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CONTENTS

OF

TWENTY-FIRST VOLUME,
SECOND HALF.

Page

The Unilingual Inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232.—By J. Dyneley Prince,
Professor in New York University, N. Y. ................................. 1

The Influence of Persian Literature on the German Post Platen.—
By Arthur F. J. Remy, of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. .... 40

On the Relative Chronology of the Vedic Hymns.—By Maurice
Bloomfield, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. ... 42

On Ṇatṣama, an Epithet of Indra.—By Maurice Bloomfield, Professor in
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. ............................... 50

The Vāṭa-Sāvitrī-Vara, according to Hemaḍri and the Vratārka.—
By Albert Henry Allen, of San Francisco, California ................. 53

Vohumanah in the Gāthās.—By Lawrence H. Mills, Professor in the
University of Oxford .................................................................. 67

Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays. Second Series.—By A. V. Williams
Jackson, Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y. .......... 88

Seven Unpublished PALMYRENE Inscriptions.—By Richard Gomme,
Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y. ................... 109

Contributions to Avestan Syntax. The Preterite Tenses of the Indicative.—By Louis H. Gray, Ph. D., of Princeton University, N. J. (formerly of Columbia University, N. Y.) .......... 112

On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance.—By Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 146

The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. First Series. The Religion
According to the Inscriptions.—By A. V. Williams Jackson,
Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y. With an Appendix
by Dr. Louis H. Gray ................................................................. 160

An ANDROGYNOUS BABYLONIAN Divinity.—By George A. Barton, Professor
in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna. .............................. 185

The Genesis of the God Eshmun.—By George A. Barton, Professor in
Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna. ........................................... 188

Editorial Note ......................................................................... 191
Proceedings at Pennsylvania, Penna., April 19, 20, and 21, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members elected</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report of the Treasurer</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report of the Librarian</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report of the Editor</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necrology</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report of the Directors</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers elected</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proceedings at the Philadelphia Congress of Philological and Archæological Societies, Dec. 27, 28, and 29, 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of members</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of exchanges</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitution and By-Laws</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List and prices of publications</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice to contributors and general notices</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Unilingual Inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232,\textsuperscript{1} translated.
—By J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Professor in New York University, New York, N. Y.

Happily for the Assyriological world, the long discussion as to the existence of a non-Semitic "Sumerian" language is rapidly drawing to a close. Indeed, the main question may be considered as practically settled. Even Friedrich Delitzsch, who has been until recently perhaps the most authoritative of the Anti-Sumerists,\textsuperscript{2} has at last changed his views and now holds that the Sumerian was really a language and was not merely, as the Anti-Sumerists thought, an ideographic system of writing the Semitic Assyro-Babylonian.\textsuperscript{3} It may be stated that the majority of Assyriologists are now convinced of the two following main facts: first, that the cuneiform system of writing originated with a non-Semitic people; and second, that the language of this non-Semitic race, of which we have so many specimens, most of which appear in connection with an interlinear Assyrian translation, should be known as Sumerian.\textsuperscript{4} The reasons formerly advanced for the name Akkadian are now very generally regarded as unsatisfactory. A history and elucidation of the entire question is given by Weissbach in his short but comprehensive work Die sumerische Frage.\textsuperscript{4}

Of course, Assyriology is really only at the threshold of Sumerian investigation, as there are many important problems

\textsuperscript{1}Published in Haupt's Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte, pp. 104–106.

\textsuperscript{2}See his Hdb., throughout, and his Assyr. Gr., 1889, § 25, where he gives a long excursus against the theories of the Sumerists.

\textsuperscript{3}Cf. his remarkable work Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems, oder der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen, Leipzig, 1897.

\textsuperscript{4}F. H. Weissbach, Die sumerische Frage, Leipzig, 1898; p. 181.
still to be solved. Of these the most weighty are undoubtedly: first, as to the phonology, grammatical structure and syntax of the language; secondly, as to its vocabulary; and thirdly and finally, as to its possible similarity to existing agglutinating speech-families. Dr. Christopher Johnston in the JAOS., xv. pp. 317–322, has stated with admirable clearness the lines along which Sumerian research should proceed.

The following three inscriptions belonging to the library of Assurbanipal are entirely unilingual, i.e. only in the Sumerian without the customary Assyrian interlinear translation. Nrs. 1 and 2 have never been translated before. They all recall ancient Semitic idea that disease (and incidentally sin,) the Assyro-Babylonian religion had a deep consciousness, be removed by being mysteriously communicated to the goat or deer species, which are then formally charged with their load of guilt into the wilderness. In a 1.


the author merely gives the translation of the inscription without any comments on the text, comparing, however, the Assyrian ritual of the scapegoat with the similar Hebrew custom.

In the Priestly Code of the Pentateuch, in Lev. xvi., we read that, on the Day of Atonement, the high priest (Aaron) was commanded to come to the sanctuary, where, after purifying himself with water, he was to put on the holy vestments. Two he-goats were then chosen for a sin offering, as well as a bullock for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering. The two goats were to be solemnly placed before Jhvh at the door of the tabernacle. Lots were then cast upon the goats, one of which was destined for Jhvh and the other to be a scapegoat for the demon Azazel.

1 Cf. the popular article by Tallqvist, Finsk Tidskrift, xxxii. H. 3, pp. 193–214: Fornbabyloniska och hebräiska psalmer; and see especially, IV. R. 3. 10.

2 Mention is made of it in JAOS, xviii. p. 388, Nr. 24.

The goat upon which the lot for Jhvh fell was accordingly presented and slain as a sin offering, together with the bullock and the ram. The high priest then laid his hands upon the head of the live scapegoat, confessing over it all the sins of Israel, which were thus thought to be placed upon the animal. A man especially appointed for the purpose led the goat into the wilderness, where it was allowed to go free "to Azazel." We should note that both the high priest and the person who led the animal away must purify themselves by washing after the ceremony.

Scrib., was the Hebrew custom with the goat. It is in this connection, however, to note that in cases of from leprosy a similar practice was followed with birds. Ung.

Happily, spots had disappeared from the patient, the priest birds, one of which was killed and its blood allowed to vessel over running water. The blood of the dead to the exi sprinkled over the patient. The living bird, after idly draw. in the blood and thus infected with the curse, was sidered as away "into the open field" (cf. Lev. xiv. 9, 53). been un folllowing inscriptions, Nrs. 2 and 3 show an interesting Sumeri. with these Hebrew rites. In Nr. 2, the god Marduk is enjoined by his father Ea to bring "the gazelle which alleviates pain" before the patient, who in all three inscriptions is mentioned as "the king," and to place upon his head the head of the animal. The gazelle, having thus got the disease, which was of course caused by demons, was driven away from the king, who was straightway conjured to become clean. In Nr. 3, the king, after coming forth from the house of purification, shoots at the gazelle, which is placed before the altar of the sun-god, with a bow made by pure hands, but does not kill it. All the ailments from which the king had suffered "go forth" into the gazelle "like (the arrow of) the bow." The scapegoat is then let loose in the field and the curse takes up its abode with it. In Nr. 1, also, we see a variation of the same idea. Here, in lines 2–9, the wild horned gazelles evidently typify demons like the Hebrew se’sirim. They are enjoined not to approach the

¹The disappearance of leprous spots from the skin in the early stages of the disease is universal. The initial hyperæmia tends to subside and remain quiescent until a further exacerbation of the leprous fever is at hand, when the spots reappear with increased force. Any hope that the disease had left the system which was based on this phenomenon was therefore a vain one.
king, and are ordered by Marduk to depart to the boundaries of the great deep. After this general divine command to the unclean gazelle-demons to depart, the priest proceeds to purify the king (lines 9–15). Then comes the injunction "drive away that horned gazelle," which would imply the scapegoat ceremony as in Nrs. 2 and 3, although it is not stated here that the gazelle was actually placed in contact with the patient. With the departure of the gazelle, which must go into the field to a clean place (i.e. unclean place), it is prayed that all evil disease may disappear from the king.

The similarity between these Assyrian ceremonies and the Hebrew rites is too striking to require much comment. In both instances, we have the sin or disease communicated to the goat or deer-like animal which is let loose in the waste places to roam as a thing accursed. Furthermore, in Nr. 2 the disease is placed upon the head of the animal, as in the Hebrew record, and in both accounts the element of purification is essentially the same. There can be no doubt that animals of the goat family were recognized as types of the demons of the waste who were endowed with baleful influence against man, and who were in fact regarded as the chief cause of disease. In this connection should be compared Isa. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 14. In 2 Chr. xi. 15 and Lev. xvii. 7, the se'ir'im are mentioned as receiving worship.

So far as I am aware, the inscriptions here translated are the only ones which relate directly to the Assyrian ceremony of the scapegoat, although the idea of removing sin or disease is common in the cuneiform psalm-literature. We should compare here the characteristic examples cited by Johnston, Amer. Antiq., xx. pp. 141–2, as well as the refrain given by Tallqvist, Finsk Tidskrift, March, 1892, p. 208: "Many are my sins and I am broken in all things. May the curse depart; may it go to the desert."

It is highly probable, as Professor Haupt has pointed out in his paper on the Origin of the Pentateuch, PAOS. March, 1894, pp. cii–ciii., that the entire Priestly Code was influenced by Babylonian institutions. In this instance, it would appear, we have the Babylonian prototype of the Hebrew scapegoat.

1 Haupt has shown that this euphemism is found, for example, IV.R. 8, 43; 14, Nr. 2, Rev. 2; cf. Lev. vi. 11: 'he shall carry forth the ashes without the camp unto a clean place.'
It may be noted here that superstitions essentially the same in character as the idea of the scapegoat are still in existence among the Irish Celts. I have personally been gravely told that infectious diseases, especially measles and mumps, may be checked soon after their inception, by permitting the patient to fondle some small animal, such as a puppy or kitten, which is believed to contract the disease and remove it from the human sufferer. The animal is usually taken out and killed. Another similar practice sometimes observed among the same people is to make the patient duck three times under an ass, which is then thought to carry the disease away.

In Nrs. 1 and 3 of the following inscriptions, I have given so far as possible the Sumerian transliteration and an English translation. In Nr. 2, however, I have ventured to add, for the sake of greater clearness, an Assyrian translation of my own.

Nr. 1; ASKT. pp. 104–5.

   Incantation. The king (?) the hair of his body sprouts forth.

3. *Lu-a-dar-maš* birghar-sag-ga-kit;
   The horned gazelles, the *urîce* of the mountains;

4. *Lu-a-dar-maš* edīn-na sar-â;
   the horned gazelles which wander forth in the field;

5. *Lu-a-dar-maš kur-ra* dim-mâ-e-ne;
   The horned gazelles of the mountain (and) their young;

6. GIŠ.PA. nam-bate-gâ-e-ne.
   may they not approach the sceptre (of the king).

   The vessel of life which is clean (?) they shall not overturn;
   it is decreed for fate (?).

8. *dinîr* Asaru lu-a-dara-bi-ši na-ba-ši-in-âe:
   Marduk prepares a destruction for those horned gazelles (saying):

9. GIŠ.GHAR eš-magh-e si-di-e-ne.
   “Betake yourselves unto the boundaries of the great deep.”

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1 Note that I use ASKT. and HT. as synonymous abbreviations for Haupt's *Akkadische u. sumerische Keilschrifttexte.*
10. Lu-ra igi-šu gin (DU)-a-ni-ta
When he goes before the man (i.e. the patient)

11. Nun-me K.A.MU.GAL. Nun-ki-ga-kit ê-ne a (ID) ba-da-an-aka:
the Akkaatu, he who utters the spell of Eridu, he shall issue
the decree (saying):

"Depart; it is the utterer of the spell of Eridu."

13. E a-šunag-a-šu GI Úrugal (ŠEŠ.GAL.) du-du-(KAK.
KAK.)-a-bi,
When the Úrugal places the GI in the house of purification,

14. a-gub-ba gisulta (GL.BIL.LAL.); nin-na na-ri-ga
pure water (and) fire, whatsoever belongeth to purification,

15. lugal-e tür dingir-ra-na a-zí-da a-kub-bu u-men-i-e (UD.DU.)
bring forth before the king, the son of his god, on the
right hand and on the left.

16. Lu-a-dara-bi u-me-te-gur-gur.
Drive away that horned gazelle.

17. Úrug ghill A.LAL. ghul gekin ghul TE.LAL. ghill,
The evil demon, the evil alū, the evil èsimmu, the evil gallā,

18. nin-ak-a nin-ghul-gin-ma a-ba-du-an-ur-ri-êš
the affliction (of the saliva), the disease, may they be
accursed.

In the field, in a clean place may its foot stand.

20. Lugal-e nammu (AN.ŠES.KI.) babbar-bi igo-ñi-šu a-qa-ni-šu
As for the king, may the moon and the sun be established
before him and behind him.

May he be firmly established in the place of life.

22. Tu (MU.KA.GA.) ka ñinir Èa-kit (EN.KI.GA.-kit);
The incantation of Ea's mouth;

23. tu-tu ñinir Asaru abu-a (ZU.AB.-a) nam-šub ba-an-se.
as for the incantations, may Marduk hurl the spell into the
depth.

24. ñinir Ëa (EN.KI.-kit) e-nun-na-kit ghe-im-ma-an-gaba-gaba.
May Ea of the Great House loosen it.

25. Úrugghul A.LAL. ghul (gekim ghul TE.LAL. ghul)
May the evil demon, the evil alū, (the evil èsimmu, the evil
gallā)
26. su lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na bura-šu ghe-(im-ta-gub),
stand aside from the body of the king, the son of his god.
27. Utug šig-ga lamma (AN.KAL) šig-ga nam-en-na nam-
lugal-la-kalam-na-kit.
May a favouring demon (and) a favouring lamassu for his
rule and his sovereignty over the land
be established in his body.

29. Enim-enim-na lu-a-dar A.KAM.
The incantation of the horned gazelle. ??

COMMENTARY.

2. Only the last part of this line is legible. For šeš-duggu=šarāt zumrīšu, cf. V.R. 50, 51a. The same ideogram šeš-duggu, if preceded by su=mašku ‘skin’ as a determinative, may be
In this case, however, as the preceding character is probably not
su (see text), I prefer to read the phrase as referring to the
unhealthy condition of the king, as in V.R. 50, 57a, where we
read: sa rabītu limnu šarāt zumrīšu (šeš-duggu) ušzīzu ‘he,
the hair of whose body an evil lurker (demon) causes to stand
up,’ i.e. with disease or terror. Ušzīzu is probably not to be
rendered ‘takes away,’ with Delitzsch, Hdbb. s. v. nazāzu, p.
456.

3. The ideogram lu-a-dar-maš may be interpreted as follows:
Lu (udu)=immaru ‘sheep,’ Br. 10681. A (ID.)=garru ‘horn,’
Note that in line 8, daru appears without maš.

The sign bir (see Br. 2024 ff.) is evidently a compound of
MAŠ-BAR. (Br. 1720)=giptu (from raph) ‘suboles,’ Sc. 1a, 11, +
DUG.-SAR. = kiššatu ‘multitude’ (Br. 8221). The original
meaning of the sign is probably ‘abound, be superabundant’
cf. lalā, Hdbb. s. v., and see also Delitzsch, Die Entstehung d.
ältesten Schriftsystems, p. 160). Assyrian urīcu is probably the
proper translation of bir in these inscriptions, as the context
clearly demands a distinct species of horned animal (cf. Nr. 2,
lines 37–38), and not a general expression denoting wild cervidae.
Urīcu is the only specific term which bir represents. It was
evidently an animal with long horns, as may be seen from IV.R.
11. The uruṣu may have been the powerful leucoryx antelope (oryx leucoryx) which has horns more than three feet long (see plate in Wellhausen’s Psalms, SBOT, p. 173). The Assyrian word may be cognate with Hebrew יָוִן ‘violent.’


5. Dim-ma=turā ‘offspring’ (see Hebrew p. 610, and Br. 1167).

6. GIŠ.PA. can mean only sceptre. Nam-bu-te-ga-ne=ā iṭxāni (from ṭeṣā), IV.R. 5, 72c.

7. This is an extremely difficult line. That urud means vessel, not necessarily of copper—uruḍ=ārā in the later Assyrian (cf. Sb. 114)—has been shown by Delitzsch, Schriftsystem, p. 186 ff. (cf. also Zb. p. 6, n. 2). I read in-naš as a possible verbal formation=ša ēlīl; cf. MAŠ.=ēlīn, Sc. 3 (see Br. 1750, and cf. MAŠ.MAŠ.=ūtēlūtu, Sc. 1b, 15, and utēbūtu, Br. 1854). For nu-tag-tag-ē-ne, cf. tag=lapātu, Br. 3797.

Nam-kū may be, as I render, for nam=šimtu ‘fate’ + the postposition -kū (šītu), i. e. ana šimti construed with tar=šimmu, Br. 381; cf. IV.R. 9, 34a: munib-tar-ēne=ša šimti īšimmu, and IV.R. 23, 31a; nam-tar-tar-ra=mušim šimāti. On the other hand, nam-kū is ideogram for rubatu ‘greatness’ (Br. 2217), i.e. the (king’s) greatness is established (?). The prefix munanin- is not found elsewhere, but cf. munanib-gi=ippulu in a probably passive sense (Br. 6308).

8. ṣīnur Asaru. For this reading of Šīlig-ri=Marduk, cf. II. R. 55, 68c, and Br. 924. See also below on Nr. 2, 31.

The form na-ba-ši-in-de is without parallel. I conclude that na-ba-ši- in- is a prefix combination, although na-ba never occurs. For na- alone as the simple prefix of the third pers. cf., however, Br. 6331. Ba-šīn, i. e. ba+šīn, the infixed reflexive, similar in force to the Turkish -in-, in sev-in-mek ‘to love oneself,’ occurs, for example, Br. 1072 in bašīn-tu=erumma ‘he entered,’ scil. sībi; ethical dative. The character de may mean abātu and walāgu (Br. 6721; 6726). For its primary signification simug= napparu, see Delitzsch, Schriftsystem, p. 81. A discussion of this sign will be found ZA. i. p. 256. When combined with ka ‘word, mouth,’ it must be translated by šapāku, tabāku ‘pour out, heap up,’ Br. 6732-3, i.e. ‘pour out words’; see below on Nr. 2, 34. That it cannot mean ‘speak’ in our passage is clear from the absence of ka, without which de never appears in this sense.
9. GIŠ.GHAR. = U̱₃urtu, Br. 8545; cf. also HT. 105, 44. U̱₃urtu, from dišru (ﾃｼ), denotes any circumscribed place where an absolute ruler has sole sway. See below on Nr. 2, 44.

Eš=ab, Sb. 189, + magh ‘the great dwelling’ (cf. eš=bitum, Br. 3817), i.e. the abyss of the ocean. Cf. ama-eš-magh, a secondary name of Damkina; ‘mother of the abyss’; Zb. 49, p. 14, and II.R. 58, 45d; and see also line 24 of this inscription.

For si-di=esēru ‘hurl oneself,’ cf. N.E. 63, 46: ša utukku limnu ėlišu iširu ‘he upon whom the evil demon has hurled himself,’ and for the imperative in Sumerian ending in e-ne, cf. Br. 4401.


11. Nun-me=abkalu, HT. 78, 67; Sfg. 55, 5; KAT. p. 78; i.e. ‘he who decides,’ as abkal ilāni, Anp. i. 5. It was probably a priestly office.

KA.MU.GAL from ka=pā ‘mouth’ (Br. 538), + mu=tiptu (Br. 781) ‘incantation,’ + gal (IK.)=pišš ‘open’ (Br. 2248). Translate: ‘he who opens the mouth of incantation,’ i.e. ‘enchanter.’

A (ID) ba-đa-an-aka. For the prefix ba-du, of Br. p. 531. The combination u (ID) + aka (RAM) is given Br. 4750, where ID.RAM.GA=tērtu ‘law,’ for which word in Assyrian, see EIH. iv. 30. We find also LU.ID.RAM.GA=ârtu ‘decree,’ and RAM=âru, Br. 4751; cf. tērtu Â-rum ‘issue a decree,’ V.R. 20, 24b. A (ID) ba-du-an-aka, then, would mean ‘he issues the decree.’ A similar kind of expression is ka mu-nan-đe ‘he pours forth words’ (see note on line 8).

12. Gin-na; see below on Nr. 2, 35.

13. A-žu-nag-a=rišnu, II.R. 48, 34e; cf. K. 4386, c. i. 44 ‘pouring out water,’ from pû ‘sprinkle’ (?). Šu-nag also means ramâku, II.R. 48, 33e; rimku, V.R. 51, 48b. For this expression ‘house of purification,’ which probably refers to a special temple used for this purpose, cf. HT. 106, 16.

The ideogram GI means primarily qanâ ‘reed,’ and also biblu ‘produce,’ Br. 2587 and 2392 (see Sfg. p. 49). The exact meaning of the line is not clear, but it must refer to some detail of the ceremony of purification. For ŠEŠ.GAL, lit. ‘big brother’=urugal, cf. Br. 6452. This word also denotes a priestly office, perhaps subordinate to the abkalu.

Du-du-a-bi ‘when he sets up.’ Du is banâ, Br. 5248, šakânu, 5269, or ritâ, 5265. The 3 p. suffix -bi probably indicates the
construction ina šakānīšu, although the -ta=ina is wanting here; cf. line 10, ina alākīšu, where -ta appears; but see HT. p. 105, 1: gin-a-na ‘when he goes.’

14. Agūbba=agūbbā ‘pure water,’ Br. 11418. Gibilla ‘fire,’ Br. 2473; but for the rendering tiparu ‘torch,’ see ZK. ii. p. 52. The god of fire (ānīr BIL.GI=Gibil) is praised in HT. 79, 10. Na-ri-ga=alātu, šītu and tēlitu, i. e. ‘be pure, pure’ and ‘purification,’ Br. 1600–1602; cf. RI=alātu, Br. 2556.

15. The expression ‘son of his god’ (line 20, Nr. 2, 39 et passim) simply means pious person. The king here is of course identical with the patient of line 10. U-me-ni-e. For the imperative prefix ume-ni-, cf. Br. p. 546, and see Nr. 2, 38.

16. The suffix -bi is often used in the sense of the demonstrative pronoun šatu; cf. ga-bi-gin=kīma šībi šatu ‘like that milk,’ IV.R. 16, 44b. In IV.R. 5, 52a, -bi=šatu.

U-me-te-gur-gur. The imperative prefix umete-, if the -te is indeed a part of the prefix, is not found elsewhere. My reason for regarding -te as a formative element is that gur alone is used for daparu, Br. 3361. We find -te, however, in u-mu-un-te-gur-gur=dupirma, IV.R. 27, 54, 57b, and HT. 105, 39. Brūnnow unnecessarily gives te-gur as a variant of gur, 7719. Te is probably a variant of the locative ta= ‘thence,’ here. The exact meaning of daparu is not quite clear, but the Sumerian gur means primarily tāru ‘turn,’ Br. 3367, so that u-me-te-gur-gur=dupirma may be rendered ‘turn away,’ i. e. ‘drive out,’ used of disease as represented by the scapegoat. Delitzsch, Hidv. p. 226, cites xīiti duppīrī ‘drive away my sin,’ K. 4931, rev. 7,8, and liddippīr namtar ‘may the evil fate be driven out,’ K. 155, rev. It is not probable that īlē in the sense ‘drive back,’ which occurs, for example, in d(t)iparu, Zb. 46–7. The stem le may be connected with Heb. īlē in the sense ‘drive back,’ which occurs, for example, in Ps. cxxvii. 5; ḫirṣi ’el-annah baṭšur, ‘they shall drive back the enemies in the gate’; cf. ḫirṣ ’el, back part of the sanctuary (Lagarde, Arm. Stud., § 541).

17. The utug might also be a favourable influence; see line 27.

A.LAL=alā, Br. 11638. Alā was the heavenly bull created by Amu to avenge his daughter Tītar. According to the Nimrod Epic, it was killed by Gilgamesh and Eabani. Its secondary meaning, as seen here, is an evil demon with power to afflict man with disease.
Gékim=škimmu, Br. 11307. Note the difference between this sign and utug, Br. 11311. The škimmu was the restless wandering ghost.

TE.LAL=gallâ, Br. 7732, was an evil demon similar to the ašâ. With this whole line, cf. IV.R. 16a; Lu utukku limmu, lu ašâ limmu, lu škimmu limmu, lu gallâ limmu.

18. Nin-ak-a=arsâšâ, Br. 12023; also HT. 106, 19 'spittle' (so Muss-Arnolt in his Assyri. Dict. s. v.; cf. Jensen, ZK. ii, 33, and rem. 3). The word may be cognate with Syr. šârâ. It is used in connection with rûtu in HT. 86/7, 60; arsâšâ rûtu šâ ina pi limmiš nadat, 'spittle and breath foully thrown from the mouth.'

Nin-gul-gim-ma, lit. 'whatever causes evil to exist,' hence 'disease.' See HT. 106, 19.

A-ba-da-an-ur-rî-êš. Although abadan- does not occur elsewhere as a prefix, we find abadub-, Br. 7556, and, of course, badan-; see line 11. Ur=arâru, usually ur-ur, Br. 11888. The primitive meaning of ur is perhaps 'to bind'; cf. xamâmu, Br. 11890, Sb. 271 and Zb. p. 81; also egebu, Br. 11889; hence arâru 'to bind with a curse.'

19. Ki-ri-a-šu. Ki=ašru place, Br. 9627; ri=alâlu 'be clean,' Br. 2556; a is the vowel of prolongation, and -šu (-ku) is the postposition ana, ina. For -ku(šu)=ina, cf. Br. 10563. This is euphemistic for 'unclean place' (see above).

Gha-ba-an-lâgh-gi-êš. For the prefix ghaban-, cf. Br. p. 548. Lâgh=nazâzu, Br. 4939. See also below on line 20. Note that lag also means alâku 'go,' Br. 4935.

20. AN.ŠEŠ.KI=nâmmu, Br. 6453, i. e. Šin, 'the moon'; see IV.R. i, 29b. AN.TU.=babbar=Šamaš 'the sun,' Br. 7795. For -bi in the sense of the copula 'and,' cf. Br. 5131.

Igi-ni-šu=ana pânišu, IV.R. 2, 27b; a-ga-ni-šu=ana arkišu, Br. 11524/5.

Ghe-en-da-lâgh-lâgh-gi-êš. For the preceptive prefix ghenda-, cf. Br. p. 539, and for lâgh-lâgh=nazâzu, see above on line 19. The correct rendering here is probably kânu (Br. 4937); see HT. p. 92/3, 12. The suffix -gi indicating the vowel of prolongation shows that lâgh must have been pronounced laghg.

J. D. Prince,

[1900.

suffix -da in this form is very interesting. Parallel cases are found Br. 7688 ; baran-te-ga-da=lā tedixī ; also namba-te-go-da =ā itxūni, from which we may perhaps infer that -da is a locative element incorporated with the verb-form, supplementing the force in this phrase of the postposition -šū=ina ‘in.’ Cf. also su-ni-tu gha-ba-an-tar-ru-da, Nr. 3, 21, ‘may it go out of his body.’ Other instances of incorporated -da are found, Br. 4211, pi-ib-bi-da =içallūm ; 1814, šu-bar-ri-da=ûsāru. In other languages of the agglutinative type such incorporation is well known. In the agglutinative and polysynthetic American tongues, precisely the same phenomenon occurs in such expressions as the Abenaki (Algic dialect) : Otawa n-oji-n’mil’gon ‘from Ottawa it was given to me.’ In this form n’= ‘to me’ ; oji- is the encapsulated prepositional element ‘from’ ; mil= ‘give,’ and -gon= third person ‘he-she.’

22. MU.K.A.GA.=tu (mu)=Assyr. tū ‘incantation,’ Br. 783. For Ea=En-ki-ga, see Br. 2906, and for the gen. of this word with -kit, see IV.R. 1, 36b.

23. Tu-tu + nam-šub seems to mean ‘incantation’ ; cf. IV.R. 21, 47b ; tu-tu nam-šub ba-an-se=ididuma šiptu ‘he casts it out, i. e. the incantation.’ Abzu-a (ZU.AB.-a) ‘unto the deep.’ Note that -a=ana, Br. 11364 ; a=ina, 11365. Se=nadū, Br. 4417.

24. En-un-na-kit ‘of the great house,’ i. e. ‘of the abyss’ (see above line 9), where Ea resides ; cf. HT. 78, 11/12 ; ana Ea ina apet ‘unto Ea in the deep.’

Ghe-im-ma-an-gaba-gaba. For ghe-im-man, see Br. p. 540. The infix -man here is probably identical with -nib-, -šin-, i. e. infixed reflexive. Gaba=puţāru, Br. 4488, and see Sb. 345. A similar idiom relating to loosening a curse is found in the expression : lipaṭṭiru mamitsunu ‘may they loosen the curse’ ; Hêwob. p. 522.

25. This line was left unfinished by the scribe. It should probably be filled out from line 17.

26. Bara-šu=ina axāti ; cf. IV.R. 2, 24a (Br. 1730). The verb here should probably be ghe-im-ta-gub=lizzı̂s, as in Nr. 2, 44. For this whole line, cf. HT. 93, 10 ; bar-ta-bi-šu gha-ba-ra-an-gubba=ina axāti lizzı̂s. Note here the encapsulated locative -ta- which, like -da in line 21 above, is complementary to šū.

27. With this line should be compared the identical passage HT. 93/2, 11 ; Utug šig-ga lamma (AN.KAL.) šig-ga=šedu dumqi lamasi dumqi. Utug=šedu only in these passages.
Śedu and lamassu (also lamaššu) indicate varieties of the bull-god which was represented by colossi at the entrances of temples and palaces. Śedu and lamassu were always protectors when mentioned together (Ḫubīb, p. 381). The śedu when alone was a destroying storm-god. The usual ideogram for śedu is alād; cf. the unilingual line HT. 88, 40; Alūd AN. KAL. nin šig-ga šedu lamassu dingi (the Assyrian here is mine). Note that AN. KAL. (pron. lamma) = lamassu occurs Sb. 176.

Namaššal-la-kalam-ša-kit. Kalam (kalama) = matu, Br. 5914.

28. This line is precisely identical with II.T. 92. 12.

Nr. 2; ASKT. p. 104.

30. En bir-gul-dub-ba. Nun-e na-ra-ga
Śipat uršip ša ušapšax limutta. Rubā ša telili
Incantation of the gazelle which alleviates evil (pain).
The prince of purification,

ša Marduk mār Erištu elliš . . . . . . . . . . . . . . išábbi.
Marduk, son of Erištu, purely speaks.

32. Nin-a-ga-kud-du nin tu-tu-da-na
Nin-a-ga-kud-du bēltu (ina) šipatiša
Nin-a-ga-kud-du the lady (in) her incantations

33. . . . . . gi-bi- nun-ib-gar.
. . . . . . tabiš (?) ištakan.
graciously (?) she confirms it (?)

34. En-ki lugal ab�� (ZU. AB.) -kit tur-ani dünür Asaru ka mu- na-an-de-e:

En šar apēt ana marīšu ša Marduk išessi:
En the king of the abyss unto his son Marduk speaks:

35. Gin-na turu-mu dünür Asaru.
Ālik marī ša Marduk.
"Go, my son Marduk."

Ābi lā igaṭásu.
"The enemies have seized him (the patient)."

Urša ša ušapšax limutta ligēma.
"Take the gazelle which alleviates evil (pain)."

38. Saga-bi sag-ga-na u-me-ni-gar-gar.
gaggadsu ana gaggadišu šukumma.
"Place its head upon his (the patient’s) head."
39. Lugal-erur dingir-anu u-me-te-gur-gur.  
Ana šarri már ilišu dupirma.  
"Drive it away from the king, the son of his god."

Ru'tušu ina pišu littadi.  
"May his spittle flow from his mouth."

Šarru ivatu itili šub.  
"May that king be pure, may he be clean."

42. Lu-nam-qrim-ru na-un-zu-a;  
Âbi  
"The enemies (the hostile demons of disease) understand it not (i. e. do not comprehend the method of cure);

43. su-ni-ta ghe-ni-ib-ta-e.  
inâ zumrišu lissâ.  
from his body may they tear themselves away."

Ilu ša upurtu ina ažâti lizziz.  
"May the god of the upurtu stand aside."

45. Enim-enim-ma bir-ghus-dub-ba. KAM.  
Sipat ušip ša ušapšax limutta. KAM.  
The incantation formula of the gazelle which alleviates evil. KAM.?

Commentary.

30. Bir-ghus-dub-ba. For bir, see above on Nr. 1, 3. That ghus denotes the abstract noun limutta as well as the adj. limsu is clear from Br. 9503 ; cf. IV.R. 28, 7a ; ghus gim-ma = šepš limutti. Dubsba = pâššu, Br. 7080.

31. Ela-bi or elâbi with vowel of prolongation, for el + bi, is adverbial here, elliš ; cf. II.R. 47, 55c, magha-bi = ma’diš ; IV.R. 5, 20b, pa(sig)-pa(sig)-ga-bi = ša-qunmiš ; and for further examples of the adverbial use of the suffix -bi, cf. Br. 5139. That the ending -eš has also a purely adverbial force is seen from burri-eš = ažiriš, IV.R. 17, 58a ; cf. also dug-gi-eš = tâbis, HT. 105, 8b For Dug (id. KA) -ga = qibâ, cf. Br. 531, and see especially IV. R. 41 (48), 22a, dug-ga = igâbbi (in var. K. 8018).

32. Nin-a-gha-kud-û is called 'lady of the shining water,' IV.R. 28, Nr. 3, 58 ; ninagubba. In IV.R. 15, 39b she is especially invoked to protect and purify the sick; cf. II.R. 58, 48,
where we read: ‘may she utter the magic spell of Eridu with her pure mouth.’ She is not infrequently associated with incantations (see Hommel, *Sem.* i. p. 388).

The reduplication *tu-tu* is probably plural (cf. HT. p. 140); *da* = the prep. *ina*, and -*na* is the suffix of the third person. It is possible, however, that *-da* represents the prolongation of *tu* = *tud* (?).

33. . . . . *gi-bi* may be for *dug-gi-bi* = *ţăbiš*, cf. HT. p. 105, 8 B, *dug-gi-êš* ‘graciously.’

33. *Munibgar*. For *mu-nib* = *ištēal* and *ištanēal*, cf. Br. 3463 and 11897. A prefix and infix are frequently used to express the infixed verb form in Assyrian. For *ištakan*, see *ba-nin-gar*, IV.R. 8, 22b; 26, 8b; 7, la, 19a.

34. *Na mu-nan-de-e* = *išessi* from *šasā* also HT. p. 76, 5/6. The infix -*nan-* here has the force of a dative, expressed in the Assyrian *ana marīšu*. See above, note on Nr. 1, 8.

35. For this line, cf. HT. p. 77, 27.

36. *Lu-nam-erim-ma* = *ābu* ‘foe, enemy,’ II.R. 24, Nr. 2 Obv.; K. 138, Obv. 7/8; IV.R. 21, Nr. 1 B, Rev. 17 (see also Br. 4604). Owing to the verb-forms in lines 42–3 the noun is probably to be construed as a plural here, i.e. *ābi* ‘enemies.’ *Lu* = *amētu* ‘man, person’ and *erim-ma* = *raggu* ‘evil, hostile’; Br. 4607.

*In-dib-ba-a-an*. *Dibba* = *sābātu* ‘seize,’ Br. 10694, and cf. Nr. 3, 3. The combination of a prefix (in this case *in-*) with the suffix *a-an* is used to denote the past relation, also Br. 7977; *ba-an-pi-šat-ta-an=udē’; *mu-un-gam-a-an=kanšaku*, Br. 7322, etc. For the force of *a-an* in general, see Br. p. 561 B.

37. *Šu-u-me-ti* = *ligēma*, IV.R. 3, 42a.

38. *U-men-gar-gar* = *šukunma*, K. 246, c. ii. 53; K. 1284, 39. For *umēn-i*, imperative prefix, cf. Br. p. 546. This line is explained by IV.R. 26, 24/5b; *sag bir sag en-šū ba-an-se=qaggad urīši ana qaggad amēli ittadin* ‘the head of the *urīšu* is placed in contact with the head of the man,’ i.e. to receive the disease. Exactly the reverse of this idea is seen in HT. 91, 65 ff.: *manūštu aršāša lâ tabāti qaggadsu ana qaggadišu ...ā iškuru; ā ištudā* ‘the evil sickness and (evil) saliva, may they not place their head against his head. May they not approach him.’ Also in HT. 88, 40–1, we read: *Adad AN.KAL. (lamma) nin šig-ga sagga-na a-ba-ni-in-gub=šedu lamassu āmĝi ina rēšišu lizziz* ‘may the protecting bull-gods (see above on Nr. 1, 27) who are favourable stand at his head.’ It is clear from these inscriptions that
the head was regarded as the seat of disease; cf. also in this connection the custom of laying the kurāmatu ‘magic food’ (?) on the patient’s head, possibly with the double idea that it should act as a fomentation and as a charm (for kurāmatu, see Zb. 49, and note 6).

39. See above on 1, 16.

40. For ugh (?), cf. Jensen, ZK. ii. p. 32, n. 1, and Br. 789, 791. The king probably had a fever, and so the flow of saliva was a course a favorable sign.


42. Nūnu-uzu-a=īdā, pl., cf. IV.R. 7, 42a.

43. Ghe-nib-ta-e. E (UD.DU.)=apā ‘go forth,’ Sb. 84; but here it clearly stands for the stronger expression nisā ‘tear, wrench forth, go forth violently,’ cf. IV.R. 15, c. ii. 5/6 f., exactly as in our text: sumita ghenibta-e=ina zumrišu li-is-su-u, and 1. 47c: gheni-ib-ta-e=li-is-su-u. The infix -ta- is here the locative prepositional particle=ina ‘out of’ (see Prince, JAOS. 1895, p. ccxxiv.).

44. For GIŠ-GHAR = ucurtu, see above on Nr. 1, 9. The god of the ucurtu in this passage is clearly a baleful influence; cf. ZA. i. p. 32, and Delitzsch, Hdbb., s. v. ucurtu.

For bara-šu, see above, Nr. 1, 26. For gur=nažišu, cf. Br. 4893.

Nr. 3; ASKT. pp. 105–6.

1.  En. En-na edin-na gin-ana;
   Incantation. When the lord Bel goes forth into the field;
2.  En-gal Ea (En-kī-kit) edin-na gin-ana,
   When the great lord Ea goes forth into the field,
   the beasts of that pasture in the field he catches.
   The leaders of the goats, the wild goats (and) the gazelles
   he drives away.
5.  BAR.KAK. ZUR.BAR.KAK.-bi edin-na-kit mi-ni-ib-dīb-dīb.
   The gazelle and the gazelle-fawn of the field he seizes.
6.  BAR.KAK. ZUR.BAR.KAK.-bi-šu ni-nigin-e.
   The gazelle together with her fawn he catches.
7. *Im-gim mu-un-ri-ri nin-gir-gim mu-un-gir-gir-ri*
   Like the wind he storms, like lightning he flashes.
8. *Ea (En-ki kit) iigi kar-kar dug-qi-eš mi-ni-il-e-ne.*
   Ea lifted up his eyes; he graciously drives them out.
9. *dišur Asaru iigi; nin-ma-e; gin-na;*
   (See Commentary below.)
10. *dišur Šagan tur dišur Babbar siba nin-nam-ma-kit*
   Let Šagan (Nergal?), son of Šamaš, the shepherd of all
      that is,
   bring to thee a gazelle of the field.
12. *Nin-igi-lamga-bu, lamga gal an-na-kit,*
   Let Nin-igi-lamga-bu, (Ea), the great lamga of heaven,
   bring thee a bow made by pure hands.
   Cause the gazelle that wanders in the field to stand before
      Šamaš.
15. *Lugal-e tur dišur-ra-na GIŠ.ŠUB. u-me-ni-se.*
   Give the bow to the king the son of his god.
   When he comes forth from the house of purification,
   let him smite the gazelle before Šamaš.
18. *(Lugal)-e (?) BAR KAK.-ra GIŠ.ŠUB. šu-bar-ra e-da-na,*
   When the king shoots at the gazelle with the bow,
19. *(Nam)-tar-a-sig nin-gig nin-ak-a nin-gul-gim-ma,*
   the fated affliction which saps the strength, the disease, the
      illness, the spell,
20. *nin-gul i dišur Babbar su-a-na ni-gál (IK)-la;*
    whatever of evil there was in his body at sunrise;
    like the bow (i. e. like the arrow of the bow) from his body
    may it go forth.
22. *Lugal-e BAR.KAK.-ra GIŠ.ŠUB.-ta ...... gi-la-a-ni-ta (?)*
    When the king shoots (?) at the gazelle with the bow,
    may the evil demon, the evil alú, be appeased.
24. *...... edin-na-šu ...... u-me-ni-bar.*
    Let loose (the gazelle) into the field.
25. edin-na-šú e-da-ni-ta,
   When (the gazelle) goes out into the field,
26. šu ra-ra-da-a-ni-ta,
   (in the field?) when it takes up its abode,
27. ka ghul eme ghul
   the evil mouth, the evil tongue
28. šu ghe-en-da-ra-ra
   with it (?) may they take up their abode.
29. (ii) me-ni-el u-me-ni-e.
   make him clean; may it go forth.
30. (DU) G.BUR. ni nun-na-gim
    a vessel of stone (?) like butter
31. SAG.KAL.
    the Ašarišu.
32. SIG. (?) GI.DA.KAM
    ? ?

COMMENTARY.

1. Gin-a-na; lit. ‘his going’; without preposition. The usual form is gin-a-ni-ta, as in Nr. 1, 10.

   In mi-nib-diō-diō, the infix -niō plainly supplements the object, i.e. it may be rendered ‘them.’ The usual infix for ‘them’ is -neši; see HT. p. 145, § 19.


5. BAR.KAK = zabitu, Br. 1908. ZUR.BAR.KAK = uzālu, Br. 9074.


8. The sign KAR.GAN. must mean našā ‘lift up’ (aganatēnu, Br. 3172) in connection with īgi ‘face, eye.’ For ḫug-gi-eš, see above on Nr. 2, 31.

9. This line consists of abbreviations of three formulæ, i.e., perhaps: a) Asaru īgi kar-kar + ?
    Marduk lift up thine eyes + ?.

b) Nin-ma-e ni-zu-a-mu za-e in-ma-e-zu
    Ša anāku idā atta tiḏi

Whatsoever I know thou must know (also).
c) *Gin-na tur-mu dungtr Asaru
   Âlik māri Marduk!

Go, my son Marduk! IV.R. 22, 7b. With these lines should be compared IV.R. 22, 1ff:—*Ea māršu Marduk ippal; māri mina lā tidi, mina luraddiku? Ša anāku idā atta tidi; âlik māri Marduk, etc. Ea spake unto his son M.; My son, what knowest thou not? what shall I add to thee? Whatsoever I know, thou must know, etc.


11. Note the infix -rab- denoting the second person ‘thee, to thee’; see IIT. p. 145, § 19. Incorporation of the pronounal object with the verb is of course well known in agglutinating and polysynthetic tongues; cf. Basque *ematen darotak ‘thou givest it to me’ (*t- ‘me’); Abenuki (Algic dialect) *Kennio ‘I see thee’ (*k=‘thee’).

12. *Nin-igi-lamga-bu=Ea, Br. 11077; cf. IV.R. 18, 55a; 57a, etc.

The word lamga, if preceded by the determ. *lu=amēlu=nam-garu, Br. 11165, and *lu Sin, II.R. 47, 66e.

13. GIS.SUB. = midpānu ‘bow,’ Br. 1481. “Fashioned by pure hands”; cf. HT. 88, 46: gē nabasi ša ina qāti . . . ellitim iltlad-lu ‘cords of wool (?) which are brought with a pure hand,’ i.e., probably by hands made clean by a ritual of purification, like the formal cleansing of the modern Mohammedans.

14. *Gin-a; note the -a ending, which may have the force of a postposition here.


17. PA(sig)=maudēpu ‘smite,’ Br. 5576.

18. Literally: ‘When the king at the gazelle a bow-loosening sends forth.’ Šu-bar=māsāru (muššāru), Br. 7111; bar=muššāru, 1774. Šu-bar, then, would mean ‘hand loosening.’

19. *Nam-tar a(ID)-sig (PA). *Nam-tar=šimtu ‘fate’ passim. A(ID)-sig(PA)=ašakkā, Br. 6592, i.e. a demon of baleful influence which saps away the strength of a patient with persistent force; hence the name, A ‘strength’ + sig ‘smite, destroy’; viz., ašakkā ša amēla lā umaššāru ‘which does not leave a man’; cf. Hāwvb. 144.
20. Išmuḫur Babbar. For i=ażû, see Sc. 129 (Br. 3980); also naʾaddu, Sc. 126.


22. It is impossible to make out the last combination in this line. The above translation is suggested by the context.

23. Šig=damqu, see above on Nr. 1, 27, and Br. 9446.

24. U-me-ni-bar. Bar=usṣāru (maṣāru) 'let loose,' Br. 1814 (see above on Nr. 3, 18).

25-28. As the gazelle takes up its abode in the field, the curse is to remain with the animal.

26. Ra-ra=rama, Br. 6362; aṣābu, 6355 'dwell.' It is possible that the šu in this line may represent the postposition -ku(-šu) =ina, although it is written here ŠU=qatu and not -ku(-šu); cf. Sfg. p. 17; e-a-ni-šu(QAT)=ana bītišu.

30. DUG.-BUR. is very difficult. Dug-ga-bur=pawāru 'collect,' Br. 5894 ff. It is possible that dug-bur may be an error for this, as the character dug is not clear; perhaps the final wedges represent the end of ga (?). In this case the combination would be 'a gatherer of butter.' As it stands, dug=karpatu 'vessel,' Br. 5891, and bur=abnu, 6973. Ni-nun-na=ximētu 'butter,' Br. 5349.

This line may refer to some ceremony of anointing the king after his purification.

List of Sumerian Words discussed in the Commentary.

-a, 3, 14.
ab, 1, 9.
abadab-, 1, 18.
abadan-, 1, 11, 18.
abzu, 1, 23.
agubba, 1, 14.
aka, 1, 11.
A. LAL., 1, 17.
AN.ŠEŠ.KL., 1, 20.
anšu, 3, 3.
AN.TU., 1, 20.
a sig, 8, 19.
a-šu-nag-a, 1, 13.
babbar, 1, 20.
badan-, 1, 11.
bar, 1, 26; 3, 24.

BAR.KAK., 3, 5.
bašin-, 1, 8.
-bi, 1, 16; 2, 33.
bir, 1, 8.
-da, 1, 21; 3, 32; 3, 21.
-da-, 3, 18.
dara, 1, 8.
de, 1, 7.
dīd, 2, 36.
dīn-ma, 1, 5.
dū, 1, 13.
dūb, 2, 30.
dug, 2, 31.
DUG.BUR., 3, 30.
dug-ga-bur, 3, 30.
DUG.SAR., 1, 3.
List of most important Assyrian Words.

abkallu, 1, 11.  
ekimmu, 1, 17.  
alâhu, 1, 14.  
âlu, 1, 14.
| alā, 1, 17. | dāparu, 1, 16. |
| ucūru, 1, 9; 2, 44. | ṭexā, 1, 6. |
| ērū, 1, 9. | ṭipāru, 1, 14. |
| urīçu, 1, 8. | nadda, 1, 23; 2, 40. |
| arāru, 1, 18. | rātu, 1, 18. |
| aršakā, 1, 18. | risnu, 1, 13. |
| urtu, 1, 11. | šnātu, 1, 16. |
| ašakku, 3, 19. | šimtu, 1, 7. |
| esēru, 1, 9. | tēlitti, 1, 14. |
| ašru, 1, 19. | tērnu, 1, 11. |
| gallā, 1, 17. |  |
The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning, with especial reference to the Customs of the Ancient Hebrews.—By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In a paper prepared for the meeting of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions in 1898, and now published in No. 1 of the papers of that section, I discussed the significance of the custom of placing dust on the head as a symbol of mourning or sign of grief among the ancient Hebrews and other peoples. Incidentally, another custom no less prominent was touched upon, namely, the tearing of garments. This custom merits an independent investigation. As in the former paper, I will confine myself largely to the customs of the ancient Hebrews, though the results of the investigation apply to other nations among whom the custom exists.

The tearing of garments and the putting on of sackcloth are so frequently mentioned together in the Old Testament as to make it evident that the two rites are closely connected with one another. It is sufficient for our purposes to refer to such passages as the following: (1) Gen. xxxvii. 34, where Jacob, upon learning that Joseph is dead, tears his garments and places sackcloth around his loins. (2) 1 Kings xxi. 27, where Ahab, after listening to the denunciation and gloomy prophecy of Elijah, tears his garments as a sign of grief and puts sackcloth on his body (לְכָל־לֵב). (8) Esther iv. 1, where Mordecai, in grief at the evil fate in store for the Jews, tears his garments and clothes himself in sackcloth and ashes. (4) 2 Sam. iii. 31, where on the occasion of Abner’s death David says to Joab and to all the people, “Tear your garments and gird yourselves with sackcloth.” (5) 2 Kings vi. 30, Joram the son of Ahab tears his garments and appears before the people with sackcloth on his body underneath (עֹלְיוֹתֶים מַכָּבָה). (6) 2 Kings xix. 1 (parallel passage, Is. xxxvii. 1), Hezekiah in deep distress at the impending advance of Sennacherib against Jerusalem tears his garments and covers

1 Corresponding to JAOS. xx. 1, pp. 183–150: “Dust, Earth, and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning among the Ancient Hebrews.”
himself with sackcloth. It is true that frequently the 'tearing of garments' is mentioned without the 'putting on of sackcloth' (e. g. Ezra ix. 3., Num. xiv. 6), and vice versa; and that the 'tearing of garments' is also joined to other symbolical expressions of mourning, grief, or distress, such as fasting (Ezra ix. 5), putting dust on the head (2 Samuel i. 2), plucking the hair or beard (Ezra ix. 3), and the like. Still, the fact that in so many passages the two customs under consideration are united is significant, as is also the circumstance that when thus combined, the tearing is invariably mentioned first. The one act appears to be preparatory to the other.

The verb employed for indicating this tearing is ר合う , and an examination of its use shows conclusively that a violent action of tearing is denoted by it. 1 Sam. xv. 28, Samuel announces to Saul, הראית גם ואת שראלי משלך רוח ; which clearly means, "Yahwe has wrenched from thee the rulership over Israel." Similarly, 2 Kings xvii. 21, יתקוע ונראשי מעלי ביו רוח ; "For he has torn Israel away from the house of David," i. e., has torn asunder the bond uniting the two. One may also consult 1 Kings xi. 11, 1 Sam. xxviii. 17, and more particularly 2 Kings ii. 12, where it is said of Elisha, upon seeing the ascension of Elijah, יתירא נבואתי ויירשיך נשיים ורישע; "He took hold of his garments and tore them in two (lit. in two tears)." The verb ר嗬 therefore, in connection with the 'tearing' of the garments implies more than making a mere rent in one's clothes, and may be used to indicate tearing them off one's body—a violent removal. If this be so, we should expect to find evidence that it was once customary as a symbol of mourning to strip oneself of one's garments entirely. Such evidence is indeed forthcoming, and Schwally has already called attention to it, though he has failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the custom. In the first chapter of Micah, the prophet pictures the coming annihilation of the northern kingdom, which arouses in him a profound sense of grief:

"Therefore I will lament and howl,
Go about barefooted and naked,
Start a lament like the jackals,
A mourning like ostriches" (v. 8).

1 Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel, pp. 13-14.
The terms used—תַּעֲצַל, נְעָה, נְאַרַע—are the ones commonly employed for indicating the lament for the dead, and the reference to going about 'barefooted' 1 and 'naked' would therefore be out of place, if the custom of stripping oneself did not at one time exist. Is. xx. 2–4 may be quoted as confirmatory evidence. The prophet is ordered, by way of furnishing an external symbol of his grief at impending misfortune, to remove the simple sackcloth which covers his loins, to take off the sandals from his feet, and go about "naked and barefooted."

There are indications that among the ancient Arabs likewise the custom prevailed of stripping oneself as a sign of mourning and distress. In the Kitab al-Aghani, there is a story of a woman who in her grief removes her clothing; of a certain Musab b. al-Zubair it is related that he followed a corpse, stripped of his lower garments; and a woman who warns her people of some impending disaster takes off her garments and cries out, "I am the naked Warner."2 The Hebrew custom may therefore be regarded as the survival of an observance common to at least several branches of the Semites. Naturally a custom of this kind could not have prevailed as a general one after an era of refinement had set in, though it may still have been resorted to on extraordinary occasions. Even though it be assumed that an Isaiah did not go about entirely naked, the main point involved, which is the use of a term indicating the removal of one's clothes, is not affected by this consideration. The figure would lose its force if it did not correspond to what at one time was a reality.

The substitution of the sackcloth in place of the ordinary garments represents the concession made to the ancient custom of stripping oneself, by an age which, through its refinement, gradually came to look upon nakedness as a synonym for disgrace and dishonor. Viewed in this light, the frequent juxtaposition in the O. T. of the tearing, or rather tearing off, of the garments and the girding on of sackcloth becomes intelligible. Scholars are now generally agreed that the saq was originally a loin-cloth3 made of

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1 The custom of going about barefooted in times of grief appears to have survived to a late date, as is shown by Ezekiel xxiv. 17. See also 2 Sam. xv. 30.
2 All these examples are furnished by Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidenthums, p. 107.
3 See the passages quoted by Schwally, ib. p. 11.
coarse stuff and hanging down from the loins to cover these parts of the body which in the eyes of the Semites constitute one's 'nakedness' *par excellence*. If we may be permitted to draw a conclusion from the customs prevailing among people living in a primitive state of culture, it is precisely such a loin-cloth which constitutes the simplest kind of dress, the one most naturally resorted to, and therefore presumably coeval with the beginning of dress in general, viewed as an adornment and not as a mere protection against physical discomfort. The Biblical tradition preserves the recollection of these simple beginnings of dress, for the יָרֶנֶּה mentioned Gen. iii. 7 and commonly rendered "aprons" are in reality garments hung around the loins.¹ There seems to be no reason to doubt that the dress of the Mohammedan pilgrim known as *ihram*,² which he substitutes for his ordinary clothes upon approaching the sacred precinct of Mecca, is but a modification of the *saq*, consisting as it does of a piece of cloth which is wrapped around the loins and hangs down from the knees, and to which another sheet thrown over the back is attached. This modification represents a further concession demanded by the spread of more refined customs, while the express stipulation that one shoulder and arm must be bare is an indication that the original purpose of the upper garment was not to serve as a covering for the whole body. In this second stage, then, the custom of the mourners was to divest themselves of their ordinary clothes consisting of an upper and lower garment, and, discarding the upper covering entirely, to gird themselves with a cloth hanging down from the loins. In the combination of the tearing of garments with the putting on of sackcloth, the former act represents the preparation for the latter, and the essential feature of the observance is the return at a time of grief and distress to the fashions prevailing in more primitive days.

Among the Babylonians also we have traces of the existence of this custom. In my article "Earth, Dust, and Ashes as Symbols of Mourning"³ I have called attention to the scene depicted in one of the sections of the famous "Stele of Vultures" where

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¹ In the days of Niebuhr (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, Kopenhagen, 1772, p. 64) still the dress of some Arab clans.


³ *L. c.*, p. 142.
attendants occupied in burying the dead are stripped bare to the waist and have a cloth around the loins which hangs down to the knees. The scene enables us to proceed further in the explanation of the mourning garb. Whether the attendants are relatives or priests or merely servants is of little moment as compared with the fact, now admitted by most scholars, that they are actually engaged in the burial of the dead, or at all events in some act connected with the burial. The mourning garb is originally the costume prescribed for those who are concerned with the disposal of the dead; and since, as the Old Testament and other ancient sources show, it is ordinarily the immediate relatives who conduct the preparations for the funeral, the funeral garb is naturally identical with the mourning costume. In the article referred to, I have similarly explained the custom of placing earth or dust on the head, as a sign of mourning due to a ceremony, originally connected with the act of earth burial, which involved the building of a mound over the spot where the dead was deposited, the earth for this purpose being carried in a basket and the basket itself placed on the head, where burdens are commonly carried, both in the ancient and the modern Orient.

