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AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Ardeto: The Magic Book of the Disciples.—By Dr. Enno Littmann, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Folklore and the science of comparative religion have made much progress within the last quarter of the past century: the magic superstitions and popular religious beliefs of all peoples have been studied, and the results of such studies have, often with marked success, been applied to certain phases of the history of the great religions of the world. For instance, the idea of the name of God, as represented in the Old and New Testaments, has gained an entirely new aspect and has been discussed in a much more plausible manner than ever before, since ethnology and folklore have contributed to its elucidation.¹ This instance has been chosen here instead of a great many others, because it touches directly upon the contents of the Ethiopic book published and translated in the following pages.

Abyssinia is a mine of superstitions and magic practices, and many of them have been written down in the Ethiopic language. A large part of the Ethiopic literature, therefore, is magic literature. This, however, has attracted very few scholars, no doubt partly owing to the craddedness of the subject, but partly also to the fact that there have been but few workers in the field. Except the French translations of several magic


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prayers, published by Professor Basset in his *Apocryphes Ethio-
piens*, very little has been done in this line. But I trust that
the time will come when the abundant Ethiopic material will
be available for students of folklore and magic.

Among the Ethiopic magic books, the one commonly called
*Arde't*, i.e. "the Disciples," is held very precious by the
Abyssinians, and is of interest to us in more than one respect.
It tells how Jesus taught the Disciples his secret names, among
them the "great name;" how the Disciples went about per-
forming miracles by the power of Christ's name, and were
themselves saved by it from the wrath of the people of Sodom
and Gomorrah and from many kings and rulers; and finally,
how Jesus showed them hell and paradise. The whole is in-
terwoven with a number of long prayers which sometimes, as e.g.
in chapters IV and VI, are real compendiums of Abyssinian
magic.

Some of the traditions set forth in this book are undoubtedly
as early as the first centuries of the Christian era; this is proved
by the fact that we find them in gnostic literature. Among
these the most striking is the legend of the journey of the
Apostles to hell and paradise, led by Christ; the same was
known to the gnostics, as we see from C. Schmidt's *Untersu-
chungen über die gnostischen Werke*. Other parallels are the
following: In VIII, 15 Jesus forbids his Disciples to reveal the
secrets which they have heard; the same is told in gnostic
works. In VIII, 16 seq. we read that the secrets revealed
here are given to no one else except Mary, John "the Virgin,"
Abraham, and Moses; this is to be compared with the gnostic
tradition that John παρθένος was the highest among the Disciples.
Our book, however, speaks of John "the Virgin" as being
the Baptist, because the other John was included among the
Disciples. Finally we may cite here the "great name" (VIII,
24), which seems to have played an important rôle in the gnostic

---

1 See also Dr. K. Fries' edition and translation of *The Ethiopic Legend
of Socinius and Ursula*, in *Actes du VIIIe Congrès International des
Orientalistes*, and my article *The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll*, in *The
Princeton University Bulletin*, vol. xv., pp. 31-42.

2 *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892 (Texte und

3 Schmidt, l. c., p. 465.
system. This tends to show that there are at least certain elements in "Arde'et" that are to be connected with apocryphal ideas of ancient Christianity. A more detailed discussion of these questions, and particularly a full enquiry into the literary composition and the derivation of Chapters II–VII cannot be given here. I hope that somebody more fit for this work than myself may soon undertake the study. For the present, attention may be called to the following:

It seems to me safe to conclude that the Ethiopic Arde'et, in the form in which we have it now, was composed at some time between the 14th and 17th centuries A.D. The *terminus ad quem* is given by the fact that manuscripts containing this work belong to the 17th or 18th century; the other date is naturally suggested (1) by the Amharic influence which appears throughout the book, showing itself in grammatical constructions, order of words, neglect of the cases, etc.; and (2) by the history of Ethiopic literature; for in the 14th century there was much literary activity in Abyssinia, especially during the reign of Zar'a Ya'qōb, and a number of magic books are known to have been translated or composed at that time, among others a magic work which seems to be closely related to Arde'et, viz. *Asmāta Eqū'ena* "The Names of our Lord." Now the question arises at once whether Arde'et is an original Abyssinian composition, or whether it is a translation like the larger part of Ethiopian literature. The parallels quoted in the foregoing paragraph do not afford conclusive evidence; for the hypothetical author of Arde'et may have read them elsewhere and adopted them into his own composition. However this may be, we must count with the fact that there is (A) a long and (B) a short recension of Arde'et: the former is represented by the text published here; the latter by Basset's translation, published in his *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*. The short recension corresponds to ch. II, 17–30 and ch. VIII of the longer one, i.e. it gives only the names of Christ and the vision of hell. Moreover, we

1 Ib. p. 197.

2 Conti Rossini, *Note per la storia letteraria abissina*, p. 51, mentions a manuscript in the British Museum, Or. 65, belonging to the XVI century, but in Wright's *Catalogue* no Or. 65 is to be found.

3 See Conti Rossini, l.c., § 18.

4 No. VII: *Enseignements de Jésus-Christ à ses Disciples.*
must take into consideration that a number of passages in A describing Abyssinian magic practices can scarcely have been translated, and again that there are other passages which seem to have been badly translated from a foreign language; among others the word Kērābōs in VIII, 18 may be due to a wrong reading of an Arabic word (كدربوس), and the name Lutanāwē may be explained from the Arabic. I conjecture, therefore, that the author (or compiler) of Arde'et had certain translations before him—perhaps chiefly chapters II, VIII, IX—and that he worked them over and incorporated them into his work, which, after all, may contain very little written by the man himself. Whatever the relation between recensions A and B may be, there is no doubt that, in spite of the somewhat rugged disposition of the matters and the abrupt transitions, the longer recension was compiled with the intention to make the whole a single connected narrative. This is shown by introduction and conclusion; ch. I, 5–7 gives a very brief idea of what is to be found in the ensuing work and refers to several of the events narrated in chs. II seq.; and again the verses IX, 8 seq. recapitulate what has been told in the entire book.

A few words remain to be said here on what Arde'et contributes toward our knowledge of the so-called "philosophy of names." Although the idea of the power of the "name" runs like a red thread through the whole book, and thus furnishes new material concerning the results reached by the recitation of names, the list of such names and their translations, given in ch. II, 18 seq., is perhaps even more interesting. For here we learn that, notwithstanding all the humbug and ignorance connected with the "names" and the epheisia grammata, a great many of them had originally a definite meaning which was in keeping with the derivation of the word. In Anān'el, "forgiver" (II, 20) we easily recognize the Hebrew לֵוָה "God is gracious"; Geyōn "rich" (ibid.) is very probably the Hebrew לֵוָה; and if Lāhān, Lāhān, Lāhān is interpreted

1 See below, p. 5.
3 Cf. לֵוָה, ib., p. 90.
here (II, 29) "god of gods," we see that the original meaning of the Aramaic 'ullāhā or the Arabic 'ilāh is still reflected; *Menāṭēr "all-keeper" (II, 24) seems to go back through a Greek Menατηρ(τ) to a Hebrew-Aramaic Menāṭēr; *Kēnēyā "wise" (II, 20) may be derived from the Hebrew קְנֵיָה another form for קְנִיָּה "God erects," but its meaning here has been influenced by that of the Ethiopian word Kēnēyā, which corresponds to the Greek Ῥεχέρις. If we consider how often these names must have been copied and recopied, and through how many languages and hands they must have passed, it is only remarkable that there really are some words which are still intelligible. At the same time we see again that a large number of these "names" originated in Hebrew or Aramaic, and that Jewish demonology and angelology had a very widespread influence among the Christians of many different nations. Other Hebrew names represented in our list, which have lost their original meanings, are: *Īyābā (vs. 18), Yān (vs. 26), both as it seems to me, standing for לֶאֹ or Yahweh¹; *Sārāhē (vs. 18, standing for Strāhē?), with which we may compare מָרָה, or מָרָה, or מָרָה; Demāhēl (vs. 18)⁴; *Aḥyāṭēr and Menyāṭēr (vs. 19) correspond to the Hebrew forms מָן and *מָן; *Īyāʾēl (vs. 22)= מִנְָהוֹ; *Amānāʾēl (vs. 22)= מִנְָהוֹ; *Afāʾēl (vs. 23)= מִנְָהוֹ. *Māyēn (v. 23) is probably some derivative of the Aramaic מָרֶי¹; also the names *'Ĕl, *'Elāhē, *Sāhā'ôt,¹² Urāʾēl are recognized to be Hebrew at first appearance. There may be one name in this list which is to be explained from the Arabic, viz: *Latanāʾēl "he does not delay" (vs. 22); for this may be

لا تَلَأُ

But a number of Greek names also are to be found among the Abyssinnian εφεσίου γραμματέω: I believe that most of the names ending in -ōs at least have passed through the Greek. Such names in -ōs occur quite frequently in Ethiopic magic literature; six different names are given, e. g., in Arde'et,

¹ Cf. מַנָּא, *ib., p. 186.
² See מַנָּא, *ib., p. 156.
³ This is sometimes used as an attribute of God or Christ; see Dillmann, Lex. Aeth., s. v.
⁴ See Schwab, l. c., pp. 141, 142, 290.
⁵ *ib., pp. 195, 196, 230.
⁶ *ib., p. 104.
⁷ This is an Old Testament name; cf. Schwab, l. c., p. 37.
⁸ *ib., p. 144.
⁹ *ib., p. 212.
¹⁰ *ib., p. 70.
¹¹ *ib., p. 170.
¹² Sabaoth was well known to the gnostics.
ch. VIII, 24. In this list, again, we meet several Hebrew names, but it would lead me too far here to treat of all these in detail. In conclusion, I wish to refer to the parallel passages given by Basset, in his *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, VIII, pp. 6 and 7, footnotes, and to the very instructive and interesting discussion of the "philosophy of names" by Heitmüller in his book "Im Namen Jesu," Zweiter Teil, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, especially pp. 156 seq.

The manuscript from which the following text is published was acquired in 1900 in Jerusalem, and forms now No. 4 of my small collection of Ethiopic manuscripts. It consists of 81 leaves of heavy parchment, measuring $19 \times 13$ centimeters. The written space measures $13 \times 10$ centimeters on an average. This space is divided into two columns with a space of 1 cm. between them, each column containing 19 lines of bold but very regular and well executed writing. The character of the script and the condition of the parchment indicate that the manuscript is scarcely later than the 17th century.

Leaf 1 is blank. Fol. 2 ro–34 vo contain a copy of Arde'et; fol. 35 ro–51 ro the prayer of Mary at Bärtös; fol. 51 ro–81 ro the prayer of Cyprian.¹ The manuscript was written for a certain Gabra Giörgis, whose name appeared at the end of a number of inserted invocations, but has been erased almost throughout the book. Such insertions are known to be very common in Ethiopic prayers. They are doubtless in many cases later additions, but sometimes it seems as though they belonged to the originals. All of them, however, are indicated in my translation by smaller type. I thought it worth while to edit this text in Ethiopic, even from a single manuscript; for it is desirable that some, at least, of the Ethiopic magic books should be published in the originals. On the other hand, I scarcely believe that a comparison of many manuscripts would be of much avail in this case, particularly as my copy is one of the oldest of this book and presents on the whole a reasonably accurate text; I have, therefore, dispensed with an elaborate *apparatus criticus*. There are, of course, some mistakes which I have attempted to correct from the context. Every case in which my edition dif-

¹ Both were translated by Professor Basset in his *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, Nos. V and VI.
fers from the manuscript has been indicated, except the punctuation, which I have changed in a few cases in order to make clearer the division of the sentences. Words which I propose to omit are enclosed in parentheses, whereas brackets indicate additions of my own. I have also deemed it desirable to divide the whole into chapters and verses, a division which is not found in the manuscript. Some later reader, however, has indicated a division according to the days of the week by placing, in a very inelegant hand, the words "for Tuesday, etc." on the top margin of certain pages, but it is not always clear where in the text he intended to make the division. We find Νυνια on fol. 6 vo; Δευδη: on 9 vo; Νικαια: on 16 ro; Δευθε: on 21 ro; HΦ899: on 28 ro; Φθυθ: on 33 ro. Besides this there are a number of marginal notes added by later hands.

The other manuscripts of Arde'et, extant in European libraries, are enumerated in Dr. Conti Rossini's *Note per la storia letteraria abissina*, p. 51, s. v. Arde'et. In this paragraph we should read "§ 18" instead of "§ 16." The manuscripts 573, 574, 578 of the British Museum mentioned here do not contain the work ordinarily called "Arde'et," but hymns addressed to the Apostles; a mistake must be contained in the figure 65 (see above, p. 4, footnote).

1 Not in MS.; added according to a MS. of the British Museum (Dillmann, No. LXXVIII).

1 MS. እ. ኪ.  
2 እ. ኦ. ከ.  
3 ከ. ከ.  
4 MS. እ. እ. እ. እ.  
5 MS. ከ. ከ.
6 vo.

7 vo.

8 vo.

1 MS. *ον*; *Φα.: ον*.

2 έω-λαμ* prima manu.

