnyoḥ K; pāda[yoḥ] G. Cf. also āṛpaṇa[ka].
čakata[garpe]: pāda[yoḥ] G.

camiṇāṃ: cīṇe J, B, H, Kāt; cīṇasya 'nte ÇB; upasthe A;


antarena sakthiṇi L, G.

gūrpaṃ: pāda[yoḥ] Ç, L, K.
gūrpe: pāṛcyavoḥ ÇB, Kāt, J; [bhūttvā vai 'kam] B; pāda[yoḥ]
[bhūttvā cāi 'kam] A. Cf. also čakata[garpe].

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1 The Mānasva, according to Caland, place the juhū and upabhṛt on 
both shoulders.
2 = idāpātri, Caland, p. 51.
3 Cf. Caland, p. 51f.
4 Cf. the discussion of these vessels in Caland, p. 50.
5 The Mānasva, according to Caland, kukṣyoḥ.
6 So also, according to Caland, the Mānasva.
7 Cf. Caland, p. 52. 8 The Mānasva, according to Caland, on the head.
Brāhmaṇa Literature.

111

The differences between the JB. and the other younger Śāmántexts are noteworthy, see under avacīṣṭāntī, ultrahalam, dṛṣṭadupāle, prācītraḥaravane and -nam, musale, čamyām, cūpē with cūrpaṇam and cākaṭaṭurpe, samavattadhāñnim and -nam, sphyam and sphyopa

veṣāu.


JB. 1. 49. 1. athāi tām anustaraṇīṁ ānayanti. 2. tām prokṣ-yā trir apasalam paryānūya kūte hanyāt pradakṣinaṁ hāi ke paryānayanti tad u tathā nu kuryāt. 3. tasyāi vāpām utkhidya cīrīṁ parivyaṇyantī hastayor mātasmi hydaye hydayam bāhvar bāhā. yathāṅgal eva tarāṅ ayāṅgān vicin-vanti. 4. athāi 'nām carmaṇa prorvanti svāyā tān vā samdhyasve ti. 5. saṃstiryo parīṇaye. 6. sa tathāi va cikṛṣed yathāi 'nām āhavanīyā prathamo gacchet tad enam devolokaḥ pratyaṅgacchacy atha yathā 'nāhāryapocanas tad enam pieklokaḥ pratyaṅgacchacy atha yathā gārhapatyas tathā 'smīn lokā prajayā ca paucīṇ ca pratitiṣṭhati

7. tasyo 'pādāptasya dhūma eva carvāṅa dhunoti sa yad dhunoti tasmād dhunah. dhuna ha vai nāmaḥ 'saḥ. tama dhūma iti paroṣām āacīkṣate paroṣeṇā vai. paroṣeṇiyā va hi vāi devāh. 8. dhūmād vai rātrim ayyeti rātriya ahaḥ ahu apocchantaḥpakṣām apocchantaḥpakṣād paryamanapakṣam

1 = iḍāpāṭri, Caland, p. 51. 2 So also the Mānasas, according to Caland.

3 = iḍāpāṭri, Caland, p. 51.

The Mānasas, according to Caland, on the abdomen.

4 B.C. ṛm. 5 A. -jo. 7 A. nahanyām. 8 A. payā-. 9 A. vama. 10 -si. 11 parivaya. 13 B. mptasmi; C. mastañ. 12 B.C. bhauma. 14 A. cimati. 15 A. samsthyo. 16 A. gnaṃ aṣmin. 17 A. om. 18 All MSS. have short u. 19 A.B. e. 20 A.B. om. 21 B.C. ahu. 22 A. pocchantaḥpakṣam; B.C. pocchantaḥpakṣam. 23 A. evorecantikṣad; B.C. apocchantaḥpakṣad.
āpūryamānapaksān māsam. te atra māsē varirān cā "suṣ ca saṅgacchāte. 9. tām ha rūnām ēko yāḥ kūṭahastā rāṃminā prāyuveṣya prachāte ko 'śi. puruṣe 'ti.

50. 1. tām pratibrūyād vicaṅgaṇād ṛtavo reta ābhṛtam ardhamāsyānā prasūtāḥ pūtryāvata

iti. yad adī vicaṅgaṇāh somaṁ rājānam juhavi tat tat. tam mā puṇśē kartary erayadhvam

iti. puṇśēḥ ṛḥ yaḥ namē etat kartavya erayante.10 puṇśaḥ kartu mātary āsīṣita13

iti. mātari ṛḥ yaḥ namē āsīṣita.

sa upajāya13 upajāyamānas tryayodapena dvādāopamāsa

iti. ēṣa tryayodac ya ēṣa tapati.

sam tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta ma ṛtavo 'ṃtām13 ānayadhvam dvādāopatryodapena pītā tayā14 mātṛ19 tayā gradhaya tenā 'ṁnādyena tena satyena. ahar me pitā rūtrī14 mātā. satyam asmi.19 tam ma ṛtavo 'ṃtām22 ānayadhvam21 iti. 2. tām ha ṛtavya ānayante. yathā vidvān avidvānām19 yathā jāmann23 ajānantam23 evam ṛḥ yaḥ namē ṛtavo22 ānayante.17 tam ha 'tyarjayante.32 3. sa āhī 'ṣa na manuṣyo yā evam veda devaṇāṁ ha vāi sa ēko ya evanvīt. 4. tām ha22 manojavasah pitaroc ca pītāmāhāc ca pratyāgacchanti tataḥ kīn na āhārśūr iti. 5. tān pratibrūyād yat kīn ca punyam29 akaram11 tad yuṣ-mākam iti. tasya ēṣatā dāyam upayanti pitaras sādhukṛtyāṁ32 avisantaḥ pāpakṛtyāṁ. sa evam etat tṛedā32 vibhajyāḥ 'tasya salokatām apyeta ya ēṣa tapati.

4.1. Then they bring that anustaraṇi-victim. 2. After sprinkling it and having caused it to be led around three times to the left, he should deal it a blow against the forehead. Some indeed lead it around to the right. But let him not do so. 3. Cutting out its omentum they envelop his head with it; (they place) the kid-

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1 A. -o. 9 A.C. ta. 3 A.C. aha. 4 A. ānām; B.C. rūnāmā. 5 All MSS. -māsam; and prasutāḥ. 6 A. edā. 7 -śi. 8 B.C. or-. 9 A. inserts itī m. 10 A. orayanti. 11 karttar. 12 All MSS. have this sandhi. 13 All MSS. have the sandhi upajāyō 'ṣa-ja-.

14 A. mām. 15 mṛta. 16 A. om. 17 A. pīkā. 18 A. rūtrām.

neys in his hands, the heart on his heart, the fore-legs on his arms. They severally arrange the other limbs on his corresponding limbs. 4. Then they cover him with the skin saying: 'Thrive by thine own body.' 5. Having spread all (the parts of the anustarani) they set (the pyre) on fire. 6. He should endeavor to do it in this way: If the ãhavanîya-fire should reach him first, then the world of the gods approaches him; and if the anvâhârya-pacana-fire, then the world of the Fathers approaches him; and if the gârhapatya-fire then he stands firm in this world with progeny and cattle.

7. Of him being set on fire the smoke shakes (off) the body. Because it shakes therefore it is called dhûna. For it is dhûna by name. Mystically they call it dhûma, by a mystic (appellation). For the gods are fond of the mystic. 8. From the smoke it goes unto night, from night to day, from day to the dark fortnights, from the dark fortnights to the bright fortnights, from the bright fortnights to the month. There, in the month, both body and life-spirit come together. 9. Him one of the seasons, which has a hammer in its hand, having descended by means of a ray, asks: 'Who art thou, O man?'

50. He should make answer: 'O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the fathers.' Because they offer here illustrious king Soma, that (is meant) by it. 'Make me as such arise in a man as the maker.' For they thus make him arise in a man as the maker. 'From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother.' For he (the man) pours him into the mother. 'As such am I reborn, being born anew, the intercalary month of the twelve, through the thirteenufold one.' He is the thirteenufold one who burns here. 'Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal, thither, through the twelvefold (and) thirteenufold father, through this mother, through this faith,' through this food-eating, through this truth. Day is my father; night is my mother. I am truth. As such, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal one, thither. 2. Him the seasons lead thither. As one who knows (leads) him who does not know, as one who understands him who does not understand, even so the seasons lead him

1 'Faith' in James' sense of the word (ii. 14–18); cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. l. 448 ff.
thither. They bring him across. 3. Not a man is he who knows thus; verily one of the gods is he who thus knows. 4. Manojavas' Fathers and Grand-sires come to meet him saying: 'What hast thou brought for us from hence?' 5. To them he should make answer: 'Whatever good deed I have done that is yours.' Such an one's sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon his good actions, the enemies upon his evil deeds. Having thus made this threefold division, he enters into the same world with him who burns here.'

1. On the leading around and the slaughter of the anustaraṇi see Caland, p. 40f, §§ 22, 28 and p. 54, § 28. 2. apasalam seems to be ār. ley.

2. The meaning of kūṭa in kūṭahasta (below, 9.) is certainly 'hammer'; cf. Geldner, *Ved. Stud.* i. 185 f.; v. Bradke, ZDMG. xlvi. 458; Bloomfield, *ibid.* xlvii. 546; v. Bradke, KZ. xxxiv. 156 f. In order to translate it so here also a change to kūṭena (which Professor Bloomfield suggested to me) would be necessary. I have hesitated to emend thus, because I yet feel quite uncertain whether kūṭa always means 'hammer' and not also 'forehead.' Without entering into the question in detail, I venture to call attention to the fact that the passage ČB. iii. 8. 1. 15, tasya na kūṭena pragh- nanti mānusāḥ hi tam no eva paścāt karṇam pitṛdevatyāṁ hi tāt, offers difficulties whichever of the two meanings may be chosen. If we translate 'forehead' (with Śāyaṇa and Eggeling), the instrumental instead of the locative is very offensive. If, on the other hand, we translate 'hammer,' the evident contrast between kūṭena and paścāt karṇam is destroyed. An emendation of kūṭena to kūṭe would make the passage simple but beg the question.

3. matasmi, the stem elsewhere is matasana; the term is evidently synonymous with vykhū, cf. Weber, Indische Stud., ix. 245. Śāyaṇa on RV. x. 163. 3 agrees with this view.

4. The formula svayā tanvā etc. does not appear to occur elsewhere. Professor Bloomfield, who was good enough to search for parallel passages among the slips of his MS. concordance, writes me that the formula at TS. iv. 3. 4. 1 (also in VS, TB, MS, and Āp(S) svāsasthā tanvāvā saṁ viçasa is the closest parallel to it.

5. For this augurium cf. Caland, p. 58, § 30, where the other passages are grouped together; the tad evam devalokah pratyā- gacchati of our text supports Caland's (p. 59 note112) rendering of Āçv. GS. iv. 4. 2, svargaloka evam prāparā (svargaloka for -lokas, not -loke). The prajayāy ca paśubhiç ca pratitiṣṭhati is not found in any of the parallel passages and seems inappropriate.

The ritualistic part ends here; the rest is upaniṣad-like.

7. vādhū in the sense of 'to shake off, to free one's self from,' is elsewhere used in the middle, e. g. Aś. iv. 34. 1 garīram eva

1 Perhaps kūṭa 'forehead'; kūṭa 'hammer'; kīṣku 'forearm'; kīṣku 'handle' (helve of an axe).
tābhīr (i.e. upasadabhīr) dhunute; Kauṣ. Up. i. 4 tat sukrta&edapuṣṭe dhunute [B. C. E. dhunvate], which the commentator illustrates by the simile aṣva ṛva romāyi kampanena, evidently with reference to Chāṇḍ. Up. viii. 18. 1 aṣva ṛva romāyi viḍhūyā pāpaṁ candra ṛva raho mukhāḥ pramuceya dhātvā garām etc.

8. I have retained the strange apocchanti (1. 1/ vas + apa) pakṣa, but I am unable to explain the feminine form of the prior member.


Before taking up single instances I give the parallel passage JB. i. 18, adding for the sake of connection, the preceding seventeenth chapter.

JB. i. 17. 1. doe ha vāva yoni devayanir hāi ’vā’ ’nyā manusya-yonir anyā dvā ā hāi ’vā’ lokā devaloko hāi ’vā’ ’nyo manusyaloko ’nyāḥ. 2. sā yā manusya-yonir manusyaloka eva sa tat strīyāi prajana-nam atra ’dhī’ prajāḥ prajāyante. 3. tasmd u kalyāṇiḥ jāyām iṣcheta kalyāṇoḥ ma ātmā sambhavād iti. tasmdā u jāyān jujupṣenē nen mama yonū mama lokes ’nyas sambhavād iti. 4. tasya vāi sambhavīgataḥ prāyā agre praviṇanty atha retas sīyate. sa itān prāyānā tākāṇ abhinivarte tasmd u samānaśaya ’vā retasaṃ sato yādṛṣa eva bhavati tādṛṣa jāyate. 5. tathā tāḥ devayoni devalokāḥ. yad aḥavaniya esā ha ātī vāi devayoni devalokāḥ. tasmdā yo gārhapatyety huyād atra tāḥ karoti ’ty evāi ’namā maneyeran. 6. sa yaj juhoti yas sādhū karoty etasāṃ vāi tād devayoni ātmānaśi śiśeati so ’syā ’tmā ’muṣṭirna ādītye sambhavati sa hāi ’vān vidvān devātma devyoni ekātmā hāi ’vāi ’kayoni etad avidvān. 7. sa yasmād lokād evamāvit prāśiti—

1–18. 1. tasya prāṣaḥ prathama utkrāmati. sa hāi ’vā paṭhāya ācaṣṭah iyad asya sādhu kṛtam iyat pāpaṁ iti. atha hā ’yāh dhumena saho ’rdhīa utkrāmati. 2. tasya hāi ’tasya’ rtavo dvārāpās teḥhō hāi ’tena prabravita.

 typography:Hindi

viṣyaḥkaṇād rtavo reta ‘āḥkāṃ
dardhamāyanaḥ prasutaḥ pītyāvataḥ,
tam mā puṣi kārtavya evayadhrām
puṣaḥ kārtuḥ mātārāśiṣṭkāḥ
sa upajāyā upajāyamāno
dvādaṣṭaṃ trayodaśopāmaḥ.

1–4. 5 B. C. -e. 6 A. ṭatāh; B. C. tān. 4 A. inserts ka; B. kaḥ. 5 A. ka (kalus) yām. 6 e. 7 B. saṁbharaḥḥād. 8 A.-ah. 9 All MSS. have the sandhi prāṇa -gre. 10 A. prākā. 11 A. B. bha. 12 A. B. ve. 13 B. C. arkeu. 14 B. ‘ran. 15 For hā ’va A. B. have ke yata; C. hāi dvā. 16 A. kucaṣṭa. 17 A. adhāṃśāmin; B. C. ardhaṁyāmin. 18 C.-sūt-. B.-tāva. 19 A. or. 20 All MSS. karttar. 21 B. C.-tas. 22 The sandhi in all MSS. is -jāyo ’pa-.
sanh' tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta hā "gataṁ mār ṛtvā
'mṛtam' ānayadhvam iti. 3. taṁ ha ṛtvā ānayante yathā vidvān
avidvāśānā' yathā jānanā' ajñānantam' evam hā' nam ṛtvā ānayante.
taṁ hā 'tyarjayaṁ'. 4. sa hā' tam āgacchati tapan-
tam. 5. taṁ hā "gataṁ prrocchā kah tvam asī' ti. sa yo ha
nāmnā vā goitre vā prabṛtte taṁ hā "ha yas te 'yam māyā ātmā
'bhūd eṣa te sa iti. 6. taṁśān hā "śman pratipatūtām tvāṁ[10] sānk-
palāyaya padgrhiṁ tam apakāryanti. tasya hā 'horātre lokam āpun-
svāṁ svargyaṁ svar āgāṁ iti. 8. ko ha vāi praśātātīr ātha
hāi 'vanvīd eva suvargāḥ. sa hi suvar gacchati. 9. taṁ hā "ha
yas tvam asi so 'ham asmi yo 'ham asmi sa tvam asy eḥi' ti. 10. sa
etam eva suktārasam[12] apyeti. tasya putrā dāyan upayanti
pitāras sādhukṛtyaṁ. sa hāi 'vanvīd vidvān dvayātmā dvādaya ekātm-
mā hāi 'vāi' kādaya etad avidvān agniḥotrema juhoti.

17. 1. “Verily there are two wombs, the one the divine womb, the
other the human womb; and, indeed, there are two worlds also,
the one the divine world, the other the human world. 2. What
this human womb is, that is the human world. That is the secret
part of woman; from thence progeny is born. 3. Therefore one
should desire an excellent wife [thinking:] ‘Let an excellent (sec-
ond) self of me come into existence.’ And therefore one should
seek to guard[12] one’s wife [thinking:] ‘Lest in my womb, in my
world another (self) come into existence.’ 4. Verily of him being
about to come into existence the breaths enter first; then the seed
is emitted. He returns these breaths (to the?) spaces; and therefore
of its being similar seed, whichever kind it (the seed) may be, such a
one is born. 5. Thus also this divine womb is the divine world.
What the śaṅkasya [-fire] is, that indeed is the divine womb, the
divine world. Therefore who should make oblation in the gārha-
patya [-fire], of him they would think: ‘He maketh him there.’
6. In that he makes oblation, in that he does good, he thereby
emits the self into this divine womb. That self of his comes into
existence in yonder sun. He knowing thus has two selves, two
wombs; verily one self, one womb has he who does not know
this. 7. If from this world one knowing thus departs—

18. 1. —his breath goes up first. That explains to the gods: so
much good was done by him, so much evil. Then along with the

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1 All MSS. saman.
2 B.C. only m.
3 All MSS. mā; C. inserts 'dya. 4 A.B. mṛta. 5 All MSS. vid-
6 A. janaṇ; B.C. -ṇa. 7 So A; B.C. jan-
8 A. tyasaṁjayaṁ; C. tyaṣārijayaṁ.
9 For the next few lines C is utterly corrupt and I have not noted
the var. lect. (cf. JAOS. xvi. 293).
10 A. tvās. 11 A. -brav-. 12 A. saṁk-. The usual meaning of the desiderative of 'gup, viz., 'avoid,' does
not fit here.
smoke he goes up. 2. Of this same one the seasons are door-keepers. To them he should make answer thus: 'O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the Fathers. Make me, as such, arise in a man as the maker. From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother. As such am I reborn, being born anew, through the twelfefold one as the thirteenth, intercalary month. Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, ye seasons, lead me the immortal who have come.' 3. Him the seasons lead. As one who knows one who does not know, as one who understands one who does not understand even so the seasons lead him. They bring him across. 4. He approaches him who burns. 5. Him, having come, he asks: 'Who art thou?' When he announces himself either by his [personal] name or by his family [name], he says to him: 'This self of thee that hath been in me that same is thine.' 6. Him having hastened into this self, when about to escape the seasons grasping his foot, drag away. Of him day and night obtain the world. 7. To him he should make answer thus: 'Who (ka) am I, heaven art thou. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven.' 8. Verily Prajāpati is who (ka), and he who knows thus is heaven-going. For he goes to heaven. 9. He says to him: 'Who thou art, that one am I; who I am, that one art thou; come!' 10. He approaches this sap of good deeds. His sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon good conduct. One knowing thus offers the agnihotra having two selves, two inheritances; he who does not know thus (offers it) having one self, one inheritance.'