Coming back to our subject, the question still remains to be answered as to the reason for the original custom of stripping oneself as a sign of mourning, and for the modification of this custom which represents the return to a primitive form of dress. Schwally\(^1\) has properly protested against the method which seeks the explanation of popular customs, such as the one under consideration, in psychological motives. Weeping is a natural expression of emotion, and among people unaccustomed to any restraint of their feelings we can understand that a tendency should exist to tear out the hair under the influence of extreme grief; but the removal of the clothes or the putting of dust on the head are clearly symbolical acts, and must be accounted for in some other way than as a manifestation of humility or as a natural expression of grief. I venture to suggest that the tearing off of the clothes, as well as the return to a simpler form of dress, is an illustration of the fact well known to students of the history of religions, that in religious rites there is in general a marked inclination to return to primitive fashions and earlier

\(^{1}\) So to this day in the Orient.

\(^{2}\) Das Leben nach dem Tode, p. 10.
modes of life; to re-adopt, as it were, the ways and manners of by-gone days. Religious customs are apt to be a stage or several stages behind the customs of every-day life, and this fact holds good for dress as for other things. Let me adduce a few illustrations. Reference has already been made to the custom of the Mohammedan pilgrim, who on approaching Mecca removes his sandals and ordinary garb in order to put on garments that are clearly survivals of earlier fashions in dress. Sandals represent a comparatively advanced fashion in the Orient, and hence when one enters a sacred place, a spot sanctified by religious associations, he returns to the simpler habits of his ancestors and goes about barefooted. To this day the Mohammedan leaves his sandals at the door of the Mosque before entering it. The command given to Moses to take off his sandals upon approaching the burning bush—sacred because of the presence of Yahwe in the fire (Ex. iii. 5; see also Joshua v. 15)—belongs to the same category of ideas. According to a tradition the correctness of which there is no reason to question, the priests in the temple at Jerusalem, and presumably therefore in the older local sanctuaries of Palestine, performed their service barefooted. If this view be correct, we should expect that at an age when the common dress consisted of only a single garment thrown around the loins—according to Niebuhr still the custom among certain Arab clans—in the performance of religious rites this garment would be removed. There is actually a tradition current among the Arabs that it was customary at one time to perform the circuits around the Kaaba completely stripped. Wellhausen mentions the tradition. Besides Sura vii. 29, to which he refers, there is an important reference to it in Bokhari's collection of traditions which has been overlooked. On the occasion of Mohammed's last visit to the Kaaba, he expressly forbade that any one should "make the circuit of the holy house naked." The prohibition would have no

1 Burton (l. c., II. p. 279) commenting on the antiquity of this dress, known technically as the ḫūr, mentions that it is still the common dress of the people in regions lying to the west of the Red Sea.

2 To this day in orthodox synagogues, those members of the congregation who, as supposed descendants of Aaron, have the privilege of blessing the worshippers, remove their shoes before stepping in front of the ark which contains the scrolls of the law.

3 Reste arabischen Heidenthums, p. 106.

meaning had the custom not been common in his days. Moreover, the explanation which Wellhausen offers for the curious custom, as though it were due to refusal or inability on the part of the pilgrims to hire suitable clothes from the Koreish, under whose tutelage the Kaaba stood, seems to me to miss the point completely. Robertson Smith\(^1\) follows Wellhausen in making the appearance of the worshipper in a sanctuary without clothes an alternative to appearing in a special garb, borrowed from the priest, as was the case in the sanctuary of al-Jalsad, or obtained in some other way. According to this point of view, the question of taboo is primarily involved. The ordinary clothes would become unfit for further use, by contact with holy objects; hence other clothes must be provided. In connection with the subject, Robertson Smith brings forward the numerous allusions in the Old Testament and in Arabic literature, as well as examples from other nations than Semites, in which a change of garments is prescribed as an essential condition before approaching the presence of a deity.

It seems to me, however, that the two customs, the appearance at a sanctuary without clothes, and the appearance in different clothes, must be kept apart. At all events, it is inconceivable that at a time when, from whatever motives, religious practices prescribed a change of garments upon approaching a deity, the custom of appearing naked should have arisen as an alternative. ‘Nakedness’ is not looked upon with favor, as a general thing, by the Semites. The ideas associated with it in Semitic diction are ‘shame’ and ‘disgrace,’ and such conceptions of nakedness appear to be quite as ancient as the ordinance to change the clothes before coming to a sacred spot. If, therefore, we find the custom of appearing naked before a deity vouched for, it must have been due to other factors entering into play; and I believe that the tendency, above noted, to return to by-gone fashions in the case of religious observances constitutes one of these factors, and indeed the main factor. I would place the custom of appearing naked before a deity in the same category with that of appearing barefooted in a holy place. Through my colleague, Prof. Lamberton, of the University of Pennsylvania, my attention was directed to the passage in the Iliad, xvi. 234–235, from which it appears that among the Greeks, primitive customs were retained

\(1\) Religion of the Semites, p. 432 (1st ed.).
in connection with religious rites. The Dodonean priests went barefooted, and slept on the ground. They carried their retention of primitive habits to the extent of not even washing their feet. Leaf, in his note on the passage,¹ properly explains the retention of such customs as due to the phenomenon of religious conservatism, and instances as a parallel the use of stone knives in sacrifice² long after they had gone out of use for the needs of ordinary life. The same observation may be made in the case of the priests of Egypt, who in the days of the Middle Empire retain a skirt of a very ancient pattern; and Erman expressly notes³ that this conservative trait in the matter of dress is even more noticeable when we reach the period of the New Empire, the priests of which wear a costume that dates back to the 4th dynasty. The mantle or double dress is never assumed by them. The long, wide skirt which is the common fashion in the Middle Empire survives among the priests of the New Empire, while during the Middle Empire the priests are again distinguished by the fashion of the narrow, short skirt which belongs to the Old Empire. They thus always lagged behind the fashions of the day. At funeral services, the conservative principle is even more pronounced, for the officiating priest wears the panther skin, which takes us back to the most primitive and rudest style of dress.

Carrying this principle to its logical issue, we reach the thesis for which I enter a plea, that there exists a general tendency in religious observances to revert to (or as we might also put it, to retain) the ways and manners of an earlier age. That in the process some customs involving a return to earlier fashions should have survived without change, while in others modifications were introduced, is perfectly natural. Such a custom as the requirement to appear barefooted might be retained to a late date because it was compatible with even advanced ideas of refinement. Its observance did not involve uncovering that portion of the body which was more particularly regarded as a person’s ‘nakedness,’ and only when in addition to the shoe or sandal a special covering for the leg and foot became customary, might a compromise

¹ The Iliad, vol. ii. p. 143.
² So also in the rite of circumcision, in the performance of which the flint blade is still used in Egypt.
be effected which permitted the retention of the stocking! On the other hand, the custom of stripping oneself at a time of grief would soon yield to compromises suggested by the growing sense of decency, and would only be resorted to on extraordinary occasions. The first step in this compromise would be to gird on a loin-cloth. From the passage Is. xx. 2–4 it appears that the prophet’s ordinary clothes consisted merely of a loin-cloth and sandals, and from other testimony we know that the dress of the seers was of a much simpler character than that worn by other persons. The Mohammedan ihram represents another form of this compromise. From this point of view there is no specific mourning garb, there is merely the general tendency when engaged in any religious observance—prayer, pilgrimage, expiatory rites, or occupation with the dead—to return to more primitive fashions in dress, in accord with the general conservative character inherent in matters connected with religion. In the chapter of Bokhari’s collection of traditions already referred to, the question as to the kind of dress which is proper for prayer is fully discussed.\(^2\) Mohammed himself did not prescribe any special dress; but in view of the changes in fashions which had been introduced in the course of time, and the variety of fashions prevailing in the Islamic world, it is significant that in this discussion great stress is laid upon wearing only one garment during the devotions; in evident contrast to the ordinary costume, which consisted of two garments. Various traditions likewise voice a protest against wearing ornamented clothes during prayer, the objection being urged that they distract the attention of the worshipper from his prayers. It is hardly necessary to point out, however, that this cannot be the real reason for the objection. The whole course of the discussion shows that the chief point involved is the contrast between by-gone and present fashions in dress; and the question raised throughout is, whether in prayer present fashions in dress are permissible. The general tendency is to decide the question in favor of the simpler costumes of former days, as more appropriate for wear during one’s devotions. In Mohammed’s day, upper garments in addition to lower

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\(^1\) So in orthodox synagogues at the present time, the descendants of the priests when blessing the congregation only remove their shoes (see note above, p. 28).

ones were already common; but a tradition is recorded that when engaged in prayer, the prophet bared his arms and threw his cloak over his shoulders. There appears indeed to have been a doubt in the minds of some whether it was proper to keep the sandals on during prayer, and a tradition is introduced to settle the question, which declares that the prophet was in the habit of praying with his sandals on his feet. However these and other questions were settled, the mere fact that they were raised illustrates the general disposition to revert to simpler fashions of dress, or at least to imitate such fashions, when engaged in religious observances. With the introduction of more elaborate fashions, the aversion to uncovering any considerable part of the body would become more pronounced; and this feeling, too, is foreshadowed in Bokhari's chapter on prayer, where some of the traditions maintain that the garment should cover the whole body. By a further extension of this process, we reach the stage in which the essential feature of dress on religious occasions is its general differentiation from the costume of everyday life, rather than a return to any particular fashion. Customs, as is well known, not only survive but undergo modifications long after their original purport has been forgotten; and so in the course of time a form of dress might be prescribed for sacred occasions which would contradict the basic principle of a return to simpler fashions. We do not meet with this stage in Islam, but a noteworthy instance of such a development is the dress prescribed for the priests in the Old Testament, which while preserving perhaps some features of earlier fashions, is on the whole certainly more elaborate than the garments worn in ordinary life. Again, the still more elaborate costumes prescribed for the priests and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Roman Catholic church may be regarded as illustrating the extent to which the process may be carried by the introduction of new factors. The passages adduced by Robertson Smith from the Old Testament and elsewhere are therefore interesting as showing how early the thought that it was essential to appear before a deity in a different garb from that worn in everyday life took a firm hold and tended gradually to set aside the earlier

2 For all that, the custom prevails at present to remove the sandals before entering a mosque.
principle that the religious dress was to be marked by its conservative character. But this circumstance does not justify us in placing 'no clothes' and 'different clothes' side by side as though they were alternatives. If Robertson Smith is correct in supposing the direction to change the clothes before coming to a sacred spot to be due to prevailing notions of taboo, then we must seek for a different order of ideas as the basis of the command to appear naked. As has already been remarked, it is difficult to conceive how two such different customs could have arisen at the same time. The custom of appearing naked in the religious ceremonial impresses one as more archaic than the other. As a 'survival' we can account for its being resorted to occasionally even after the custom of changing the clothes, for reasons of taboo or for any other cause, was in vogue; but this supposition implies—and upon this alone stress is laid here—that the two customs are entirely independent of one another, being produced through two different orders of ideas; or, if this seems to be going too far, we may at least say that the custom of changing the clothes grew out of the earlier one through the introduction of new factors. A support for this view is to be found again in Babylonian monuments belonging to the oldest period, on which worshippers are depicted in a naked state; while the second stage, in which the worshipper has recourse to a simple loin-cloth and divests himself of his ordinary clothes, is also represented, as has already been pointed out.\(^1\)

This return to simpler and more primitive fashions may be observed in other funeral and mourning rites of the Semites. Among Arabs and Hebrews in the days of mourning, the couch on which the mourner ordinarily sits and sleeps is forsaken, and he crouches on the floor; a return to the period when couches did not yet form a staple article of furniture. The association of ideas of humility with the custom belongs to a later age which in a self-conscious spirit sought for an interpretation of traditional observances, the real purport of which was no longer understood. Similarly, the removing of all ornaments from the hair and body, and the general neglect of the person, in days of mourning, vouched for in the case of the ancient Hebrews by various passages in the Old Testament, and still observed among the modern

\(^1\) See Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 666.
\(^2\) See above, p. 26 f.
Egyptians and elsewhere in the Orient, is due in the first instance not to any inherent aversion to display in days of distress, but to this same tendency to re-adopt the simpler forms of life that belong to a past age. Precisely the same instructions—not to bathe, nor to adorn himself—are prescribed for the Mohammedan pilgrim during the time that he is engaged in performing his religious duties at the Kaaba and the surrounding sacred places. It can hardly be argued that the pilgrimage is a ceremony of expiation, and that for this reason regulations of abstinence are prescribed, for there is no trace of any such idea connected with it in any of the Arabic writers. If however we consider that the visit to the Kaaba (like the visiting of sacred places in general) is an exceedingly old rite antedating the period of elaborate dress and adornment of the person, observed in an age which did not yet enjoy the luxury or feel the necessity of personal cleanliness, or of living in agreeable and comfortable surroundings, we can recognize here the tendency of the participant in a religious rite to transport himself back to the earlier age, and make every effort in his power to observe the ceremonies under the same conditions and in the same way as his remote ancestors.

My contention then is, that the tearing off of the clothing is not primarily a funeral or mourning custom specifically, but a ceremony observed in connection with religious rites in general, prompted by the general tendency to preserve in such ceremonies the fashions of primitive days. At a time when the ordinary garment consisted of a simple cloth thrown around the loins, the participant in the rite removed this cloth and returned to a state of nature, upon entering the presence of a deity or on approaching a sacred spot, or in burying the dead. Later, when the ordinary dress consisted of two or more garments, he returned on the occasion of performing a religious act—be it a pilgrimage, a burial, or what not—to more primitive fashions, by throwing off the upper garment and going about in the simple loin-cloth; or, in a more advanced stage of refinement, by baring merely a portion of the body—arms, shoulders and feet. The custom of priests among various ancient nations to go about barefooted belongs to this category, as does the retention of sandals among certain Catholic orders in these days when the shoe represents the common covering for the foot.

Since from this point of view the stripping off of the garments or the girding on of the loin cloth was not originally a specific
mourning custom, but became so merely from the fact that the funeral rites necessarily had a religious character, we can understand that there were other occasions among the Hebrews besides the death of a relative when the custom was resorted to. Attention has been called to the fact that the Hebrew sees at one time went about naked. The example of Saul shows that 'stripping off the garments' was an act preliminary to 'prophesying,' and hence even at a later age the prophet's garb is characterized as more primitive than the ordinary fashions of the day. It is clearly because 'prophecy' is a religious act that 'nakedness' is associated with it.

From such an application of the custom must be disassociated the girding of sackcloth around the loins as a genuine symbol of humility and submission; as e. g., when the servants of Ben-Hadad come to appeal for mercy to King Ahab, they are depicted with sackcloth around their loins and ropes on their heads (1 Kings xx. 31). Such an act is at the other end of the chain, directly dependent upon the use of sackcloth as a symbol of mourning, and contemporaneous with the period when the custom of tearing off the garments had become specifically associated with mourning for a lost relative. The garb of mourning naturally becomes also the symbol of distress in general, and distress is of necessity involved in a display of submission or in an appeal for mercy. Hence also the messenger who brings the news of death or of some other calamity, or the one who announces an impending misfortune, tears his garments and girds himself with the loin-cloth; and similarly persons in distress strip off their garments (Num. xiv. 6; 2 Kings v. 8) or tear their tunics, and have recourse to that other mourning symbol, the placing of earth or dust on the head (1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 2, xv. 32); or they appear with their beards disfigured, with torn garments, and with incisions in their bodies (Jer. xli. 5). We can also understand how, in the course of further development, the feeling of indignation should come to be manifested by similar acts.²

In all these instances we are obliged to assume that the tearing off of the clothes and the putting on of sackcloth were

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¹ 1 Sam. xix. 24, "And he stripped off his clothes, and prophesied before Samuel, and he lay naked all that day and all that night," &c.
² See my article, "Earth, Dust and Ashes," &c., p. 147.
old established customs, which had come to be specifically regarded as symbols of mourning, and then were still further extended to other occasions. Be it emphasized once more that popular customs persist in their vigor long after their original purport is forgotten. Becoming merely or specifically symbols of mourning, it is easy to see how the tearing off of the garments should become disassociated from the act to which it was once preliminary—the girding on of the sackcloth—and that both should continue to exist independent of each other. It seems necessary, however, to assume certain intermediate stages before this separation of the two customs was brought about. The tearing off of the garments was gradually transformed into a mere tearing of the garments; and the sackcloth, instead of constituting the only article of clothing worn in days of mourning or on occasions of distress, became a supplementary garment worn either underneath the ordinary clothes or even over them. The Jews in Persia still tear off their upper garment in the time of mourning and bare themselves to the waist; but elsewhere in the Orient it was the custom, as early as the days of Jesus, merely to tear off a piece of the garment, and this custom was still further modified until a mere rent in a seam was regarded as answering all requirements. With this transformation of the 'tearing off' into the mere 'tearing,' the way was prepared for the complete separation of the tearing of the garments from the putting on of the loin-cloth; and that this separation was already brought about in pre-exilic days follows from the passages to which direct or indirect reference has been made, in which the one custom is recorded without reference to the other. A curious result of this separation is the prominence which the tearing or tearing off of the garments—originally subsidiary and merely the preliminary act—acquires as against the girding on of the loin-cloth. While the latter continues in force as a symbol of mourning and then of distress, grief and humility in general, the tearing of garments in combination with other symbols of mourning or grief is far more frequently introduced. In post-Biblical literature we hear but little of the putting of sackcloth around the loins, whereas the tearing of garments continues in force and survives at the present day among orthodox Jews (in both Orient and Occident) in the conventional rent made in the coat on the occasion of the death of a relative.
It has already been pointed out that appearing in different clothes on occasions of a religious character belongs to a different category of ideas from the tearing off of the garments with the various modifications which this custom has undergone; and while it lies beyond the province of this paper to investigate further what relation, if any, exists between the two customs, it is not impossible that the growth of refinement and the advance of the aesthetic sense should have tended toward the substitution of the change of the clothes for the mutilation of them, as a more appropriate means of manifesting grief. Of course such a substitution could not have taken place until the time when the conscious return to more primitive fashions in days of mourning no longer played any part. On the other hand, foreign influences may also have been at work in bringing about the custom of having a special mourning garb. Among the Chinese, as is well known, the colors appropriate for mourning are white, brown and yellow, and the putting on of the mourning garb is an elaborate ceremony undertaken on the seventh day after the death of a near relative.1 The sons of a deceased father put on garments made of hemp of the natural color, which are worn over the ordinary clothes; the grandsons are distinguished by hemp cloth of a yellowish tinge. No red garments or silks or satins are permitted for three years. With the custom of special garments for the mourners are also connected observances emphasizing the same principle of a return to by-gone fashions. So for 49 or 60 days the mourners do not sleep in beds nor sit on chairs. The hempen garments of the natural color and the yellow garments are exchanged at certain intervals or on stated occasions for white cotton clothes and brown sackcloth, again placed over the ordinary garments.2 Among the Greeks, we find special garments prescribed for the priests; the long chiton, white or purple, the latter being set aside for occasions when the gods of the nether world were invoked, while again other garments were prescribed for festivals.3 For the people in general dark clothes were prescribed in post-Homeric times as appropriate in days of mourn-

1 For further details see Doolittle, Social Life among the Chinese, Vol. i., p. 188 f.
2 Stengel und Oehmichen, Griechische Sakralalterthümer, p. 88.
ing; and while no great stress appears to have been laid upon the observance, it is from the Greeks, as would appear, that the present Occidental custom of wearing dark (and then black) clothes as a sign of mourning was derived. The Book of Judith (vii. 5, ἀμάρινα τῆς χορταίνως) furnishes the evidence that in the second century B. C. it was customary for widows in Palestine to wear a special mourning dress for the space of several years, while beneath this they continued to wear the loin-cloth. This combination of the earlier with what is clearly a later fashion is a curious illustration of the compromise between religious conservatism and the fashion plate. To both influences women have been at all times more subject than men, and since we do not find at any time a special mourning dress prescribed for men among the Hebrews, there are strong reasons for suspecting foreign influence as at least one factor in accounting for the introduction of the 'widow's weeds' in Palestine. The character of Judith, in the book of that name, is modelled in part upon that of Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Judah, as depicted in Genesis, chap. xxxviii; and since the story in Genesis in its present form is at least some centuries earlier than the Book of Judith, the reference to "garments of widowhood" in Gen. xxxviii. 14 obliges us to carry back the custom to a still earlier period. Still, even this does not preclude foreign influence. The close contact existing among the various nations of antiquity through commercial and political intercourse from at least the period of Persian supremacy rendered the Hebrews in post-exilic days peculiarly subject to the attraction of fashions prevailing outside of Palestine; and so far as the Arabs are concerned, their ancient customs underwent profound modifications and transformations long before the advent of Mohammed.

1 Busolt, Bauer, und Müller, *Griechische Staats- Kriegs- und Privatalterthümer*, p. 428. Ashes, too, were smeared over the clothes (ib., 462n).

2 Dark blue clothes are already mentioned in the Iliad (xxiv., 94) for occasions of mourning; in the Persian period, all relatives of the deceased wear dark clothes. Busolt, ib., 463b.)

3 Both Judith and Tamar are widows. Tamar is a 'J'judith' by virtue of her relationship to Judah. Like Judith (x. 8, 4), Tamar removes her garments of widowhood (נְבֵנוֹת אִבְּרִית; cf. Judith viii. 5) and ornaments her person (Gen. xxxviii. 14). She offers herself to Judah (vs. 15); Judith offers herself to Holophernes (xii. 16-18.)
As a result of this investigation, I venture to claim that the custom of removing the ordinary clothing and returning to the simpler fashions of by-gone days is the specifically Hebrew mourning custom, to be accounted for by the general tendency to maintain old fashions in religious ceremonies. On the other hand, the appearing in different clothes in the days of mourning, so far as it existed among Hebrews and Arabs, is due to the working of different factors, among which the influence of similar customs among various other nations of antiquity is to be taken into consideration. The older and specifically Hebrew (or perhaps general Semitic) custom passes through various phases of development, and leaves its traces in the mourning rites of modern Jews and modern Arabs; whereas the other custom, the special mourning garb, is only met with sporadically among the Hebrews, and never became general either with Hebrews or Arabs, or, for that matter, with any branch of the ancient Semites so far as is known.

Of course this thesis does not preclude the possibility of a merging of mourning rites drawn from various parts of the world. Indeed, there is a curious parallel in the modern Orient to the Occidental custom of wearing a mourning band around the hat. This custom is now limited to males, and formerly long streamers were attached to the band; but in Egypt female relatives at a time of mourning bind a strip of linen or cotton stuff or muslin—generally of a blue color—around the head, with the ends hanging down the back. The custom appears to be an old one in Egypt, for in the funeral scenes depicted on the walls of ancient Egyptian tombs we find women with a similar band around the head. Whether the hat- or head-band is a modification of the special mourning dress, is a question into which we cannot enter, nor is there enough material at hand for deciding it; but the presence of the same custom in the modern Orient and Occident illustrates the readiness with which the mourning customs of one country pass over to another. There is no occasion for surprise, therefore, at finding one and the same people employing two such different methods of symbolizing grief as the mutilating of garments and the providing of special garbs for occasions of mourning; nor is it surprising even to find both methods combined and resorted to by one and the same individual.

1 Lane, Modern Egyptians (London, 1886), ii. p. 293.
The Influence of Persian Literature on the German Poet Platen.—By Arthur F. J. Remy, A.M., of Columbia University, N. Y. City.

Only a brief outline will here be given of this paper, which itself was presented in abstract. It gave the partial results of an investigation of the general subject of 'The Influence of India and Persia upon German Poetry.' The investigation itself is to be published as a monograph in the course of the year.

Attention was first called to the ghazal-form in Persian poetry and its earliest appearance in German literature with Rückert in 1821. After this had been given as an introduction, the article turned directly to a discussion of Platen's Ghaselen. Reasons were given for confining the discussion to those Ghaselen that appeared in the years 1821 and 1822. Special stress was laid on the fact that the ghazals of 1824 were oriental only in form, and were, therefore, not considered in the brief abstract.

The article then went on to show that Platen's Ghaselen are not translations from the Persian, but that they are really original productions 'dem Häfis nachgeführt und nachgedichtet,' much in the same manner as Goethe's divan-poems. They were shown to follow as closely as possible the technical rules of Persian verse, and were found to make use throughout of Persian images and metaphors, in fact to be modelled closely after the ghazals of Häfiz. Parallels were adduced from Häfiz's odes themselves to bear out this statement with regard to the usage of rhetorical figures. Out of numerous illustrations which were cited only one need here be given. It is chosen to show with what freedom Platen imitated his oriental models. In the 13th Ghasele (Cotta ed., Stuttgart, Vol. II, p. 11) Platen has:

'Schenke! Tulpen sind wie Kelche Weines,
Gieb den Freunden, gieb sie hin, die Tulpe!'

This, it was suggested, probably drew its inspiration from such a line as Häfiz, Ode 541 (Brockhaus ed., Leipzig, 1863)
'Saki come, for the goblet of the tulip has become filled with wine.'

A paragraph was then devoted to a number of similes in Platen's poems which fully catch the Persian spirit, but for which no close parallel had yet been found in that part of Persian poetry which had been examined in the investigation as likely to have been accessible to Platen. The interest of such similes, it was pointed out, lies in the fact that they show how much the occidental poet had come under the oriental influence.

Yet not only in spirit, but also in form, these poems were proved to be close imitations of Hāfiz's odes. In those ghazals called 'Spiegel des Hafis' Platen, after the manner of Persian poets, even regularly introduces the name Hafis into the last couplet of his German imitations. End-rhymes of one and two syllables are naturally common enough, but the peculiarly characteristic Persian rhymes which extend to several syllables or even to a whole phrase were found to be very frequent,—again a direct importation from the East. To illustrate how successfully Platen reproduces the Dīmīr or refrain, so familiar to readers of Hāfiz, the writer selected Ghasele 8 (Vol. II., p. 9). In this the words 'du liebst mich nicht,' for example, are always repeated, preceded successively by 'zerrissen, wissen, beflossen, gewissen, vermis sen, Narzissen' exactly in the style of such an ode as ode 100 in Hāfiz.
On the Relative Chronology of the Vedic Hymns.—By Maurice Bloomfield, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Let us say that the number of metrical stanzas in the Vedic literature, aside from variant forms of the same stanza, amounts to 20,000 more or less. The subject-matter of these stanzas varies very greatly; there is considerable difference of style, grammar, and lexicon; the metres, though in the main the same, are handled with varying degrees of adhesion to what seem to be the metrical laws; the stanzas as collected into the traditional hymns of the redactors are by no means always engaged with the same theme within one and the same hymn; and a lively tradition reports a considerable number of ancient sages (ṛṣis) as the authors of a great many of these stanzas. It is not possible that one author should have composed these stanzas by himself during his lifetime, nor is it possible that a coterie or school of authors of a comparatively brief period represent both the alpha and the omega of authorship in these fields.

The nature of Vedic chronology—if we may speak of any at all—precludes any attempt to fix the date of individual hymns, or the different types and styles of hymns, either by calendar or dynasty. Practically no such attempts have been made; instead, the relative age of the hymns and stanzas has called out much speculation and assumption, as well as painstaking investigation. Entire collections of hymns, single hymns, parts of hymns, and single stanzas have been characterized, with degrees of confidence varying from almost whispered suspicion to clarion-voiced confidence, as very early, quite early, early; and late, quite late, very late. There has been unanimity, as, e. g., in the case of the tenth book of the RV.; this everybody describes as late. There has been the greatest possible disagreement, as, e. g., in the case of the eighth book of the RV.; this has been shown to be the earliest as well as the latest of the so-called family-books of that collection.

The habits of mind which have given rise to these judgments are not hard to describe. They are based in the first instance upon an entirely justifiable impression. In the midst of the
hymnal tradition the Rig-Veda looms up as the largest, the most important collection; without doubt a large proportion of its material belongs to the earliest recorded literary efforts of the Hindus; no less certainly the period of the redaction of this material is fully as early, if not earlier, than the period of the redaction of the other collections. This is shown very clearly by those stanzas of the RV. which are reproduced with more or less variation in AV., SV., and YV. In the large majority of cases these variant readings are as good or better in RV. than in the other collections. In the large majority of cases, we say, and this ensures the RV. its position. But not in all cases: no amount of haggling will deprive the other collections of their occasional better readings. This fact cannot be brushed aside lightly: if the Sāma-Veda has, say, two dozen better readings which cannot be explained as later aesthetic, opportunist, or shrewdly learned improvements of the Sāmavedins; if these better readings are really, let us say, prehistoric, then we must assume a current of independent Sāmavedic tradition, however scantily its waters may trickle. And so on with the AV. and YV. tradition. We must not neglect to make here a sharp distinction between redaction and authorship: a collection made at a later date may, of course, include material composed at an earlier time. Within the RV. itself there has been room for the work of a second impression, scarcely less justifiable than the first. The impression that operates here is that of a certain extraneousness of parts of the collection. By processes of paring and trimming the 1,000 hymns of the RV. with their 10,000 stanzas are reduced to a lesser number in order to get at the inner kernel, an older and more genuine RV. The tenth book, forming one end, and a very large one at that, contains a great deal of material, especially of the Atharvanic sort, which is undoubtedly foreign to the main theme of the RV., the worship of the forces of nature, and their anthropomorphic precipitates, the personal gods (Indra, Agni, etc.). But why must all such matter really be of more recent date, along with the same substance in the AV.? The answer that is made to this question will engage us later on. The tenth book contains also a great deal of non-Atharvanic matter, among other things the wedding-charms and funeral-hymns of the Veda. We cannot well imagine Vedic Hinduism without, e. g., the little Yama-SAṁhitā, as we may call it, RV. X. 10–18. Yet this has not been spared entirely the charge of relative lateness. Here is where the difference between time of redaction and time of com-
position is particularly important. We may well believe that the hymns of book X. were assembled and added to the rest at a later time, without prejudicing our belief in the extreme antiquity of some or even all its hymns. Think of it, can there have been a time in which Yama, the son of Vivasvant (Avestan Yima, the son of Vivasvānt), his heaven, and his Cerberus dogs, were so much in abeyance in the minds of the Vedic folk that they had nothing to say about them; only by a later recrudescence of these fancies were they finally embalmed into those stanzas that are on the whole the most interesting in early Vedic religion! And again think of it, the vast stretch of magic practices, good and evil, which extend from the RV. through the ritual, the law-books, the Epic, down to the Daśakumāracarita and later, according to the same kind of assumption, also failed to obtain any literary expression at a time when the so-called family books of the RV. had been composed and gathered! Silently, without charm or prayer, or, at best, only with scant prose formulas, we are asked to believe, were carried on all the endless practices that really reach the heart of Hindu life: medical practices, and practices which secure long life; the practices connected with the lives of kings, priests, women, village community; marriage, birth, pupilhood, householdership; death, funeral, and worship of the Fathers.

Other parts of books, single hymns, and, last but not least, groups of stanzas or single stanzas, usually at the end of hymns, are cast out, almost always under the rule of the impression that they do not fit in, either with the arrangement, or the subject-matter of that main theme of the book, the worship of Agni, Indra, Śūrya, the Aśvinus, etc. At least the following caution ought to be observed: before throwing out we ought to know the reason why the redactors placed these extra materials where we find them. The redactors were reasonable men: what is to us antiquity was for them at least relatively the living present. The characterization of stanzas as 'secondary appendages,' 'meaningless rubbish,' and the like, is invariably another way of saying that our knowledge has come to an end. Even now the profounder study of many a hymn, especially in relation to the practicalities of Vedic life and worship, has vindicated a large number of so-called appendages, and shown them to be a very real part of the main body of the hymn. E. g., RV. i. 126, a hymn in praise of a generous patron of priests (dānastuti), winds up with two frankly obscene stanzas. No greater contrast imaginable: at
first sight the conclusion is irresistible that these two odd and very strange stanzas lay about loose and were by pure accident attached to this particular hymn. When, however, we again find, at the end of RV. viii. 1, an obscene stanza (34), preceded by a dānastuti, the organicity, so to say, of the connection becomes highly probable. We are carried into that strange medley of ’gift-praises,’ didactic stanzas, riddles, and obscenities, known as the kuntāpa (AV. xx. 127–136; Čāṇkh. Čr. xii. 14 ff.; and elsewhere). Very popular as these materials obviously are, they are imbedded deeply in the liturgy of many of the great Vedic sacrifices. I have suggested recently that the bestowal of gifts upon the priests, resulting in the ’gift-praises,’ was followed by all sorts of hilarities which finally bridged over the gap that there is between the truly solemn parts of these sacrifices to what for lack of a better term we may call a kind of liturgic ’saukneipe.’ That is, if the theory be correct, the rich gifts to the priests lead in many instances to gormandizing and drunkenness, and these again were followed—the practice is not entirely unknown in our day—by shallow witticisms, by obscene talk, and worse. Anyhow, the light-hearted rejection of RV. i. 126. 6, 7, and viii. 1. 34 is out of the question; on the contrary, these stanzas strengthen the rapidly growing conviction that the RV., as we have it, in common with the other Vedas, is a liturgic collection—a large mantra-pātha, so to say, for a more primitive chain of sacrifices and practices than that which is recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and Śūstras. Bergaigne has shown that the apparently independent character, in form and subject-matter, of many final stanzas in the RV. is organic and practical, not hap-hazard and redactorial; e. g., the so-called paridhāniya-stanzas; the lengthening of final stanzas; and the conclusions in triśubhametre of certain hymns in jagatī-metre. Cf. also my remarks on RV. x. 16. 13, 14, and vii. 103. 10, respectively, AJPh. xi. 343 ff.; JAOS. xvii. 178.

When, finally, these processes have laid bare the supposed inner kernel of the RV., the latter attracts attention first of all by its monotony. The picture of ancient Hindu life that could be derived from it is of the haziest sort. Excepting that it includes the practices connected with the pressure and sacrifice of the

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1 See Bloomfield, The Atharva-Veda, p. 100 (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie).
soma-drink it is purely mythological; prevailingly it alludes to
real life only in simile and metaphor, though, of course, the ordi-
nary benefits that men crave are asked of the gods in very gen-
eral terms. Inasmuch as this material is of paramount impor-
tance in the greater Vedic ritual (prārūta) with three fires and
many priests, as laid down in the Brāhmaṇas and Čṛāuta-Sātras,
we may conveniently designate these hymns and their diction as
ritualistic or hieratic. On the other hand, because the excluded
parts of the RV. are in the main within the sphere of the
Atharvan and the house-practices, let us designate their hymns
and diction as Atharvanic or popular (demotic). Indeed the two
terms hieratic and popular will serve our purpose best.

At this point what is in the first place a mere impression pro-
duced by the facts of external arrangement, by the fact that the
hieratic and popular materials do not blend any better than oil and
water, is reinforced by certain metrical and linguistic consider-
ations. The chief metrical consideration is Oldenberg’s theory of
the anuṣṭubh. The original Atharvanic anuṣṭubh stanzas, i. e.,
those that do not reproduce with more or less variation the RV.
stanzas that deal with the anthropomorphic nature-gods, differ from
these RV. anuṣṭubhs on the one hand, and from the Epic and Budh-
distic śloka on the other. In the strictly Rig-Vedic anuṣṭubhs
the first pāda of each hemistich regularly ends in a diiambus or
second paean (०—००); in the Epic and Buddhistic śloka, still
more regularly, in a first epitrite or antispast (०—००). On the
other hand, each Atharvanic (and Gṛhya) hemistich permits these
as well as all other possible feet of four syllables (० ० ० अ): see,
e. g., AV. i. 1; i. 2; i. 7; i. 8; v. 19; and xii. 4. The Athar-
vanic and Gṛhya anuṣṭubh may be designated as the popular
anuṣṭubh in distinction from the hieratic anuṣṭubh of the soma-
hymns in the RV.: a hymn like RV. x. 85 (the wedding-stanzas)
is, of course, in popular anuṣṭubh.

But if we consider the quantitative freedom of the eight-
syllable line of the Younger Avesta, there is reason to assume
that the popular (freer) anuṣṭubh is by construction and chron-
ology earlier than the better regulated hieratic (somic) anuṣṭubh.
The theory that the development of the popular foot took place
from ०—०० (hieratic) through ०००० (popular), to ०—०० (Epic and Buddhistic) is on its face improbable; in the light of
all Hindu metrical development the change from the regulated
type ०—०० to the less free types that must be expressed by
is, to say the least, very difficult. Instead, we may assume that the Aryan free octosyllabic lines, grouped into two hemistichs of sixteen syllables, developed (on slight prehistoric iambic tendencies) the iambic cadence at the end of each hemistich, and continued so in the popular poetry until the beginnings of the Epic and Buddhist śloka. At the same time a more exquisite treatment at the hands of the hieratic poets developed the Rig-Vedic (sonic) anuvṛttaḥ on a parallel line, by repeating the final cadence of each hemistich before the caesura in its middle, i.e., at the end of each pāda.

Linguistically and stylistically the popular hymns are found to be related more closely than the hieratic hymns to that dialect or dialects which are at the base of the Brāhmaṇas, Śūtras, and the later vehicles of literary expression in general, the classical Sanskrit, of course, not excepted. Because the popular hymns favor certain phonetic habits, grammatical forms, and lexical materials of the prose parts of the Veda and the later Sanskrit literature in general, therefore the popular hymns are later. But, lo and behold, these discussions seem to have been carried on without proper regard to comparative grammar and etymology: almost all the linguistic forms that are looked upon as indications of late date are in reality as old, still more often older than the entire history of the Aryan language in India. The latest essay on this subject, that of E. V. Arnold, in this Journal, vol. xviii., 203 ff: is as conspicuously deficient in this matter as are all its predecessors. Once, and only once, in the course of the long, elaborate, and diligent article, whose statistics will always remain of value, the author seems to have a vision of the broader canvass upon which his grammatical figures do in reality stand. It is in connection with the ‘late,’ classical infinitive in -tum. ‘Throughout the whole Vedic period the classical form -tum is rare, though it becomes more common in AV. It is noticeable that the form in -tum also occurs in Latin, and is therefore presumably primitive; yet it is entirely absent from the earliest hymns of the RV. This fact must be a warning against drawing conclusions as to date from isolated phenomena, however striking they may at first sight appear’ (l.c., p. 310). Very true, but why not apply the same very sound observation to the ‘late’ dual in -āu. This ending -āu appears in astāu = Goth. ahāu: it is not only a form that existed in Indo-European times, but is sufficiently old and prehistoric to have played a part in the ‘glottogonic’ events that
brought about the derivative ordinals, Latin octāv-us, Greek ὑγόσ-ος, whose ν (p) is surely identical with the u of aṣṭāu. Indeed, Professor Meringer has shown that the dual endings -āu and -ā are two sandhi-forms of the same ending, their original distribution being -āu before vowels, ā before consonants, with secondary (‘euphonic’) loss of u. Genetically, therefore āu preceded -ā. Similar very obvious considerations show that the instrumental plural of a-stems in -āis and -ebhis are both prehistoric. Sk. vṛkāiś = Avest. vēhrkāiś = Gr. λύκος = Lith. vil-kais; and Vedic vṛkōbhis = Avest. vēhrkōebiś. Originally the ending -bhis seems indeed in this class of nouns to have been secondary to -āis, having been borrowed either from the consonantal noun-stems, or from the nominative declensions. A moment’s reflection suffices also to establish the prehistoric character of both the nominative plurals in -ās and -āus belonging to the a-stems.

Of more isolated morphological cases ‘late’ ḫvayāmi is especially instructive. If there is any form which belongs organically to the ‘popular’ and not to ‘hieratic’ language it is ḫva-yāmi. Yet it is prehistoric, = Avest. zabayemi. That the type karōti, kurā (cf. Ved. tarute) is structurally very old is now the accepted view of comparative grammar. Or let us consider the ‘late’ stem panthāu- in relation to ‘early’ panthāi. Not till the AV. do the ordinary Sk. forms panthānahi and panthānam turn up, and yet they are pre-Vedic, as is shown by Avestan pānthānem. The truth is that the type pānthān-um is just as old as, if not older than, the type pānthā(t)-m. It is useless to multiply the cases in which comparative grammar and etymology shows that the ‘late’ popular forms are in reality prehistoric: it would be easy to show that the phonetics, morphology and lexic of the popular language contribute just as much to the stock of common Indo-European, or common Indo-Iranian materials, as do the corresponding data of the hieratic language.

The question is therefore largely one of dialect, style or subject-matter: this is the primary point of view from which the language of the popular hymns must be compared with the hieratic hymns.

1 Kuhn’s Zeitschrift, xxviii. 217 ff.
2 See Bloomfield, JAOS. xvi., p. clviii. ff.; BB. xxiii. 107 ff.; Hirth, Der Indogermanische Ablaut, pp. 114, 118.
3 Cf. Hillebrandt, Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1889, p. 401; Bloomfield, JAOS. xvii. 175, note 5; The Atharva-Veda, p. 46.
A given form or word in the lexicon is not necessarily of recent origin because it begins to crop out in the tenth or first book of the RV., appears (a fortiori) still more frequently in the popular collection of the AV., and is the regular form of Vedic or Sanskrit prose; nor, consequently, are hymns necessarily late because they abound in forms and words that are strangers to the diction of the hieratic hymns. Here is the bad logic: the hieratic language is certainly old; the popular language is not hieratic: therefore it is late (black is a color; red is not black; therefore red is not a color). A necessary preliminary to a more successful study of the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns is their separation into classes; at least two classes, hieratic and popular, but probably more. For example, the Śāma-hymns (prāgātha) of the eighth and first books (hymns 1–50) are by no means to be compared directly with the strictly Rig-books, for subject-matter cannot help influencing style as well as choice of words and grammar. As a preacher in the pulpit may glide in and out of biblical (archaic) diction in the course of his sermon: at one moment he may use the language of Isaiah or the Psalms, at another the latest and most forceful popular speech of the day; as the poetry of a given period may range from dithyramb to doggerel, so it is with the language of the Vedic hymns. Attempts to establish the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns will necessarily always remain difficult and subjective, but the problem will be relieved of a great deal of its perplexity by dealing with the hymns according to their subject-matter, and by holding up each grammatical and lexical fact to the light that shines from the related languages. Within each class of hymns there is still room for observations on relative chronology. If we find a hymn devoted, say, to Indra’s exploits in connection with Vṛtra and the other demons, using persistently the verbs karomi, ārayami, or the dual in -āu and the instrumental in -āis, we may assign to it a relatively late period. But the same grammatical phenomena, say in a medicinal charm are absolutely otiose, because they are prehistoric and have been the normal unaffected forms of the popular language from the very beginning of Hindu tradition.
On ṛeśama, an epithet of Indra.—By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The word is restricted to eight occurrences in the Rig-Veda, being used there solely an as epithet of Indra. Notwithstanding its marked physiognomy the attempts to explain the word have been provisional only. Yāska, Nir. vi. 23, finds it in the list of cruces Nāigh. iv. 3, and explains it lamely by ṛcā samiḥ ‘like a song, or ṛc,’ a rendering which remains authoritative for Śāyana and the rest of Hindu tradition. Grassmann has, etwa ‘glänzend;’ Ludwig, ‘stralend,’ or ‘tönend,’ and, ‘laut singend,’ all of which is mere etymology on the root arc, leaving the three syllables ṛeśama in the position of suffixal waste matter. Once, in justifiable perplexity, Ludwig retains the word as a proper name Reśama (RV. vi. 46. 4); the Petersburg Lexicons attempt no translation at all.

The metrical language of the Veda and to some extent also its rhythmic prose is dominated by certain well-known laws or preferences as regards the succession of quantities. Perhaps the most prominent of these is the love of a diiambus, fostered doubtless to a considerable extent in the final cadences of verse-lines of eight and twelve syllables, where the diiambus is altogether the rule. This preference is shown in two distinct ways. First, when the first three of a group of four syllables are naturally or historically short the second is lengthened, e.g., pibā-pibā; tuvi-magha, as metrical doublet of tuvi-magha; puru-tama, as metrical doublet of purutama; ajījanat (cf. agnim hótāram vidāthāya jījanan, RV. x. 11. 34); intensive noun-stems, calācala-, sarīsṛpa-, etc.: intensive verb bhāribharti (in addition to bhāribhrati); etc. From the investigations of De Saussure' and Jakob Wackernagel 1 we know that this rhythmic type probably reaches back to prehistorical times (Gr. σοφότερος, σοφότατος, ἑρω- σών, etc.). Second, when in a succession of four syllables the first two are short, the third long, the craving after diiambi is

1 Une Loi Rythmique de la Langue Grecque (Mélanges Graux, pp. 737-748).
2 Das Dehnungsgesetz der Griechischen Composita (Basel, 1889).
satisfied by the more drastic expedient of lengthening the second short syllable and shortening the long third syllable; e. g., "su dîdhi (asmâkam agne mahâvâtsu dîdhi, RV. i. 140. 10)", as metrical doublet of "bho dîdhi (âsâdho agne vrśabhâ dîdhi, RV. iii. 15. 4); adîdiyam (Kâth. S.), as metrical doublet of san dîdipah (RV. viii. 48. 6).

With these facts in mind we may bring ëcissama down from the clouds. We can safely assume that ëcissama is metrically changed ëcissama, i. e. a compound of ëci and sâma. This might mean 'he who sings the Sâmans;' but for the strangeness of such an epithet as applied to Indra (cf. perhaps RV. i. 173); moreover the verb gâi, rather than arc is typical for the singing of the Sâmans. We may therefore translate ëcissamu by 'he for whom the sâman is sung upon the þc.' This is familiar: the sung sâman is based upon the spoken þc, e. g. ÇB. viii. 1. 3. 3, ëci sâma gîvate. The þc is the womb (fem.) from which springs the sâman (masc.) ÇB. iv. 3. 2. 3; or, the þc and the sâman are respectively man and wife, typifying cohabition, AV. xiv. 2. 71; AB. iii. 22; ÇB. iv. 6. 7. 11; viii. 1. 3. 5, and many other places. As an epithet of Indra ëcissama in the sense just assumed is unexceptionable.

Another compound involving exactly the same metrical law is tuvirâvân, RV. x. 64. 4, 16. This is not, as the Pet. Lexs. assume = tuvirâva 'loudly shouting,' nor as Grassmann assumes, 'very refreshing' (from tuvi + irâvat = irâvat), but it means 'giving mightily' (twiravân = tuvi + râvan); cf. the connection in x. 64. 16. Its opposite is ã-râvan 'not giving, illiberal, hostile.' In compounds that have for their second member an agent-noun in a the same metrical tendency works very strongly both in poetry and in prose. Thus VS. x. 28 there is the formula bâlukâra preyâskâra bhûyâskâra, i. e., the type ëo-ë alternates with the type ë-ë, exactly as the reduplicated aorist furnishes the types adidiksham (ëo-ë and ajiyanam (ë-ë). The Kânva-version of the above mentioned formula, VSK. xi. 8. 5, varies the formula so that it reads, priyâmâkâra preyâskâra bhûyâskâra: the choice of priyâmâkâra (why not priyakâra?) illustrates, just as does ëcissama for *fei-sâma, or ajiyivan for *ajiyanam, the constant preference of the language of the type ë-ë as compared with ëo-ë. Hence the rapid propagation of apparently syntactical compounds like janâm-saha, abhayâm-kâra, purân-dara, gakanâbhara, talpeçaya, and finally the
ungrammatical, purely analogical, *vasunu-ḍhara*. Nothing is in the way of the belief that the agent nouns in the second member of compounds of the types -kara, -jaya, -ḍhara, -bhara, etc., are derived by inorganic metrical change from -kāra, -jāya, -ḍhāra, -bhāra, etc. The latter then rather than the former are the true analogues of Greek -βόλος, -φόνος, -φόρος, etc., in composition. It is important to bear in mind that all this is in support of ‘Brugmann’s law’: I. E. ə = Sk. ā in open syllables.
The Vata-savitri-vrata, according to Hemadri and the Vratarka.—By Albert Henry Allen, of San Francisco, California. Presented by Professor Lanman.

The beautiful Savitri myth forms appropriately enough the basis of a religious rite designed particularly for Hindu women, to be performed by those who sought by its pious observance to obtain the virtues and blessings which distinguish the Indian Alcestis. This rite will be found described in Hemadri’s Caturvargacintamani, adhyaya 21 of the Vratakhaṇḍa, in the second part of volume two as published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and also in the Vratarka of Čaṇḍikara, son of Nilakanṭha, of which I have used a lithographed copy belonging to Prof. C. R. Lanman.

Hemadri belongs to about the middle of the 13th century A.D.¹ The Vratarka was written in 1678, says Aufrecht.² Citations from Hemadri are found among its other quotations. Both seem to rest ultimately upon the Purāṇas in their accounts of the innumerable vrata of which they treat. In its account of the Savitri-vrata the Vratarka draws mostly from the Skanda-purāṇa, while Hemadri quotes for the most part from the Bhaṭṭiyottara. Some portion of the matter cited by the Vratarka from the Skanda is also quoted by Hemadri from the same source.

Both the Caturvarga and the Vratarka contain in their accounts of the Savitri rite a version of the Savitri myth. These differ in extent of treatment and in a few points of detail from the Savitryupākhyaṇa in the Mahābhārata (the Pativrataśāhātya-parvan of the Vana-parvan=iii., sects. 202–299). These two versions are of about equal length, the Caturvarga’s somewhat shorter, and contain about 120 łoṅkas each. The MBh. version contains 297. Both of the Purāṇic versions are loosely constructed as far as language is concerned, but as the Vratarka is not available in printed form a few of its better passages might be cited nevertheless. Its source for the katha is the Skanda-purana, that of Hemadri is the Bhaṭṭiyottara.

Referring for the details of the story to the Mahābhārata version, I may give here a brief outline. Aṇḍapati, king of Madra,

being childless; makes supplication to the goddess Sāvitrī for a son. The goddess appears, and promises him not a son but a daughter. In the Purānic versions the goddess declares that the daughter will exalt two households, and that her name is to be Sāvitrī, that of the goddess herself. These points are not found in the Mahābhārata story. The girl Sāvitrī comes to maturity, and attains such matchless beauty that no suitor dares ask her hand. Her father therefore sends her forth with regal equipment to make her svayāmvarā. She chooses Satyavant, son of the blind old king Dyumatsena, who lives an exile in the forest. The rishi Nārada discloses to her and her father that Satyavant is fated to die within a year. Sāvitrī abides by her decision and goes to live in the forest with the husband of her choice. As the year draws to a close she performs austerities, and on the fated day accompanies Satyavant through the forest in search of fruits and fuel. A faintness seizes Satyavant, and Yama, the Death-god, appears. In spite of Sāvitrī's supplications, Yama takes Satyavant's life in the form of a "thumb-sized man," (aṅguṣṭhamātrah puruṣah), and bears it off in his hunter's net. Sāvitrī follows, and by her persistence wins from Yama a number of boons, including the restoration of life to Satyavant. In consequence then of Sāvitrī's devotion, Satyavant is restored to life, Dyumatsena recovers his sight and his kingdom, Aṅgavati becomes father of a hundred sons, while Satyavant and Sāvitrī also have a hundred sons and live four hundred years.

The first passage quoted is the conversation between Aṅgavati, Nārada and Sāvitrī, when the latter declares her choice of Satyavant as husband, Vratārka, Benares, 1875, folio 123a4:

yāvad evaṁ vaded rājā tāvat sā kamalekṣṇā
yaṁ agata devī vṛddhāmātyāḥ samanvitaṁ,
abhivyāya pituḥ pādāṁ vavande sā munīṁ tataḥ,
nāradena tu dṛṣṭā sā, dṛṣṭvā provāca bhūmipam :¹
"kanyeyaṁ devagarbhābhā ! kimartham na prayacchasi
varāya tvam, mahābhāho ? varayogyāpi² sundarī,"
evam uktas tadā tena muninā nṛpasattamaṁ
uvāca tam muninā vākyam : "anenārthaṇena preṣitā

¹The two pādas of this half-çloka obviously do not fit. The relative which is necessary to the sense must be introduced in translation, though we need not stop to emend the text.
²Perhaps read varayogyā hi.
ägateyaṁ viçūlākṣī, mayā sampreṣītā satī.
anayā ca vrto bhartā; procha tvam, muni-sattama."
sā āpṛṣṭā tena muninā tasmāi cācaṣṭa bhāminī :
“āgrame satyavān nāma dyumatsenaśuto, mune ;
bhartṛtvāmanasā, vipra, vrto ’sāu rāja-nandanaḥ.”

While the king was thus speaking the lotus-eyed princess returned from the hermitage attended by her aged counsellors, made obeisance to her father’s feet and then reverently saluted the muni. And she was seen by Nārada, who seeing her addressed the Earth-lord. “This maid is like unto the offspring of a god! Why dost thou not offer her in marriage to some suitor, O great-armed? Verily the fair one is ready for a bridegroom.” Thus addressed then by the muni the best of kings spoke to the muni, saying: “Sent forth for this purpose this large-eyed girl has returned, sent forth, the virtuous maid, by me. And by her has a husband been chosen. Do thou ask her, O best of munis.” She was asked by that muni, and the glorious maiden said to him: “In the hermitage lives the son of Dyumtsena, Satyavant by name. That prince has been chosen by my heart as husband.”

nārada uvāca (Vratārka, 123a7) :

. kaśtaṁ krtaṁ, mahārāja, duhitā tava, suvrate ;
ajānantlyā vrto bhartā gunavān iti viçrutaḥ.
satyam vadaty asya pitā, satyam mūtā prabhāṣate,
svayaṁ satyam prabhāṣeta, satyavān iti tan mataḥ.
tathā cācavyāḥ priyās tasya, açvāḥ krīḍati mṛṇmayāḥ.
citre ’pi ca likhaty açvāṁ, citrāgvas tena cocyate.
rūpavān, gunavaṅg cāiva, sarva-cāstra-viçāradaḥ,
na tasya sādṛṣo loke vidyate cēha mānavaḥ.
sarvair gunaiḥ svayam pūrno, ratnair iva mahārṇavaḥ.
eko doṣo mahān āsid2 gunān āvṛtya tiṣṭhati,
sāṁvatsareṇa kṣīnayur dehatyāgaṁ kariṣyati
açvapatir uvāca :
anyāṁ varaya, bhadraṁ te, varāṁ, sāvitrī,—gamyatām,
vivāhasya tu kālo ’yaṁ vartate, ābuahocane.

Nārada said: “A mistake has been made by thy daughter, O mighty king! By her has unwittingly been chosen a man far famed as virtuous. His father speaks truthfully, his mother

2 Read asya?
speaks truthfully, he speaks truthfully himself—he is known therefore as Satyavant, the Truthful. And likewise horses are dear to him. [As a child] he used to play with earthenware horses, and he even drew a horse in a picture, and for this he is called Citrācya, Picture-horse. He is handsome, and virtuous, too, skilled in all the shasters, and no man is to be seen his like in this world. He is himself filled with all virtues as is the great ocean with gems. But there is one great defect overshadowing all his virtues: within a year’s time his life will have run out and he will leave his body.”

Aṣvapati said: “Choose another bridegroom, and may luck befall thee, Śāvitrī—go, now is the season for thy marriage, fair eyed maid.”

Śāvitrī uvāca (Vratārka, 123a11):

nānyam icchāmy aham, tāta, manasāpi varam, prabho,
yo mayā ca vrto bhartā, sa me, nānyo, bhaviṣyati.
vicintya manasā pūrvaṁ, vācā paścāt samuccaret,
kiyate ca tataḥ paścāt, gṛbham vā yadi vāgṛbham.
tasmān manah puṁsasam ca kathāṁ cānyaṁ vr̥nomi aham?
sakṛj jalpanti rājānāḥ, sakṛj jalpanti paṇḍitāḥ,
sakṛt kanyāḥ prādyante; triṁy etāni sakṛt sakṛt!1
patim matvā na me buddhir vicalati kathāṁ cana.
sagūṇo nirgūṇo vāpi, mūrkhāḥ, paṇḍita eva ca,
dīrghāyur atha vālāyuḥ sa vai bhartā mama, prabho.
nānyaṁ vr̥nomi bhartāraṁ, yadi vā syāc chaścāpātiḥ

Śāvitrī said: “O father, I wish no other bridegroom even in my heart, my lord, and he who has been chosen by me, he, no other, shall be my husband. One should first consider with the heart, afterwards utter with the voice; and after that, action takes its course, whether for good or for ill. How therefore shall I choose another heart and another husband?” Kings speak but once, the learned speak but once, and but once are maidens given in marriage—these three things but once! In thinking of a husband, in no way does my mind waver. Whether virtuous or

1 Cf. Indische Sprüche 6650 and 6652.
2 This half-cloka is so hard to reduce to order on account of its mis-
placed conjunctions that the corresponding words at this point in Hemā-
dri’s version may be quoted as a substitute, namely ‘pramāṇam me
manas, tāta; kathāṁ cānyaṁ vr̥nomi aham’—‘My heart is my guide,
O father, and how can I choose another?’
even not virtuous, fool or scholar, of long life or of short, *he* is my husband, my lord! I choose no other as husband, not though he were Çacīpati!" 