3 άλαμ* secunda manu.
1 MS. ለ Twig corrected from ለTwig.
2 Corrected from እንታይ.
3 MS. ያ Twig.
4 H add. sec. man.
5 Add. sec. man.
6 ያ Twig sec. man.
12

E. Littmann,
[1904.]

নুনেল短期: ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ।

গোল短期: ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ ੁ : " ।

10 ro.

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

11 vo.

13

* Sec. man. add. ăr (between ăr. and ኹ)
* ă add. sec. man.
* MS. እስከት:

3 Sec. man. add. ăr (between ăr. and ኹ).
4 k sec. man.
5 Sec. man.: MS. originally ደስፋ.
1 MS. ძლი 2 Corrected from დროთ.
3 MS. ა.
4 The original reading has been made illegible by an indistinct correction.
5 C sec. man.


1 MS. n. 2 The ḍ is very uncertain; the word has been corrected. vol. xxv.
1 MS. የ\\ 2 MS. ከ 3 MS. እ
30 ro.

30 vo.

31 ro.

31 vo.


32 ro.

32 vo.

33 ro. 39

1 MS. ḫ. 2 MS. ḫ. 3 MS. ḫ. 4 MS. ḫ. 5 ḫ. rubbed out in MS.
6 MS. ḫ, caused by the ḫ of ḫ downfall which is directly over it.
7 MS. "ā. 8 Add. sec. manus. 9 MS. ḫ. 10 MS. ḫ downfall.
CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

1 In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God! [This is] the discourse concerning the 12 Disciples, as Jesus taught them by what they are to be saved from sin. 2 And to you also we shall tell, by what ye will be saved from every sin and from every evil thing and from the imprecation of men. 3 And by this be ye saved from every enemy and the poison of the serpent and from everything that has poison which kills soul and body; and from every disease and infirmity of the body and breaking of bones, and (by which they will be saved) from malediction and curse, and from all keepers of magic. 4 And by this thou [O Lord,] hast saved them from all power of the enemy; and [it is told in this book] that the [Disciples] conquered and subdued Satan and cast him out, lest he approach them, and that they shall be saved from every evil, from calamity and from the demon of noontide.

2 And that they were saved from the chastisement of kings and princes (and by which they shall be saved); they cooled off their wrath like water. And by this all creatures feared them. 6 And by this they have found grace with all human creatures. And by this their throne has become honoured and exalted, and by this they were saved from the flame of fire. And by this their face shone like the sun before all people, heathen and Christians. 7 And [here is told] everything that has been done unto the 12 Disciples (and) by this, [namely] the names of Christ. 8 And everybody who believes and invokes, and reads [these names], by these names of Christ let him be saved from sin and from all bad and wicked and treacherous men, and from all diseases of soul and body, and from all demons and evil spirits. 9 And Satan shall be driven out, and he shall not approach him who keeps these words, nor touch his dwelling, but that man’s power shall be strong as a rock and his voice shall be heard as the voice of a lion. 10 And his face shall shine like the sun, and he shall find grace with all people; and his throne shall be exalted, and his honor shall be greater than [that of] all men, and no creature on earth shall overcome [him], and all men shall fear and tremble before his face; he shall defeat and subdue the power of all his enemies and he shall be like the 12 Disciples.
CHAPTER II.

TEACHINGS OF CHRIST CONCERNING HIS NAME.

1 And Jesus rose amongst them, and He blessed them with the sign of the cross; Jesus spoke and said unto them: "Listen to me, to my word and my command; and I will give unto you all desire of your hearts, you my servants and you my friends and you my heirs. 2 And I have selected you from all human creatures, and I have given you power that ye may raise the dead by the true faith, and heal all the sick by the Holy Ghost. 3 And make ye Satan as dry grass before the wind, and he shall be cast out by your prayer, and his power shall be broken, and he shall flee and be ashamed before you. 4 And I have not given to others what I have given to you, my truly beloved, you whose light shall not be extinguished forever, and whose joy shall not cease for generation and generation." 5 And the Disciples of Jesus Christ said unto him: "Truly hast thou spoken in thy word, O Lord, who hast said all this; for it will prevent us from being conquered by any man. If thou, O Lord, art with us | and if we believe in thee, give us, O Lord, that we may invoke thy holy and blessed name!" 6 And again Jesus Christ spoke to His Disciples and said unto them: "Be not afraid, but admonish all people. For there is nobody who can make you tremble or judge and kill you; if ye observe my word, I shall not be far from you at any time. 7 And I love you like myself, and I will rejoice you with my grace and kindness, and I will give you (all) life and salvation of your souls." 8 Thereupon He shewed unto them the mystery of the new world: He revealed unto them and told them his secret name. 9 [And He said:] "If ye can invoke this my name, ye shall be saved from sin, and from all power of the enemy. And he who invokes this my name like you, shall be saved and [not] be confounded | for ever and ever."

10 Thus save me, O Lord, me, thy servant [Gabra] Giorgis, be merciful and gracious unto me, [and] from all sin and from seduction of Satan and from all evil (and) preserve me, thy servant Gabra Giorgis. 11 And He ascended on a mountain with His Disciples, and a shining cloud came and covered them. And Jesus wrote His holy names and gave them to His Disciples and said unto them: "Take [what] I give you; and it shall bring' you grace and

1 Literally "be."
life and salvation." 12 And they took this book, sealed as it was, and said to Jesus: "But we can not open this book, O our Lord and Master; only thou canst open it." 13 Again Jesus said to His Disciples: "Thus they shall not be able to make you tremble or to conquer you, any one who has power, either men, or the evil demons, who seduce mankind, because of the power of these my names. 14 But ye shall conquer all men, and ye shall destroy and subdue all power of the enemy and of the evil and unclean spirits. But your own power shall not weaken, because of my power and strength. And now, who among you has the power of faith, shall open this book." 15 And He laid His hand on Peter's head and blessed him and gave him [power] to open this book. And its treasures were opened and disclosed. 16 And when they saw that the book was opened, they rejoiced exceedingly. Thereupon they praised and lauded and blessed Jesus Christ's name and adored His throne, and marvelling | at this they prayed to Him. And they said among themselves: "To-day we have seen a wonderful miracle, the like we have not seen before."

17 And again Jesus Christ said unto His Disciples: "Take from this once more and keep this my word, and my speech, and do not corrupt it: know ye, I have spoken unto you, contemplate and learn and think that ye may be saved from temptation and sin. For great and honoured is this my speech and this my name." 18 And after that Jesus told them His names, and said unto them:

"Íyáhè means awful
Sráhè means great
Demáhèl means strong

19 Agbádèr means rich
Abyáter means merciful
Menyáter means chastiser

20 Anáníél means forgiver
Kényá means wise
Geyón means rich

21 Ségá means judge
Ségá means all-embracing

22 Satanáwí | means all-creator

Íyáél means he whom all fear
Amáníél means imperishable
23 I (abinetoniš [means] Saviour
Māryōn means all-preserve
Menatēr means all-keeper
Ēt, Ēt, Ēt means judge of all
Akō means all-sufferer
25 Ēlāhē means all-bearer
Hētē means rejoicer
Hīlē means healer of all ill
26 Yānu means true, upright
Sabāʾôt means element
Af means humble
27 Alūkūnō means patient
Lahē, Lāhē, Lāhē means pure of all sin
Mustadyōn means just
28 Afār, Afār, Afār means giver and taker
Afreyōn means awful of voice
Afānātē means king of kings
29 Lāhūn, Lāhūn, Lāhūn means god of gods
Ukōtē means judge of judges."

6 vo. 30 And there is no other god besides Him in heaven | above
and on earth below, One God is He, Jesus Christ, Sabāʾôt,
Holy, Holy, Holy, Immortal, from now and for ever and ever,
Amen! 31 And after Jesus had finished telling His names again
Jesus said to His Disciples: "Go and teach and preach in my
name! Heal the lepers by this my name, cast out the demons
by this my name; and ye will be saved from this power of the
malignant demons. 32 Close their mouths by this my name;
and ye will be saved from the fire-eater by this my name; and
ye will find full favor and perfect grace with all peoples of the
earth and [with] the kings by this my name. 33 And there is
nobody who shall be able to overpower you; all creatures shall fear
7 ro. and tremble and be afraid of your | voice, and all unclean spirits
shall be driven away. 34 And when you lay this my name [on
somebody], speak thus: 'Give us O Lord by the power of
these thy names full favor and perfect grace with all people; let
all living beings fear us and let them tremble before our voice.'"
35 And by the power of these thy names may the satans be driven
away and not approach me and may they not touch my soul or my
body, thy servant . . . . Giorgis.
Doings of the Disciples by the power of Christ's name (Ch. III–VI).

CHAPTER III.

Healing of sick people and driving out of demons.

1 And the 12 Disciples went into all countries to kings and rulers. And they said unto them: "Believe in the Lord the God of all flesh, that ye learn and believe! And if ye believe us, ye shall be saved by this name of our Saviour." 2 All people said among one another: "Pray, tell us how your faith is, and pray, heal those sick. And if ye have faith, we shall believe in your God." 3 And the Disciples said unto all people: "Come [and] see! and bring all sick and diseased, that we may heal them by the grace of God." 4 And the 12 Disciples read these names of God, and while they were praying, heaven was opened unto them; and they saw [it] open. And when they had seen it open, then they rejoiced greatly, and their faces shone brighter than the sun before all people. And all people feared them and were afraid of their voice, and all the sick were healed by these words. 5 Thus heal me, thy servant . . . Giorgis. 6 And all the people believed in their words, and they said to them: "Ye are truly the Disciples of Jesus Christ. Ye are strong [by the power of] the Holy Ghost and in faith." 7 And again they went to shew the faith in this prayer, and they came to [a place] where many demons were assembled. And they prayed this prayer, and they invoked the names of God. And they took sand in their hands and looked up lifting their eyes towards heaven. 8 They united in prayer saying with one voice: "Disperse, O Lord, all demons who beset us; by the power of these thy holy names close their mouth and destroy their power." And after they had said this, they cast the sand against them. 9 And all unclean demons perished and were destroyed by these names of Christ: Seven thousand one hundred and forty (?) demons were dispersed. 10 Thus disperse all demons and unclean spirits [that beset me and (that) are stronger than I, thy servant . . . . . . . By the power of these thy names save me, O Lord, from all evil war and murder and the mouth of the enemy and the thrusting of lances and the flying of arrows and the throwing of stones. 11 And from every man who devours and who
is devoured, and from every man who inflicts plagues, and from every man who touches and who is touched [, with magical power], and from every strong man and oppressor, and from every deceiver and calumniator, and from every oppressor and violent man, and from every idol, mārī and mārīt; and from every root and poison and from every man who reviles and curses; and from all who eat flesh and drink blood; and from every enemy within and without (?), and from every man who kills the soul and [every] waylayer. 12 And from every snake and serpent having poison which kills life, and from every wicked man who corrupts soul by soul, and from everything [evil] which I have seen and heard and which I have not heard, within and without, far and near, and from every one who designs evil against me, save me, thy servant. . . . . . 13 O Lord, protect us from every disease and trouble and infirmity of soul and body, and from every disease of māqraq and colic and calamity and the demon of noontide and the disease of lowlands and highlands. 14 And from all this—Jesus said: And every man who believes and reads [these names] and is washed and purified by this prayer; it shall bring him perfect grace and [it shall be] a subduer of enemies and an expeller of demons and a salvation of the soul and a purification of sin on the last day—may it be [such] to thy servant. . . . . .

CHAPTER IV.

DOINGS OF THE DISCIPLES IN PERSIA.

9 vo. 1 And after the 12 Disciples had finished this work, then they went to (all) the people of Persia, to preach and to speak and teach all people of Persia. They came to 77 kings and rulers, and they stood up among them and said to them: 2 "Behold, our Lord has sent us to you that we speak unto you and heal all your sick by the grace of Jesus Christ. And if ye believe, ye shall find life and salvation of your soul[s]. But if ye refuse to listen to our words and to our command, behold, God shall judge you in his wrath, and no one of the other gods in whom ye believe, shall save you." 3 Thereupon all the people became angry and said to the 12 Disciples: "Ye being men [like ourselves], by what power do ye heal the sick and cast out the demons

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1 This meaning is merely guessed; the Ethiopic word ከለ እADF may be a mistake for እለ እADF. But perhaps there is a mistranslation in the Ethiopic text.