I now proceed to take up single points in order.

JB. 1. 49. 9. The conjecture ītūnām is based on the vocatives and nominative ētavaḥ which follow in 50. 1, 2. and JB. i. 18. 2 ētavo dvārapāḥ.

50. 1. In constituting the text of the stanza I have kept as closely as possible to the MS. reading. Accordingly ardhamāyams in verse 2 must be taken as qualifying retas; the Kāṣ. Up. has pāñcadaśāt instead.—prasūnat is taken in the active sense ('zeugend') by Boehtlingk, for which AV. xii. 1. 62 is cited in PW. Though the active seems to be favored in this latter passage by the context, Bloomfield translates it there as past ptp. The passage here is too obscure to admit of a definite conclusion. There may be a pun between āsū 'press' and āsū 'beget.'—vicakṣaṇa as epithet of the soma is common in RV. The explanation of the Brāhmaṇa does not favor Deussen's interpretation of pitiṇyāvatāḥ as neuter sing.—In verse 8 Deussen conjectures āirayādhyam, but the context seems to

1 §§ 5 ff. are identical with JUB. iii. 14. 1 (cf. JAOS. xvi. 173 and 289).
3 sy from s is a very slight change in this alphabet.
me to favor imperatives.—In verse 4 Kaus. Up. reads puṁsa kartṝa. —I have hesitatingly accepted the reading āsīvikta. If this reading is correct, it might be taken as a perfect imperative (Whitney, § 813), or as an imperative of a reduplicated aorist without thematic vowel (Whitney, § 867) and with irregular reduplication after analogy of the reduplicating presents: for the grammarians demand āsīvacent (Whitney, Verb-Forms 983c). The sandhi at 50. 1 and the reading of B.C. at 18. 2 (-tas) pointing to a past ptcp. (in which case a change to mātavya (read -i) āsīktah, becomes necessary) may be merely an attempt to correct an unintelligible form.—By reading upajāya in verse 5 for jāya of the Kaus. Up. the metre is restored.—In verse 6 even the two JB. versions differ, the one reading trayodaṣena dvādaśopamāsaḥ, the other dvādaṣena trayodaṣopamāsah, while Kaus. Up. has dvādaṣatrasyodaṣa upamāso² dvādaṣaṭrayodaṣaṇa pitarā. The first reading seems to me the easiest, viz. ‘I come into existence through (the year of) thirteen months as the (intercalary) month added to the twelfth (month).’—saṁ tad vade etc. bears out one of the most brilliant emendations of Boehtlingk.

2. The change to avidvāṁsam and ajānantam seemed to be demanded by the sense.

3. manojavasaiḥ i.e. Yamasya, as at VS. v. 11 manojavas tvā pitṛbhur daksīṇataḥ pātu with the Commentator.


III. Indrasya kilbīṣṇi.

§ 1. When Indra, in consequence of the guilt incurred through the murder of Viṣvarūpa and Viṣṇu, has fled from heaven, the gods choose Nahuṣa as Indra’s successor. But intoxicated with his newly acquired power, the latter gives himself up to carnal pleasures, and even lusts after Indra’s wife Čačī. And when the gods attempt to dissuade him from his evil plans by expatiating on the sinfulness of his acts, he justifies himself by a reference to Indra’s record (MBh. v. 11. 4 ff.):

svam ukto na jagrāhā tad vacaḥ kāmamohitaḥ.  
atha devān uvāce ’dam indram prati surādhipaḥ:  
akhayā dharsītā pūrvar ṣipatnī yaṇasvini  
jivato bhurtur indrena. sa vah kīṁ na nivāritaḥ.  
bahūni ca nṛpaṁsāni kṛtāṁ ādrena vāi purā  
vāiḍharmyāṁ upadhāc cāi'va. sa vah kīṁ na nivāritaḥ.

"Thus addressed (by the gods), he, blinded by passion, did not take to heart their words. But the great lord of the gods spoke

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1 Deussen takes it as indicat. of the aorist, changing to āsīvikta.
2 Var. lect. dvādaṣatrasyodaṣaṇo māsya.
thus to the gods with reference to Indra: ‘While her husband was yet alive, Ahalyā the renowned wife of a ṛṣi, was formerly ravished by Indra. Why did you not restrain him? And many deeds were formerly committed by Indra, harmful to men and unrighteous, besides deceitful tricks. Why did you not restrain him?’” Again MBh. xiii. 40f. relates at great length the precautions which the ṛṣi Devaṭarman must take in order to protect during his absence his wife Ruci against Indra, puraṇaṁ ca jānīte parastrīkāmaoṛiṇāṃ; and Devaṭarman’s faithful pupil Vipula taunts Indra (41. 20) in the most scathing terms with his former experience when he suffered for a similar attempt on Ahalyā. Similar references to Indra’s immorality are not rare in the epic (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 293 f.). Nor must these traits in Indra’s character be regarded as late developments of a degenerating mythology. There is ample proof that they go back to the Brāhmaṇa period, and evidence that they antedate even this. If the Vedic hymns offer but little material of this kind, this fact is simply due to the character of these poems. They are invocations and songs of praise—naḥ tu dya maḥi-māṇam ināryāṁ svār grāṁta anaśū (RV. viii. 3. 13)—in which allusions of this sort would be manifestly out of place. An argumentum ex silentio would therefore here be patently wrong.1 Although Bharadvāja calls Indra ādṛṣṭa kavāca (RV. vi. 22. 2), the Vedic poets were certainly not ignorant of such examples of Indra’s bad faith as Ludwig2 and Bloomfield3 have collected. It seems evident that such legends as these form the background for an occasional general allusion to Indra’s fickleness like RV. vi. 47. 16; 17 . . . anyām-ānyam atinemiyomānaḥ . . . pārā pārveṣāṇa sakhyā vṛṇakti viṭārturāṇo āparebhīr etī;4 “wont

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1 The very fact that the hymns so frequently mention Indra’s indulgence in soma (e.g. RV. vii. 23. 2, yās te mādo yujyaḥ cātur dūtī yena vrtrāṇi haryaṇaḥ hāṁsi sa tvām indra prabhūvaco mamattu; viii. 32. 28, yā vr̥tvāṁ abhā vratā sōmasya māde dāhasaḥ indro devaṣu cetati; viii. 15. 4, tāṁ te mādāṁ gṛyām, etc.) is to my mind conclusive evidence that it was not regarded by the poets as ‘drunkenness,’ or in any way blameworthy, māde hi śmā dādāti naḥ (RV. viii. 1. 21).

2 Commentary, vol. vi. p. 202, s. v. ‘wortbruch Indra’s’ and ‘adroha.’

3 Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 161, AJPh. xvii. 483, and Atharva Translation, SBE. xiii. 522.

4 Cf. the close parallel in Goethe’s Iphigenie, vss. 1754 ff., Es wenden die Herrscher | Ihr segnendes Auge | Von ganzen Geschlechtern | Und meiden im Enkel | Die eh’imals geliebten | Still redenden Züge | Des Ahnherrn zu sehn.
to help on now the one now the other... he turneth away from his old friends and, changing, goeth with new ones."

On the other hand Indra’s sensuality is amply exemplified in the legend of Dīrghajīvī (MS. iii. 10. 6; AB. ii. 22. 10; TMB. xiii. 6. 9, 10; JB. i. 161–163; Schol. to Pāṇini iv. 1. 59), and the similar story at KB. xxiii. 4 with its parallel Kāth. xiii. 5 (Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 479 note; v. 453), which latter is connected by Weber (Ind. Stud. v. 249) and Bloomfield (SBE. xlii. 547) with AV. vii. 38. 2. The antiquity of the Ahalya story (of which the epic is so fond) is assured by the reference to it in the subrahmanya formula. Equally old is the motif of Kāth. xiii. 5. As Indra there lives disguised as a woman among the Asuris, so he lives in female shape in Vṛṣṇaçvā’s family (cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 34). In the Rigveda itself Indra’s epithet sāhasramuṣka clearly belongs here, and is illustrated by Sāyana (on RV. vi. 46. 3) by this citation from the Kāuśitakins: ‘yān kāṁ ca sriyān sanbhavann indro bhogalokapatayā svacārire parvāṇi-parvāṇi śepān susarṣa.’

§ 2. Aside however from these and other occasional references, there are in the Brāhmaṇas a number of parallel passages in which a formal indictment, as it were, is drawn up against Indra. The type of these is AB. vii. 28, yatre ‘ndraṁ devatāḥ paryavrjan vīṣvarūpaṁ tvāṣṭrum abhyamaṁsta vṛtram aṣṭram yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prādūd arumaghān avadhīd brhaspateḥ pratyavadhīd iti tatrem ‘ndraḥ somapithena vyārdhyata, etc.; “When the gods shunned Indra, saying: ‘He hath intrigued against Vīṣvarūpa, Traṣṭ’s son; he hath slain Vṛtra; he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; he hath killed the Arumaghas; he hath interrupted Bṛhaspati,’ then was Indra excluded from the soma-draught.” A similar list of misdeeds is boastingly enumerated by Indra himself at Kāus. Up. iii. 1, triṇāṇaṁ tvāṣtram ahanam arunmukhān yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ praṭyaccham bahvih saṁdhā atikramya divi prahlādiyān

1 vitārturāṇaḥ = vitarturāṃ, RV. i. 102. 2.
2 A fuller treatment of this will appear elsewhere.
4 At RV. viii. 19. 32 he takes mustāṇi = tejāhsī, but apparently for no other reason than that the epithet there appears in an Agni-hymn.
5 Cf. also Geldner, Ved. Stud. ii. 38 (on RV. x. 86. 9) on Indra’s marital relations.
atṛṇam ahām antarikṣe pāulomān pṛthivyāṁ kālakāñjān; 1 “I killed the three-headed son of Tvāṣṭṛ; I gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; transgressing many a covenant I smote in heaven the Prahlādiyas, in the atmosphere the Pāulomas, on earth the Kālakāñjās” 2; and at least two counts are given in Čānak. ČS. xiv. 50. 1–2, indro vāi triśirṣaṇānām tvāṣṭram ahanan. arumukkhan yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyaechat. taṁ sarvāṇi bhūtāny abhyakrocṣan; “Indrā killed the three-headed son of Tvāṣṭṛ, he gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves. At him all creatures were wroth.”

To these must now be added the chapters from the JB. which I subjoin.

JB. ii. 134 indraṁ vāi bhūtāni paryacakṣata triśirṣaṇaṁ3 tvāṣṭram avadhīd yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ4 prādaś arumukkhaṁ5 avadhīd bhṛṣpatiḥ pratyanadhīt saṁdhāṁ saṁkhītām atithya namucer āsrasya śivāḥ prācchātsid iti. eteḥbhya devakībilīṣebhyaḥ6 sa hā’ranya eva cacārā nabhivayān devān. sa u ha devān uvača yājaya me ’ti. ne ’ti ho ’cur etā vāi tvayā saṁdhāḥ atithā etānī devakībilīṣīnī7 kṛtāni na tvā yājāyasyāma iti. atoḥ hā ’syā ’gnir eva sakhitama8 ivā ’sa. deveṣu sa u hā ’gnim uvača tvam mā yājaye ’ti. tathe ’ti ho ’vāca sa vāi nu taṁ deveṣu iochāmi9 yena tvā saka yājāyeyam iti. sa ha taṁ deveṣu na viveka yenai ’nam sahā ’yājāyisyat. sa ho ’vāca na10 vāi nu11 taṁ deveṣu vindāmi yena tvā saka yājāyeyam iti. taṁ vāi mā tvam eva yājāyey ’ti. tathe ’ti. so ’gnir12 ātmanāi ’vā ’rāhyata.”13 tam aṇiṣṭutam atanuta. tenāi ’nam ayājayat. tasya sadyas sarvam pāpmānāṁ14 niradahat. so yathā ’hir ahicchavyāi nirmucjeta yathā muṣjād15 iśikāṁ16 vivṛhen eva sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyata. sa eso ’pahato pāpmā tapaty esa ha vā indraḥ.”17 sa ya uktotkas18 syād yo ’bhākhyāyeta sa etena yajeta. sadyo19 hāi ’vā ’syā sarvam pāpmānāṁ20 nirahatī21 sa yathā ’hir ahicchavyāi nirmucyata yathā muṣjād iśikāṁ vivṛhen eva sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate.

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1 B. C. and Sāyaṇa on RV. v. 34. 4 kālakāñjān; D. kālakāñjān; F. kālakāñjānā.
2 All MSS. -cīṇāyam. 3 D. sāl-. 4 A. arūṛjakāñ. 5 All MSS. -kitbiṣ-. 6 All MSS. -kitb-; D. -bisv-. 7 D. -ā. 8 A. -ta. 9 A. acha-. 10 A. ra.
17 A. nāmanāras. 18 A. ututtottara. 19 All insert ha.
20 D. pāpmānagṝṇaḥ; hence possibly pāpmānam agnir should be read.
21 All nidadāhā.
"The creatures condemned Indra, saying: 'He hath killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭar, he hath given the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves, he hath killed the Arurmukhas, he hath interrupted Brhaspati, transgressing the covenant he had covenanted he cut off the head of the Asura Namuci.' From these sins against the gods he walked away into the forest not descending (?) to the gods. He said to the gods: 'Perform a sacrifice for me.' 'No,' they said, 'these agreements thou hast transgressed, thou hast committed those sins against the gods. We will not perform a sacrifice for thee.' Now, Agni might have been called his best friend; so among the gods he spoke to Agni: 'Sacrifice for me.' 'Yes,' he said, 'but I desire some one among the gods with whom I may sacrifice for thee.' He did not find any one among the gods with whom he might have sacrificed for him. He said: 'I cannot find any one among the gods with whom I might sacrifice for thee.' 'Then do thou alone sacrifice for me.' 'Yes.' Agni by himself succeeded. He performed this agniṣṭut. With that he sacrificed for him. With it he at once burnt away all his (Indra's) evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull the blade of the reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he got rid of all his evil. He burns having cast off all evil. For this is Indra. If one should be much talked about, if they should reproach him, he should sacrifice with this (agniṣṭut). At once he burns off all his evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull a blade of reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he gets rid of all evil.'

Probably Sāyaṇa is quite right in connecting RV. v. 34. 4,

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1 brhaspater avadhit = brhaspater vācam avadhit, cf. AB. vi. 38. 4, alasā 'bhūr yo me vācam avadhit'. The Commentator on AB. vii. 88 glosses: svaguvor brhaspater vákṣyaṃ svakṣyaṃ vākṣyaṃ pratyavadhit. so 'yam pratiḥāto na yuktāḥ tathā cā 'pastambaḥ smarati: vākṣyaṃ vākṣyasya pratiḥātam ādūrasya varjaye cchreyasāṃ ce 'ti. It is 'interrupt' rather than 'contradict.'

2 Professor Bloomfield suggests anubhāvayan as a possible conjecture.

3 For the comparisons cf. JB. 1. 9, sa yathā 'hir ahicchavyāt nirnmucyeta yathā muṇḍā iṣṭānām virvahāḥ evam eva sarvasmāt pāpamino nirnmucyate ya evam vidvān agniḥotran jihott; Kāth. Up. ii. 6. 17, aṅgusṭa-mātraḥ puruṣo 'ntarātmā | sodā janānāṁ hṛdaye saṁśivaṁ | tam svāc cārithāt pravṛthet | muṇḍā eva 'iṣṭānām dhārīryaḥ; BAU (ed. Böhl ingk) iv. 4. 10, tad yathā 'hinīrvayānām vālmikec mṛtā pratyastā gāyitā | evam eva 'dān ārṭrayaṁ ēṣe (= CB. xiv. 7. 2. 10).

4 vac in the bad sense of nid, cf. RV. vii. 81. 5, mā no nīdē ca vāktave 'rṣo rāndhīr āravāne.
yasyā 'vadhit pitāraṁ yasya mātāram
yasya cakrō hṛtāraṁ nā 'ta iṣate
vēti 'd v asya prāyaṭā yataṁkaro
nā kilbiśād iṣate vāsva ākarāḥ,

with the Brahmaṇa stories just quoted. The thought is clear:
The Valiant One does not flee even from him whose father or
mother or brother he has slain; even of one thus offended he
demands offerings; nay even from guilt does the Collector of
Wealth not shrink. Sāyaṇa glosses: kilbiśaḥ pitrādevadhānyak-
tān' ne "iṣate na calati na bibhete vā. indrasyā 'stoṣyaṁhatir
indro yatīn sālavṛkebhyāḥ prāyačchad antarikṣaṁ" pārumān
prthivyāṁ kūla-kūlāṁyān arunmukhān yatīn sālavṛkebhyāḥ prā-
yacchām ityādi pratīṣu prasiddhāh.

§ 3. Of the legends referred to in the above indictment, that
of the Yatis is frequently and variously related in the Brahmaṇas.
Most of the passages have already been collected by Weber in his
note on AV. ii. 27. 5 (Ind. Stud. xiii. 191) viz. AB. vii. 28; TS.
vi. 2. 7. 5; TMB. viii. 1. 4; xiii. 4. 16; xiv. 11. 28; xvii. 1. 9;
xix. 4. 7; Kāth. viii. 5; xi. 10; xxv. 6; xxxvi. 7 (in Ind. Stud.
iii. 465) Čāṇ. ČS. xiv. 50. 2. To these may be added TS. ii. 4.
9. 2; MS. i. 10. 12, p. 152; and JB. i. 185 which runs as follows:
trāikakubham annādyakāmaṁ kurvita. indro yatīn sālavṛkebhyāṁ
prāyačchat.1 teṣāṁ1 adyaṁnānāṁ trayaḥ kumārāḥ2 pary-
ačisyanta rāyovojāḥ prthuračmirāḥ bhadgiriḥ. taṁ indraṁ avastuva
tām1 abraviṁ kiṁkāmā mā kumāras stutho 'ti. bibhyo eva no
maghavan3 ity abravaν. tāṁ antarā 'risayora4 adhyāsyata. taṁ asya
tisraṁ kakubho 'lambanta. ime vāi lokās saha santas tredhā
vyāyaṁ,5 tāṁ tredhā6 'nādyam anuyāit. taṁ eṣāṁ trayaṇāṁ
lokānāṁ tisraṁ kakubho 'nādyam'7 alambanta.8 sa aniketā9
'sāṃ ced vāi trayaṇāṁ lokānāṁ tisraṁ kakubho 'nādyam'10 ava-
runādhyayā11 tene 'mās tisraṁ kakubho 'pahareye'12 'ti. so'13 etat . . .

1 Cf. RV. iv. 18. 12, kās te mātāram vidhāvām acakrat; Pischel, Ved.
Stud. ii. 51.
2 He quotes here (evidently from memory, hence the transposition)
the passage Kāṇ. Up. iii. 1.
3 C. praçoṣa. 4 C. om. 5 C. kām-. 6 A. prathuračmi; C. pratha-
račmi. 7 A. tār-. 8 C. stūṣṭhārī. 9 C. mavya-. 10 C. 'risanographical.
11 A. vāyās. 12 A. tṛṣṇā; C. tredhāya. 13 C. om. 14 C. 'nādyakāman.
15 A. avālab-. 16 C. 'āikṛte. 17 A. avārūdha. 18 A. avāharata.
19 This whole sentence to 'pāharata is wanting in A.
H. Oertel,

[1898.]