The terseness of this Vratārka passage appeals more to the Western reader, at least, than the corresponding drawn-out narrative of the Mahābhārata. The vigor and emphasis of Sāvitri's final words in the passage quoted are certainly not approached in the corresponding ālokas of the Epic.

The three versions of the story agree in the main in Nārada's account of the naming of Satyavant, particularly in the apparently altogether irrelevant account of his name Citrāqva. The ālokas in Hemādri at this point (p. 261\(^2\)) are as follows:

\[ \text{satyaṁ vadaty asū rūjā, satyāqvas' tena sa smṛtaḥ.} \]
\[ \text{nityam aṅvāḥ priyās tasya, karoty aṅvān sa mṛṇmayān,} \]
\[ \text{citre 'pi likhayaty\(^2\) aṅvān, citrāqvas tena kathyate.} \]

This making, or playing with, earthenware horses on the part of an otherwise heroic prince is explained by the Mahābhārata āloka, 10670:

\[ \text{bālasyāṅvāḥ priyāc cāsya, karoty aṅvāṅc ca mṛṇmayān,} \]
\[ \text{citre' 'pi vilikhaty aṅvāṅc; citrāqva iti cocyate.} \]

The fact that this occupation marked the prince's childhood is assumed to be known in the other two versions. This and the further fact that this entirely irrelevant statement is not omitted in two versions which elsewhere sacrifice so much to brevity would seem to indicate that the tradition looked upon Citrāqva, styled Satyavant, as an historic personage.

The nature of the penances performed by Sāvitri as the day of her husband's death approaches is described much more at length in the Mahābhārata than in either of the Purāṇic versions. The details of this are reserved in the Purāṇic excerpts for another place in their accounts of the Sāvitri-vrata. In the account of what took place when Sāvitri went with Satyavant into the forest on the fateful day, a feature in the Purāṇic versions which deserves notice is the mention of the banyan tree (*vaṭa*). The banyan is not so much as named in the Mahābhārata story. In the Vratārka kathā, however, while Satyavant is gathering fruit and

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1 Evidently meant for *satyavāns*.
2 This is the form in the text. Perhaps *vilikhaty* might be read.
fuel, the faithful Sāvitrī takes her seat under a banyan—"vāṭa-vṛkṣatale sādhvī upaviṣṭā mahāsati." Hemādri’s kathā has a similar line, and both of these accounts mention the vāṭa again in speaking of Sāvitrī’s return with the soul of Satyavant after her successful interview with Yama. The banyan would seem out of place in a forest described in a preceding line as ‘drumasaṃkula,’ as it is a tree which tends to grow apart from other trees, forming a small forest in itself.¹ But the vāṭa figures prominently in the Sāvitrī rite—which indeed is styled the vāṭasāvitrirāta—and hence perhaps is introduced into the story. The banyan’s striking powers of self-perpetuation made it a symbol of fruitfulness to women desiring sons, and hence it is not unnaturally associated with a rite which had the attainment of sons and grandsons as its object.

Without detailing the lengthy moralizing of Sāvitrī and the gradual relenting of Yama, the Vratārka, 124a10, briefly tells what the faithful wife won by her intercession with the Death-god.

saṁtuṣṭas tena vākyena dharmarājo yamā tadā,
varṇāṇam īgyaro dātā varāṁ tasyāī dideva ha.
sā paścid ātmanaḥ putrān, pituḥ putraṣataṁ tathā,
cakṣuhprāptiṁ ca sā vavre ēvaṇvṛṣvaṇurayos tadā;
rajaṃprāptiṁ tathā bhurtur, jīvitaṁ ca tathā vibhoḥ
(dharmaprāptiṁ svabhurtur hi); nivṛttā sā sumadhyamā,
pradakṣiṇāṁ tataḥ kṛtvā dharmarājyā svuṛatā,
tathety uktvā dharmarājo jagūma ca svam ālayam.

Then Yama the lord of justice was delighted with this speech, and the generous lord of wishes granted a wish to her. She thereupon then wished sons for herself, and a hundred sons for her father and the gaining of sight for her two parents-in-law; then the gaining of his kingdom for her husband and likewise the life of her lord (for the attainment of virtue was her husband’s already). Thereupon the graceful one turned back, after making a respectful salutation to Dharmarāja by turning to him her right side. And Dharmarāja, saying “Be it so,” went to his own home.

The five boons won from Yama are the same in the three versions, though stated in different orders. In this passage, and again later, we have it suggested that both Dyumatsena and his wife were blind.

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 256.
Sāvitrī returns to the banyan (the vaṭa being mentioned again) and restores life to Satyavant. At this point in the Vratārka, Sāvitrī tells Satyavant everything that had happened. In the Mahābhārata, Satyavant does not learn of his death and revival until Sāvitrī makes her disclosures at the end.

In the Mahābhārata also, Dyumatsena receives his sight before starting in search of his son. In the Vratārka we have a more pathetic picture of two blind parents being restored to sight while wandering through the forest (124a14).

astaṁ gate tataḥ sūrye dyumatseno mahiṃpatiḥ
putrasyaāgamanānakāṁśi itaṁ cetaṁ ca dhāvati,
aśramād aśramam gacehan putradarçanakāṁkṣayā,
“āvayor andhayor yaśṭiḥ kva gato ’si vināvayoḥ”
evaṁ sa vividhāṁ kroṇaṁ satapnico mahiṃpatiḥ
acakāra duḥkhataptah san “putra putreti” cāsakti
akasmād eva rājendra labdhacaksur maheśvaraṁ.

Then when the sun had set the king Dyumatsena ran hither and thither anxious for the return of his son, going from hermitage to hermitage in search of his son. “Where hast thou gone without us, thou staff of this blind pair!”—thus wailing in varied phrase the king together with his wife cried, distressed with grief, “my son, my son!” (Then) by a very miracle the lord of kings received his eyesight.

In passing from the Vratārka’s kathā to its account of the rite itself, a great deal is found that is obscure. This obscurity is due in part to our lack of knowledge of things alluded to. But there is much that must have drawn whatever meaning it may have had from the devout imaginations of the worshippers. It conveys very little meaning to one who would apply exact constructions to its syntax or usage of language, and even to one who interprets his grammatical rules with liberality, and allows all possible latitude in charitable patience with disorderly arrangement, there remains an irreducible sediment of bad usage and obscure expression. Obvious corruptions in the kathā do not interfere with a fairly accurate following of the sense, but in the rest of the work passages are found, out of all admissible construction, which do not suggest so readily their probable meaning. These conditions may be due to the fact that the sources of such works as the Caturvarga and the Vratārka were mnemonic manuals rather than careful treatises, but most of the blame must fall
upon a careless transmission of the text. Without going far beyond necessary limits, this paper cannot discuss difficulties. It must aim only at presenting the significant features of the rite as described, with abundant allowance for correction.

The Vratārka’s account of the rite is divided, with a specious attempt at system, under four heads, the pūjā, kathā, vidhi or vidhāna, and udyāpana. The division is not exact, and there is overlapping and repetition to such an extent that it is hard to state any precise distinction between the different aspects of the ceremony—the kathā of course excepted. The whole is prefaced by about a dozen lines of the lithograph stating the proper season for the ceremony and its purpose. The time is stated in two ġlokas, from the Skanda and Bhaviśya Purāṇas, both of which prescribe the full moon of Jyeṣṭha as the proper season. But curiously enough, while the Vratārka specifies Jyeṣṭha, one of its lines (121b14) reading

\[
jyeṣṭhe māsi site pakṣe dvādaśyāṁ rajanīmukhe,
\]

one of Hemādri’s authorities specifies (p. 269“) the month Bhādrapada in the following ġloka from the Bhaviśyottara Purāṇa:

\[
trayaḍyāṁ bhādrapade dantadhāvanapūrvakam
\]

trirātram niyamaṁ kuryād upavāsasya bhaktitaḥ.

An assumption of local differences of observance may serve to reconcile this discrepancy. The Vratārka classes this rite under the general heading “atha pāṁnimā-vatāni” and the sub-heading “tatra jyeṣṭha pāṁnimāyāṁ vaṭasāvitrivrataṁ.” The udyāpanam also mentions Jyeṣṭha. The purpose of the rite is clearly shown to be the attainment of such boons as Sāvitrī in the myth obtained from Yama, chiefly sons and grandsons and the avoidance of the awful curse of a Hindu widowhood. The Vratārka’s words are “mama bhartuḥ putrāṇāṁ ca āyurārogyaprāptaye janmajanmani avāidhāvyaprāptaye ca sāvitrivrataṁ aham kariṣya iti saṁkalpya,” etc., 122a3.

The pūjā contains a number of mantras appropriate to different stages of the ceremony. A few might be quoted. The first, followed by the words “iti dhyānam,” evidently relates to the preparation of the images for the worship. The second relates to the bringing of these to the sacred spot, the village banyan. The third is apparently concerned with the offering of these images, the fourth with preparing water for ablutions. The last seems
to have the words which indicate its function partially included within the metrical construction. The first is at 122a4.

1. padmapatrāsanasthaṁ ca brahmā kāryaṁ caturmukhaḥ, sāvitrī tasya kartavyām vāmotaṅgagataṁ tathā. 
   ādityavarṇarñāṁ dharmajñāṁā sākṣamālākāraṁ tathā, 
   iti dhyānam.
2. brahmaṁ sahitāṁ deviṁ sāvitrīṁ lokamātaram 
   satyavrataṁ\(^1\) ca sāvitrīṁ yamaṁ cāvāhāyāmy aham. 
   āvāhanam.
3. brahmaṁ saha sāvitrī(-tri?) satyavatsabite priye 
   hemāsanāṁ gṛhyatāṁ tu, dharmarāja sūraṇvara, 
   bhaktiyā dattaṁ, dharmarāja, sāvitrī, pratigṛhyatāṁ. pādyam.
4. bhaktiyā samāhrtaṁ toyam phalappasamanvitam 
   arghaṁ ghrāṇa, sāvitrī, manāya vratasiddhyaye. argham. 
   sugandhaṁ sahakarpurāṁ surabhisvādṅgātalām 
   svapatyā saha, sāvitrī, kuryād ācamaṇiṣyakam.

Others follow, accompanying the acts of ablation and mouth-rinsing (snānam, ācamaṇam), the offering of a garment (vastram) to Sāvitrī, the offering of the sacred cord (īty upavītam), of the fragrant sandal wood, accompanied by saffron, aloes, camphor and rocanā, ‘kuśikumāgarukpurākastūrirocanaṁyutanā’ (can- 
   danam), the offering of grain (īty aksatāḥ) and of flowers (puṣ- 
   pama). The words in parentheses are those which follow the 
   glokas in the text of the Vratārka. Following these mantras 
   occurs under the heading “ātthāṅgaṁyā” a bare outline of what 
   appears later in the udāṣpanam in metrical form, an adoration of 
   the various members of Brahma, Satyavan, and the two Sāvitrīs, 
   goddess and woman. This begins “Sāvitrīyāṁ pādāu pūjayāmi, 
   prasāvitrīyā jaṅhe, kamalapatrākṣyāi kaṭim, bhūtadhārinyāi 
   udāram, brahmanāḥ priyāyāi ciraṁ pūjayāṁ.” Then offerings 
   are made of incense (dūpam) and lights (dīpam). The pūjā 
   closes with the following invocation (prārthanaṁ, 122b5):

sāvitrī brahmagāyatī sarvadā priyabhāṣiṇī 
   tena satyena mām pāhi duḥkkhasamsārasaṅgarat.
   tvam gaurī, tvam cuci gaurī, tvam prabhā candramaṇḍale, 
   tvam eva ca jaganaṁtā, tvam uddharā, varānane.
   yan maṁ duṣkṛtam sarvam kṛtam janmaṇgatāṁ api, 
   bhasmaṁbhavatu tat sarvam, avāidhavyām ca dehi me.

\(^1\) Probably intended for satyavrataṁ.
In the pûjâ we notice how the characters in the story are brought into the ceremony. Yama, also called Dharmarâja and Sureçvara, stands alone, Sâvitri the woman appears with Satyavan, while Sâvitri the goddess introduces her divine consort Brahmâ who does not appear in the story at all. Sâvitri the goddess is variously called Prasâvitri, Lokamâta, Jagannâta, Devamâta and even Vedamâta and Gâyatri.

Following the kathâ, which in the Vratârka comes after the pûjâ, is found the vidhî, or vidhânam. The sources of the pûjâ are nowhere clearly indicated. The vidhânam, however, is from the Skanda Purâna, forming a continuation of the narrative of the kathâ. It seems to give an outline of the conduct of the ceremony which the udgâpanam subsequently describes in more particularity. The kathâ which Hemâdri quotes from the Bhavi-şyottara Purâna has a similar epilogue, in which the vidhânam is given, but of course in somewhat different language.

All that seems essential in the so-called vidhânam is repeated in the udgâpanam. This, as its name signifies, gives directions for carrying out the ceremony, for “making it go.” Here the Vratârka and Hemâdri use the same source, the Skanda Purâna. In 55 chlokas of these parallel versions there are over 80 points at which Hemâdri gives different readings, ranging from a particle to a whole line. The weak spots in such texts are hardly worth patching into intelligibility, but, so far as reasonable reliance can be placed in the sense of the text as found, the udgâpanam’s prescriptions will be given.

In the first place, the woman who is to perform the ceremony passes the twelfth of the lunar month in Jyeṣṭha eating little (laghûbhûk), and then, after a cleansing of the teeth, undertakes a three-days’ fast with the following niyama-mantra, 125a9:

trirâtraṁ lâṅghayitvâ ca caturthe divase tv aham,
candrâyârghham pradattvâ ca pûjâyitvâ tu tâṁ satîm,
miśtâmnî yathâçaktyâ bhojâyitvâ dvijottamān,
bhokṣye ’haṁ tu ; jagaddhâtri, nirvighnam kuru me, çubhe.

After passing three nights fasting, on the fourth day, giving an offering to the moon and worshipping the virtuous goddess, entertaining the Brâhmans to the extent of my ability with dainty foods, I shall eat, O thou that dost support the earth; do thou occasion freedom from obstacles for me, O fair one.
In translating here I have ventured to express the connotation of fasting ("skipping" meals) which must here be prominent in laṅghayitvā. The rather unruly conjunctions ca, hi and tu are used here in a manner most characteristic of this text.

Then a prastha of sand (bahlukapraṣtham) or else grain of seven kinds (saptadhānya) is put in a bamboo vessel. This is to be wrapped with cloths; and upon it is set an image of Sāvitṛ, the goddess, with Brahmā, and another of Sāvitrī, the woman, with Satyavant. These are to be made of gold according to the udyāpanam, of silver according to the Vṛatārka’s vidhānam, or, according to the vidhānam in Hemādri, of either gold, silver, or earthenware, as the ability of the devotee permits. Also a basket and an axe of silver are to be made, and in one of the versions a bundle of faggots as well, and a “well-spread banyan tree,” are prescribed, reminiscences of the visit to the forest in the story. The three-days’ fast is then to be undergone under a banyan in the presence of the images.

The banyan is as essential to the ceremony as the worshipful heroine herself. Each Indian village had its banyan, forming a ready-made series of temples for its idols and sacrifices. A ceremony concerned with the banyan which might conceivably have been something similar to our Sāvitrī rite is mentioned in connection with the attainment of enlightenment by the Future Buddha. See Warren, Buddhism in Translations, p. 71. “Now at that time there lived in Uruvelā a girl named Sujātā . . . . On reaching maturity she made a prayer to a certain banyan tree, saying, ‘If I get a husband of equal rank with myself, and my first-born is a son, I will make a yearly offering to you of the value of a hundred thousand pieces of money.’ And her prayer had been successful.” In this Sāvitrī rite the banyan is the object of particular attention.

Following the preceding, the next step in the udyāpanam is thus given, Hemādri, p. 2744:

vartulam maṇḍalam kāryam gomayena, tapodhana pañcāmṛtena snapanam gandhapuspodakena ca. candanāgurukarpurāir mālyavastravibhūṣanāiḥ sampūjya tatra sāvitrīṃ maṇḍale sthāpayet tatah pītapiṣṭena padmaṁ ca candanennatha vā likhet nyasyec cāiva tato devīṃ kamale kamalāsanaṁ; anena vidhīnā sthāpya pūjayed gatamatsarā

1 Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 259.
A round ring is to be made with cow dung, and the images washed with the pańcāmṛtam (milk, coagulated milk, butter, honey, and sugar) and with water containing perfume and flowers. Worshipping with sandalwood, aloes and camphor and with ornaments of garlands and garments, the devotee should then place Śāvitṛī there in the ring. And she should outline a lotus with yellow meal, or else with sandal-dust, and should then place the goddess whose seat is a lotus within the lotus. Placing her in this manner she should worship without selfish thought.

In the above citation Hemādri has been quoted. Although the Vratārka follows the same source, as has been said, it here omits two lines, the fourth and sixth, and has a less satisfactory line for the seventh.

There now follows the aṅgāpūjā alluded to above. The various limbs and members, feet, knees, thighs, waist, breast, neck, face and head, of Śāvitṛī and of Brahmā and Satyavant, are saluted with ‘namas’ and ‘pūja.’ Yama does not partake of this, apparently. Offerings are now made, with appropriate arghamantras, to Śāvitṛī, Brahmā and Satyavant, and Yama. The first of these mantras is here given as a sample of the lot, 125b2:

oṅkārapūrvakaṁ, devi, viṅgputakadhārinī, vedamātar, nāmas te 'stu! avāidhavyam prayaccha me. pativrata, mahābhāge, vahntijate, śucismite, dṛghavrate, dṛghamathe, bhartuc ca priyavādini, avāidhavyaṁ ca saubhāgyaṁ dehi tvam mama, suvrate, putrān pāutrāṅg ca saukhyāṁ ca. gṛhānirghaṁ, namo namaṁ.

The nature of the argham is indicated in a āgloka further on:

gandhapaṁsāṁ saṁāvedāyāṁ phalāiṁ kusumaṁīpakaṁś
takavastāṁ araṁkārāiṁ pūjayed gatamat sarāṁ.

The prescriptions for the three-days’ fast conclude with supplications, prārthanā-mantras, addressed to Śāvitṛī, Brahmā and Satyavant, and Yama. The first of these is not substantially different from that quoted in speaking of the pūjā. The others are similar in character, 125b7:

brahmāsatyaṁaṁ prārthanāmantraṁ,
aviyogyo yathā deva sāvitṛā sahitās tava
aviyogas tathāsmākam bhūyāj janmani janmani.
yamaprārthanāmantraṁ.

1 Hemādri kuṅkuma-.
karmasūkṣi, jagatpūjyaḥ, sarvavandyaḥ; prasāda me,
saṅivatsaravrataṁ sarvam paripūrṇaṁ tad astu me.
sāvitrī, tvam yathā, devi caturvarṣaṅatāyusam ¹
patim prāptāsi guṇinam, mama, devi, tathā kuru.
trisaindhyaṁ, devi, bhūtānāṁ, vandanaṁśi, suvraṁte,
mayā dattāiva pūjeyauṁ. tvam grhaṇa, namo 'stu te!

The last night is spent in vigil (jāgaram) with ceremonial
songs, dances and the like (guṇaṁyādimaṅgalalīś). This section
concludes, 125b11:

sā tiṣṭheca divā rātrān kāmakrodhavivarjitaḥ;
dinatraye 'pi kartavyam evam arghādīpūjanam.

On the fourth day the priesthood receives attention, and gen-
erous gifts. The following ālokas should really be quoted as show-
ing how the ācārya profited by this rite (125b12):

ācāryaṁ ca tataḥ paścād vrataśya vidhi-kārakaṁ
sarvalakṣaṇasampannaṁ, sarva-śāstrasṛṭha-pāragam,
vedavidyaṁvrataśnātaṁ gāntaṁ tu vijitendriyam
sapatāṅkaṁ samabhyaarcyam vastra-laṅkārakundalaiḥ
çayyaṁ sopaskarāṁ dadyād, grhaṁ cāiva-vāgobhanam;
ācaktuṁ tu yathāçaktyā stokaṁ stokaṁ ca kalpayet;
sāvarṣiṁ pratiṁ putriṁ patinā saha dápayet;
kalpanāmantraḥ
sāvitrī, tvam yathā, devi, caturvarśagatāyusam
satyavantam patिम labdhvā, mayā dattā tathā kuru.
pratimatādānmanaṁ
sāvitrī jagato māta, sāvitrī jagataḥ pitā
mayā dattā ca sāvitrī brahmaṁ pratiṅghyataṁ.
pratigrāhāmantraḥ
mayā grhitā sāvitrī tvayā dattā, sūgothī,
yāvāc candraḥ ca sūryaḥ ca saha bhartrī sukhi bhava.
guruḥ ca guru-patīṁ ca tato bhaktā kṣamāpayet:
yan mayā kṛtavāikalyanāc vrate 'smin duradhiṣṭhitam
sarvāṁ sampūrṇatāṁ yātu yuvayor arcanena tu.

¹ The fact that Satyavant was granted a life of 400 years is not men-
tioned in either of the Purānic kathās. It is found in the MBh. version, however.
The rest of the udyāpanam contains directions for attentions to the sacred vaṭa and for more gifts to the guru and his wife. The whole is concluded with the following gīlokas, 128a5:

sarva-devanamāskārye, pativrate, namo 'stu te.
argham etam mayā datam phalapuṣpasamanvītam.
putrān dehi, sukhaṁ dehi, grhāṇārghaṁ, namo 'stu te.
sakhibhir brāhmaṇāṁīṁ sārdham bhujaṁīta vijitendriyā.
evāṁ karoti yā nāri vrataṁ etad anuttamam,
bhrātaraṁ, pitarāu, putrāḥ, śva-gurāu, svajanaṁ tathā
cirāyuṣas tathārogyā syuś ca janmācatatrayam,
bhartrā ca sahitā śādhivyā brahma-loke māhīyate.
iti vratārke skande sodāpanāṁ vaṭasūvitri-vratam

Thus we may leave the Vratārka and its companion the Catur-vargacintāmaṇi. What we have found there on this subject, one might almost be justified in calling utter nonsense. Still something may be had from an excursion into a lower stratum of Indian literature. (Could the Vratārka and Hemādri's work possibly be called literature?) One finds in the jargon of these superstitious rites the same burden of human ignorance, the destruction of which is ever the object of human effort. Instead of the courts of kings and the marvelous deeds of heroes and demi-gods, instead of the intricate philosophy and elaborated wisdom to be found in more noble works of Hindu genius, we are shown here by the faulty phrases of the Vratārka the humble village, with its spreading banyan tree near by, and we are able to touch at one small and to us insignificant point the life of the people whose millions still populate India.
Vohumanah in the Gāthas.—By Lawrence H. Mills, Professor in the University of Oxford.

In examining the passages in which Vohumanah occurs I will classify them in the following manner. First of all I will reproduce those in which the words indicate the beneficent disposition of the Deity as his attribute; secondly, those which treat this attribute as personified; thirdly, those which express the analogous subjective quality in the accredited citizen of the Zarathushtrian Commonwealth; fourthly, this characteristic as embodied in the individual believer (so, rather than as ‘embodied in the entire community,’ for the reason that asha was the concept generally used to represent the Community, although it is possible that vohumanah may be also occasionally applied in this last sense). In Y. 28, 6: volū gaiṭi manan̄hā, daiti aṣā-dāo đaregūyā1 we have vohumanah the good mind as the attribute of God. ‘Come with thy good mind and give to us asha gifts,’ this hardly means ‘come in company of Vohumanah as the Archangel,’ but ‘come with thy benevolence to give’ is the more immediate idea. At Y. 31, 17: dzī nē mazdā ahurā vahistū frādakhēstā manan̄hā, the meaning as it lies before us in the text sways between ‘be thou the enlightener of the good man v. m.,’ or ‘be thou the revealer of thy good mind.’ In Y. 32, 2: aṣībyō mazdāo ahurō sāremnō volū manan̄hā...paiti-mraot, Ahura ‘answers with his good mind’ evidently meaning, ‘as actuated by his sane benevolence’ as his attribute. In Y. 32, 6: hātāmarānē ahurā vahistā vōistā manan̄hā, it is with his divine attribute v. m., that is to say, with his sane benevolence that he knew the essential truths, holding them in memory; so in Y. 33, 10: volū ukhēyā mananīhā...tanām, the divine benevolence is indicated: ‘cause our person to grow in prosperity through v. m.’ So in Y. 33, 12: dasvā...v. m. fērātām.* (In Y. 33, 13 the personification seems to be the more prominent phase of the idea.)

1 All the various views of these several passages worth recording are to be found in text or in alternatives in my Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas, pp. 650, Leipzig, 1892-94; also in Vol. III, a Dictionary of the Gāthic Language of the Zend Avesta, in the course of publication (section by section).
In Y. 34, 6 I now more decidedly prefer 'if ye are thus really endowed with justice (aōd) and with benevolence,' and I would so correct the passage on Asha in other parts of this Journal.

In Y. 34, 15: mazdā at mōi ... vaocē ... tā tā vohā manaīnāhā, Ahura is besought 'speak thou forth with the good mind;' here without doubt, the divine characteristic is exclusively indicated; and exclusion of the cognate ideas is not usual. In Y. 44, 1 we have probably 'with benevolence,' v. jimaṭ m. So in Y. 44, 6: tuēbyō khēthrem vohā cinas manaīnāhā. 'To these may'st thou** assign the kingdom through thy divine benevolence' is better than to render 'by the help of the holy saint,' 'the Citizen par eminence v. m., i. e., the Monarch.' So in Y. 45, 10: hyāt hōi ... vohūcē cōtēt manaīnāhā, 'since with his justice and his supreme benevolence (good mind) he has assigned weal and the deathless life' ....

In Y. 46, 10, the benevolence (v. m.) might be that of Ahura but I think the character of the reigning government seems more naturally alluded to. In Y. 46, 12: at tē vohā hēm aibē moīst manaīnāhā, in case we are not able to render 'yea, those he shall mingle with his own, holy people vohū manaīnāhā' (as embodied in IIis church), and I fear this would be difficult; then we have 'God meeting them with his divine benevolence' (hardly 'in company with Vohumanah his Archangel').

So in Y. 46, 13: ... guēthāo vohā frādāt manaīnāhā, it seems to be Ahura who 'furthers the settlement animated by his divine benevolence, his good mind.' That he would 'further them with his good citizen,' the 'representative good-minded man' is not so likely, if for no other reason, then because it was the citizen himself who was to be helped. In Y. 48, 14 'the hymns of Vohumanah' may refer to the Archangel, but see elsewhere. (In Y. 47, 1: spēṇēa mainyā vahištacā manaīnāhā ... , 'with thy best mind (as the divine attribute)' is especially introduced, as it is a strophe of divine counsels, but the rhetorical personification may be included.) If the one like Thee at Y. 48, 3: thvavās* mazdā vaḫēnīs khrrathvā manaīnāhā is, as in Y. 44, 1: mazdā froyā thvavās sahyāt mavaite, equivalent to 'Thyself,' we should have an instance of vohū manaīnāhā as expressing the attribute of benevolence which characterises Ahura's wisdom. In Y. 49, 1: ahya vohā aōsō vidā manaīnāhā, we may say that Ahura is besought to 'bestow (sic) the destruction of the Beñdva, animated by his benevolence (toward his oppressed saints in their military disas-
ter.) Y. 49, 12 most belongs here (see below). If Y. 50, 7, c.: at vē yaoja zevisyēng auuto, refers to Ahura (so reading yaoja), then he is besought 'to yoke on his mighty steeds in accordance with and animated by his benevolence' (so alternatively; but see elsewhere).

In Y. 50, 11: dātā asāhenā aredañ vohū mananāhā, the 'Creator of the world, or giver of life, is besought to grant help through his good mind' which immediately suggests the divine attribute. In Y. 51, 2: ... khāthrem khāmākem vohū mananāhā vahmāi dādē savānihō, we have the undoubted action of Ahura, who is besought to 'bestow the possession of power īšārīs (animated) by his good mind.' In Y. 51, 7: dādē moī ... mazdā tēvēsī utay-sūti mananāhā vohū sēuhē, Ahura is besought to grant the eternal two, Health and Deathlessness (as revealed) in his doctrine through his divine benevolence v. m.' Perhaps vohū mananāhā in Y. 51, 15: hyāt mēzdiem z ... garō demānē ahurō mazdāo jasat pournyo tā vē vohū mananāhā ... savāis civēṣi as the one by whom 'Ahura's reward is given' might possibly belong rather to the concept of personification; cp. vē. 19. 31 (102) where 'Vohumanah arises before the throne.' But where 'giving' is the main thought to be qualified, there the 'benevolence' is peculiarly prominent. In Y. 51, 21: vohū khāthrem mananāhā mazdāo dādēt ahurō, Ahura is literally asked 'to grant the kingdom through his benevolence' not, of course, 'by means of the good citizen,' not even though the citizen meant was the good-minded man par eminence, since it is the citizen who is to be the recipient of the benefit.

Vohumanah as the personification of the Divine Attribute.1

As to this see Y. 28, 3, 5, 8(?), 10(?).

In the asha section Y. 29, vohū manah occurs only three times. In Y. 29, 11: kudā aṣem vohucā manō khāthremcā ... when or 'whence' were asha v. m. and kh. hastening together ... with v. m. and kh.' the terms designate the personified attribute. In Y. 30, 1: ... staotācā ahurūdī yasnu(y)īdēd vahēnēs mananē, the words 'yasnas of Vohumanah' refer to the person or personification; so in Y. 30, 7: ahmācā khāthrā jasat mananāhā vohū aṣācā ... , an advent of some divine power is announced; he comes 'with Khshathra and Vohumanah,' well possibly, though

1 Later called the amesha spenta.
not certainly, as personified (if it be Ahura who ‘came’ or of whom it is besought ‘let him come,’ then ‘with his benevolence’ would be indicated). The ‘good abode’ (objectivised amenity) of the Good Mind at Y. 30, 10: at āsištā yaznažīta ā huṣṭāōī xác vanhēuc manaŋhō, carries with it the same concept of personification. In Y. 31, 6: mazdāi avat khs̄athrem hyat hōi vohā vakhṣat manaŋhā, ‘let the kingdom (khs̄athra) be to Mazda such as may flourish through the instrumentality of the guardian spirit the personified Benevolence.’ So in Y. 32, 4: vakhṣeṇtā daŋvožuñtā vanhēuc sīzhīyamnā manaŋhō: on account of the following Ahurahyā and of Ashâenta the ‘evil man’ is perhaps better understood as ‘deserted by the Archangel V. M.’ than ‘by the human believer.’ That ‘good men would leave him’ is a little too commonplace here. So in Y. 32, 15: tōi āhyā bairvyōñtī vanhēuc ā demēnē manaŋhō, we have: let the chiefs be ‘borne by the two (Weal and Deathlessness) to the home of the Good Mind (as the personified attribute).’ Then comes in the valuable Y. 33, 11: yē sēvištō ahurō mazdāosē . . . manasē vohō . . . where personification is so pronounced as to. give occasion for the expressions ‘hear’ and ‘come.’

In the next verse, Y. 33, 12, the personification (in the sociative) is not our first impression. In Y. 33, 13 we have the ‘ashī of Vohumanah’ more probably the ‘blest-reward given by v. m.’ as the personification. So at Y. 34, 3: gaēthō ... yōo v. thrōōtā manaŋhō, V. M. is the Archangel. (As to Y. 34, 5, we cannot be so sure that the composer wishes to be ‘God’s own together with the personified Archangel?’ which seems strained. Also in Y. 34, 6 it is doubtful whether we have the person in ‘if ye are really thus, O Asha and with the Good Mind’; better as elsewhere: ‘if ye are really endowed with justice and benevolence.’) But in Y. 34, 7: vanhēuc vaēdenā manaŋhō I think ‘known of the Good Mind (as the Archangelic person),’ or ‘knowing his lore’ is the best rendering; ‘known of good men’ seems more doubtful.

We may say the same perhaps of ‘the far-abiding Vohumanah’ in Y. 34, 8: yōi nōit ašem mainyaštā aēibō dāwē vohō as manō (yet see the alternative ‘the estranged church member’). So in Y. 34, 11: vanhēuc khs̄athra manaŋhō, the Archangel seems in so far to possess personality, as to be endowed with the Kingly Power. Yet many would stoutly claim that vohumanah here represents the disciple.
But the ‘paths of vohumanah’ in Y. 34, 12: sīhā nāo aśā pathō vanhēus kṣetṛēn manāṁhō, may better be those of the good minded (man). So also of ‘his way’ in Y. 34, 13: tēm advānem ahūrā yēm mói mraoś vanhēus manāṁhō. So in Y. 34, 14: v. sūkthōmā m. of ‘his actions’; in all these occurrences the ‘good disciple’ may be meant. In Y. 43, 2: v. māyādō, m., the wonderful truths ‘of the Good Mind’ may well imply personification. So perhaps ‘the might of the Good Mind’ (Y. 43, 4): v. hārē zīnām m., implies at least a poetical personification (but the meaning ‘might of the good men’ also suggests itself).

In Y. 43, 6: jāsō m. . . . v. m., where Ahura ‘comes with Vohumanah,’ i. e. ‘with the Good Mind’ (associative), the terms possibly express the personification, yet the attribute lies very near. So in Y. 44, 1 (as to which see above), ‘that he may come with Vohumanah’ seems hardly so probable as ‘that he (?) may come “auspiciously.”’

In Y. 44, 9, ‘dwelling in the same abode with Vohumanah’ implies of course poetical personification, but it may refer ‘to the saint.’ In Y. 46, 7: anyēm thvamāt āthrascā mananāhascā, ‘Whom have I but thee and thy mind’ (referring probably to Vohumanah), implies the personification of the latter. (In Y. 46, 10: vohā kṣathre m. manaṁhā, ‘the realm’; some might say, ‘the land’ with Vohumanah, might imply the idea of the ‘Archangel,’ but the government ‘by the good man’ seems more natural. In Y. 47, 1: vahistēcā m. . . . ahmāi dān . . . mazdō . . . the personality of the Archangel is only rhetorically, if at all, intentionally expressed: the significance of the subjective meaning (attribute) is strongly present.)

In Y. 48, 6: hā . . . dāt tēvīṭm v. m. *berekhdāḥī (= -yān.*) (so reading), ‘the blessed and continuous might of Vohumanah’ (see Gāthas, pp. 292, 572), may well imply the person of the Archangel; but see elsewhere. *ē is false; yā, lost nasalization.

In Y. 48, 7: yādā v. m. dīdraghzhōdēv* (so, not ‘ōduqē’, which is no rational reading), ‘ye who desire to hold fast by the Good Mind,’ or ‘to abide by him,’ shows the concept of personification as our more immediate impression, so perhaps in Y. 48, 9, v. vaṇuš m.

(In Y. 49, 3: tā v. sařē izyāi m., ‘I seek for the protecting headship of Vohumanah,’ hardly belongs here.)

In 49, 5: yē daŋnām v. sārādā m., ‘the protector of the faith may act either through a good mind as inspired within himself
by the Deity,' or 'with the help of the subdeity Vohumanah.' (Whether in Y. 49, 12: kaṭ tōi . . . avaitho Z., kaṭ tōi v.m., the instrumental refers more immediately to the Archangel or to the attribute is doubtful. 'Hast thou, O Ahura, help for Z. (thou, O Ahura, acting) with thy divine benevolence,' this seems the most natural; see Ahura below. We can hardly make out a case for an instr. (for nominative) with subject understood (inherent as it were) 'thou-with-good-mind' (this as all included within the two words V. M. in the instr. case; see Gāthas, p. 322, for alternative).

In Y. 50, 1: kē mē nā . . . anyo . . . m. m. we have the personification in a full form (of course), 'whom have I as deliverer but the Best Mind.' (Not so certainly by any means in Y. 50, 4, possibly: 'Thus praising I will sacrifice to you with Asha and the Best Mind.' But see elsewhere where 'with the ritual and the best intention' is suggested.) In Y. 51, 16 the metric 'feet of the Good Mind' may possibly mean more immediately of the good man, par-eminence 'the prophet;' but it is impossible to shut out the thought of 'the Archangel.' The kingdom of the Good Mind as the personified attribute at Y. 51, 18, is certainly more natural than the 'government of benevolence' (in the abstract); but if the good mind here referred to the 'good-minded Citizen par-eminence, the Head of the State,' the interpretation would look very natural; see below, p. 75 f. In Y. 51, 20: taṭ vē nē hazaoādhā vispaṇhō dāidyāi savā aṣem vohā manavihā . . . the concept of the personified attribute is of course the immediate subject. In Y. 53, 3: v. paityāstēm (so reading) m. we have an interesting uncertainty; each of the three or four related ideas is possible, 'the support of the Good Mind' might at first sight seem more definitely personal, in reference to 'man.' 'May Ahura give thee (thy bridegroom) the (to thee) good-minded-one (par-eminence) as the help of a good man;' see 'Asha' following, and we may also well (?) say: 'as a support of thy good mind within thee'; or 'of the law of God's benevolence (which sustains thine entire life'). But 'as the servant of the personified attribute' is probable on account of the following and of Mazda, related ideas. But in Y. 53, 4, . . . m. v. hēnvat haŋhuṣ . . . 'the bright' (or 'beatifying') blessing of the Good Mind' would more naturally recall to most of us first of all the Archangel or subdeity.)
Vohumanah as the approved mental disposition of the orthodox citizen.

In Y. 28, 2: \( \text{yē vāo maṣṭā ahurā pāiri-jasāt vohā manaṁhā,} \) ‘I will compass (your altar) with a good mind’ refers to a devout disposition in the worshipper. In Y. 28, 4: \( \text{yē rvaṅnem (so) mēn gairē vohā ṃdadē hatvā manaṁhā,} \) ‘I ... will devote my mind to ... watchfulness, (to praise, or to the Mount (-im* of Heaven)) ever with a good mind’ refers to a devotional frame. In Y. 30, 2 ... vahiśṭā ḍavaṇatā sācā manaṁhā ... ‘bearhold the flames with the best disposition of mind,’ refers to the same. (In Y. 30, 10, ... ā haṭṭōiś vaṁhēś manaṁhō ..., ‘in the good abode (the particularised amenity) of a good mind,’ as meaning ‘where mental goodness reigns’ is only the included idea (see above)). In Y. 31, 4: ... vahiśṭā iṣṭāh manaṁhā ..., ‘I will pray with the best mind,’ needs no explanation. In Y. 31, 5: \( \text{vīdevē vohā manaṁhā ...} \) ‘for my knowing with a good mind’ is also clear. In Y. 32, 11: \( \text{yē vahiśṭā atiśunō m., rāresyūn manaṁhā,} \) ‘who keep back the saints from the best mind’ refers most probably to subjective characteristics, yet some might prefer ‘from the company of the faithful.’ So in Y. 32, 12, ‘who keep men by their doctrine from the best deed’ refers to personal religious characteristics.

(It would, therefore, be forced at Y. 32, 11, to say ‘who keep men back from association with the good-minded man’, ‘tempting them to bad company’.) In Y. 33, 7: \( \text{dār(e)ṣate aṣā vohā manaṁhā yā srūvē (so) parē magāunō,} \) ‘let him see how I am listened to with fidelity, and with vohā manaṁhā,’ that is to say, ‘with a good disposition of mind.’ In Y. 33, 8: ... yā v. svaṁvai m., ‘that with good mind I may approach to further them,’ refers to the mental attitude of the worshipper. In Y. 33, 9: vahiśṭā bareṇā manaṁhā, ‘let (one(?)) bear on ... with the best mind’ refers to the mental disposition.

In Y. 34, 5: vohā m. thrāyōidyāt drīgām yāṃsākem, ‘with Asha and vohumanah to nurture your poor,’ refers to the same. In Y. 34, 10: \( \text{ahyā v. m. syaṁnā,} \) refers to the general tone of benevolence in the Religion. In Y. 43, 1 we can hardly render ‘riches, blest rewards, the preservation of our chieftain’s life’; this last for the ‘life of the good mind.’ A more obvious idea would be, ‘the life of the good-minded saint’; but why not ‘of a good disposition?’ (In Y. 43, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15: \( \text{hyat mā v. pāiri-jasāt m.} \) ‘that he may come to me endowed with the good mind,’ so read, may well refer to the subjective characteristic; but many would prefer (with me at present) to say ‘that he
may come to me in company with the good man,' i. e. that the ally (Sraoasha) might come with the representative citizen (see the place also treated elsewhere, especially in my new edition.)

So in Y. 44, 1: yathā nā ā vohā jimaṭ m., 'that he characteristically endowed with the good mind may come to us,' would be better than if the words were taken merely to qualify the mental disposition of a human 'approacher' at the given moment.

In Y. 44, 8 we have yadcā v. ukhāhā fraṣṭi manaṅhā, 'the hymns which I asked-for with a good intention of mind.' In Y. 44, 16: aṭ hōi vohā sraośā jaṅtā manaṅhā, one would say at first sight that we have 'then come the obedient with good disposition to him to whomsoever . . .' referring to the immediate disposition of the one expected to approach (yet compare Y. 43, 7, 9, etc., above. We might decide on 'then come the loyal ally with the good citizen.') In Y. 45, 6: yenhyā valme vohā fraṣṭi manaṅhā, 'in praise of whom I asked questions (as in Y. 44) with a good intention' is sufficiently plain.

In Y. 46, 3; kaśīyo āṭhāi v. jimaṭ manaṅhā, 'to whom for aid shall he endowed with the good disposition come' is of course better than 'in company with the good man.' In Y. 46, 9, e.: iṣeṅṭī mā tā tōi v. m., 'that they may seek as mine from thee with good disposition of mind' is better than 'in company with the orthodox saint' (see Gāthas for alternative).

So in Y. 46, 10 . . . 'aśīm aśāi v. khṣathrem manaṅhā . . .,' an ashi to asha' (see elsewhere), that is to say 'a reward to a servant of the community,' and 'the sovereign power with a good disposition' is the natural rendering; 'in company with the good-minded one as a typical saint,' would be forced ('by him' would be possible). (Not so surely in Y. 46, 14: tēṅg zbyā vabhē ukhāhāṅīs manaṅhā, 'with the hymns of a good and devout disposition' would be a little too 'searching' to be natural here; but 'with the hymns devoted to tho Archangel, and with the hymns of the individual believer,' the 'inspired Rshi' are each possible.)

In Y. 46, 18: maḥyāo iṣṭiś v. coišem manaṅhā, 'I impart or "assign" . . . of my wealth with a good mind' needs no comment.

In Y. 48, 12: yōi khṣām v. manaṅhā ṣacoroṅtī, 'who prosecute thy worship with a good disposition of mind' seems natural enough. Some would hold Y. 49, 2 e.: naṭāvā v. maẓdā fraṣṭā manaṅhā . . . to mean 'nor has he asked questions with sin-
cerity,’ but ‘nor has he taken counsel with the good man’ is more
striking.

In Y. 49, 5: yē daṅnām v. sārśā mananīhā, we may well have
(among the other views) ‘who has guarded the Faith with a
good disposition of mind,’ see the alternatives elsewhere (but
hardly here ‘in company with either Vohumanah, the Archangel,’
or ‘in company with’ the good citizen’).

In Y. 50, 4: at vāo yazāī stavas mazdā ahurā . . . vahištācā m.,
we have ‘so would I worship with ashā, the ritual, and with
vahištā mananīhā, the best disposition.’

In Y. 50, 6: . . . mahyā rāzēng v. sāhīt mananīhā . . . ‘may he
proclaim my decrees with a good disposition of mind’ is the
natural rendering.

In Y. 50, 7: at vē yaojā . . . ugrēng v. mananīhā (if the first
person is preferred as expressed by yaojā), we have ‘with a good
disposition of mind.’ (If the 2d sg. imperative is present, the
passage belongs above under vohumanah as the divine attribute;
see above).

‘The good mind’ as the ‘good man’ in whom the ‘good mind’ rules as
the spiritual law of his being; and this as a quasi technical expres-
sion for the orthodox citizen.

In Y. 28, 1: v. m. should be taken in this sense.

In Y. 28, 7: vaṅhēus āyaptā m., should refer to ‘the attained
prizes of the good-minded’ (see below); (but many would prefer
‘the prizes’ offered by the Archangel).

In Y. 28, 8: yaṣibyāscā it raoṁhāhōi vispāi yayē v. mananīhā,
‘for all the ages of the Good Mind,’ seems to me to give, as its
first impression the idea, of the ‘dispensation,’ or ‘continued
existence of the church’ much in that same sense present when
the term ‘asha’ refers to the ‘holy community.’

So in Y. 28, 11: yē āīś aṃem nipaṅhē manascā vohā yawaṅ-
tāītē, the ‘good mind’ represents the ‘good man’ in his citizen-
ship in the Holy State, for the prophet is ‘appointed (set) to pre-
tect him.’ (‘To protect the law’ is an idea more familiar to us,
but hardly the first impression which an expert would get from
the passage.)

(In Y. 30, 10, which is elsewhere touched upon, the ‘good
mind’ would not so immediately refer to the ‘good-minded man.’)

One might hesitate at Y. 31, 6: mazdāī avat khśathrem hyat
hōi vohā vakhśat mananīhā, for an abstract term in the instru-
mental case makes it doubtful that the human subject could be indicated in the passage. The instrumental case naturally suggests co-operation in the form of 'help,' whereas the faithful disciple is everywhere before us as the typical supplicator for help and its conditional recipient. But at Y. 31, 7, the personality v. m. as the good man is in evidence; and it is also possible at Y. 31, 8, 31, 10 and 31, 17: but see also the others cited below.

At Y. 31, 21: mazdā dūdāt ahuṟō... vañhēus vazoarē manaĩẖō, we again prefer the 'good citizen.'

(In Y. 32, 4, elsewhere more fully touched upon 'departing from the good mind' might refer to the 'good-minded man' (departing from the company of the faithful: but this is not preferred).

In Y. 32, 15, 'the abode of the good-minded saint' does not seem to be exclusively the meaning, or the most immediate one, while in Y. 33, 7, 'the good-minded citizen' is only remotely possible; 'let one see how I am listened to by the individual citizen (?) (vohā manaṁhā), and by the congregation (?) ašā); better as elsewhere (see above). In Y. 33, 13, and in Y. 34, 8, 'the faithful' is only a possible rendering (see under the Personification). But in Y. 34, 12, 'the paths of the good mind,' refer as much to the 'good-minded man' as to the Archangel who points out the way. So in Y. 34, 13, 'the way of the good-minded man' is more naturally meant.

In Y. 43, 1: rāyō ašiś vañhēus gayem* (not gaẽm, that word is impossible) manaĩẖō, I can well imagine some writers (who might wish to push realism to the extreme) rendering '(give me) the life of the good mind,' that is to say, 'preserve to me the life of our venerated chief.' Yet this would seem much strained in such a piece as Y. 43. But in the recurring passages Y. 43, 7, 9, 13, 15, 'when ... came to me with the good mind,' we might well understand 'Sraosha' (from strophe 12), as the especially obedient disciple, the 'harmonized ally' coming 'with the orthodox citizen' v. m. for he, the subject, whoever he may have been, came (or 'was to come') as a 'person,' and asked a question. Or this v. manaṁhā may be an instrumental with an inherent nominative 'when the-one-endowed with the good mind came to me.'

In Y. 44, 4: kasṁ vañhēus mazdā dāṁiś manaṁhā, vohumanah, as I now hold, is obviously used to represent the good-minded human being as the principal object in the creation (with the earth, sky, rivers, trees, winds and clouds, mentioned in the apex of the immediate connection).
In Y. 44, 9: hademñi aśā vohucā syās maṇaṁhā, the idea of the 'good-minded man' is subordinate to that of the divine Personification ('dwelling with asha') (as the community) and with v. m. (as the individual saint) would seem far-fetched. But in Y. 44, 13, the frasvā vaisheuś cākhmarē maṇaṁhō, the idea of the faithful may well be present, 'nor have they loved the inquiries and counselors of the good-minded man.'

In Y. 44, 16: at hōi vohā sraoṣṭo jañṭu maṇaṁhā, 'let Sraosha come with Vohumanāh' may mean (as in Y. 43, 7, 9, etc.), 'let the loyal ally (the especially heedful or obedient one) come with the regular citizen' (see above).

In Y. 45, 4: ptarēm vaisheuś var(e)zaṣajātō maṇaṁhō, 'the father of the toiling good mind' refers to the 'good-minded citizen.' In Y. 45, 9, I think we have 'from the nobility of the good-minded one.'

In Y. 46, 2: abhō vaisheuś aśā ṛṭīm m., 'reveal the riches of the good mind' had better be rendered 'of the good-minded man'; so also if 'hear the prayer of the good-minded' is preferred. The subjective abstract might be present, 'the riches of a good mind'(?), 'the prayer of a good mind'; but the more realistic concept is always to be chosen where it is at all possible.

In Y. 46, 16: yathā vaisheuś maṇaṁhō ṛṭā khṣāthrem (so here preferred; ('khṣāthray' in the Gāthas, p. 268)) the good-minded person is possible (reading khṣāthrem 'where the kingdom is in the possession of the good man' (not, if we accept khṣāthray).

In Y. 47, 2: hizvā ukhdhatiś vaisyheuś... maṇaṁhō, 'from the tongue of the good-minded saint' is meant (some particularly eminent individual Rshi, among the group of representatives).

In Y. 48, 6: hā... dāt tesiṃ vaisyheuś maṇaṁhō, the 'continuous strength of the good-minded saint' may be the meaning.

(In Y. 48, 8, the 'grace of the good-mind' might be meant 'equalling the good-minded (man)'; but as the princely prophet is mentioned as the 'recipient' in the next line we should understand an especial saintly person or the Archangel.)

In Y. 48, 11: kēṁg ā v. jinaṭ maṇaṁhō cistiś, 'the cisti (sagacity) of a good-minded man (some preeminent military chief) might be meant; but ('cisti inspired by) the Archangel' seems on the whole better just here.

In Y. 49, 2: naeđā v... fraṭā maṇaṁhō, we may have 'nor had he questioned (held counsel) with the good man' (if so, it refers emphatically to some of the princely group).
In Y. 49, 3: 

\[ \text{tā vaṁhēuḥ sarē izyāi manaṁhō} \ldots \text{‘therefore I will seek the sheltering-authority of the good-minded (one, the representative saint or priestly prince)’ might stand...} \]

In Y. 49, 10: 

\[ \text{taṭ cā thvahmi ādām nipādīhē manē voḥā urunascā aśāyāmām, we have the signal case for the Gāthas, where vohumanah occurs in antithesis with ‘the souls of saints’; that is to say ‘the good man now living and the souls of the saintly departed.’} \]

In Y. 49, 12, it would be strained to say ‘what help is there to Thee from the congregation (aśhē) and from the good man’ voḥā manaṁhā.

In Y. 50, 9: 

\[ \text{aśā vaṁhēuḥ syaōthnāiḥ manaṁhō, we have ‘with ritual and deeds (ceremonies?, but see the Ved.) of the good-minded man.’} \]

In Y. 51, 8: 

\[ \text{hīvā ukhāhāiḥ vaṁhēuḥ manaṁhō, ‘hymns(?) from the tongue of the good-minded (man, some eminent princely priest),’ is the immediate idea intended by the composer to be conveyed.} \]

In Y. 51, 11: 

\[ \text{ka vā vaṁhēuḥ manaṁhō acistā magāi ereṅvō...? we should first say ‘who hath cared for the maga of the good man, the leading saint?’ but the Archangel is likewise suggested.} \]

In Y. 51, 16: 

\[ \text{vaṁhēuḥ padebīṣ manaṁhō, possibly ‘with the metric feet of the saintly prophet (vohumanah),’ but ‘of the Archangel’ would not be bad (metres used in chanting hymns addressed to him, see above).} \]

(In Y. 51, 18: 

\[ \text{khaṭhrem manaṁhō vaṁhēuḥ vid₂,’ ‘the Realm of the good mind’ may well have been understood as ‘of the good man,’ referring to the orthodox monarch as the Head of the spiritual State (but see above). As to Y. 53, 4: see above; the ‘glorious blessing of Vohumanah,’ rather than ‘of the good-minded princely citizen’ is our first thought.)} \]

In Y. 53, 5: 

\[ \text{abystā ahām yē vaṁhēuṣ manaṁhō... ‘strive after the life of the good-minded man’ is best.} \]

But it is hardly a secondary object with me here to bring into clear light that most difficult fact (before noticed) with reference to the use of all these terms, the fact, viz: that the meanings applied to them not only differ so seriously as we have seen that they do, but that these differing shades of this great idea of vohumanah follow closely and abruptly one upon the other, with little or no transitional modification.
In order to show this in an unmistakable form I will give myself the laborious trouble to review some of the occurrences of Vohumanah no longer sifted out in logical order in view of the shades of ideas to which they refer, but just as they occur in the natural flow of the strophes. And I will ask the reader to fasten his attention on those strange circumstances which have made these venerable fragments what Darmesteter so justly called the 'enigma' (of oriental literature). And together with this I will endeavour to increase the distinctness of our recognition of the fact that the exegesis is sometimes uncertain.

After scholarship has exhausted every possible source of information respected by any school, at times even then we cannot tell which one of the four related concepts was most prominently present in the composer's mind when he first chanted certain strophes. And of course my own opinions have changed as to various details since 1892-94, when I published the Five Zarathushtrian Gathas; and I make an especial endeavour to multiply the alternatives, as the only scientific procedure.

At the outset vohumanah met us in its most familiar, but by no means most frequent, application as expressing more immediately the 'good-minded man,' the orthodox, or 'saintly,' citizen.

In Y. 28, 1: yasá...v. khratam manaihā...,' I pray for the understanding of the good-minded (man)' we found to be most probably the meaning, while at the immediately following strophe we have the undoubted sense 'with a good disposition of mind,' in 'I who encompass you with a good mind' (Y. 28, 2), and at the next further strophe in Y. 28, 3, we have Vohumanah as the Subdeity or Archangel, 'I who will praise you, Asha and Vohumanah.' Here are three out of the four differing shades of meaning closely grouped with neither space nor explanatory statements between them at the very beginning of the first Gatha that meets us as they are now arranged in the MS. (not necessarily at all however the first in the order of original composition).

Having decided (see above) that the words 'I who will devote my soul's attention to watchfulness (or 'to Heaven,' that is to say 'to the Mount Alborj' (so)) would be more naturally followed by vohā manaihā in the sense of 'with a good disposition of mind in the individual worshipper (though of the humblest rank), note that at the closely following Y. 28, 5, the words in the accusative (so probably, or vocative) express the Personified Attribute again as the Subdeity or Archangel. While the words in the next following strophe express immediately and for the first
time the clear conception of the Divine Attribute as a purely intellectual and moral concept.

In connection with 'giving asha-gifts' 'vohā mananāhā with benevolence' must be here the idea conveyed by the words (in the adverbiaial instrumental, and not in the sociative 'in company with thy personified attribute vohumanah' which would be impossible), while at the very next metrical lines the first form of the idea reappears in the words: 'give the attained prizes of the good-minded one' (i.e. of the good man); see the following 'to Viśūṣpa and to me.'

And this is still further expounded into the broader idea of a 'dispensation of good men' (so to speak) in Y. 28, 8 (see above), 'For all the ages of Vohumanah' must mean 'of the good-minded one or ones.'

Once more at the next strophe the Archangelic personification presents itself with, however, the varying adjective vahīṣṭa the best; while at strophe Y. 28, 10, 'the laws of the Good Mind' probably refers to the Personification, but in a barely figurative sense, the section ending as it began with Vohumanah as the 'Good-minded (citizen) the saint.' Without dwelling just here upon the subtle manner in which the main idea interpenetrates the less profound but obvious ones immediately presented, we cannot but express once more our wonder. The documents have been tested, as is known, in every way that can be devised. They are personal, excessively so (all is 'I,' and 'Thou,' and 'You' in them). They express a certain emotion, sometimes subdued, but sometimes passionate; they depict (without intending it) a state of public conflict as well as the doctrinal longings of a quasi-philosophical school. They are remotely ancient and related to the Veda, as all things combine to show; and yet here are some of the signal sentences which stood as the supporting columns of a religious intellectual temple (in which this strangely developed population passed their mental existence); and they are seemingly 'played with.' Four distinct, but yet closely related ideas expressed by them are rapidly interchanged without warning!