2 Literally "soul."

3 The meaning of this word is uncertain, it is perhaps to be derived from እል እADF "hip."

4 Dillmann: malum imprvisum.
by your word? Where is your God? Tell us clearly so that we may believe you." And there was a man among the people of Persia who believed in the name of Jesus Christ, whose name was Qirōṣ and whose wife, called Sūrōq, was possessed by a demon; he fell down before the 12 Disciples and said unto them: "Since I left my mother's womb I have believed in the name of Jesus Christ, and I have worshipped no other God. And ye are blessed. Truly ye are the Disciples of Christ, who (can) endure and teach all people, and by your prayer truly all sick and diseased are healed; and by your word the unclean demons leave. And I believe in you myself. Come, and heal my wife, that all people may learn your faith." And the 12 Disciples said to Qirōṣ: "Behold, be not afraid, O Qirōṣ, believe in Christ! behold thy wife shall be healed by the true word of faith." And they made her to sleep on her bed, and they all prayed over her and blessed her with their hands. And they said all together: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God." And they read these names of God and said: "Leave, evil demon, by the power of the names of Christ!" And they stretched forth their hands together and looked up lifting their eyes toward heaven. They asked and prayed, and said in unison: "Give us, O Lord, by the power of these thy names power and authority [of] the true faith | by which we may heal all sick and [make] strong (and) the diseased. Give us, O Lord, by the power of these thy names [power] and authority [of] the true faith; give us, O Lord, [power] by which we may cast out all demons and evil spirits; by the power of these thy names [give us] salvation and subduing of the enemy by the true faith, and perfect grace with all peoples and kings and rulers of the earth, life and salvation on earth and in heaven. Give us spiritual penitence which turns us to thee all the days of our life. Give us the true faith and the holy prayer which drives away all disease of soul and body—may it be for everyone, [and] for thy servant . . . . . .—and which foils the incantations and the doings of men, and purifies from sin and annihilates our trespasses and offenses: give us all that our heart | asks from thee. Give us strength and fearsome awe that we may enter and destroy the power of all our enemies and adversaries. Give us the true faith which seals the mouths and binds the tongues and closes the throats of
all who slander us and speak evil against us. 14 Give us the true faith which strengthens our loins and consolidates our hearts and makes strong (?) our souls so that we are not afraid, day or night, of the wrath of kings and of rulers. 15 Give us, O Lord, the true faith and the holy prayer that none who plan and do wrong may overpower us, destroy their plans and battle the thoughts of their hearts and their counsels and paralyze what they speak with their tongues, and turn off what they speak with their mouths. 16 Give us, O Lord, the true faith

12 ro. and | the holy prayer by which the waylayers flee and escape. And as to those who kill the soul—shatter their shields and their spears, and may their bows and arrows be broken. 17 Give us wisdom and gentle knowledge, patience and spiritual humbleness, that we may learn and perceive how Satan shall not seduce us nor make us fall into the pit of sin. Give us strong help and hope, Amen! 18 And by the true faith let us find reward with thee on the day of compensation and (on the day) of judgment, then may thy grace find us! Before thee [let us find] eternal joy and everlasting bliss, and let us be satisfied with the blessing of thy house in safety and peace after the evil days. 19 Give us the true faith and the holy prayer, by which the keepers of sorcery may not overpower us; abash and foil | their witchcraft and destroy their power and shatter all their work. 20 Give us the true faith and the holy prayer that we may not be overpowered by the blasphemers and slanderers (?) who curse us in the evening and in the morning, by sun and moon [light], on mountains and on hills, with praise and with incense touching the altar, and looking in the water and knocking on the ground; as to those who curse us by these things, do not hear (them) any wish of their hearts and do not accept their incense, and let their curse fall back upon their heads and let them be rooted out for ever and ever, Amen! 21 Give us the true faith and the holy prayer, by which the evil gods cannot overpower us; destroy their idols and shatter their thrones. 22 Give us the new light and enlighten the eyes of our hearts and remove the stumbling-[block] from [before] our feet (?). And lead us

13 ro. on the right path and bring us where we | wish to go in peace. 23 Give us the true faith and the holy and profitable and quickening prayer; make thy Holy Ghost come down from heaven, from thee, that it be a healing for all sick and diseased. And
bless with its fruit our children for our generation [and] for ever, Amen! 24 Give us that all this which we have spoken with our mouths and our tongues may come to us from (?) thy exalted dwelling and the sacred place of thy glory,—this which we have asked thee; and we have prayed unto thee that our prayer may not be in vain', help us soon to-day on this day. 25 Give us the true faith, glory and wealth and perfect grace with all peoples and kings [and] rulers of the earth. 26 As thou gatherest the cloud[s] and sheddest the water on the face of the earth, thus make rain and shed grace upon me in my face; that it be a coat of mail and a protecting shield; like a hen that covers and shields her young under her wings, thus shield and protect me under the cover of thy wings, with thy protecting shield; and with thy holy right hand and with thy strong power protect me against all thy punishment and thy wrath, and lead me out by thy fear, thy servant . . . . 27 If it is thy will, show thy power and thy authority to-day on this holy day;—heal this woman soon that they may know us and [know] that we have the true faith and are truly thy Disciples; and that thou hast created and shaped us, [and] that there is truly no other god beside thee, in heaven above and on earth below. To thee belongs glory and praise for ever and ever, Amen!” 28 And after they had finished their prayer and their request, God heard them from heaven, His holy place, and gave to the 12 Disciples all that their heart requested: and they breathed their spirit into her ear and washed her with the water of prayer, and she became whole. 29 And she rose straightway and fell down before them and exulted and rejoiced with great joy. But Satan left by the prayer of the 12 Disciples, and thus they healed this woman. 30 And likewise heal me, O Lord, from all disease of my soul and my body and keep away all demons from thy servant . . . . 31 And when all the kings and rulers and people saw that this woman was healed, one half of them, who did not recognize, perished and were destroyed for ever and ever—Amen! But those who believed were saved from all disease and trouble of their souls by these names of Christ. 32 Thus save me and protect me, O Lord, by the power of these thy names, thy servant . . . . 33 For Jesus said: Everyone who believes and who invokes this my name, shall be saved and shall not be confounded for ever and ever. 34 Thus let myself not be confounded, thy servant . . . . 35 And everyone who is

1 Literally “return naked.” 2 Perhaps mistake for “believe.”
washed and cleansed by the prayer of the 12 Disciples, shall not be approached by any power of evil or unclean spirits. 36 Drive away all power of the enemy and let him not inflict any disease or infirmity upon the soul and the body of thy servant .........

15 ro. Thus, O Lord, save me by the power of these thy names. | And by the prayer of thy holy Disciples preserve my soul and my body, that of thy servant ......... 37 And they set Qrōs over all, even over two kings, and made him heir of their country. By what? By the prayer of the 12 Disciples. 38 And the people spoke among themselves, they saw and wondered and believed in the 12 Disciples and in Christ who had made powerful the prayer of the 12 Disciples and in Christ whose throne is glorious and exalted and who is free from temptation and subdues the power of all his enemies and adversaries. 39 Thus save me, O Lord, from temptation; bless me and protect me, thy servant ......... By the power of these thy names exalt my throne, and humble and abash my enemies and adversaries and crush them under the stool of my feet, of thy servant ......... for ever and ever, Amen! 40 [They said:] "All who believe in the name of Christ, come, let us unite to extol these Disciples of Christ. And let us destroy the gods and burn [them] with fire, and let us not worship any other gods besides theirs. And let us believe in their prayer that we may be saved from every chastisement of God's wrath which burns and blazes [heavier] than a flame of fire." 41 And they gathered their gods and burned [them] with fire, and all their gods perished, and none among them was saved. 42 Thus make perish, O Lord, all demons and evil spirits who eat flesh and drink blood; who crush the bones and seduce the children of men: drive them away, O Lord, by the power of these thy names, and by the prayer of thy holy Disciples, from thy servant ......... 43 And they were converted to the Lord God. And they were saved by the prayer of the 12 Disciples, and became good and compassionate [people], and their generations were blessed for ever and ever, Amen. 44 Thus bless me, O Lord, by the power of these thy names, and by the prayer of the 12 Disciples. Preserve me and protect me, thy servant ......... for ever and ever, Amen!

1 The text does not seem to be altogether certain here.
CHAPTER V.

DOINGS OF THE DISCIPLES IN SODOM AND GOMORRHA.

1 And after that the 12 Disciples arose and went away, after they had healed all sick and diseased. 2 And these Disciples said: "Come, let us go to the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, let us speak to them and give them precepts. And let us not fear the earthly death for the name of God; for God is with us, and nobody can overpower us because of this name of our Saviour. 3 And they are the people who have incensed God by their evil doing[s] and have polluted themselves by their many sins, and have made themselves like animals. Come, let us take courage and not be afraid of them and let us rebuke them with true admonition." 4 And they went to the land of Sodom and Gomorrah and preached and taught, saying unto them: "Believe ye in the Lord God, your creator! But as to us, if we die for the name of Christ, [we shall receive] great reward in heaven, and we shall find gain and receive grace [and] reward and life from Him. 5 And if ye refuse to listen to our words and commands, the Lord our God will judge you; but if ye listen to [our] word [and] our commands, your sins will be forgiven unto you and God will desist from His wrath against you. 6 If ye repent and take refuge with Him, do not worship other gods; for the gods cannot save you. 7 Do not go to the wife of [another] man' and do not kill the soul of your friend, that God may not kill you, [and deliver you] unto punishment in the hell-fire. 8 Behold, your end is near and has arrived, and there will be hunger and pestilence; your country will perish and vanish and be as if it had never been created." 9 And when the 12 Disciples admonished them thus, the people became angry and enraged, then they hurled many maledictions against them and they seized the 12 Disciples, and said to them: 10 "Why do ye give us commands which we do not know? Behold, we shall kill you; let us see who shall save you to-day from our hands, you who pride yourselves without having a helper." 11 Again the 12 Disciples said to them: "Trustin in the true faith and strengthened by the Holy Ghost, we do

1 Perhaps we should read άλλα: άλλα: (or ά) άλλα: "man to man."
not fear you, for ye will not be able to kill us; God will help us and deliver us from your hands to-day, but ye will be without strength or power. 12 Ye are unclean and cursed, ye are in sin and in bodies without souls." 13 And they bound their hands and feet. And an angel of God descended from heaven and came to the 12 Disciples at the time of midnight, saying unto them: "Be not afraid, ye apostles [and] servants of God, select and strengthened by the Holy Ghost." 14 And then they fell down on their knees. And then they prayed and asked and invoked these names: God | opened their fetters and their faces shone brighter than sun and moon before all [people], and the 12 Disciples said: 15 "See how the Lord our God has saved us and [how] our fetters have been opened by the power of our God." 16 And [even] after they had seen that their fetters had been opened, none of them believed except one whose name was Lot; and again they said to the 12 Disciples: 17 "Behold, we shall throw you into a fiery furnace, and then, let us see who shall bring you out of this fire." 18 But these Disciples said to them: "Fire will be like cold water by the will of the Lord our God, and water will be like fire. Without the will of the Lord our God no fire can reach us or touch us." 19 And | Lot said to all the people: "Do not do this thing, and likewise do not revile them. Come, come, let us listen to their word and let us keep their commands. 20 For truly they are the Disciples and have the true faith, and I believe in their prayer, and will not walk in your works nor follow your traces." 21 And when they heard these words of Lot, all the people became angry and said to him: "Thou also, if thou believest in them—let us see, how they will save thee, they who can not save themselves!" 22 But then Lot took courage and united with the 12 Disciples. And they heated a pit of fire seven times. 23 And the Disciples said to Lot: "Be not afraid and let thy heart not fear; behold, | God is with thee, He will save thee." 24 And the 12 Disciples prayed these names of Christ, and took sand in their hands and cast it in the fire, saying: "Make, O Lord, this fire like cold water!" while all the people witnessed [it] with their own eyes. 25 And they said: "We must believe them to be keepers of magic art more than

all [other] men, because they have escaped (?) ; and now come, let us give them poison." 26 And they gave 12 full cups to the 12 Disciples. But the disciples prayed to God and read these names of God, saying: 27 "Thou, O Lord our God and our Saviour, [destroy] this poison by the power of these thy names so that they can not kill us and that these people of the land be abashed!"

28 And then they crossed their faces, and saying: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost" they took [it] and drank [it], but all this tribulation did not harm them. 29 The people tried them with all [devices], but they could not overpower them. Then all the people said among themselves: 30 "Never until today have we seen such evildoers, whom no man can overpower and who have made our strong fetters like fire, and fire they made like cold water. 31 And since we have punished them in all [possible ways] and have not overpowered them, what shall we do unto them? Let us drive the 12 Disciples away from our country!" 32 But they said to all the [people of] Sodom and Gomorrah: "See the power of God, that saves us from your hands! But ye have no power or strength!" 33 And they went away from that land, and said to Lot: "Come quickly, leave with us this town, for the end of this land has come." And Lot departed with his children and his wife; and the 12 Disciples cursed the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, and shook the dust from their feet. 34 And God made a flame of fire come down from heaven upon them; the 88 gates of this land were extinguished and exterminated for ever and ever—Amen—and all [its people] perished because of the curse of the 12 Disciples, that it should be a witness for them. And no one among them escaped; it became a desert, as though it had never been. 35 Thus extinguish and exterminate my enemies and adversaries, those of thy servant . . . . . . Save me, O Lord, from the | unclean spirits and the bad men who beset us and the wicked ones who beset [us] night and day: abash them and drive them away from me by the power of these thy names. Keep me and protect me and defend me and shelter me, thy servant . . . . . . 36 And Lot was a chosen one of God, and was blessed and saved because he believed in the prayer of the 12 Disciples; and Lot was strong in the true faith. 37 Make me like him, O Lord, and save me and lead me out of every persecution and temptation, and evil speech and imprecations, by the power of these thy names and the prayer of the 12 Disciples, me thy servant . . . . . . 38 Be merciful and gracious unto
me and do not be far from me at any time. Thou art my God and my
21 ro. Lord, protect me with thy strong right hand and strengthen me, thy servant.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISCIPLES AND 88 KINGS AND 140 CITIES.