"He who desires food should use the trāśīkakubha-sāman. Indra gave the Yatis over to the sālāvık-a-wolves. While they were being eaten, three boys were left, Rāyoviṣa, Prthuṛaṃsi, and Bṛhadgiri. They praised Indra. He said to them: 'With what wish, O boys, do you praise me?' 'Support us, O Bounteous one,' they said. He threw them over his shoulders. They clung to his three points. 19 Verily these worlds which had been together separated in three parts. In connection with these [worlds] food also separated in three parts. And they clung to the three points of these worlds, to food. He considered: 'If I should obtain the three points of these three worlds, food, I should thereby carry off these three points.' He thus praised with the...gyakta-[sāman]. With it he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food; with it he carried off these three points. Because he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food, that is the reason for calling it the trāśīkakubha-[sāman]. That same is the sāman for the obtaining of

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1 C. āta (space) gyak-. 2 C. avaruṇḍhiyate. 3 C. tenā. 4 C. harata. 5 A. C. avār-. 6 C. trekakubhaḥtvam.
7 A. varuddhiṣa-; C. varuddhiṣa-. 8 A. avaruṇḍhe. 9 A. āṇḍirīt iti ca; C. āṇḍrīṭcaḥ. 10 C. āṇḍrāś s-.
11 C. puṣtapuṣa-. 12 A. smātman. 13 C. vaḥ. 14 C. om. 15 A. paśvak-. 16 C. kṣetra-. 17 A. prathar; C. prathur. 18 C. -giram.
19 This, and what follows it not quite clear to me. The Commentator to TMB. viii. 1. 4. glosses the parallel passage by svakakupsv adhini-dhāya.
food. He obtains food, he excels his own (people) in food who knows thus.

186. And this sāman also pertains to the powers (indriya). It is Indra's triplet. It is Indra's sāman. Its nidhana is 'Indra.' There are three powers in man: the self, offspring, cattle. These same he thereby encompasses within himself. He said to them: 'What does the first wish? what the second? what the third?' Rāyovaija said: 'I desire cattle.' He gave to him the ilā. For the ilā is cattle. Again Pṛthuṛaṣmi said: 'I desire nobility.' He gave to him nobility. He is Pṛthu Vāinya. Again Bṛhadgiri said: 'I desire food.' He gave him his wish."

This is clearly an elaboration of the legend in TMB. xiii. 4, 16 (and also very briefly told at viii. 1. 4.), indro yatīn sālavṛkebhyāḥ prayacchat. teṣāṁ trayo udacisyanta pṛthuṛaṃśmir bṛhadgirī rāyovājaḥ. te bṛuvan ko na imān putrān bharisyati 'ti, ahām ita 'nāro bṛaviś, tān adhinidhāya purificāy ācaraḥ" vardhayaṁ tān vardh hayatvā bṛaviś kumārakā varān vṛṇādham iti. kṣatram mahyam ity abraviś pṛthuṛaṃśmiḥ. tasmā etena pārthuṛaṃśmena kṣatram prayacchat. kṣatrakāmā etenaśtuviśa kṣatrasya vā 'syā prakūpo bhavati. brahmavarcasam mahyam ity abraVID bṛhadgirīḥ. tasmā etena būrhadgireṇa brahmavarcasam prayacchat. brahmavarcasakāmā etena stūviśa brahmavarcasā bhavati. paCaṁ mahyam ity abravid rāyovājaḥ. tasmā etena rāyovājiyena paCaṁ prayacchat. papukāmā etena stūviśa pācumān bhavati.

The shorter passage (viii. 1. 4) introduces the story exactly like the longer versions just quoted. But after ahām ita 'nāro 'braviś it continues: tāṁs trikakub adhinidhāyā 'carat. sa etat sāmā paCayat. yat trikakub apāCa yat tasmāt trikakukham. The Commentator glosses: trikakup by trynechrītrapadeṣa āsan svakakupsv adhinidhāya; which is quite similar to Śāyana's explanation of the same word at RV. i. 121. 4, trikakup triśu lokeśu 'echrī 'ndraiḥ.

1 Commentary glosses rathe āropya; but it evidently corresponds to the antarā 'ndsyor adhyāsyata of the JB. version.
2 The text of the Bibli. Indica reads paricārya acaran; but a 3d pers. sing. is wanted. Its force is that of an auxiliary with the participle following, cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 890. The Comment. has: vardhayan pośayān, paryacaran (!) paricāryāh kṛtāvān, evam vardh hayatā punar abraviś; where paryacaran clearly stands for -at.
3 Comm. supplies sāmnā.
4 Comm. supplies pārthuṛaṃśena brahmāsāmnā.
5 Elsewhere he usually glosses kakubh by diq.
The Buddhistic technical terms *upādāna* and *upādisesa*.—By ARTHUR ONCEKON LOVEJOY, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The meaning of the word *upādāna*, the ninth *nidāna* in the *paṭicca-samuppāda*, and of the kindred *upādi*, has been much discussed, without any altogether satisfactory and universally accepted result. Yet for the interpretation of the philosophical system of Buddhism it is of considerable consequence that both terms should be correctly understood; for the first is a pivotal link in the celebrated formula of causation which the legend represents as the third and crowning insight gained by the Buddha on the Night of Enlightenment, and the second is intimately connected with that subject of interminable controversy, Nirvāṇa. Of *upādāna*, in particular, a distinguished scholar has lately put forward a singular misinterpretation, which results in a mistaken view of the whole causation-formula, and thereby in a misconception of some of the essential parts of Buddhist psychology. By an examination of the use of these words in the Piṭakas, it seems to me not impossible to establish their meaning somewhat more definitely and coherently than has hitherto been done, and thus to throw some light upon the notorious obscurities of the *paṭicca-samuppāda*. A preliminary study directed to this end is here offered.

I. The word *upādāna* is ordinarily translated “attachment,” or “clinging to existence,” a meaning which its etymology naturally suggests, and which is definitely assigned to it by Buddhaghosa.¹ This signification is commonly regarded as indicating that the ninth link of the *paṭicca-samuppāda* is virtually a repetition of the eighth, *tāṇhā*; so Mr. Warren,² “the relation of desire to attachment is that of identity.” Some late Buddhist commentators, however, who are followed by Burnouf,³ define *upādāna* in strictly physical terms as “the conception of the embryo.” Finally, M. Senart, in his paper “Apropos de la

² JAOS. vol. xvi. p. xxvii.
³ *Introduction*, p. 475.
théorie bouddhique des douze nidānas,\textsuperscript{1} has lately propounded a third and surprising view of the matter, which he bases upon the frequent use of the compound upādānakkhandhā. M. Senart holds that upādāna is only an abbreviated expression for this compound; in other words, that it is a collective designation for the five skandhas. \textit{"Upādāna, plusieurs textes le démontrent, n'est qu'une réduction pour upādānaskandhās, ou, plus complètement, pañca upādānaskandhās. Ces skandhas sont compris en bloc sous le chef d'upādāna."} Childers's translation of upādānakkhandhā, \textit{"the skandhas which have their roots in upādāna,"} M. Senart declares to be wholly arbitrary. Since, however, the five skandhas already appear, more or less distinctly, in the second, third, fourth, sixth, and seventh terms of the paticeasamuppāda, this interpretation makes it necessary to regard the formula as extremely repetitious; and from this supposed repetitiousness M. Senart draws his principal argument for the derivative, composite, and practically meaningless character of the formula as a whole. But both premises and conclusion are, I believe, entirely erroneous.

The identification of upādāna with upādānakkhandhā seems to be so altogether groundless that only the eminence of the authority by whom it is made can justify any serious criticism of it. Out of the four passages cited by M. Senart in proof of it, the three which I have been able to consult prove nothing remotely like the interpretation which they are intended to substantiate. The first two are merely different versions of a familiar passage in the Dhamma-ikkappavattana Sutta.\textsuperscript{2} Here, in the exposition of the first Noble Truth, it is said, savākhittena pañc' upādānakkhandhāpi dukkhā, \textit{"in short, the five upādāna-skandhas are painful."} This text, of course, throws no light whatever upon the relation of the two elements in the compound word. The remaining passage is a section from the Abhidharma-kāṇḍā-vyākhyā given by Burnouf \textit{(Introduct. p. 475).} Two alternative interpretations are there offered for upādānakkhandhā: (a) upādānakkhandhā = upādāna[saṁbhūtāh]skandhāh, \textit{"c'est-à-dire les attributs produits par la conception,"}—a translation identical, so far as the relation of the elements of the compound

\textsuperscript{1} Mêlanges Charles de Hárles, 1896, p. 284.
\textsuperscript{2} Mahāvagga, i. 6. 19, and Feer, \textit{"Études Bouddhiques,"} J.A. 1870, i. pp. 382, 406.
is concerned, with Childers's; (b) upādānakkhandhā désigne les attributs qui sont l'origine ou la cause de la conception." In short, the commentator of the Abhidharma-kosa-uyākhyā by no means identifies upādāna and upādānakkhandhā, but he allows the reader to understand by the latter term either "the skandhas that are caused by upādāna," or "the skandhas that are the causes of upādāna" (both interpretations, as we shall see, are to be accepted). Thus there appears no evidence for M. Senart's interpretation. On the other hand, that interpretation is directly contradicted by numerous passages in the Sutta Pitaka, which make both the distinction and the relation between upādāna and upādānakkhandhā sufficiently plain. Thus in Saṃyutta Nikāya 22. 48 (ed. Feer, vol. iii. p. 47) we have the following: "What, O monks," says the Blessed One, "are the five skandhas? Whatever form (rūpaṃ) there is, past, present, or future, near or far, etc.—that is called rūpakkhandha." So of the four other skandhas. "And what are the five upādāna-skandhas? Whatever form there is, past, present, or future, near or far, etc., which is connected with the āsavas and subject to attachment (upādāniya), —that, O monks, is called rūvupādānakkhandha." Here it is sufficient to observe that a distinction is obviously made between the skandhas as such, and the skandhas as subject to upādāna. A similar distinction is indicated at Saṃy. Nik. 22. 7 (Feer, iii. p. 15), where the mind is said to be characterized by upādāna in so far as it takes any (or all) of the skandhas for a substantive Self. This, of course, corresponds strictly to only one of the four sorts of upādāna;¹ viz., at tavādupādāna; but the demarcation between the several sorts is not in any case a very rigid one.

It is sufficiently evident, then, that upādāna is by no means "merely an abbreviation for upādānakkhandhā." The view that has been criticised may, however, serve to remind us that there certainly was for Buddhist thought a particularly close connection of ideas between upādāna and the skandhas. It may be worth while to attempt to state precisely what this connection was; although the matter seems, indeed, fairly obvious.

It is just this relation which a great part of the Khandha Saṃyutta (Saṃy. Nik. 22), is devoted to expounding, at tedious length and with a great deal of repetition. To this Saṃyutta in general the reader may be referred. A couple of typical state-

¹ Saṃy. Nik. 12. 7, Feer, iii. p. 3.
ments taken from it will suffice for quotation here. From Sarvä. Ník. 22. 63: rūpaṁ kho bhante upādiyamānaḥ baddho Māraśa, anupādiyamānaḥ mutto Pāpimato, “Through attachment to form [or the other skandhas] one is bound by Māra, but by non-attachment one is released from the power of the Sinful One.” From Sarvä. Ník. 22. 121: katame bhikkhave upādāniyādhammā, kataman upādāṇanāṁ. Rūpaṁ pe. upādāniyo dhammo, yo tattha chandarāgo, tat tattha upādānam; “What, O monks, are the things subject to attachment, and what is attachment? The skandhas are the things subject to attachment; and whatever passion and desire exist in connection therewith, that is the attachment connected with the skandhas.”

In view of the exposition in the Khandha Sarväutta I venture to state summarily the signification of upādāna and its relation to the skandhas as follows: upādāna is specifically that result of desire which consists in the habitual identification of one’s will and interests with the skandhas, i.e. with the conditions of ordinary sentient, and especially (Sarvä. Ník. 35. 110) of physical, existence. It is thus, on the one hand, dependent upon the skandhas for its source and origin; but on the other hand, as its place in the paticca-samuppāda shows, the existence of upādāna is what leads directly to the formation of a new combination of skandhas in the next succeeding birth. It is this latter side of the notion which has given rise to the definition of the word that is offered by the Mahāyāna commentators cited by Burnouf (l.c.), “the conception of the embryo.” In any given birth, a man’s individual existence consists in the aggregation of skandhas which has resulted from his upādāna in a previous birth. The continuance of these existing skandhas can be in no wise affected by anything which he may do in the present life. But he may or may not identify his will with, attach his whole being to, these existing skandhas; and upon this it will depend whether the dissolution of the present group shall be followed by the formation of a new one, or not. As distinguished from taṇhā, upādāna seems to be the chronic condition of the will to which the particular cravings of desire lead; the more a man is given over to desire, the more his entire existence becomes bound to, and dependent upon, the transitory, insubstantial, and worthless conditions of sentiency and bodily form. An instructive comparison can also be drawn between the distinctive significations of upādāna and karma as causes of rebirth. The word karma came vol. xix. 9
to Buddhism with a long history behind it, and with its own set of moral ideas which had grown up around it. The morality to which it referred was simply the ordinary morality of social and religious propriety; the rewards which it implied were merely the blessings of rebirth in a more desirable state of existence,—in one of the heavens, in a wealthy family, or the like. This morality and this system of rewards Buddhism retained; but it added thereto a wholly new conception, namely, that of absolutely passionless, motiveless action; and a new *sumnum bonum*, namely, the cessation of rebirth altogether and the attainment of Nirvāṇa. For the general idea of the influence of moral causes in affecting future destiny, Buddhism adopted the old word, karma. But the pre-philosophical doctrine of karma apparently took the necessity of rebirth in some form or other as a matter of course. Since, therefore, the Buddhist conception asserted the possibility of putting an end to rebirth, it implied that rebirth *simply as such*, apart from its particular form, must also have a cause; and for this special cause of rebirth *per se*, the name *upādāna* was used. It will, then, usually be found, I think, that for the general notion of moral causation the word karma is employed; but that, when there is occasion to distinguish between the old sort of virtue and its reward, which Buddhism accepted, and the new sort, which Buddhism propounded, there is a clear difference of usage between the two expressions. *Karma*, in this special sense, is the cause of the particular condition in which a man is reborn, while *upādāna* is the cause of the *fact* of rebirth in itself. Thus a man who has not entered the Paths, and so has not begun to extinguish *upādāna* at all, is still capable of creating for himself good rather than bad karma. If this general distinction be borne in mind, it will, I think, make the *paṭiccasamuppāda* seem rather more significant and intelligible than it would otherwise appear. The formula, though not expressing strict temporal sequence, falls broadly into three parts, the first (links 1–2) referring more particularly to past existences; the second (3–9), to the present existence; and the third (10–12), to future existences. The first section begins with Ignorance (i.e., of the Buddhist Dharma), and ends with *saṁkhāra*, which are

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2 Cf. the passages cited above, and *MP.* p. 32. 12.
equivalent to karma in its more general sense; what is asserted is that those who have never known the truth revealed by the Enlightened One have of necessity been subject to the law of karmic causation, and so to rebirth; this is, so to say, the pre-Buddhistic era, and therefore the pre-Buddhistic term is used for the cause which carries the sequence over into the next stage. But the "present" existence of the second section is characteristically an existence described with reference to the special doctrine of Buddhism; the being who is in this stage, is, as it were, conceived as potentially acquainted with the saving truth of the impermanence of all composite things and the worthlessness of all skandha-existence; and consequently the cause and transitional link at the end of the section (9), which, if it be not extinguished and salvation be not gained, will lead to repeated birth after death, is here spoken of, not simply as karma, but as the peculiar cause of rebirth itself, which has been discovered by the Buddha,—i.e., as upādāna. The indeterminate future existences of the third stage are briefly summarized under the ordinary colloquial expressions for the great termini of human life,—bhava, jāti, jarāmarāṇa,—and the sorrow inevitably connected therewith.

From this point of view the whole formula of causation becomes, I think, reasonably intelligible, and the value traditionally assigned to it can be understood. To conceive, as M. Senart does, that the paticeca-samuppāda is a virtually meaningless affair of shreds and patches, is to go a long way towards missing the point of certain of the most interesting and essential doctrines of Buddhism. In spite of a considerable residue of obscurity, the formula has, in general, a distinguishable meaning and an important one. Buddhism,—I speak throughout, of course, of the Buddhism of the Piṭakas and of the orthodox commentators,—is essentially a system of spiritual discipline based, not upon a metaphysic, but upon a psychology of sensation. It is this, of course, which sharply differentiates it from the other important Hindu philosophies, which are highly metaphysical. It seems to be difficult for European expounders of Buddhism to keep this distinction steadily in mind. There is a tendency to assimilate the doctrine to the type of the metaphysical systems.¹ Thus one

¹ A corresponding tendency appears in the interpretation of the practical side of the system, to make the essence of the Buddhistic conception of virtue lie in "union,—the sense of oneness with all that is," etc., while sorrow and evil are "in fact the result of the effort of the
of those who have done most to advance Buddhistic studies has been led to lend his weighty sanction to an unfortunate suggestion of Mr. Waddell's for the interpretation of the very first of the *nidānas*; the suggestion, namely, that the Ignorance there referred to is "an Ignorant Unconscious Will to Live, identical with what is now generally known to occidentals as Hartmann's Absolute." But this, surely, is almost enough to disturb the Bhagavat in the quietude of Nirvāna. Buddhism knows nothing of any ontological absolute, and it has a really morbid antipathy to the Unconditioned. The first *nidāna* simply asserts that salvation depends ultimately upon a certain theoretical insight; namely, an insight, not into any ultimate truths about the prime substance and metaphysical essence either of the universe or of man, but into a certain simple psychological analysis of the nature and value of human sensation and volition. Now, just this analysis is concisely packed into the middle and longest section (3–9) of the *patīca-samuppāda*. The terms used there, perhaps even the ideas, are doubtless largely borrowed ones; but the arrangement and application of them is certainly original and characteristic. It is impossible here to attempt to review this analysis, and to show how the skandhas are somewhat obscurely referred to in the *nidānas* between 1 and 8. The analysis ends with the seventh term of the formula, the completed and concrete fact of Sensation, with which, for the first time, appear determinations of worth, the pleasure-pain characteristics. Hereupon arises the activity of the sensuous will in the form of desire and aversion (8); and from this there ensues that habitual volitional attitude of *upādāna* which seeks, with inevitable failure, to find fixity and a stable satisfaction in what is inherently changeful and transitory. The fact of imperma-

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individual to keep separate from the rest of existence." This, in reality, is not an original Buddhistic notion at all, but Vedāntic. The spirit and tendency of Buddhism is far more pluralistic than monistic. In the sense in which the doctrine recognizes individuality, the individual is inherently "separate from the rest of existence," and always remains so. This separateness consists in the individuation of the sequence of karmic causation. Only the substantive permanence, not the separateness, of the Self is denied. For Buddhism, so to put it, a longitudinal section of existence would show no Ego, but a cross-section at any given moment would show an irresoluble individuation.