It certainly looks like the pedantic antic of a closely knit school of so-called experts, each aware within narrow limits of the sense intended for the identical term or terms. And yet this

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1 Cf. 'the laws by which at the first this world arose,' Y. 28, 11.
phraseology was published in a chanted hymn addressed to devout rustics coming in on especial occasions (yearly festivals, perhaps) 'from near and from afar?' Where is the parallel of such a state of things in a religious community? Perhaps in such a public as the Commonwealth in England when the rank and file were familiar with the great commonplaces of the old so-called evangelical theology, but where else?

In Y. 29, 7 we should more naturally say, 'whom hast thou endowed with a good disposition of mind who shall give forth these teachings to the people' rather than 'whom hast thou in company with the private saint,' also rather than 'who shall do (this same thing) by the help of thine Archangel Vohumanah,' but this allusion to the good disposition of the human saint is followed in Y. 29, 10 (two strophes in advance) by an appeal to the characteristic of Benevolence in the Deity made certain by the verb 'give ye' in the imperative, while the words themselves 'vohā manānātā' are in the adverbal instrumental.

At the very next strophe again we have the Personification presented in such a key as is sounded in the words 'Come Ye.'

So in Y. 30, 1, the yasnas to Vohumanah as the 'Archangel or Subdeity' is better, as we have seen, than the 'yasnas of (dative for genitive) the faithful worshipper;' but at the next strophe, Y. 30, 2, 'behold ye the flames with the best mind' refers to the mental disposition of the worshipper, and does not at all mean 'behold the flames in company with the good believer'; while in Y. 30, 7, the terms refer again to the personified concept last left at Y. 30, 1.

Upon this follows the interesting uncertainty in Y. 30, 10, where our first interpretation of the words 'in the well-disposed abode of vohumanah' might mean 'in the home of the good man'; but see 'Vohumanah' in the lead, with the words 'of Asha' and 'of Mazda' following, which fixes the very valuable passage as a certain delineation of Heaven. We may render freely and metrically: 'but swiftest in the good Abode of Vohumanah, Asha and Mazda hasten (or 'gather') those who are produced (or 'are advancing') in good fame.'

In Y. 31, 4, the person represented would not so naturally be said to pray 'in company with the private communicant vohumanah'; nor 'with his help,' but as 'inspired by the best mind,'

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1 See the Five Zarathuštrian Gāthas at the places, p. 447.

Vol. xxii.
as either 'the Archangel' or the 'internal disposition (vohumanah). So also 'to know through the good mind' cannot mean 'through the good man' in Y. 31, 5.

Whether the idea 'good man' (in the next strophe, v. 31, 6) is somewhat included in the 'growing' (or 'increase') of God's Kingdom or not, is a question. His good mind as the subdeity cannot, however, be excluded, and would be here our first preferred rendering.

But in the next following strophe, Y. 31, 7, Ahura is the 'Creator of asha the law, by which he may sustain the good mind.' Here the 'good-minded man (in general)' would seem to be alluded to, if ever.

I was not at all so sure as to Y. 31, 8: God as the 'father of the faithful saint vohumanah' is a most natural rendering, but the attention of the composer may have been fixed upon distinguishing Ahura from the other Immortals; and it is here my especial duty to notice the multiplicity of ideas included in the singular terminology under discussion.

In Y. 31, 10, the typical husbandman might very naturally be said to be the 'prospered of the good man Vohumanah,' but he was himself the 'good minded-man'; the subdeity was therefore here indicated.

While in Y. 31, 17 (not far in advance), we might regard 'be to us the enlightener of the good man' as a good rendering; but 'illustrator' or 'expounder' of Thy good mind, as 'benevolent wisdom,' is also very possible, having the advantage of the literal meaning; yet in Y. 31, 21, in spite of all that may have preceded, the 'good mind' positively refers to the 'good-minded saint.'

In Y. 32, 2, only a few strophes distant, it would be exceedingly unnatural, that is to say 'uncritical,' for us to speak of 'Ahura as 'guarding' (or 'ruling') by means of his faithful subject,' even when understood as the 'good-minded man (the king) vohumanah: so of the passage two strophes further on at Y. 32, 4, after 'beloved of the Daeva gods,' 'departing from the good mind' would more naturally refer to the Archangel, (though we might still be tempted to say 'beloved of the Daeva party and cast out by the good citizen vohumanah'). While as a contrast to either of the renderings, in Y. 32, 11 (not far off), we have the words 'from the best mind,' evidently used in its natural sense, and not in the sense of the 'good man' because the
‘good man’ ‘the saint’ is already expressed emphatically in the immediate connection by a separate and a proper word ‘ashaoné.’

While again in Y. 32, 15, the ‘abode of the good mind’ would suit very well to the idea of the ‘heavenly home of the good man, the saint’: if it were not for such passages as Y. 30, 10, where the saints are said to hasten (or to ‘unite’) in the good abode (well-appointed amenity) of Vohumanah, Asha, each named with Mazda at their apex, and evidently understood as His Archangels in Heaven, a very different idea from the ‘best mind’ of Y. 32, 11 (four strophes before Y. 32, 15); so also of the ‘streets where Ahura dwells (see below).’

In Y. 33, 3, we should indeed very naturally render, ‘let him who is best to the saint be in the pasture of our saintly Community,’ lit. ‘of the good mind’; but we have the idea of the ‘saint’ again fully expressed in another word ‘ashaoné’ in the immediate connection. The Guardian Personification is therefore most prominently intended.

So in Y. 33, 8, we should quite naturally say ‘gaining long life in the kingdom of the good-minded typical saint (our holy sovereign),’ but then see the following allusion to the ‘paths in which Ahura dwells,’ which rather enforces the acceptation of the Ameshapspend. But in Y. 33, 7, we have ‘the subjective mental state’ as the more immediate idea conveyed. ‘Let one see in company with the congregation “Ašhā,” and of the individual believer (Vohumanah), how I am listened to’... is not at all so probable (if indeed possible), as ‘let one see aright (ašā) and with sympathetic good will’ vohā manahāh ‘how I am heard.’... And yet this version of vohumanah contrasts with that last considered in the almost immediately contiguous connection at Y. 33, 5.

While in Y. 33, 8: ‘obtain for me’ or ‘make known to me’ (not a great difference in exegesis) then the good rites, that I may fulfil them inspired by thy good mind, or ‘with good will’ is better than ‘in company with the good man,’ for see what follows which is an allusion to the ‘praises of Asha’ more naturally referring to the Personification.

So again in Y. 33, 9. ‘Let them bear the spirit of the two leaders to the shining home with the best-mind (the highest good will),’ is better than ‘in company with the saint or by his help.’ ‘The two leaders who helped on asha’ were themselves prominent representatives of vohumanah as meaning the ‘typical saint,’ and so would not expect help from one of their own number.
So again in Y. 33, 10, we have, ‘make our bodily strength to increase through goodness of mind, justice and civic order,’ so, first, but the ‘guardian spirits Vohumanah, Asha and Kshathra’ is decidedly better than the other view, ‘cause our bodily life to prosper through the good citizen, the holy community in general, and the “Government” in particular.’ And the recognition of the concept of the Personification is also decidedly better in view of the most significant, Y. 33, 11. Here these same Vohumanah, Asha, and Kshathra with Āramaiti are invoked and besought ‘to come.’ (Should we say ‘hear me thou who art the good citizen, the holy community, and the government, come and cleanse and pardon me’; hardly. Even to report ‘O Benevolence, O Sanctity, O Sovereign Authority, and O Holy Zeal, hear Ye me and cleanse,’ would be difficult as surpassing even ‘the subdeity’ in its sublimity. The Archangels are meant; see Ahura at the head of them.)

But in Y. 33, 12, the next strophe, we have ‘gifts’ prayed for through asha, vohumanah, etc.; and this latter here means ‘the disposition of mind.’ The person of the ‘good citizen’ as represented by vohumanah is of course excluded. The ‘good man’ was the person who needed the proposed favors, and could in no sense be regarded as sharing in the act of ‘gift.’ Nor can it be said that the other great Personifications hold their own just here; though we had them in such striking form in the preceding verse. The words should undoubtedly be rendered as expressing the subjective disposition of the Being invoked ‘give me power through Thy holy zeal (āramaiti), with fidelity (aśā), and with kindness (vohā mananphā)?

But in Y. 33, 13, and again the next strophe, the ‘ashis’ of Vohumanah refer to the Archangel Vohumanah.’ They might indeed well mean the ‘rewards of the good man,’ if it were not for ‘aśā’ in the last line, which once more introduces the adverbial instrumental of help; and this forbids the presence of the idea of the human subject in those immediate words, obliging us to refer them to the Higher Powers; but in the next following and closing strophe of the section, we might safely say that the ‘prestige of vohumanah’ was Zarathuštra’s ‘leadership of the citizens.’ That he should have been said to offer the ‘priority of the good mind’ in the high subjective sense seems almost too hyper-spiritual as an object for offering (yet some expositors might well prefer it).
In Y. 34, 3, where ‘offerings’ are spoken of for ‘all the farms in the Realm’ which are cultivated by Vohumanah as the ‘good citizen,’ this latter rendering looks very natural. But as line a speaks of offerings to Asha, Vohumanah would not be so naturally used in the same breath (so to speak) in a sense not in analogy. Moreover, the Personified Attribute as the Archangel is here he who ‘shelters the farms.’ While in contrast at the next but one following strophe, Y. 34, 5, the individual characteristic of the human subject is plainly indicated. The ‘shelter of the poor (saint)’ is not spoken of as a duty to be done ‘with the help of the community (asha),’ and ‘with that of the individual citizen (vohumanah).’ These were the parties to be assisted, and not the means of assistance. Not even ‘with Asha (as the Archangel)’ is to be accepted; nor ‘with the help of Vohumanah.’

But the supplicator wishes for ‘sovereign power, and wealth that he may nourish the poor community with fidelity (asha) and is with benevolence (vohā manaṁhā).’ While in the next strophe these great adverbials either qualify the activity of Ahura, and not, as in the previous verse, that of the speaker: ‘if Ye (plural of majesty) are really thus, true (endowed with justice (asha) and benevolent (vohā manaṁhā), show me a sign in every house of this people (or ‘in all my sojournning in this life’) ... we have either this, which contrasts so decidedly with personification, or else we have what contrasts as much with what precedes it: ‘If ye are thus really together with Asha and Vohumanah ... (Notice the impossibility of, ‘if ye,’ O Ahura, are thus together with the community (asha) and the individual saint (vohumanah) ...).

Yet at Y. 34, 8, closely following, we have ‘from those who do not consider the law (asha) from these afar abideth Vohumanah,’ (not perhaps so naturally ‘the good-minded man will hold aloof,’ but ‘the Guardian Spirit of goodness will remain afar from him,’

In the next following, Y. 34, 9, we have the same idea slightly varied ‘They who abandon Devoted Zeal (āramaitī) in their ignorance of the good mind, Vohumanah, can hardly mean ‘in their non-acquaintance with the good man.’ The ‘spirit of benevolence’ as the main idea of the Faith is indicated, or else that spirit personified.

In Y. 34, 10, ‘the deeds of the good mind’ is better understood as expressing the ‘active side of religion’ than the conduct of the
L. H. Mills,

'private citizen, vohumanah' (however exalted) because the 'individual' is already sufficiently expressed in the term hu-bratuš. While in the next following strophe, Y. 34, 11, the 'government of the good-minded' probably refers indirectly to one of the saintly princes, but the grouping of all the seven names looks as if the 'personalities' were purposely introduced (yet see the words 'through these, O Mazda, art thou safe from thy foes'). While again in the next immediately following strophe the 'paths trod by the good-minded man (vohumanah)' seems to be decidedly the most natural view; but our impressions may vary at different times. And so in Y. 34, 13, we have 'the way of the good-minded man (vohumanah). Neither of the views, however, totally excludes the alternative interpretation, which was 'the way pointed out by the Archangel Vohumanah.' And so of the 'actions of the good-minded (man)' in Y. 34, 14, while in the next and culminating strophe this idea seems utterly impossible. 'Tell me this with the good man' (vohá mananásá) is, of course, nonsense, as would be also 'tell it to me with the congregation (ashtá). 'Tell me kindly (with good mind)' is the idea beyond any reasonable doubt, and 'tell me truly (ashtá with truth).'

This may suffice for the Gáthá Ahunavaiti; and it also renders any further close tracing of the contrasts in the other Gáthas unnecessary. The interpretation chosen by me in each occurrence may be seen above and by searching out the citations of the different passages the student can judge for himself how strangely abrupt the transition from one of these uses to the others is. To any one at all aware of the extraordinary difficulties of the Gáthas it is not necessary for me to say that I endeavour to differ here from my chosen opinions in my book of 1892–94, just as I endeavoured in that extended work to advance upon those in the thirty-first volume of the Sacred Books of the East, 1887. And in the third part of the Gáthas, 'A Dictionary of the Gáthic Language of the Zend Avesta,' I am as ever varying freely, but alternatively, from previous conclusions. A convention of opinion on such an extraordinary theme can only be reached by labour as exhaustive as it is widespread; and to elaborate complete discussions of the entire Avesta should be nearly a lifetime's work.

In view of what has been said above the reader will understand the extraordinary harassments which faced me in writing a translation of the Gáthas for non-experts in 1883–87. In
a new edition of SBE. XXXI, which I may be obliged to undertake, I would elaborately define each occurrence of asha, vohumanah and the rest thus: 'all deeds done through asha (thy holy law),' 'the understanding of vohumanah (as thy good-minded saint),' etc. This is what I have done in the English verbatims just published.¹ The effect is heavy indeed; but more complete than the compromises to which I was obliged to resort in 1887, such as 'the Divine Righteousness' (for asha), which I then thought the best mode of comprehending the various concepts in a single phrase, though even then and there I added such phrases as 'in thy folk' for 'the community,' and the 'personified righteousness' for the Archangel.


Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays. Second Series.—By A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

II. The Dramas of Harsha.

The present article forms a sequel to one published a year ago in this Journal, vol. xx. pp. 341–359, in which the problems of the time analysis of the dramas of Kālidāsa were examined. It belongs also to a series of studies which the present writer has been making in the field of the Sanskrit drama, a list of which is given below for convenience.1 With regard to the special interest and scope of researches into the use of the element of time, its observance or non-observance in Hindu plays, reference may be made to the introduction to the companion article just mentioned. The principal bibliographical references to works for consultation are there given and they need not be repeated here. Mention, however, may be made of the special books connected with Harsha, or Črī-Harshadeva as he is often called, so far as they have been used in the present monograph; a convenient bibliography of the entire drama of India will be published before long by my pupil, Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr.

The question of a dramatist's sources is of interest when one is studying the author's use of the element of time in his plays. The source of the three dramas ascribed to Harsha's name was the Bṛhatkathā, which has been lost. Nevertheless we can understand in a general way his use of that source, as well as his own lack of invention, if that may be said, by turning to the Kathāsaritsāgara, which is later than Harsha's time but is based upon the Bṛhatkathā, as is also the Bṛhatkathāmaṇjarī. The

whole story of Vatsarūja, which is the subject of two of the plays, namely, the Ratnāvalī and the Priyadarṣikā, is given in detail or in substance in the Kathāsaritsāgara; and in like manner the episode of Jīmūtavāhana, which forms the theme of the Nāgānanda, is taken from a tale told in the same work, which recounts the history of King Vatsa (ch. 22) as well as in the Vetāla portion of the Kathāsaritsāgara (ch. 90). We thus have most of the material which must have been used by Harsha in its earlier shape, and we can observe how our author has handled the events—changing, transposing, or keeping their sequence, as the case may be—for dramatic purposes. Thus the Priyadarṣikā presents certain of the more important events of King Vatsa’s life before and after his marriage with Queen Vāsavadattā. The time, however, was prior to his choice of Padmāvatī as a second queen, for the plot of this play is suggested by the king’s liaison with Bandhumatī, as mentioned in a brief paragraph in the Kathāsaritsāgara (ch. 14 = 2. 6, cf. Tawney, transl. i. 97), prior to Padmāvatī’s appearance on the scene. Yet in the play itself the author has chosen for dramatic purposes to mention Padmāvatī, as spoken of below (p. 96). Similarly, incidents connected with this second royal consort are woven into the plot of the Ratnāvalī, to whichever period in Vatsa’s career this drama may be supposed exactly to refer. The Nāgānanda, moreover, elaborates a story which Vatsa’s minister Yāṅghandraṇa narrates long after the king’s second marriage, and yet in the Priyadarṣikā this wise counsellor seems to be spoken of as if he were a previous and not an active minister as he is in the Ratnāvalī. Thus much for the treatment of the sequence of events, and so much also for the element of time, the lapse of which in the play we can help to check, as in the case of the story of Jīmūtavāhana, from what we know of Harsha’s material as preserved in the Kathāsaritsāgara. With regard to the text of the Kathāsaritsāgara, reference may be made to the Bombay edition and to Brockhaus; for the translation, consult Tawney The Kathā Sarit Sāgara, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1880, 1884. Some hints may also be gotten from Lévi’s summary of the Br̥hatkathāmaṇjarī, Journal Asiatique, 1886.

As for the dramas themselves, I have made use of the text of the Nirṇaya Sāgara series in the case of the Ratnāvalī and of the Priyadarṣikā. The former play was edited by Godabole and Parab, Bombay 1890; the latter by Gadre, Bombay 1884, and
also in the Satya Press series by Jibananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta 1874. The references to the Nāgānanda are to the edition of Brahme and Paranjape (Arya Vijaya Press), Poona 1893, checked occasionally by the edition of Bhanap, Bombay 1892. With regard to translations, I had access to two in the case of the Ratnāvalī: one the familiar rendering by Wilson, Theatre of the Hindus, ii. 255–319, the other by Fritze, Chemnitz 1878. For the Priyadarṣikā I consulted Strehly, Paris 1888, and an unpublished English version by Mr. G. K. S. Nariman, of Surat, which I hope later to edit and to publish conjointly with him, after adding an introduction. Two renderings of the Nāgānanda were also accessible: the one by Palmer Boyd, with Professor Cowell’s introduction, London 1872, the other by Bergaigne, Paris 1879.

We are now prepared to turn to our detailed study of Harsha’s employment of the element of time in his dramatic work.

1. Ratnāvalī.

Plot of the play in brief: Ratnāvalī, the daughter of the King of Ceylon, has been destined by a prophecy to become the second wife of King Vatsa, or Udayana. She is sent by sea to his capital but is shipwrecked on the way. Chance rescues her, however, and King Vatsa’s chief minister places her in the queen’s keeping without revealing her identity. The king sees the girl and falls in love with her, and when her high station as princess is disclosed in the fourth act she becomes his second bride and is favorably accepted by the queen, to whom she is related by blood. Number of acts, four.

Act I.—In an introductory monologue King Vatsa’s minister, Yāugandharāyaṇa, tells how the princess Ratnāvalī, or Sāgārikā as she is called in the play, has been rescued from shipwreck and that she is now in the keeping of the queen, Vāsavadattā. The minister himself alone knows her identity, which he has recognized by a necklace that she wears. Yāugandharāyaṇa adds that Bābhṛavya and Vasubhūti, the chamberlain and minister of the princess’s father, were rescued at the same time as Ratnāvalī, but were separated from her, and that they are now on their way to King Vatsa’s palace. He also says that Rumanvatu, the commander-in-chief of Vatsa’s army, has been despatched to overthrow the rebellious king of the Kočalas. This prologue gives the information needed for understanding the action of the drama, and the play begins.
The opening scene is laid on one of the days of the great Kāma celebration, or vernal festival in honor of Cupid (cf. madanamāha, vasanta, and in the stage direction, vasantotsava, pp. 3–4). It is on this very day that the queen, Vāsavadattā, is to do special homage to the god of love (cf. adya madanamahotsave and aṭṭa mae... bhavaudo kumārāhassarī niyattaiḍavvā, p. 8.15–19), and the king is at once to join her (ayam aham ṣagata eva, p. 9.8). This day is probably the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month Cātra (consult Apte Skt. Eng. Dict. s. v. madana-trayodāṣi, and compare the admirable tables of the Hindu months and seasons which will be found in my friend Professor Lanman’s translation of the Karpūra-maṇḍari, shortly to appear). The time, then, would answer approximately to the first of April. There is a mention of the blossoming of the trees and flowers, especially of the budding of the queen’s favorite mādhavī-creeper which bloomed earlier than the king’s jasmine (cf. māhavī laddā... nomālī laddā, p. 11.3), and allusion is made to the maina or talking bird, the starling which plays so important a part in the sequel (cf. kīsa tūmam aṭṭa... sāriam ujjhia iha ṣagadā, p. 11.16, sāriā, p. 12.2). At the close of the act the sun is setting; twilight falls, and the moon rises as the scene ends (cf. pp. 14–15).

Time of the first act, part of the afternoon of one day until moonrise.

Act II.—The second act opens apparently on the next day, for the festival of Cupid is still being celebrated (cf. pautumaana-mahāssave bhavaam anaṅgo, p. 19.1). It is now probably the fourteenth day of the month Cātra (see remark under Act i, and consult Apte Skt. Eng. Dict. s. v. madana-caturdaṣṭi). There seems to be good reason for not assuming any longer interval; for the ‘starling’ (sārika) which had been placed by the disguised princess in the keeping of her friend Susaṅgata in Act i. (p. 12) is alluded to as if Sāgarikā had forgotten to come after it (p. 16), and in the dénouement of this act the bird plays the chief rôle (cf. p. 16 seq.). Moreover, the preceding day seems to be implied when the love-lorn Sāgarikā sketches the king’s picture (pp. 17, 18), reproducing the scene connected with the Kāma festival. In addition to this, the magician who has taught the king how to make his jasmine flower blossom like the queen’s mādhavī-creeper has come to court ‘to-day’ (aṭṭa, p. 16.13) which may reasonably be regarded as the day after Act i.
It is also ‘to-day’ (adya, bis, p. 23. 10, 20) that his wonderful legerdemain will be put to the test, so that the queen shall be outdone (cf. adyo ‘dyānalatām, p. 23. 10 and vayam adya, p. 23. 20); and this actually comes to pass at the end of the act (cf. kusumidā nōmāliā-tti, p. 37. 16). The movement of the scene itself is uninterrupted, and the queen is filled with jealousy on discovering the picture of the king and Sāgarikā, and she leaves the stage (p. 39). The act closes with the resolve of the king to follow his royal consort and to pacify her (cf. devin prasādayitum adhyantaram ova praviśāvali, p. 40. 7).

Time of the second act, apparently part of the next day after the first act, although the time is not conclusively defined.

Act III.—It is somewhat doubtful whether the third act is to be placed on the afternoon of the same day, as the closing scene of the preceding act, with its episode of jealous anger over the picture; or on the day following. In either case there is no long interval between the two. Much depends upon the interpretation to be given to the twice-repeated ajja ‘to-day’ (pp. 41. 17, 42. 7). The maiden Kāñcannālā in the induction scene (praveṣaka) explains that she has overheard an important conversation as she was passing the picture gallery ‘to-day’ (ajja kkhuh, p. 41. 17), to the effect that the king’s indisposed health was due only to lovesickness for Sāgarikā. She also tells us that Sāgarikā had been placed by the jealous queen ‘to-day’ under her charge (ajja kkhuh devīte cittaphalaavuttantasaṅkidaṃ sāriāvaṃ mama hatthe samappaaantī, p. 42. 7–8). Is it the same day as that in Act ii., or is it the day following? On the whole it seems best to understand the reference to be to the day following. It seems as if a day should be allowed to elapse, to give time for the king to assume the guise of indisposed health in order to conceal his lovesick devotion to Sāgarikā (assattahadāmiṣeṇa maanāvatthatām pachādaānto, p. 43. 5) and to allow time for the change in the deportment of Sāgarikā herself under the watch that has been set over her by the queen (cf. sāriāvaṃ mama hatthe samappaantī, p. 42. 8), for she shrinks from every gaze and pines away. The king, moreover, has sent the Vidūṣhaka for news about Sāgarikā; his inquiry and his anxiety would seem to imply more than a lapse of a couple of hours which would have to be the case if the scene were on the same day as Act ii.; and he wonders why the Vidūṣhaka delays so long (cf. preṣitaḥ ca mayā tādvārtanavasāṇya vasantakah tat kathāṃ cirayati, p. 44. 7, and again api kucaḷam
priyāyā, sāgarikāyaḥ, p. 44. 17). The impression given by the opening lines of the Induction (cf. kobi kālo tūe, [sc. kāncañamālāe] ācchita gaddētti, p. 41, 3) and by the act itself as a whole seems to require more hours to have elapsed than would be possible if both acts were to be placed on the same day. Still, Windisch, Der griechische Einfluss, p. 48, n. 2, prefers to crowd the events of Act iii into the afternoon and evening of the same day as Act ii. Whichever way this question be decided, there is no doubt as to the hour of the day which is to be represented in the present act; it is late in the afternoon when the king inquires ‘how much of the day remains’ (kim avapiṣṭam ahaḥ, p. 45. 12). Sunset is at hand and the glories of the scene, together with the coming of darkness and the rising of the moon, are described (compare the allusions from atthagirisāharakāpanaṃ anusaradi bhaavam sahasarasmi, p. 45. 15, as far as udīdo bhaa- vam mialañchano, p. 51. 5). It is then that Sāgarikā disguised in one of the queen’s dresses which Kāncañamālā had given her, joins the king as arranged for ‘this evening’ by that attendant and the Vidūshaka (cf. padose etc. in Kāncañamālā’s speech, p. 42. 11, and ajja in the Vidūshaka’s encouraging words, p. 44. 10). The queen interrupts the moonlight rendezvous. Finding the king making love to Sāgarikā she takes the girl prisoner, captures the go-between Vidūshaka, and leaves the stage in high dudgeon. The king follows to pacify her (cf. devīm eva prasādayitum, p. 58. 18). The scene closes late in the night.

Time of the third act, late afternoon and evening of the day following Act ii., or the same day—see discussion above.

Act IV.—The events of the fourth act follow directly after the preceding day. Owing to the king’s intercession the queen releases the Vidūshaka, as we learn from the Prologue. The attendant maid Susaṅgata has no news to add to his own information except that ‘it is not known where the unhappy Sāgarikā was conveyed by the queen at midnight after giving out the report that she had been despatched to Ujjain’ (sā kkhu tabassinī devie ujjainīm peside-tti janappavādum kadua ubatthide adāharatte na jānīndi kaham nīde-tti, p. 60. 4–5). Events prove, however, that Sāgarikā was not taken away. Through an extraordinary combination of circumstances she is rescued by the king, and at the same moment the shipwrecked chamberlain and minister of Sāgarikā’s royal father arrive upon the scene and recognize in her the lost princess Ratnāvalī. Her identity is proved by the neck-
lace, and she is found to be the destined bride of King Vatsa as well as own cousin to Queen Vāsavadattā, who rejoices over the discovery of her kinswoman and accepts her as a co-wife. The happy moment is made more complete by the news that King Vatsa's general Rumaṇvata has triumphed over Kočala (cf. Act i.) and the events of the three or four days covered by the action of the drama are brought to a close.

Time of the fourth act, part of the day following the preceding act.

Summary of the duration of the action of the Ratnāvali.

Act i., part of one day, from afternoon until moonrise.  
1
Act ii., apparently part of the next day.  
1
Act iii., late afternoon and evening of the following day, or of the same day—see discussion above.  
[1]
Act iv., part of the next day.  
1

Thus the action of the play is practically continuous and its four acts are comprised within four days, or possibly in three.

2. Priyadarṣikā.

Plot of the play in brief: Priyadarṣikā, or Āraṇyakā as she is called in the play, is brought in early girlhood as a captive to the court of King Vatsa Udayana, and is placed under the care of queen Vāsavadattā, until she shall be of marriageable age. The king later falls in love with her and she is discovered to be the daughter of a friendly monarch, Drḍhvaraman, who had been taken prisoner by an enemy 'over a year' before (samahin savmāccharam, p. 42. 10), or at the very moment when Priyadarṣikā was accidentally captured and brought to Vatsa's court. King Vatsa restores Drḍhvaraman to his throne by overcoming his captor, the king of Kaliṅga. The princess Priyadarṣikā, as she now turns out to be, is united to Vatsa at this happy moment as the play closes. Number of acts, four.

An analysis of the time covered by the action of this play is more difficult than in the case of the preceding drama. The chief personages, King Vatsa and his companion, the Vidūshaka Vasantaka, Queen Vāsavadattā and her attendant Kāncana-māḷā, are the same as before. Rumaṇvata, however, who was the leading general in the Ratnāvali, is now prime minister; and
Yāugandharāyaṇa, who figured as minister in the Ratnāvalī, is now mentioned only in the interlude play (garbhanāṭaka), which is introduced in the third act of the present drama to recount certain incidents in King Vatsa's earlier career (cf. susائिनिहिताम sarvam yāugandharāyanena, p. 32. 8). Once in this drama, moreover, allusion is made to Vatsa's second wife, Padmāvatī, and to other wives (cf. devīnām vāsavadattā-podumāvadīnām āṇūnām a devīnām, p. 24. 7–9), of whom no mention is made in the Ratnāvalī. But too much stress must not be laid on this point, nor on the change of ministers, to show that the Priyadarśikā refers to a somewhat later period in Vatsa's married life. Such a view, however, would in a measure be borne out by the sequence of events which must have been found in Harsha's source, the Bṛhatkāthā, if we may judge by the order in which they are narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara, ch. 14 = 2. 6 (cf. Tawney's translation, i. 97 seq.). Yet both Ramaṇvat and Yāugandharāyaṇa occupy the position of ministers in the Kathāsaritsāgara without special difference between them as to generalship or counsel.

One point comes out clearly when the time element in this play is studied; it is that Harsha in this play has followed the convention of compressing events that occupy more than a year into a period that seems to be a year, as laid down by the laws of Hindu dramaturgy. For quotations from the canon on this point, see my preceding paper in JAOS. xx. 343. Thus the events which play a part at the opening of this drama, the escape of King Vatsa with his bride Vāsavadattā, the misfortunes of King Dr̥havarmaṇ, and the overthrow of King Vindhyaketu which brings Priyadarśikā to Vatsa's court, can hardly have been almost simultaneous, as the play for dramatic purposes treats them to be. It is for harmonizing such matters that the conventional Induction (viṣkambhaka) is made use of by the author (consult on this subject SD. 308, 314 and Lövi, Théâtre Indien, p. 59). The growth of Priyadarśikā to marriageable age and the release of her kingly father, Dr̥havarmaṇ, who has been in captivity 'over a year' (saṃkātaṁ saṁvaccharam, p. 42. 10) by the time that the play closes, are compressed into a single year so as to follow the dramatic dictum, that 'business extending beyond a year should be comprised within a year' (varṣād úrdhvaṇ tu yad vastu tat syād varṣād adhobhavam, SD. 306). So much for the first general results of an examination into the time system of this play. Let us now turn to the details.
Induction.—King Vatsa has been promised the hand of Priyadarśikā, daughter of King Dr̥g̥havarman. The chamberlain of the latter, named Vinayavasu, comes forward in the Induction (viśkambhaka) and informs us that a rival king, Kaliṅga, has taken Dr̥g̥havarman prisoner because the latter had promised his daughter’s hand to King Vatsa instead of to him. Dr̥g̥havarman’s captivity has therefore begun.

At the very time when Dr̥g̥havarman’s realm was being invaded by Kaliṅga, King Vatsa himself was in captivity to another monarch, Pradyota, but he had escaped and had carried off the latter’s daughter, Vāsavadattā, as his bride. She is the jealous queen in this play as in the Ratnāvalī. We are furthermore told that King Vatsa is waging war against the king of the forests of Vindhya. From the chamberlain’s speech we learn that a battle had taken place on the very day on which he is speaking (cf. kathitaiḥ ca’dya mama vindhyaketunā, etc., p. 3.11). Vindhyaketu is slain, and the young girl Priyadarśikā, who had been temporarily left for safety in Vindhyaketu’s forest abode, is captured by King Vatsa’s victorious forces. This brings the daughter of Dr̥g̥havarman to Vatsa’s court. Further news than this the chamberlain who had lost her can not tell. He only knows that his own lord, Dr̥g̥havarman, is a prisoner to Kaliṅga (badhhaḥ tiṣṭhati, p. 3.13).

From the chamberlain’s closing words we learn also that the season of the year is autumn (aḥo l atidārṇutā pariḍātapasya, p. 3.15); the sun is passing from the zodiacal sign Virgo to Libra (kanyāgrahanat pariṁn tulasīn prāpya, p. 3.18), which likewise implies a covert allusion to the king’s change of affection from Vāsavadattā to Priyadarśikā.

Time of the induction, duration of the action itself, i. e. some part of a day.

Interval of several days.—A slight interval separates the Induction (viśkambhaka) from Act i. There are several things which show this. In the first place the Vidūshaka speaks of Dr̥g̥havarman’s having been imprisoned by Kaliṅga (diḍhavammā baddho-tti, p. 4.15). Furthermore, King Vatsa says it is ‘many days’ (bahūny ahāni, p. 4.19) since he has sent his own chief general, Vijayasena, against Vindhyaketu. These days must be accounted for, since they fall in part within the present action. In some degree it is possible to do this. The victorious general returns in the first part of Act i; from his
own words we know that it required a forced march of ‘three days’ (divasatrayena, p. 6. 3) to reach Vindhyaketa and that the battle began immediately after his arrival. The day of the conflict was the very one in which the scene of the Induction (vïskambhaka) is laid as we have already found (cf. adya, p. 3. 11). It must have taken almost as much time again for the general with his army to return. This period of at least six days may well form a good part of the ‘many days’ (bahuny ahanī) which King Vatsa impatiently feels have elapsed since the general was first despatched—unless we are to regard bahuny ahanī as a mere dramatic exaggeration. In any case it seems fair to allow no less than three days for the interval between the vïskambhaka and Act i. We may now turn to the act itself.

Act I.—King Vatsa comes upon the stage and his general returns victorious. He brings in his triumphant train a young girl who is supposed to be the daughter of the dead Vindhyaketa (cf. vindhyaketa ... tadduhte ‘ti, p. 7. 10–11). She is really, however, Priyadarṣikā the child of the imprisoned Drīhavaran. Vatsa appoints the girl to be a maid in waiting upon Vāsavadattā, and he directs the queen to remind him when Āranyakā (i.e. Sylvia), as she is henceforth called, is old enough to be married (yudā narayogā bhavisyati tadā māṁ smāraya, p. 7. 16). At the close of the act, when all are leaving the stage, the hour is midday (cf. nabhomadhyam adhyāste bhagavān sahasradhīhitāḥ, p. 7. 23, and other similar allusions). Plans are to be made for celebrating a fête in honor of the victorious Vijayasena who is next to be sent against Kaliṅga (p. 8. 6), a campaign which plays a part in the sequel (Act iv).

Time of the first act, the forenoon of one day.

Interval of fully a year.

An interval of at least a year is to be assumed between Act i. and Act ii. This is shown in several ways. First and foremost we must account for the expression ‘over a year’ used in the closing act regarding the length of Drīhavaran’s imprisonment (cf. samāhāram samvaachocharām, p. 42. 10). The present place between Act i. and Act ii. is the only one in the drama where we can allow for this longer lapse of time, since there is not any break of importance either before Act iii or before Act iv. Again, as already stated, the king had bidden that Priyadarṣikā, or Āranyakā as she is called in the play, should be the queen’s maid
of honor until she should reach a marriageable age (cf. p. 7. 16). In the second act one of the attendants says she must tell the queen ‘to-day’ (ajja p. 14. 2) that Āranyakā is now marriageable, as the king had commanded to be reminded when she attained that age. When the king now sees her he speaks of ‘having long been robbed’ (ciram muṣitāḥ smo vayam, p. 14. 10) of a pleasure he would like to have enjoyed. Moreover, Āranyakā and her associate, Indivarikā, seem to have become such devoted friends in the interval that has elapsed that they can hardly be separated (cf. na sakkuṇomi tue vinā ettha āsidum, p. 13. 21), although Āranyakā has well kept the secret of her exalted birth all the time (cf. p. 11. 8). The time is now the rainy season of autumn once again, as is shown by the allusions to the luxuriance of the flowers and to the autumnal rains (p. 10. 6, 15; 12. 5, etc). But more especially is it shown by the reference to the grand autumnal celebration of the full moon, or the Kāumudi festival, in Āgyina-Kāṛttika (September-November). This is mentioned at the beginning of Act iii. and again in Act iv., and both of these acts follow in sequence after Act ii. without any important break. It is to be supposed, therefore, that an interval of fully a year has elapsed between Act i. and Act ii. The interval may possibly have been even longer owing to the tendency, for dramatic purposes, to comprise events within a year as explained above. In that event the expression ‘over a year,’ as found in the fourth or last act, would be a milder expression for a somewhat longer period. See above.

Act II.—At the opening of the second act the queen is temporarily absent as she has undertaken a vow and a fast (cf. sotthi-vāna, p. 8. 12) and the lonely king is in need of diversion (cf. kaham eso piavaasso ajja devie virahukkanthāvinodanana-mittam dhārāgharuijānam eva patthiō, p. 8. 16-17, and also ksāmāṁ . . . adya priyāṁ, p. 9. 3-6). It is late afternoon (cf. attihāšísinā sujjena maulavijjanti, p. 11. 8) when the meeting of the king and Āranyakā unexpectedly takes place, and the sun is setting when their interview closes (cf. attahamāḥilāśi bhāvaḥ sahassarasi, p. 18. 15, and parinataprāyo divasaḥ, p. 18. 17). The whole action is swift and unbroken.

Time of the second act, the latter part of an afternoon.

Possibly a very slight interval? Only a very slight interval, if any, separates Act iii. from Act. ii., for the queen is again present after her fast; and the allusion made by one of the girls
to Áraṇyakā’s distracted air ‘yesterday’ (*hīo, p. 19. 12) and to the absent-minded acting of her part in the rehearsal of the mimic play which is about to be given, seem to imply that the meeting with the king had taken place recently. The miniature play itself is to be performed ‘to-day on the grand Kāmudī festival’ (*aṣṭa . . . komadimaḥasave, p. 19. 11); and if Áraṇyakā does not play her part better ‘to-day’ (*aṣṭa, p. 19. 13) there is danger of the queen’s displeasure. Áraṇyakā’s conversation with her confidante Manorāmah, moreover, seems to imply that little time could have elapsed since the preceding act. The disguised princess points out the very spot where she had been embraced by the king, as if but shortly before (cf. *aṇā so uḍḍeso jāssim etc., p. 21. 3), and Manorāmah asks her if she really had been seen by the king, implying that the incident, or at least the gossip about it, was fresh (cf. *tumābh mahārāpeṇa dīthā na ve-tti, p. 21. 18). The interval must have been long enough, however, to give a show of credibility to the exaggerated statements about Áraṇyakā’s sighing ‘day and night’ (*dīharaṭtīm, p. 23. 1) and also to the Vīdūshaka’s jesting complaint that Vatsa had not slept ‘day or night,’ nor allowed him to do so (cf. *tena saha maśe dīivarattām nīddā na dīthā, p. 34. 2), while the affairs of state are simply neglected by the king (cf. *paricattarākaṭjo, p. 23. 9). The queen also has had time to take the alarm and to keep Áraṇyakā out of the king’s sight (cf. *esā mama priyasaṭhī mahārājasya devyā darçanapathād āpi rakṣyate, p. 30. 22). In this interval, furthermore, the Vīdūshaka has made an unsuccessful search for Áraṇyakā in the women’s apartment (p. 34. 9).

Act III.—The third act itself opens on the evening of the Kāmudī festival, the occasion when the mimic play is to be presented (cf. *adāya ratrāṇu, p. 30. 23, *aṣṭa . . . komadimaḥasave, p. 19. 11, and also kāmuḍimahotsave, p. 44. 2). The autumnal day has been a hot one (cf. saradāvena saṁtappāīṇi *aṣṭa etc., p. 22. 11) and the twilight is already past by the time they are ready to begin the interlude-performance (cf. *adikkandā kku saṁjñē, p. 27. 17). By the close of the act it is bedtime (*idāniḥ pāyaneyāḥ gatoṇa, p. 41. 2). The king retires for the night planning some means to propitiate his jealous queen, who has hurried Áraṇyakā and the Vīdūshaka off to prison.

Time of the third act, part of an evening which is devoted to the incident of the mimic play.

Slight interval. Some interval, not long however, separates Act iii. from Act iv. This is shown especially by allusions in the
introductory Prologue or praveçaaka. Āraṇyakā is now in prison by order of Vāsavadattā, so that her confidante Manoramā has not seen her for some time (ettiam kālam, p. 41. 10). Yet the interval can not have been a long extended one because the queen’s allusion to the incident between Āraṇyakā and the king in the mimic play would seem to imply that that occasion was more or less recent (tuha vina edam āraṇpīde uttantaṁ paccakkhaṁ, p. 43. 18−19). A like inference may be drawn from Sāṅkṛtyāyani’s reference to the same episode during the full moon festival (cf. kānumudīmahotsava, p. 44. 2). The only other time allusion which needs mention in this connection is found in a speech of the king. As commented on below, he says that it is ‘some days’ (katipayāny ahāni, p. 47. 8) since he received the news of his general Vijayasayena’s expected victory over Kaliṅga and of the consequent rescue of the long-imprisoned Drīghavaran. Allowing therefore for this slight interval we may take up the final act of the drama.

Act IV.—The importance of the fourth act with reference to the rest of the play is that we learn from its Prologue that ‘over a year’ (samahiam sarvavaccharam, (p. 42. 10) has elapsed since Drīghavaran was taken prisoner by Kaliṅga, the hated foe against whom King Vatsa at the close of Act i. had determined to send his general Vijayasena after the victory over Vindhyaketu had been duly celebrated. In the midst of Act iv. the king reads a letter which he received from his general ‘some days’ before (katipayāny ahāni, p. 47. 8), announcing that the fall of Kaliṅga might be expected ‘to-day or to-morrow’ (adya gvo vā, p. 47. 17). The siege has apparently been a long and exhausting one (cf. p. 47. 10−18). At this very moment the general himself enters to announce his triumphal success. He is accompanied by Vinayavasu, the old chamberlain of Drīghavaran who appeared at the opening of the play. Through the victory of Vatsa’s forces Drīghavaran is reseated on his throne (p. 49. 1). At this same instant of news-giving, the old chamberlain of the restored monarch recognizes Aranyakā as Priyادر叽叽, the lost daughter of Drīghavaran, and he explains her relationship to the queen, who is her cousin. As the act closes, Priyادر叽叽 is united to the king as another wife, and all ends happily after the various vicissitudes filling the space of a year or more which forms the time of the action of the play.

Time of the fourth act, part of a day.
Summary of the duration of the action of the Priyadarśikā.

Induction (viśkambhaka), part of one day in the rainy season of autumn. 1

[Interval of several days.]

Act i., part of a day, forenoon until midday. 1

[Interval of at least a year—see discussion above.]

Act ii., the latter part of an autumn afternoon. 1

[Interval?—possibly a very slight interval, hardly more than a day or two at the utmost.]

Act iii., part of an evening during the Kāumudī festival. 1

[Only a slight interval.]

Act iv., part of one day. 1

Thus, the whole action of the play covers 'over a year,' from autumn until autumn. The long interval falls between Act i. and Act ii. The handling of events gives the impression of their having been compressed into the space of not much over a year, so as to comply with certain rules of the dramatic canon.


Plot of the play in brief: The hero, Prince Jīmūtavāhana, falls in love with Malayavati, daughter of the king of the Siddhas, who is living in the forest. Their wedding feast is celebrated in the third act. In the next act, to save the life of another, the young prince offers his own life to the monstrous bird Garuḍa, who daily devours one member of the serpent race. Jīmūtavāhana is terribly torn by the monster, but he is restored to life before the fifth act closes, and as a reward for his vicarious suffering the whole serpent race is henceforth freed from destruction by Garuḍa. The season represented in the play is autumn. Number of acts, five.

Act I.—Prince Jīmūtavāhana, the hero of the play, has received the kingdom from his father, the king of the Vidyādharas, but Buddha-like he has no real love for the throne. He has made his subjects happy by his justice and his generosity, but now, abandoning the reins of government to his ministers, the young prince prefers, in loving devotion, to wait upon his father and mother in their recluse life in the forest.
The real action of the drama begins about the middle of the first act itself, when the youthful hero, wandering in the forest with his friend, the Vīdūṣhaka, catches sight of the princess Malayavatī, daughter of the king of the Sīdhās, and falls in love with her. He first seizes her as she is playing on her lute near the temple of the goddess Gāṇī in the forest hermitage. From the conversation of the princess with her maid we learn that, as a reward for her pious devotion to the divinity, the goddess herself has appeared before her ‘to-day in a dream’ (ajjā sīvinae, p. 12. 11, cf. also nam ajja kido, etc., p. 12. 8-9) and has promised that ‘Prince Jīmūtavāhana, the ruler of the Vīḍyādhāras, shall wed her shortly’ (vijjāharaacakkaṇatī de airenā eva pāṇiggahaṇam pāvavattaśadī, p. 13. 2-3). This is the cue for the prince to reveal himself. But before he and Malayavatī have time to exchange confidences, an ascetic enters. The words of this priestly hermit let us know that Mitrāvasu, the brother of the princess, has ‘gone to-day’ (adya gataḥ, p. 16. 7) to propose a marriage between his sister and this very prince Jīmūtavāhana. The ascetic has been bidden to make haste, for ‘the hour of the midday oblation might slip away while Malayavatī is waiting’ (tana, pratīkṣamāṇayā malaya-vatyāḥ kadaṃcīn madhyandinasavanavelā tīkrāmet, p. 16. 8-9). The hour in fact is already midday; the sun is in the zenith as the act closes with its interchange of loving glances between Jīmūtavāhana and Malayavatī (cf. majjhanaṇasāra, p. 18. 2, ayaṃ madhyam adhyāste nabhaṭalasya bhagavān sahasradīdhītīḥ, p. 18. 6).

Time of the first act, part of a forenoon until midday.

Act II.—The question whether the second act is to be regarded as falling on the same day as the first act or on the following day is not easy to decide. In the former case the time of Act ii. would have to be afternoon, in the latter case it would apparently be the forenoon. Much depends upon how much time we are to assume for Mitrāvasu’s search for the hero, as noted below, and upon the hour to be assigned for the ‘nuptial bath’ which gives the time of the closing of the act. The whole question, however, involves at most only a difference of a few hours, but as a matter of interpretation it is worth discussing and both sides of the question will be presented.

In the first place Malayavatī’s brother Mitrāvasu is said in Act i. to have ‘gone to-day’ (adya gataḥ, p. 16. 7) in quest of Prince
Jimūtavāhana in order to offer to him the hand of his sister Malayavatī (cf. kumāra-jimūtavāhanam ihā 'va malayaparmate kvāpi vartamānanā bhoginyā malayavatyā varahetor draśānum, adya gataḥ p. 16. 6–7). Jimūtavāhana is said to be somewhere on the mountain (cf. malayaparmate), and several allusions in the play show that his abode in the forest was quite nearby (e.g. kumārajimūtavāhano 'smābhir ihā 'saannatarah, p. 31. 12, and other incidental allusions which allow drawing an inference, such as the prompt return of the messenger, p. 34. 2–11, p. 39. 5–6, as mentioned below). Now although Mitrāvasu did not return by midday in Act i., he was evidently expected about that time, as is shown by the allusion to Malayavatī's waiting, as already quoted (pratikṣamānaṇāya malayavatyā kuṭuṣṭān madhyaṃdina-savanavelā 'tikrāmet, p. 16. 8). A direct continuation of this thought is found at the very opening of Act ii. Malayavatī has there sent an attendant to inquire if her brother be returned or no, for she wonders why 'he tarries so long to-day' (ajja ciraadi, p. 19. 2,—or 'still delays,' if the variant reading ajja-vi be adopted). A few minutes later, in the middle of this second act, Mitrāvasu does appear (tataḥ praviṃtati mitrāvasuḥ, p. 31. 10) and meets his sister who is in the sandalwood bower. To this same spot Jimūtavāhana himself has repaired even though he has been obliged to shorten the time due to his Gurus, in order to arrive there (cf. kīśa uṣa ajja tumaṇ lāhū eva guruṣvanam sussusia iha āgado, p. 26. 14–15). To his friend, the Vidūṣhaka, who had accompanied him, he has to acknowledge frankly that his weakness 'this day' is owing to lovesickness (cf. yenā 'dyāi 'va etc. p. 26. 11). He gives the reason for seeking the sandalwood bower. It is that 'in sleep to-day' (adya khalu svapne jānāmi, p. 26. 17) he saw a vision of his beloved in that place, which has become dear to him in consequence, and where he wishes to 'spend the rest of the day' (cf. tad icchāmi svapnānubhūtadayitūsamāgamaramye 'smīnna eva pradeṣe divasa-çeṣam ativāhāyitum, p. 26. 20–21). We may presume that this vision in sleep was a day dream of Malayavatī, whom he had seen that very forenoon and wished again to see. Such an interpretation at least will allow for Mitrāvasu's love mission of Act i. to have been completed on the same day in Act ii., which it may strongly be urged the context seems to demand. The details of the marriage would be arranged directly afterwards on the same afternoon, the hour of the 'nuptial bath' would be quite
late, and the marriage ceremony would be that same evening ‘in the first watch,’ as mentioned again below. This would crowd the meeting of the lovers, the negotiation for their marriage, and the solemnization of the nuptials into a single day, which I find is done by Windisch in his brief mention of the time scheme of the play, Der griechische Einfluss, p. 48. Much may be said in favor of such an interpretation judging from the context.

On the other hand, if it were not for the context in regard to Mitrāvasu’s mission, it would be simpler, and in many respects more natural, to place the incidents of Act ii. on the day following Act i. This is actually done in the Kathāsaritsāgara, which contains the story identical with our plot. The account found in that narrative allows a night to elapse, as is shown by its allusions to sleeping and to resorting to the temple of Gaurī early on the morning of the next day (cf. pāyanastho ‘pi ... prātāc cā tīyutsuko bhīyas tad gaurīyayatanāi yayāu, KSS. ch. 90=12. 23. 66–68; cf. also Tawney’s translation ii. 311). In this case the vision seen ‘in sleep to-day,’ in the drama (adya khalu snapnejānāmi, p. 26. 17), would have been a dream of the night just past after the hero had caught sight of Malayavati; the time of the act would be forenoon rather than afternoon, as with the other interpretation; and the allusion at the close of the act itself to the fact that the time of the nuptial bath had arrived (cf. udvāhasnānavelān, p. 40. 5, nhavanakaṁ, p. 40. 6, snāna-bhūmim eva gacchāvah, p. 40. 8) would be identical with the ordinary bathing time in the Vikramorvaśī, Act ii. end, instead of towards evening as must otherwise be the case. In this way, moreover, the marriage would not be crowded into the same day as the lovers’ first glimpse of each other, but would allow one day’s preparation (cf. p. 40. 2); and new color or a different shade of meaning might be given to certain thoughts in Jīmūtavāhana’s speech beginning nīṭāh kiṁ na nīcāh, etc. (p. 26. 5–8), as that of the pining lover. If such be the case we must adopt a slightly different interpretation of the length of time required for Mitrāvasu’s love mission. We might, for example, assume that his meeting with Jīmūtavāhana was delayed a day by his failure to find the prince the first day, and that Malayavati’s impatience at his delay ‘to-day,’ in the opening of Act ii., was due to its being the second day of her brother’s quest. Still, as stated above, the difference in either case is but a difference of less than twenty-four hours in our interpretation of the action.
The one other important time allusion in this second act is that relating to the time for celebrating the marriage of the lovers. From the scene in the sandalwood bower Mitrāvasu himself is unquestionably convinced of the mutual love between his sister and Jīmūtavāhana. Accordingly he goes to obtain from the young prince’s Gurus their final sanction of the marriage (p. 34. 2–11). They evidently dwell quite near, and a few minutes later a maid returns with the news from Mitrāvasu that ‘the happy event of Malayavati’s wedding will be brought to pass this very day’ (aśja evu malaavatī vivaḥūsavaṣa maṅgalāṁ saṁvuttaṁ bhaviṣsati, p. 39. 5–6). The hour of the nuptial bath has arrived, as quoted above.

Time of the second act, part either of the same afternoon as the preceding act, or of the morning following—see discussion above.

Act III.—The third act is unbroken in its movement and it is supposed to last from dawn till sunset on the day after the marriage. The wedding itself had been solemnized ‘at the first watch’ of the night (paḍhamapahare, p. 42. 1; consult the note on this in Brahme and Paranjape’s edition, p. 41). As Act iii. opens, it is daybreak (pahāde-vī, p. 42. 2). The marriage festivities are still being carried on, as is shown by the scene of the intoxicated parasite, Cekharaka, in the first half of the act. He had been carousing during the night’s celebration, but his sweetheart had not joined him though she had seen him (cf. raṇivirahajamidukkantuḥam, p. 45. 1, and aśja tuṁaṁ maṁ vivā-hajāgaraṁ niddāumāno etc. p. 56. 1). People are stirring about as the act progresses, because the maid has received orders from the bride’s mother to direct the royal gardener specially to prepare the flower pavilion, as the bride and bridegroom will go there ‘to-day’ (aśja savisesaṁ tamalavāhiṁ sajaṅkarehi, p. 44. 13). The loving pair appear on the scene about the middle of the act, and Jīmūtavāhana, in rapture at his marriage, feels that this blessed day is the reward of all the austerities in his past life (cf. p. 52. 1–10). His comrade, the Vidūshaka, soon joins the couple, and Jīmūtavāhana pleasantly twits his friend on having been so long in coming (vaṇasya cirād āyato śi, p. 53. 17). There are one or two allusions to the sun and to incidents connected with the festivities (p. 53. 17, p. 56. 1, p. 57. 13), but there is nothing to show that the time is rapidly advancing. Suddenly toward the close of the act we find that the hour of
sunset has arrived (samprati hi parinatam ahaḥ, p. 60. 6, astam ... yasyan etc. p. 60. 9). This swiftness of movement from dawn to sunset during the development of a single act is also remarked upon by Brahma and Paranjape, p. 49–50.

Time of the third act, from dawn until sunset on the day after the wedding, which took place just after the close of the second act.

Interval? It is difficult to prove with absolute certainty that any interval elapses between the third act and the fourth, but good reasons may be given for assuming at least a few days' break. In the first place, Jîmûtavâhana and Malayavati are no longer at the abode of the bride's parents, as they were in Act iii., on the day after the wedding. There is authority for believing that it was customary for newly married couples to remain for ten days at the bride's home before the young husband took his wife to his own abode. The ploka cited by Brahma and Paranjape, p. 51, is worth quoting in this connection; it runs, kanyâvamsani nirvartya rñajavad daçarûrikam | sabhûryah svagrham yûyût sthiter vâ kulaçcayoḥ. The play seems indirectly to contain a reference to this idea, if we may read at least an implication of it in the order given by the bride's mother that 'red garments are to be carried to Malayavati and her husband for ten days' (daçarûtraṁ yûvan malayavatyâ jâmûtap ca raktavâsâṁsi neta-vyâni, p. 61. 10).

In the second place, the fête Diparatipadutsava (p. 61. 19), or festival held on the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika (Oct.–Nov.), upon which occasion it was appropriate to give some suitable memento to the bride and bridegroom (cf. yat kim cit pradâyate, p. 62. 1) is spoken of in such a manner as to imply that this fête was not immediately after the wedding. Then, Jîmûtavâhana's attitude, if one may say so, seems to imply a slight waning of the honeymoon. As he wanders with his brother-in-law down to the seashore to watch the rising of the tide, he complains that the forest life offers little opportunity to do good by self-sacrifice in behalf of others (cf. dosa 'yam eko vane, etc. p. 62. 10); and a little farther on in the act when the occasion accidentally comes, he then feels that in this way his 'marriage with Malayavati has been fruitful' (cf. saphalîbhûto me malayavatyâḥ pânigrâhah, p. 75. 15). His words of reminiscence of Malayavati's kisses (p. 76. 18–19) do not necessarily imply that the marriage had been but a day before. On the
whole, therefore, considering that the bride has left her own home and is now with her husband at the house of his parents, which we may believe customarily happened after ten days according to the authority above cited; and considering the daśarūtra-allusion in the play, which seems indirectly at least to refer to this; and again taking into account the other points above noticed, it seems reasonable at least to assume that ten days or more perhaps had elapsed between the wedding and the great life-sacrifice which the hero now makes. Yet it must be noticed that Windisch, in his brief memorandum, op. cit., p. 48, allows only three days for the action of the play and does not mention any interval.