1 And after the 12 Disciples had manifested these things, they went into all lands. And on the road they found 88 kings and 140 cities assembled worshipping other gods. 2 And the 12 Disciples came and said: “In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God! Be abashed and ashamed all ye who worship other gods; but ye, who believe in the name of our God, shall be saved by these names of Christ.” 3 And after the 12 Disciples had said this, the 88 [kings] gathered against the 12 Disciples and intended to kill them; but the Disciples prayed then, raising their eyes and lifting their thoughts and stretching forth their hands toward heaven. 4 And 21 vo. they said, united in one thought: “Exalt, praise and land [Him]!” 5 And they said: “Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God; landed and praised be thy name for ever. For we are thy servants who invoke thy everlasting (?) name; and now, hear us, O Lord, [grant] the desire of our hearts and do not make us a derision of the enemy. 6 Save us, O Lord, by the power of these thy names from this people and [these] kings and rulers and the evildoers: abash them before us and behind us. And destroy their power, [make it] like the grass of the roofs, and disperse their counsel and their gathering that they cannot overpower us, Amen! 7 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all evil men and mourners who [try to] kill us,—by the power of these thy names, Amen! 8 Save us, O Lord, our 22 ro. God, by the power of these thy names from all evil and [from] the demon of noontide and from calamity; by day and by night drive them away, and keep them far [from us] that they may not beset us, but be abashed by thy grace and mercy, Amen! 9 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names, from all intriguers and deceivers and oppressors, shatter their

1 The MS. has here 180; in the other places we read 140.
2 Perhaps “deceivers,” if we read AndPasswordInsteadX instead of AndPasswordInsteadY.
power and baffle their counsel, and paralyze their intentions, Amen! 10 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from those who frighten and endanger our soul and body, and [from] the serpent and the dragon, who pierces and bites with his teeth and his tongue and scratches with his claw—drive [him] away and avert [him] from me, Amen! 11 Save us, O Lord our God, by the power of these thy names from all keepers of magic art, who corrupt the soul and who make poisons with skin and pillows, with sweat and the nails of our hands and the hair of our heads and the nails of our feet, and with the hair of our eye-[brows] and the hair of our clothes and the hair of our girdles, and where we eat and drink;¹ out of our whole souls and bodies,—destroy [such] poisons and make their power like ashes. May they be like cold water and like soft lead (sic!) that nobody can overpower us, Amen! 12 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all punishment by thy wrath and [from] reviling speech, and those who revile us, let them be detested² with all men. And those who are wroth against us—may God let the punishment of his wrath come upon them, Amen. 13 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all the persecution of Satan, from seducing lust, from all the nets of death, and abash Satan that he flee and be ashamed and not approach us; and let his power be shattered and his counsel be destroyed [that it be] like ashes, Amen! 14 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all intriguing men and those who calumniate with words and tongue, and disperse their counsel and cut off their tongues with [thy] sword, Amen! 15 Save us, O Lord, our God, by these thy names from the short days, from the evil day, and from the hours of temptation. Guard me and protect my soul and my body and let me dwell in health and in peace, me, thy servant . . . . . . 16 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all enemies who kill our souls: let their power be broken and their shield be shattered and let their lances and arrows turn back upon themselves. 17 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from a death in sin, from the fire-

¹ This may refer to the belief that magic is particularly effective if applied to a person while eating.
² Read חֵד instead of חֵד.
eater: let us find grace and mercy before thee and let us not be ashamed before thee in the end, Amen. 18 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names, from disease and infirmity and from breaking of the bones of the body. 19 And heal speedily by thy grace and mercy thy servant . . . . . 20 Save us, O Lord, our God by the power of these thy names from the disease of mag"ay⁵ and colic, and [from] diseases of the eye and the head. 21 And avert [them], O Lord, and remove them from me and raise me from my fall, me thy servant . . . . | Amen. 22 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names, from disease⁵ of our⁵ feet and from tears of our⁴ eyes. Strengthen our feet on the path of peace and enlighten the eyes of our hearts, and lead us and sustain us in the good. Give us, O Lord, knowledge without grief [and] knowledge without hypocrisy. 23 And fill my heart with joy and gladness, that of thy servant . . . . Amen! 24 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all grief and calamity; and from all turpitude on earth and in heaven; [let us do] only honest things; and from eternal punishment and flaming fire; bestow on us joy on earth and life in heaven. 25 Do not forsake me, thy servant . . . . 26 Grant us all this that we have spoken with | our mouths and have asked, and do not treat us like other people: but love us more than all human creatures, bless us and have mercy upon us, guard us and protect us and confirm us, thou who hast fastened heaven without a pillar and the earth on the water. 27 Thus confirm me, O Lord, thy servant . . . . 28 By the power of these thy names and by the power of thy kingdom and by the strength of thy throne, thou art our Lord God. Save us from all evil on earth and from all condemnation in heaven. Guard us and protect us also from being overpowered by any bad man,— 29 [guard me also,] thy servant . . . . — 30 who speak [evil] with their mouths and voices and who plan [evil] in their hearts, from every heavy punishment in heaven; from all this save us by the power of these thy names and | by the strength of thy throne and by thy exalted dwelling; and by the glory of thy imperishable kingdom, by thy full and sweet everlasting kindness. 31 Save me and defend me: in this world and in the coming world thy grace and thy mercy be upon me, thy servant . . . . . Amen!

¹ Perhaps "the consuming (אתי) fire." ² See above p. 31, ann. 3. ³ Literally "chastisement." MS. "my."
32 Be not far from us, but be with us always at every time, help us speedily to-day, on this day let thy kindness be revealed upon us. And thy will and thy pleasure be done; we cannot carry out this thing. 33 But with thee everything is carried out by thy word and thy commandment; carry out on us thy great mercy and grace, and let thy salvation fill all our hearts with joy and gladness. And let all this that we have asked and that we have said, be done speedily; help us to-day, on this day.

25 vo. 34 Thus hear my prayer that I have asked from thee, I, thy servant.

35 To thee be praise and laud for ever and ever, Amen.”

36 And after they had finished these words, God granted their request and all the desires of their hearts; because they believed, he heard their request. 37 And God said to his Disciples: “My servants, strong in faith, come ye to me; for I have chosen you out of all human creatures. Take [what] I give unto you; grace more abundant than the dew of the skies and [farther reaching] than the width of the earth; I love and favor you exceedingly. 38 But now speak and announce to all creatures, that whosoever believes in you, believes in me and shall be saved by your prayer, and if any one does not believe in you, behold, ye shall see to-day, how I shall punish them in my wrath, and I shall disperse them like sand on the earth, for even the heavens and the earth cannot bear my wrath; the whole creation shall fear and tremble and be terrified.”

39 When these Disciples heard this, they thanked the Lord and praised their God, and they said to all the people: “Ye have refused to listen to our word and command.” 40 And straightway they were terrified and appalled by the fear in their hearts, and their gods were exterminated and rooted out for ever, by this prayer of the names of Christ. 41 And while [the Disciples] crossed their faces and prayed and read these names of Christ, the hands and the feet of these people became dry like wood, and their bows and arrows were broken and came back upon themselves. And their shields and lances were shattered; they were abashed and ashamed before the(m) [Disciples].

42 In the same way may the hands and the feet of all my enemies and adversaries be broken, and their power be shattered and their eyes become blind and their mouths be bound and their throats be shut; may

1 MS. “me.”
they not be able to speak and may they be abashed and ashamed. And keep all the demons that be set me away from me, and save me by the power of these thy holy names, and I have taken refuge in the prayer of the 12 Disciples, I, thy servant. . . . . 43 And the 12 Apostles were saved by the power of these names of Christ from the hands of all the 88 kings and 140 cities who worshipped other gods. 44 Thou who hast saved the 12 Disciples, save me in the same way as them, O Lord, my God, from the fiery furnace in heaven and from all evil on earth. O Lord, choose me and be pleased with my soul and my body, [with] me, thy servant. . . . . 45 [Then] the 12 Disciples converted the 88 kings [and] the 140 cities and made them forsake their gods and brought them back to the Lord their God.

CHAPTER VII.

HYMN OF THE DISCIPLES.

1 After he had revealed their true faith and their uplifting prayer to all peoples of the earth, they thanked and praised the Lord, their God, they lauded and sang with one mouth, and they said in unison:

2 "[Alleluia,] thou art clement, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art righteous, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art merciful, O Lord, Amen.

3 Alleluia, thou art true, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, be thou gracious unto us, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art pure, O Lord, Amen.

4 Alleluia, thou art without impurity of sin, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art praised, O Lord, and thou art blessed,
O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art awful, O Lord, Amen.

5 Alleluia, thou art mighty, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art strong, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art wise, O Lord, Amen.

6 Alleluia, thou art exalted, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art faithful, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art forbearing, O Lord, Amen.

7 Alleluia, thou givest life, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou raisest, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art knowing, O Lord, Amen.

1 Probably a mistake for "thou art."
8 Alleluia, thou art the king of kings, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, thou art the god of gods, O Lord, Amen.
Alleluia, to thee belong praise and thanks for ever and ever, Amen.
9 Thee we worship on our knees, and we believe in thy living name for ever and ever, Amen!"

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRIST SHOWS HIS DISCIPLES THE PLACE OF CONDEMNATION.

1 And after all this had happened to the 12 Disciples, they again asked our Lord Jesus Christ and said to Him: "Behold, thou hast given us all that we have asked thee, and thou hast shown us the light which does not go out for ever and ever, and the joy which does not end for generation and generation. But now show us the sight of the judgment that we may learn and perceive its likeness." 2 And He said unto them: "Better than to see it would be for you not to see this sight of the judgment. For if ye see the smoke of the judgment, your soul will fear and tremble; desist, do not see [it]!" 3 But there-

28 vo. after | He showed them a bubbling stream of fire full from its top to its bottom, with reeking and fetid smoke. And when they saw the smoke of the judgment from a distance, tormenting pain came over them. 4 And they fell on their faces and were terrified, weeping bitter tears, and they were like corpses forty days and forty nights. 5 And after that Jesus Christ called the Apostles: "Rise and be not afraid, my servants!" 6 And they rose straightway and crossed their faces, and said: "We have seen a stupendous thing. When we had fallen on our faces having seen [the judgment], we crossed our faces, and we were like corpses. For when we had seen the smoke of the judgment we wept bitter tears and we said, 'We are born in vain.'" 7 And Jesus said unto them: "Have I not told you that it would be better for you not to see this judgment than to see it?" 8 And the Disciples of Jesus answered him: "It is true, O Lord, that thou hast told us [so]. But now tell us, O Lord, how a man can be saved from this consuming fire!" 9 And the 12 Disciples wept [tears that were] like a stream of ten winters. Then the Disciples of Jesus said to Him: 10 "Why hast thou created our father Adam in thy image and in thy
likeness? Do not destroy the work of thy hands! But now tell us openly, O our Lord, O our Master, by what man can be saved from sin! For if thou art not merciful unto us, there is no good deed in us; but if thou art merciful unto us, we are called righteous and pure. 11 Then will be known thy mercy upon us sinners and trespassers. But with us there is no one good and righteous and pure like thee, our Lord, our Master, for there is no man that does not sin before thee, O our Lord. 12 Is there any wood that does not become putrid, or a man who would be found perfect, except thee? 13 O Lord, do not punish me in thy wrath and do not chastise me with thy punishment, me thy servant.... 14 For there is none that can stand before thy face; heaven and earth can not bear thy wrath. But save us, that we may be saved from thy hand." 15 Again Jesus Christ said unto His Disciples: "I shall tell you truly; but do not reveal these my words [to anybody], and [this is] because he cannot bear or keep [them]. And when I tell you the secret, heaven will burn and earth will be fire. 16 And to you everything is revealed, nothing have I concealed from you, and no one holds I equal unto you except Mary my mother, who bore me in her womb nine months and embraced me with her arms and nursed me from a breast sweeter than honey and salt; 17 and except John the Virgin, who baptized me in the river of Jordan and who touched my head which cannot be touched and which even the blaze of fire cannot touch—he took it in his hand; 18 and except Abraham my Beloved, with whom I made a covenant in the land of Kiráboś, standing in a column of clouds, to whom I sent down a sheep as a ransom for his son Isaak, and to whom I revealed secret mysteries; 19 except [also] my servant Moses the prophet with whom I spoke voice to voice and to whom I gave victory over the enemy and whom I set over the Children of Israel 72 years." 20 And the Disciples of Jesus asked him that he might reveal unto them His secret name. 21 After that Jesus spoke to them and said unto them: "Take [it]. Now I give you these my names; keep them and guard them, [that] ye may be saved from sin. 22 And every man who knows these my names, shall be saved; whosoever hangs them around his neck and wears them and keeps them and reads them and whosoever is purified and cleansed by his belief [in them], shall