1 *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 112.
nence, which is the cause of this failure, is not made explicit in the formula itself, but is given in the complementary formula of the Three Characteristics. It may almost be said that the *paticca-*

*saṭṭhi-paññā*, properly understood, and the *tilakkhāna* for a commentary upon its middle section, constitute all the absolutely indispensable theoretical *impedimenta* with which Buddhism burdens itself.

II.

We may now turn to consider briefly the meaning of the element *upādi*- in the compound *upādisesa*. This compound has usually been translated, "having the five skandhas remaining;" and *saṇṇapādisesa nibbāna* and *anupādisesa nibbāna* are rendered respectively as the condition of the Arahat before, and his condition after, the dissolution of the skandhas, i.e. before and after his physical death (cf. Childers s.v.). *Upādi* is thus represented to be what M. Senart has taken *upādāna* to be,—a summary designation for the skandhas. But *upādi* (according to Childers's etymology, which is the usually accepted one) is virtually the same word as *upādāna*, in a form adapted to composition; and we have seen that *upādāna*, at all events, is no more a name for the skandhas than 'hen' is a name for 'hen's-egg.' It is, therefore, surprising, if true, that substantially the same word should have two so different meanings. The only hypothesis, I think, that has been offered to account for it, is one suggested by Professor Rhys Davids: "A comprehensive name for all the skandhas is *upādi*, a word derived (in allusion to the name of their cause, *upādāna*) from *upādā*, to grasp." This, however, is an explanation that hardly explains. The improbability of such a change of meaning led Oldenberg to argue, in an admirable discussion appended to his *Buddha* (English tr., p. 433), that *upādisesa* has primarily nothing to do with the skandhas, but means simply, "having a residue of attachment remaining." His contention is fortified by some citations which come near to being conclusive as to the prevailing, though not quite universal, usage; and to these citations those interested may be referred. Oldenberg's view seems, however, to have been pretty commonly ignored or rejected by subsequent expositors, who cling rather to the theory of Childers. The question is rendered somewhat difficult and complicated by the confusing similarity between *upādi* and *upadhi*, which allows a large chance for scribal errors,
and by the uncertain etymology of both these words. The Skt. word *upādhi* is a technical term in the Nyāya,¹ and in the Sāṃkhya,² where it signifies the elements of phenomenal existence. This, according to E. Müller³ and J. Dahlmann,⁴ is the equivalent of the Pāli *upādi*, while Böhtlingk, Childers and Rhys Davids derive *upādi* from *upāda*, and regard *upādhi* as the Pāli representative of Skt. *upādhi*. Both derivations seem to be etymologically possible; the meaning of *upādi* must therefore be settled rather by an examination of its use than by etymological arguments. I can only contribute here a few points, relevant but not necessarily conclusive, in favor of the view that *upādi* means the same thing as *upādāṇa*.

For light upon the original signification of Buddhistic terms we naturally turn first to the Sutta Nipāta. The word *upādīsesa* occurs there in three connections. At p. 135 (ed. Fausböll), and repeatedly in a similar context we have the following: *svam samma dvayatanupassino bhikkhuno . . . phalaṃ patikanikkhān, diṭṭhe va dhamme anāṭa, sati va upādīsesa, anāgāmita, “to the monk who rightly attends to this twofold truth, this result follows: either he attains in this world to perfect knowledge, or else, if *upādi* remains, he becomes an Anāgāmin.” To be *upādīsesa* is here described explicitly as the characteristic attribute of the Anāgāmin, just as perfect insight is the attribute of the Arahant. The obvious antithesis is between “perfect insight in this life” and *upādīsesa*. Now the customary translation of this passage, “if at death the skandhas still remain he will attain to non-returning,” makes the antithesis almost pointless. In the first place, the words “at death” are a gratuitous interpolation, since the time referred to may equally well be that of entering the Third Path. Again, it is incorrect to speak of the skandhas as “still remaining” at death; the skandhas do not remain but only their cause, which produces new groups in the next birth. This consideration alone is sufficient to make the more usual rendering of *upādīsesa* improbable; for if the word really meant “having the skandhas remaining,” it could not properly be applied as the differentia of the Anāgāmin, since until death both Anāgāmin and Arahant have the skandhas remaining, and after death neither can be said to do so. More-

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³ Pāli Grammar, p. 80.
over, if upādisesa is the especial epithet of the earthly life of the Arahat, it is difficult to see how it can at the same time express the characteristic which distinguishes the Anāgāmin from the Arahat. Finally the passage seems to indicate the presence of upādī as the cause which prevents the disciple from reaching the Fourth instead of the Third Path. In short, then, it appears to be not only justifiable but necessary to render upādisesa here by “having remaining a residue of attachment (upādāna).”

The second instance of the word in the Sutta Nipāta occurs at v. 354 (cited also by Oldenberg). Here the question is raised concerning a certain monk recently deceased: “Has he entered Nirvāṇa or is he saupādisesa?” The Buddha replies,—recalling how fully the monk has accepted and followed the Buddhist doctrine,—that he has entered Nirvāṇa. Not only, then, is it clear, as Oldenberg points out, that, since the monk is already dead, saupādisesa cannot be peculiarly an epithet of the Arahat before his death; but we may also note that the point upon which the inquirer wishes to be assured, is whether this monk, obviously far advanced in the Paths, had quite, or merely almost, reached perfect freedom from attachment,—i. e. whether in his lifetime he had reached the stage of the Arahat or only that of the Anāgāmin.

Once more, the word occurs at Sutta Nipāta, v. 876, with the negative prefix:

Ettāvat' aggam pi vaḍanti h' eke yakkhassa sūdāhiṁ idha paṇḍitāse tesam pun' eke samayam vaḍanti anupādisese 'kusalā' vaḍanā;

“thus some learned men say that the chief thing in the world is the purification from the demons; some, again, say that religious observances are the chief thing; but the truly wise say that the chief thing consists in being anupādisesa.” No one familiar with Buddhist modes of thought could suppose that anupādisesa here means merely the extinction of the (present) skandhas, i. e. physical death. To the man who has once become freed from desire it is indifferent whether he lives or dies; to regard death, in itself, as the sumnum bonum would be the least Buddhistic of sentiments. Plainly, the word anupādisesa in this passage means that moral condition of freedom from attachment which is the goal of the true Buddhist’s aspiration.
In the Sutta Nipāta, then, it would appear, first, that upādisesa or saupādisesa never refers primarily to the persistence of the five skandhas, but always to an ethical state; and, second, that the word, so far from describing the Arahant either before or after his death, is precisely what serves to distinguish the Anāgāmin from the Arahant, while the special superiority of the latter consists just in having got rid of upādi. Compare with this the numerous other texts, e. g. Saṁy. Nik. 23. 85, in which freedom from attachment is spoken of as the mark of the Arahant.

In accordance with these results we should be warranted in rendering saupādisesa nibbāna and anupādisesa nibbāna respectively as "proximate" and "complete" freedom from attachment. Another phrase in which the Anāgāmin and Arahant are at once grouped together and contrasted is orapāram or pārapāram, "the hither and the further shore" (see the first sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, and Childers, p. 336). The "hither shore" is the state of the Anāgāmin, who has rid himself of the first five saṁyojanas, or fetters, but has five still remaining. The Arahant, who "has crossed both the hither and the further shore," has thrown off all the ten saṁyojanas. The saṁyojanas are roughly synonymous with upādāna (v. Oldenberg, Budāhā, p. 430); so that this form of expression seems to be precisely parallel to saupādisesa and anupādisesa nibbāna. Both phrases indicate the Anāgāmin as one who has just fallen short of the religious perfection of the Arahant by reason of a slight residuum of upādāna.

It remains to say that, although the oldest and probably the most numerous texts thus point to the interpretation of upādisesa suggested by Oldenberg, other passages might be cited in favor of the more usual view; so that the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled. The discrepancies in usage may, as I have suggested, prove to be explicable as due to scribal errors resulting from the homophony of upādi, upadhi and the Sānkhyān upādhi.
Apāṁ Nāpāt in the Rig-Veda.—By Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio.

The expression apāṁ nāpāt, which occurs a number of times in the Rik, has long been regarded, with one or possibly two exceptions, as merely a name of Agni. From this opinion Bergaigne dissents to some extent; for he holds that Apāṁ Nāpāt is to be identified not only with Agni but “with liquid fire, that is to say, with Soma,” and with Savitṛ. In support of his view he offers quite an extended argument. 1 Without agreeing with his conclusions, it may be safe to assert that there is more in the question than has been commonly recognized, since the truth may possibly lie somewhere between the commonly accepted view and that put forward by Bergaigne. It is the object of this paper to review briefly the facts in the case, and to state the reasons for the belief that the whole story may not yet have been told.

A few passages in which apāṁ nāpāt occurs can be easily disposed of. In iii. 9. 1, a hymn to Agni, nāpātam is used in apposition with a pronoun of the second person, which is repeated in the following stanza, where Agni is addressed by name. In this passage apāṁ nāpātam plainly refers to Agni. An equally clear case is found in i. 148. 1, also a hymn to Agni, where nāpād is in apposition with a relative pronoun whose antecedent is agnōye. If these two passages stood alone in the Rik, apāṁ nāpāt, “son of the waters,” would be regarded as a mere descriptive expression, similar to many others—similar, in fact, to sīnūḥ sāhasaḥ, “son of might,” which is used of Agni in the second passage, agnōye . . . sāhasaḥ sūndāve.

That no further value should be attached to the words in this connection, is implied by a passage in a hymn to Savitṛ in which they occur, i. 22. 6; for, in this case, nāpātam is in apposition with savitāram, so that Savitṛ also is called a “son of the waters,” and there appears to be no reason why the usage in the three passages should not be regarded as the same.

There is another hymn to Savitṛ, however, in which a different use of the words occurs, x. 149. 2; for here there is no other word in the stanza to which they can be surely referred. The passage reads: “Whence sprang forth the firm-set gathering-of-the-

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1 La Religion Védique, i. 167, ii. 17–20 and 38–41, and iii. 15.
waters, O Apāṃ Napāt,—of that, Savitṛ knows.” As there is nothing peculiar in the insertion of a vocative referring to some other personality in a hymn to one of the gods, it is unnecessary to refer Apāṃ napāt to Savitṛ; but, if it does not refer to him, the expression must be used in this case as a proper name. A similar usage appears in two hymns to the Waters. In vii. 47. 2, the Waters are called upon to “let Apāṃ Napāt, the horse-driving-one, set-in-motion” their wave most sweet. There is nothing further in the stanza to establish his identity. Again, in x. 30, he appears three times with no other designation. In stanza 3, the priests are urged to honor him with an oblation and to press the sweet Soma for him, while he is expected to give them the “beautifully-clarified wave.” In 4, he is spoken of as one “who shines within the waters with-no-need-of-kindlings, whom the inspired call upon at sacrifices”; and he is asked to “give the sweet waters with which Indra increases his courage,” a practice which is also referred to in vii. 47. 2, already mentioned. In 14, the priests are told to seat the Waters, “in-company-with Apāṃ Napāt, on the sacrificial-straw.” These five passages, taken by themselves, imply the existence of a divinity called Apāṃ Napāt; but that is all.

In the hymns to all the gods, Apāṃ Napāt appears, in the same manner, a number of times. The fostering care of “Pūṣan accompanied-by-all-the-gods” is sought in x. 92. 13; then that of Apāṃ Napāt; then that of Vāyu; while Ahi Budhnya, who appears elsewhere in these hymns in close connection with Apāṃ Napāt, is mentioned in the preceding stanza. It is to be noted that Agni appears only in stanza 2, where he is spoken of as the established promoter of the sacrifice. In vii. 35. 13, Aja Ekapāḍ, Ahi Budhnya, the Gathering-of-the-waters, Apāṃ Napāt, and Prṣni are invoked. In this hymn, the dual divinity Indrāgni appears in the first stanza and Agni in the fourth. In the preceding hymn, vii. 34, Agni is invoked in stanzas 8 and 14: in the latter, he is spoken of as “consuming-the-offering because of adorations,” and is asked to favor the worshipers; while in 15, the friendship of “Apāṃ Napāt, united-with the gods,” is sought, and it is requested that he be kind to the worshipers. The singer goes on (16) to speak of praising “Ahi, the water-born (ahjām), with hymns”; and he then begs that Ahi Budhnya, “Dragon-of-the Deep,” may not bring the worshipers into trouble. Again, in vi. 52. 14, while “all the gods, worthy-of-sacrifice, the two worlds, and Apāṃ Napāt,” are called upon to hear the singer’s
“hymn-of-devotion,” Agni appears in the sixth stanza in company with Indra, Sarasvatī, and Parjanya, and he is invoked in 12 as ṛtṛ. In 16, the dual divinity Agnīparjanyaḥ appears. Turning to ii. 31. 6, Apāṁ Napāt is found in company with Ahi Budhnya, Aja Ekapād, Trita, the Chief-of-the-Bhūs, and Saviṭr. He is spoken of as “driving-horses (āpuhēma) with skill and vigor,” though there is doubtless a play upon the last two words, dhiyāt pāmi. In another hymn to all the gods, vi. 50, stanza 18, the favor of Saviṭr is sought; then that of Apāṁ Napāt; then that of “Tvāṣṭr, united-with the gods (and their) wives,” devēbhīr jānibhīhī sajōṛāḥ; etc. Agni is invoked in 1, with Aditi, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc.; and he is again addressed in 9, both by name and as “son of might,” sūṇo sahasō.

In these passages there is nothing to identify Apāṁ Napāt with Agni. There is, however, a passage in a hymn to all the gods, v. 41, in which Agni is supposed to be called “son of the waters.” In stanza 9, Āptya is called upon to assist the singer, who then makes him say, or puts himself in his place as saying, in 10: “The scion of the earth-born bull, Apāṁ Napāt, I, Trita, praise with well-prepared-hymn; like Etarī, Agni is sung of with loud-sounding-hymns; the flaming-haired consumes the fire-wood.” In order to make nāpātam apāṁ refer to Agni in this passage, it is necessary to regard the “scion of the earth-born bull,” ufṣno .. bhūmyāsya gārbhaṁ, as Agni. But it is quite as legitimate to regard the “earth-born bull” as Agni, who is often called ufṣan; and, by this interpretation, Apāṁ Napāt becomes the offspring, gārbha, of Agni, not Agni himself. In fact, there seems to be an actual contrast between Apāṁ Napāt and Agni, which, though slight, is still felt in the stanza.

There are yet two other passages in hymns to all the gods in which Apāṁ Napāt is mentioned. In i. 122. 4, the “two-lordly-ones,” yaḍasā, are called upon to “bring forth Apāṁ Napāt” and “the mothers (the waters-in-the-clouds) of the rushing agile-one.” In the following stanza, a desire is expressed for the “generosity of Agni”; but there is nothing in this to identify the two. Addressing the gods, in i. 186. 3, the poet says that he sings of their “beloved guest, of Agni”; but he does not mention Apāṁ Napāt until the fifth stanza, Varuṇa and others coming between. In 5, he says: “For us also let Ahi Budhnya joy prepare; as to (her) young the swarming-one (new-milch-cow), so-to-speak, presses onward, (so does) the stream, with which let us speed Apāṁ Napāt whom stallions swift-as-thought convey.”
But there are still two hymns to Agni in which Apāṁ Napāt appears, and both are instructive. In singing the praises of Agni, the poet says, x. 8. 5: "Thou art the eye of Order great—the herdsman; thou art, when order (holy-work) thou essayest, Varuṇa; thou art, O creature-wise-one, Apāṁ Napāt; thou art (his) envoy, whose sacrifices thou tastest." If in this passage, apāṁ nāpāj is taken as a mere general descriptive term, it loses all its force; for there is little point in the statement, "thou art a son of the waters." If, on the other hand, it is taken as a proper name, and the words bhūvo apāṁ nāpāj are regarded as parallel to those which correspond to them in the preceding pāda, bhūvo vārūṇo, it becomes a clear case, in each instance, of that peculiar Vedic practice of doing homage to a god by identifying him with some other god, from whom he is entirely distinct. On this basis, the statement becomes as vigorous and striking as is the preceding one, "thou art Varuṇa." The stanza, however, may not be convincing, since the other interpretation is possible; and the passage might easily lead to confusion, if taken in connection with the two first cited. But fortunately the case does not need to rest on this stanza. In vi. 13, a hymn in which Agni is addressed as "son of might," sūno sahaso (-sali), in three different stanzas, 4, 5, and 6, the third stanza reads: "With force the mighty-ruler slays the dragon; the sage, O Agni, takes booty from the niggard; whom thou O wise-one, Order-born, with riches, united-with Apāṁ Napāt, dost prosper." In this stanza, the phrase sajōsā nāptrāpāṁ seems to admit of no escape from the conclusion that Agni and Apāṁ Napāt were originally two different gods. In a passage cited above, vi. 50. 13, the same word, sajōsas, is used of Tvaṣṭṛ and the gods with their wives, and it often has this sense of 'united with.' Still, it must be remembered that the Hindu mind is capable of some remarkable conceptions, and that Agni is asked to bring Agni to the sacrifice, vii. 39. 5, while Indra is represented as his own grandfather, x. 54. 8.

Only the hymn addressed to Apāṁ Napāt, ii. 35, remains. Although its final stanza (15) is addressed to Agni, it seems to have nothing to do with the rest of the hymn and has long been regarded as a late addition. All the other stanzas have reference to Apāṁ Napāt. In 1, the "water-born," nādyō, is asked to find pleasure in the poet's hymns of praise, and he is immediately named as Apāṁ Napāt, the "driver-of-horses," āguhēmā. In 2, he is spoken of as the begetter of all creatures, the form of praise
so often used of the gods, and he is also called "kind," aryō. In 3, the "beaming waters stand round about the beaming, shining Apān Napāt." In 4, the "not-pouting young purifying waters stream about him young; with mighty flames, he richly shines with-no-need-of-kindlings, clothed-in-ghee (clarified-butter), in the waters." That he needs no kindlings, anīdhmo, has already been noted in x. 30. 4. In 5, the "three goddess wives gladly-furnish food for him, the unwavering god; for to the deep-valleys, so-to-speak, he flows forth in the waters; he sucks the beastings of those-having-their-first-young." In 6, his birth is said to have taken place in heaven, and it is added that "neither hardships nor wrongs can reach the not-to-be-disregarded-one in (his) crude cloud-castles yonder." In 7, he "shines forth within the waters, for the giving-of-good to the worshiping-one." In 8, he is spoken of as the one "who, in the waters, with divine flame, holy, imperishable, shines forth far-and-wide," and the "other creatures" are said to be merely "his branches." According to 9, "erect, clothed with light, Apān Napāt verily betakes-himself to the bosom of the oblique-ones (the falling-rain); carrying his preëminent majesty, the golden-colored streams move about (him)." The theme of 10 is the golden color of Apān Napāt; and it is also said that "letting-himself-down from (his) golden birth-place, bestowing-gold, he gives food to this-one (the singer)." According to 11, "his face increases, and (so does) the dear secret form (name) of Apān Napāt, whom the young-maidens (the waters) kindle unitedly, in-this-way (īthā),—golden-colored ghee is his food." This stanza is somewhat in dispute, however, and the "young-maidens" are regarded by some as the fingers. Still, the stanza strongly resembles 4 of the same hymn. In 12, it is stated that he is worshiped "with sacrifices, with obeisance, (and) with oblations"; and the poet then continues, "(his) peak I make-bright, I gladly-furnish with chips, I cover with food, I praise with hymns." It is to be noted that bīlma, 'chip,' occurs only here, in the Rik. In 13, the poet says: "He, verily, the bull (vṛśā), begot in those (waters) the scion (gār♭hānā); he, verily, the young, took-to-the-breast; him (the waters) caressed; he, Apān Napāt, whose-color-cannot-be-blotted-out, with the body of another, so-to-speak, is-active here." The hymn properly concludes with 14: "(Him), on this highest station standing, with undimmed (rays) ever shining, the waters, to their son, ghee as food conveying, of-their-own-accord with draperies fly about (conceal), swiftly-streaming." Stanza 15 reads: "I proffer, O Agni,
security to man, I proffer also, to the generous, excellent-praise; all that (every thing) is propitious which the gods favor; mightily let us, rich-in-heroes, sing at the sacred-assembly." The stanza is, in part, found elsewhere, ii. 1. 16; 2. 13; 23. 19; and ix. 86. 48.