Act IV.—The movement of Act iv. itself is swift and unbroken. It occupies the short time that the hero is walking upon the slopes of Mount Malaya, where the occasion arises for him to sacrifice himself to the bird Garuḍa in order to save the life of one of the serpent race, and it includes the sacrifice itself at the close of the act when the great bird carries him off in its talons to the top of the mountain in order to kill and eat him.

Time of the fourth act, brief part of a day.

Act V.—The fifth act follows immediately upon the fourth, as Garuḍa is now seen to be devouring his victim on the mountain peak to which he had just carried him. The bird, however, relents and proceeds to restore Jimūtavāhana to life. The hero is immediately reunited with his wife and parents; and the goddess Gāurī, who is the dea ex machina of the piece, proclaims him a universal sovereign to whom the nations bow, including his chief enemy Mataṅga (mataṅgahatakādayo, p. 105. 5). Thus all ends well and happily.

Time of the fifth act, continuation of the same day as the preceding act.

Summary of the duration of the action of the Nāgānanda.

Act i., part of one day, forenoon until midday. 1
Act ii., part either of the same day or of the next day—see discussion above. [1]
Act iii., the whole of the next day from dawn until sunset. 1
[Interval? —— perhaps some days—see discussion above.]
Act iv., part of one day. 1
Act v., continuation of the same day. 1
Thus, the action of the Nāgānanda as presented covers three days, or possibly four—see discussion above. There is probably also an interval of some days after Act iii., as explained. Acts iv.—v. together occupy part of a day.

Conclusion. An examination of the kind made in this paper contributes something to the interpretation of the plays from the standpoint of action and to the interpretation of character development during that action. As for its general results in supplementing the previous study of Kālidāsa’s use of the element of time in his plays, the present investigation would tend perhaps to show more conservatism on the part of Harsha with regard to allowing very long lapses of time to be assumed in the action of his plays, than was the case with his greater predecessor.
Seven unpublished Palmyrene Inscriptions.—By Richard Gottheil, Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1


    Malku son of
    Haggu.
    Woe!

2. Female figure; eight lines of inscription. Property of Messrs. A. A. Vantine & Co., of New York. The script is late. Date on inscription 522, Seleucid era, = 210 A. D.

    Uri
    Bar
    Accu
    Shem
    In the year
    522
    in the month
    Tebet.

With the name Atha-uh compare בִּלְשׁוֹר etc. It might, then, mean "Athe is a wall," i. e., a defense.


    Zabd-Athe
    Son of Wahba
    Son of Zabd-Athe,
    which has erected for him
    Wahba his Son.

The names are well known. The family-tree would, then, be

1 I have to thank Messrs. A. A. Vantine & Co., and General Casmola, Director of the Metropolitan Museum, for kindly placing photographs of the inscriptions at my disposal.
R. Gottheil,

Zabd-Athe
Wahba
Zabd-Athe
Wahba

4. Male figure; eight lines of inscription. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The script is half monumental.

Gravestone
this [of]
Zabd-Athe
Son of Zabd-Athe
which has erected for him
Wahba
his brother.
Woe!

It is impossible to say whether either of the persons mentioned here is identical with the Zabd-Athe or Wahba of the preceding inscription.

5. Male figure; three lines of inscription, which may be merely the remnant of a longer inscription. Script the same as the preceding. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

....................
....................
Wahba
which has erected
his brother.

6. Upon the right hand side of the preceding figure there are remnants of three lines of an inscription. I do not believe that they have any connection with the inscription on the left hand side. As it is difficult to distinguish what the letters are, no sense can be made out of the inscription. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

? ?
wife
?

ber dka?
7. Male figure; four lines of inscription; late cursive script. In the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.

אֶקְבָּה Aḥiba
בר צעקרא Son of Aṭhe-Aḥab
גרבר the leper.
הבל Woē!

I believe that the name Aḥiba is new on the Palmyrene inscriptions. It is well known in later Hebrew. Compare also the Syriac בְּמָא Payne-Smith, col. 2962; Aṭhe-Aḥab = ἀπακαβός, Lidzbarzki, Handbuch der Nordsemischen Epigraphik, p. 348. גרבר occurs once again, Lidzbarzki, p. 252. Cf. the name נְיבָה, deVogüé, 141, 3.
Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Preterite Tenses of the Indicative.—By Louis H. Gray, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

The question of the signification of the past tenses of the indicative in the Avesta is one of the most important in the study of the syntax of the sacred language of Iran.\(^1\) The distinctions between the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect must be examined and the results of the investigation must ever be kept in mind if the full meaning of the Avesta texts is to be won. The force of the tenses of the Avestan has twice been made the subject of rigid investigation, first by Bartholomae Altiran. Verb. (1878) 220–240, and second by Spiegel Vgl. Gramm. der altérān. Spr. (1882) 491–496. The progress made in the interpretation of the Avesta since these two works appeared is a sufficient ground for a reconsideration of this problem.

The position won with regard to the force of the tenses of the Sanskrit, and especially of the Vedic dialect, is my starting point. The doctrines taught by Pāṇini concerning the Indian tenses are as follows. The aorist expresses past time (lun, iii, 2, 110); the imperfect denotes an act performed on some day other than the present one (anadyatune laṇ, iii, 2, 111 as contrasted with adya-tana=aorist, Vāṛtika 2 to Pāṇini ii, 4, 3; Vāṛtika 3 to Pāṇini vi, 4, 114); the perfect signifies an act performed at a time when the speaker was not present (parokṣe ṭiṣ, iii, 2, 115). The conclusions drawn by Delbrück, who has given Pāṇini the tribute which is his due (Vgl. Synt. ii, 273) may be summarized briefly. The imperfect is the tense of narration (Altind. Tempusl. 90, 132, Altind. Synt. 279, Vgl. Synt. ii, 268, 309); the aorist simply states that a given act was performed, or that a given event occurred at some time past (“Es kommt bei der aoristischen

\(^1\)The present paper, like its companion study, “Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence”, Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci. xiii, 549–588, is intended to be preliminary to the forthcoming “Avesta Syntax” of my teacher, Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson. His counsel, ever cheerfully given, is highly appreciated by me, and from his rich collection of material, kindly placed at my disposal in manuscript, I have received much valuable assistance.

The views concerning the tense-force of the Avesta which were expressed by Bartholomae and Spiegel may be summed up in a few words. According to the former of these two scholars the Iranian aorist, like the Greek, expresses an inchoative or an instantaneous act ("Der iranische aorist dient, wie der griechische, zum Ausdruck der eintretenden, auf einen Schlag vollzogenen handlung," Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 223, cf. Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 624), and he considers the imperfect to be preeminently the descriptive tense in Iranian as it is in Indian. The perfect is used, according to this scholar, in a present or in a preterite sense, or else it possesses no tense-force whatever (Altiran. Verb. 237). Spiegel agrees with Bartholomae in regard to the tense-force of the aorist and imperfect (Vgl. Gramm. 491, 493), but in his view the perfect denotes either a mere preterite, or else the present result of a past act or event (Vgl. Gramm. 495). The pluperfect tense occurs very rarely in the Avesta. In Bartholomae's opinion (Altiran. Verb. 240) it has merely the force of the ordinary imperfect. Similarly,

¹ Whitney, Skt. Gramm.² § 779, like other scholars, regarded the imperfect as the tense of narration. His theory, however, that the aorist "signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present" (§ 928, cf. also §§ 927, 929–30) is less acceptable in my judgment. The perfect, even in the Veda, was to him "the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present" (§ 823, cf. also §§ 821b, 822, and Pāṇini chandasī līṭ, iii, 2, 105). This conception of the force of the perfect tense seems to me to be somewhat inexact.

VOL. XXI. 8
with reference to the Sanskrit pluperfect, Delbrück supposes that this tense is sometimes equivalent to the imperfect as being a tense of narration and sometimes to the aorist as being past in time (Vgl. Synt. ii, 228, 275-276, 309, Altind. Tempusl. 113, 132, Whitney, Skt. Gramm. 5§ 552a, cf. also Speyer, Skt. Synt. 256-257). This view does not seem to be supported by the Avesta. There, in my opinion, the pluperfect represents what we should expect from its formation in the perfect system. It appears to denote the result in past time of a previous action or event, and it does not appear to have the value of a simple preterite tense.

It is almost self-evident that the Younger Avesta shows a steady decline in ability to distinguish sharply between the various preterite tenses. This is true especially of the aorist, which is practically supplanted by the imperfect and occurs but seldom (Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227, Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 491, 494). The decreasing frequency of the aorist and the absorption of the aoristic functions by the imperfect in epic and classical Sanskrit is closely analogous (cf. Avery, JAOS. x, 319).

In the consideration of the force of the imperfect and aorist tenses in the Avesta a considerable difficulty meets the investigator at the very outset. While the Old Persian employs the augment in all the occurrences of the imperfect and aorist, the Avesta has very few augmented forms (Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 343-344, Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 57, 60-62; Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 56, 189-190; Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 466). The danger of confounding true imperfects and aorists with injunctives is, therefore, a serious one. Especially is this the case in the Gāthās, the very part of the Iranian scriptures where clearness were most desirable. Here the confusion between the past tenses of the indicative and the injunctive is the greatest. Many passages of the Gāthās may be interpreted equally well either as laid by Zarathushtra in time past, or, owing to the marked eschatological spirit which pervades these psalms, as referring to future time and especially to the Resurrection. In the Younger Avesta this difficulty is, fortunately, less serious, owing to the relative simplicity of the thought and style. In all passages considered in this study which possess traditional renderings in Pahlavi and Sanskrit these ancient translations have been taken into account.

I have necessarily adopted a uniform rendering of the past tenses. The imperfect is translated in all instances by the English narrative tense ('he said'), the aorist by the auxiliary
‘did’ (he ‘did say’), the perfect and itspreterite, the pluperfect, by the auxiliaries ‘has’, ‘had’, (‘he has said’ ‘he had said’).

I. Sentences containing the imperfect only.

In the following passages will be found examples of the imperfect indicative used as the tense of simple narration or description according to the theory set forth above.

Ys. 29. 8:

a. Gāhā-Avesta.
aem mōi idā vistō yu nō aōō sāsnā gušatā
zarubuštīrī spitāmō: hvō nō mazdā vaštī ušačū.
cākvarévārā srauvasēshē hyāt hōi hūdēmōm dyūi vāxēdrāhyā.

‘this man here hath been found for me, who alone heard our commandments, Zarathushtra Spitāma. He wisheth, O Mazda and Asha, to recite the duties when I shall give him a goodly upbuilding of speech.’

(Note the variant guštā K 37, C 1 for gušatā which Neryosengh renders by puçrāva.)

Ys. 30. 6:

ayā nōt evē višyātā daēvācīnā hyāt iē Ū dsbaomā
pōrsmanōng upā-fasatā hyāt vevēntā aćīstom manō:
āt aēmōm hēndvarēntā yā bānayon ahūm marstānō.

‘of the two the demons decided not aright, since deceit came upon them as they questioned when they chose the Worst Mind. Then they rushed together unto Wrath to defile the life of man.’

(The tradition renders višyūta by the present viśīnēndā, vivijanti, but upā-fasat and hēndvarēntā by mātō hōmand, upāgacchat, and dābārast hōmand, durāgacchan.)

Ys. 31. 11:

hyāt nō mazdā paourvīm gaēhāsētā taśō daēnēsētā
bhiā mavaŋhā xratūsētā hyāt astavantā dātē uṣṭanom
hyāt āyaobanācī sēngḥosētā yābār vāṃsēng vastē dāyetē.

‘when first thou, Mazda, shapedst for us lives and consciences and wisdoms through thy Mind, when thou madest the body corporeal, (when thou madest) deeds and words whereby one may at will profess his beliefs.’

(The Pahlavī and Sanskrit tradition renders taśō by tāsit, ghaṭi-
tavān, and dātē by dāg, adāh.)
Ys. 32. 1:

*aιλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαλικαла

‘of him he asked as kinsman, of him (he asked) as serf together with the confederate, of him the demons (asked): In my mind (I am) a friend of Ahura Mazda. May we be thy messengers! Them art thou to hold (in restraint) who hate you.’

(The tradition renders *yasa* by *bauhānas*.)

Ys. 34. 8:

tāt zī nī *ṣyaobanītī* byentē yacē *yaṃkā* as pairē *paurūṇy* *ihyero* *hyat* as aofiā *nāidyāyam* *bhāhīyā* *mazādā* āstā *urvātahyā* yōi nōiś *asēm maīnyantā* aśibō dūrē vohā as manō.

‘by these deeds they affright us with whom there was destruction for many, since he was the stronger against the weaker(?), an oppressor of thy doctrine, Mazda: the Good Mind was far from them who regarded not Righteousness.’

(We may also regard *maīnyantā* and as as injunctives, cf. the traditional renderings by *mīnēndā, maṇyante* and *barā... aṅtō, astī*.)

Ys. 43. 8:

*aț hōi aofi zarabustro paōurvēm*
*hāibyō daavēšt hyat isoyā dregvētē*
*aț aśaunē rafonē hyōm ajaṅghvat.*

‘then to him I, Zarathushtra, spake: May I be a true foe, as far as I can, of the wicked, but a mighty joy to the righteous.’

(The tradition renders *aofi* by *gūft*, *pratyavocat*.)

Ys. 44. 6:

taț *bhā pērhā orṣē mōi vaucā ahurā* *yā fravaxyā yesi tā aha hāibyā* *aśem ṣyaobanātī doḥaṣātī ārmaitiś* *taibyō xšahrom voḥā cīnas manaxāhā* *kaśibyō aśem rānyā-skosin gām taśā.*

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord, whether what I shall pronounce is true indeed: doth Armaiti advance Righteousness by her deeds? The Good Mind taught thy Kingdom; for whom shapedst thou the joy-giving cow Azi?’

(The tradition renders *cīnas* by *cōšēh, āsvādayati*, and *taśā* by *tāsīt, aghatayah*.)
Ys. 45. 5:

\[ \text{at fravarşyā āyat moi mrao t spentōtmō vačō srūdīyāi āyat marstāēyō vahīštem.} \]

‘and I shall pronounce what the Holiest said unto me, the word which is best for mortals to hear.’

(The tradition renders mraōt by gāft, abraū.)

Ys. 46. 17:

\[ \text{yabrā vō afšāmānī senehānī nōt anaafēmām dējamāspā hvd-gvā hadā vōstā vahnēng svvōšā rādawhō yō vēcinaot dābomēa addābomēa dangrā mantā ašā mazdā ahūrō.} \]

‘where I shall announce your measures, not unmeasured, O wise Hvogvian Jāmāspa, prayers with your creation through obedience to the generous giver, who, even Mazda Ahura, decided between good and evil with his wise councillor Righteousness.’

(The tradition renders vēcinaot by barā vējīnēt, vīvinaktī.)

Ys. 48. 5:

\[ \text{gavōi vessoystōtīm ūm nō x̂wrdāi fšuyō.} \]

‘let them work for the cow whom thou madest to thrive for our food.’

(The tradition renders fšuyō by spītayati.)

Examples of the imperfect injunctive may be quoted from the Gāthās in this connection. In the two passages here chosen the injunctive value of the augmentless imperfect form is supported by the traditional renderings. In the majority of cases, however, the decision whether a passage contains an imperfect indicative or an injunctive becomes almost entirely a matter of subjective judgment. Perhaps we may go so far as to say that the double force of the augmentless form was intended by the great Prophet, whose vivid imagination beheld the future oftimes as the past.

Ys. 34. 9:

\[ \text{yōi spentōm ārmaimām tvaahyā mazdā boroēdīm vīduśō dus śyaobanā av asazat vawhūē svistī manawhō aēibyō maś aśā syazāat yavat ahmaēt aurunā xrafstrō.} \]

‘those who know that Spenta Armaiti is beloved of thee, O Mazda, (but who) are to fall away through evil doing through ignorance of the Good Mind, from them Righteousness
is to withdraw afar, as from us the wild noxious creatures (are to withdraw).'

(The tradition renders avazasat by baru sedkanyen, parikṣep-
syanti, but syadaṣat by prabhracyati.)

Ys. 44. 15.

\[
tat \textit{twō} perrō\textit{vō} mōi vaocō ahurā
\]
\[
yezī aḥyā aśā poī maţ xāyēhū
\]
\[
hyāt hōm spādā anuocāvanā jamaētē
\]
\[
avāš urvūtāiš yā tu mazdā diḍōrōzō
\]
\[
kubrā ayē kahmāi vananām dādā.
\]

'this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: whether thou hast power
through Righteousness over him to ward (him) off from me;
when the two hostile hosts shall come together on account of
those doctrines which thou art to desire to have maintained,
unto which of the twain art thou to give the victory?'

(The tradition glosses diḍōrōzō as eschatological; aē, \textit{Dīnō}
raubēkō bōndōk yehevānēt dēn zāk damānō; kīla, \textit{Dīnēh pra-
vṛtīh samāppā bhavīsyaī antaḥ tasmin kāle. It renders dādā
by yehabāni-aț̄, āsyaī.}

\[\textit{b. Younger Avesta.}\]

The imperfect retains its original force unchanged in the
younger Avesta. It has, furthermore, absorbed for the most
part the functions of the aorist tense. The imperfect is very
frequent in the younger Avesta. A very few examples from
this portion of the texts will suffice to show the force of the
imperfect in the later period of the language.

Ys. 9. 15 (YĀv. verse):

\[
tum zmargūzō ākōranavō
\]
\[
vispe duēva zarabuṣṭra.
\]

'thou, Zarathushtra, madest all the demons to hide beneath
the earth.'

(The tradition renders ākōranavō by karī hōmanih, akarot.)

Ys. 57. 17 (YĀv. verse):

\[
yō noīi̯t pasčāēta huśw'afa
\]
\[
yāt mainyū dāmān dāi̯dītōm.
\]

\[\text{1 Further examples of the imperfect injunctive in Avestan are given
by Gray, Annals N. Y. Acad. Sci. xii, 563, 573-574.}\]
‘who hath not slept after that the two spirits created the creation.’

(The tradition renders datōtum by yehabūnīt. The variant huṣk’afayaṭ J 15 for the perf. part. huṣk’afa [Jackson, Reader 109, but perf. ind.—cf. Skt. susvāpa—Bartholomae, Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 204] is noteworthy.)

Yt. 5. 127–129 (YAv. verse):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{minum bar\,at} & \text{ hvāzāta} \\
\text{aru} & \text{dīśī suru anāhita} \\
\text{ upa tūm} & \text{ srīṃ manaothrīm} \\
\text{ hā hē maiṣim nyāzata} & \ldots \\
\text{ upairī puṣan} & \text{ bāndāyatā} \ldots \\
\text{ bawairi vastrā} & \text{ vawhata.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘the well-born Ardvi Sūra Anāhita wore a collar upon her fair neck, she girt her waist, ... she bound on a crown, ... she clad herself in beaver robes.’

(Note the variant bandayeti—present—J 10 for bāndāyatā.)

Yt. 8. 38 (YAv. verse):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avi dim ahurō madā} & \ldots \\
\text{ avōn} & \text{ amośā spona} \\
\text{ vouru-gaoyaoitīś hē midrō} & \ldots \\
\text{ pouru pantaṃ} & \text{ frācaē\,şā\,ētēm} \\
\text{ ā dim paskāt} & \text{ anumarōzatēm} \\
\text{ aśīśā} & \text{ vawuhi boṣzaitī} \\
\text{ pārṇādīna} & \text{ rora\,ā} \\
\text{ viśpom} & \text{ ā ahmāt yat oēm} \\
\text{ paṭī-\,apayaṭ} & \text{ vazōmnō} \\
\text{ xα\,avantōm} & \text{ avi gairīm.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Ahura Mazda and the Amshaspands assisted him, Mithra, the lord of broad pastures [and Ahura—see Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta ii, 425 n. 85] taught him the road in full, after him swept along both the lofty Ashi Vanuhi and Pārendi of the swift chariot, all the time until he reached in his course the mountain Hvanyant.’

Ys. 13. 77–78 (YAv. verse):

\[
\begin{align*}
yat\,titārāt & \text{ avro mainyuś} \\
kāhīm \text{ aśahe vanhūuś} & \ldots \\
\text{ antare pairi-\,avāitōm} & \ldots \\
\text{ vohuca manō ātarōca}
\end{align*}
\]
78 tâ he taurvayatôm thaeût
awrâhe mainyûsîr drvatô
yat nôît ãpô takâis stayat
nôît urvarû urûmâyô
hukat sûrahe daðusô
xâyatô ahurâhe mazdât
frôtaçin ãpô soviôth
uzuxûyûnçû urvarû.

‘when Anra Mainyu crossed the creation of good Righteousness, both the Good Mind and the Fire came to help, they [the Fravashis] overcame the malicious acts of the wicked Anra Mainyu, so that he stopped not the waters in their courses, nor the plants in their growths; straightway flowed forth the waters most mighty of the mighty creator, the majestic Ahura Mazda, and the plants grew.’

(Nota the variant avâîti—present—K 37 for avâîtôm.)

Yt. 17. 55 (YAv. verse):

yat mâm tura pazdayantâ
asû-aspa naotaraça
âat asûm tanûm agûze
abûri pûûm gûû agû arûnô barmçyaonahe
âat mâm fraguzelayantâ
yoî apranûnû taurûna
yoî kainûna anapûtû maçyûnâm.

‘when the Turanians and swift-horsed Naotairysans chased me, then I hid my body beneath the foot of a laden (?) bull; then there discovered me young boys and maidens unsullied by men.’

(Both here and in the similar passage Yt. 17. 56 K 12 has the present pazdayanti for pazdayanta. Similarly K 12, J 10 read the present fraguzelayanti in § 55 for fraguzelayanta, although they have the imperfect fraguzelayanta in § 56.)

Vd. 2. 3 (YAv. verse):

âat hê mraom zarabûstra
asûm yoû ahûrvô mazdât.

‘then I, Ahura Mazda, O Zarathushtra, said to him.’

(The tradition renders mraom by ġûstam.)

II. Sentences containing the aorist only.

It is not altogether improbable that at an early time in the Indo-Iranian period the various formations of the aorist, such as
the root-aorist, the sibilant aorist, or the reduplicated aorist, expressed different shades of the force of the aoristic tense. However this may have been, it is clear that by the close of the Indo-Iranian period all formations of the aorist had the same signification, that of the simple statement that a certain action or event occurred in past time (Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 88; Vgl. Synt. ii, 230).

Ys. 28. 7:

\[\text{a. Gāthā-Avesta.}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{dādī aśā tum aḵīm vānaḥūḥ āyartā manavāhō}\n\text{dādī tā ārmaitī vištāspāi išrm māityācā}\n\text{dāstā mazdā xāyācā yā vō moṇrā srōvīm arūdā.}
\end{align*}\]

'give, O Asha, that blessing, the boon of the Good Mind, grant thou, Ārmaitī, (our) desire to Vištāspa and to me; (and) thou, O Mazda, art to give what words I, your prophet, did hear.'

Ys. 29. 10:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{yūzēm aśīyō ahūrā uogo dātā aśā xšārtoncā}\n\text{avāi voḥū manavāhā yā kuśītū raṃpuntā dāt}\n\text{azmēt ahūyā mazdā thoqm mōśhi pawroDuring vaēdēm.}
\end{align*}\]

'do ye give them strength, O Lord, and the Kingdom through Righteousness, such through the Good Mind that he may give fair abodes and joy; I in sooth, O Mazda, did think thee to be the first possessor of this.'

(The tradition renders mōśhi by minam, ahuyāyām.)

Ys. 30. 3:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{at tā mainyā pouroyē yā yēmā xəasonā asrvātōm}\n\text{manahicā vačahicā kyaobānōi lī vahyō akomcā}\n\text{āscā huddāshō orē viṣyātā nōit duiddēhō.}
\end{align*}\]

'now the two first spirits, the twins, of their own accord did proclaim both in thought and in word and in deed, what is better and what is evil; of them twain the benevolent did choose aright, but not so the malignant.'

(The tradition renders asrvātōm by sōt, avocatām, and viṣyātā by barā viṣiḥ, vībhaktavān. The use of viṣyātā in Ys. 30. 6 is precisely similar, although Neryosengh renders it there by vivijanti.)

Ys. 31. 10:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{at li ayā fravārstā vāstrīm ahūyā fšuyantōm}\n\text{ahurōm ašavanom vānaḥūś fomghūm manavāhō}\n\text{nōit mazdā avāstryō davāscīnā humorōtōī b azeptā}
\end{align*}\]
then of these two he did choose for her the thrifty husbandman as a righteous lord, a promoter of the Good Mind; never, O Mazda, did one not a husbandman, even a Davans, enjoy good report.'

(The tradition renders fravarsātā by fravāftendā and baxštā by xekūnēs pravarsatī.)

Ys. 32. 3:

aḻ yāṣ daēvā viṣpā̄rḥō akāṭ manavānō stā cīōrem
yasē vá maṣ yazaitē drūjusē parimātiśčā
ṣyaomēn aipē daibītāna yāiṣ as rūdām bāmyē haptaiē.

'now ye demons and whoso honoreth you greatly, to advance hereafter the deceits whereby ye did become notorious in the sevenfold earth, are all seed from the Evil Mind and the Druj and Pride.'

Ys. 33. 6:

yō zaotā aṣē ossūs īvō manyūsē ā vahiśtāt kayā.
ahmēt avā manavānā yā vṛṣyeidyāi manī tā vastryā
tā tōi izyāi ahurā mazādā darōtiścā hōm-parōtiścā.

'I as Zaotar, pure through Righteousness, desire from that Best Mind to further what that Mind what it did think to be relating to husbandry; for these two things of thine I long, O Ahura Mazda, both to see thee and to question thee.'

Ys. 34. 10:

ahyāvanā̄vā manavānā niyaobana v ao cāt gōrebam huxratuṣ
spontamētā armaitim dāmim vidvā hidām aṣahyā.

'the man of godly wisdom did say to hold fast to the works of that Good Mind, knowing the creative Spenta Armaiti to be the abode of Righteousness.'

Ys. 35. 7 (GAv. prose):

ahurahyā zi aț vō mazādā yasnomētā vahnomētā vahiśtōm amēh-
maidē gūvētā vastrēm.

'verily worship and invocation of you, O Ahura Mazda, did we think to be the best thing and the pasture of the cow.'

(The tradition renders amēhmaidē by mīnam, ahūyāmi.)

Ys. 37. 1 (GAv. prose):

ibā aț yazamaide ahurēm mazām yē gamēt āsemēt dāt
apātē dāt urvurēsē vanuhiē raocāsē dāt būmētē vīspētē
vohā.
‘here now we worship Ahura Mazda, who did create both
the Cow and Righteousness, who did create both the good
waters and plants, who did create both the stars and the
earth and all good things.’
(The tradition renders dāt by yehabuṇt, dadāu.)

Ys. 39. 4 (GAv. prose):
yābā tū ī ahurā mazdā mōnghāčā vaočasčā dāscā
varoščā yā vohā abā tōi dadomah abā cīmāhī abā bēwā āīś
yazamaidē.

‘as thou indeed, O Ahura Mazda, didst both think and say
and give and do what is good, so we give to thee, so we teach,
so we worship thee thereby.’
(The tradition renders mōnghā by mīnīnō hōmanāī, manasi
vartase, and vaočas by gōbīnō hōmanāī, vacasi vartase.)

Ys. 43. 5:
spontom at bēwā mazdā mōng hī ahurā
hyat bēwā amhūsū zōdī darsēm panourvīm
hyat dē Ṿyāobanā mūdavan yācū uṣdā
akōm akāi vavukīm aṁīm vaxhaovē
bēwā hunarā dāmōiś urvēsi apēmē.

‘then did I think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when I
did see thee the first one at the birth of the world, when thou
didst establish deeds and words having their rewards, evil
for the evil, but a good blessing for the good, by thy virtue at
creation’s final change.’
(The tradition renders mōnghā by mīnī hōmanik, amānīstāh,
darsēm by xadītūnī, dadārça, and dā by yehabuṇt, adāh.)

Ys. 44. 7:
tat bēwā pērsē vōśē mōī vaočā ahurā
kō beresbēm tū ī st xşaabrā māt ārmāiyūm
kō uṣmēm cōrēt vīyūnāyā pubrēm pibērē.

‘this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: who did fashion the
lovely Ārmaiti together with the Kingdom, who by his wisdom
did make the son dear to his father?’
(The tradition renders tūśī by tāśī, aghatayat, and cōrēt by
kartō, akarot.)

Ys. 45. 10:
tēm nō yasnāīś āratsēiś mīmāyēō
yō āmēnī mazdā srūvē ahurō
hyat hōī ašā vohūcā cōiśīt manavāhā
xšaṭrōī hōī haurvātā amortatā
ahmāī stōī dān tvēśī utayūītī.

'seeking to magnify with our hymns of Concord him who is called in immutability Mazda Ahura, since his Asha and Vohu Manah did promise that in his Kingdom should be Health and Immortality, in his mansion Strength and Eternity.'
(The tradition renders cōiśīt by cāśītō, āsvādāyati.)

Ys. 46. 12:
hyat us ašā napyāćiū nafručā
tūrahyā uṣāṃ frīṇaṇahyā aṣaṣaṛṛā
ārmātiṛī gaḍāī frūdō bhauṣakāhā
at uś vohū hōm aibī-möist manavāhā
aṣṭibō rafēdrāi mazāṭī sastē ahurō.

'when Righteousness did come unto those that are to be called the children and grandchildren of the Turanian Fryâna who zealously furthereth the possessions of Ārmaiti, then the Good Mind did abide with them, (and) Ahura Mazda is announced to them for their comfort.'
(The tradition renders aibī-möist by ketrūnd, nivasanti.)

Ys. 49. 5:
at ḫvō mazdā uśācā āṣūtiścā
yō daēnūm vohū sārṣṭā manavāhā
ārmātiś kascīt ašū huzēṇtūs
tūiścā vīṣpāśī bhavaṃū xšaṭrōi ahurō.

'now he, O Mazda, is both increase and prosperity whosoever did guard the Religion through the Good Mind, whoever hath saving knowledge of Ārmaiti through Righteousness, together with all those in thy Kingdom, Lord.'
(The tradition glosses sārṣṭā by zakīmin dinō pēṭāk pavan frārūnōīh vādānyēn.)

Ys. 51. 11:
kō urvaḥō spītāmāi zaraḥuṣṭrāi nā mazdā
kō vā ašā ḫraṣtā kā spēntā ārmātiś
kō vā vanhuṣū manavāhō ačītā magāī orvōū.

'what man, O Mazda, is a friend of Spitama Zarathushtra, or who did make questioning with Righteousness, with whom (did) Spenta Ārmaiti (make questioning), or what just man did make announcement to magnify the Good Mind.'
(The tradition renders āfraštā by hampūrsitā, approchat.)

Ys. 53. 3 :

tīmā tū pourucistā haēcat-aspānā
spītāni yezivā dugdrum sarabuśtrāhē
vauhānu paityētām manavahō aśahyā mazdāsīē tābyō dāē sarem
abā hōm feraśvā bōvā xrauśvā spānīstā ārmatōśū hauānuvarśvā.

'and him, thou Pourucista, Haēcataspian maiden, Spitamide,
youthful daughter of Zarathushtra, he did give to thee as a
husband, a friend of the Good Mind, Righteousness, and Mazda;
then make thou questioning with thy most holy wisdom in
Ārmaiti’s knowledge-choosing matters.'

The following strophe seems to contain aorist inunctives
rather than augmentless aorists.

Ys. 51. 15 :

ḥyāt mīsadom zarabuśtō magavabūvā cōiśī pārā
garō demānē ahurō mazdā jasaē pounuyō
ta vū voḥa manavahō ašāīcū savāiś cīvīśī.

'this reward Zarathushtra did promise in the presence of the
great ones: in the Abode of Song Ahura Mazda is to be the
first to come; these things have been taught you by the Good
Mind and by the blessings of Righteousness.'

b. Younger Avesta.

It has already been noted that the aorist occurs but rarely in
the Younger Avesta. Its place has been usurped for the most
part by the imperfect.

Ys. 19. 1-3 (YAv. prose):

dīē avat vaacā ūs ahura mazda yatz mē frāvuočō para asmēm
para āśəm para zām ... dāē nuvaot ahurō mazdā baya aēśa ūs
ahunahē vairyehe spitama zarabuśtra yatz tē frāvuočōm.

'what was that word, O Ahura Mazda, which thou didst pro-
nounce to me in the presence of the heaven, in the presence of
the water, in the presence of the earth? ... then said Ahura
Mazda: It was this portion of the Ahuna Vairya, O Spiritama
Zarathushtra, which I did pronounce unto thee.'

(The tradition renders frāvuočō by yemalēnē, prāvocah.
The use of frāvuočim in Yt. 17. 22 is precisely similar.)

1 It is to be noted that in Avestan as well as in Sanskrit the aorist
stem vaocē voc has assumed the value of a secondary root.
Yt. 3. 2 (YAv. prose):

mrūdī dū vaśō avē-vaśō ahura mazda yada te asken yat aša vahîšta frāda hīš.

'speak words truly spoken, O Ahura Mazda, as they were for thee when thou didst create through Asha Vahishta.'

Yt. 24. 20 (YAv. prose):

imat vaśom vaśō fravaucat yada yat tō fravaocāma.

'this spoken word may he pronounce as we did pronounce it to thee.'

Vd. 2. 31 (YAv. prose and verse):

ārat masta yima kubā tē

azem varom kerenavâne

yā mē aoxta ahurō mazdā.

'then Yima did think: How shall I make thy enclosure as Ahura Mazda said unto me.'

(The tradition renders masta by minē.)

Vd. 15. 13 (YAv. prose):

pubrom aem narō varṣātu.

'this man did beget the child.'

(The tradition renders varṣātu by vardī.)


wortō nizbayavnāha zarabustā imat doma yat ahurahē mazdā. vaśom mē asqaṣat zarabustro.

'do thou thyself, Zarathushtra, invoke this creation of Ahura Mazda. In my word Zarathushtra did delight.'

(The tradition renders asqaṣat by madamməništō.)

**Medio-Passive Aorist 3. Sing. in -i.**

The medio-passive aorist third singular in -i lost its original aoristic force in Avestan in my judgment. According to Delbrück, Altind. Tempusl. 51–61; Altind. Verb. 182; Altind. Synt. 265–267; Vgl. Synt. ii, 436–437, the Vedic medio-passive aorist in -i retains its aoristic value unchanged. A similar claim has been made for Avestan and Old Persian by Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 227–228, 230, 233 and by Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 493–494. Whatever may be true of the Vedic Sanskrit, it seems to me that the Iranian medio-passive in -i lost its aoristic force at a very early period and became a mere preterite tense.
The medio-passive in -i is not frequent in Avestan. A few examples may, however, be cited.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 32. 8:

aēzān aēnawēm vīvawhuō srāvī yimascēt yō maśyēng čiēmnuō ahmākōng gāuš bagā ķārēmēnō aēzēmēt ā almē tēalmē mazdē vēčēdī āipē.

‘of these sinners even Yima, the son of Vivanhush, hath been accounted one, who (although) seeking to please our men, ate portions of the Cow; apart from these men am I in thy judgment hereafter, O Mazda.’

(The tradition renders srāvī by srūț, proktāvān. Cf. also Ys. 45. 10; 53. 1.)

Ys. 36. 6 (GAv. prose):

sraēstān aē tōi kōhrēm kōhrēm āvaēdayamahē mazdē ahurē inā raoētē baresītēm baresīmanēm avēt yēt kharō av ādī.

‘the most beautiful body of bodies we acknowledge to be thine, O Mazda Ahura, this light, the highest of the high, that which is called the sun.’

Ys. 44. 18:

tat ēwē prēsē orēt mōi vaoētē ahurē
kabā aśē tat mīzēdm hanēnī
dasē āspē aśnavaitīs uśtronēt
hyēt mōi mazdē apēvaitī haurvētā
amornētē yajā hī tēcībyō dāvēhā.

‘This I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: How through Righteousness shall I merit that reward, ten mares with foal and a camel, since, O Mazda, there hath become known to me Health and Immortality, that thou shalt give these twain of thine.’

(The tradition renders apēvaitī by xavitēnam, vednī.)

b. Younger Avesta.

Yt. 8. 48 (YAv. prose):

yim vispāiš paitēsmarente yāiš spentahe mainyōuš dāmēñ adairī-zemāišda upairī-zemāišda yācē upāpa yācē upasma yācē fraptōrofēn yācē ravaścwān yācē upairī tā akaruna anayra aśaonē stīś āišī.
upon whom all the creatures of the Holy Spirit think, both those below the earth and above the earth, below the waters and in the earth, winged and far-ranging, and all that which beyond these boundless and eternal things is called the world of the righteous.'

Yt. 19. 92–93 (YAv. verse):

\[\text{Yim vāroṣhramām} \]
\[\text{Yim barat laxmō braītaonō} \]
\[\text{yat azī dahākō jainī} \]
\[\text{Yim barat frārāse tūrō} \]
\[\text{yat drvē zainigānū ḫainī} \]
\[\text{Yim barat kava haosrava} \]
\[\text{yat tūrō jainī frārāse.} \]

'that Victory which the sturdy Thraētaona bore when Azhi Dahāka was slain, which the Turanian Frārāse bore when the wicked Zainigānū was slain, which King Haosravah bore when the Turanian Frārāse was slain.'

III. Sentences containing the perfect only.

The perfect seems to retain its original force unchanged in Avestan. It expresses the present result of a past action or event. No assistance in determining the value of the perfect tense is given by the traditional renderings in Pahlavī and Sanskrit. The meagre verb-system of the Pahlavī precludes an accurate translation of the Indo-Iranian perfect, and the Sanskrit

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1 The Old Persian has two examples of the medio-passive in -i, aṇaḥya and adārī, adārī(ś)y. Both these words seem to be used with the force of the imperfect, the tense with which they are significantly coordinated in the inscriptions. Nṛa 20–22: tuṣām ḫāmāma aṇaḥ[ya ava a]nunāva dātam tyā manā o[ṅta] a dārī, 'what was said unto them by me, that they did; this my law was maintained' (cf. also Bh. i, 20, 23–24); Bh. ii, 89–90: utāśaṇī [a]nma avajam duvārayā maity bastā a dārīy haruvaśām kāra avoṃa, 'and I put out his eye; he was kept bound at my door; all the people saw him' (cf. Bh. ii, 74–76); Bh. ii, 25–26: aauramanāṃaḥ upastām abara yātā ṭīma xṣaṃ [a]dārīy, 'Auramazda brought me help until this kingdom was held.' This coordination of the medio-passive aorist in -i with the imperfect in Old Persian is the more striking in view of the careful distinction observed by this dialect between the aorist and the imperfect in all other instances (see Bartholomae, Altirān. Verb. 222, 224–226; Spiegel, Vgl. Gramm. 498).
version is based upon the Pahlavi, reproducing, in the case of the perfect tense at least, the inaccuracy of the Middle Persian translation.

\[ a. \ Gābdā-Avesta. \]

\[ Ys. 13. 4 \ (GAv. \ prose): \]
\[ ībā \ mainyū \ mamānāītē \ ībā \ vaočātarū \ ībā \ vāvərsəzā- \ tarū. \]

‘thus the two spirits have thought, thus they have spoken, thus they have done.’

(The tradition renders mamānāītē by mǐnam, manye; vaočā- tarū by yemalēīnam, sanuocarāmi; vāvərsəzātarū by varzam, sanācarāmi.)

\[ Ys. 28. 9: \]
\[ anā́s ūō nṓtt ahurū mazdā̀ aṣmṓqā \ yānā́s zarańā́mā́ \ manasćā́ hyat valiśtım yōí vō yōiśmā̀ dasemē stūtım \ yūm kviśtyāmṑhū ūō xāśūromḕ savawhā̀m. \]

‘by these boons may we not anger thee, O Ahura Mazda and Righteousness and the Good Mind, we who have been zealous in the giving of praises; ye are friendly and the Kingdom of wish and of blessings’ (i. e. the blessed, wished-for Kingdom).

\[ Ys. 29. 4: \]
\[ mazdā̀ saxā́rū mairisćṑ yā̀ zi vāvərsəzṑ ī pariśćibū́ \ ācāvāśćā maśīyāśćā yā́cā̀ varvəśaitē aipuśćibū́ \ hvō vījīrū ahurū abū nṓ avatā̀ yabā̀ hvō vaisat. \]

‘Mazda of words is most mindful which have been done aforetime both by demons and men and which will be done hereafter; he is the deciding lord, so be it unto us as he is to wish.’

(The tradition renders vāvərsəzā by vərzū́, ācāritānī.)

\[ Ys. 32. 15: \]
\[ anā́ś ā̀ vī-nṓnhā̀s yā̀ karapōśācā kviśtāscā \ avā́ś aibi yōng dainū tṓì nṓt jyāšùx xshayamnōng vasō \ tṓi ābyā̀ bairyāntē vazhūs̀ ā demānē manawhō. \]

‘In accordance with those doctrines, there hath perished both the Karapship and the Kaviship; in accordance with these (doctrines, however) they whom (the wicked) make not masters of (their own) life at will shall be borne by the two [Haurvatāt and Ameretāt] to the home of the Good Mind.’

Vol. xxi. 9
(The tradition renders vi-nānāśa by barā aūbinō yehevunda.)

_Ys. 33. 10:_
\[\text{visph stōī hujhāvyō yā zī ī w h a rū ī yūścā həniī yūścā mazdā bavainti thćahmi hīs zaōcī ābāxšōh νōhū māśyā manawhā xābhrī aūinō uśtā tanūm.}\]

'all blessings of life in the world which have been and which are and which are to be, distribute these, O Mazda, in thy love, increase our body in health through the Good Mind, the Kingdom, and Righteousness.'

(The tradition renders āwhare, həniī, and bavainti by būt hōmand, sambhūtāh santi; am hōmand, santi; and am yhevunda [min kevan frāz], bhavisyanti respectively.)

_Ys. 34. 5:_
\[\text{kaḥ vō xxḥbrōm kā īṣtī śyuśbānūī mazdā yabū vā hahnī aṣā vōhū manawhā brāyōidīyāī drīgūm yūmāhūm parī vā vispāīś parī v aoexmā daevāiścō xrafstrāiś maśyāiścā.}\]

'what is your Kingdom, what your power to do, O Mazda, as I implore, to protect your poor through Righteousness and the Good Mind? we have exalted you in the presence of demons, brutes, and men.'

(The tradition renders parī vaoexmā by pēś gūft hōmanč, prāh uktāh sthā.)

_Ys. 39. 2 (GAv. prose):_
\[\text{aśūnūm aut urunō yuzumaidō kuḍō-zātaunūnōt naṛamōt nāśri-nūmōt yaśūm vaḥekīś daśnā vaṁainti vā vīṅghen vō v ao narū vō.}\]

'and we worship the souls of the righteous whencesoever born, both men and women, whose good religious are either conquering, or are to conquer, or have conquered.'

_Ys. 44. 13:_
\[\text{tat thōā porśā yroś mōī vaočā ahurō kābū drūfam nīs almaț ā nīs nāśāmā tōng ā avā yōī asruśtoīś porṇāwlo nōīt aśāyō aṭivyeinti haśmā nōīt frasayō vaoχūś cāxnarū manawhō.}\]

'this I ask thee, tell me truly, Lord: How shall we drive the Druj from us down upon those who, full of unbelief, care not for Righteousness following it, nor have they taken delight in the questioning of the Good Mind.'
Ys. 49. 1:

at mā yavā bōndō pāfrē maziśtō
yō duśōbrī cīxmūśā aśū mazdā
vanuhi ādā gaiti mōi ā mōi arapā
ahyā vohā aośō vīdā manavhā.

‘how long now hath the mightiest Bendva held me in combat, me who am desirous, O Mazda, to please the evil hosts through Righteousness! Come to me with a good gift, give me joy, compass his death through the Good Mind.’

Ys. 50. 1:

kat mōi urvā īsē cāhyā avavhō
kō mōi pasūn kō mōi nā brātā vistō
anyō aṣāt bhvatō mazdā ahūrā
azdā zātā vahistāntā manavhō.

‘verily my prayer is (lit.: in my prayer): What power hath my soul had over any help, what man hath been found as protector for my herd, what one for me other than Righteousness and thee, O Mazda Ahura, and the Best Mind?’

(The tradition renders īsē by avastār hōmanam, abhilāṣayānī.)

Ys. 51. 8:

at zī tōi vāsīyā mazdā vīduśē zī nā mruvāt
hyat akōyā drōgvātē uśtā yō aśm dā drē
hvō zī mābrā šyātō yō vīduśē mrvaitā.

‘then verily shall I say unto thee, O Mazda, for a man should speak unto the wise, what is woe to the wicked is weal to him who hath upheld Righteousness, for he hath peace through the Word who speaketh unto the wise.’

(The tradition renders dādṛē by dhārayet.)

b. Younger Avesta.

The original force of the perfect is retained in general unchanged in the Younger Avesta as well as in the Gāthās. In the latest portions of the Younger Avastan texts, however, the peculiar force of the perfect is in great part lost, for the perfect, like the aorist, becomes at times almost equivalent with the imperfect. The perfect occurs quite frequently in the Younger Avesta.
Ys. i. 1 (YAv. prose and verse):  

nīvācāyemi hankārayemi dābuṣō ahurahe mazdā...  
yō no ādā yō tataśa  
yō tuṭrūyō yō mainyuḥ spontōtōmō.  

'I announce, I offer unto the creator Ahura Mazda,... who hath created us, who hath fashioned us, who hath nurtured us, the Spirit most holy.'  
(The tradition renders dān by dātō hōmanam, dādāu; tataśa by tāśīt hōmanam, ghaṭayāmāsa, and tuṭrūyō by parvart hōmanam, pratyapālayat.)

Ys. 8. 2 (YAv. prose):  

wārata narō aētōm myahdōm yōi dim hawhāna aśāca  
frōrtīdā.  

'eat, O men, this oblation, ye who have merited it both through righteousness and through piety.'

Ys. 9. 1 (YAv. verse):  
kō narō ahi  
yīm aezm vīspahe awēhōuś  
astvatō svāīṣtōm dādāresā  
wāhe gavēhe wāvavatō amēśahe.  

'who art thou, O man, the most beautiful of all the material world that I have seen with thy glorious, immortal life?'  
(The tradition renders dādāresā by xasītunē, dadārpa.)

Ys. 10. 12 (YAv. verse):  
ā tē baēṣāza irīraḥavē  
wawēhōuś manawēhō mayābyō.  

'for thee through the arts of the Good Mind remedies have mingled.'  
(The tradition renders irīraḥavē by gūmāi, arogyayukto 'si.)

Ys. 62. 7-8 (YAv. verse):  

vīspaḥbyō sastim baraiti  
ātarē mazdā ahurahe  
yāśibyō aēm hām-pačāite  
xēfnimēca sūrīmēca ...  
vīspanam para-čarentam  
ātarē zasta ā diśāya.
'unto all the Fire of Mazda Ahura beareth proclamation for whom he is wont to cook [iterative subjunctive] the evening and the morning meal,... the Fire hath looked upon the hands of all that pass by.'

(The coordination of the present and perfect in this passage is noteworthy. The tradition renders adidaya by nikiriz.)

Ys. 65. 9 (YAv. verse):

kubra vačö aoi-bûta
yu hê ćaxse aćbra-paitiś.

'what becomes of the words which the teacher hath taught him?'

(The tradition renders ćaxse by ċâśë.)

Ys. 71. 10 (YAv. prose):

vispe tê ahurô mazdâ hvapô varvuhîš dûmûn aśaonîś yazama-ide vàîś dâdăθâ povruča vohuča.

'all thy good, righteous creations we worship, O beneficent Ahura Mazda, which thou hast created both many and good.'

(The tradition renders dadâba by yehabûntō.)

Yt. 10. 79=81 (YAv. verse):

yô raśnuś daiśe macðanom
yahmâi raśnuś darvâi hazdrâi
fravavarâ manavaintim.

'who hath given Rashnu (sic!), an abode to whom Rashnu hath conveyed a home for long companionship.'

Yt. 17. 17 (YAv. verse):

kô ahi yô mâm zabehî
yeshe azm frâyo zhozentam
sračšem susruye väčim.

'who art thou that invokest me, whose voice I have heard as the most beautiful of those that invoke me often.'

Yt. 19. 8 (YAv. prose):

yavaț anu aippi āîte garayô vištastarê vispem avaț aippi draonô bâzaț aâbaurunâcça raâaestäiąça vâstryäiąça fsuyente.

'as far as those mountains have extended, all that distance one is to present a cake both to the fire-priest and to the warrior and to the thrifty husbandman.'
Yt. 22. 8 (YAv. prose):

kudabaśm vātō vāti yim yava vātēm nāwhābya hubauḍi-
thōm jīyauruva.

‘whence bloweth the wind, which is the sweetest wind I have ever breathed with my nostrils?’

(The tradition renders jīyauruva by vaxrānt. See also Yt. 22. 26.)

Vd. 4. 46 (YAv. prose):

ham-taptībyō aivyo cāvrraṁ noraḥyō zarahuṣṭra mā gīṇā mā
vastrahe hatō abāiṃn vaočōit.

‘before the heated waters (which) they have made for men, O Zarathushtra, one should not say aught unlawful of that which is kine or clothing.’

(The tradition renders cāvrrare by kartar-āś.)

Vd. 5. 4 (YAv. prose):

yeziça ačte nasavō ... narōn āstryēntōm āvīḥāt īśara-śāitya
mē vispō awuḥu asvō īśasēm jīt-aḵom ṛaodat-urvo pōkī-tanuṁ
frōna āvihām nasunum yā paitī äya zmā īrīvārō.

‘if these corpses shall defile man, ... straightway (will or would be) all my material world desiring the destruction of righteousness, with hardened soul and damned, through the multitude of those corpses which have perished on this earth.’

(The tradition renders īrīvārō by vaṅrēnt.)

Vd. 6. 32 (YAv. prose):

aśiḥā āpō para-hinčayn yat vā naēmōm yat vā bhriśum yat
vā ābruśum yat vā pawauḥum yezi tūtava navāt tūtava.

‘of that water should they sprinkle either a half, or a third, or a quarter, or a fifth, according as he hath been able or hath not been able.’

(The tradition renders tūtava by tūbānīk.)

Vd. 8. 97 (YAv. prose and verse):

kaṭ tā nara yaoḍdayn avhōn aśaum ahura mazda yā nasāum
ava-hiśṭa.

dāire asahī razawham.

‘can those men be purified, O righteous Ahura Mazda, who have touched a corpse in a distant place in the wilderness?’

(The tradition renders ava-hiśṭa by barā yekavimūnīt. The parallel passage Vd. 8. 33 has the imperfect ava-hiśṭāt, although here also L 2, Br. 1, K 10 have the perfect hiśīṭa.)
Vd. 14. 4 (YA v. prose):

ḥum-irista ācāyā urvarayā yā vaoçe hadhāna śpāta.

‘mingled with that plant which is called Hadhānāśpāta.’

(Note the variant reading vāci K 1 for vaoçe. The tradition renders vaoçe by gōft. The same use of the perfect vaoçe is found in Yt. 10. 88; 13. 152; 14. 55.)

Vd. 21. 2 (YA v. prose):

yaya ta dumm yaya ta frū-āpōm nyāpōm upa-āpōm hāz-avrō-vārāyō baśvāro-vāravāsīt.

‘the cloud hath come, hath come, to the water above, the water below, the water beneath, with a thousand drops, with ten thousand drops.’

(The tradition renders yaya ta by raปา, but by sūtānēt ZPGl. 16. 9.)

Frag. Tah. 24–26 (YA v. prose):

tanu-mazō aśayaśi tō tanu-mazō bīrośat (read druōśat) tanu-mazō zē ācāyāśī aśayaś yē nōit yava mībō māmne nōit mībō vavaça nōit vavarsza.

‘he merits a tanu-mazah who deceives (to the amount of) a tanu-mazah, for he who hath never thought deceit, nor spoken deceit, nor done deceit, hath gained as much merit as a tanu-mazah.’

The tradition renders pfrē by ambūrēt, māmne by mūnīt, vavaca by gōft, and vavarsza by kurē.)

Frag. Tah. 105–106 (YA v. prose):

nōit hāu ās vaoze zurabūstra nōit almuat vaśuta yō noit aṣahe vahiśtāhe boriōv framarstahē mayē vaoze.

‘neither hath this body advanced, O Zarathushtra, nor is he ever to advance, who hath not advanced the arts of Asha Vahishta lovingly studied.’

(The tradition renders vaoze by vāzinīṭār.)

Nir. 19 (YA v. prose):

dahtmō dahtmāi aoxte frē mū nero gārayōiś yāt ratuś frītoś āsōt visaltī dem frarāyō nōit fraryō-prayeiti aēbō ratufrīś yō jayāra.

‘the pious saith to the pious: Awake me, O man, that the master of satisfaction may come. (If) the awakening cometh to the
one, (but the other) awakeneth not, he satisfieth his master who hath awakened.' (See Bartholomae, IF. v. 471–372.)

The perfect is used very rarely with injunctive force in the Younger Avesta.

Yt. 13. 150 (YAv. prose):

paíriyin škaśi yazamaide nmnānāmēca vīṣaṃcā zantunāmēca dāhiṃyāmēca yōi āwhāro ... yōi bāhvare ... yōi henti.

'the first faithful we worship who have been both in the houses and in the villages and in the tribes and in the countries, ... who are to be (?) ... who are.'

IV. Sentences containing the Pluperfect only.

The pluperfect is extremely rare in Avestan (Jackson Av. Gramm. § 602, Bartholomae Grundr. der iran. Philol. i, 89, 198). Its occurrence in Avestan is scarcely frequent enough to enable us to determine whether it still retained what would seem to have been its original value, the expression of the result in past time of a prior action or event, or whether, like the Sanskrit pluperfect (see above p. 113–114) it simply denoted preterite time.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 32. 6:

pourū-aṇādā ūnāxētā yāiś srānahyêtī yēzī tāiś abā
hātā-marānē ahurā vahiśtā vōistā manavāhā
śvaṃhī vō maṇḍā xšabrūi ašāicā šīnghō vīḍān.

'the sinful man had perished through the very things by which he will be heard of, if so be; through the Best Mind thou knowest, O Lord remembering what things soever are, I am to act in thy Kingdom as your preacher, O Mazda and Asha.'

(The tradition renders ūnāxētā by ākāṅkṣate. The verse is obscure and the rendering doubtful.)

Ys. 51. 12:

nōiś tā im xānāuś vaēpyō kāvīnō persū zomē
zarabrētrēm spitāmom hyāt ahmī urūraost aśto
hyāt hōi im vartasvē oδarēścē zōiśnū vāzā.

'nor did the heretic vaēpya delight him, Zarathushtra Spitāma, in the depth of winter, since he had prevented him from being with him when there came upon him the fierceness and strength of the cold.'
(Read zamō for zamō with Pt 4, J 3, 6, Jm 1, P 8, Ml 1, and the tradition.)

b. Younger Avesta.

Yt. 19. 88-89 (YAv. verse):

hačaiti dim aspāhe aofū ...  
abra puččita va ozirom  
baošintū suom taršomūca  
baošintū aomū  urvāxromūca.

'the strength of a horse attendeth him, ... thereafter had come those knowing hunger and thirst, those knowing cold and heat.'

V. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Aorist.

Thus far we have considered passages which contain only a single one of the preterite tenses, but the distinctions already set forth with regard to the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect become still more clear when different past tenses stand side by side in the same sentence. The presence of the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side in the same Gāthic strophe is not to be regarded, in my judgment, as a sign of syntactic decay. In the Younger Avesta, on the other hand, the various preterite tenses may be cordinated, as a natural result of the gradual loss of perception of the original difference between the past tenses of the indicative.

a. Gātā-Avesta.

Ys. 29. 9:

apā gūnē urvā raostā yē anačēm xənummē rādem  
vācēm norō ašūrīyā yōm  ā vasmi iśā xšābrīm  
kadū yavā hūv owhat yē hōi dađat zastavaṭ avō.