1 Literally "hand." 2 Probably="Chaldea," see above p. 4.
be saved from many sins." 23 And Jesus wrote his names with His own holy hand and gave them to His Disciples. And while they read together, they found His secret name and they rejoiced and exulted, saying: "Lauded and praised be thy name for ever. Thou, O Lord, our God, hast given us all this, [namely] thy holy name." 24 And they invoked His name saying: "Rāfūn, Rāfūn, Rāfūn; Rākūn, Rākūn, Rākūn; Pīs, Pīs, Pīs; Aflusō, Aflusō, Aflusō; Malyō'eyōs, Malyō'eyōs, 31 ro. [Malyō'eyōs]; Mal'eyōs, Mal'eyōs, [Mal'eyōs]; Enā'el, Enā'el, Enā'el; Šerō'ēl, Šerō'ēl, Šerō'ēl; Henā'el, Henā'el, Henā'el; Nārōs, Nārōs, Nārōs; Kōrōs, Kōrōs, Kōrōs; Fedōs, Fedōs, Fedōs; Līnōs, Līnōs, Līnōs; 'Eyōs, 'Eyōs, 'Eyōs; and my name which is greater than all, Bersābēhēlyōs. 25 And there is nobody who knows this my name except the four beasts, and except the twenty-four elders of heaven¹ and except Mary my mother." 26 And He said unto them: "By these my names ye shall be saved and your sins shall be forgiven to you. And whosoever invokes [them] like you and believes in this my name, shall be saved, and not be ashamed before me, and shall not see the smoke of the judgment; he shall be free from sin; his sins which he has committed from his childhood until his old age shall be forgiven unto him." 27 And Jesus Christ said: 31 vo. "Of all that is written in my books nothing is greater than these my words; and this prayer is greater than all my prayers; and whosoever believes in this prayer, I shall save him and shall be merciful and gracious unto him. 28 I have sworn by my exalted throne; I have sworn by my pure dwelling; I have sworn by the stool of my feet; I have sworn by the head of Mary my mother, by the holy angels, my messengers. 29 And I do not deceive by my word, and I do not delude by my righteousness, and I do not make impure my covenant." 30 And as thou hast saved thy holy Disciples, thus save me;² O Lord, by this thy holy name, cleanse me and purify me from my sin, me thy servant ........ 31 And again Jesus Christ said: "Blessed be he who reads this book and blessed be he who is purified by the prayer and who believes in this prayer. 32 Blessed he who is anxious, when they read this prayer, to keep this prayer; I will make strong his power like [that of] a rock, and I will guard him by my power and strength, and I will love him like my Disciples.

¹ Cf. Revelation iv. 4-6. ² MS "us."
Blessed he who wears this prayer and hangs it around his neck; no evil spirit shall approach him and nobody shall be able to touch his body or his soul. And where this book is found, disease and infirmity and hunger shall not enter that house, and Satan shall be driven away and not approach that dwelling. Nor shall a thief steal, and as to his enemies—no enemy or adversary of his shall be able to destroy or make fly away his power. And his house and his children shall be blessed, and the angels shall not stay away from him. Always all blessing of the prophets and apostles shall fill his house and the spirit of God shall abide in it. But the spirit of Satan shall stay away from it. And thou also if thou believest in this prayer, everything shall be done unto thee by this prayer. And the water of prayer shall not be poured on the earth, for it is sacred and holy, the likeness of the blood of Christ. Let it be a cleanser of sin and a salvation for the soul and the body of thy servant. And if thou, reading this, art purified, thou shalt find favor and love with all men; the mouth of the enemy and the thrust of lances shalt thou overpower and thou shalt subdue the power of all thy enemies and adversaries; and nobody shall stand before thee, but all shall fear and tremble before thy voice. And when they see thy face, they shall flee and hasten [away], and thy speech shall be sweet toward the men who plan evil in their hearts against thee. And the mighty shall not overpower thee by their might. From all this he shall be saved,” said the Saviour Himself—As thou hast said in thy word, save me thy servant.—to Him be praise and thanks for ever and ever, Amen!

CHAPTER IX.

CHRIST SHOWS PARADISE TO HIS DISCIPLES.

1 And after Jesus had said these things to them, again His Disciples asked him, saying: “Behold, we have seen the sight of the judgment. But now show us the sight of Paradise that we may rejoice in thy grace and kindness!” 2 And Jesus said unto his Disciples: “Rise, let us go through the regions [of heaven?]; and there I will show you wonderful miracles and astonishing things.” 3 And they went and came to the

1 The translation of this passage is very doubtful.
regions [of heaven] and they saw the land of Paradise, brighter
than the sun and sweeter of smell than an offering of frankin-
cense: even while it was [still] (a) far (land), [its] fragrance was
wafted [to them]. 4 Milk and honey were flowing [in it] pro-
fusely like water; and vines were planted all over the land, and
its twigs spread over the seven heavens, and its grapes were full
of never ceasing and imperishable delight. And when they saw
[this], they rejoiced greatly. 5 And they said: "We have
seen to-day wondrous and marvellous [things] which we never
saw [before]. O our Lord [and] our Master, thy word is true,
and all thy ways are straight, thou art in truth the king, O
Lord." 6 And further they said unto Him: "Tell us, O our
Master, to whom thou wilt give these things." 7 And he
answered: "I will give this Paradise to those who do the will
of my father and to my humble ones from whose hearts there
comes no violence, and to those who believe and guard this my
name. And to you also: take [it], for I have given [it] unto you
as your inheritance." | 8 Then they thanked Him and praised
Him, all united in singing a psalm. "By this thy name we have
healed 187 sick men; by this thy name we have dispersed 7037
demons; by this thy name we have converted the 88 kings and
the 140 cities; 9 by this thy name we have been saved from all
the people of Sodom and Gomorrah and have made our fetters
like fire and have made the fire cool like water, and those who
reviled our name have been exterminated for ever and ever.
10 By this thy name we have destroyed 155 idols; by this thy
name we have converted the 88 kings and the 140 cities, and we
have exercised great power on earth. Not by our own power
have we done this, but by thy power. 11 We believe in thy
name which thou hast given us for conquering, and we worship
thy power, who hast strengthened us; to thee be praise and
thanks | for ever and ever, Amen!"
12 This book has not been written by the hand of men, but
by our Saviour Himself who wrote it with His hand. 13 And
if thou readest it, read it using (?) holy oil; and if thou art not
able [to do so], read it using (?) pure oil; and it will bring thee
perfect grace, and salvation of soul and body, and victory over
the enemy. 14 May it bring perfect grace unto thy servant......
15 And all will be done unto thee by this prayer for ever and
ever, Amen, Amen.
The Vocabulary of Sumerian.—By J. Dyneley Prince,
Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

§ 1. The study of the Sumerian vocabulary falls logically into three divisions. These are 1) the origin of the signs, 2) the etymology of the phonetic values, and 3) the elucidation of the many and varied primitive sign-meanings.

Professor Friedrich Delitzsch in his epoch-making work on the origin of the most ancient Babylonian system of writing has paved the way for our thorough understanding of the principles which were followed by the fathers of the ancient precuneiform lineal style of inscription. Previous to Delitzsch's masterly work in this field, really no one had correctly understood the facts regarding the beginnings of the cuneiform writing. These are so overwhelmingly in favor of the linguistic character of Sumerian that they have caused Delitzsch himself to abandon the Halévyan "ideophonic" cryptographic hypothesis, of which the distinguished German Assyriologist had formerly been an ardent adherent. Delitzsch's work, however, has thus far included only the study of the signs. He has made no attempt as yet to combine the examination of the signs with the investigation of the phonetic values, which it is necessary to do in order to arrive at the true nature of the Sumerian idiom as it has been handed down to us. The thorough examination of every sign is imperative, if we are ever to penetrate the mysteries of the highly difficult problem, but it is equally imperative that every phonetic value and word-combination be also studied, both in connection with the equivalent signs and with other allied phonetic values.

§ II. A most important point should now be noted. The etymological study of the Sumerian word-list is attended by

incalculable difficulties, because nearly all the Sumerian texts which we possess are written in an idiom which is too evidently under the influence of Semitic. With the exception of certain very ancient texts, such as those published by Professor Hilprecht in the OBL. vol. I, i. and ii.¹ and probably also the Gulca inscriptions,² the Sumerian literature, consisting largely of religious material such as hymns and incantations, shows a number of Semitic loanwords and grammatical Semitisms and in many cases, although not always, is quite patent a translation of Semitic ideas by Semitic priests into the formal religious Sumerian language. We must believe that the Sumerian at a comparatively early date began to be used exclusively in the temples as the written vehicle of religious thought in much the same way as was the mediaval Latin of the Roman Church. Professor Paul Haupt may be termed the father of Sumerian etymology, as he was really the first to place this study on a scientific basis in his Sumerian Family Laws.³ Professors Jensen and Zimmern⁴ have done excellent work in the same field and, together with Haupt, have established the correct method of investigating the Sumerian vocables. These words should be studied only in relation to the Sumerian literature. They should on no account be regarded as being etymologically connected with words in the idioms of more recent peoples, and practically all such comparisons, for which there is really no sound basis, must be considered to belong to the realm of pure conjecture. Sumerian, as we know it up to the present time, stands alone, a prehistoric philological remnant, and its etymology should be studied only in the light which can be got from the Sumerian inscriptions themselves. It is, however, permissible to cite grammatical and constructional examples from other agglutinative idioms, whenever it becomes necessary to prove the true linguistic character of some Sumerian peculiarity.

¹ The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania; L., pts. i–ii., H. V. Hilprecht, Philadelphia, 1898–1897.
³ Die sumerischen Familiengesetze; also see his Sumerian grammar in ASKT., pp. 133–147.
⁴ Jensen in ZA. and elsewhere; Zimmern, especially in Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altbabylonischen Religion.
For example, it is probable, as I have pointed out elsewhere, that *tones* existed in the primitive spoken Sumerian, not only for the distinction of similar sounding words, but also for the purpose of differentiating between the various grammatical elements. As this latter phase of linguistic tones is practically unknown and might militate against the real linguistic nature of the Sumerian in the eyes of the Halévyean school, I have cited the existence of genuine *grammatical* tones in the African Yoruba language, simply for the purpose of demonstrating a linguistic parallel. In the same manner, the existence of the incorporated object in the verb may be paralleled by referring to other languages exhibiting these phenomena. On no account, however, should one venture to assume a linguistic affinity between Sumerian and any of these idioms, nor is it possible to connect Sumerian as yet with any language by dint of probably accidental verbal similarities.

§ III. It is really not at all surprising that the Halévyean theory as to the cryptographic nature of Sumerian arose. The first impression given by the distracting tangle of the Sumerian word-list is the conviction that it would be impossible for such a vocabulary to exist in any regularly developed language. Here one finds the same sign denoting pages of meanings, many of which are seemingly unconnected with any others belonging to the sign in question. There is also, in a great number of cases, a multiplicity of meanings attributed, apparently arbitrarily, to the same sound-value or word. For example, some scholars have asked very pertinently: how could any *real* language give the same sound-value to a great variety of meanings? Besides all this, there are, as indicated above, many passages containing Sumerian words which strikingly resemble the Semitic equivalents and which seem to be mere arbitrary perversions of Semitic originals. All these facts taken by themselves would be suffi-
cient to convince most philologists that we have to deal here with an arbitrarily arranged cryptogram rather than with a language. I repeat "if taken by themselves," but the main point is that these phenomena cannot be taken by themselves. They are mere superficial evidences of deliberate later interference with the growth of the language, introduced by a priesthood who spoke a radically different idiom—Semitic Babylonian—but who had for religious reasons adopted the Sumerian as their formal written vehicle. The proof of the original linguistic character of Sumerian is found in the copious evidence presented by even the latest and most Semitised Sumerian texts.

§ IV. Briefly considered, there are four striking proofs that the Sumerian literature is based on a primitive language:

1. Sumerian has unmistakable internal phonetic variations, especially between the two main dialects Eme-ku and Eme-sal, and also within the Eme-ku itself. These show a distinct development of sound which may have been peculiar to different periods in the growth of the language. The most noteworthy sound-changes between EK. and ES. are as follows: EK. $g = ES. m$; thus EK. $gir 'foot' = ES. 'mērī$; EK. $g = ES. b$;

which word came to mean later the 'reign-year of the king.' It is highly probable that $pald$ is a Sumerian loanword in Semitic from BAL (bal). Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that the Sum. value $buru$, originally 'depression, hollow' is a perversion of Sem. $lād$ 'a pit,' but, on the contrary, that $lād$ 'pit' (Assyr. $bārū$, $bārūt$ 'well'), owing to its resemblance to Sum. $buru$ started the chain of ideas which swelled the number of later equivalents of $bur$ (= the corner-wedge) to more than forty! Mnemonic paronomasia, the deliberate association of Semitic words with Sumerian words similar in sound, played a most important rôle in the formation of the Sumerian syllabaries. This point will be treated of in a subsequent paper and in my forthcoming Lexicon. It is, of course, doubtful in some cases, whether the Sumerian value is not really a deliberate perversion of the Semitic word on the part of Semitic priests who had lost the original Sumerian equivalent. In this connection, cf. $egir=arku 'rear,$' where Sum. $egir$ looks like a metathesis of $arku$. On the other hand, the Semites borrowed far more from the Sumerian vocabulary than conversely, a fact which has been admirably demonstrated by Pontus Leander (see this article, p. 52, note 2).