The only stanzas of this hymn, excepting 15, which can be regarded as at all suitable for Agni, are 11 and 12; for 10 is better suited to the lightning pure and simple. But 11 appears to be only a variation of 4, which, again, is perfectly appropriate for lightning. If 12 refers to the kindling of a fire, the statement of 13, that "Apāṅ Napāt is-active here with the body of another, so-to-speak," must still be reckoned with, although an apparent rather than a real union with another’s body seems to be applied. This stanza should also be compared with v. 41. 10, cited above; for it seems to bear out the suggestion that Apāṅ Napāt was the son of Agni, as well as of the Waters, or Rain-clouds, who, in true Hindu fashion, are spoken of as his "mothers," in i. 122. 4, also cited above, and still more plainly as Agni’s mothers, in iii. 9. 2. This, however, proves nothing as to relationship. If stanza 15 had any place in the original hymn, which is very doubtful, it was probably due to this apparent reference to Agni in the beginning of stanza 13, combined with the seeming reference to Apāṅ Napāt’s likeness to Agni in its concluding pāda. It is of course possible that this stanza furnished the ground for adding 15 later on, although it seems quite as likely that it was the result of a confusion of the two gods in the popular mind. It should be added, finally, that there is a possible reference to Agni in stanza 6, which begins: "There (was) the birth of the horse (Agni?) and of him (Apāṅ Napāt), in heaven," ṛṇasyātra jānīmāsyā ca svā
d.

Enough has possibly been said to show that Apāṅ Napāt is probably not to be regarded merely as the lightning form of Agni, an explanation which is frequently given; but there are other evidences yet to be adduced. Apāṅ Napāt was an Indo-Iranian god, if he is not still older; for there is a god Apāṅ Napāt in the Avesta, whose individuality is very marked. He is often referred to immediately after a god "Ātar, the son of Ahura Mazda," while "the holy waters, made by Ahura," are frequently mentioned just after him, in turn. If it is claimed, since Agni

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5 See Sacred Books of the East, xxiii. pp. 5-6, 14, 38, 38, etc., and cf. 289, etc.
does not appear in the Avesta, that the two were probably one in Indo-Iranian times, it must be remembered that Ātar has also disappeared from the Vedic beliefs, although his name has survived in Āthar-van, 'Fire-priest.' Now, Ātar, like Agni, is related to both fire and lightning; and, if Agni himself has disappeared from the religion of the Magi, his characteristics have survived in the persons of Ātar and another Avestan god. It is believed that the worship of fire is very old, that the earliest fire-cult probably had reference to the destruction of evil spirits, and that this function originally belonged to Agni alone. But if this is true, and it seems reasonable, it naturally follows that Indra Vṛtraḥ is probably considerably younger than Agni Vṛtraḥ, who appears in some of the oldest hymns in the Rik; and, in that case, Agni, in his character as "spook-killer,"—x. 87. 1, and 162. 1, with iii. 15. 1, and vii. 8. 6, a very old hymn, by the way,—is to be likened to Verethraghna, the fiend smiter par excellence of the Avesta; for the comparison of Indra with Verethraghna will hardly stand the test of a careful analysis and may therefore be dismissed.

That Agni was originally a god of the lightning, the lightning that strikes and leaves fire behind it, there can be no doubt. That Agni still retains his character as lightning in parts of the Rig-Veda is, however, of itself, no more reason for identifying him with Apāṁ Napāt, who never appears clearly in any other rôle, than is the fact that Savīṭṛ, Pūṣan, and Viṣṇu were all sun gods a reason for identifying them with Sūrya. There seem, in fact, to have been other gods of lightning, such as Trita (Macdonell, l. c., p. 69), and possibly Aja Ekapāḍ (ib., p. 74) and Rudra (Hopkins, l. c., p. 112), not to mention the "long broad son of the mist," dīrghāṁ prthūṁ mihō nāpātam, led onward by the Maruts (i. 37. 11, which may, however, refer to the rain); but no one thinks of identifying any of these with Agni. It should be noted incidentally that the demon Čuṣṇa is also called a "son of

3 For a fuller statement, see Bibliotheca Sacra, iv. pp. 103, 104, and 107, footnote 5.
4 See Kaege (trans. by Arrowsmith), The Rig-Veda, p. 85; M. Bloomfield, in JAOS., xvi. pp. 1 ff.; R-V., i. 143. 2, and 164. 52, ii. 1. 1, iii. 9. 3, vii. 15. 4; etc.
the mist,” v. 32. 4; but this simply shows how loosely Vedic expressions are often used.

As Agni was lightning—probably the blinding flash—and fire (later the sun also), so Apāṁ Nāpāt was lightning in its most remarkable and conspicuous form, the distant descending bolt, the fascinating and awe-inspiring “chain-lightning,” which, like a molten stream of fire, seems to reach from heaven to earth. This was “the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord” of the Avesta (SBE, xxiii. p. 14); and this was the Vedic god who, “erect, clothed with light, betakes-himself to the bosom of the oblique-ones,” and “whom stallions swift-as-thought convey.”

While Agni became more and more conspicuous, Apāṁ Nāpāt seems to have waned in popularity, until he was so far forgotten that a confusion arose concerning the two uses of the expression apāṁ nāpāt; and Apāṁ Nāpāt, the “Son of the Waters,” kar talents was swallowed up in Agni, a “son of the waters,” as he was occasionally (twice in the Rik) called, since he too, because of his original lightning nature, was supposed to have been born of the rain-clouds. To the same source is to be traced the myth of his hiding in the waters; for this myth probably had no connection originally with Apāṁ Nāpāt, beyond the mere fact that both he and Agni were forms of lightning which, appearing when the thunderstorm was at its height, seemed to disappear in the clouds from which they came. But a further source of confusion is possibly to be found in the expression apāṁ gārbhaḥ, “son of the waters,” which is several times used of Agni (i. 70. 3, iii. 1. 12 and 13, iii. 5. 3, vii. 9. 3, and doubtless i. 164. 52, and ix. 97. 41), and also in the fact that Agni is once, ii. 1. 5, called a “horse-driver,” āṣuḥemā; but, while these expressions may have been fruitful in producing a confusion of the two gods, they cannot, as words are used in the Rik, be taken as valid ground for any belief in an original identity of the two.

The conclusion seems to be warranted, therefore, that Agni and Apāṁ Nāpāt were once distinct gods,—gods of the lightning, who were, however, associated with each other and were much alike in certain particulars; and that this association and resemblance ultimately resulted, possibly at the close of the Vedic period, in a confusion and union of the two, as a result of which Apāṁ Nāpāt was absorbed by Agni.¹

¹ See the following article, “The Original Hindu Triad.”
The Original Hindu Triad.—By Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio.

The number three is indissolubly connected with the religious history of India. Its sacred character appears conspicuously in the Rig-Veda, and the modern Hindu triad—Brahma, Viṣṇu, Čiva—is familiar to all who have even a slight acquaintance with India or its people. But there have been other groups of three gods in the religious history of the Hindus; and, while the origin of the divine triad, as well as that of the sacredness of the number three, may never be fully known, it is interesting to note whatever may throw any possible light on the subject.

In one of the early Brahmanical writings, the Vedic investigator Yāśaka tells of certain scholars, more ancient than himself, who maintained that there were but three gods, although many names were used in speaking of them. The only gods whom these scholars admitted to exist were, a deity located on the earth, Agni; a deity dwelling in the atmosphere, to whom they allotted two names, Indra or Vāyu; and a deity whose home was in the heavenly regions, Sūrya. These three, then, constituted a triad, the earliest of which there is any mention; for, although groups of three gods can be found as far back as the Rig-Veda itself,—as, for example, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, and the three Rbhus,—an ordinary group of three gods can hardly be called a triad, since a triad should possess marked differences, either in their field of action or in their characteristics.

In speaking of this early Brahmanical group of gods, a recent writer (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 69) says that the second member of the group was probably originally Trita, whom he farther regards as a god of lightning. Later on in the book (p. 93), he concludes that the mystical threefold nature of Agni, as fire, lightning, and sun,—for the identification of Agni with the sun is also Vedic,—was the prototype of the groups, Sun, Wind, Fire, and Sun, Indra, Fire, which, though not Vedic, are ancient. He also calls attention to Agni’s three dwelling places, in the order usually given, heaven, earth, and the waters, i.e., the rain-clouds. The position here taken must at once strike the reader as a reasonable one, on the whole; and it must be accepted, unless

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a simpler and more natural one can be found. The notion that the light and heat of the sun came from the same source as the light and heat of a fire is based on a simple association of ideas, and need, therefore, produce no difficulty. By a similar process, Agni Vāidyuta and Trīta may have also come to be identified as lightning, or the “middle Agni.” It may be an interesting question, however, whether there are not other possible elements in the problem, and whether the origin of the groups mentioned cannot be pushed still further back. It is the object of this paper to consider briefly a few points looking in that direction.

The position has already been taken, in the preceding paper, “Apāṃ Napāṭ in the Rig-Veda,” that Apāṃ Napāṭ and Agni were originally distinct gods, and that Apāṃ Napāṭ was the name given to that phenomenon of the thunderstorm which is commonly spoken of as chain lightning. It may not be out of place to briefly refer to the reasons for this belief.

The name Apāṃ Napāṭ is very old. If it is not Aryan, it is at least Indo-Iranian; for it appears not only in the Rik but also in the Avesta as the name of a god. In the Avesta, he is “the tall lord,” or “the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord”; or, as another translator has it in other portions of the Mazdean scriptures, he is spoken of as “lofty,” “kingly and brilliant,” “glittering-one,” etc.

In the Rik, he is a “driver-of-horses,” ii. 35. 1, and vii. 47. 2; he is a god “whom stallions swift-as-thought convey,” i. 186. 5; he “shines in the waters (rain-clouds, or rain-in-the-clouds) without-need-of-kindlings,” ii. 35. 4, and x. 30. 4; “his birth (is) in heaven, (and) no wrongs can reach (him) in his cloud-strongholds yonder,” ii. 35. 6; he “shines far-and-wide with divine flame, in the waters,” l. c., 8; “(standing)-erect, clothed with light, (he) seeks the bosom of the oblique-ones (the streaming-rain); bearing his preeminent majesty, the golden streams press around (him),” l. c., 9; “golden-colored,” he descends from a golden seat, l. c., 10; “here (on earth), he is-active in another’s body (fire?), so-to-speak,” l. c., 13; and, “bringing (him) food, the waters, of-their-own-accord, quickly veil (him) standing on the highest station with undimmed (rays),” l. c., 14. It is hardly necessary to say more, so perfectly does the whole description fit

1 Darmesteter in Sacred Books of the East, xxiii. pp. 5-6, 14, 36, 38, etc.
2 Mills, id., xxxi. pp. 197, 204, 219, 319, 326, etc.
the distant descending bolt. His food is supposed to be clarified butter, i. e., 11 and 14, probably because of the sudden flame which it produces when poured into a fire; while the swift veiling by the waters doubtless refers to the sudden withdrawal of the bolt from sight. Apām Nāpāt, then, is a god of lightning pure and simple, and he seems to have had that character from the beginning.

Turning now to Agni, it will be observed that he is essentially the god of fire, and the antiquity of his fire character is attested by the Latin ignis whose proper meaning is simply ‘fire.’ But that he was originally the lightning-kindled-fire is to be inferred from the fact that the Grecian myth, according to which fire first came from heaven, is to be traced in the Rig-Veda (Hopkins, Religions of India, pp. 108–110), and also from the fact that Agni has, in parts of the Rīk, a lightning character. Agni, then, from his original character as the lightning-kindled-fire, or, better, the lightning-stroke-which-results-in-fire, developed, as a Vedic god, a twofold nature, i. e., he became both fire and lightning; but, by a later extension, he also came to include the sun, and this gave him his mystical threefold character as fire, lightning, and sun.

Such a genesis seems, at least, to account most readily for all his peculiarities, even to the function of ‘spook-killer,’ rakṣohān, x. 87. 1, etc.; for the ancient Hindus, like their modern brethren, believed that the air about them was infested with spooks and goblins of various kinds. To suppose that fire is fatal to evil spirits, seems, under ordinary circumstances, like a strange notion; but, to one who has seen the stroke, the lightning-kindled-fire becomes a most natural death-dealer to the goblins of the air. As a rule, such a stroke is simply a terrible blinding flash; for a distant observer can hardly be aware of the stroke at all, except by inference. Occasionally, a sudden streak of dazzling light, more or less approaching the horizontal, may be seen by some one looking in the direction taken by the bolt; and its effect upon the mind can hardly be described. The sudden passage of a large swift-winged bird just over the head may sometimes produce a startled sensation akin to that produced by the flight of the lightning’s bolt; but nothing else in nature approaches it. For this reason, it is not strange, perhaps, that Agni, in his lightning character, is sometimes the ‘eagle’ in the Rīk (see M. Bloomfield, in JAOS., xvi. 1 ff.); and, if his name means ‘Agile-one,’ as is supposed, it was certainly appropriate.
No wonder that the superstitious Hindu observer, or his ancestors, felt that such a stroke must have proved fatal to many a spook, and this original idea of the lightning-stroke-in-the-fire can still be traced in passages to Agni, the 'goblin-smiter'; as, for example, "pierce him (the sorcerer) thou slinger with (thy) dart, (thou) keen-one," tām datā vidhyā pārvā pīcānah, x. 87. 6.
To the lightning side of his nature, doubtless, is also to be traced the epithet vṛtraḥāṇ, 'dragon-slayer,' which is applied to Agni alone with any frequency, if Indra be omitted. The blinding flash does not always strike, nor does it always leave fire behind it when it strikes; but it would very soon tend to be regarded, for the most part, as Agni just the same, and, if some change beholder were to see a tree cleft by a sudden thunderbolt, it would be a very simple and a perfectly natural bit of reasoning which would lead to the conclusion that Agni could and actually did smite the 'cloud-dragon' also in like manner. Whether the Vṛtra, i.e., the 'cloud-dragon,' myth arose from a lack of rain or from a fear lest the light was to be snatched from men, would not affect the question; for, when the blinding flashes begin to come, not only does the rain descend but the heaviest clouds also pass over and the light begins to return.

But close observers must soon have noticed that there was a third form of lightning no less conspicuous than the other two; and the wonderful play of the cloud-bolts in the sky, which also often produce a blinding flash, may well have excited the wonder and admiration of a primitive people in a land of violent thunder-storms such as both the Hindus and their ancestors seem to have inhabited. Very soon also the question must have suggested itself whether this third form of lightning was not after all the god who destroyed the 'cloud-dragon,' since he always appeared so high up in the air where the 'sky-dragon' was, and since he always seemed to be smiting something there just as Agni was sometimes seen to do on the earth. Speaking of him as the 'third-one,' he may soon have come to be simply 'Third,' and it is possible that this was the way in which Trita got his name.

As the conviction grew that Trita, 'Third,' was the real smiter of the 'cloud-' or 'sky-dragon,' the myth would naturally tend to become attached to him even more strongly than it was to Agni; and, when Indra at length displaced him and became the supreme god of the storm, it was to be expected that he would also usurp the function of 'dragon-killer'; for it must be remem-
bered that Trita, as well as Apān Nāpāt, was probably an Indo-Iranian god, while Indra seems to have been purely a Hindu creation.

Just here it may be noted that Apān Nāpāt never appears in the role of a ‘fiend-smiter’ in either the Rīk or the Avesta. In the latter, to be sure, when Ātar, ‘Fire,’ and Azhi Dahāka (the Avestan sky-dragon) are battling for “the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda,” i. e., the light (physical and sacerdotal); Apān Nāpāt seizes the “Glory” when it flees to “the sea Vouru-Kasha,” or the upper air (see SBE, vol. iv., Introd., pp. lxii–lxiii, and vol. xiii, pp. 297–9); but he takes no other part in the fight. If, now, Apān Nāpāt is the lightning form of Agni, as is commonly supposed, and if the epithet vytrahān was transferred to Agni from Indra, as is commonly held, it is difficult to understand, on a priori grounds, why Apān Nāpāt never has the character of a fiend-smiter, even if he does not receive the epithet vytrahān; for assuredly it is the lightning side of Agni which is most prominent in both Agni Vytrahan and the dual divinity Indrāgni. See RV., iii. 20. 4, i. 59. 6, x. 69. 12, etc., and i. 108, v. 86, vi. 59, vii. 93, etc. Again, since the Zend word Verethraghna, from its etymology, must originally have been an adjective, and since the Avestan god Verethraghna is identified with the sacred fire of the Parsis, which was the great spook-killer of the Magi, it appears that Agni Vytrahan and Verethraghna were, in all probability, closely related; but Verethraghna and Apān Nāpāt have no connection in the Avesta. In short Agni and Apān Nāpāt must have been decidedly distinct in the early days.

It is perfectly clear to us, to be sure, that the two kinds of lightning are really identical; but to assume that the early Vedic Hindus or the Indo-Iranians possessed the same knowledge is to attribute to them a degree of intellectual power in the analysis of natural phenomena which their whole religious history belies. If they ever discovered the actual identity of the two, it must have been the result of some accidental combination of circumstances, the full force of which they would be very slow to admit. In fact, just such an accident might account for the statement which appears in ii. 35. 13, “Apān Nāpāt is-active here in another’s body, so-to-speak,” i. e., when he appears on earth, he looks like Agni; but this does not prove the identity of the two.
Turning again to Trita, it will be noticed that he is called āptyā, ‘dwelling-in-the-waters,’ i. e., the clouds; and the title is significant. If the three gods are grouped together, we shall have: ‘Agile-one,’ the fire-producing-stroke or the blinding-flash, who is active on the earth; ‘Son of the Waters,’ the distant-descending-bolt, who is born in heaven and descends from his golden seat, and is therefore a god located in the air; and ‘Third Whose-home-is-in-the-clouds,’ a divinity of the sky. In other words, the three will constitute an incipient triad which must be very ancient.

It may not be unreasonable to suppose that the original Hindu triad, or an Indo-Iranian triad, was so constituted. But, since the blinding flash came down from the clouds as well as the distant bolt, Agni was occasionally spoken of as a “son of the waters,” and this fact may have ultimately led to a confusion of the two. Whatever the cause may have been, Apum Napūt seems to have been so overshadowed by the remarkable development of Agni that he lost his character as a distinct god and was then practically absorbed. In the meantime the light and heat of the sun had come to be attributed to Agni; and, as the sun is evidently higher than the lightning, it was a natural step forward to assign to the sun the highest position, while Trita dropped back into second place. In time, Trita’s turn also came; and, as he yielded his chief feats and characteristics to Indra in other things, he may well have been displaced, as god of the atmosphere, by his more popular rival.