'and then the Soul of the Kine waited: I who did gain for my wretched self the impotent voice of a cowardly man, when I long for one sovereign according to his will; when shall he be who is to give me mighty help?'

(The tradition renders raostā by garzūō, krando.)

Ys. 31. 7.

yastā mantā puruyō raocēhš roihwen xēbrū  
huō xrađwā damiš asm yā đār ayaṭ vahišṭem manō  
tā mazdā mainyū uxšyō yē ā nūrūmōt dhurū hámō.

'who first did think to fill these glorious spaces with light, he through his wisdom is the creator of Righteousness, whereby
he sustained the Best Mind; through this spirit thou increasedst, O Mazda Ahura, who art the same even until now.'
(The tradition renders dārayaḥ by yazdēmanētō, dadān, and uṣāyō by yazdēmanēt, viḍāyāt.)

Ys. 32. 2:
ačībyō mazdaḥ ahurā sūrmnō vohū manavūhā
avābrāt hačā paiśi-mraoṭ ašū hūk-haxū xemvātā
spontem vō ārmaitum vamūdum varamaiđī hā nō avoḥat.

'to them Mazda Ahura, being lord with the Good Mind, replied from the Kingdom with the Godly fellowship of glorious Righteousness: We did choose for you (ethical dative) the good Spenta Ārmaiti, may she be ours!'
(The tradition renders paiśi-mraoṭ by guft, abranū and varmaidī by dōšam, mitrayami.)

Ys. 34. 13:
tēm advānem ahurā yēm mōi mraoḥ vamohūš manavūhō
daēnā saoṣyantem yā hū-kurētē aśāčū urvāxāt
hyat ēcūviśtē hūdāhyō mūdhom mazdā yehū tū daḥrem.

'that way of which thou, Lord, speakest to me as being that of the Good Mind, that of the religion of the Soshyaants, whereby deeds well-done in accordance with Righteousness are to grow, since one did teach to the benevolent the reward of which thou, Mazda, art the deposit.'
(The tradition renders mraoḥ by yemelaēnāi, and cūviśtē by cāsūtē, ēsvādayaḥ.)

Ys. 43. 11:
spontem at bōwā mazdā mōngīhī ahurā
hyat mā vohū paiṁ-jasat manavūhā
hyat xēmā uṣāiś didaiśhē pourovim
sādā mōi sas maṣyaēqū sāravduṭiś
taṭ vēṛzvyeyidāyē hyat mōi mraotē vahidiṃ.

'then I did think thee to be holy, O Mazda Ahura, when the Good Mind came unto me, when first I learned through your words—Hard, did he announce unto me, is holding fast the faith among men—to do that which ye said unto me is the best thing.'
(The tradition renders mōngīhī by mēnīt homanīh, amaṁsthāḥ; paiṁ-jasat by barā maṭō, samāgaṭchat; didaiśhē by nikēziṭō; sas and mraotē by guft, avocat.)
Ys. 46. 7:

"when the wicked sought to hold me to sin, whom appointed man as a protector of one like me, other than thy Fire and Mind, through whose deeds Righteousness did prosper, O Lord? Pronounce to me that wise knowledge of the Religion."

(Note the variant didarštā F.2, II.1 for didarşatā. The tradition renders didatā by yehtatā, dutatā; didarşatā by dadhati, and brāostā by fravarēm, pālayēmi.)

Ys. 47. 3:

"of that spirit thou art the holy one hereby, who pleasure-bestowing fashioned for us the joy-giving Cow, and Ārmaiti for her pasture, when it [the Spirit] did hold questioning, O Mazda, with the Good Mind."

(The tradition renders hōm-tašat by hamtāši, samāṣjat, and hōm-fraštā by samālistāh.)

Ys. 49. 4:

"those who augmented wrath and violence through their folly, with their own tongues, being thriftless among the thrifty, whose evil deeds did have no pleasure because of good deeds, they (are) in the house of the demons (?) through the religion of the wicked."

(The tradition renders varōdān by vārīt yekavīmēnētā, varštāh santi, and vas by vānētāh. The last two lines are obscure and the rendering doubtful.)
b. Younger Avesta.

Ys. 9. 13 (YAv. verse):

\[\text{hū ahmāi aśī ārōnāvi}
\text{tat ahmāi āsrāt āyaptom}
\text{yat hū tūm us-zayawha}
\text{tūm ārōnō zarabūstra.}\]

This blessing did one find for him, this boon came to him
that thou wert born unto him, thou, the just Zarathushtra.
(The tradition renders ārōnāvi by kartō, cakre; āsrāt by mat,
samprāpa, and us-zayawha by zerxānt hōmanāī, uccāirjātaḥ.)

Vsp. 12. 4 (YAv. prose):

\[\text{humaya mainyūmaide ye dābat āhurō mazdā aśava}
\text{θραοστα vouhu manawha vaxšt aša.}\]

We meditate upon the good kinds of knowledge which the
righteous Ahura Mazda created, and the Good Mind did
nurture, and Righteousness did increase.
(The tradition renders dābat by yehabūnt; θραοστα by parvarz,
and vaxšt by vaxšinüt.)

Yt. 4. 1 (YAv. prose):

\[\text{asw dāşqm haurvatātō narām ašaonam avāscā raşnašcā}
\text{bāošnāscā xētscā avōi frača yəoxmai̯de.}\]

I created for righteous men both the helps and the pleasures
and the enjoyments and the peculiar blessings of Haurvatāt, and
we did confer (them) upon him.

Vd. 2. 11 (YAv. prose and verse):

\[\text{āst yimō imām žom višāvayat aśeva brijva ahmat masye-
\text{hēm yada para ahmāt as: tem ūbra fračarenta pasvascā
\text{staořuča mašyācā}}\]

\[\text{huqm anu užtīm zaošmča}
\text{yada kabuča hē zaoši.}\]

Then Yima extended this earth a third larger than it was
before; there over it did go forth both cattle and small
beasts and men according to each one's will and pleasure, even
as one's pleasure was.
(The tradition renders višāvayat by sätüninüt and fračarenta
by sätāŋ.)
VI. Sentences containing the Imperfect and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the imperfect and the perfect are by no means common in the Avesta. In the few passages of this category which do occur the original distinction between the two tenses seems to be observed.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 30. 4:

*ațā hyat tā hōm mainyā ḫasāētōm paourvēm dazdē
gāsēvā aǰṭātēmčā yaḥwē āwhā ṣrōmēm avhūs
dātēdroghvatēm aṭ ašāunē vahištēm manō.*

‘and then when the two spirits first came together, they have created both life and death and how the world shall be at the last, most evil for the wicked, but the Best Mind for the righteous.’

(The tradition renders hōm jasaētōm by ham mātō hōmand, ājagmasūḥ.)

Ys. 32. 11:

tačīt mā mōrendēn jyōtēm yōī droghvatō mazībē cīkōītērē
awhēsēva awhvasača apayēti raixnashō vadhēm
yōī vahištēt ašāunē mazdē rāsēyēn manashō.

‘these destroyed my life who have taught the wicked especially to rob house-holders, both women and men, of the attainment of their inheritance, that they may make the righteous apostate from the Best Mind.’

(The tradition renders mōrendēn by marenčiinēn yehabūnā.
vinačaṁ dadate, and cīkōītērē by kāśmēnd, ācāranti.)

b. Younger Avesta.

Ys. 9. 5 (YAv. verse):

*yimahe xšābre aurvāhe
nōīt aṣom āwha nōīt garēmēm
nōīt saura āwha nōīt mēōhēyē
nōīt araskō dāvō-dātō
panča-dasa fračārōībē
pita puhrasča raobāvē katarasctē.*

‘in the reign of princely Yima there hath been neither cold nor heat, there hath been neither age nor death, nor disease created by the demons; father and son went forth fifteen years old each in figure.’
(The tradition renders əwha by yehavûnt, āsît, and fračarôide by frâz sótinît hômând, pracaratâh. See also the parallel passage Yt. 15. 16.)

Yt. 13. 90 (YAv. prose):

yö paoiryô stôîš astvaiyît vâcîm aoxta vidôyum ahurô-
škačem yö paoiryô stôîš astvaiyît vâcîm frâmraôš vidôyum
ahurô-shkačem yö paoiryô stoîš astvaiyîd vîsrum daâvô-dâtem
vəavaça ayesnyum avahmyum.

'who first of the material world spake the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world proclaimed the word against the demons, belonging to the faith of Ahura, who first of the material world hath declared all (the world) created by the demons to be unworthy of worship or of prayer.'

(The perfect vavaça is coordinated in this late passage to the imperfects aoxta and frâmraôš.)

VII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Perfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the perfect are extremely rare. A few examples, however, may be cited.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 34. 3:

at töî myazdêm ahurâ nomawhâ aśâicâ dûmâ
gâvâ vîsrû ã xâbrôî yâ váhâ troyôt ã manawhâ
årô i zê huidôhû vîspûx mazdâ xšmâvasâ sauô.

'now unto thee, O Ahura and Asha, we are to offer with homage the oblation, (namely) all beings in the Kingdom which ye did nurture through the Good Mind, for the weal of the beneficent hath been fitting in all respects for those like unto thee, O Mazda.'

Ys. 44. 20:

ôxôxô mazdô luxšabrô daêvâ ã nôxarô
at ã porêsa yôî pîxieînti aëîbyô kâm
yûi xum karapô usixôdô aëšêmâi dûtô
yâçô kavâ qumôînô uruðôyatô
nôîh him mizôn ašâ vástrôm frâdaîbhê.

'have the demons been good rulers, O Mazda? Now this I ask: What (vengeance shall be) to those who oppress, through whom the Karap and the Usij did give the Cow unto Wrath,
and through whom the Kavi is a sinner forever, and not a man to prosper the pasture through Righteousness in watering it."

(The strophe is obscure and the translation doubtful. The tradition renders āvārē by yehevānt hōmand, abhavan and dātā by yehabānt.)

VIII. Sentences containing the Aorist and the Pluperfect.

Sentences which contain both the aorist and the pluperfect are excessively rare. A single example, which is not free from ambiguity, may be quoted.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 53. 1:
vahistā īštī srāvī sarubuṣṭrahī
spitāmahyā yēṣī hōī dītā āyapta
āsāt hačā ahurō mazdā yavvī vispāī ā hvaśhevīm
yācchā hōī dāvon saxoncū dānayāv vadvhayā uxośa syaošanācā.

‘the best wish is to be called Zarathushtra Spitāma’s if Ahura Mazda in accordance with Righteousness is to give the boons, even a happy life for all eternity, to him and to those who did desire (?) and had become learned in the words and deeds of the good religion.’

IX. Sentences containing the Imperfect, the Aorist, and the Perfect.

The Gāthās furnish one example of an Avestan passage which contains the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect side by side.

a. Gāthā-Avesta.

Ys. 29. 1:
xxmaibhyā gūṣ urvā gerożdā kahmāi mā twarōzdūm kā
mā taśat
ā mā ačšomō hazascā romō āhišāyā derēscā terišcā
nōiā mōi vāstā xxmat anyō obā mōi sprūd vohā vāstryā.

‘to you the Soul of the King did wail: For whom did ye create me, who shaped me? Wrath and Violence, Mutilation, and Outrage, and Power have bound me; no husbandman is there for me but you; so announce to me good pasture.’

(The tradition renders geroždā by garzū, krandaṭī; twarōzdūm by barehīṇīt hōmanam, avinirmiṭi ‘smī, and taśat by tāṣīt hōmanam, ghatīto ‘smī.)
The conclusion which I draw from the study of the syntax of
the preterite tenses of the Avesta has already been shadowed
forth. In the Gāhās the tenses retain their original significations
unchanged, while the Younger Avesta shows a steady degenera-
tion of feeling for the primary distinctions between the preterite
tenses. The imperfect in the Gāhās is the tense of narration, as
it is in the Younger Avesta. The aorist is not uncommon in the
Gāhās, where it denotes an action or event occurring at some
undetermined past time. It is found very seldom in the Younger
Avesta, where it has become to all intents equivalent to the
imperfect. The perfect in the Gāhās expresses the present result
of a past action or event. It still retains this force in general in
the Younger Avesta, although cases are not lacking, especially in
late portions of the text, where the perfect, like the aorist, has
degenerated into a more narrative tense. The two points in
which I differ most from results hitherto obtained are in regard
to the pluperfect and to the medio-passive in-ī. In my opinion
the pluperfect expresses the result in the past of an action or
event whose time was still more remote. In other words the
pluperfect is a true preterite perfect, not a preterite present. I
have suggested that the medio-passive in-ī lost its aoristic force
as early as the Iranian period and became equivalent to a simple
preterite tense.\(^1\)

\(^1\) For the transcription employed in this article, see the editorial note
at the end of the volume.
## INDEX LOCORUM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Gāhā-Avesta.</th>
<th>Ys. 44. 18..................180</th>
<th>d. Yašts.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ys. 13. 4........129</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yt. 3. 2.....126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. 7........131</td>
<td>15........118</td>
<td>4. 1........140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9........129</td>
<td>18........137</td>
<td>5. 127-129.....119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. 1........143</td>
<td>20........142f.</td>
<td>8. 38........119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4........139</td>
<td>45. 5........117</td>
<td>48........127f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8........115</td>
<td>10........128f.</td>
<td>10. 79........138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9........137</td>
<td>46. 7........139</td>
<td>13. 77-78.....119f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10........131</td>
<td>12........134</td>
<td>90........142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. 3........121</td>
<td>17........117</td>
<td>150........136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4........141</td>
<td>47. 8........139</td>
<td>17. 17........133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6........115</td>
<td>48. 5........117</td>
<td>55........129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. 7........137f.</td>
<td>49. 1........131</td>
<td>19. 8........138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10........131f.</td>
<td>11........124</td>
<td>68-69........137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11........115</td>
<td>50. 1........131</td>
<td>92-93........128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. 1........116</td>
<td>51. 8........131</td>
<td>22. 8........134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2........138</td>
<td>11........124f.</td>
<td>24. 20........126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3........132</td>
<td>12........136f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6........136</td>
<td>15........123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8........127</td>
<td>53. 1........148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11........141</td>
<td>3........125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15........129f.</td>
<td>b. Yasna.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. 6........122</td>
<td>Ys. 1. 1................182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10........130</td>
<td>5. 2................182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. 3........142</td>
<td>9. 1................182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5........130</td>
<td>5................141f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8........116</td>
<td>13........140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9........117f.</td>
<td>15........118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10........132</td>
<td>10. 12........182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13........188</td>
<td>19. 1-3........125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. 7........132</td>
<td>57. 17........118f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. 6........127</td>
<td>62. 7-8........132f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. 1........129f.</td>
<td>65. 9........133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. 2........130</td>
<td>71. 10........133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4........133</td>
<td>c. Vīsparad.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. 5........128</td>
<td>Vsp. 12. 4................140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8........116</td>
<td>d. Yašts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11........188</td>
<td>105-106........135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. 6........116</td>
<td>Nīr. 19........135f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7........128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance.—
By Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

I. The Law.

The mediaval and modern practice of sitting in dharpa, literally ‘holding up,’ a defaulting debtor by preparing to commit suicide at his door, is familiar to English readers through Maine’s account in the Early History of Institutions, p. 297 ff. The custom is more fully described by Leist in his Jus Gentium, p. 475 ff., a presentation based mainly on Jolly’s article, Das Indische Schuldrecht (the latter was published in the Sitz. d. phil. hist. Kl. d. Bair. Ak. d. W., 1877). These accounts refer to the legal aspect of suicide as a means of compelling payment,¹ and are based on provisions of the native codes of Manu and Bhraspati. Manu, circa 300–200 B. C., recognizes several means of getting a debt paid, and among them, viii. 49, is one called ācarita or ‘the custom,’ a word not further defined and in itself as indefinite as if one should say “One may compel payment à la mode.” Bhraspati, however, circa 500 A. D., says, xi. 58, that ācarita is a mode of exacting payment which consists either in seizing the debtor’s wife, son, and cattle, or in “performing the doorsitting,” kṛtvā dvāropaveçunam. The puzzling thing about this definition is that it seems to imply suicide, whereas suicide by starvation has already been mentioned in the same author’s list as one of the means called ‘moral suasion,’ (a category which includes also advice, remonstrance, and following about, anugama, 53 and 54).

Circa 400 B. C., in the law-book of Āpastamba i. 19. 1, the custom of besieging (a debtor) is recognized in the words “he who has entered upon” (sc. prāya, or death by starvation) and “he who is concerned in the sitting” (pratyupaviśṭah, yāp ca pratyupapaveçane), with a possible connection with the preceding word ṛṇika, ‘debtor’ (p. w.).

¹ The comparative side, treated by Maine and Leist, was first noticed by Stokes, who illustrated the practice again in The Academy, 13 Sept., 1885, p. 169. See also Tamassia, Riv. scientifica del diritto, 1897, p. 76 ff.

² The word is not confined to this application since it occurs of libations, offered “as is the custom,” ācaritavam, in Pār. Gṛh. Sūt. ii. 17. 18.
According to the later law, the suitor must be a Brahman priest (Jolly, p. 316), though nothing is said on this subject in the codes just cited.

II. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE LAW.

So much by way of introduction. In the citation of legal works hitherto made by others no illustrations have been given of the ancient practice, but only the formal statutes appertaining to it. In the following pages I give some cases of various forms of suicide for redress from what may be called historical records. I do not mean that the cases are historical in reality, for they are only epic narratives and one of them is a fable. But they are older than the cases in the Rājatarāṅgini, and are in so far historical as to reflect conditions which must have obtained when the two epics were composed. Their value lies in the fact that they represent not merely what is the rule according to the law-book, but what was regarded as customary. Incidentally these epic illustrations will show that praṇa in the account of Brhaspati cannot be taken in the sense of prārthanā, begging or beseeching, as some of the native expositors think (Jolly, p. 314), but is the prāya of the regular practice called prāyopavegana, or “entering upon death,” prāya being here, as elsewhere, exitus, a wider term in this respect than ācarita in its meaning of “door-sitting,” the latter, however, not being confined to this, but including any obstruction, as does dharṇa to-day.

SUICIDE IN GENERAL.

According to Hindu law all forms of suicide are forbidden. Thus in Manu v. 89, and Yājñavalkya iii. 6, the ātmatyāgin, “self-abandoner,” is one to whose spirit no oblations may be offered, or in the still stronger language of Apastamba, i. 28. 17, the “one killing himself,” ātmānam abhimanyāmaṁ, is accused, abhipastah, like a murderer. Similarly Gātama, xiv. 12, and Vasiṣṭha, xxiii. 14, ff., who mention particularly as suicides thus accused those who kill themselves by starvation, prāya (in its usual meaning, death by fasting), weapons, fire (wood, Vas-

1 The practice of dharṇa to-day includes not only “door-sitting” but also any form of obstruction, for example, obstructing a water-course. Fasting is not, therefore, a necessary concomitant of dharṇa, though it is of “door-sitting,” dvāropavegana.
iṣṭha), poison, water, hanging (or jumping, or earth-clods, or stones, these three in Vasiṣṭha alone). Although only the first of these is of special interest, I may add that the Hindu records show that with the exception of the two last, all these forms of suicide were generally recognized. Both epics have the same formula 1 for a woman contemplating suicide:

\[ \text{visam agnim jalam rajjum āsthāṣye tava kāranāt} \]

says Damayantī, 4, 4, and her cry of despair,

“Poison, fire, water, the rope, will I undergo for thy sake,”

is echoed in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 29. 21,

\[ \text{visam agnim jalam vā 'ham āsthāṣye mṛtyukāranāt} \]

“Poison, fire, or water I will undergo for the sake of death;” while the latter epic adds “the rope” a little later, as if it were a customary mode of death: \[ \text{sā tvam agnim praviṣa vā \dots rajjum baddhavā 'tha vā kaṇṭhe, R. ii. 74. 33, “Such (an evil woman art thou) do thou enter fire or bind the rope about thy neck.”} \]

So in R. iii. 45. 36 ff.: “If I be deprived of Rāma, I will enter the Godāvari, or noose myself, or abandon my body on a cliff, or drink sharp poison, (or) enter fire, but never will I touch another man after Rāma.” 2

These forms are for women. Death (murder?) by drowning occurs in the case of Kahoḍa, who being defeated in argument, \[ \text{vāde, was drowned, apsu nimajjitaḥ, by his opponent, M. iii. 132. 15, which I cite because it is possible that he drowned himself in despair. So Haṅsa and Dimbhaka drowned themselves in the Jumna for love of each other, M. ii. 14. 41 ff. The women, though more apt to burn themselves on the pyre of their husbands, commit suttee by drowning also. Their suttee by fire is amply illustrated in the following passages from both epics:} \]

“A good woman, sādhvī, follows after her husband who has died before her,” M. i. 74. 46.

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1 Without this form in M. xiv. 69. 9, bhakṣayāṁye visam ghoram pravekṣya vā hutaḥcanam, “I will eat poison or enter fire.”

2 Here the scene is intensified as compared with the simple “I will enter fire” of G. 51. 29. Peculiar to B. I. c. is abandhiṣye (sc. raṇjavā kaṇṭham) without object. “Poison, hanging (here udbhanda), entering fire, fasting and sword,” follow, as alternative forms. “Leaping from cliff-edges,” R. v. 13. 33-34, is suggested as an appropriate means of death for a disconsolate hero and his wife and children.
"Thus speaking the queen mounted the fire-pile," M. i. 125. 31.
"What suttee (good) woman deprived of her husband could live?" Thus wailing the unhappy woman, true to her husband, entered the gleaming fire," M. xii. 148. 9–10.

These cases are from the Mahābhārata, which, however, in its older parts fully recognizes the survival of widows, cases of suttee being mentioned only in the later added books. The Rāmāyaṇa does not make the wife follow the husband,1 but it alludes to the practice in ii. 66. 12:

sā 'ham adyāi va 'diśāntam gamisyāmi pativrata
idam ca viram abhīgya pravekṣyāmi hutāṣaṇam.

"Being true to my husband I will go to death to-day.
Embracing this body (of my husband) I will enter the fire."

Also in v. 26. 7: "Fie upon me un-Āryan, not suttee, asati, since deprived of him I live even for a moment a life that is evil."
The former passage is much expanded in the Bengal version, and the fact that no suttee takes place makes it probable that it was a conventional lament inserted after the completion of the first poem, as may be the case also with the actual suttee recorded in the first book of the other epic.2 The good widows at the end of this latter epic (also a late addition) perform suttee by drowning themselves in the Ganges, xv. 33. 21 (pativrataḥ sādhvyah).

Manu, however, does not recognize any form of suttee.

But if these cases refer only to women, not less do men commit suicide as a sacred act. Thus as at Susa, Kalanos, B. C. 324, so in the Rāmāyaṇa iii. 5, the ascetic Carabhaṅga ends his life by burning himself and goes to heaven, though the general epic

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1 Sitā enters fire to prove her purity, but this is at the command of her husband. As she is the heroine, she comes out unscathed, R. vi. 116. 27 ff.
2 The Rāmāyaṇa (perhaps late) is not lacking in passages which give the suttee sentiment. In a prakṣipta, Sugrīva’s wife Rumā will die when he dies, and Tarā also will perish through sorrow for her husband, R. v. 13. 27; while Sitā says “better to die than live deprived of Rāma,” ib. 26. 41, creya me jīvitum martum vīhāna yā mahātmāna. Cf. ib. 25, 26, 34. Another prakṣipta (apparently), viz. v. 28, makes Sitā, after saying that poison and weapons are lacking, prepare to hang herself with this remark: utbhaddhyā vepyudgrathana cīghram ahām gamisyāmi Yamasya mālam (17). These, however, are merely sentimental outbursts, and Rāvaṇa uses the same speech when his brother is slain, nanu me maranāṃ creyaḥ, etc., vi. 68. 18; while Rāma in turn is supposed to die of grief for Sitā, v. 26. 36.
rule is that "a man who kills himself, ātmaḥā pumān, does not go to heaven," i. 179. 20.1 But even the law-book which regards suicides as accursed provides that ascetics may end their lives by starvation, Manu vi. 31. Such contradictions are common in law and epic. They spring sometimes from the antithesis of code and usage, sometimes from the inculcation of a higher ideal, as when austerity is usually said to be a sign of saintly life, but at the same time we are informed that "one who injures his body is not devout," ātmatantropaghātī yo na tapasī na dharmavālt, M. xiii. 93. 4. We need not be surprised, therefore, to learn that, though one who commits suicide by prāya is formally "accursed," this practice is approved in law and practiced by epic characters.

**Suicide by Starvation.**

So we approach that peculiar kind of suicide which forms the subject of this paper, according to which the creditor sets out to starve himself to death to compel payment.

But before speaking of this in detail it will be well to illustrate the fact that the formal exitus, prāya, is by no means confined to such legal use, but it is of far wider application. As I wish to distinguish the different forms of prāya, or death by starvation, I shall call the most general the first form. The verbs with which this word prāya is construed are usually ās, upa-ās, 'sit,' gam or ā-gam, upa-i or (prati-) upa-vip, 'enter upon,' the meaning being 'sit to death,' or 'enter upon death' (by sitting without nourishment); while upa-vip alone means 'fast upon.'

1. Prāya is suicide by starvation, undertaken without intent to harm and because of sorrow, or despair.

To this category belong the cases where heroes overcome in battle and no longer able to fight devote themselves to death to gain heaven. As this is considered a religious exercise, so it is in reality identical with the completion of philosophic Yoga, and is indeed called by the same name. The great saint sits in Yoga abstraction renouncing food till he dies, his object being merely to attain salvation. This is exactly what the warrior does in the following cases, where the soldier is at the same time more or less of a sainted character (guru):

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1 The female ascetic Čabarī also "burns herself (alive) and goes to heaven," in R. iii. 74. 32-33 (hutvā 'tmānav hūtācane).
In M. vii. 198. 29–31, Bhūriçravas sits silent, munih, on the field of battle, having ‘entered upon prāya,’ prāyagataḥ, devoting himself to death. In this state he “withdraws his breath” and meditates upon holy texts, fixing his eye upon the sun, desirous of going to the Brahma-world. In other words he acts just like a Yogin, and the terms used of his act are indifferently yogayuktah (abhavan munih) and prāyagataḥ or prāyam upāniçat (above and ib. 143. 33–35).

So in vii. 192. 46, Yoga is used of another hero who dies in the same way, sitting in his chariot, distressed because of his son’s reported death. This man too is said to be prāyagataḥ as well as yogam uṣyān, “entered prāya” or “entered yoga,” vi. 43. 65–66. It is rather characteristic of the late seventh book that nowhere in the earlier epic is such an action called entering Yoga, and undoubtedly it was at first merely starvation or dying, without the element of mysticism given by the abstraction and prayerful attitude of the saint.

The same cause, slightly modified by failure, the sense of duty unfulfilled, and the fear of a worse death, leads the warriors in R. iv. 57. 18, to say “through fear we sit to death,” bhayāt prāyam upāsitaḥ.1 The cause of prāya is given in R. iv. 55. 11, as the fear of imprisonment, “than which prāyopaveçana is better,” and in iv. 53. 12–13, in other words: “We must die now, for we have failed in our attempt (and fear to go back to the king), and hence to enter upon death, prāyapaveçana, is proper for us,” for “we have not accomplished what we ought.”2

It is clear that such cases of prāya or death by starvation involve no legal point and are only by accident, so to speak, cases of prāya. That is to say it would make no difference whether the characters here chose prāya or any other of the modes of suicide mentioned above. Their action is merely on a par with that of suicides by burning or drowning, which indeed are presented as normal alternatives. Thus in R. v. 13. 38 ff.: “If I

1 In the corresponding account at G. iv. 56. 24 and 57. 28, the simple verb is used, prāyam āsyate, āsmahe. The résumé in R. v. 35. 60 has prāyam upāsmahe and prāyopaviṣṭāḥ, with prāyopaveçu (sic) in 63.

2 na kṛtah kāryam, R. iv. 56. 8. At the end of R. iv. 55. 17 and 20, in preparing for this ceremony those intending to die touch water and lie on holy darbha grass (the ends of the grass pointed south), with their faces to the east. The verb here is upa-viç (and sam-upa-viç).
fail in my attempt, I will become a hermit, or raising a pyre enter the fire, or birds and jackals may eat my body after I have died of starvation in the proper way; or, for this too is a means of death recognized by the seers, I will drown myself.” And so Prince Duryodhana says: “If I see these (rivals) here again I will dry myself up without water, without opposition (?); poison, hanging, the sword, entrance into fire, will I inflict upon myself, for I cannot see them successful again,” M. iii. 7. 5.

Between this general form of suicide by prāya and that to be mentioned next there is one which differs merely in respect of the cause assigned. As it is rather interesting, however, to see how the different cases lead up to the suicide with deadly motive (which is the legal form), I will separate the closely allied examples that follow.

2. Prāya is suicide by starvation, undertaken without intent to harm, but because of disgrace inflicted.

That is here accomplished which in the “death for sorrow” and “death because of fear” in the last paragraph was anticipated. It is perhaps scarcely worth while to differentiate these cases, but they are one step nearer to the legal prāya, in that the cases under 1 are merely the result of sorrow or fear, while in both this and the legal case an insult or injury has actually been inflicted. The suicide is not only unhappy; his honor has been affected.

Under this head comes the second threat (not fully carried out) of the same prince, Duryodhana, mentioned above, who in the Mahābhārata iii. 249. 11, 20 ff., says that he has been dishonored and will “sit to death” prāyam upāsīsye. He then touches water, sits down upon dārbha, sacrificial grass, and clothed in rags, and silent, collecting his thoughts, prepares to die of starvation; though his friends attempt to dissuade him by telling him

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1 cf. 40, upaviṣṭasya vā samyak, without prāyam, showing a purely technical use of upa-viṣ as in the law-books and in the verse cited above from the other epic. The alternate text, 15. 56, has praviṣṭasya (still of the pyre).
2 punaḥ orṣam gamisyāmi nirambur niravagrahaḥ, viṣam udbandhanam caiva gastraṁ agnīpraveñanam kariṣye. The commentator gives a var. lec. vāraṇo vā navagrahaḥ (vā as often for āva). Compare with this scene, ii. 47. 31; also 53. 41. With the varied reading the verse means “I will dry myself up (starve myself) like an elephant newly caught,” a familiar image of grief, e. g. in R. ii. 58. 3.
that he is foolish and that “a suicide goes to hell,” (251. 19; 252. 2, *kasmāt prāyopaveśanam ātmayāṉi hy adhoṣati*).\(^1\)

It may, however, be thought that there is in this case an ulterior though hidden object of revenge (the legal notion) in the act of *prāya*, affecting those who had disgraced the would-be suicide. Nothing of the sort appears in the tale, and that this is not a necessary concomitant may be seen on comparing the case in the tale of the tiger and the jackal. The jackal is minister to his king the tiger, and has been disgraced without reason. Although the king discovers the mistake and wishes to reinstate the minister, the latter feels the disgrace so keenly that he persists in his design, “begs to sit to death, being grieved by the anger” (of the king), and “having sat to death, went to heaven.”\(^2\) Here it is clear that if the minister’s intent was to harm the king he would not first have asked permission of his intended victim.\(^3\)

3. *Prāya* is undertaken as a self-inflicted punishment by one conscious of having sinned. Remorse instigates the act, but there is an additional notion that death will be an expiation. I have but one illustration, which shows that fear of punishment hereafter is the motive. In M. xii. 27. 23 ff., a king says: “Sinner that I am, āyaskaraḥ pāpaḥ, I will sit, āśinaḥ, here and dry up my body. Know that I have now entered death (*prāya-upaviṣṭah*) in order that I may not be born in other births, a destroyer of family. I will not eat, I will not take water, I will stay here and dry up my dear life.”\(^4\) In the next example we come nearer to the legal aspect of the case, when suicide has an immediate motive, but still without intent to harm.

4. *Prāya* is undertaken from despair without intent to harm, but with intent to compel another to do one’s will.

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\(^1\) The first reason given is that as the cause is insufficient he makes himself ridiculous: 250. 12, *prāyopaviṣṭas tu nṛpa rājāḥ hāsyo bhav-isyasi.* In 249. 41, *upā-sthā* is used, *tvayi prāyam upāsthitē.* Compare *prāyam upāsmāhe,* G. v. 32. 28.

\(^2\) In regard to the spiritual reward, it is declared in M. xiii. 7. 16, that a *prāyopaveśin* “always obtains bliss,” *prāyopaveśino rājan sarvatra sukham ucyate,* “just as one who lives on grass alone goes to heaven,” said here of ascetic devotion.

\(^3\) The text is found in M. xii. 111. 78 and 90: *tenāmarṣeṇa sahātmapiḥ prāyam āsītum ācchata and gomāyuh prāyam āsthāya tyaktvā dehaṁ divaṁ yayāu.*

\(^4\) *jātiṣv anyāsv api yathā na bhaveṣu kulāntakat,コースィギュープ* prīyān prāṇān āhastho ‘ham.
Illustrations are furnished at the close of the great epic war. Drāupadī thus devotes herself to death in despair and sorrow for the sake of urging her various husbands to do an act equivalent to taking a reprisal. The epic alludes to this in advance as “fasting upon her husbands,” literally “besieging her husbands,” where it is perhaps implied that if they suffer the queen to die they will reap the usual consequences. She continues in this state, prāyopeta, x. 16. 22, till the deed that she demands shall be done is actually accomplished. In entering into the prāya state she uses the formula

ihāi 'va prāyaṁ āsīye, x. 11. 15,

“Here will I sit to death,” which I call a formula because it is employed in the same words elsewhere in this epic and also in the Rāmāyaṇa, iv. 53. 19. Here is to be noticed the fact that in the preliminary in the Mahābhārata the word prāya is not used, but upa-vir, the verb (sitting against or besieging), governs the accusative in the technical sense of fasting upon (compare upa-viśta as used above). This reference occurs in i. 2. 304, kṛtānā-çanasañkalpā yatra bhartīṇ upāvīcata, “what time she, resolved upon not eating, besieged her husbands.”

A similar case occurs in xiv. 80. 17 and 40-41, where the queen betakes herself to prāya with the intent to persuade a favor which shall relieve her of her grief. She is accompanied in her devotion by one of her sons, who seems to “sit to death” merely through grief and despair. The queen says: “Here will I sit to death in your presence, overwhelmed with woe at being deprived of husband and a son” (unless you restore them to life). She uses the words given above, ihāi 'va prāyaṁ āsīye, and then “sitting down became silent,” upāsīnā tuṣṇīm āsīt, which may perhaps be translated better in the technical sense “besieging became silent.” Her son “touches water and becomes silent,” when prāyopetaḥ, or prāyopaviśṭaḥ, that is “when entering upon prāya.” No threat of harm is here made, but, as above, may be implied. It is assumed in both these cases that it is perfectly natural for a woman thus to enter prāya, and it is in fact the same situation as that described in the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 47.

1 In xii. 116. 10, upaviśta is used of a saint not in prāya but simply fasting. The same word is current also in its literal sense of ‘taking a seat’ without any such connotation.
8–9, where the queen says: "If Rāma is consecrated (against my will and thy promise) I shall not eat, nor sleep, nor drink, from this day on forever, and this will be the end of my life." In R. ii. 11. 21 (compare 9. 59 ff.) this is represented as being a threat of death because of the disgrace attaching to the queen if her husband breaks his promise to her: "despised by thee, I will die to-day"; ib. 12. 47, "I will drink poison in thy presence."

There is of course no hard and fast line between these divisions. The sum of them is that an aggrieved or wretched or guilt-conscious person, whether man or woman, threatens to commit suicide by prāya as by other means with the intent to force another to do a certain thing, or, more rarely, simply to escape greater ill or atone for his sin. The former case brings us nearest to the legal aspect, where prāya is a means of compulsion.

This kind of prāya is found also in Buddhistic narratives. Thus Tissa and Raṭṭhapāla both abstain from food to get what they want, as narrated in the Vāta-mīga Jāataka and Raṭṭhapāla Sutta. But on this side I lack fuller information, the illustration in this paper being drawn chiefly from the epics, where I believe they are complete.

5. Prāya is undertaken by a suppliant, but it is accompanied with a threat to the effect that if the object of desire is not granted vengeance will be taken. The motive here is to excite pity, which failing, recourse is had to force.

This is illustrated by Rāma lying on sacred grass in prāya, but at the same time threatening the (god of) ocean, which in the Mahābhārata version is sufficient, but in the Rāmāyaṇa the threat is carried out with an absurd account of an attack on Ocean. Here it is to be observed that the suppliant is not a priest but a warrior. The threat, however, and actual attack on the ocean-god is an epic (heroic) equivalent of the distrust which goes with the ‘door-sitting.’

6. Prāya is undertaken by a suppliant, but is accompanied with the threat that if the object of desire be denied the one who rejects the suppliant will go to hell.

This is quite in accord with the view of the law-books, where the implication is clearly that the person who permits the suicide

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1 M. iii. 283. 30 ff., pratīṣṭhāyam upavasan .. upasprṣya pratīṣṭhye jalanidhīn vihīvat kuṣasthastre; R., vi. 19. 41 kuḍastīrṇe sahuiveṇa .. 21. 1, pratīṣṭhye.
to be carried out will suffer for it hereafter. As said above, this threat may be implied in some of the preceding cases, though there is only one explicit example of this sort known to me in epic poetry. But here too it is not a priest who threatens.

In Rāmāyana ii. 21. 27–28, the queen says to her son: "If thou abandonest me, my son, I will sit to death, being unable to live, and then thou shalt go to the hell world-renowned" (known to be in store for such as slay by refusing to grant requests in such circumstances).\(^1\)

7. Prāya, further (but here the word is only implied), is undertaken at the door of the house, the suppliant sitting on sacred kuça-grass, with intent to compel submission, as in the law-books. But no violence is used, and there is no suggestion that the one affected will suffer hereafter. It is expressly said that this recourse is fitting only for a priest, and the situation is likened to that caused by a "priest robbed of his money." The only example is in R. ii. 111. 14–17, where Rāma’s brother attempts to persuade him to return home, and to do so strews kuça-grass before the door of the hut, takes up his position there, and says:

"I will besiege (beseech) the prince until he grants me his favor.

"Without food, not averting my eyes, like a priest that has been robbed of his possessions,

"I will lie before his hut until he (yields or) returns home."

To which the prince replies: "Why wilt thou besiege me? For only a Brahman (priest) has a right to obstruct men, and the observance in regard to besieging is not for annointed (kings)."\(^2\)

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\(^1\) aham prāyam īhā 'siṣye.. tatus tvam priṣṭasyase putra nīrayam lokaviṣrutam brahmahatyām īvā 'dharmāt samudraḥ saritām patiḥ. The last words refer to some Puranic legend (according to the commentator) which narrates that Ocean was once cursed by Pippalāda because of impiety to his mother. Ocean is cursed in M. xiii. 154. 7: "Once Ocean was cursed by the Brahmans and though at that time full of fresh water, became salty." The reference in the text cited, however, would imply that Ocean was cursed to suffer the penalty of killing a priest, though the Commentator says "he received grief equivalent to the punishment of going to hell." The alternate text, G. ii. 18. 31, has brahmaçāpam īvā 'kasmāt, "received suddenly the Brahman curse."

\(^2\) aryam pratīyupavekṣyāmi yāvan me (v. l. na for sam) samprastādi, nirāhāro nirāloko dhanahīno yathā dvijaḥ, śroye prastāc chāläyaḥ yāvan mām (v. l. na) pratīyāsyati: kim mām... pratīyupavekṣyase,
So far as I know this is the only case where the verb "obstruct," rodhati in technical application, occurs in epic accounts (the legal gaśha-saṁrodha), though it is interesting to see that saṁrodha is in ordinary epic parlance applied to obstruction of food, ahaśasaṁrodha, R. iv. 59. 11.

These examples show that the full practice of the law in respect of dharṇa was recognized. The one who rejects a suppliant and compels him to kill himself, goes to hell. The only one who has a right to exercise constraint of this sort is a priest. Clearly then the practice of door-besieging is a restriction for a special cause of a practice once recognized as universal, suicide with especial intent to compel the victim of the practice to yield under pain of future punishment after death, which in turn is but one application of the still more general practice of suicide without intent to harm in cases of despair and disgrace.

Both of these practices survive in India, under the respective names of traga, that is suicide simply as a self-inflicted punishment for disgrace or failure to carry out what has been solemnly agreed to, and dharṇa (=dharana), literally a holding, capio, or in English slang a "hold up," which is restricted to a priest, and as already stated may be any form of obstruction, like obstructing the door or obstructing a water-course. These two are sometimes merged, as in the case which I reported in my Religions of India, p. 480, as occurring the year this book was written, 1894. The man who had made himself responsible for a payment, on finding that the debtor would not pay, to expiate the disgrace slew his own mother in the presence of the defaulter, who in turn as his only expiation slew himself. On page 361 of the same work I have expressed a doubt as to whether the "door-sitting" was a very ancient practice. I presume I meant recognized in ancient tales as well as law, an observation which I herewith beg leave to cancel.

In modern times, as has been noticed by Professor Jolly in his excellent manual on Hindu Law and Custom, a looser form of dharṇa, known in South India as takāsā, permits the creditor to institute by proxy a regular siege of the debtor's house. Here

brāhmaṇo hy ekapāryanena naṁ ruddham iha 'rhati (v. 1. caṭānas tu puruḥ dahet), na tu mūrdhābhīṣiktāṁ nāṁ vidhiḥ pratyupavacane. As to the v. 1. with the unnecessary na in G. after yāvat, the similar formula in G. ii. 8. 58 (corresponding to 9. 59, above) has na 'tāṁkārān na bhojanam āseviṣye hy aham tāvad yāvad Rāmo vanam vrajet.
the creditor, instead of acting for himself, hires a band of ruffians to obstruct, besiege, annoy, and threaten the life of the debtor. Some premonition of this substitution is found in the interpretation by a mediæval commentary of Nārada's law—which, i. 122, on this subject coincides with Manu's law—whereby a son or slave may act for the creditor. The Southern takāzā is of course without any religious significance, for the debtor is simply bulldozed into paying. Professor Pischel has noticed, moreover, one other interesting phase of moral compulsion as a means of recovering debts, namely the 'charmed circle,' which in dramatic literature is drawn about a man who will not pay his gambling debts and out of which he may not step till he has settled (cited by Jolly, Recht und Sitt, p. 148).

As to the ancient practice, the universal use of praṣṇa in the technical sense exemplified above and the restricted observance of "door-sitting" removes all doubt as to Bṛhaspati's rule. Anyone may sit in praṣṇa as a means of compulsion; the ūcarita is a special case appertaining to a priest who alone may obstruct, to kill whom is peculiarly heinous even by letting him starve, while his immunity from active murder (which was out of the question) gave him safety when engaged in distraint of cattle, etc. The one 'obstructed' was of course himself obliged to starve with the starving creditor, so that the practice, as far as fasting went, resolved itself into a sort of stomach-duel. The restriction to a priest must have been in the minds of the legal writers, as it is expressed as a matter of course in the epic.

It is interesting to find in the epic the explicit statement (lacking in the early law-books) that door-sitting was not permitted against "consecrated kings," whereas, according to the ancient laws of Ireland, quoted by Maine, op. cit. p. 280, the creditor might distraint without fasting in the case of a debtor "not of chieftain grade," but in the case of a chieftain it was necessary to "fast upon him."

Finally, to these oldest literary illustrations of the law I will add the oldest reference to the practice known to me in Hindu literature. Since the custom of constraining by suicide appears to be even Indo-European, it may indeed seem unimportant to track it back as far as possible in Hindu literature. Yet, since, on the other hand, there is always a lurking doubt as to whether a custom which is found among several related peoples be not self-developed in each rather than inherited by all, it may not be
unprofitable to note a trace of this sort of fasting in Vedic literature that is considerably older than either law or epic. Such a trace is to be found in the Kāṇḍāra Upanishad of the Rig Veda, one of the five oldest philosophical dialogues that we possess (circa 700–600 B.C.). Here, as a simile in a metaphysical discussion, is introduced a case: "As if one, after begging a village and getting nothing, should fast (on the village) saying 'I would not eat now even if (the village) should give,' and then those same (villagers) who previously should repulse him come and urge him saying 'Permit us to give to thee.'" It is even possible to translate the first clause "after begging and getting nothing, should fast on the village."²

The reason for the suddenly insistent generosity pictured here can be only that the villagers fear that the beggar will starve himself to death out of revenge, and that they will suffer the usual consequences of the prāyopaveśana. This takes the custom back to at least the close of the Vedic period in India, a date earlier by several centuries, I think, than that of any allusion to the practice previously noticed. ³

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¹ The word used is the same as in the expression I have cited above from the epic (bhārtī n upāviṣat). It is not material, however, whether we translate "fasts on the village" or "after begging a village should sit down (in prāya) saying 'I would not eat,'" since the following words and the result of the act show that prāyopaveśana is intended. The text is: yathā grāmam bhikṣitvā labdhvo 'paviṣen nā 'ham ato dattam aṃviṣyam iti ya evāi 'nam purustāt pratyācakṣīraṁ ta evāi 'nam upa-mantrayante dadāma ta iti, Kāṇḍ. ii. 1.

² So far as I have been able to ascertain, the practice of door-sitting to obtain payment of a debt is not found in China, but starvation to compel one to grant a desire is practiced there, and suicide (by knife) on the doorstep, either with the same purpose or to insure a curse upon the householder, is not infrequent. Under cases of Suicide in General, I have neglected above to give any early examples of suicide by leaping from a cliff, but this was always a favorite mode of dying (for love, as early as Rig Veda, X. 95. 14).
The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings. First Series. The Religion according to the Inscriptions.—By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University, New York City. With an Appendix by Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY.¹

In one of the most striking passages of Isaiah, the Lord God Jehovah speaks 'to His Anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped,' saying, 'I myself will go before thee; ways will I make level, Doors of bronze will I break in pieces, and bars of iron cut asunder; And I will give thee the treasures of darkness and the hoards of secret places; for it is I, JHVH, who calls thee by thy name, I, the God of Israel. For the sake of Jacob, my Servant, and Israel, my Chosen, I called thee by thy name, I took delight in thee though thou knewest me not' (Is. 45. 2–4, Cheyne's translation). This is Cyrus the Great, Cyrus the Achaemenian, Cyrus the hero of Xenophon's ideal Greek romance, Cyrus the Persian king whose name is still honored after the lapse of centuries.

But what was the creed of this 'friend of JHVH' (Is. 44. 28), and what was the faith of those Achaemenian rulers, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, whose names are known to history? This question is one of interest and of importance alike to Biblical students and to students of the faith of Ancient Iran; for it was less than a century before the Babylonian Captivity and the coming of Cyrus, that the great teacher Zoroaster arose as the prophet of Ormazd and with ringing voice exhorted men to eschew evil and to choose the good. The significance as well as the interest which this problem of the religion of the Achaemenian kings has for the investigator, is shown by the number of studies which have already been made upon it. The present research is undertaken not with the expectation of making clear all points connected with the Achaemenian faith, nor with the idea of determining whether the Achaemenidae were true Zoro-

¹ I am particularly glad to have the opportunity of acknowledging the kind contribution of my pupil and friend, Dr. Louis H. Gray, whom I thank for his work in the Appendix on the Non-Iranian Inscriptions, and for his ready help in other matters of detail connected with the article.—A. V. W. J.
astrians or not; but the investigation is made with an eye to
bringing together the material relating to the Achaemenian creed
as fully as possible, and with a hope that perhaps some hints
may be given to students with regard to the relation of the
Ancient Persian kings to Zoroastrianism. A partial bibliographi-
cal list of studies in the field of the Achaemenian religion is
given below.¹

The discussion of the subject and the evidence which we pos-
sess concerning the religion of the Achaemenidae will be pre-
sented in the following order:

SYNOPSIS OF THE TREATMENT.

A. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to the Old Persian
Inscriptions.
   a. Introduction.
   b. Auramazda or the God of the Old Persian Inscriptions.
   c. The Bagos or Other Gods beside Auramazda.
   d. Mithra and Anahita.
   e. Foy's Conjecture of Arštāt(?).
   f. Evil recognized as a Principle in the Old Persian Inscriptions.
   g. The Right Path.
   h. The Commandment of Auramazda and the Law.
   i. Religious Observance and Places of Worship.
   j. Summary.

B. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to their non-Iranian
Inscriptions.
   See the Appendix, pp. 177ff.

C. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to Classical Allusions.

¹ Partial Bibliography (arranged alphabetically): Bang, ZDMG. xliii. 633, 674; Muséon, viii. 398; Mélanges C. de Harlez, p. ii.—Ca-
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E. Wilhelm, ZDMG. xl. 105. The names of other contributors to
the subject and the titles of their articles will be mentioned in the
course of the paper.
D. The Religion of the later Achaemenians according to Allusions in the Pahlavi Literature and in the Shāh Nāmah.

E. The Religion of the Achaemenians according to Other Oriental Sources.

The latter three topics will be treated in a following series, and a general discussion of the entire subject will then be given. The present paper is confined to divisions A and B.

A. THE RELIGION OF THE ACHAEMENIANS ACCORDING TO THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

a. Introduction.

'A great god is Aoramazda who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created peace for man, who made Darius king' (baga vəzraka Aoramazdā hya imām būmin adā hya avam asmān adā hya mārtiša adā mārtišahyā hya Dārayaum xšāyabiyam aku-nauš, NR. a. 1–8 ; Elv. 1–8 ; Sz. c. 1–4); or again, 'Aoramazda the great, who is the greatest of the gods, it was he who made Darius king, it was he who gave to him the kingdom, by the grace of Aoramazda Darius is king' (Aoramazdā vəzraka hya mābīša dagānim hauv Dārayaum xšāyabiyam adādā haušaši xšaθam frābara vašnā Aoramazdāhā Dārayaum xšāyabiyā, Dar. Pers. d. 1–5)—these are the lines which ring clearly with the note of fervent piety and zealous devotion, or the chord which the ancient Persian monarch Darius never tired of striking. Never was there a sovereign who felt himself more to be king by divine right, a truer Rex Dei Gratia, than did this Achaemenian ruler. 'By the grace of Aoramazda I am king; Aoramazda brought the kingdom to me' (vašnā Aoramazdāhā adām xšāyabiyā amiy Aoramazdā xšaθam manā frābara, Bh. r. 11–12)—'Aoramazda bore aid unto me until this kingdom was held firm; by the grace of Aoramazda I hold this kingdom firm' (Aoramazdāmai špāstām abara yātā ima xšaθam adāry vašnā Aoramazdāhā ima xšaθam dārayāmīyi,— Bh. r. 24–28). In every crisis and in every battle 'Aoramazda bore aid' to Darius (Bh. r. 55, 87, etc. etc.), put his enemies to confusion, or 'delivered them over into his hand' (pasāva dīš Aoramazdā manā dāstāyā akunauš, Bh. 4. 35); every battle was won 'by the grace of Aoramazda' (Bh. r. 94 ; 2. 25, etc.); and in his final summing up of his achievements, it is to the
grace of God that he ascribes all his success: 'that which I did, I did in every way by the grace of Auramazda' (ima tyā adam akunavam hamahyāyū bārda vaśnā Āuramazdāhā akunavam, Bh. 4. 59–60). So often does Darius take pains to attribute his success to the grace of Auramazda that we are tempted to stop and count the occurrences of the 'Dei Gratia' phrase, and we find that vaśnā Āuramazdāhā occurs no less than 34 times in the columns of the great Behistān inscription alone; and within the compass of the same 420 lines, or so, the name of Āuramazdā is called upon fully 69 different times. The rock-records, therefore, bear evidence enough that Darius was a god-fearing king and upheld that standard to his people. The tone still echoes in the short and unimportant inscriptions of Xerxes and of Artaxerxes Mnemon and Ochus, but it seems to have lost the clear ring of the voice of the earlier monarch and to have become more or less formulaic. Still there is no question that these sovereigns were worshippers of Ormazd whatever question there may be as to their individual views, leanings, or tenets. The entire matter of the religion of the Achaemenians as set forth in the inscriptions of Behistān, Persepolis, and elsewhere, has been excellently treated in an article already referred to on p. 161, n. 1; it is by Professor L. C. Casartelli, La Religion des Rois Achéménides d'après leurs Inscriptions, (Compte rendu du 3me Congrès Scientifique international des Catholiques tenu à Bruxelles, Septembre 1894, pp. 1–13—Bruxelles 1895). In this study Casartelli gathers together all that is said in the Old Persian Inscriptions concerning the faith of their princely authors. As my own plan includes a treatment of the religion of the Achaemenians from all the sources accessible, in addition to the Inscriptions, I must in this First Series necessarily go over this particular part of the subject again, which he has already covered. But as my results have been reached independently, I know that no one will more gladly welcome them, as agreeing in the main with his own, than the successor of Mgr. de Harlez.

(b.) Auramazdā or the God of the Old Persian Inscriptions.

Āuramazdā vastraka hya matiśa bagānām, or again, baga vastraka Āuramazdā, are the lines that give the name and attributes of the Supreme Being of the Ancient Persian kings. The name Āuramazdā, or Ormazd, is the same as Ahūra Mazda in the Avesta, and it signifies 'the Lord Wisdom', 'Sovereign
Knowledge."' In the Avesta the name of the divinity is always written as two distinct words, each declined independently and often separated or sometimes used alone. In the Gāthās or oldest metrical hymns of the Avesta the two parts of the divine name are frequently separated by several intervening words, or even a line. In these ancient Zoroastrian Psalms, moreover, the arrangement of the two words as Mazda .... Ahura is three times as common as Ahura .... Mazda. As for the Achaemenian Inscriptions themselves, there is only one instance in which we find the parts of the name divided and separately declined. The instance is on a monument of Xerxes, and therefore later than Darius; it is Xerx. Pers.ca[cb]. 17, vaśnā Auru-hyä Mazdāha. There is likewise only a single example of the use of aura- alone; this time, however, it is actually employed in one of the shorter inscriptions of Darius himself. The occurrence is found in Dar. Pers. 23-24, śiyātiś ....... Aurū nirasa-tiśy 'Peace shall descend from Aura.' So much for the divine name Auramazda.

The designation baga, the linguistic cognates of which in other languages may be compared, is employed in the Old Persian Inscriptions as the generic term for 'god' and its use is comparatively frequent. In the Avesta, however, the occurrences of the word are relatively infrequent; but at least two of the instances which are found in that sacred book are employed with reference to Ormazd (Ys. 10. 10; 70. 1). In the Inscriptions, Auramazda is called mabīṣṭa bagānām (Dar. Pers. 1; Xerx. Elv. 2; Xerx. Van 2) or 'the greatest or supreme of the gods'; in the Avesta Mithra is 'the very wisest of the gods,' buyānām astī aš. xrad- vavstomō (Yt. 10. 141) and in Yt. 10. 1 Mithra is spoken of as

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1 Cf. Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, ii. 683.
3 For the other instances of baya see Justi, Hdb. der Zendsprache s. v. baya, bayōdāta, and (?) hubaya. As regards plurality, the plural bayanām occurs only in Yt. 10. 141 in the Avesta, as mentioned above, but we find the plural bayān, bakān in Pahlavi, e. g. Sg. 4. 7. 29; Dk. 8. 15. 1 (West, SBK. xxiv. 128, 130-131; xxxvii. 94). In this last passage we are informed first of 'the worship of Aûharmazd, the highest of divinities (bakān)—a phrase very similar to the one employed by Darius—and, secondly, we learn of 'the worship of the angels.'
but little lower than Ahura Mazda himself. The phrase even recalls the words of the Psalmist extolling the Lord as 'exalted far above all gods' (Ps. 97. 9; cf. also Ex. 15. 11; 18. 11; Deut. 10. 17; Ps. 82. 1; 95. 3; 97. 7, and notice C. de Harlez, La Religion perse e p. 6).

The attribute vazraka 'mighty, great,' as well as mabišta 'supreme, greatest' manifest the belief in the sovereign power and exalted majesty of Auramazda; he is the great god, the highest of the gods, just as Darius himself is 'the great king, the king of kings' (zāyabiya vazraka zāyabiya zāyabiyānām, Bh. 1. 1 et passim). The supreme power and divine omnipotence of Auramazda is sufficiently evidenced in the triumphs which he gives to his chosen Darius, who is as much the favored one of Ormazd as is Aśoka 'the Beloved of the Gods' in India; but it is equally manifested in what he divinely causes to be done through the king's agency. Darius proudly proclaims that when Auramazda 'saw this earth in dire confusion he brought her unto me' (yuṭa avaina smām būnīm yūdiya (? ) pasūvadim manā frābara, NR. a. 32, cf. also Casartelli, La Religion, p. 39) and the king firmly believes that he was chosen to carry out the sacred mission because he was a just king and not a sinner.