1 For my opinions in regard to EK. and ES., see JAOS., xxiv., pp. 105 ff. (The Hymn to Bēlit. K. 257). Cf. also Leander, op. cit. (pp. 83 ff).

2 Pontus Leander, Über die sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyrischen, Uppsala, 1903.
thus, EK. *duga* 'knee' = ES. *zēba*. I believe that there were two *g*-s in EK., i.e. 1) a nasal *g* (*hāq*) = ES. *m*, which was probably not a clear *m*, but a nasal labial obscurcation as in modern Gaelic *lámh* 'hand'; 2) there must also have been a genuine hard *g* represented by ES. *ł*, as just indicated. There is also an EK. *g* which varies to *d* in ES., thus, EK. *igi* 'eye, face' = ES. *idē* (cf. EK. *gar* = da-ar, V. 11, 28b). In the vowels, we find also EK. *u* = ES. *ę*, as EK. *tu* 'dove' = ES. *tē*. A very curious consonantal interchange is EK. *n* = ES. *š*, as EK. *nérb* 'ruler' = ES. *šērb*. EK. *n* also = ES. *l*, as EK. *šudur* 'yoke' = ES. *šudur*. The so-called dialectic variations within the limits of EK. itself consist chiefly of elision of final consonants, as in the very numerous instances where we find such double values as *pay*, *pa* = *XU*, *gig*, *ge* = *MI*, *gud*, *gu* = *GUD*, etc. Leander (see above, p. 52, n. 2) has written an elaborate treatise on this subject, in which he assumes, following Jensen, that the fuller forms, i.e. *pay*, *gig*, *gud* are the more ancient ones. In other words, he believes that the dialectic differentiation within the EK. is a temporal one. The question is very difficult, as we find occasionally the full and the apocopated form of the same word in the same sentence. Thus, *adj-ni šu-gar-ra gā = mutir gimmel abīšu* 'one who avenges his father' (Br. 7261). Here *šugarra = gimmel* 'vengeance,' lit. 'to make (gar) power (ši).' The word occurs in combination with the shorter form *gā* (from *gar* 'he makes'), i.e. 'he makes šugarra = vengeance.' If *gar* belonged to one dialect and *gā* to another, should we find them together in this way? It is possible, of course, that the older *gar*-form survived in the compound instead of in the verb-form. All these phonetic changes are widely different to those seen in Semitic and evidently depend on quite different principles. Certainly no cryptogram based on Semitic could exhibit such phonetic phenomena as we have here.

2. Sumerian has a system of vowel harmony strikingly similar to that seen in all modern agglutinative languages and it has also vocalic dissimilation like that found in modern Finnish. Vowel harmony is the intentional bringing together of vowels of the same class for the sake of greater euphony, while vocalic dissimilation is the deliberate insertion of another class of vowel, in order to prevent the disagreeable monotoy arising from too prolonged a vowel harmony. The following few examples will
suffice to prove that we have here real linguistic phenomena, although the number of instances might be increased ad nauseam. Thus, IV. 30, obv. 2, 22: in-di in-di gaba ker-ra = illak il(l)ak ana itut irpirm ti 'he goeth, he goeth unto the bosom of the earth.' Here we find the soft form di = du 'to go,' in harmony with the vowel prefix in-. In IV. 30, 19-20b-23-4b: nam-na-ad-bi-en=lâ tッグabbiti 'speak not to him,' but IV. 11, 31-3: mu-umu-nib-bi=ni iyábbi 'he speaks not to him.' Cf. also HTT. 126, obv. 53-4: mu-umu-ad-bi-en-ne 'they shall speak to him.' In numbabbië, the neg. prefix num and the infix bab are in harmony, and in dissimilation to the stem bi. In numnumnibbi, the neg. prefix nu and the verbal prefix mun are in harmony, while the infix nib is in harmony with the stem bi, both being in dissimilation to the prefixes. The same phenomenon is seen in numnumabbië. Furthermore, in IV. 9, 28a we find an-sud-dam = kima šəmē 'like the heavens,' where dam stands as a dialectic variant for the usual gim (EK. ĝ = ES. d). In Turkish and Finnish the vowel harmony is based on similar principles. Thus, Tk. bagajak 'he will look,' but sevejek 'he will love.' In Finnish työhön, tölhin, kylähän all occur with soft vowels. Dissimilation really exists in spoken Turkish in such forms as ad-di-lar for ildilar 'they have taken,' but it is not recognized by the grammarians. In Finnish, however, we find it in full force as patoja for pitaja, annoin for annain (see Eliot’s Finnish Grammar, pp. xii. 9-10). A cryptogram with vowel harmony could only have been invented by persons who spoke a language exhibiting this phenomenon, which is certainly not present in Semitic.

3. The Sumerian postpositions are used almost exactly like those in Turkish and Finnish. Thus, Sum.  ē-du 'in (da) the house (e) = Tk. evde (de = 'in'); Sum. ad-da-na-ru 'unto (ru) his (na) father (adda) = Tk. baba-sy-na; baba = 'father'; sy = 'his'; n is the phonetically inserted consonant and a is the postposition 'unto.' Here it should be noted that the Sumerian custom of placing a postposition after a noun and its qualifying adjective has a perfect parallel in both Turkish and Finnish. Thus, a-ab-ba-ki-nim-dagal-la-(a)-šû = 'on (šû) the sea (a-ab-ba) and the wide (nimdagalla) earth (ki)'; Tk.: deniz (sea) we (and)

1 Cf. also Prince, AJSL. xix., n. 4, p. 207, s. v. xi-xi-de 'before thee,' where xi is explained as a probable by-form of za-e 'thou.'
biyuk (great) arz (earth) ązerinde (upon); Finnish: paljaan taitoan alla ‘under (alla) the open heaven’ (see Eliot, Finnish Grammar, p. 205). In all these cases the postposition is regarded as qualifying both the noun and the adjective. A full discussion of the Sumerian postpositions will be found J.H.T. p. 141 § 11. Prepositions, although rare, are found both in Sumerian and Finnish (see J.H.T. 141 § 14 and Eliot, op. cit. pp. 203 ff.). Postpositive inflexion is as foreign to Semitic as is vowel harmony and could not possibly have been invented by Semitic cryptographers.

4. I have discussed at some length elsewhere the Sumerian verbal prefixes (see AJSL. xix. No. 4, pp. 206 ff.). It will be sufficient to note here that the incorporation of the verbal object, which is the only method in Sumerian of expressing the pronominal object, has its parallel in other languages of the agglutinative type. Thus in Basque, the present tense is never without the object ‘it’ = d, as dakart = d-ekart ‘I hear it’ (‘I’ = t; ‘bear’ = ekar; ‘it’ = d). Practically the same peculiarity is seen also in the American languages. Thus in the Algonquin Abenaki: k’numiol ‘I (l) see (nâm) you (-k)’ (Prince, Miscellanea linguistica Ascoliana, p. 357, Turin, 1901). The same peculiarity appears in the modern Latin idioms as in French je t’aime ‘I love him’; Ital. and Span. io (yo) Vamo, although these are inflexional languages! To suppose that Semitic priests, who could have been familiar only with their own tongue, should have departed in a cryptogram so far as this from their natural suffixed object is the height of absurdity.

§ V. Furthermore, one does not have to go far to seek real linguistic cryptograms and secret idioms. We have several such in English, perhaps the best known of which is the so-called costermongers’ back-slang which has existed for a long time as a semi-jocose jargon among the small tradesmen of certain sections of London. In this dialect they say: cool the delo tace ‘look at the old coat’; ‘potatoes’ are rattats (backwards for ‘tatur’) and a Jew is a Wedge! This kind of transposition or rebus is peculiar to a number of secret languages. Such an idiom exists in modern Arabic, especially among school

1 See Van Eys, The Basque Language, 1883, pp. 29 ff.

2 I have heard vagabonds speak this jargon so rapidly that it was quite impossible to follow their meaning.
children, who say fuaj el-lâjîr for knock er-râjîl 'look at the man.' Also in the Spanish thieves language we find such inversions as tapla for plata 'silver'; demias for medias 'stockings,' etc. Similar transpositions occur in certain phases of French Argot as loffe for folle 'mad' (fem.). Most interesting in this connection is the secret idiom of the Irish tinkers which is in use in this country and in England at the present day. This jargon, which has long been a puzzle to philologists, is now definitely established as being fundamentally Irish Gaelic inverted, although not always with absolute correctness. Thus they say leicên 'girl' for Irish caillín; mailyn 'hand' for Irish lamlh, etc.\(^1\) I cannot leave this curious subject of secret languages without alluding to the incantation language of the Greenland Eskimo enchanters. In this idiom, which is in conventional ritualistic use in all incantations, we really find what Halévy and his followers believe they have discovered in Sumerian, i.e. a priestly system of disguising the ordinary speech. This Eskimo shamans' language consists partly of descriptive terms such as 'boiling place' for 'kettle,' 'dwelling' for 'house,' 'tusked-one' for 'walrus,' etc., and partly of deliberately chosen archaic expressions which are easily recognizable by comparison with other Eskimo dialects.\(^2\) In none of these jargons do we find any grammatical development other than that of the language on which they are based.

§ VI. This is all to the point in connection with Sumerian, because these very principles of inversion and substitution have been cited as being the basis of many of the Sumerian combinations. Deliberate inversion certainly occurs in the Sumerian inscriptions and it is highly probable that this was a priestly mode of writing, but never of speaking, at any rate not when the language was in current use. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that this device originated with the Semitic priesthood.

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\(^1\) The late Charles G. Leland was the first to bring this jargon to the attention of scholars (Gypsies, 1886, pp. 354 ff.). Kuno Meyer, in a letter to me written in 1896, says: "(It) is a kind of back-slang of the Irish (Gaelic) language. It is evidently not a modern invention, but something like it has been practised among the Irish ever since the eleventh century at least. I now believe that the idea was taken from the late Latin grammarians, but have not worked this out." Mr. Meyer wrote a paper on the Tinkers' language, which appeared in the Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, vol. ii (now extinct).

\(^2\) This information was kindly given me by Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University.
It is quite conceivable that the still earlier Sumerian priesthood invented the method of orthographic inversion which, as I have already shown, is the very first device which suggests itself to the primitive mind when endeavoring to express itself in a manner out of the ordinary. Evident inversions are, for example, the name of the fire-god Gibil, which was written Bii-gii. Gi means ‘a reed’ and bii (NE)¹ ‘fire,’ so that the combination must have meant ‘a fire-brand.’ We find also Girsu for Sugir, Lugal-si-kisal for Lugal-kisal-si, Sir-la-bur for Sir-bur-la and En-zu-na for Zu-en-na.

Especially worthy of mention is the common inversion found in the ancient style of writing the word for ‘ocean,’ i. e. zu-ab, quite evidently for ab-zu ‘sea of wisdom,’ the abode of Ea, the god of wisdom. The Semitic Babylon apsū and all its Semitic derivatives was in all probability a loanword from the Sumerian theological vocabulary. The Semitic form apsū is in itself definite proof that the Sumerian word was pronounced abzu and not zu-ab, as written. Ab (ab-ba) is the usual word for ‘sea,’ often written a-ab-ba=tiamitu. It is possible, though not certain, that this ab (ab-ba) was connected with the Sumerian expression for ‘water’=a (vide infra § VIII). Zu meant primarily ‘knowledge’=nimēqu, V. 30, 48 a; II. 16, 65 a. The original sign for zu was the element ‘great,’ written inside of an eye, i. e. ‘to be great of eye or perception,’ hence ‘to know’ (Delitzsch, System, p. 138). The well known equivalent bit nimēqi ‘house of wisdom’ for zu-ab depends on a later misunderstanding of this value ab (Leander, op. cit., p. 5). The scribes evidently confused it with ab² ‘dwelling.’

¹ The oldest form of the sign for ‘fire’ (probably ca. 6500 B. C.) has recently been discovered in the General Theological Seminary (N. Y.) collection of Assyrian antiquities and brought to my attention by Mr.

Robert Lau. This sign is , which is quite evidently a confirmation of Prof. Delitzsch's view (System, p. 178) that the fire-sign represented the generation of flame by turning one piece of wood against another after the manner of some modern savages. The sign just given seems to me to be the pictograph of such a primitive fire-producing instrument, i. e. it represents the straight tinder sticks against which the bowl-like end provided with a handle was rapidly rubbed. The sign is used as a suffix -ne in the inscription (see Barton, JAOS. xxiii. p. 28).