Just what connection Vāyu had with the matter when the triad finally emerged from the nebulous state into a well recognized group, cannot be determined, beyond the mere fact that, as god of the wind, he was naturally the god of the atmosphere; but, in any case, his connection with the latter triad came rather from his relation to Indra than from any association with the other gods concerned.
The Milk-drinking Hāïsas of Sanskrit Poetry.—By Charles
R. Lanman, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, 
Mass.

The Hindus say that the bird called haïsa has the faculty, out
of a vessel of mingled milk and water, to separate and drink the 
milk and leave the water. To this wide-spread popular belief
frequent allusion is made in the literature; and for it there must
be some basis in the facts of natural history.

The facts which gave rise to the belief are in my opinion the
following: the aquatic bird haïsa lives on lakes that abound in
lotuses, and subsists in a measure upon the underground stalk of
the lotus plant (such a stalk is called bīsa), whose joint (granthi),
when crushed (bhagna), exudes a juice designated by the word
kṣīra, which is also a common name for milk. Thus the bird, as
it floats on the lake, may be said to drink kṣīra or milk out of
water.

For the sake of students of Sanskrit and others, it may be
worth my while to assemble some of these allusions in the litera-
ture. And again it may be useful to put together the statements
about the character and habits of the haïsa in order to subject
them more easily to the criticism of students of natural history.

But first a word as to the general scope of these allusions.
They are indeed often made directly in praise of the noble haïsa,
and to show its superiority for instance to the heron; but oftener
still, the point of the allusion is the marvelous discrimination,
fine and clear, displayed in the separation of things so hopelessly
mixed as milk and water. ¹

Beautifully appropriate uses of our fable are made by the
philosophers. Thus in the Tattva-muktāvalī we read: “Others

¹ Mentioned already by H. T. Colebrooke in a note to H. H. Wilson’s
"Analytical account of the Pancha Tantra" (1834), Works, ed. Rost,
² The intimacy of this mixture is praised by the poets as absolute and 
complete (Sprüche, 3024), and it is thus a type of the closest friendship
and mutual devotion (ib. 2026).
³ Edited and translated by Cowell, 1888, JRAS. xv. pp. 149, 167, čloka
85.
see not the difference when water is mixed with milk, but the
swan at once separates the milk and the water; so too when the
souls are absorbed in the supreme Brahman, the Lord,—the faith-
ful, who have received the Guru’s words, can at once draw a dif-
ference between them.” Again, the Sāṅkhya aphorism, iv. 23,
says: “By him who is free from passion what is to be left [i. e.
Nature] is left, and what is to be taken [i. e. Soul] is taken; as
in the case of the swan and the milk.” And again, the begin-
ing of the second valli of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad says: “The
better is one thing, and the more agreeable is another. . . . The
wise man weighs them both well, separates them (vi-vinakṣi),
and chooses the better.” Čaṅkara, in his Bhāṣya, illustrates this
by the fable of the haṅsa. Vi-vinakṣi is from the same root as
vi-vecana which is used of the haṅsa’s exploit.

First then—some of the allusions. The introduction to the
Paṅcatantra contains the familiar stanza anantapāram etc.,
which, as I thought it a fit motto for a brief Sanskrit grammar
that I was minded to make, I Englished² as follows:

An endless science, as we know, is grammar.
And life is short; the hindrances are many.
Essentials keep, leaving the non-essential,
As swans drink up the milk, but leave the water.³

Here we may notice the passage in Kālidāsa’s Čakuntalā,⁴ where
an invisible being behind the scenes is threatening the buffo’s
life. Here the king promises that his arrow, which he thinks to
let fly, shall slay the villain and spare the buffo—with the same
uncommon discrimination that the haṅsa uses as betwixt the milk
and the water.

In Böhtlingk’s Indische Sprache, 2d ed., the following numbers
make express mention of the haṅsa’s gift:

243, anantapāram, from Paṅcatantra, introd. 5;
245, anantacāstram, from Old Cāṇakya, xv. 10;
544, ambhojini-, from Bhartṛhari, Niti-cataka, 18;

¹See the interesting comment hereon in J. R. Ballantyne’s Sāṅkhya
²A dozen years ago, more or less. It has since then been put to
this very use by R. Fick, Praktische Grammatik der Sanskrit-Sprache,
Wien, no date, p. VII.
³See F. Kielhorn’s note to this stanza in the Notes to his edition.
⁴Near the end of act vi., especially the stanza 155 (Böhtlingk) or 182
(Pischel).
4923, prājīnas tu, from MBh. i. 74. 91=3078;
6311, vicāradoshti-, from Rāja-tarāṅgini, vi. 275;
7355, haṁsaḥ sveto, from Subhāṣītārṇava;
7605, vedādyanekacāstrāṇi, from the same.

About the stanzas from the Sprüche a few words may be of interest. No. 4923 is from the old Epic story of Čakuntalā, where she says: “On hearing good and evil counsel, a fool takes the evil, as a swine does filth, and a wise man takes the good, as the haṁsa the milk.” Cāṇakya’s verses, badly mutilated, are recognizable in the famous Sidharubam seu grammatica Sanscritamica ... auctore Paulino a S. Bartholomaeo, Rome, 1790, p. 19. Bhārṭhāri’s stanza is thus rendered in Abraham Roger’s Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heydenthum, Nürnberg, 1663, p. 500-7: “Wann Bramma auf seinen Träger Ampsa1 zornig ist, kann er ihn zwar wol aus seinem Wasser-pfuhl vertreiben; aber ihm gleichwohl die Macht nicht nehmen, dass er (wofern Milch und Wasser untereinander vermenget) die Milch nicht solte allein trinken, und das Wasser überlassen können.”

The Indian anthologies contain chapters, certain sections of which form a kind of Oriental bestiary. Among these are sections made up, wholly or in part, of epigrams concerning the haṁsa. Four such collections may be noticed:
The Paddhati of Čāṅgadhara [A. D. 1363], ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1888. Nos. 798-814 are called haṁsānyoktayāḥ.
The Subhāṣītāvali of Vallaḥhadeva [A. D. 1400-1450], ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1888. Nos. 689-717 are about haṁsas and sārasas.

In all these stanzas from the Indian anthologies, the material is similar or in good part identical, and of course from very diverse sources. Among these stanzas, the following ten make reference to the kṣīra-nīra-vivecana: in Čāṅgadhara, only no. 797; in Vallaḥhadeva, nos. 697 and 716; in Paraba’s collection, nos. 6, 10, 15, and 20; in Bhāṭavaḍekar’s, nos. 2, 14, and 18. Of

1Ampsa [haṁsa] sind ein Geflüg, fast wie die kleinen Endvögel [Enten].—Roger.
these, 797, 15, and 2 simply repeat Bhartṛhari's stanza; 6 = Sprüche 7358; and 10 and 14 are a pleasing quotation from Bāminīvilāsa, i. 13, ed. L. R. Vaidya, Bombay, 1887. Thus there are five with new allusions, namely 697, 716, 20, 18, and 10=14. Of the many stanzas without these allusions, almost all are interesting and instructive as to the character and habits of the haṁsa. Richest in points of description are perhaps Vallabhadeva's nos. 715 and 710, which read thus:

No. 715. "His beauty is enchanting; charming his mate. For drink, he has the sweet juice of the lotus; and for a playground, the waters. Among the lotuses is his dwelling; their pollen is his ornament. He subsists on the excellent underground stalk of the lotus. His friends are the sweet-humming bees.—Free from servile labor, poverty, and humiliation, happy lives the haṁsa!"

No. 710. "There are everywhere waters clear as pearl, with lotus-roots whose knots show milk when they are crushed; abundant draughts of lotus-juice; sand-banks fit for sport and play. What means this, then, O haṁsa, that thou takest up thine abode in this horrid, muddy, old pool, beset with impudent shrieking herons?"

Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, stanza 11, is relevant at this point. The Yakṣa says to the cloud that is to bear the message to his wife, "The rāja-haṁsas, eager to get to lake Mānasa, will be thy companions as far as mount Kālāsā, having pieces of the shoots of the bīsa as their provisions for the journey (pātheya or viaticum)." H. H. Wilson⁵ says: "The Rājahnasa is described as a white gander, with red legs and bill, and together with the common goose is a favourite bird in Hindu poetry. Not to shock European prejudice, I have in all cases substituted for these birds, one to which we are rather more accustomed in verse, the swan." In rendering haṁsa by 'swan' instead of 'gander,' or 'goose,' Wilson has been generally followed; but Jerdon says, under the Cygnidae, that there are no swans in India. Kālidāsa again speaks of the bīsa as the pātheya or viaticum of the rāja-

¹ madhu.—² bīsa: cf. Vallabhadeva, 717.—³ 'Stalk-knots with milk that appears (vilasant) upon breaking (dhaṅga).'-⁴ Lit. 'tāmarasa-extract or -liquor.'

haṃsa, to wit, in his Urvaṣī. And again, in the same play, at the end of act i., as Urvaṣī ascends to the sky, Purūravas says that she has torn his heart out of his body, as the rāja-haṃśī tears the stringy fibre out of a lotus-stalk, the end of which she has broken off.

Professor R. G. Bhūṣānkar, in reply to my inquiry, kindly wrote me a letter dated Poona, July 16, 1888. From it a part of the words or of the substance may be given. “The physical facts, as distinguished from poetic fancies, that may be gathered from the allusions to the bird in Sanskrit poetical works appear to be these: 1. The birds are white, some having dark and others red bills and legs. 2. They feed on lotus-stalks (bīsa). This lotus is of the Nelumbium order. They are also spoken of as fond of the water-lily of the kumudā species. 3. They pass their time in large lakes or ponds or on sand-banks of rivers. 4. They migrate about the setting in of the rains, i.e. about the middle or end of May, to the North, and must be supposed to come to India in the beginning of the cold season, i.e. about the end of November.”

He then cites C. J. Jerdon’s Birds of India, vol. iii., and especially Jerdon’s notices of the family of the Anseridae. One species, Anser cinereus, corresponds, says Jerdon, to the wild goose or gray lag-goose of England, and is a common winter visitant to the North of India, extending its migrations to Central India, but rarely seen further South. It is sometimes met with in small parties of from four to twenty; occasionally in vast flocks, which feed on young corn, grass, etc., and during the heat of the day rest on some sand-bank in the large rivers or in the middle of a tank. The Anser Indicus is a goose that appears to be peculiar to India and probably the adjacent countries north of the Himalayas, where it breeds. It is chiefly a winter visitant to India.—So far Jerdon.

Habits and character of the haṃsa. The mode of flight of the wild geese as they migrate northward or southward is spoken of in characteristic phrase in the Rigveda, iii. 8, 9, haṃsā iva āreṇīpo yatānāḥ, ‘like wild geese that move in single file (Gansé-marsch);’ so i. 163. 10. Their swiftness (java) is praised at

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1 Stanza paṇcāṭ saras, Bollensen, no. 94, Parab and Telang, iv. 81.
2 See Kathā-sarit-sāgara, lxix. 129-32, Bombay ed.
3 Although Jerdon does not speak of the Anseridae as feeding on lotuses, the point is not doubtful.
Sutta-nipāta, 221, as against the slowness of the gaudy peacock. Their breeding-place and true home is the Himālayan lake Mānasā,⁰ whose glories are the subject of many a verse,² and with which the every-day waters of India are set in contemptuous contrast.³ Their fondness for sandy banks is implied in the Čakuntalā,⁴ where the king, speaking of the unfinished background of the picture of Čakuntalā, sends for his brushes, saying, “The river Mālinī must yet be painted in, with a pair of hāṅsas resting on its sandy bank, and the Himālayan foot-hills behind it.”

Their beauty or splendor (cōbhā) surpasses that of a thousand herons.⁵ Their angry pride is the subject of a beautiful epigram, Čāṅgadharā, 800. Their superb dignity is told in the stanza,⁶ “When near him the harsh chattering jacana shrilly shrieks, the rāja-hāṅsa either goes away or keeps silent”; and still better in the stanza’ so charmingly rendered by Rückert,

Und wenn auf Erden gleich
Bliede kein Lotostiech,
Doch scharrte nie der Schwan
Im Miste wie der Hahn.

The lofty devotion of Sumukha, so touchingly described in the Jātaka-mālā, xxii., may be a figment of Ārya-gūra’s piety; but it is significant that it is ascribed to a hāṅsa.

Dr. Elliott Cones of Washington, in most kindly response to my ornithological queries, propounds the following interesting solution of the milk-drinking fable: The members of the swan, goose, and duck tribe, and the flamingos also, have a series of lamellae on each edge of each mandible, which serve as a sieve for straining food from the water which they take in. A little poetic fancy would easily turn this habit into the exploit of separating “milk” (i. e. food or nourishment) from “milk-and-water” (i. e. water with food in suspension).

I think this can hardly be right: first, because the fable attributes this strange power, not to all of the Lamellirostres

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⁰ This is on mount Kālīśa and is a sacred place of pilgrimage.—ⁱ E. g. Kathā-sarit-sāgara, xlvii. 86 f.; Parab’s collection, p. 365, no. 21; Čāṅgadharā, 805; cf. Jātaka-mālā, ed. Kern, p. 130ff.⁴—⁵ Čāṅgadharā, 805, 814.—⁶ Stanza 144, Böhltingk, 168, Pischel.

ⁱ Parab, p. 267, no. 5.—⁵ Čāṅgadharā 798, Vallabhadēva 692, Parab, p. 267, no. 8, Sprüche 408.—many variants.—⁷ Č. 811, Vall. 691, Parab, p. 267, no. 9, Sprüche, 5220.
(not, for example, to the cakravāka or Anas Casarca), but only to the haṅsa and rāja-haṅsa; and, secondly, because this particular word for milk, kṣūra, is never used for food or nourishment in general. Kṣūra is used of the milk of cows, goats, and women, and especially of the milky juice of the broken stalks of flowers.¹ And a Sikh gentleman, Mr. Hari Singh Puri, on a visit here from India, assured me last week that the juice from the crushed or broken lotus stalks is milky in color.

It remains to inquire whether this fable can be traced back to Vedic literature. The stanzas RV. x. 131. 4, 5, and especially the occurrence of the word vy āpibas, used elsewhere of ‘separating mingled liquids in drinking,’² hardly prove the fable to be known to the Rigveda; but I refer the reader to the learned discussions of the passage by Bloomfield and Oldenberg.³

The Yajurveda, on the other hand, does speak of a bird, a kruṇo or curlew, which can separate and drink the milk from water with which it is mingled. The passage occurs in the Māitrīyaṇi Saṁhitā, iii. 11. 6, in the Kaṭhaka, xxxviii. 1, in the Vājasaneyī, xix. 72–79, and in the Tūttirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 6. 2³. I quote from the first-named text:

\[
\begin{align*}
adbhyaḥ kṣūram \amp \text{vyāpibat} \\
krūṇī āṅgirasō dhiyā \\
adbhyaḥ sōmaṁ \amp \text{vyāpibac}
\end{align*}
\]

chāndobhir haṅsāḥ gucisāt, etc.

Other mention of this power of the curlew I have not found save in two passages⁴ from the Pāli Buddhist literature. One is from the Udāna, viii. 7, “The wise man leaves the evil as the milk-drinking curlew the water,” vidvā pajahāti pāpakāṁ koṭo koṭaṁ kṣūrāpako va ninnagam. The other is from the Sumanagala-vilāsini, p. 305, where Buddhaghosa likens a true disciple to a curlew, because, if a bowl of spirits and water were put to his mouth, only the water would enter it and not the spirits; just as,

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¹ E. g., Çakuntalā, ed. Pischel, st. 59, sammiśanti.
² Cf. Mahādhara’s viviśya pitavān.
³ JAOŚ. xv. 148 ff., 159. And Göttinger Nachrichten, 1893, no. 9. The story of the milk-drinking eagle (suparna), cited above by Oertel, JAOŚ. xix. 102, 101, does not refer to the milk-separating power now under discussion.
⁴ Cited by Dr. R. Morris, Journal of the Pali Text Society for 1887, p. 168.
he continues, if a mixture of milk and water were offered to the kruṇa-birds, only the milk would be taken by them and not the water.

Śāyaṇa, in his comment on TBr. ii. 6. 2, says that the haṁsa is the soul in living beings, and that Indra, taking on its form, drank the soma, separating it from the water; and then, with some other curious remarks suggested by the passage, adds the following illustration (p. 660):


Here the point of most interest for us seems to be that the milky part of the mixture is coagulated by contact or mingling (sambarkāt) with the fluid (rasa) in the mouth (mukha-gata) of the bird when it puts its bill (mukha) into the vessel (pātra).

Now by a singular coincidence, Śwāmī Abhedānanda, a Bengali gentleman, calling at my study last week on the same day as Mr. Purī and while my mind was upon the subject of this essay, told me that his teacher had explained the haṁsa-fable to him by saying that there was a secretion in the bird's mouth which coagulated the milky part of the mixture, so that the resulting curdy portions became easily separable. Whether there is any acidulous rasa or any rennet-like rasa in the haṁsa's mouth, I must leave to the ornithologists. At any rate, the Śwāmī's theory seems to be essentially like that of Śāyaṇa.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 7, 1898.

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1 E. g. evam indro 'py asāram parityajyā ekasminn api pātre sāram eva svi-karoti, p. 661.
2 Somewhat after the fashion of rennet? But see Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia, 1898, vol. ii., p. 216, s.v. Cheese, on the character of the action of rennet, etc., in coagulating the curd.
Shamgar and Sisera.—By GEORGE F. MOORE, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

It has long been recognized that Jud. iii. 31, which tells how Shamgar killed six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad, was inserted by one of the latest editors of the book. It has not, however, been so generally observed that certain recensions of the old Greek version (cod. 44, 54, 56, 59, 75, 76, 82, 106, 134 H-P; sub obel. 121), together with the Hexaplar Syriac, Armenian, and Slavonic versions, have the account of Shamgar’s exploit a second time after xvi. 31. Here, immediately following Samson, the Philistine-fighter is quite in order. Comparison of the renderings in the two places shows that the verse was not repeated at the end of c. xvi. by an editor of the Greek text, but was found there by the translators in their Hebrew manuscripts, and in a form more original than that which we now read in iii. 31. The introductory formula, καὶ ἀνίστη μετὰ τὸν Σαμψων Σεμεγαρ νίδος Ἑβαν = יִכְּפָא אַרוּ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שֵׁמוֹ בַּעֲנַה יִכְּפָא אַרוּ אֶבְּנֵמִלַּהְלַוֶּשׁ אַהֲוָא יִשְׁרָאֵל, הַרְלַע בַּע מַחֲא יְוָאָא אָרוּ הַבָּרָא (LXX. ἀνίστη). There is thus good reason to think that the verse at first stood after the story of Samson, and was subsequently, for some reason, removed to a place between Ehud and Barak.