Above all functions assigned to the godhead is that of the creative faculty. Ahuramazda 'created' (addā) the earth, the heaven, mankind, and all the blessings that are vouchsafed to man. The sentence from the inscriptions referring to Auramazda's creative power has been quoted in full above; it is similar to the glorification of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta as the one 'who created the cow and righteousness; who created the good waters and plants; who created light, earth and all good things' (yō gamōdā aśvāndā dāt apāscā dāt urvarāscā vaavuhi rāočišcā dāt bāmīndā vispācā voahā, Ys. 37. 1). Compare also the noble Gāthā passage on creation, Ys. 44. 3–5, also Ys. 57. 17, as well as the standing epithet dātar 'creator' in the formulaic Avestan address to the deity. This emphasis of the idea of Ormāzd's creative activity is a cardinal tenet of the whole Iranian faith; it is repeated not only in the single shorter inscriptions of Darius but it is retained as a hallowed formula in the tablets of Xerxes and of Artaxerxes Ochus. With regard to the

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1 The idea is implied in Bh. 4. 50–52; 1, 12, etc.; NR. a. 32.
2 Compare the thought in Bh. 4. 61–67.
idea of creation itself, nothing is said to show that the creation is a bringing forth *ex nihilo*, but the root √dā- in the inscriptions is used only of Auramazda among all divinities,¹ and I have touched elsewhere upon the possibility of the idea.²

While dealing with the formula in which Auramazda is spoken of as the one 'who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man' (see above), we must emphasize its closing words, 'who created peace for man'—ḥya šiyātīm adā marrīya-hyā. The word šiyātī denotes repose, quiet, blessing, prosperity, joy, peace, like its Avestan cognate šātī (see especially Vd. i. 1) and like the root √ṣā- and its kindred, New Pers. šād etc. The employment of the word, as Casartelli, p. 41, hints, may possibly contain an echo of the felicity of man in the golden age; but it seems more likely if we imagine that šiyātīz³ denotes the same idea that is alluded to by 'peace' or 'welfare' in the Deutero-Isaiah (45. 7) with its Persian coloring. We remember that Jehovah says 'I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil,' or as Cheyne's version reads 'I am JHVH, and there is none else—Who forms light, and creates darkness, who makes welfare and creates calamity.' The Judaeo-Persian text has ʾrāmānlū i.e. Arab. ʾālamā 'peace.' Dr. Gray calls attention to Esther 3. 13 (= Apoc. Esth. 13. 2) 'peace desired by all men on earth'—τὴν ποθομένην τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔφην, and notes that Keiper, *Die Perser des Aeschylus*, pp. 22–23 compares Aesch. Pers. 852, 918 with the idea contained in the Old Persian. The question of the possible connection or the degree of relationship between the Isaiah passage and the Achaemenian faith has been often commented upon and variously estimated.⁴

As Auramazda is the author of peace as well as creator and preserver of all mankind, he is especially besought to assist in

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¹ For the occurrences of √dā- see Spiegel, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, p. 225.
³ The occurrences in Old Persian are: šiyātīš Dar. Pers. e. 23; šiyātīm Dar. Elv. 5; NR. a. 4 NR. b. 2; Sz. c. 2.; Xerr. Pers. da [db]. 4; Xerr. Pers. ca [cb]. 3; Xerr. Elv. 6; Xerr. Van 5.—The occurrences in Avestan are Vd. i. 1; Vsp. 7. 8; Yt. 17. 6; 17. 10; Yt. 22. 2; Fragm. Dk. ed. Peshotan, vol. 3, p. 181.
⁴ See, for example, Stave, *Einfluß des Parsismus*, p. 46 ff., p. 64 ff., where bibliographical references are given. Cheyne, *Psalter*, p. 269, calls Is. 45. 7 a protest against Babylonian dualism.
trouble and to give protection from harm. Thus in the crisis with the pseudo-Smerdis Gaumāta, Darius says 'I called upon Auranazdā for aid; Auranazdā brought assistance unto me' (ādam Auranazdām patiyāvahaiy Auranazdāmaiy upastām abara, Bh. 1. 54), or again in his prayer for deliverance from evil: 'may Auranazdā protect me from evil, and protect also my family, and also this land; I beseech Auranazdā for this, may Auranazdā grant this unto me' (mām Auranazdā pātuv hadā sar... utāmaiy vibam utā inām dahiyum aita adām Auranazdām jādiyāmīy aitamaiy Auranazdātīv, NR. a. 51–55); or once more, Auranazdā is invoked 'with the all (or clan ?) gods' to protect the country 'from an invading horde, from famine, and from the Lie' (manā Auranazdā upastām baratuv hadā vibaiβis bagaiβis utā inām dahiyum Auranazdā pātuv hadā hainiyā haētā duśiyārā hadā draugā aniya or abiy (?) inām dahiyum mā ājaniya mā hainā mā duśiyārām mā draugā aita adām yān... m jādiyāmīy Auranazdām hadā vibaiβis bagaiβis aitamaiy Auranazdātīv hadā vibaiβis bagaiβis, Dar. Pers. d. 13–24). Similarly Xerxes prays that 'Auranazdā with the gods' may protect him and what he has made, and that 'Auranazdā with the gods' may protect that which his father Darius made (cf. mām Auranazdā pātuv hadā bagaiβis utā tyamaiy kartam utā tyamaiy pītra DīravaharvīxAiβiβiyākā kartam avaβiβiy Auranazdā pātuv hadā bagaiβis, Xer. Pers. ca[cb]. 12–15; Xerx. Pers. da[db]. 18–20). A discussion of what is meant by the allusion to the 'gods' is postponed for the moment in order to confine the attention to Auranazdā as the protector of mankind. In referring to the chiselled monuments which Darius has caused to be inscribed with his achievements the king adds an invocation of blessing upon all who take care to preserve the inscription: 'may Auranazdā be thy friend, and may thy family be large, and do thou live long, and let Auranazdā make greater for thee whatsoever thou wilt do' (Auranazdā būvām daustā biyā utūtaiy taumā vasiy biyā utā dargam jīvā utā tyā kunavāhāy avaβiβiy Auranazdā mazānām (?i) kunautuv, Bh. 4. 74–76). On the contrary he imprecates the curses of Auranazdā upon any one that may injure or destroy the

1 On sar... which is probably to be read sar(ā), see below, p. 171.
2 For the reading aniya see Spiegel, Ap. Keil, p. 48 and note; also consult the photographic reproduction in Stolze; but WB. prefer abiy.
3 On vibaiβis bagaiβis see discussion below.
inscription: ‘may Auramazda be thy slayer... and whatever thou shalt do, may Auramazda destroy that for thee’ (Auramazdātaiy jantā biyā... utā tya kunavāhy anatai y Auramazdā nīkantu, Bh. 4. 78-80). From this we may infer that Ormazd in the Ancient Persian creed was at times looked upon as a god of justice and avenging wrath, or we might speak of Auramazda as the Psalmist of old spake of Jehovah, as the Lord that turneth ‘man to destruction,’ as well as the god that saith, ‘return, ye children of men.’

(c) The Bagas or Other Gods beside Auramazda.

From two of the passages quoted in the preceding paragraph and from several others that may be cited, it is seen that Auramazda, although supreme and the ruler of the universe, is not the only divinity that is recognized as existing. He is ‘the greatest of the gods’ or mabīṣta bagānām, but there are ‘other gods’ beside him. See also Stave, Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum, pp. 118-120. In his general thanksgiving Darius says that ‘Auramazda, and the other gods that are, brought assistance to me’ (Auramazdāmaiy upastām abara utā aniyā bagāha tyaiy hantī, Bh. 4. 61 and 63).

By the side of Auramazda also there is special mention of ‘all the gods’ or perhaps originally ‘the clan gods’ (hudā vībāviś bagaibīś) which are alluded to a half dozen or more times. Whether vībāviś or vībīś is to be read, and whether the ‘all’ gods or the ‘clan’ gods are to be understood, has been much discussed, as will be noticed hereafter, but perhaps Brunnhofer, Iran und Turan, p. 200, has come as near to the truth as any one when he makes the two ideas practically the same. The question will be reviewed below in the Appendix. But whatever view be held, there can be little doubt that the aniyā bagāha or vībāvīś bagaibīś of Darius are the τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς or the πάντες θεοὶ alluded to in Xenophon’s romance of Cyrus (cf. Cyrop. 3. 3. 21; 8. 3. 11; 1. 6. 1; 7. 5. 57; 8. 73—see Second Series) or Οὐραυνί and Mūraş, the divinities that are mentioned beside the supreme deity of the Persians in Herodotus, 1. 131. See the discussion below.

1 Cf. also Bartholomaeae, IF. ix. 260 n.
2 Compare also Plutarch, Artaxerxes 30 = p. 111. A somewhat similar idea, though partly eschatological, is implied in the Zoroastrian Gāthās, Ys. 43. 4-5, cf. Ys. 47. 4. On this compare also Eugen Wilhelm, ZDMG. xl. 105-106.
(d) Mithra and Anāhita.

These two names, Mithra and Anāhita, are the names of two divinities familiar in all Iranian literature. They belong no doubt to the bagas. In the two inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mene-mon (Art. Sus. a. 5 and Art. Ham. 6) they are mentioned together beside Auramazda—Auramazdā Anahī[ī]ta utā M[w]itra—all three being invoked for aid and protection. In like manner Artaxerxes Ochus in his prayer calls upon Auramazda and Mithra: ‘may Auramazda and the god Mithra protect me and protect this country and that which has been made by me’ (mām Auramazdā utā M[w]itra baga pātum utā imām dāhyum utā tyā mām kartā, Art. Pers. a [b]. 24–26). The general position of Mithra and Anāhita in the Iranian religion has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere (bibliographical references will be found in my article in Grundriss der iran. Philologie, ii. §§ 40, 43). It is enough here to say that neither of these divinities is mentioned in the Gāthās, and as they are first invoked by Artaxerxes Mene-mon it is generally regarded as retrogression or descent from the standard of Darius; but this is a matter to be more fully considered, and Mitra-Mithra, as a divinity, goes back to the period of Indo-Iranian unity.

(e) Foy’s Conjecture of Arshāt (?).

In KZ. xxxv. 45, Foy in his interesting studies upon the Inscriptions conjectured that in the difficult word ābaštām or abīštām the b has been miswritten or is misread instead of r, and that we are to read arštām. This would be the acc. sg. fem. of arštā-, the genius of Uprightness, one of the personified abstractions which appears in Zoroastrianism—see Jackson, Gdr. iran. Phil. ii. 638. He again repeats the same idea in ZDMG. liv. 304, n. 1, to the effect that ‘ābaštām statt arštām vermeisselt oder von Rawlinson verlesen ist.’ This is very ingenious and it would be very attractive as supporting the view that Darius was a Zoroastrian, on which we need all help that can be obtained; but it is difficult to believe that the royal stone cutter made a mistake in the letter, and we must suspend judgment until the rock itself is examined again and the exact reading determined, before we can give a decision on the question, or hazard a theory based upon the uncertain decipherment. The common reading of this word will be referred to below, p. 172.
(f) Evil recognized as a Principle in the Old Persian Inscriptions.

The question whether dualism formed a tenet in the creed of the Achaemenians has been much discussed; and, owing to the lack of emphasis of dualistic traits in the Inscriptions, the claim has been made that the earlier Achaemenian monarchs, for this very reason, could not have been Zoroastrians, and that they did not believe in dualism. I have already presented this matter in Gdr. d. iran. Philologie ii. 628, and have given the usual reason why there was no special call to mention Ahriman in these edicts. But whatever may be said on the subject, as I there stated, we have the principle of Evil plainly recognized in Drauga 'Falsehood, Lie.' In the Achaemenian Inscriptions this noun is as much a personification of a Satanic being as is Druj in the Zoroastrian Gāthis (see also Gdr. d. iran. Phil. ii. Chap. vi. A and C). Furthermore, the verb dūraju 'to lie' occurs 34 times in the inscriptions with all the evil atmosphere of the English 'to bedevil' or 'raise hell.' It is the stock word which Darius employs when he speaks of the rebellions against his divine sovereignty, for he is Ormazd's king.¹ Full of feeling he says: 'the army afterward became hostile; the Lie afterward became rife in the land, both in Persia, and in Media, and in the other lands' (pasāva kāra arīka abāva pasāva ḍrauγa dahyāuvā vasiy abāva utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy utā anīyāuvā dahyušuvā—Bh. i. 33–35). Or again he says: 'these lands which became confederate, it was the Lie that made them confederate, so that they lied unto the people' (dahyāva imā tyā hamibriyā abāva ḍraugadiś hamibriyā aku-nauś tyā imaiy kāram adurujīyaśa,—Bh. 4. 33–35).

In the same spirit it is prescribed that 'the man who is a liar' (martiya hya draujana, Bh. 4. 38, 68) shall be severely punished, and there is deep fervor in the hope of Darius that what he has written in his inscription may not be regarded as 'falsified' (duruxtam, Bh. 4. 49). The king lays especial stress on the fact that divine aid was granted him inasmuch as he was 'not hostile, not a liar, not a crooked-dealer' (yabā naīy arīka āham naīy draujana āham naīy surakara āham, Bh. 4. 63–64).² Other evil forces are recognized in another prayer of Darius to Ormazd:

¹ Darmesteter, Études Iranienes, i. 45 n., thinks that drauga is political, not religious, in its implication; but it seems to me that the religious as well as the political is implied in this word.
² On surakara, or zūra cf. Foy, KZ. xxxv. 22, 25, 63; ZDMG. liv. 358.
'may Aoramazda protect this land from an (invading) horde, from Drought, from the Lie; may no enemy (?) come to this land, nor an (invading) horde, nor Drought, nor the Lie (imām dahiyaum Aoramazdā pātuv hača haināyya hača Dušiyāra hača drauγa aniya [or abiy] imām dahiyaum ma ājamiyā mā hainā mā dušiyāram mā drauga, Dar. Pers. d. 15–12 = H. 15–20). Here we have a personification in Dušiyāra, which corresponds to Dušiyārya, the evil genius of famine, bad harvest, sterility, drought, in the Avesta (Yt. 8, 51–54, cf. also Yt. 8, 36, and see Spiegel, Ėrān. Alterthumskunde ii. 72, 139, and Jackson, Gdr. d. Ėrān. Phil. ii. § 24, 60). We have also hainā which like the Avestan hačnā may almost be looked upon as a personification of the evils of invasion and rapine.

Another incarnation of evil in the form of treachery and deceit is implied in the prayer made by Darius, as already quoted above from Naqš-i Rustam: ‘may Aoramazdā protect both me and my clan and this my land from treachery [or deceit]’—(mām Aoramazdā pātuv hača sar[ā] utāmaity vibam utā imām dahiyaum, NR.a. 52–53).'

(g) The Right Path.

The idea of the ‘path’ and the ‘way’ is familiar to us in the Bible, and it is found also elsewhere, for example in the Vedic rtaṣya pathi, sukṛtasya pathi (see Grassman, s. v. pathi), which is comparable with the Avestan ašahe paiti pāntām, Yt. 10. 86, Vd. 4. 43, and especially Ys. 72. 11, or again it is found in the ‘path’ of Buddhism. The Ancient Persian Inscriptions contain the same idea. In the closing words of the Naqš-i Rustam inscription Darius makes an earnest appeal unto his people individually: ‘O man, let not the commandment of Aoramazda


2 The reading sar[ā] is due to my conjectural explanation proposed in JAOS. xx. 55. The Bab. and New S. (or New Elam.) versions favor this view of evil, and with Old Pers. sara we may also compare Sinnh. soλa, sula ‘deceit,’ Geiger Etymol. des Singh. No. 1492, and Gray, Indo-Iranian Phonology, § 179. I suppose I am hardly entitled to quote from Professor Justi’s letter mentioning Av. sarajān to Dr. Gray.

3 Recall especially the communication of H. Baynes on ‘The Idea of the Path and the Way in Oriental Mysticism,’ at the Paris Inter. Oriental Congress in 1897.
seem unto the evil; leave not the path which is right; sin not’ (martyāḥ hyā Auramazdāhā framānā hauvtaiy gastā mā thādaya paṭīm tyāṃ rāstāṃ mā avaradū mā starava, NR. a. 56–59).¹ The phrase paṭīm tyāṃ rāstāṃ recalls again the Avestan razištām pantām Yt. IO. 3, cf. Ys. 68. 13, and other references to paṭ- and aḏwan collected in Gār. d. iran. Philol. ii. 626.

(h) The Commandment of Auramazda, and the Law.

The words hyā Auramazdāhā framānā, ‘the Firmān of Ormazd, or the Commandment of Auramazda,’ as cited in the preceding paragraph, would be sufficient in themselves to show that the Law of Mazda formed the standard which Darius upheld. But whether that Commandment was the Avesta of Zoroaster, as we know it, or some other Avesta as priestly code, or not an Avesta at all, has been much discussed. It is necessary here to present a paragraph on the subject and then to return to it later.

The special passage which originally called up the discussion is one that is both defective and extremely difficult to interpret. It is Bh. 4. 64. The text was read by Rawlinson as upariya abīstām upariya ya . . . ; Spiegel² gave upariyā abāstām upariyā mām ; Weisbach and Bang now have upariyā abīstām (?) upariyāyam ; so that the reproduction of the actual characters on the stone seems to be uncertain. Oppert, in 1872, was the first to set the ball a-rolling. In Jour. Asiat., 6th sér., xix. 295 (1872) he read apariyā abīstām upariyāyam, with the rendering, ‘secundum legem regebam,’ and saw in abāstā the prototype of the Avesta. The basis for this reading and interpretation he especially found in the version of the Inscriptions whether Scythian, Median, New Susian, or New Elamitic, and this version he translated in 1879 by, ‘j’ai gouverné conformément à la Loi,’ adding in the footnote, ‘La loi, en perse abāstā, le prototype du mot d’ Avesta.’ See Oppert, Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes, p. 151 and also pp. 155, 183, 186. Further support for this has

¹ The principal references on the reading and interpretation of the single words in this injunction, which has been much discussed, will be found in Bartholomaeae, IF. vii. 228 n., ZDMG. xliiv. 552, xlii. 296; Bang, ZDMG. xliii. 580; Fr. Müller, WZKM. iii. 146.
² For further discussion of Bh. 1. see Weisbach, Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art, pp. 77, 95; Jensen, Zeitschr. für Assyriol. vi. 181 ff. (quoted below, p. 182, n. 2); Foy, ZDMG. lli. 597, liv. 361.
been given on the claim that the Babylonian renders this phrase by ina dēnātu. Yet on this point see hereafter. Oppert’s own strong argument for his view was based on the short and difficult paragraph Bh. I., which is found only in the second or New Elamite of the three languages. This paragraph he rendered: ‘Et Darius le roi dit: Par la grâce d’Ormazd, j’ai fait une collection de textes ailleurs en langue arienne, qui autrefois n’existait pas. Et j’ai fait un texte de la Loi (de l’Avesta) et un commentaire de la Loi, et la Bénédiction (la prière, le Zend), et les Traductions. Et ce fut écrit et je le promulguai en entier; puis je rétablis l’ancien livre dans tous les pays et les peuples reconnurent.’ If such be the real tenor of the New Elamite statement, few things could be more important or more satisfactory with regard to the political history of Mazdaism, or especially Zoroastrianism, as Darmesteter, Spiegel, de Harlez, and other scholars have observed. But, alas, Oppert’s view does not seem to have met with general acceptance.

Darmesteter, writing in November, 1879, argued with hesitation, yet with firmness, against it in the Introduction to his Zend-Avesta, SBE. iv. p. lii. n. 2 (publ. in 1880). What he says covers the ground so well that it is worth repeating in part. After presenting Oppert’s view and his rendering of the paragraph, he says: ‘The authority of Oppert is so great, and at the same time the passage is so obscure, that I hardly know if there be more temerity in rejecting his interpretation or in adopting it. Yet I beg to observe that the word dippiamas [which Oppert renders as ‘textes’] is the usual Scythian transliteration of the Persian dipi, ‘an inscription,’ and there is no apparent reason for departing from that meaning in this passage; if the word translated ‘la Loi,’ ukkku, really represents here a Persian word Aβaštâ, it need not denote the Avesta, the religious book, as in that case the word would most certainly not have been translated in the Scythian version, but only transliterated; the ideogram for ‘Bénédiction, prière,’ may refer to religious inscriptions like Persepolis I.; the import of the whole passage would therefore be that Darius caused other inscriptions to be engraved, and wrote other edicts and religious formulae (the word ‘traductions’ is only a guess).’ So Darmesteter op. cit. lii. n. 2; see also his notes on pp. xxx, xlvii; and the same statement in Revue Critique, 1880, cf. Études Iran. ii. 7–9. Again later in his French translation Le Zend-Avesta, 1892–93, he refers to the
matter, i. p. xxxix. n. 1., and in iii. p. xci. repeats his rejection of Oppert’s view that the Abaštā was for Darius the name of a Code, and he once more adds: ‘nous conclurons donc que l’inscription ne se rapporte pas à un livre religieux et que l’on ne peut s’appuyer sur se passage pour établir sous Darius l’existence d’un livre analogue à notre Avesta. Mais il ne serait pas moins téméraire de nier l’existence d’une littérature zoroastrienne quel-conque, soit sous Darius, soit sous ses successeurs.’

Spiegel was of the same opinion as Darmesteter. In his *Alt-persische Keilinschriften*, pp. 106–109 (publ. 1881), he opposes Oppert’s view on various grounds. He reviews the whole situation, but concludes (p. 109) ‘dass man unter Abashtā nicht unser Awestā verstehen darf.’

C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit* (1881) pp. xi., cxxi., allows that ābaštā means law but that it is law in general and not the sacred text (e. g. ‘les travaux de M. Oppert nous apprennent que l’abasta [so printed] est la loi en général et non un terme sacré formant une sorte de nom propre’—p. cxxi.). Nor was de Harlez willing to admit that Darius was a Zoroastrian. He also touched on the etymology of Avesta again in *Manuel de l’Avesta*, p. xiv., and in B.B. viii. 176.

Weisbach, *Die Achämenideninschriften zweiter Art*, p. 73 (publ. 1890), indeed translates the New Elamitic version of Bh. 4. 64 as ‘nach dem Gesetze herrschte (?) ich’; but his rendering of Bh. 1. does not find all in the passage that Oppert saw; the doubtful places he indicates by dots. Weisbach’s rendering runs (p. 77): ‘Der König Darius spricht: Durch die Gnade Ahuramazdas machte ich Inschriften in anderer Weise (?), [nämlich] auf arisch, was vormals nicht war, und das grosse . . . . . und das grosse . . . . . und das . . . . . machte ich, und es wurde geschrieben und ich . . . . . . . . . Darauf sandte ich selbige Inschriften in alle Lande und die Leute . . . . . . His comment at p. 94 merely gives Oppert’s and Norris’s renderings of the different ἄπαξ λέγομεν.

Fr. Müller in *WZKM*. i. 60–63 (1887) read: (yaḇā adam utā) māiy tawmā upariy ābaštām aparīyāma ‘weil wir, ich und meine Familie, nach dem heiligen Gesetze wandelten’—notice his observation on the reconstruction and the suggested plural, *op. cit.* p. 62. The same scholar later in *WZKM*. x. 175–177 (1896) calls Oppert’s identification of the form ābaštām ‘mindestens zweifelhaft’ (p. 175), or rather he says, ‘alles spricht gegen die
Annahme, dass das Avesta mit dem abaštā oder ābaštā der Keilinschriften identisch ist, da wir sonst dem Worte in viel früherer Zeit begegnen und es bei den Armeniern finden müssten’ (p. 176). In WZKM. xi. 291–292 nothing especial is added.

Bang, BB. xvii. 267 (1891) gave his reasons for reading abīštām (with ī) which he and Weisbach afterwards adopted in their edition (or rather ābīštām, a ‘Druckfehler’ cf. BB. viii. 293); and when he later discussed the etymology in IF. viii. 292–293 (1898), he concluded the paragraph with a special warning: ‘mit dem “Aвестa” braucht das Wort nichts anderes als die äussere Form gemein zu haben: in Frankreich gabs schon vor dem “Code (Napoléon)” sogenannte “codes.”’

Geldner, Gdr. d. Iran. Phil. ii. 2 (1896), while speaking of the etymology of the word Avesta, says that Oppert’s identification with abaštām ‘ist mindestens zweifelhaft.’

Finally, Foy in KZ. xxxv. 45 (1897) sought to cut the Gordian knot by avoiding the reading upariy abaštām altogether, and by regarding the signs as mis-carved and misread, and proposing apariy arštām, as discussed above, p. 169. To this suggestion he reverts again in ZDMG. liv. 364, n., when discussing Bang’s paragraph, IF. viii. 292, and he adds the assurance ‘dass ap. apariy ab(i)štām nicht dem bab. ina dēnātu entspricht.’ His conclusion still favors arštām. (In ZDMG. lli. 254 only the etymology of Avesta is touched upon.)

Such is the position of the question up to the present, so far as I know it. But after having brought forward the main points it unfortunately seems wisest to leave the vexed problem for the present, with the idea of taking it up later after actually examining the inscriptions themselves, with regard to the doubtful letters, and to wait for further advance in the interpretation of the three languages concerned, instead of hazard ing a view just now. This, to be sure, may seem unsatisfactory in many respects; but it appears better than to give a dogmatic decision on evidence that is not yet complete. I can only say I shall be most glad if Oppert’s view in general be found to have been on the right lines; my present inclination would be to favor such an attitude, because of the importance of its bearing. But perhaps the wish is father of the thought.

(i) Religious Observance and Places of Worship.

In the Inscriptions themselves the Ancient Persian monarchs make no direct allusion to religious ceremonies or to ritual observ-
ances. For such information we have rather to look to the
description which Herodotus gives and to allusions found in other
classical writers or elsewhere. These will be given hereafter. The
Inscriptions, however, contain several references to prayer. King
Darius, for example, speaks of having been in dire distress and
says, ‘then I besought Auramazda; Auramazda brought me aid’
(pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvahāiy Auramazdānāiy
upastām abara Bh. i. 54–55). Or again he prays, ‘this boon I ask
of Auramazda with all the gods; this may Auramazda grant me
with all the gods’ (aita adam yān...m jādiyāmīy Auramazdām
hadā vīdābiś bagaibīś aitamāiy Auramazdā dādūtvu hadā
vīdābiś bagaibīś, Dar. Pers d. 20–24). NR. a. 53–55 is very simi-
lar. For Avestan parallels in phraseology we may compare Ys.
9. 19, īnem thēam paorūm yānām haoma jāīyemī āuroākṣa, and
Ys. 65. 12, imat vō āpo jāīyemī.

The only mention of places of divine worship which we find
in the Old Persian Inscriptions is in the often quoted passage
Bh. i. 62–64. This may be rendered: ‘I established it [the
kingdom] in its place. As before, so I made the places of wor-
ship which Gaumāta the Magian had destroyed’ (adamśim gābā
avāstāyam yahā parvamāiy avabā adam akunavam āyadanā
tyā Gaumāta hīya maguś viyaka). The question whether the
word āyadanā denotes ‘places of worship’ that belonged only
to the Persians, or whether this includes also the temples of
nations under the Persian sway, and as to what was the purpose
of Gaumāta in destroying them, has been much debated. A dis-
cussion of this question will be found in the Appendix below, p.
180, and it will be taken up in a later series when the general
deductions are drawn.

(f) Summary.

In the present series I have presented the religion of the
Achaemenian kings, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Mnemon
and Ochus, purely from the objective standpoint as they are rep-
resented in their own Iranian Inscriptions. From the data given,
the religion itself strikes one as being comparatively pure.
Auramazda, the Lord God of Iran, is recognized as the supreme
god, with other divinities beside him. Mithra and Anāhita are
mentioned by name. The principle of Evil may be said to be
acknowledged, although the implications are faint. The choice
between the two by following the ‘right path’ and the ‘com-
mandment of Auramazda,’ or the law, may be deduced from an
allusion in the texts themselves. Worship was regarded as an act of piety, and there were places of worship; but details regarding these are not given. Blessings are invoked in the Inscriptions and curses are imprecated, but naturally no minute injunctions are found. The necessity of speaking the truth, however, is inculcated as a cardinal tenet in the creed and the very foundation of the code of ethics. The standard of this moral and ethical code, so far as we can judge it, seems to us to be slightly lowered by the extremely cruel punishments which Darius inflicted, according to his own words. Yet we must remember that in these cases he was dealing with national offenders and traitors in the midst of perilous times.

Such at least may be said to be the impression conveyed by a study of the religion of the Old Persian kings according to the Iranian Inscriptions, which forms the subject of this first division. No material has thus far been brought in from outside; nor has any discussion been entered into as to the question whether Darius and Xerxes were followers of Zoroaster. I shall now present the additional material from the non-Iranian side in the Appendix by my pupil. For convenience also I shall include his deductions as to the Zoroastrian side of the problem, without commenting on them, and I shall take that entire matter up in a following series. I reserve also till later such a matter as that connected with the Achaemenian tombs, and similar discussions.

B. The Religion of the Achaemenians According to Their Non-Iranian Inscriptions.

(Appendix by Dr. L. H. Gray, Princeton University.)

The Old Persian texts afford but a partial solution of the perplexing question of the religion of the Achaemenidae. The non-Iranian Inscriptions in Babylonian, New Susian, Egyptian, and Greek, which were carved at the command of these monarchs, add several data of importance. These contribute to our better understanding of their religious attitude and may help towards determining whether the dynasty was Zoroastrian or not.

The only scholar, so far as I know, who has touched upon this particular method of contributing to our scanty store of knowledge regarding the faith of the Ancient Persian kings is Bang, who has noted, Mélanges C. de Harlez 11, that the Babylonian translation by īur of the Old Persian āntā āvā (Bh. 4. 78–79) is paralleled by Ašur-nāṣir-ābal’s Monolith Inscription 90, Vol. xxi. 12
š[im]atišu liruur ‘may he curse his fate.’ Bang also notes that the New Susian version (Bh. 3. 77. 79) adds that Ormazd is ‘the god of the Aryans’ ("Urāmaštā "nap "Arriyanam, see Weisbach Achämenideninschr. zweit. Art, 16–17), a phrase which is not found either in the Old Persian or in the Babylonian version.

There are, however, several other passages in these non-Iranian Achaemenian Inscriptions which may throw some light upon the difficult problem under consideration, and it is the purpose of this Appendix to bring them together for convenience.

Cyrus the Great. Among the non-Iranian texts of the Achaemenidae (a list of which is given by Weisbach, Grundr. der iran. Philol. ii. 63–64) one of the best-known is the Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus the Great. In this cylinder Cyrus declares that he came to restore the old order of things and, as the chosen of Merodach, to make amends for the exile to Kūtu brought upon certain captive deities by Nabonid by directing their return to their own temples again. A careful study of this inscription has been made by Tiele, Mélanges C. de Harlez, pp. 307–312. He thinks that Merodach was, in the eyes of Cyrus, but another name for Ormazd, and he compares the mention of Nabû’s name, together with that of Marduk, with the close association of Ātar with his father, Ahura Mazda, in the Avestan texts, while the other minor deities named in the cylinders are analogous, in his judgment, to the angels (Av. yazata) in the Zoroastrian system.

I fear that I cannot at present subscribe entirely to this view of Tiele’s. Cyrus as a follower of the unreformed, pre-Zoroastrian creed (cf. Jackson, Grundr. der iran. Philol. ii. 617–618) may well have been as tolerant as the cylinder and the Old Testament represent him. Cyrus as a convert to the reformed teachings of Zarathushtra, all glowing with the fervor of the Master’s zeal, would scarcely have treated with such complacency the godlings of an alien faith. Judging from the cylinder and speaking in terms of orthodox Zoroastrianism, Cyrus seems to me to have been a daēvayasian (not a mazdayasian (similar also is the view of C. de Harlez, La Religion persane sous les Achéménides 2, reprint from Revue de l’instruct. publ. en Belge, xxxviii). Judging from the cylinder my own verdict on the religious attitude of this ‘shepherd of JHVH’ must be, at least for the present, the one which Tiele, p. 311, rejects. It is, that the motive of Cyrus in returning to their homes the exiled gods ‘was mere state-craft, even as Darius Hystaspes, whose own god was
Aramazda, later permitted himself to be called a worshipper of Amun-Re’ (see below page 184; and for further literature on this cylinder consult Weisbach and Tiele, as cited above, and Schrader’s notes to his edition of the cylinder with its translation in his *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* iii. B. 120–127). The extremely high opinion of the religious attitude of Cyrus which is expressed by Cheyne, *Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, pp. 182–183, as well as his esteem of Darius, *ibid.* pp. 280, 144, are in my judgment entirely too favorable to the Achaemenian kings. But when, on the other hand, Halévy, *Revue des études juives* i. 17–19, calls Cyrus ‘un polythéiste dans le sens le plus absolu du mot,’ he goes too far, it seems to me.

From the non-Iranian inscriptions of Cyrus I gain the impression that he was a true statesman in matters of religion, keeping his personal religious belief, whatever it may have been, in the background, as his position of ruler over nations of diverse faith and race required him to be ‘all things to all men.’

Cambyses. Cambyses can scarcely be regarded as a Zoroastrian if his inscription on the naophoric statue in the Vatican may be taken as a criterion. In regard to the great temple at Sais, Cambyses orders all intruders in the temple to depart and to have all obstructions put there by them removed. The fane is to be purified and priests and acolytes are to be chosen in accordance with Egyptian ritual. After the complete renovation of the temple the sacred feasts are to be held again in the same manner as of old (Brugsch, *Thes. inscript. egypt.* p. 693). When Cambyses visited Sais after these commands of his had been executed, he paid homage personally to the goddess Neit and poured forth libations to Osiris ‘even as former kings had done’ (Brugsch, p. 694, cf. also ll. 18-23 of the text as given by Brugsch, pp. 639–640, and for the general attitude of Cambyses towards the Egyptian religion, Nikel, *Herodot und die Keilschriftforschung*, p. 90=Tolman-Stevenson, *Herodotus and the Empires of the East*, p. 94).

1 Like Cyrus the Great, Antiochus Soter (B. C. 280–260) found it politic to honor the Babylonian divinities. The Seleucid Greek built a temple to Nabû, whom he lauded as highly as a truly devout Babylonian monarch of old could have done, and to whom he prayed with fervor for all the blessings of life. The parallelism between Cyrus and Antiochus in this respect seems to me to be both striking and suggestive (see the Babylonian text of the inscription of Antiochus in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* iii. B. 186–189).
Darius. From the Old Persian Inscriptions themselves we have evidence enough to prove that Darius was a zealous worshipper of Auramazda. The non-Iranian texts of this monarch, however, supply additional data concerning his attitude toward religion which may justly cause some reluctance, it seems to me, to consider him a genuine Zoroastrian.

The Babylonian (Bh. 25) and New Susian (Bh. i. 48) phrases equivalent to the Old Persian āyadanā (Bh. i. 63-64), which is usually rendered ‘places of worship’ (see Spiegel’s und Weisbach-Bang’s editions of the texts; Oppert, J.A. 4me série xvii. 404, Le peuple... des Médès, p. 167; Justi, Grundr. der iiran. Philol. ii. 426-427, ZDMG. liii. 89; Foy, KZ. xxxiii. 420,422, ZDMG. liii. 592, liv. 342-355; Gray, A.J.P. xxi. 16) seem to me quite significant. Both versions render āyadanā by ‘houses of the gods’ (Babyl. būtāti ša īlānī, New Sus. "ziyan "nappana). In my judgment Darius repaired the temples of the national divinities of the peoples under his sway, ‘which Gaumāta the Magian had dug down.’ Why Gaumāta had destroyed these temples is not known. Perhaps a fierce iconoclastic zeal against the gods of another people had egged the usurper on; perhaps too he may have destroyed ‘places of worship’ of the Persians themselves through their failure to conform to the requirements of the Magian hierarchy (cf. Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, iii. Introd. p. 71). These questions can scarcely be decided with our present sources of knowledge. At all events, I am inclined to consider āyadanā as including not only the fire-altars of the Ancient Persians, but the fanes of nations subject to the sway of Darius the king. If this view be a correct one, and if āyadanā includes ‘temples’ or ‘houses of the gods’ as well as ‘places of worship,’ it would seem almost impossible to assert that Darius was in harmony with Zoroastrian teaching when he rebuilt the religious structures torn down by the Magian Gaumāta. The politic course of Darius appears to have been very like that of Cyrus when he not only sent back the captive gods from Kutu but also built them their temples anew (Cylinder Inscription 32, cf. Van Hoonacker, Mélanges C. de Harlez, pp. 325-329), or when he restored the Temple at Jerusalem (II Chron. 36. 22-23, Ezra i. 1-11) and thus gained the extravagant eulogy of the Deutero-Isaiah (Is. 44. 28, 45. 1-4). With a similar motive of statecraft Cambyses repaired the desecrated temple of Neit at Sais, and with a spirit quite as alien to that of the Zoroastrian reform.
The ancient Iranian horror of falsehood is well known (cf. Jackson, *JAOS* xiii. Proc. pp. 59–61). It is noteworthy that the Old Persian Inscriptions have the word for 'lie,' *drauga*, only in the singular. The Avesta likewise has only the singular *draoga*, such a late passage as Yt. 24. 29 being no real exception. The Babylonian version, on the contrary, uses the plural of the corresponding *parsu* 'lie' in the two passages in which the word occurs: Bh. 14 *parsatu ina mātāti lū mādu* 'the lies became very numerous in the land,' Old Pers. Bh. 1. 34 *drauga dahyawā vasīy abava* 'the Lie became rife in the land'; Bh. 100 *parsatu šina* 'they are lies,' Old Pers. Bh. 4. 49–50 *dūwastam maniyātiy* 'consider it falsified.' The New Susian, like the Old Persian, has the word for 'lie,' *titkim(m)e*, in the singular throughout. The use of the plural *parsatu* 'lies' in the Babylonian version is so much weaker than the singular 'Lie' in Old Persian and New Susian (*draoga, titkim(m)e*) that the usage would seem to bespeak personification among the Persians but not among the Babylonians.

The Old Persian phrase *hadū viibaibiš bagaibiš* (Dar. Pers. d. 14, 22, 24) is one of much importance in the consideration of the religion of the Achaemenidae. Scholars have, almost without exception, rendered these words 'with the clan-gods' (Lassen, *ZKM*. vi. 28–30; Rawlinson, *JRAS*. O. S. x. 278; Spiegel, *AV. übers*. ii. 214, *Keilinschr.* 49; Weisbach-Bang, *Keilinschr.* 35; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 123; C. de Harlez, *AV. trad.* Introd. 10; Casartelli, *Religion des rois Achéménides* 8, reprint from *CR. du 3ème Cong. Scient. des Catholiques*; Justi, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 427, Anm. 2; Foy, *KZ*. xxxiii. 431; cf. also Jackson, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 632). There are, however, grave objections to this rendering. It is true that Dar. Pers. d., where alone the phrase *hadū viibaibiš bagaibiš* is found, exists only in Old Persian, but two inscriptions in Babylonian and New Susian, Dar. Pers. g. and f. (old signatures of both were H., but see Weisbach, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.* ii. 64) are very similar. From these two inscriptions we gain what seems to me to be the solution of the Old Persian phrase *hadū viibaibiš bagaibiš*. The Babylonian inscription Dar. Pers. g. 24 contains the phrase *itti īlāni gabbī* 'with all the gods' (so also Xerx. Pers. ca. 11. 13; cf. 20–21. 25, where the Old Persian and the New Susian texts read only 'with the gods' *hadū bagaibiš, *nappi-pe-itaka*, cf. also Xerx. Pers. da. 18, b. 28). The New Susian rendering Dar. Pers. f. 13–14, 20–
21, the only places where the phrase is found in this version, by 'with all the gods' *nap marpepta-itaka, is another confirmation of my view that the Old Persian *vibaibiš is not to be derived from *vibaš 'belonging to the clan' but from *vispa>*vis(s)a>*vibaš 'all,' and the old reading *vibaibiš is consequently to be rejected in favor of *vibaibiš.1

Justi, Grundr. der iran. Philol. ii. 427, Anm. 2, opposes the view which is here taken with regard to the meaning of *vibaibiš 'denn *vibaš (den Stamm) wird von *visam (alles) deutlich unterschieden.' At the same time it seems that the Babylonian and New Susian texts just cited, although they are, as Justi very rightly observes, not translations of the Old Persian, intimate very clearly that the Old Persian phrase *hadā *vibaibiš *bagabiš is to be rendered 'with all the gods' rather than 'with the clan-gods' (similarly also Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta ii. 365, iii. Introd. p. 65; Bartholomae, Grundr. der iran. Philol. i. 226, § 404, *IE. viii. 251–252). I depart with diffidence from Justi's interpretation of *āyadanā (above p. 180) and of *hadā *vibaibiš *bagabiš. It is not seemly for tyros to set aside lightly the decisions of veterans. My interpretation here suggested I regard as tentative and based merely on my best judgment at the present time.

The passage Dar. Pers. g. 1 may also be quoted in this connection. Here it is said that 'great is Ormazd, who is the greatest above all gods' (*ina muḫḫi ilāni gābbi).2

A Greek inscription of Darius which was found in 1886 at Deirmenjik (see G. Cousin and G. Deschamps, *Bull. de corr. hell. xiii. 529 ff.) is of importance in the discussion of the creed of

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1 My former view on *vibaš, *AJP. xxi. 3, cf. also 9, I now regard as incorrect. Cf. also Foy, *KZ. xxxv. 67.
2 The view of Oppert, *Le peuple . . . des Mèdes, pp. 155, 186, that the short and difficult inscription Bh. 1, which is found only in New Susian, contains an illusion to the Avesta and its commentaries, to the prayers, and to the translations of these sacred texts into other languages, has been discussed above, p. 172 ff. The translation of this inscription by Jensen, *Zeitschr. für Assyriol. vi. 181 ff., is worth citing in this connection. He renders as follows: 'Der König Darius spricht: Unter dem Schutze(?) Ahuramazda's machte ich Inschriften in anderer Weise(?), auf arisch(?), welche vormals nicht waren, und nach den Schriftzeichen [Tabellen] und nach einer "Lehrtafel" machte ich sowohl ḫāš als auch īppī [decrees] und sie wurden geschrieben und mir vorgelesen. Darauf sandte ich selbige Schriften in alle Länder und die Leute (folgten ?? gehorchten?? cf. *sap = nachdem ??).'
the Achaemenidae. The portion of the inscription which is concerned with religion is as follows (l. 17-28): ἐπὶ τῆν ὑπὸ τῶν μονὸν διάθεσιν ἄφαντες δόσω τοι μὴ μεταβαλμένον πέραν ἰδικημένον θυμὸν· φυτουργοὺς γὰρ ἵεροις Ἀτάλλωνος φόρον ἑπρασσε καὶ χάραν σκαπανείων βέβηλον ἐπέτωσεν, ἐγνών ἵμων προγόνων ἐς τὸν θεὸν νοῦν, ὡς Πέρσων ἐπε. . . . . In these words Darius distinctly informs Gadates, for whom his message is intended, that his own belief is the same as that of his fathers, whereas Gadates has been attempting to efface all traces of the king’s attitude toward the gods. This inscription of Deirmenjik is almost polytheistic in tone. The mention of the gods (θεοὶ), and the cordial sympathy for the religious views of his non-Zoroastrian ancestors, which Darius clearly felt, if this inscription of his may be believed, are very significant. It is indeed possible to suppose that the θεοὶ are the Amshaspands (cf. Plutarch, de Is. et Os. 47) or possibly the angels (Av. yazata), a hypothesis which is not without plausibility. Or again it may be suggested that Darius, even though a Zoroastrian, adopted temporarily polytheistic phraseology on account of the religion of the Greek Gadates. A third hypothesis might be offered that Darius held this particular shrine in honor on account of an oracle which Apollo had given the Persians in times long past (l. 28). On the whole, however, the Deirmenjik inscription conveys to me the general impression that Darius was not a Zoroastrian. This conclusion is sustained, in my judgment, by the Egyptian inscriptions of this monarch, which are next to be considered for their bearing on the problem under discussion.

The inscription of Darius found near Tell el-Maskhutah in Egypt seems to represent the king as a worshipper of the deities of the land. In a spirit quite like that shown by Cyrus at Babylon and by Cambyses in Egypt, the same Darius who, as we have

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1 The allusion to the gardeners sacred to Apollo, who were obliged by Gadates to tend unhallowed ground and to pay taxes, is not clear to me. Cousin and Deschamps compare Pausanias viii. 46, 3 (loc. cit. p. 532, n. 3, and cf. Kleuker, Anhang zum Zend-Avesta 2 Bd., 3. Theil, 69) to explain the reverence for Apollo. The god is, they suggest (p. 540), to be identified with the Fire (Av. ātar, but see Rapp, ZDMG. xix. 73, according to whom Ātār was identified with Hestia rather than Apollo; and see Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta ii. 441, who regards Mithra as the Iranian equivalent of Apollo). The φυτουργὸν ἱερὸν Ἀτάλλωνος may possibly have been the priests connected with the fire-temples. See further on this inscription Stave, Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum, pp. 55-57.
seen, restored the 'houses of the gods' (ḥittāti ša ilāni Bh. 25) uses religious phraseology on the stele of Tell el-Maskhutah which is far from Zoroastrian. The portion of the inscription which concerns us at present is as follows (ll. 1–5, see the translation by Golénischeff, Rec. de trav. xiii. 106–107): 'Darius) born of Neit, the lady of Neit, the lady of Sais, image of the god Ra who hath put him on his throne to accomplish what he hath begun. .... (master) of all the sphere of the solar disc [i.e. of the sphere traversed by the solar disc]. When he [Darius] was in the womb [of his mother], and had not yet appeared upon earth, she [the goddess Neit] recognized him as her son, and granted to him .... she hath (extended) her arm to him with the bow before her to overthrow forever his enemies, as she had done for her own son, the god Ra. He is strong ..... (he hath destroyed) his enemies in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius who lives forever, the great, the prince of princes, the.... (the son) of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the mighty. He is her son [of the goddess Neit], powerful and wise to enlarge his boundaries.'

In line 5 of the stele of Darius at Chaluf there is an allusion to 'an adoration made to God by his seers [of Darius].' Daressy in his discussion of this passage, Rec. de trav. xi. 170, thinks that these 'seers' were Magians, 'for the Egyptian religion had no priests with this name.' I do not feel qualified to decide upon this point. The impression which I gain from the Egyptian inscriptions combined with his Greek message to Gadates and added to the hints which seem to exist in his Babylonian and New Susian text is far less flattering to the monarch's religious zeal than to his political shrewdness. I regret to say that, to the best of my judgment, the lofty creed held by Darius in the opinion of many great scholars does not find a confirmation in his non-Iranian Inscriptions.

A conclusion as to the religion of the Achaemenians drawn solely from a study of their non-Iranian Inscriptions seems hardly favorable to the view that these monarchs were Zoroastrians. But an exact decision cannot be reached from such texts alone. Only by a synthesis of all data on this mooted problem can we hope even to approximate the truth.
An *Androgynous Babylonian Divinity.*—By George A. Barton, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

In 1894 I had the honor to call the attention of the Oriental Society to a Sebaean inscription previously published by the Derenbourgs, which registers the metamorphosis of the goddess Athtar in South Arabia into a god.¹ The Sabaeans inscriptions since published in fasciculi 2 and 3 of the *Corpus* make it clear that the goddess Athtar was not so much transformed in the process, as divided into a masculine and feminine deity, the name Athtar or some epithet like Tâlab Riyâm or Ilmaqqahu being retained for the masculine portion, while the feminine portion went by the name of Shamsu, and both were considered the parents of their worshippers.²

An old Babylonian inscription published by the British Museum in 1898 in Part III of the *Cuneiform Texts* (plate I, No. 12155) gives us evidence that a similar process of development took place in this goddess among the Semites of Babylonia. The inscription has been translated by Thureau Dangin³ and by Radan,⁴ but in my judgment both have failed to catch the point wherein the inscription is significant for the history of the religion. It runs:

*Dingir* LUGAL-RA KUR KUR  
dingir NANA  
NIN dingir NANA-RA  
LUGAL-TAR-SI  
LUGAL KISH  
GIR KISAL  
MU-NA-RU.

² See my *Semitic Origins* in preparation.
³ *Revue d’Assyriologie*, Vol. IV, p. 74, n. 15, which corresponds to his *Tablettes chaldéennes inédites*, p. 6, n. 15.
⁴ *Early Babylonian History*, p. 125, n. 3.
Thureau Dangin translates: "En l'honneur du dieu roi des contrées et de Ishtar, de la dame Ishtar, Lugaltar-si, roi de Kish, le mur de la terrasse (?) a construit." Radau would render: "To the god of countries and of Ishtar, mistress of the divine Inanna," etc. The French savant has evidently found the names of deities in the first line awkward, while the American scholar, following other parallels afforded by this French master, seems to me to dispose of the matter in a somewhat violent manner. I would translate as follows:

"For the king of countries,
the god Ishtar;
for the lady, the goddess Ishtar,
Lugaltarsi,
king of Kish,
the structure of a terrace
has made."

The kings of Kish were evidently Semitic as the inscriptions published by Hilprecht, who first discovered them, show. Since

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1 Thureau Dangin reads in l. 6 BAD KISAL, where I have read GIR KISAL. The sign does not perfectly represent either one. Cf. Thureau Dangin's Recherches sur l'origine l'Ecriture cunéiform, Nos. 364 and 367.
2 Radau bases this rendering on two passages of Thureau Dangin's translation of Galet A of Eannadu in the Revue Semitique, Vol. V, p. 67ff. In the passage to which Radau really refers, Col. II. l. 5, the French scholar translates the sign for Ishtar, (cf. the text in Revue d'assyriologie, pl. 1) by "Inanna" largely because he was unable farther down (Col. V. 26), to render it otherwise (cf. loc. cit. n. 1). In reality Inanna is to Dangin only another name of Nana. Nana and Ninkharsag were, as Professor Davis has pointed out (PAOS., 1895, p. cxcv.), the same goddess under different names. The passage in question in Col. II of Eannadu's Galet is proof of it and should be rendered: 1. 2 "nourished by the life-giving milk (1. 3) of Ninkharsag (l. 4) given a name (1. 5) by Ishtar." So also in Col. V, l. 26, the passage which suggested the rendering of Thureau Dangin I not only see no reason for reading Inanna, especially if with Radau we treat Inanna as a temple, but would read as follows: (Col. V, l. 23) "To Eannadu, (24) Patesi (25) of Shirmurula (26) by Ishtar, the mother (cf. Recherches No. 404), (Col. VI, l. 1) whom he loves, (2) with the pateship (3) of Shirmurula (4) the kingship of Kish (5) was given." These parallels therefore fail to convince one that these scholars are right.

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2 OBI. Nos. 5-10. Winckler (Orientalsche Forschungen, II, 144), and Hilprecht (OBI. Pt. II, p. 56), doubt whether Kish was a real city. These doubts are now rendered unnecessary. In the inscriptions of the kings of other cities, the name Kish always has the determinative for place. Cf. Radau, Early Babylonian History, p. 126.
the sign employed in the inscription of Lugaltarsi to express the name of the deity is the well known sign explained in a syllabary as "Ishtar," we are no doubt right in translating it Ishtar.

Strange as such a combination of masculine and feminine qualities may seem in a deity, there are other traces of their union in one deity in ancient Babylonia. In the incantation published in IV R. 1, there occur in Col. II, ll. 25–28 the expressions: AMA A-A dingir EN-LIL and AMA A-A dingir NIN-LIL, which are translated in the Semitic lines by a-bi um-mi ša īšu En-lil, and a-bi um-mi ša īšu Nin-lil. The Sumerian evidently means "the mother-father En-lil," and "the mother-father Nin-lil," while the Semitic has turned this about and renders "the father-mother who is Enlil," and "the father-mother who is Nin-lil." Delitzsch remarks of this expression (Wörterbuch, p. 20), "d. h. den Namen des Bel und der Belitis, des Elternpaars Bels." The point of the expression, however, is not that they are referred to as a pair of parents but that the qualities of both father and mother are attributed to both. In the light of the treatment of Ishtar in the inscription of Lugaltarsi this fact clearly points to a similar origin for Enlil and Ninlil. There must have been a time when masculine and feminine qualities were attached in popular conception to this deity while as yet its name had not been differentiated, just as they were attached to Ishtar in the time of Lugaltarsi.

There are two phenomena in connection with the Phoenician pantheon which suggest a similar development there. An Ashtar of Sidon is called "Ashtart of the name of Baal" as though there were a time when both were represented by the same name (see CIS. 318), and Tanith of North Africa is constantly called in the inscriptions "Tanith of the face of Baal" as though there had been a time when they ascribed both masculine and feminine characteristics to their deity, and from that time there had survived an idol of a goddess with a bearded face. (See CIS. 195, and passim.)

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1 II R. 59, 12e, f. Cf. Brünnow's List, No. 3051.
2 Abi-ummi in the sense of maternal grandfather, (Strassmaier's Cyrus, No. 277, l. 4), has of course a different origin.
The *Genesis of the God Eshmun*—By George A. Barton,  
Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

It has long been recognized\(^1\) that the god Eshmun is related to the god Adonis or Tammuz. Baethgen’s statement that Tammuz was to the inhabitants of Palestine a foreign word as much as the Egyptian Osiris seems also to be borne out by the facts. The name Tammuz occurs only in Ezekiel 8:14, and is, since Ezekiel wrote from Babylonia, Dumuzu, a variant form of the Babylonian Duzu. The thesis of this paper is that Eshmun is the Phoenician name of Tammuz, or the Phoenician god corresponding to Duzu, so that Eshmun and Adonis are one.

This view seems to be justified by the following considerations:

1. As has been pointed out elsewhere\(^2\) the old Semitic mother goddess and Tammuz are deities which in some form go back to primitive Semitic times, and it is to be expected that as the Semites scattered, different epithets would be attached to the same deity in different places.  
2. It is recognized by all scholars that the equivalent of this deity existed in Palestine and Phoenicia. The testimony of Ezekiel, Lucian and others leaves no room for doubt on this point.  
3. In extant inscriptions neither Tammuz nor Adonis occur, so far as I can find, as proper names. Adon occurs frequently, but always as an epithet of some god, Baal, Hamman, Eshmun, etc.  
4. In contrast with this fact, is the fact that the name of Eshmun is of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions. Eshmun is as popular as one would expect Tammuz to be.  
5. Eshmun was a god of the healing art, identified with the Greek Aesculapius (*CIS* 143). Several scholars identify him with the Iolaos who in a Semitic myth in Greek dress saved the life of Hercules.\(^3\) Similar characteristics pertained to Tammuz, since the bringing back of the dead to life is but a heightened form of healing the sick.\(^4\)  
6. In the development of the Semitic

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\(^1\) Cf. Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, Bd. I. (1841), p. 226 ff. and Baethgen’s *Beiträge zur semitische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 44.  
\(^2\) *Hebraica*, X, 75 ff.  
religion Astarte in course of time became associated with Baal, the two usually forming a pair. From the close relation which existed in early times between Tammuz and Ashtart one would naturally expect that if Tammuz survived at all, he would be closely associated with this pair. This, however, is just the position which is held by Eshmun in all the principal seats of Phoenician worship. At Carthage, Tanith, the equivalent of Ashtart, and Baal were worshipped in his temple (CIS. 252), while Hannibal, in ratifying the treaty with Philip of Macedon, swore by Heracles (Baal), and Iolaos (Eshmun), (Polybius, vii, 9, 2). Once CIS. 245 he is made into a compound deity with Ashtart, or at least united with her. ¹ At Sidon his worship was very popular and took rank with that of Baal and Ashtart (CIS. 3). We learn from Philo of Biblos,² that at Tyre, Ashtarte, Zeus Demerous (Baal) and Adodos (i.e. some god called Adon, probably Eshmun), were the chief deities. At Kition and Idalion in Cyprus, where there were important temples of Ashtart, the worship of Eshmun flourished, as the many proper names from there into which he enters show. He is also in several inscriptions called Melqart, or “king of the city,” a title given to Baal at Tyre. Indeed, it is probable that this indicates a conscious union of Eshmun and Melqart, and is another evidence of the close kinship for which we are contending. 7. With Eshmun as Aesculapius, there are associated two versions of a myth of his death and resurrection which are familiar to all classical scholars in two or more forms. This myth is probably a variant version of that which Lucian tells of Adonis at Gebal (Byblos).³ This is another link of evidence for their identity. 8. Adonis or Adon is only an epithet, not a name. It is an epithet often applied to Eshmun as the name Eshmun-adon, which was quite common, shows. If Baethgen is right, as I believe he is, in the view that the name Tammuz was unknown in Palestine and Phoenicia, it is clear that there must have been some other name for the god than Adon, an epithet which was applied indiscriminately to all the gods. I think, therefore, that the conclusion that this name was Eshmun is justified.