² AB has also the value ēš ‘dwelling,’ which was probably the full form of ē=bitu ‘house.’
There are five distinct words $ab$ in the Sumerian vocabulary; viz., $ab^1$ (AB) 'enclosure, dwelling,' from which we have the Sem. aptu 'birdsnest' (Hwb. 111). The sign AB was archaically a pictograph of a space. It is probable that aptu is a Semitic loanword from this $ab^1$. $ab^2$ (AB)=$tām-tu$ 'sea,' Sc. 05 et passim, which meaning may be an extension of the original sense of space, i. e. the sea is the space par excellence. When written $a-ab-ba$ we must translate it 'water-space.' Closely connected here is $ab^3=ax=ān=ē=tēbētu=Sum. ītu ab-ba-ud-du 'the mouth of the coming forth of water, the month of floods.' Tēbētu is from Sem. ābî 'dip, sink in' cf. II. 49, 4 c, for variants of this month-name, and see Muss-Arnolt, JBL xi. 170. Also $ab^4=$ amēl irrišu 'cultivator' or 'irrigator' (in this sense $w^{\text{i}}$ $r^{\text{j}}$ has the meaning 'to plant,') but amēl irrišu has also the Sum. equivalent Pīn=$ēngar=Sem. īkāru 'husbandman.' It is possible, as I have just indicated, that $ab=ām-tu$ 'sea' was really a cognate in fuller form of $a= 'water' and that it was associated in the AB group owing to the earlier scribes arbitrarily connecting $ab=ām-tu$ with the idea of 'space, dwelling.' The third $ab^5$ (AB)$=āb-nu$ 'father' in several passages. Here the question at once arises as to whether this $ab^5$ may not be a Semitic loanword in Sumerian, but too hasty a judgment regarding it should not be formed. It is probable that $ab^5=āb-nu$ 'father' is the $ab$ seen in $ab-gal=ābkallum 'leader' (cf. 32–8–16, 1. col. i. 31: $nu-n-me=ab-ga-at$). This $ab$ means also $nāsīku 'prince,' Br. 3820, and also, probably owing to Semitic influence, $sību 'an old man,' Br. 3821 (cf. $nām-ab-ba=šūbātu 'old age,' II. 33, 10 c). I am strongly inclined to believe that the original sense of this $ab$ was $nāsīku 'prince,' and that this word was transferred to $āb-nu 'father, leader' by Semitic analogy ($ab^5=šību 'an elder,' as noted above). The fourth $ab^6$ is the value attached to the sign LIIT, Sb. 254; $ab=ārzu 'road, way.' This sign probably indicated the lines of a road + the corner-wedge denoting compactness, i. e. 'a highway' $=ārzu$. The same sign with the value $lit=Sem. iltu 'offspring.' Here the sign must have been applied with the idea of 'pairing,' obtained from the same double lines. The value $lit$ for this sign is undoubtedly of Semitic origin from $iltu$, as is also the value $rim$ no doubt suggested by $rimu 'the womb,' owing to association with $iltu,$ although LIIT is not the sign for 'womb.' Finally, in this connection, the fifth $ab^5$ (AB)
is the $ab$ of the pronominal suffix of the third person, probably
cognitive with the verbal prefix $ab$ and the possessive suffix -$bi$.

These five values of $ab$ certainly seem to indicate that when
the language was a spoken idiom there must have been tone
differentiation in this case. In Chinese, for example, we find
the following four tones for the syllable $mo$, i. e. $mo^1$ 'feel,
touch'; $mo^2$ 'grind. rub'; $mo^3$ 'obliterate,' and $mo^4$ 'after-
wards, at last' (Stent's Chinese and English Vocabulary, pp.
417-18). Here the first three $mo$'s are certainly variations of
the same fundamental idea. In the same way, it is quite possible
to believe that $ab^1$ 'dwelling, $ab^2$ 'sea,' $ab^5$ 'leader,' and
$ab^4$ 'road' formed four distinct tones. $Ab^1$ 'dwelling' and $ab^2$
'sea,' however, may have been uttered with the same tone.
This would leave the grammatical $ab$, prefix and suffix, to have
the fourth tone (eight tones are physically possible) or else we
may assume that it was pronounced like any one of the $ab$-tones
just conjectured, since its position in the sentence-construction
could leave no doubt as to its meaning. Of course nothing cer-
tain can be postulated with regard to Sumerian tones. If they
existed at all, as they must have done if Sumerian was ever
spoken, they must have died out at a very early date, so soon
as the language began to be the purely written ceremonial lan-
guage of the Semitic priests. In cases where an astounding
multiplicity of meanings are assigned to the same phonetic
value, the tone theory does not, of course, solve the problem
entirely. In such instances, as the meanings in the following
word-list attributed to the value $e$ ($e$), the most we can do is to
collect the fundamental ideas belonging to the sign and word and
assume that each of these ideas was originally represented by a
distinct tone. It is curious to note that in every such example
the number of conjectural fundamental tones never exceeds the
possible number eight, the physical tone limit.

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1 This information was kindly given me by Prof. Fried. Hirth of
Columbia University. Sentence tones occur in English and other Euro-
pean languages expressing doubt, interrogation, surprise, etc. Perhaps
the best illustration of tones in a European idiom is seen in modern
Swedish, where actual differentiation in meaning is expressed by differ-
ence of tone. Thus, han är i brunnen (rising and falling tone) 'he is
in the well," but han är brunnen (falling and rising tone) 'he is burned,'
although this distinction is not invariably observed. The speakers often
leave the sense to be understood by the context.
§ VIII. In order to illustrate more thoroughly these perplexing difficulties, let us take the sign A, which in both Babylonian and Assyrian is a later development of the earlier conventioned pictograph of water moved by the wind, i.e., the wave *motj* (Delitzsch, *System*, p. 130). The sign A, which is named *du* (V. 22, 43 a) after its most important sound value, has six different phonetic equivalents; viz., *a*, *me*, *bur* (*pur*), *e*, *dur* (*duru*) and *id*, arranged in the order of their respective importance. There can be no doubt that the sign originally meant simply 'water' and yet in Brünnow's List there are two full pages of meanings devoted to the simple A, a careful analysis of which will serve to elucidate the principles followed by the Semitic compilers of the later Sumerian syllabary.

A. I divide the meanings of A (*a*, *me*) into four groups as follows:

1. The water-group (from *a=*mā 'water'; see below).
   A (*a=*butuṭu 'overflow', only V. 22, 49a (Br. 11331). Bottom also=at-tar V. 31, 30c (Br. 11382); lit. 'water cutting through' *tar=butāgu 'cut through' (Del. *System*, p. 102); *a=ulis* (IV. 26, 19a); lit. 'evil (evil) water.'

2. A (*a=dimtu 'tear,' only DT. 67, obv. 12; usually *a=igi* (er) 'water of the eye' (Br. 11609).

3. A (*a=mašqitu 'irrigation,' only V. 50, 52 (*u=rilu u mašqitu 'food and drink').

4. A (*a=a=miše, from *elā 'go up,' 'high water,' usually *a=lig 'strong water' (Br. 11538), with value *elā, perhaps *ē-bā (?)

   If the Sem. word is *ēlu, it may be a loanword from Sem. *elā 'go up.' Miše also=a=kur 'water of the land'; miše maqidu 'great flood, II. 39, 9g. There is unquestionably a Semitic paronomasia between *kur* (read *mat*) in Sem., and maqidu!

5. A (*me)=mā 'water,' Br. 11347 passim.

6. A (*me=naqu 'lament' connected with dimtu 'tear' (only II. 45, 35c; Sa. vi. 25). The phonetic value *a* is not given, but is probably understood. Note the value aš(tīl)=tamagātum, V. 40, 10gh 'a lament.'

7. A (*me=raṣadu 'inundate, wash out,' only V. 22, 76a, Br. 11351 (also RI-RI and RA, the latter probably mnemonically associated with raṣadu).

8. A (*me=rušlu 'moisture' (Br. 11358).

   All these meanings derived from A=mā are evidently Semitic attempts to synonymous the idea 'water,' and this appears
especially true in cases where the synonym has a more usual Sumerian equivalent of its own, as *dimtu* ‘tear,’ ordinarily = A. ŠI (er).\(^1\)

2. Closely connected with this idea of ‘water, moisture’ is the second group of meanings applying to copulation. Here it should be noted that the word ‘water’ is used in Arabic for *semen*, i. e. Egypt. Arab. *mouyet el ab* ‘seed of the father’ (cf. also Heb. יְשָׁנָה,\(^2\) probably = the same). I consider that this whole second group was of Semitic origin.

A (*a-a*) = *abu* Br. 11324, *passim*. The word for ‘father’ is also *ad-da* = AD, the primitive sense of which is ‘dwelling-protector,’ also *axu* ‘brother’ means ‘protector’ (Br. 1142); viz., ‘the protector of the house’ (see Delitzsch, *System*, p. 58). I am inclined to see in *ad-da* = *a-a* ‘father’ a paronomasia. *A-a* ‘father’ may be the softened form for *ad-da*, a phenomenon seen in modern Cuban Spanish *hablao* for *hablado* ‘spoken.’ This *a-a* pronunciation for *ad-da* may have occurred dialectically. Then the pronunciation *a-a* = *ad-da* may have suggested to the scribes the word *a* ‘water, semen’ and they accordingly wrote it with the water-sign A, i. e. ‘father’ = ‘the seed producer.’ Cf. here *a-a-a* = *abi abi* ‘grandfather,’ II. 32, 61c. As *a-a* also = ‘grandson’ (see below in this section), this derivation was probably made at a time when the language had become purely orthographic.

A (*a*) = *amelatu* ‘human kind’ (Br. 11326), plainly a derivative from the idea ‘seed’ (see Akk. Spr. xxxviii). The usual ideogram has the value *gišgal* = ES. *mulu* = *amelatu*.

A (*a*) = *apl* ‘son’ (Br. 11328). In 11344 A (*a*) = *maru* ‘son’ and AL. 314 *a-a* = *binbini* ‘grandson.’ These, like the preceding word, are variants of the idea ‘seed.’

A (*a-a*) = *ērā* ‘be pregnant’ Br. 11333 (Heb. 130). The origin of this in connection with ‘seed’ is perfectly patent. The regular ideogram is the sign having the value *peš* (Br. 8101), i. e. *šā* ‘interior,’ with the water-sign A written inside!

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\(^1\) A. ŠI = *a-igi* ‘water of the eye,’ hence ‘tear’ = *er*. This *er* is a by-form of the word *ēš*, which is also a value of A. ŠI. The etymological connection between *er* and *ēš* is clear, i. e. *r* = *š*.

\(^2\) Even though יְשָׁנָה might have been a derivative and not a compound word (Gray, *Proper Names*, p. 25), the narrative of Gen. xix. 34 ff. shows that its popular etymology at least was ‘seed (water) of the father,’ a proof that ‘water’ was used in this sense in ancient Hebrew, as it is to-day in Arabic.
A (א, המ) = בנות ‘beget’ (V. 22, 60; 72 abd). Another word is מָד = בנות, Sc. 51. The Heb. רֲבָּּם also has the sense ‘beget.’

A (א) = יָרָּּת, V. 21, 4 (Br. 11338), probably ‘figure, image,’ connected with יָּשָׁר (D. Prol. 33).

A (א, המ) = לְבָשָּׁת, V. 22, 62a (Br. 11341). This word does not mean ‘garment,’ but must denote ‘offspring, brood’ (cf. לְבָּשָׁת, Ḥeb. 372). Also V. 37, 10def, we find the corner-wedge שָׁנ-בֶּש = שָׁגַּד שָׁנ לְבָּשָׁת ‘to moisten, said of לְבָשָׁת.’ This must have a sexual signification.

A (א) = רִיקָּת ‘sexual love,’ Br. 11353 (cf. מֶרְצָת ‘wife,’ the usual ideogram of which is XI-NIR, perhaps = ‘excellent (XI.) in size (NIR).’

A (א) = רִיקָּת, Br. 11354, a synonym of רִיקָּת ‘sexual love’ (Ḥeb. 630). The word רִיקָּת, lit. ‘mounting,’ is from רָקָּד, ‘ride astride of.’ Hence we have the next value:

A (א) = רָקָּד ‘ride astride,’ only IV. 11, 41a and HT. 220; בַּא-א = הָרָקָּב and בַּא-א-ד = הָרָקָּב. See Br. 11352.

A = גָּלָּת שָׁא וּרְכָּש ‘one who copulates,’ Br. 11359. גָּלָּת is from גָּלָּד ‘to lie down to sleep,’ here especially with a woman, a syn. of נַתְלָה ‘sleep’ in general.

A (א) = מָלָּע ‘seat, bed,’ Br. 11343, a variant of the idea ‘lying down.’ Usual ideogram is נָע and קִנָּה ‘place for lying down’ (Ḥeb. 406).

A (א) = נָשַּׁת ‘rest’ (Br. 11349), a word from the same idea as מָלָע.

A (א) = פָּאִּסָּת ‘to be pacified, quiet, at rest.’ This א is probably a synonym here in connection with מָלָע, נָשַּׁת. The value א (עָד-דָע) ‘go out’ also פָּאִּסָּת in the sense ‘recover from a sickness’ (cf. French; sortir de maladie) and it is highly likely that א = פָּאִּסָּת is a paronomasia from א = פָּאִּסָּת, especially as the values א and א interchange (see below, this section D).