That Shamgar cannot have been the original hero of this story is proved both by the earlier position of the verse (following Samson), and—more conclusively—by the fact that the Philistines did not appear upon the scene till long after the time of Deborah and Barak. The natural hypothesis is that the name of the champion was accidentally corrupted to Shamgar, under the influence of v. 6, which necessarily led to the transposition of the verse from the end of c. xvi. to the end of c. iii. In Jud. v. 6 “the days of Shamgar ben Anath, the days of Jael,” are the time of distress and humiliation for Israel which

1 See Budde, Richter, 1897, p. x; also SBOT. Judges, on xvi. 31.
2 For a conjecture about the origin of the notice, see Judges (International Critical Comm.), p. 106.
preceded the rising of the tribes under Deborah and Barak. The words "in the days of Jael" are rightly noted by many critics (since Geddes) as a gloss. But when these words are rejected and it is shown that the deliverer of iii. 31 was not Shamgar, there is no reason for regarding Shamgar as an Israelite at all; it is, on the contrary, much more probable that he was the oppressor under whom Israel groaned. This view is strongly confirmed by the name itself; Shamgar is not a Hebrew nor even a Semitic word, and ben Anath is without even remote analogy among Hebrew proper names.

Sisera, against whom the Israelites rose in revolt, was then the successor, and probably the son (see Jud. v. 28 ff.) of Shamgar.

Now, Shamgar ben Anath and Sisera are not Canaanite names. Anath is a goddess worshipped, not only in ancient Palestine, but especially by the Hittites in Northern Syria; a Sangar was king of Gargamiš—then the chief city of the Hatti—in the days of Asurnasirpal and Sahanassar II (9th cent. B.C.). The name Sisera is naturally compared with the numerous Hittite names on Egyptian monuments ending in -sira. The Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (8th cent.) make repeated mention of a Pisiris or Pisiri, king of Gargamiš. Shamgar and Sisera thus both point to a non-Semitic people north of Palestine. Marquart's conjecture, however, that for לזרו המים the residence of Sisera, we should read לזרו הנני, though applauded by Ruben, is not supported by the topography of the poem.

Shamgar ruled in Palestine; Sisera appears in the Song at the head of the kings of Canaan. The two names bring us thus upon an historical fact of great importance. In the days of Deborah and Barak a foreign ("Hittite") dynasty was established in Palestine; the Canaanite city-kings, at least in the vicinity of the Great Plain, were its vassals.

1 Moore, Judges, 1895, pp. 106, 143; Marquart, Fundamente, 1896, p. 2; Budde, Richter, 1897, p. 42; Ruben, Jewish Quarterly Review, x. p. 556.

2 Judges, p. 148, Marquart, Ruben.

3 Judges, pp. 106, 112.
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,
1898.

The Annual Meeting of the Society for 1898 was held in Hartford, Conn., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 14th, 15th, and 16th.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions:

Barber, Miss
Bliss, F. J.
Budgell
Bloomfield
Brooks, Miss
Corwin, Miss
Drscoill
Elwell
Ferguson
Gilman
Gottheil
Gray
Grieve, Miss L. C. G.
Grieve, Miss L. H. R.
Harper, W. R.
Hart
Haupt
Haynes, H. H.
Hopkins
Hoppin
Jackson
Jastrow, M. Jr.
Lanman
Lawler
Macdonald
Martin, W. R.
Mead
Mitchell
Moore
Oertel
Paton
Prince
Remy
Scott
Torrey
Toy
Van Name
Ward, W. H.
Wright, T. F.

Bishop
Fairbanks
Gillet

[Total, 39.]

The Society met on Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock, in Hosmer Hall of Hartford Theological Seminary, and was called to order by its President, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Baltimore, April 22d, 23d, and 24th, 1897, were read and approved.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Professor Macdonald in the form of a printed program, with a recommendation that the morning sessions of the Society begin at half-past nine o'clock, and the afternoon sessions at three o'clock. Professor Macdonald also presented to the Society an invitation from the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary to a reception in the Case Library from half-past four to six o'clock on Thursday afternoon; and a communication from the Colonial Club extending to the members of the Society the hospitality of the Club. The recommendations were adopted, and the invitations accepted with the thanks of the Society.

VOL. XIX. 11
The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported that a large number of letters had been received from scholars to whom the Whitney Memorial Volume had been sent. As the tributes to the memory of Professor Whitney had already appeared in the volume itself, these letters contained, for the most part, only formal acknowledgments.

An invitation has been received from the Committee on the Organization of the Twelfth Oriental Congress, through its President, Professor Angelo de Gubernatis, to the American Oriental Society to take part in that Congress, which will be held in Rome, beginning on October 2d, 1899.

The Saxon Missionary Conference announces a prize of 1000 Marks for a scientific treatise, in English or German, on the following subject: "Darstellung der religiösen und philosophischen Grundanschauung der Inder nach den Vedas, Upanishads und der Brahmanischen (besonders Vedânta-) Philosophie und Beurtheilung derselben vom christlichen Standpunkte aus." The officers of the Conference desire to call the particular attention of American scholars to this prize, and to invite their competition. 1

Professor Erman, of Berlin, on behalf of the Commission appointed by the Royal Academies of Berlin and Munich and the Royal Societies of Göttingen and Leipsic to prepare and publish a Dictionary of the Egyptian Language, laid before the American Oriental Society the plan of the work, and invited its cooperation in the collection of materials. To the completeness of this Thesaurus, which is designed to include all words that have been preserved in hieroglyphic or hieratic texts, it is important that the inscriptions and papyri not only in public museums but in smaller and private collections should be at the disposal of the Commission; and all members of the Oriental Society who have knowledge of such inscriptions or papyri are earnestly requested to send to the Commission copies, squeezes, or photographs of the same. 2

The Corresponding Secretary reported the names of recently deceased members, as follows:

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Professor Henry Drisler, of Columbia University, New York City.
Mr. Ralph B. C. Hicks, of Harvard University.
Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conn.

1 Full particulars in regard to the nature of the essay will be found in an inset at the end of ZDMG. Bd. li. Heft 2; copies of this circular may also be obtained from Professor Hopkins. The manuscript must be sent in by June 30, 1899. The judges are Professor Windisch and Dr. Lindner in Leipzig, and Dr. von Schroeder in Innsbruck.

2 This communication was received too late to be presented to the Society at its meeting. A Committee to collect a catalogue of the Egyptian material in this country was appointed in 1897; see Journal xviii. 386.
Remarks were made on the life and work of Professor Drisler by Professor Hopkins and Professor Jackson; on Mr. Hicks, by Professor Lanman; on Mr. Trumbull, by President Gilman and Dr. Ward; and on Mr. Webb, by Professor Lanman and Professor Moore.

The Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, for the year 1897, was presented through Professor Lanman. The Committee appointed at the last meeting to audit the Treasurer’s accounts (Professors Toy and Lyon) reported as follows:

The undersigned, appointed a Committee to audit the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Oriental Society for the year ending December 31, 1897, find the same to be properly kept and correctly cast. They find the entries for all monies expended by the Treasurer to be properly vouched, and satisfactory evidence that all funds and balances reported in his statement are in his possession.

The analytical summary of the General Account is as follows:

**RECEIPTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance (less advance $699.75 from Charles River Bank, Dec. 1896) from old account, Dec. 31, 1896</td>
<td>$1,667.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessments (198) for 1897</td>
<td>$971.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessments (44) for other years</td>
<td>166.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of publications</td>
<td>320.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reimbursements for author’s extras</td>
<td>37.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income from funds (other than Bradley fund)</td>
<td>161.03</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total income for the year</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,656.39</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total receipts for the year</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,323.56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EXPENDITURES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 matrices</td>
<td>$ 8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1897, 8 reams paper at $8.30</td>
<td>26.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal, vol. xviii. pt. 1, printing</td>
<td>619.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; binding 501 copies &amp; extras</td>
<td>82.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; binding distribution</td>
<td>60.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal, vol. xviii. pt. 2, printing</td>
<td>605.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; binding 495 copies &amp; extras</td>
<td>76.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; binding distribution</td>
<td>47.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal, vol. xix. pt. 1, printing</td>
<td>208.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; binding 688 copies, &amp; title</td>
<td>111.47</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; binding distribution</td>
<td>74.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest on advances</td>
<td>11.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical assistance</td>
<td>38.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage, express, etc.</td>
<td>45.87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job-printing and job-binding</td>
<td>39.92</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total disbursements for the year</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,050.13</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit balance on Gen’l Account, Dec. 31, 1897</td>
<td><strong>1,278.43</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,323.56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A statement from the Treasurer on the financial condition of the Society, accompanying his annual report, was read and referred to the Directors. The income of the Society in 1897 ($1,656.39) was two hundred and fifty dollars more than in any previous year; this increase being due in part to the growth of the Society, but chiefly to unusually large receipts from the sale of publications ($320.71), three Parts of the Journal (xviii. 1 and 2, xix. 1) having been issued during the year. The apparent excess of expenditures over receipts for the year, nearly four hundred dollars, is accounted for by the fact that the Whitney Memorial Volume, which was issued as the First Half of vol. xix. of the Journal (for January to June 1898) was paid for in 1897; this amount, approximating four hundred dollars, is thus really anticipated on the account of 1898, so that only the Second Half of vol. xix. remains to be paid for out of the income of the current year. There is reason to believe, therefore, that the next Annual Report of the Treasurer may show that this apparent deficit has disappeared.

The state of the funds is as follows:

A. PRINCIPAL OF SPECIAL FUNDS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$1,604.94</td>
<td>$1,669.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| II. Crotchall Publication Fund (deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings, Boston) | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |
| III. Whitney Publication Fund (invested in eight shares of State National Bank stock) | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 |

| IV. Life Membership Fund (deposited in the Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston) | 75.00 | 75.00 |

B. BALANCES BELONGING TO GENERAL ACCOUNT.

| V. Cash in Cambridge Savings Bank | $2,223.07 | $1,075.56 |
| VI. Cash in Provident Inst. for Savings, Boston | 131.83 | 171.75 |
| VII. Cash in Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston | 18.02 | 16.12 |
| VIII. Cash on hand | 10.00 |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Less due Charles River National Bank</th>
<th>699.75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The annual report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, showed that the accessions to the library during the past year have been 72 volumes, 114 parts of volumes, 167 dissertations and pamphlets, and one manuscript. The whole number of titles is now 4961; of manuscripts, 187.

The Editor of the Journal, Professor Moore, reported that in accordance with the instructions of the Directors, the Whitney Memorial Volume had been issued to the members of the Society as the First Half of vol. xix. (for Jan. to June, 1898); the Second
Half (for July to December) was in an advanced state of preparation, and would be issued as soon as the Proceedings of the present meeting could be prepared and printed.

Professor Jackson called the attention of the Society to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and urged upon the members the importance of supporting an undertaking which is of such vital concern to all orientalists, by assistance in furnishing bibliographical material, and by enlarging its subscription list.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected:¹

**HONORARY MEMBERS.**

Auguste Barth, Member of the Institute, Paris.
M. J. de Googe, Interpres legati Warneriani, and Professor in the University of Leyden.
Alfred Ludwig, Professor in the German University of Prague.
Gaston Maspero, Member of the Institute, Professor in the College of France, Paris.
Cornelis P. Tiele, Professor in the University of Leyden.

**CORPORATE MEMBERS.**

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.
Mr. David Park Barnitz, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Harlan P. Beach, Montclair, N. J.
Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, London, England.
Mr. Laurell W. Demeritt, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. Victor W. Dippell, Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Louise H. R. Grieve, M.D., New York, N. Y.
Mr. Armenag H. Haigazian, New Haven, Conn.
Rev. Dr. S. W. Howland, New York, N. Y.
E. B. Landis, M.D., Chemulpo, Corea.
Mr. Henry C. Lea, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New Haven, Conn.
Prof. William N. Mebane, Fredericksburg, Va.
Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell, Hartford, Conn.
Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Mr. Arthur F. J. Remy, New York, N. Y.
Mr. Alfred Stöckius, New York, N. Y.
Mr. Charles W. Watts, Smithland, Ky.
Mr. Lawrence P. Wolfe, New York, N. Y.

[Total, 28.]

¹ For convenience, the names of those who were elected at later sessions are included in this list. The full addresses are given in the revised List of Members, pp. 182 ff.
MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. John H. Barrows, Chicago, Ills.
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, New Haven, Conn.
Dr. Livingston Farrand, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Arthur L. Gillett, Hartford, Conn.
Mr. James H. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.
Prof. George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. George T. Ladd, New Haven, Conn.
Mr. William W. Newell, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Edwin R. Seligman, New York, N. Y.
Prof. William G. Sumner, New Haven, Conn.

[Total, 14.]

Communications were presented by Messrs. Macdonald (No. 265 in the list below, p. 168 ff.), Bloomfield (No. 3), Gray (No. 5).
At half-past four the Society adjourned, to attend a reception given by the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary.

The Society met on Friday morning at half-past nine o'clock.
The President appointed Messrs. Ward, Jackson, and Haupt a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report on Saturday morning.

Communications were presented by Messrs. Gottheil (No. 4 in the list; by title), Haupt (No. 9), Hopkins (No. 12, by title; 13), Jastrrow (No. 18, by title), Jackson (Nos. 15, 16), Johnston (Nos. 20, 21; by title, through Prof. Haupt), Lanman (Nos. 22, 24), Macdonald (No. 26a), Magoun (Nos. 27, 28; through Prof. Hopkins), Mills (No. 29; through Prof. Hopkins), Oertel (No. 30), Remy (No. 33), Ward (No. 39), Scott (No. 35), Prince (No. 31), Wright (No. 40), and Torrey (No. 38).
At one o'clock the Society took recess till three.

At three o'clock the Society met in the Chapel of the Seminary. The afternoon was devoted to the reading of communications of a less technical character, by Messrs. Blodget (No. 1 in the list), Bloomfield (No. 2), Haupt (No. 6), Jackson (No. 17), Lanman (No. 23), Scott (No. 36). Papers were also read by Professor Haupt on Tatooning among the Semites; by Professor Lanman on Indian epigrammatic poetry; and by Dr. Fairbanks on The chthonic gods of the Greek religion (No. 45).
At a quarter of six the Society adjourned.

The Society met for its last session on Saturday morning at half-past nine, with Professor Lanman, Vice-President, in the chair.
Professor Hopkins announced from the Directors that the next annual meeting of the Society will be held in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1899. Also, that they had appointed Professor G. F. Moore Editor of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting to secure members for the Section for the Historical Study of Religions reported through Professor Jastrow, explaining the measures which they had adopted. The committee, consisting of Professors Toy, Gottheil, and Jastrow (Secretary), was continued.

The Committee on a Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in America, by Professor Gottheil, reported progress, and was continued.

The committee to nominate officers reported through Professor Jackson; and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—President Daniel Colt Gilman, of Baltimore.
Vice-Presidents—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.
Corresponding Secretary—Professor Edward W. Hopkins, of New Haven.
Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Andover.
Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.
Treasurer—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.
Librarian—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.
Directors—The officers above named: and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil, A. V. W. Jackson, and Francis Brown, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; and Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington.

In accordance with the program, the rest of this session was devoted to the reading and discussion of papers on the History of Religions, as follows:—Professor Bloomfield (No. 43 in the list below), Professor Toy (Nos. 46, 47), Dr. Bishop (No. 42), Professor Jastrow (No. 19).

The remaining papers on the list were presented by title, or in brief synopsis; viz. Messrs. Macdonald (No. 25), Haupt (Nos. 7, 8, 10), Hopkins (Nos. 13, 14, 44), Yohannan (No. 41), Torrey (No. 37).

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society expresses its sincere thanks to the Faculty of the Hartford Theological Seminary for the use of their rooms, and for their kind reception; to the Colonial Club for its courtesies; and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

At a quarter before twelve the Society adjourned, to meet in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th, 1899.
The following is a list of papers which were announced for presentation at the meeting. Those numbered 32 and 34 were not presented.

1. Rev. Dr. Henry Blodget, Bridgeport, Conn.; The worship of Heaven and Earth by the Emperor of China.

2. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; On a proposed photographic reproduction of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, the so-called Pāippalāda Sāmhitā.

3. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; Remarks on the myth of Purūravas and Urvācī.

4. Professor Richard Gottheil, Columbia University; Contributions to Syriac folk-medicine.

5. Mr. Louis H. Gray, New York City; The metres of Bharṭhari.

6. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Some criticisms of the Polychrome Bible.

7. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The Sumerian question.

8. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The origin of the Hebrew nota accusativi.

9. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Why is the suffix of the second person in Semitic -ka instead of -ta?

10. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The termination of the construct state of the plural of masculine nouns in Hebrew.

11. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Hindu guilds.¹

12. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; The village community in ancient India.

13. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Epic diction in Sanskrit.

14. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Religious phenomena of the plague in Bombay.

15. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; Notes on certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit plays.

¹ Published in the Yale Review, May and August, 1898.
16. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; Indo-Iranian contributions.

17. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; On the death of Zoroaster.

18. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; On a certain funeral custom of the ancient Hebrews.

19. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; Adam and Eve in Babylonian literature.

20. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Meissner’s Supplement to the Assyrian Lexicon.

21. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Proverbial quotations in cuneiform epistolary literature.

22. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; The milk-drinking swans of India once more.

23. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; Walking the deasil.

24. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; The occupations of priests and herdsmen as affecting Sanskrit diction.

25. Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary; The religious attitude of Averroes.


27. Professor Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio; Apāṁ Napāt in the Rig Veda.

28. Professor Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio; The original Hindu Triad.


30. Professor Hanns Oertel, Yale University; Contributions from the Jāminīya Brāhmaṇa.

31. Professor J. Dyneley Prince, New York University; Prepositional usage in Assyrian.

32. President F. P. Ramsay, Fredericksburg College; The meaning of ḫ, especially in יִלְמָה and לַאָבָר.
33. Mr. Arthur F. J. Remy, Columbia University; Indo-Iranian jana—zana.

34. Professor Frank K. Sanders, Yale University; The order of the early suras of the Quran.

35. Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.; The Polynesian words in English.

36. Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.; The “simplicity” of the savage.

37. Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Note on the Kitāb Mašūrī' el-'Uṣṣāq.

38. Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Bethulia in the Book of Judith.

39. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York City; Hittite gods in Hittite art.

40. Professor Theodore F. Wright, New Church Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; The names of Jerusalem.

41. Rev. Abraham Yohannan, New York City; A brief description of some Syriac manuscripts just arrived from Persia.

In the Section for the Historical Study of Religions the following papers were presented:

42. Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, New York; A point of view for the study of religions.

43. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; The theosophy of the Atharva-Veda.

44. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; How gods are made in India.

45. Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Yale University; The euhemetic gods of the Greek religion.

46. Professor Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University; Taboo and morality.

47. Professor Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University; The “Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.”
ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

APRIL, 1896—APRIL, 1898.

From the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

From the American Antiquarian Society.

From the American Geographical Society.

From the American Philosophical Society.

From the Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.

From Mr. R. N. Apte.

From Mr. A. J. Arbeeley.

From the Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, Münster.
From the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Anu Bhâgayam. Fasc. 3, 4.
Avadâna Kalpalatâ. Vol. ii. 5.
Brâhad-Dharma Purâṇam. Fasc. 6.
Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, translated. Fasc. 4, 5.
Nyâya Vârttikam. Fasc. 3, 4.
Parâśâra Smrîti. Vol. iii. 5.
S’rânta Sûtra of S’ânkhâyana. Vol. iii. 4.
Tâtîtirîya Sanhitâ. Fasc. 33-42.
Tattva Chintâmaṇi. Vol. iv, pt. 2, fasc. 1, 2; v, fasc. 2-5.
Tul’ef Sa’t’sai. Fasc. 5.
Vâsat Svayambhâ Purâṇam. Vol. i. 5.
Khâ-Vivêka. Edited by Pandit Madhusûdana Smrîtatma. Fasc. 1, 2. Calcutta, 1897. 8º.