¹ Cf. my paper “West Semitic Deities with Compound Names,” in the Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. XX.
² See Orelli’s Sanchoniathonis Fragmenta, p. 30.
³ See Lucian’s De Syria Dea, §§ 6-9.
What the name Eshmun means and how it originated, it is hard to say. It was probably originally some kind of an epithet. Of the suggestions made, the one most worthy of credence is probably that of Lagarde (Gr. Uebers. der Prov., p. 81), repeated by W. R. Smith (Rel. of Sem., 2 ed., 469), viz.: that the name is to be connected with the Arabic سَبَنَى, "quail," because in the myth Iolaos brought Heracles to life by giving him a quail to smell of.
EDITORIAL NOTE.

The present volume, xxi, second half, precedes in time of appearing the first half, which has been delayed. The latter is a complete Index to all the previous volumes. It has a separate pagination and will be issued as soon as possible. Unavoidable obstacles have prevented its earlier appearance and it seemed undesirable to keep back the second half till the first should appear.

In the matter of Avestan transcription the editor on the Aryan side was confronted with the following problem. The articles in this volume by Prof. Mills and Dr. Gray, respectively, belong each to a series of articles by the same authors published partly in this Journal and partly elsewhere in different systems of transcription. It seemed unjust to compel either writer to change completely his previous system, especially as the Journal has hitherto adopted no one system. For this reason, although at the expense of uniformity, the two articles have been published in accordance with the systems of transcription employed in previous articles by the same writers. But it is obviously inadvisable to follow such a course in future, and as Prof. Mills' series of articles has now come to an end, while at the same time the system approved by the Grundriss der iranischen Philologie generally obtains, this latter system has been adopted for the Journal and contributors of future articles are requested to conform to it. The principal deviations from the old standard of Justi's Handbuch der Zendsprache are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Justi</th>
<th>e, New standard ə</th>
<th>Justi</th>
<th>ŏ, New standard ŏ</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“ ę,”</td>
<td>“ ə”</td>
<td>“ ŏ,”</td>
<td>“ ŏ”</td>
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<tr>
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<td>“ ॐ,”</td>
<td>“ ॐ”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“ h,”</td>
<td>“ ə”</td>
<td>“ ॐ,”</td>
<td>“ ॐ”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“ h,”</td>
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<td>“ ॐ,”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“ ṇ,”</td>
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<td>“ ॐ,”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“ ṇ,”</td>
<td>“ n”</td>
<td>“ ॐ,”</td>
<td>“ ॐ”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a comparative table of the various systems of transcription employed prior to 1890, see Jackson, Avestan Alphabet and its Transcription, 30–33.
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

AT ITS

MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.,

1900.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Philadelphia, Pa., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 19th, 20th, and 21st, in the Widener lecture room of the Free Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania.

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

Abbott
Adler
Atkinson
Barton
Blake
Blomgren
Bloomsfield
Bolling
Carus
Collitz
Collin
Dennis, J. T.
Dippell
Driscoll
Ewing
Foote
Ginzberg
Gothell
Gray
Grimm
Haupt
Hazard
Hopkins
Hyvernat
Jackson
Jastrow, M., Jr.

Johnston
Lamman
Lilley
Lyman
Michelson
Morse
Oertel
Ogden, Miss
Price
Ramsay
Remy
Runtz-Rees, Mrs.
Sailer

Sanders
Schuyler
Scott
St. Clair, Jr.
Torrey
Ward, W. H.
Williams, F. W.
Williams, T.
Wolfe
Yohannan

[Total, 49.]

The first session of the Society took place on Thursday noon. In the absence of its President it was called to order at 12.15 by the first Vice-President, Dr. W. Hayes Ward.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th and 7th, 1899, were sent by the Recording Secretary, Professor Moore, through Professor Torrey. On motion of Professor Hopkins their reading was dispensed with.

Professor Jastrow presented the report of the local Committee of Arrangements in the form of a printed program. An invitation was extended by the members of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia to lunch with them on Thursday at one o'clock at the Faculty Club. The Faculty Club and the University Club kindly

VOL. XXI. 18
extended the courtesies of their respective Clubs to the members of the Society. These invitations were accepted with the thanks of the Society.

On motion of Professor Lanman, Professor Oertel was elected to act as Recording Secretary during the sessions.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected (for convenience, the names of those who were elected at later sessions are here included):

*CORPORATE MEMBERS.*

Rev. Dr. Justin E. Abbott, Bombay, India.
Mr. Frank R. Blake, Baltimore, Md.
Mr. Israel Davidson, New York, N. Y.
Mr. Alfred L. P. Dennis, New York, N. Y.
Mr. J. T. Dennis, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. John C. Ferguson, Shanghai, China.
Rev. Theodore Clinton Foote, Baltimore, Md.
Dr. Louis H. Ginzberg, New York, N. Y.
Prof. E. D. Goodwin, Washington, D. C.
Prof. Richard Henebry, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Robert E. Hume, New Haven, Conn.
Miss Mary Jeffers, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Prof. Charles S. Leavenworth, Shanghai, China.
Dr. Berthold Laufer, Cologne, Germany.
Dr. Charles Ray Palmer, New Haven, Conn.
Mr. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton, N. J.
Miss Catharine B. Runkle, Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. W. W, Spence, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
Mr. H. H. St. Clair, Jr., Nyack-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Mr. Nathan Stern, New York, N. Y.
Mr. Joseph T. Stickney, Paris, France.
Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., New Haven, Conn.
Mr. W. W. Wood, Baltimore, Md.
Dr. James H. Woods, Boston, Mass. [Total, 28.]

MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. Felix Adler, New York, N. Y.
Prof. W. J. Beecher, Auburn, N. Y.
Prof. F. H. Giddings, New York, N. Y.
Prof. H. G. Mitchell, Boston, Mass.
Mr. F. N. Robinson, Cambridge, Mass.
Miss F. S. Rogers, Washington, D. C. [Total, 6.]

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, in reporting the correspondence of the year called special attention to communications from Dr. Grierson and Dr. Stein, reading parts of letters received from each in regard to the philological and antiquarian researches made by these two scholars respectively.
communications from various scholars were also presented. Professor Bloomfield called the Society's attention to the fact that the position heretofore held by Dr. Stein is now filled by a member of the Society, Dr. A. W. Stratton, formerly of Chicago University.

The Treasurer, Mr. F. W. Williams, presented the following report:

The Treasurer has the honor to present the following account of the receipts and disbursements of the Society during the calendar year 1899 together with a statement of its invested funds. As will be seen from this account the gross receipts during the year amounted to $1,667.09, or, excluding two exceptional items, a life-membership fee and a sum collected by Professor Lanman for the Society's contribution toward the "Orientalische Bibliographie," to $1,467.09. This total is made up from $1,057.00 annual dues received from corporate members, $250.19 from sales of publications and $159.90 from interest on invested funds exclusive of the Bradley Type Fund. Of these items the first is smaller by $124 than that of last year—indicating an increased reluctance on the part of members to pay their assessments rather than a decrease in membership,—but in the increased sales of the Journal ($250.19 against $137.07) and by the normal increment of compound interest ($159.90 against $136.58) this difference is more than made good. The actual expenditures show a total of $1,267.04, composed of $1,219.86 for printing both parts of Vol. xx of the Journal, and $47.18 for job printing, postage and incidental expenses. This may be taken as about the average cost of carrying on the Society on the basis of its present work, and must not be compared with the $895 disbursements shown in last year's report which comprised the cost of printing only one part of the Society's annual publication.

Receipts and Disbursements by the Treasurer of the American Oriental Society for the year ending Dec. 31, 1899:

**RECEIPTS.**

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Dues (183) for 1899</td>
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<td>Dues (22) for other years</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,500.17</strong></td>
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EXPENDITURES.

Printing Journal, vol. xx, part I .................. $665.79
" " vol. xx, part II .......................... 554.07
" " sundry jobs ................................ 6.75
$1,226.61

Postage, etc., Treasurer .......................... 24.50
" " Corresp. Secretary ......................... 7.50
" " Librarian .................................. 8.48
40.48

Honorarium to editor ................................
Life Membership deposited in Suffolk Savings
Bank ........................................... 75.00
Subvention to Orient. Bibliogr. .................... 97.00

Credit balance on general account ..............

$1,589.04
1,961.13
$3,550.17

STATEMENT OF FUNDS, DEC. 31, 1899.

1888. 1899.
I. Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank) ...... $1,787.20 $1,805.43
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (Provident Institution
    for Savings) ................................ 1,000.00 1,000.00
III. Eight shares State National Bank, market
    value ..................................... 1,000.00 1,000.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (Suffolk Savings Bank) 150.00 225.00

The following are included in the general
account:

V. Cash in Provident Institution for Savings ...... 213.10 255.92
VII. Cash on deposit on hand ...................... 1,600.00 1,679.68

$5,720.28  $5,991.56

The Chair appointed Professors Sanders and Oertel to audit
this report as well as last year's, which had not yet been audited.
Professor Lanman suggested that the money now accumulating
in the Bradley Type Fund might possibly be utilized for some
purposes other than the purchase of oriental types. This suggest-
ion was referred to the Directors.

Professor Hopkins presented the report of the Librarian, Mr.
Van Name:

The additions to the Society's library for the year past have been 57
volumes, 92 parts of volumes and 210 pamphlets, these last being prin-
cipally dissertations.

The list of donors comprises 39 societies and institutions and 15 indi-
viduals.

The most noteworthy single gift is a copy of Lady Meux Manuscript
No. I, containing the Lives of Mabâ' Sêyôn and Gabra Krêstôs, the
Ethiopic texts edited with an English translation by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge. This privately printed volume, a thick quarto with ninety-two colored plates and other illustrations, is the third gift of this character which the Society has received from Lady Meux, of Theobald’s Park, Hertfordshire.

The number of titles in the library (dissertations not included) is now 5182; of manuscripts, 188.

Respectfully submitted,

ADDISON VAN NAME, Librarian.

New Haven, April 17, 1900.

On motion of Professor Lanman it was voted to send a vote of thanks to Lady Meux for her gift to the library.

The Editor of the Journal, Professor Moore, reported as follows:

The Second Part of Volume xx, for July to December, 1899, which should have been out in the summer, was issued in January, 1900. The delay was occasioned by the great difficulty I experienced in getting the material for the volume from the contributors. The printing dragged along into a season of the year when the printers are fully occupied with other work and this caused additional delay. The prompt publication of the Journal, which all must desire, is not possible unless the matter for the volume is all in the editor’s hands within a few weeks after the meeting, as was set forth in the Proceedings of the last meeting (p. 366).

I am sorry to say that unforeseen labors and responsibilities have prevented me from completing the promised Index to the Journal. The work has made considerable progress, and I shall make every effort to print it before the close of the year. That it may be possible to do this I must ask to be relieved of the duties of editor.

In making my last report I wish to thank my colleagues on whom I have often had to call for assistance and advice, always promptly and efficiently given; and the contributors to the Journal for their cooperation.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE F. MOORE.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported that since its last meeting (but in the first case just before this) the Society had lost by death the following members:

HONORARY MEMBER.


CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Prof. Daniel G. Brinton, Media, Pa.
Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell, Cambridge, Mass.
Professor Jastrow made some remarks upon Professor Daniel G. Brinton, whose work in American philology had been widely recognized. Dr. Ward spoke of Prof. W. H. Green, and the Corresponding Secretary, after speaking of Prof. Luquiens, a former pupil of Prof. Whitney and long a professor in Yale University, alluded to the fact that Dr. Landis had died in Corea the day after he was made a member of the Society (16 April, 1898). The meeting adjourned at 1.05 p.m.

The Society reassembled at 3.15 o'clock in the afternoon, Dr. Ward presiding.

The Chair appointed the following a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year: Professors Haupt, Jackson, Sanderson.

On the recommendation of the Directors it was voted to appoint a committee to consider the question of transcription of Semitic alphabets. The Chair appointed Professors Gottheil, Haupt, Hyvernat, and Moore members of this committee.

It was voted to adjourn at 5.30 p.m.

Professor Hopkins announced, for the Directors, that the next regular meeting of the Society would be held in New York City, on April 11th, 12th and 13th, and that the Directors had decided to accept the invitation of the associated philological societies to hold a Second American Congress of Philologists in Philadelphia, December 27-29, 1900.

The following communications were then presented:

Dr. J. E. Abbott, on Conditions in India. (Remarks were made on this by Professors Lanman, Bloomfield, and Hopkins.)

Mr. Blake, the poetic form of Isaiah, chap. xl.

Professor Bloomfield, on the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns. (Remarks were made by Professors Lanman and Collitz.)

Professor Hopkins read a brief communication by Professor Fay on the Prometheus fire legend.

Professor Gottheil described a valuable Koran MS., written in Cufic script, said to have been written by Caliph Ali, but dated somewhere between the eighth and tenth century of our era.

Mr. Gray, Contributions to the syntax of the Avesta.

Dr. Grimm, on the use of \textit{\textit{7Y}}, 'to answer' in the Old Testament. (Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow.)

Professor Haupt, The Showbread.

Professor Hopkins, Vedic Literature in the Sanskrit Epic.
Professor Jackson, A Sanskrit Story translated from Dandin's Daçakumârâcarita and the second series of his Time analysis of Sanskrit plays.

On motion of Professor Jastrow it was voted to meet at 10 o'clock on Friday morning.

The Society adjourned at 5.45.

The third session was held on Friday morning at 10.20. The reading of papers was resumed as follows:

Dr. Johnston, A letter of Śamaś-śum-ukin to his brother Sardanapalus.

Professor Barton, The story of Aḥikar and the Book of Daniel. (Remarks by Professor J. R. Harris.)

Professor Price, Notes on the pantheon of the Gudean cylinders. (Remarks by Professor Jastrow and Dr. Ward.)

Dr. P. Carus, Coincidences, Significant passages of Chinese, Indian, and Greek Sages. (Remarks by Mr. Lilley.)

Professor Jastrow, Babylonian influences in the Pentateuchal codes. (Remarks by Professor Price.)

Professor Lanman, On the name of Buddha's birthplace (Remarks by Professor Hopkins) and Talking birds in ancient India. (Remarks by Professor Jackson and Messrs. Abbott and Schuyler.)

Professor Haupt then spoke on Philippine problems. After the reading of this communication Professor Haupt proposed the formation by the Society of a special section devoted to Colonial studies with especial reference to the Oriental possessions lately come under the jurisdiction of the United States. On motion of Professor Jastrow this proposal was referred to the Directors for report before the close of the meeting.

Mention having been made by Professor Haupt of the excellent efforts of the Smithsonian Institute in the line of Oriental research, Dr. Cyrus Adler briefly surveyed the scientific work done by Government touching the new territories. Dr. Adler then introduced the following resolution:

The American Oriental Society respectfully urges upon Congress the importance of the extension of the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, to the Philippine Islands for the study of the languages and customs of the native populations, and the issuing of simple vocabularies and works which will be of use to officers of the Army, Navy and Civil Service whose duties will call them to those islands.

On motion of Professor Gottheil this was also referred to the Directors for report before the meeting adjourned.

Mr. Michelson then presented the following three communications: The Indo-European tenues Aspiratae in Greek; The genitive in -hya in Old Persian; and a Note on N.R.a. 52. (Remarks were made by Professor Jackson.)
Professor Oertel spoke on the phonetic character of Sanskrit a.

(Remarks by Professor Lanman and Mr. Michelson.)

President Ramsay presented a study of the second Psalm.
The meeting adjourned at 12.45.
The afternoon session began at 3.15, Dr. Ward being in the chair.
The Directors reported the election of Professors Hopkins and Torrey to serve as editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.
The following papers were read:
Mr. Blake, Babylonian rites and the Atharva Veda.
Mr. Schuyler announced an Index verborum to the fragments of the Avesta. (Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Jackson.)
Dr. Talcott Williams, Islam in Morocco. (Remarks by Professor Hopkins.)

Professor Gottheil, The Mohammedans in the Philippines.
Rev. Mr. Ewing, Some phases of non-Christian religious activity in the Punjab. (Remarks by Professor Bloomfield and Dr. Abbott.)

Professor Haupt, The inspection of the intestines in the Jewish ritual. (Remarks by Professor Jastrow.)

Professor Hopkins, Atheism versus Theism in Ancient India.
(Remarks by Professor Lanman and Mr. Ewing.)

Professor Jackson, The Religion of the Achaemenian Kings.
(Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Dr. Ward.)

Professor Jastrow spoke on the first International Congress for the historical study of religions to be held in Paris.
A paper by Mr. A. H. Allen, The Banyan Śāvitrī rite as given in the Vrātārka and by Hēmāndri, was presented by Professor Lanman.

Dr. Ward spoke on the Hittite Question.
Rev. Mr. Foote on 2 Samuel, 6.
The Society adjourned at 6 o'clock.

The last session of the Society was called to order at 9.45 on Saturday morning by Professor Lanman, one of its Vice-Presidents.
The Committee to nominate officers recommended re-election of the old board of officers and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—President Daniel Coit 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 Washburn 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—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.
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. Williams Jackson, and Francis Brown, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington.

Action on Professor Haupt’s Recommendation of the creation of a special section for colonial studies was, on motion of Professor Gottheil, deferred till the next regular meeting.

Professor Lanman announced that the Directors had voted to continue the subvention to the Oriental Bibliography (see Journal xx, 2d half, p. 369).

A vote of thanks to Professor Moore for his faithful editorial services in behalf of the Society was unanimously adopted.

Professor Lanman made an announcement in regard to Professor Hoernle’s Weber MS. and invited subscriptions.

Professor Lanman reported that the Directors had unanimously voted to recommend the following resolution for adoption by the Society:

Voted, that the American Oriental Society cordially approves the plans of the International Committee appointed at the last Congress at Paris for the formation of an India Exploration Fund and will be glad to second in any possible way the efforts of the American representative of the Committee to further the work of the Fund by organized action in the United States.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Society and the following gentlemen chosen to serve on the Committee: Professor Lanman, President Gilman, Professors White, Hopkins, Jackson, Mr. Rockhill, Professor C. E. Norton, President B. J. Wheeler, Professor Bloomfield, President Harper and Dr. Talcott H. Williams.

The Society adopted by unanimous vote the resolution offered by Dr. C. Adler and recommended by the directors, to be communicated to both houses of Congress.

Professor Lanman spoke briefly on the urgent need of good text-books for the progress of Indian studies, which gave rise to a discussion in which Professors Gottheil, Hopkins, and Jastrow participated.

Mr. Remy spoke on the influence of Persian literature on the German poet Platen. (Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.)

Professor Torrey presented a brief abstract of his two papers: “M’pharrēshē and M’phōrāsh,” again, and the old Syriac (Lewis Palimpsest) reading in Matthew 14, 26; Mark 6, 49. (Remarks by Professors Harris and Hyvernat.)

Rev. Mr. Ginzberg discussed, in German, Greek Loan-words in Aramaic: (Remarks by Professors Gottheil and Lanman.)
Professor Bloomfield discussed रूपसमा, an epithet of India. The papers entitled as below under the names of Professor Haupt (No. 20), Rev. Mr. Kohut (Nos. 29–31), and Prof. Prince (Nos. 40–41) were read by title only. The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its sincere thanks to the Board of Managers of the Free Museum of Sciences and Art for the use of their rooms; to the Oriental Club of Philadelphia for their generous hospitality; to the Faculty Club, University Club, and Acorn Club for courtesies extended to the Society; and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

The meeting adjourned at 11 o'clock to meet in Philadelphia, December 27, 1900. The proceedings at this meeting are given below.

The following is a list of the papers presented to the Society:

1. Rev. Dr. J. E. Abbott, On Conditions in India.
2. Mr. A. H. Allen, The Banyan Sāvitrī rite as given in the Vratārka and by Hemāndri.
4. Mr. Blake, (a) Babylonian Rites and the Atharva Veda.
5. Mr. Blake, (b) The poetic form of Isaiah, Chapter XL.
6. Prof. Bloomfield, (a) रूपसमा, an epithet of Indra.
7. Prof. Bloomfield, (b) On the relative chronology of the Vedic Hymns.
8. Dr. Paul Carus, Coincidences, Significant passages of Chinese, Indian, and Greek Sages.
10. Prof. Fay, Note on the Prometheus fire-legend.
11. Rev. Mr. Foote, Note on 2 Samuel, vi.
12. Dr. Ginzberg, Greek-loan words in Aramaic.
15. Mr. Gray, Contributions to the syntax of the Avesta.
17. Prof. Haupt, (a) The inspection of the intestines in the Jewish ritual.

18. Prof. Haupt, (b) The Showbread.

19. Prof. Haupt, (c) Philippine problems.

20. Prof. Haupt, (a) Three brief announcements; (1) Count Landberg's collection of Arabic manuscripts; (2) Suggestions for future Oriental Congresses; (3) The new volume of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and comparative Semitic grammar.


22. Prof. Hopkins, (b) Atheism versus deism in India.

23. Prof. Jackson, (a) A Sanskrit story translated from Danālin's Daçaκumārācarita.


25. Prof. Jackson, (c) The religion of the Achaemenian kings.


27. Prof. Jastrow, (b) Babylonian influences in the Pentateuchal codes.

28. Dr. Johnston, (a) A letter of Šamaš-šum-ukin to his brother Sardanapalus.

29. Rev. Mr. Kohut, (a) The parable of Abraham and the fire-worshipper.

30. Rev. Mr. Kohut, (b) Bernicle geese in Jewish literature.

31. Rev. Mr. Kohut, (c) Other Oriental parallels to the story of King John and the Abbot.

32. Prof. Lanman, (a) Talking Birds in ancient India.

33. Prof. Lanman, (b) The urgent need of good text-books for the progress of Indian studies.

34. Prof. Lanman, (c) The name of Buddha's birthplace (Lumbini-vana) once more.

35. Mr. Michelson, (a) Indo-European tenues aspiratae in Greek.

36. Mr. Michelson (b) The genitive in -hya in Old Persian.

37. Mr. Michelson, (c) A note on NR.a. 52.
38. Prof. Oertel, On the phonetic character of Sanskrit ḫ.
40. Prof. Prince, (a) On the monolingual non-Semitic text K. 138 and K. 3232 (ASKT. pp. 104 ff.).
41. Prof. Prince, (b) The use and meaning of the Assyrian word Puridu.
43. Mr. Remy, The influence of Persian literature on the German poet Platen.
44. Mr. Schuyler, An index verborum of the fragments of the Avesta.
45. Prof. Torrey, (a) “Mepharrēshē and Mephōrēsh” again.
46. Prof. Torrey, (b) The old Syriac (Lewis Palimpsest) reading in Matthew 14. 26; Mark 6. 49.
47. Dr. Ward, The Hittite question.
48. Mr. Talcott Williams, Islam in Morocco.
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.,
December 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1900.

The Society met in Philadelphia, Penna., in connection with the Congress of Philological and Archæological Societies, which was held at the University of Pennsylvania in that city on December 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1900. The following societies participated in the Congress:

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY (1842).
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION (1869).
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION (1876).
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA (1879).
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS (1880).
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION (1883).
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY (1889).

A joint meeting of these Societies was held on Thursday afternoon, December 27th, at half-past two o'clock, in the College Chapel. An address of welcome was made by Provost C. C. Harrison, of the University of Pennsylvania, and responded to, on behalf of the Societies, by President D. C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University. President W. A. P. Martin, of the Imperial University, Pekin, China, spoke briefly on Chinese Diplomacy. The rest of the session was given to the reading of papers by members of the different societies, as follows:

Professor G. F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary. Some Oriental sources of the Alexander romance.
President B. I. Wheeler, University of California. What is the cause of phonetic uniformity?
Professor J. R. S. Sterrett, Amherst College. A ruined Seljuk Khan compared with Anatolian Khans of to-day.
Professor F. A. March, Lafayette College. A survey of the growth of modern language work in America.
Professor George Hempl, University of Michigan. Calling to cows.
Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University. Some Oriental princesses at the Egyptian court of the 18th dynasty.
Professor Brander Matthews, Columbia University. The importance of the folk-theatre.
Professor Allan Marquand, Princeton University. The Morgan collection of gold objects recently presented to the Metropolitan Museum.

On Thursday evening, at eight o'clock, in the same place, the address before the affiliated Societies was delivered by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, on Oscillations and Mutations in Philology.

The sessions of the American Oriental Society were held on Thursday and Friday mornings, Dec. 27th and 28th, in the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania.

The following members of the Society were in attendance:

Arnold, W. R. Gotthelf Kent Robinson
Barton Gray Levy Rogers
Blomgren Grimm Lilley Ropes
Casanowicz Haupt Martin, W. A. P. Rudolph, Miss
Dippell Hopkins Moore Scott
Driscoill Hyvernat Oertel Steele
Fenolioza Jackson Paton Ward, W. H.
Gilman Jastrow Peters Winslow

The meeting on Thursday morning was called to order at 10 o'clock by Dr. Williams Hayes Ward, Vice-President of the Society. Professor Oertel was chosen Recording Secretary pro tem. The Society then adjourned till 11 o'clock, that the members might have opportunity to hear the annual address of the President of the Society of Biblical Literature, by Dr. John P. Peters, on the Religion of Moses.

At 11 o'clock the Society resumed its session with President D. C. Gilman in the chair. The President introduced President William A. P. Martin of Peking, a corresponding member of the Society. The death, on Christmas day, of the Right Rev. Charles R. Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Illinois, was reported. Bishop Hale was one of the oldest members of the Society; while a student in the University of Pennsylvania he printed, in conjunction with others, a translation of the Rosetta Stone.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, read a paper on An Androgynous Babylonian divinity. President Martin pointed out a Chinese parallel.

1 This list is doubtless incomplete, because many members of the Society who were in attendance upon the Congress did not register at the meetings of the Society.
Dr. L. H. Gray presented Contributions to the syntax of the Avesta—The Subordinate clause.

Professor Washburn Hopkins read a paper on the Hindu custom of dying to redress a grievance. Remarks on similar customs among the Chinese were made by President Martin and Mr. Lilley.

Professor Hanns Oertel read on the Sanskrit apāna, 'in-breathing.'

Mr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, read a communication on Intransitive verbs in Assyrian.

The Society adjourned to meet again on Friday morning.

The Society met on Friday morning at 11 o'clock.

Dr. W. C. Winslow read a paper on the Discovery of remains of the First Dynasty in Egypt.

Professor T. F. Wright, on some Jar handles with votive inscriptions from Palestine.

Professor G. L. Robinson, on the Religion of Edom, in the light of the newly discovered high place at Petra.

Rev. T. C. Foote, on Divination by lot in the Old Testament.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler gave an account of the Modern translations of Çakuntalā.

Professor G. L. Robinson gave the results of his recent investigation of the Wells of Beersheba.

The following communications were presented by title:

Professor G. A. Barton, The Genesis of the god Eshmun.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, Brief notes on the Sanskrit drama.

Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Composition and date of Enoch 37–71.

President Warren's paper (mentioned below) was withdrawn.

No business meeting was held at this session, but allusion was made informally to the losses suffered by the Society in the death of its Honorary member, Professor F. Max Müller, and of its Corporate members, Bishop Hale and Professor Everett.

The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the Society to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their generous hospitality; to the Local Committee for the admirable arrangements made by them for the sessions of the Congress and the several Societies, and for the comfort of the members; and to the Faculty Club for the courtesies extended by them.

The Society adjourned, to meet in New York, April 11, 1901.

As a matter of record the Programme of the Congress is appended.
CONGRESS

OF

Philological and Archæological Societies:

The American Oriental Society, organized 1842.
The American Philological Association, organized 1869.
The Spelling Reform Association, organized 1876.
The Archæological Institute of America, organized 1879.
The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, organized 1880.
The Modern Language Association of America, organized 1883.
The American Dialect Society, organized 1889.

HELD AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Dec. 27th, 28th and 29th, 1900.

PROGRAMME.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, (a) "An Androgy nous Babylonian Divinity"; (b) "The Genesis of the God Eshmun."

Dr. Louis H. Gray, Columbia University, "Contributions to the Syntax of the Avesta—The Subordinate Clause."

Prof. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, "On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance."

Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia University, "Brief Notes on the Sanskrit Drama."

Mr. F. R. Blake, "Intransitive Verbs in Assyrian."

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, "The Composition and Date of Enoch 37-71."

Prof. H. Oertel, Yale University, "Apāna—In-Breathing."

Prof. George L. Robinson, University of Chicago, "The Religion of Edom in the Light of the Newly Discovered High Place at Petra."

Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.
THURSDAY AFTERNOON—GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., New York, "Modern Translation of the Çakuntalâ."

Rev. W. C. Winslow, Boston, "First Dynasty Discoveries."

President W. F. Warren, Boston University, "Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian Cosmology."

Prof. Theodore F. Wright, Harvard University, "Jar Handles with Votive Inscriptions."

Prof. George L. Robinson, University of Chicago, "The Wells of Beersheba."

Rev. Theodore C. Foote, Johns Hopkins University, "Divination by Lot in the Old Testament."

THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Prof. Edgar S. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, "Notes on Juristic Latin."

Prof. W. A. Heidel, Iowa College, "Catullus and Furius Bibaculus."

Dr. Robert S. Radford, Bryn Mawr College, "Remains of Synapheia in Horace and Roman Tragedy."

Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Columbian University, "The Athens of Aristophanes."

Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, "Iphigenia in Euripides, Racine and Goethe."

Dr. George D. Kellogg, Yale University, "Critical Notes on Cicero’s Letters."

Prof. S. G. Ashmore, Union University, "On Bennett’s Criticism of Some of Elmer’s Subjunctive Theories."

Prof. S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University, "The Archaic Inscription in the Roman Forum."

Luncheon at 1 P. M. in Houston Hall.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON—GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

THURSDAY EVENING, AT 8.30 P.M., IN THE COLLEGE CHAPEL.

Address before the Affiliated Societies.

Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, "Oscillations and Mutations of Philology."

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.

Dr. Harry L. Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, "The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal."
Prof. Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, "Propertius as a Poet of Nature."
Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, "Studies in Lithuanian Accentuation."
Prof. John H. Wright, Harvard University, "Notes on Demosthenes' On the Crown."
Dr. Henry L. Sanders, University of Michigan, "The Younger Ennius."
Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, "The Salian Hymn."
Prof. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College, "Miscellanea Critica (Aesch. Prom. 2; Soph. O. T. 54 ff., Eur. Med. 214–224, Hipp. 1–2; Porson's Enunciation of 'Porson's Rule')."
Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.
Afternoon Session, in conjunction with the Archæological Institute. (See p. 212.)

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.
Welcome to the members of the Institute by the President and other officers of the Pennsylvania Society.
Dr. Ernst Riess, Manhattan College, "The Magical Papyri as a Source of our Knowledge of Greek Life."
Mr. Edgar James Banks, New York City, "Ur of the Chaldees and its Excavation" (to be read by Professor Haupt).
Rev. Dr. William C. Winslow, Boston, "Discoveries in Crete."
Mr. Howard Crosby Butler, Princeton University, "Sculpture in Northern Central Syria."*
Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, "A Bronze Statue of Heracles in Boston."*
Prof. Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, "Some Artistic Types Familiar to a Roman Country Gentleman."
Prof. Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University, "The Connexion of Phidias with Pericles and his Buildings."
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, "Inscription B of the Blau Monuments (AJA., First Series, IV, Plate V 2)."
The following papers were read by title:
Dr. W. N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, "Notes on the Old Athena Temple of the Acropolis."

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.
Prof. Edward Capps, University of Chicago, "Επὶ τῆς σκηνῆς and Similar Expressions."
Prof. W. F. Ebersole, Cornell College, "A Favorite Representation for a Greek and an Amazon in Conflict."
Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

Thursday Afternoon—General Meeting. (See p. 216.)

Friday, Dec. 28th, 9.30 a.m.

Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, "Interpretation of the Scene and Inscription on the Prænestine Cista at Paris."
Prof. B. Perrin, Yale University, "The ἱππαξ of Hellanikos and the Burning of the Argive Heraion."
Miss M. H. Buckingham, Boston, "The Work of the German Limescommission."
Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "The Twelve Hundred Arabic and Turkish Manuscripts recently acquired by Mr. Robert Garrett, of Baltimore.
Prof. W. H. Goodyear, New York City, "The Leaning Façade of Notre Dame as Compared with that at Pisa." *
Miss Harriet A. Boyd, Smith College, "A Settlement of the Geometric Period at Karusi in Crete." *
Prof. M. R. Sanford, Middlebury College, "The Material of the Tunica and Toga." *
Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University, "Some Contents of Early Etruscan Tombs, and Their Connection with Greece and the Orient." *
President B. I. Wheeler, University of California, "The Archæological Work now in Progress under the Auspices of the University of California."
Mrs. Sara Y. Stevenson, Philadelphia, "Notes on Some Important Objects in the Egyptian Collection of the University of Pennsylvania."
Dr. Charles Peabody, Cambridge, Mass., "Some Prehistoric Stone Ornaments of America."

The following papers were read by title:
Prof. James M. Hoppin, Yale University, "An Inquiry Respecting the Alleged Works and Places of Scopas in Greek Sculpture."
Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, "Observations on the Topography of Sphakteria and Pylos as Described by Thucydides, Book IV."
Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, "Tzetrian Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes in Col. Vat. Urb. 141."
Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.
FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 2.30 P. M.

(Joint Session of the Archaeological Institute and Philological Association.)

Prof. George Davis Chase, Cornell University, "Sun Myths in Lithuanian Folksongs."
Mr. E. P. Andrews, Cornell University, "Color on the Parthenon and on the Elgin Marbles. Recently Discovered Facts and Resultant Theories."
Prof. Edward Capps, University of Chicago, "Notes on the ἄρχαιότερα Διονύσια."
Prof. John Henry Wright, Harvard University, "The Composition of Apelles's Calumny." *
Prof. S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University, "Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum." *
Prof. Louis Dyer, Oxford, "New Aspects of Mycenaean Cultus." *
Prof. Thomas Day Seymour, Yale University, "Homerian Slavery and Servitude."
Prof. Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University, "The Visits of Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides at the Court of Hiero."
Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Columbian University, "Aristotle's Theory of Sculpture."
Prof. William A. Hammond, Cornell University, "Aristotle's Theory of Imagination."

SATURDAY, DEC. 29TH, 9.30 A. M.

Dr. George H. Chase, St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass., "Shield Devices Among the Greeks."
Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, "Satan's Throne" and "Angelo."
Dr. George D. Kellogg, Yale University, "An Unidentified Building Next to S. Adriano, near the Forum."
Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University, "Did the Triumphal Arch Originate with the Romans or Macedonians?"
"The Medieval Chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran in Rome."
Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., "The Significance of the Garment." *
Mr. Charles O'Connor, Iowa College, "Some Peculiarly Constructed Conduits in the Roman Forum." *
Dr. Edmund von Mach, Harvard University, "The Statue of Meleager in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University." *
Dr. A. S. Cooley, Auburndale, Mass., "The Excavations of the American School in Corinth." *

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, "Robbia Pave-
ments."
Mr. Edward Robinson, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, "The
Arretine Pottery in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts."
Dr. Joseph Clark Hoppin, Bryn Mawr College, "Aglaiophon's
Portrait of Alcibiades."
Prof. Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, "The Use of μὴ
in Questions."

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND
EXEGESIS.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.
Business Meeting.
Dr. J. P. Peters, President's Address.
Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.
Prof. T. F. Wright, Harvard University, "A Symbolic Figure
of the Queen of Heaven."
Prof. L. B. Paton, Hartford, "The Problem of the Patriarchs."
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, "The Baal Cult
in Israel."
Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "Corrective
Interpolations in the Book of Proverbs."
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, "West Semitic
Deities with Compound Names."
Luncheon at 1 p. m. in Houston Hall.

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH.—AFTERNOON SESSION, 2.30 P. M.
Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia University, "A Persian
Lacquer Painting Representing the Last Judgment."
Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "On the Hebrew
Phrase Nathan rosh."
Prof. J. H. Thayer, Harvard University, "Report on the Pales-
tinian School," followed by discussion.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF
AMERICA.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.
Report of the Secretary.
Report of the Treasurer.
Appointment of Committees.
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, "The Home of the
Helianth."
Prof. A. B. Faust, Wesleyan University, “The Problematic Hero in German Fiction.”
Dr. J. D. M. Ford, Harvard University, “The Relations Between Spanish and English Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century.”
Prof. E. W. Scripture, Yale University, “Researches in Experimental Phonetics.”
Prof. Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana, “Some Popular Literary Motives in the Edda and the Heimskringla.” [Read by title.]
Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, “The Language of Luther’s Ein Urteil der Theologen zu Paris, 1521.” [Read by title.]
Dr. Clark S. Northup, Cornell University, “Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam: a Fragment and a Translation.” [Read by title.]
Prof. Th. W. Hunt, Princeton University, “Guiding Principles in the Study of Literature.” [Read by title.]
Luncheon at 1 p.m. in Houston Hall.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, GENERAL MEETING. (See p. 216.)

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH, 5.30 P.M.

AMERICA DIALECT SOCIETY. (ANNUAL MEETING.)

FRIDAY, DEC. 28TH, 9.30 A.M.

Dr. Mary Augusta Scott, Smith College, “Il Cortigiano.”
Prof. F. M. Warren, Western Reserve University, “On the Latin Sources of Thébès and Énéas.”
Prof. W. H. Carruth, University of Kansas, “The Teaching of Lessing’s Story of the Ring.”
Dr. C. von Klenze, University of Chicago, “Goethe’s Attitude towards Antiquity in the Light of Comparative Literature.”
Prof. Francis A. Wood, Cornell College, “The Semasiology of Color-words and their Congeners.”
Dr. Albert Haas, Bryn Mawr College, “Johann Christian Krüger’s Lustspiele [1722-1750].”
Prof. Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania, “The English Chronicle Play.” [Read by title.]
Mr. Harold De W. Fuller, Harvard University, “The Sources of Titus Andronicus.” [Read by title.]
Prof. Hugo A. Rennert, University of Pennsylvania, “The Trobador Bertran d’Alamanon.” [Read by title.]
Luncheon at 1 p.m. in Houston Hall.
FRI
DAY, DEC. 28TH, 2.30 P. M.

Prof. O. F. Emerson, Western Reserve University, "The Legend of Cain in Old and Middle English Literature."

Prof. F. N. Scott, University of Michigan, "Report of the Pedagogical Section on 'The Graduate Study of Rhetoric.'"

Prof. Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri, "The Primitive Prise d'Orange."

Prof. James Taft Hatfield, Northwestern University, "A Note on the Prison scene in Goethe's Faust."

Dr. J. Vincent Crowne, University of Pennsylvania, "On the Middle English Religious Lyric."

Prof. C. O. Ferrell, University of Mississippi, "The Medea of Euripides and the Medea of Grillparzer."

Mr. Charles M. Magee, Temple College, Philadelphia, "Literary Manners in the Nineteenth Century."

Dr. K. D. Jessen, University of Chicago, "Laocoön and Lessing as a Connoisseur of Art." [Read by title.]

Prof. F. G. G. Schmidt, University of Oregon, "Der mynmen chrieg mit der sel: an Inedited Dialogue in the Alemannic Dialect of the Fifteenth Century." [Read by title.]

Prof. M. D. Learned, University of Pennsylvania, "Goethe and Pindar." [Read by title.]

FRI
DAY; DEC. 28TH, 8.30 P. M., MCKEAN HALL.

Prof. Thomas R. Price, Columbia University, Annual Address of the President of the Association, subject: "The New Function of Modern Language Teaching."

The Modern Language Association cordially invites the members of the affiliated societies of the Congress to this session.

SATURDAY, DEC. 29TH.—MORNING SESSION, 9.30 A. M.
IN MEMORY OF CHAUCER.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, "A Friend of Chaucer's."

Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, "The date of Palamon and Arcite."

Dr. William Henry Schofield, Harvard University, "The Source of Chaucer's Franklin's Tale."

Prof. E. B. Gunmure, Haverford College, "Is Chaucer Modern or Medieval?"

Prof. W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University, "The Prologue to the Wife of Bath's Tale."

Prof. George Hempi, University of Michigan, "The Development of Middle English Final -ich, -ig, -y."

Prof. James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, "The Structure of Chaucer's Verse."

Prof. Ewald Fluegel, Leland Stanford, Jr., University, "Chaucer's Prologue and Gower's Miroir de l'Homme." [Read by title.]
GENERAL MEETING.

THURSDAY, DEC. 27TH, AT 2.30 P. M. in the College Chapel.

Provost C. C. Harrison, University of Pennsylvania, Address of Welcome.

Prof. George F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary, "Some Oriental Sources of the Alexander Myth."

Pres. B. I. Wheeler, University of California, "What is the Cause of Phonetic Uniformity?"

Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Amherst College, "A Ruined Seljuk Khan Compared with Anatolian Khans of To-day."


Prof. George Hempf, University of Michigan, "Calling to Cows."

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, "Suggestions for Future Oriental Congresses."

Prof. Brander Matthews, Columbia University, "The Importance of the Folk Theatre."

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, "The Morgan Collection of Gold Objects Recently Presented to the Metropolitan Museum."*

* Illustrated by means of the stereopticon.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, DECEMBER, 1900.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. Auguste Barth, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887. His Excellency, Otto von Bokhtlingk, Hospital Str. 25, Leipzig, Germany. 1844.
James Burgess, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
Dr. Antonio Maria Ceriani, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
Prof. Berthold Delbrueck, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Berlin, Germany. 1898.
Prof. M. J. de Goeje, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
Prof. Ignazio Guidi, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
Prof. Hendrik Kern, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.
Prof. Franz Kielhorn, University of Goettingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg 21.) 1887.
Prof. Alfred Ludwig, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakovsky Str. 15.) 1898.
Prof. Theodor Noeldeke, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbgsasse 16.) 1878.
Prof. Jules Oppert, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1893.
Prof. Eduard Sachau, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
Prof. Eberhard Schrader, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.
Prof. Friedrich von Spiegel, Munich, Germany. (Königin Str. 49.) Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.
Prof. Cornelis P. Tiele, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.
Prof. Albrecht Weber, University of Berlin, Germany. (Ritter Str. 56, S. W.) Corresponding Member, 1850; Hon., 1869.
Edward W. West, Maple Lodge, Watford (Herts), England. 1899.
Prof. Ernst Windisch, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890.

[Total, 24.]
II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

Prof. Edward V. Arnold, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.
Mrs. Emma J. Arnold, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
Dr. William R. Arnold, 136 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
Irving Babstitt (Harvard Univ.), Dana Chambers, 37, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. Benjamin Wisner Bacon (Yale Univ.), 142 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Prof. Mark Bailey, Jr. (State Univ. of Washington), 1019 Chestnut St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Miss Annie L. Barber, Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa. 1892.
David P. Barntz, Des Moines, Iowa. 1898.
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Prof. L. W. Battin (Episcopal Divinity School), 4805 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
Rev. Harlan P. Beach, Montclair, N. J. 1898.
Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. John Binney, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
Frank Ringgold Blake (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2106 Oak St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Rev. David Blaustein, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.
Frederick J. Bliss, Ph.D., 38 Conduit St., London, England. 1898.
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, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. George M. Bolling, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.
Prof. James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Rev. E. Brennecke, 888 North Boulevard, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Chas. A. Briggs (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
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. Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Prof. Henry F. Burton, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
Dr. W. Caland, 5 Seeligingen, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.
Rev. Simon J. Carr, 322 South 5th St., Reading, Pa. 1892.
Prof. A. S. Carrier (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Dr. Paul Carus, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Miss Eva Channing, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1888.
Dr. Frank Dyer Chester, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
Prof. Camden M. Cobern, 1880 Sherman Ave., Denver, Colorado. 1894.
Wm. Emmett Coleman, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.
†George Wetmore Colles, 63 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
Miss Elizabeth S. Colton, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
Samuel Victor Constant, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
Dr. Frederic Taber Cooper, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
Miss Lutie Rebecca Corwin, 1280 Willson Ave., Cleveland, O. 1895.
Mrs. Oliver Crane, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1891.
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.
Israel Davidson (Columbia University), 81 East 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Hon. Dr. Charles H. Stanley Davis, Meriden, Conn. 1893.
Prof. John D. Davis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Lee Malthe Dean, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1897.
Laurell W. Demeritt, 955 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1898.
Alfred L. P. Dennis, 301 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.
James T. Dennis, 1008 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Dr. P. L. Armand de Potter, 45 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.
Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
Prof. James F. Discolli, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.
Samuel F. Dunlap, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1884.
Dr. Harry Westbrook Dunning, 5 Kilbyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
Wilberforce Eames, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, Lodiana, Punjaban, India. 1900.
MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, 931 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1888.
ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, Ichibuchi, Ichome, 1 Fuji-micho, Tokio, Japan. 1894.
Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
Rev. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China. 1900.
†Lady CAROLINE FITZ MAURICE, 2 Green St., Grosvenor Square, London, England. 1886.
†FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.
Rev. THEODORE CLINTON FOOTE, Irvington, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1883.
Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 8d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.
Prof. BASIL L. GILDELSLEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
Rev. LOUIS GINZBERG, Ph.D., 1612 East End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1900.
RALPH L. GOODRICH, Clerk of the U. S. Court, Little Rock, Ark. 1888.
ENRAS B. GOODWIN, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1900.
Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.
JACOB GRAPE, Jr., N. High St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
Miss LUCIA C. GRAYMS GRIEVE, 136 W. 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Miss LOUISA H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Ahmednagar, India. 1898.
Dr. KARL JOSEPH GRIMM, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 236 Custer Ave., Youngstown, O. 1894.
Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2312 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
CHAS. F. GUNTER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
Rev. ADOLPH GUTMACHER, 1888 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
A. H. HAIGAZIAN, Cania, Turkey. 1898.
Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
Pres. WILLIAM RAINNEY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.
Prof. SAMUEL HART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
Dr. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1893.
Prof. PAUL HAYFT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
List of Members.

Rev. Willis Hattfield Hazard, Ph.D., West Chester, Pa. 1893.
Prof. Richard Henerey, Ph.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1900.
Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
Prof. Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
Prof. James M. Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
Rev. Dr. S. W. Howland, 174 West 96th St., New York, N.Y. 1898.
Robert E. Hume, 24 Home Place, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Miss Annie K. Humphrey, 1114 14th St., Washington, D.C. 1873.
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, 189 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Miss Mary Jeffers, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
Rev. Henry F. Jenks, P.O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
Prof. James Richard Jewett (Univ. of Minnesota), 260 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
Dr. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
R. P. Karkaria, Nepean Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1897.
Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Brown University), 117 Benevolent St., Providence, R.I. 1890.
Miss Elisabeth T. King, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. George L. Kittredge (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Prof. George W. Knox (Union Theol. Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 1899.
Rabbi George A. Kohut, 249 S. Erzaz St., Dallas, Texas. 1894.
*Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
Rev. Joseph Lanman, Ph.D., St. James, Minn. 1896.
Rev. Robert J. Laue, P.O. Box 163, Weehawken, N.J. 1897.
Berthold Lauffer, Ph.D., 125 Hohe St., Cologne, Germany. 1900.
Thomas B. Lawler, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Charles S. Leavenworth, Nan Yang College, Shanghai, China, 1900.

Prof. Caspar Levias, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.


Robert Lilley, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.

Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.


Rev. Lindsay B. Longacre, 595 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Gen'l Charles G. Loring (Museum of Fine Arts), 8 Otis Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.

Arthur Oncken Lovejoy, 5 Rue Rollin, Paris, France. 1897.

Percival Lowell, care of Russell & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.


Prof. David Gordon Lyon (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1889.

Albert Morton Lythgoe (Harvard University), National Bank of Egypt, Cairo, Egypt. 1899.

Prof. Duncan B. Macdonald (Hartford Theological Seminary), 15 Beach St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.


Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, Redfield, South Dakota. 1887.

Rev. John R. Mahoney, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Prof. Max L. Margolis, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.


Prof. Winfred Robert Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1899.

William Arnott Mather, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.

Mrs. Matilda R. McConnell, 112 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.


Rev. Donald J. McKinnon, 1033 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal. 1897.

Prof. William N. Mebane, Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana. 1898.


Mrs. Helen L. Million (née Lovell), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri, 1892.

Prof. Lawrence H. Mills (Oxford University), 119 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.

Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.

Prof. George F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.

Paul Elmer More, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1898.

Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass. 1894.

Warren J. Moulton, Ph.D. (Yale Divinity School), 22 East Divinity Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1899.

Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass. 1898.

ISAAC MYER, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
JENS ANDERSON NESS, Johns Hopkins University (Box 442), Baltimore, Md.
1897.
GEORGE NATHAN NEWMAN, Washington Mills, Oneida Co., N. Y. 1891.
Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
Prof. HANNS CERNK. (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.
GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.
JOHN ORRIS, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
Prof. GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. CHARLES RAY PALMER, D.D., 127 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn.
1900.
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. ISMOR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. EDWARD DELVAYE FERRY (Columbia Univ.), 133 East 55th St., New
York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. DR. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. DAVID PHILPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
Prof. SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.
MURRAY E. POOLE, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.
WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER (Harvard University), 18 Trowbridge St., Cam-
bridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (New York University), 1 West 39th St., New
York, N. Y. 1888.
Rev. HUGO RADAU, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New
York, N. Y. 1890.
Madame ZENAIDE A. RAGOZIN, 207 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
ARTHUR F. J. REMY, 112 West 187th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. CHARLES RICE, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.
EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers
Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Metropolitan Club, Washington, D. C.
1880.
Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cam-
bridge, Mass. 1898.
Rev. WILLIAM ROSENAC, 1527 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Miss ADÉLAIDE RUDOLPH, 434 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Mrs. Janet E. Ruetz-Rees, 371 West End Ave., New York City. 1897.
Miss Catharine B. Runkle, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
† Prof. Edward E. Salisbury, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.
Prof. Frank K. Sanders (Yale University), 235 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Rev. Tobias Schanfarber, 902 Government St., Mobile, Ala. 1897.
Dr. H. Ernest Schmid, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., 1025 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa. 1895.
J. Herbert Senter, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1870.
Dr. Charles H. Shannon, Holstein Mills, Va. 1899.
Thomas Stanley Simonds, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1892.
Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.
Prof. Maxwell Sommerville, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

William Wallace Spence, Jr., Bolton, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Dr. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Hans H. Spooer, Ph.D., 120 Remsen St., Astoria, N. Y. 1899.
Henry Hull St. Clair, Jr., Nyack-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. Charles C. Stearns, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Rev. James D. Steele, 74 West 108d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Nathan Stern, 448 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. J. H. Stevenson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.
Mrs. Sara Yorke Stevenson, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
Joseph Trumbull Stickney, 3 Rue Soufflot, Paris, France. 1900.
Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Principal Alfred W. Strattion, Punjab University, Lahore, India. 1894.
Henry Osborn Taylor, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. John Phelps Taylor, Andover, Mass. 1884.
Prof. J. Henry Thayer (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
Prof. Henry A. Todd (Columbia University), 524 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.
Prof. Charles C. Torrey, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. Crawford H. Toy (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Prof. Joseph Vincent Tracy, 75 Union Park St., Boston, Mass. 1892.
John M. Trout, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Prof. Charles Mellen Tyler, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
Addison Van Name (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1868.
Edward P. Vining, 532 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1888.
THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F. St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.  
THOMAS WALSH, Yokohama, Japan. 1881.  
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.  
Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.  
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
PRES. WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.  
CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.  
PRES. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.  
Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.  
Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.  
Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.  
Dr. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX, Office of Experiment Stations, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 1896.  
FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 185 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.  
Rev. DR. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 772 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.  
Rev. CHARLES JAMES WOOD, St. John's Rectory, York, Pa. 1892.  
Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
WILLIAM W. WOOD, 1604 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
JAMES H. WOODS, Ph.D., 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 88 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
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. 1869.  
[TOTAL, 288.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.  
Prof. WILLIS J. BERGER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.  
Rev. DR. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 127 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
Rev. DR. EDWARD N. CALISCH, 1086 West Grace St., Richmond, Va. 1899.  
Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, South India. 1899.
SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
DR. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1898.
DR. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.
PROF. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (Columbia Univ.), 150 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
PROF. ARTHUR L. GILLET, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.
PROF. GEORGE S. GOODSPeed, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
DR. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
JAMES H. HOFFMAN, 25 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
PROF. WILLIAM JAMES (Harvard University), 95 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
DR. LEWIS G. JANES, 168 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
REV. DR. J. P. JONES, Pasumalai, South India. 1899.
PROF. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
PROF. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, PH.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
REV. DR. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.
PROF. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
PROF. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 140 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
PROF. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.

[Total, 28.]

IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

PROF. GRAZIADIO ISAIA ASCOLTI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
REV. O. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
PROF. ADOLPH BASLITAN, 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. 1868.
REV. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
REV. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
REV. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinadale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.
REV. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
List of Members.

Judge Ernest H. Crosby, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
Rev. Joseph Eokins, Shanghai, China. 1869.
A. A. Gargiulo, 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.
Rev. Lewis Grout, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
Dr. Willard Haskell, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
Prof. J. H. Haynes, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.
Dr. James C. Hepburn, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.
Dr. A. F. Rudolf Horel, 38 Bambury Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
Rev. Dr. Henry J. Jessup, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Prof. Albert L. Long, Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.
Rev. Robert S. MacLay (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
Dr. Divine Bethune McCauley, American Presbyterian Mission, Tokio, Japan. 1857.
Prof. Eberhard Nestle, Ulm, Wurttemberg, Germany. 1888.
Dr. Alexander G. Paspait, Athens, Greece. 1861.
Rev. Stephen D. Feet, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.
Alphonse Pinart. [Address desired.] 1871.
Prof. Leon de Rosny (Ecole des langues orientales vivantes), 47 Avenue Duquesne, Paris, France. 1857.
Rev. Dr. S. I. J. Schereschewsky, Shanghai, China.
Rev. W. A. Shedd, Missionary at Oroomiah, Persia. 1893.
Dr. John C. Sundberg, U. S. Consul, Baghdad, Turkey. 1893.
Rev. George N. Thomsen, of the American Baptist Mission, Bapatla, Madras Pres., India. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.
Rev. George T. Washburn, Meriden, Conn.
Rev. James W. Waugh, Missionary at Lucknow, India. (Now at Ocean Grove, N. J.) 1873.
Number of Members of the four classes (24+288+28+37=377.)

Societies, Libraries, to which the Publications of the American Oriental Society are sent by way of Gift or Exchange.

I. AMERICA.

Boston, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Chicago, Ill.: Field Columbian Museum.
Bureau of American Ethnology.
Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society,
Vol. XXI.
II. EUROPE.

AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.

PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

DENMARK, IRELAND, 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.
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen.

GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschafi. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

MUNICH: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
32 Albermarle St., W.
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (87 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.

ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.


LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.

NORWAY, CHRISTIANIA: Videnskabs-Selskap.

SWEDEN, UPPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

RUSSIA, ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
Archeologičii Institut.

III. ASIA.

CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA: Home Department.

CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CHINA, PEKING: Peking Oriental Society.

SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)

Lahore: Library of the Oriental College.
JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschappen.
TURKEY, CONSTANTINOPLE: Imperial Ottoman Museum.

* IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

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, Rothenhurm-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, 88 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.)
Oriental Bibliography (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).


RECIPIENTS: 340 (Members) + 61 (Gifts and Exchanges) = 401.

REQUEST.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institutions or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors 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.

Andover Theological Seminary.
Chicago University Library.
Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.
Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.
Harvard University Library.
New York Public Library.
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1887.

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, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

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.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.
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NOTICES.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

Arabic, Persian, Syriac (Jacobite and Nestorian), Armenian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Chinese, and Japanese fonts of type are provided for the printing of the Journal, and others will be procured from time to time, as they are needed.

GENERAL NOTICES.

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Frederick Wells Williams, 135 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Conn.


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. Washburn Hopkins, 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Ct.

CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is $5. The fee for Life-Membership is $75.

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.
"A book that is shut is but a block"

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