Sher Phyrin. Vol. iii. 2.
Tâhâqât-l-Nâsîrî. Index to the translation.

From the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.


From the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.


Catalogue of the library. Colombo, 1895. 8º.

From the Asiatic Society of Japan.

Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. iii, appendix, vi. 2, 3, vii-ix, x. 1 and supplement, xii. 2, xvi. 1, 3, xvii. 1, 2, xviii. 1, xix. 2, 3, xxiv. Tôkyô, 1875-96. 8º.

From the Asiatic Society of Paris.


From Edward Atkinson, LL.D., Boston.

Additions to Library.

From the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Notulen van de algemeenen en bestuurs-vergaderingen. Deel xxxii. 4, xxxiii, xxxiv. 1, 2. Batavia, 1895-96. 8°.

From the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin.


From the Royal Library, Berlin.

Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin:

From Pandit Lala Chandra Vidya Bhaskara, Jodhpur.


From the Society of Biblical Archæology.


From the Buddhist Text Society of India.


From the Buffalo Historical Society.

From the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.
The Jataka; or, Stories of the Buddha's former births. Translated from the Pāli by various hands under the editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell. Vol. iii. Cambridge, 1897. 8°.

From Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, Breslau.

From Mr. Samuel F. Dunlap, New York.

From the Society of Ethnography, Paris.

From the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.

From the German Oriental Society.

From the Gratz College, Philadelphia.

From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

From G. A. Grierson, Ph.D.

From Mr. Eduard Hahn, Berlin.
Additions to Library.

From Professor C. de Harlez.


From A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph.D., Calcutta.

Annual address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2 Feb., 1898, by A. F. R. Hoernle, President of the Society, 1897-98. Calcutta, 1898. 8°.

From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Archaeological Survey of India. New imperial series:


Progress report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1894-5, 1895-6, 1896-7. fol.


Report on publications issued and registered in the several provinces of British India during the year 1895. Calcutta, 1896. fol.


Papers relating to the conduct of the pilgrim traffic to and from the Red Sea, 1884-95. Calcutta, 1896. fol.
Avesta, the sacred books of the Parsis. Edited by Karl F. Geldner. i-iii. Stuttgart, 1886-96. 4°.

From the Italian Asiatic Society.

From the Trustees of the Sir Jamesetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund.

From the Khedivial Library, Cairo.
—Catalogue of Turkish books. [Arabico.] Cairo, 1888. 8°.

From the University of Kiel.
Schriften der Universität zu Kiel aus dem Jahre 1895-96 (130); 1896-97 (89). Kiel, 1895-97. 8°.

From Prof. E. Kuhn.

From Baron W. von Landau, Berlin.

From Herbert W. Magoun, Ph.D.
Additions to Library.

From Lady Meux, Theobald's Park, Hertfordshire.
Some account of the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the possession of Lady Meux, of Theobald's Park, Waltham Cross. By E. A. Wallis Budge. 2d ed. Lond., 1896. 4º.

From Mr. Jivraj Jamshedji Modi.

From the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.

From l'École des langues orientales vivantes, Paris.

From the Musée Guimet, Paris.

From Rev. S. D. Peet.

From the Peking Oriental Society.

From the University of Pennsylvania.

Vol. xix.
From Prof. George E. Post, M. D., Beirut.

From Charles Rice, M.d., New York.
History of Buddhism in India, by Daranat'a. Translated from the Tibetan by V. Vasilev. [in Russian]. St. Petersburg, 1899. 8°.

From Sundari Bala Roy.

From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

From the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg.

From the Faculty of Oriental Languages, University of St. Petersburg.
Vostochniya zametki. [Papers published by the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg at the 100th anniversary of the École des langues orientales vivantes, Paris.] St. Petersburg, 1895. 4°.

From Mr. P. R. Subrahmanya Sastri.

From the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences.
Additions to Library.

From Mr. Framjee Hormazjee Bomanjee Settana.

From the Smithsonian Institution.
The Smithsonian Institution, 1846-1896; the history of its first half century. Edited by George Brown Goode. Washington, 1897. 8°

From M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Lahore.

From the Editor, Maj. Richard C. Temple.

From the United States Geological Survey.
Extracts (12) from Mineral resources of the United States, 1886–93. 8°.

From the United States Bureau of Education.
From the Society of Letters, Upsala.


From the University of Upsala.


Ibn Batťahs resa genom Mağrib. Text, översättning och commentar af Herman Almqvist. Upsala, 1866. 8°.


Zur Geschichte des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe im Wotjaksischen, mit Rück­sicht auf das Syrjäische. Von Yrjö Wichmann. Helsingfors, 1897. 8°. Dissertations, etc. (20) of the University of Upsala. v. y.

From the Trustees of the Victoria Jubilee Pahalavi Text Fund.


From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.


From the Anthropological Society, Vienna.

Additions to Library.

From the Geographical Society, Vienna.

From Henry C. Warren, Ph.D.
Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. i-iii:
v. i. The Jātaka-Mālā; or, Bodhisattvāvadāna-Mālā, by Ārya-Cāra. Edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern. Cambridge, 1891. 8°.

From the Family of Prof. William Dwight Whitney.

From Prof. Edward J. Young.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, MAY, 1898.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Paris, France. (Rue du Vieux-Colombier, 6.) 1898.
Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAB, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
His Excellency, Otto von BORSTLINGK, 25 Hospital St., Leipzig, Germany. 1844.
Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
Prof. EDWARD B. COWELL, Univ. of Cambridge, England. Corresp. Member, 1863; Hon., 1893.
Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUCK, Univ. of Jena, Germany. 1878.
Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Univ. of Breslau, Germany. (105 Kaiser Wilhelm St.) 1898.
Prof. M. J. DE GEBJE, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, Univ. of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
Prof. HENDRIK KERN, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.
Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, Univ. of Goettingen, Germany. (21 Hainholzweg.) 1887.
Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, Univ. of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.
Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l’Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
Prof. Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, Enfield House, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, England. 1892.
Prof. THEODOR NORDENKE, Univ. of Strassburg, Germany. (16 Kalbmgasse.) 1878.
Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1893.
Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (12 Wormser St., W.) 1887.
Prof. EMMERHARD SCHRADE, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (30 Kronprinzen-Ufer, N. W.) 1890.
Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (49 Königin St.) Corresp. Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.
Prof. CORNELIUS P. TIELE, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.
Prof. ALBRECHT WEBER, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (36 Ritter St., S. W.) Corresp. Member, 1890; Hon., 1899.
Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, Univ. of Leipzig, Germany. (15 Universitäts Str.) 1890.

[Total, 24.]
II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of life members.

NAGEEB J. AREELEY, 46 Pearl St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.
Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 39 Greene St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
IRVING BARBET (Harvard Univ.), 65 Hammond St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. BENJAMIN WISNER BACON (Yale Univ.), 30 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Prof. MARK BAILEY, Jr. (State Univ. of Washington), 1019 Chestnut St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.
Hon. SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1893.
Miss ANNIE L. BARBER, 1626 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
DAVID P. BARNITZ, 30 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1885.
Prof. L. W. BATTEN (Episcopal Divinity School), 4805 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
Rev. DANIEL M. BATES, St. Stephen's Rectory, Clifton Heights, Pa. 1890.
Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.
Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.
Dr. WILLIAM STUBBS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
Rev. DAVID BLEAUSTEIN, 41 Lyman St., Providence, R. I. 1891.
Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.
Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, 4 Cours des Bastions, Geneva, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.
Prof. JAMES HENRY BREAUSTED (Univ. of Chicago), 515 62nd St., Englewood, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Prof. DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. 1888.
Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, 28 Inman St., Cambridgeport, Mass. 1896.
Prof. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.
Prof. FRANCIS BROWN, Union Theological Seminary, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
Prof. JOSEPH BRUNEAU, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. CARL DARLING BUdC (Univ. of Chicago), 5748 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Prof. SYLVESTER BURNHAM, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1886.
Pres. GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.
Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
Dr. W. CALAND, 486 Seeligsingel, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.
REV. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. A. S. CARRIER (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Miss EVA CHANNING, 90 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 1888.
Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
Prof. CAMELON M. COBURN, 1890 Sherman Ave., Denver, Colorado. 1894.
WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1895.
GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
SAMBUST VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
Dr. FREDERICK TABER COOPER, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
Miss LUTIE REBECCA CORWIN, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1895.
Dr. CLARK EUGENE CRANDALL (Univ. of Chicago), 5455 Monroe Ave., Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
Mrs. OLIVER CRANE, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1891.
Mr. STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. EDWARD L. CURTIS (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Dr. CHAS. H. STANLEY DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. 1893.
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
LEE MALTHE DEAN (Yale Univ.), 576 Iranistan Ave., Bridgeport, Conn. 1897.
LAURELL W. DEMERITT, 955 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 1466 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL F. DIKE, Bath, Me. 1883.
EPS SARGENT DIXWELL, 58 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1848.
Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Prof. JAMES F. DUBOCH, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.
SAMIUL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 76 W. Divinity, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1894.

Willerforce Eames, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Carl J. Eloffson, Hutto, Texas. 1891.

Prof. Levi H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.

Prof. Charles Carroll Everett (Harvard Univ.), 53 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1859.


Prof. Henry Ferguson, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.


Frank B. Forbes, 56 Rue de la Victoire, Paris, France. 1864.


Jas. Everett Frame, Union Theol. Sem., 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.


Dr. William H. Furness, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.

Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1868.


Ralph L. Goodrich, Clerk of the U. S. Court, Little Rock, Ark. 1888.

Prof. William Watson Goodwin (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follem St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.

Prof. Richard J. H. Gottschalk (Columbia Univ.), 169 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1886.

Jacob Grafe, Jr., 432 East 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.

Louis H. Gray, 212 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Prof. W. Henry Green, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1855.

Miss Lucia C. Graeme Greene, 136 West 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

Miss Louise H. R. Grieve, M.D., 136 West 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Karl Joseph Grimm, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Dr. J. B. Grossmann, 1942 North Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.

Rabbi Dr. Louis Grossmann, Temple Beth El, Detroit, Mich. 1890.

Chas. F. Gunther, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.


A. H. Hai-Pazian, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1898.

The Right Rev. Chas. R. Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Cairo, Ill. 1896.

Prof. Robert Francis Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.


Prof. Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

Dr. William W. Hastings, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1888.

Prof. Paul Haupt (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2315 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1888.

Rev. Henry Harrison Haynes, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Rev. Willis Hatfield Hazard, West Chester, Pa. 1893.
Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
Leonard Keene Hirshberg (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 531 Gay St., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
Prof. Edward Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
Prof. James M. Hoppin (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
Montague Howard, 264 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1891.
Rev. Dr. S. W. Howland, 350 West 56th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Miss Annie K. Humphrey, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1878.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
Rev. Marcus Jastrow, 139 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Rev. Henry F. Jenks, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
Prof. James Richard Jewett (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
Prof. Joshua A. Joffe (Jewish Theological Seminary), 736 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Dr. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
R. P. Karkaria, Nepean Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1897.
Herbert Kaufman, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D. (Radcliffe College), Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Brown University), 168 Bowen St., Providence, R. I. 1890.
Miss Elizabeth T. King, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Rabbi George A. Koshyt, 141 Pocahontas St., Dallas, Texas. 1894.
Rev. Paul Henry Land, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
E. B. Landis, M.D., English Church Mission, Chemulpo, Corea. 1888.
†Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
Rev. Robert J. Lau (Columbia University), P. O. Box 163, Weehawken, N. J. 1897.
Thomas B. Lawler, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Caspar Levis, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.
List of Members.

Robert Lilley, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1888.
Henry F. Linscott, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1896.
Rev. Lindsay B. Longacre, Spuyten Duyvil, New York, N. Y. 1897.
Gen'l Charles G. Loring (Museum of Fine Arts), 1 Mt. Vernon Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.
Arthur Conklin Lovejoy (Harvard University), 1689 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
Percival Lowell, care of Russell and Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
Prof. Jules Luquiens (Yale Univ.), 201 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1878.
Prof. David Gordon Lyon (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
Prof. Duncan B. Macdonald (Hartford Theological Seminary), 811 Asylum Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1893.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 23 E. Divinity, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1899.
Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, 115 West Lorain St., Oberlin, O. 1887.
Rev. John R. Mahoney, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. Max L. Margolis, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. David C. Marquis (McCormick Theological Seminary), 322 Belden Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Prof. Winfred Robert Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
Rev. Donald J. McKinnon, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1897.
Prof. Charles Marsh Mead, Hartford, Conn. 1887.
Prof. William N. Merkine, Fredericksburg College, Fredericksburg, Va. 1898.
Mrs. Helen L. Million (née Lovell), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. 1892.
Rev. Dr. Lawrence H. Mills, 29 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
Rev. Dr. Alfred Bernard Moldenke, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Prof. George F. Moore, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Paul Elmer More, 5889 Plymouth Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1893.
Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass. 1894.
Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass. 1899.
Isaac Myer, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Jens Anderson Ness, Johns Hopkins University (Box 442). 1897.
George Nathan Newman, 80 Bryant St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.
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American Oriental Society. [1898.

Prof. Hanns Oertel (Yale Univ.), 137 College St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Miss Ellen S. Oden, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.
George N. O'colt, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.
John Orne, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
George W. Osborn, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. George Palmer Pardington, 194 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, 710 Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry (Columbia Univ.), 188 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, 225 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. David Philipson, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
Prof. Samuel Ball Platter, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.
Murray E. Poole, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.
William Popper (Columbia University), 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Murray Anthony Potter (Harvard University), 18 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Prof. Ira M. Price (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.
Prof. John Dyneley Prince (New York University), 31 West 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Hugo Radas, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Madame Zenaide A. Ragozin, 207 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
Dr. George Andrew Reisner, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
Dr. Charles Rice, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.
Prof. George Livingston Robinson, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1892.
Prof. Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
James Hardy Ropes (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Rev. William Rosenau (Johns Hopkins University), Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Sanford L. Rotter, 55 Oak St. (or care of E. J. Smith & Co., 65 and 67 Asylum St.), Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Miss Adelaide Rudolph, 484 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Mrs. Janet E. Ruthz-Rees, Rosemary Hall, Wallingford, Conn. 1897.
Thomas H. P. Sailor, 4046 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
†Prof. Edward E. Salisbury, 287 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1843.
Prof. Frank K. Sanders (Yale University), 77 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
List of Members.

Rev. Tobias Schanfarber (Johns Hopkins University), 2030 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Dr. H. Ernest Schmid, White Plains, N. Y. 1886.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.

Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa. 1895.

J. Herbert Senter, 10 Avon St., Portland, Maine. 1870.


Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.

Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1884.

Maxwell Sommerville, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Dr. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.

Rev. James D. Steele, 29 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.

Prof. J. H. Stevenson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.

Mrs. Sara York Stevenson, 287 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Alfred Stokius, 78 East 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Alfred W. Straiton (Chicago University), 5092 Monroe Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1894.


Prof. John Phelps Taylor, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1884.

Prof. J. Henry Thayer (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.

Prof. Henry A. Todd (Columbia Coll.), 730 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.

Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.

Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1891.

Prof. Crawford H. Toy (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.

Prof. Joseph Vincent Tracy, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1892.


Prof. Charles Meles Tyler, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.

Addison Van Name (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.

Edward P. Vining, 832 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.

Thomas E. Waagaman, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.

†Thomas Walsh, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.

Miss Susan Hayes Ward, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.

Dr. William Hayes Ward, 180 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.

Miss Cornelia Warren, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

†Henry Clarke Warren, 12 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

Prof. William F. Warren, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.

Rev. W. Scott Watson, Towerhill (Gutenburg P. O.), N. J. 1898.

Charles Wallace Watts, Smithfield, Ky. 1898.

Prof. J. E. Weber, P. O. Box 149, Abington, Mass. 1894.

Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler (Cornell Univ.), 3 South Ave., Ithaca, N. Y. 1885.

Prof. John Williams White (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.

Dr. Moses C. White (Yale Univ.), 48 College St., New Haven, Conn. Corresponding Member, 1858; Corp., 1860.
Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass.  1897.
Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn.  1897.
Dr. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX, Montana College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Bozeman, Montana.  1896.
FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 185 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn.  1895.

Rev. Dr. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.  1885.
Dr. ALBRECHT WIRTH. [Address desired.]  1894.
Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 119 East 65th St., New York, N. Y.  1894.
HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario.  1885.

LAWRENCE P. WOLFE, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.  1898.
Rev. CHARLES JAMES WOOD, St. John's Rectory, York, Pa.  1892.
Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  1884.
Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass.  1898.
Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass.  1898.
Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, 205 East 42d St., New York, N. Y.  1894.
Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass.  1889.

[Total, 274.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

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Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y.  1898.
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Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 140 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn.  1898.
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Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
Prof. ADOLF BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.
Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Dr. HENRY BLODGET (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 318 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1888.
Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1887.
Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1889.
A. A. GABSIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.
Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of The Missionary Review of the World), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.
GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Bengal Civil Service, Bankipur, Bengal. 1893.
Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
Dr. WILLIAM HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Turkey. 1887.
Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.
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Rev. SAMUEL R. HOUSE, M.D., Waterford, N. Y. 1856.
DASTUR JAMASVI MINOCHEHERJI JAMASP ASANA, Parsi Panchayat Lane, Bombay, India. 1887.
Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. KELLOGG, The Fira, Landour, Mussoorie, N. W. P., India. 1872.
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Rev. ROBERT S. MACLAY (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Peking, China. 1858.
Dr. DIVIE BETHUNE McCARTEE, American Presbyterian Mission, Tokio, Japan. 1857.
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Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASPATTI, Athens, Greece. 1861.
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ALPHONSE PINART. [Address desired.] 1871.
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PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

DENMARK, ICELAND: REYKJAVIK: University Library.

FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l’Institut.)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Bibliothèque Nationale.
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise.

GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.

GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

GERMANY, LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
MUNICH: Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
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ITALY, Florence: Società Asiatica Italiana.
Rome: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
Netherlands, Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
Leiden: Curatorium of the University.
Norway, Christiania: Videnskabs-Selskab.
Sweden, Uppsala: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.
Russia, St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademija Nauk.
Archeologijii Institut.

III. ASIA.

Ceylon, Colombo: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
China, Peking: Peking Oriental Society.
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The Buddhist Text Society. (26 Jamm Bazar St.)
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V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.
The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenburg-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).
Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess-str., Munich, Bavaria).
Indogermanische Forschungen (care of Prof. W. Streitberg, Freiburg, Switzerland).
Revue des Études Juives. (Librairie A. Durlacher, 83 bis, rue Lafayette, Paris, France.)
Revue Archéologique. (Rue de Lille, 2, Paris, France.)
Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).
Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)
Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).

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The Editor requests the Librarians of any Institutions or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify him of the fact. It is the intention of the Editor to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

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Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:
1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.
2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.
3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.
4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be ex officio members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be ex officio members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three
years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

Article X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

Article XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer’s accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society’s property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year’s day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer’s book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall
also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAW.

I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

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3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.

4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. George F. Moore, Andover, Mass.

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Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religions may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is $2.; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.