3. A third group of meanings formed more directly from the wave idea is represented by the following word denoting ‘effulgence.’

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1 הָבָּּב ‘build a house,’ i.e. ‘form a family,’ a paronomasia on בְּ son; cf. Gen. xvi. 2; xxx. 8; דְּבָּּבַי הָמְלָּךְ ‘I shall be built up by her’ (a childless wife by means of a concubine). This use of הָבָּּב probably occurs in הָמְלָּךְ: 1: ‘except Jvh build the house, they labour in vain that build it.’ This, according to Prof. Haupt in his lectures on the Psalms of the Return, was an allusion to Nehemiah’s inability to הָבָּּב, following the theory that Nehemiah was a eunuch.
A (a) = ēbnu 'shining, glistening, effulgent' (Br. 11335) perhaps also with the value dur (see below this, section E). This notion must have been developed from the shining ripples of water. In Turkish sî=both 'water' and also the lustre of a jewel, (Redhouse, Turkish and English Lexicon, p. 1188). In English also we speak of gems of the first water. Here it should be noted that za=abnu 'stone' (Br. 11721) is also a derivative like A (a) from the wave-motif and probably had the meaning 'shining stone' or 'jewel' (see Delitzsch, System, p. 130).

4. Finally in this connection in the last A (a, me) group we find A (a) as a mere ending of the status pronominalis.

A (a-a) = anâku 'I,' V. 22, 69a only (Br. 11327).

A (a-a) = atta 'thou,' V. 22, 70a only (Br. 11329). A (a) occurs also passim in the third person (see Br. p. 548). Here should be placed the indefinite form a, seen most commonly as a verbal prefix (Prince, AJSL. xix. p. 211). It is unnecessary with Jensen (ZA. i. 61) to connect this a with me=mên the verb 'to be' used with all three persons, because this a is also a common verbal prefix, evidently with the value a and not me, and may indicate all three persons; cf. HT. 123, rev. 1: a-rab-tag-tag = aptašilki 'I implore thee' (fem.) (Prince, loc. cit.).

The ending -a=ana-inâ 'unto, into,' Br. 11364-5 passim, is an element which is probably connected with a=axulaip 'how long,' Br. 11325, mostly in ES. texts (Heb. 44). The usual ideogram for axulaip is sux-a, HT. 122, obv. 12 (Zb. 28; HT. 118, rev. 5). This -a seems to denote 'duration' and to be cognate with the status prolongationis (HT. 135 § 4). It should be noted that when the sign A was used in making combinations, its sound value was always a.

A (a) = xamātu only V. 30, 62a (Br. 11384). This is an error, as the a here is only the a of prolongation for suru=a = xamātu ša kabābi 'to burn, said of consuming by fire.'

The original tones of A (a) must have been identical with the four idea-groups just indicated (see below, this section F, on ID=a).

B. The value A (me) must now be considered. This has the meanings banû 'beget' (Br. 11330), lubšu 'offspring' (Br. 11341), mû 'water' (Br. 11347), raxâgu 'inundate' (Br.

1 On mên = all three persons, see Prince, AJSL. xix., n. 4, pp. 206; 226
11351), rimxiu meaning unknown, but must be connected with 'water' (Br. 11355), and rutbu 'moisture' (Br. 11358), all of which except rimxiu have been considered under A (a). I believe that this value mé is a later Semitic loan-value from mā, pl. mé 'water.' Note that bunī, lubšu, rutbu also have the value a.

C. The value bur=Λ Br. 11318 is seen only in the name of the Euphrates A-rat (Br. 11444; AL. 313), which was evidently pronounced Burat. The regular Sumerian ideogram for this river was ID. UD. KIB. NUN. KI (Br. 11662), i. e. 'the river of Sippar'=UD. KIB. NUN. KI= Sum. Zimbir, V. 23, 29, probably the original form of the Semitic name Sippar. Another Sumerian word for the Euphrates was Burānumu 'the great (numu) river (bura)'. This word bura is undoubtedly the same bur=BUR and also=the corner-wedge. It means 'vessel, receptacle, hollow,' hence 'river-bed.' From Burānumu no doubt comes the Semitic form Puratu, i. e. simply 'river'=bura+the feminine ending -tu. Therefore, when we find A-rat=Puratu, it must be assumed that the water-sign A was pressed into service here to denote the water κατ' ἐξοχή, in lieu of the longer ideogram. The Heb. יָלָא, not attested with certainty before DJe, 1 Greek ῦψι̇πτρας, Old Persian Ufratu (Spiegel APK. 211), must all be derivatives from Assyrian Purattu. The modern Turkish Murad-su 'water of Murad' = Euphrates is undoubtedly a popular variation of the original Arabic Frat! In II. 48, 47; 50, 8; 51, 26, we find the form Urattu=Purattu. Urattu is probably a derivative from arādu 'descend' 2 and the form may be regarded as a later Semitic paronomasia on Purattu.

D. A has the value e in a number of passages, owing to vowel harmony and also to dissimilation. In K. 4225, dupl. 6, a=e, which simply indicates that a may occasionally have the value e as circumstances require.

A (e) occurs in II. 29, 20a, a-nigin (a=e), probably=palgu 'canal,' lit. 'collection (nigin) of waters' (Br. 11676).

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1 The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, I., pts. i–ii., H. V. Hilprecht, Philadelphia, 1898-1897.
2 Cf. Francis Brown (Robinson's) Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 882 s. v. יָלָא.
3 See Mass-Arnolt, Assyrian Lexicon, s. v. uruttu.
A (e) in ASKT. 75, n. 4, a-gim has as its gloss e-qi-me=pašāku (see this section A. 2, a=pašāku), a plain instance of vowel harmony (Br. 11321).

The following cases of A=e are owing to vocalic dissimilation:

A (e) occurs in V. 40, 1 and 4 e; u-a-(e)=ṣaṣullum (?) and šana. This is doubtful, as the meanings of the equivalents are unknown (Br. 6092).

A (e) is seen in II. 32, 13 g; a-gi(MI)-a=e-ga-a=ugā ‘flood’; lit. ‘black (MI) water’ (Br. 11593).

A (e) is found II. 39, 7 g; a-lig(KAL)=e-la or e-ba=mīlu ‘high water’ (see above, this section A. 1), Br. 11538.

A (e) appears II. 32, 52: a-ma-e-du (du=TU) ‘the womb that bears.’ We expect ama ‘womb,’ +a-du. This sign for ‘womb’ ama (dagal) also=rīmu ‘womb,’ IV. 9, 24a. Now the real sign ama(AM)=rīmu ‘a bull,’ so that there is probably a deliberate paronomasia in this instance.

E. The fifth value of A is dur=labāku, found only II. 43, 30 c, a doubtful word which is associated with azal and narabu (cf. the form tulabbak, C. 45, v. 2). Here it should be noted that a and ku both=dur. The god Sin=dingir a-ku, II. 48, 48 a and also dingir tur-ku (dumug). This seems to prove the dur value for A. In V. 29 44 g; za-gin-u=zagindur; V. 22, 11: TAK zaginduru=zagin-du-ur (cf. ZA. i, 62, n. i.). Now zagindur=uknā ebbu ‘shining crystal.’ Hence dur=a seems to contain the idea ‘shine,’ seen also above in A=a. It is possible, therefore, that a=ebbū (Br. 11335) may have had the reading dur which would seem to give the meaning ‘shine’ to labāku, grouped together with azal and narabu, the meanings of which are unknown.

F. A=心意, only Sa. vi. 25 (心意)-id) but A=īdu ‘hand,’ K. 4870, 43 (Br. 11336); a-nī-šu=ana īdīšumu ‘unto their hands,’ so A=心意 is clearly a Semitic combination. This is plainly a case where the later Semitic scribes confounded ID=a the regular sign for ‘hand, arm, strength’ (Br. 6542) with the watersign A. Such an interchange could only have taken place after the Sumerian had ceased to be a spoken idiom, because we must assume a difference of tone between ID=a and A=a. This would give us the fifth a-tone (see above § VII, and this section A. 4).
§ IX. No better example than A can be had of the manner in which the original Sumerian syllabary was treated in the course of centuries. Here we find a sign which primitively meant only ‘water’ and most probably corresponded to the simple vocable $a = \text{‘water’}$, from which meaning, as just shown, were developed; 1) almost every possible conception directly connected with ‘water’; 2) a number of ideas suggested by the secondary sense of ‘semen’ ($= \text{‘water’}$); 3) a word denoting effulgence ($= \text{‘shining water’}$, also with the value $du$); and 4) the $a$ which was probably an arbitrary vowel used in grammatical relations, having no connection with $a = \text{‘water’}$.

The makers of the syllabary were not content, however, with a single value for this overworked sign. Still having ‘water, moisture’ in mind, they added the $mē$-value, most probably a derivative from their own Semitic word $mē$ ‘waters.’ Then A had to serve with the value $du$, used with this sign originally only of the Euphrates ($Būra-numu$). True to the inherent principles of vowel-harmony and dissimilation, A is pronounced e in a number of cases, and finally, we find $A = du$ in the sense ‘shine.’

§ X. It is clear from the above study that many of these evident accretions to the original meaning could only have been due to a later interference with and an arbitrary development of the primitive syllabary. This idea is confirmed more and more as the entire Sumerian vocabulary is studied, every word of which must be examined separately. With this object in view, I am at present engaged in preparing what I trust shall be as exhaustive a study as possible of the extant Sumerian word-list. The work will be a Sumerian Lexicon and at the same time a Prolegomenon for the further investigation of this important subject.

§ XI. The Sumerian literature, as we have it to-day, presents a most curious phenomenon to the philologist; viz., a practically monosyllabic agglutinative idiom exhibiting all the marks of this class of language, adopted by an alien priesthood as a sacred tongue. In the course of two thousand years, this foreign priesthood, having lost at quite an early date the use of Sumerian as a living language, continued to employ it as a purely written vehicle, filling in its vocabularies with countless synonyms and variations, which could only have grown out of
an orthographic system. Of course, I do not mean to imply that this priestly idiom was not even at the very latest date recited orally in incantations, but in all probability not in the ancient manner with tones. In spite of all this superimposition of extraneous matter, however, the genuine linguistic character of the Sumerian sentence can never for an instant be disregarded. If every word in the vocabulary were pure Semitic, the grammar of the language even in its latest most garbled form would point to its non-Semitic origin.

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The Introductory Lines of the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.—By Paul Haupt, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.¹

At the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901, I presented a tentative restoration of the beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod epic.² I showed that the opening lines contained references to Nimrod's wondrous adventures, his descent to the great deep, his crossing of the waters of death, and the recovery of the plant of life.³ The beginning of the eleventh tablet of the Nimrod epic, which contains the cuneiform account of the Deluge, was discussed in my paper published in No. 69 of the Johns Hopkins University Circulars (February, 1889) p. 17. I quoted there the strange rendering of Geo. Smith, of which Alfred von Gutschmid, in his review of Duncker's History of Antiquity, said that Duncker passed it over with eloquent silence.⁴

Geo. Smith⁵ translated the introductory lines of the Deluge tablet:

Izdubar to him also said to Hasisadra the remote:

"I am burdened with the matter, Hasisadra,
why thou repeatest not to me from thee,
and thou repeatest not to me from thee,
thy ceasing my heart to make war
presses? of thee, I come up after thee," [thou art placed."

. . . . , how thou hast done, and in the assembly of the gods alive

In my paper on Illustrative Quotations in the Old Testament, printed in the Transactions (p. 229) of the Thirteenth Inter-

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¹ Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Washington, April, 1904.
² See vol. 22 of this JOURNAL, p. 12.
⁴ See Schrader, Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung (Giessen, 1878) p. 21, l. 12.
⁵ See Geo. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries (London, 1875) p. 184; cf. TSBA 3, 580; Records of the Past, 7 (London, 1876) 185. In Geo. Smith's Chaldean Account of Genesis, edited by A. H. Sayce (London, 1880) p. 279 the first seven lines are translated as follows: 1. (Izdubar) to him also
national Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg in 1902, I have stated that a meaningless passage in the Bible is generally due to corruption of the received text, but in the translation of original documents like the cuneiform tablets the nonsense resulting must be credited to the modern interpreters. I tell my students constantly to bear in mind that the ancient Assyrian scribes were not all inmates of lunatic asylums.

Oppert's translation of the introductory lines of the Flood tablet is more sensible than the rendering given by Smith; it is however not a translation of the original text but a fanciful composition suggested by the cuneiform lines. Oppert renders:

Istubar spoke to Adrahasis at the remote dwelling-place as follows:

"I must question thee, O Adrahasis! [me.]
The number of thy years does not change, in this thou resemblst
Thou thyself doest not change, in this thou resemblst me.
Thy perfection is to remain like thyself.
Tell me why age has taken no hold on thee, [bly of the gods?]
Why thou occupiest this place and preservest thy life in the assem-

speaks even to Xisuthrus afar off: 2. O Xisuthrus, 3. (why) doest thou not again (to me) as I (to thee)? 4. (why) doest thou not again (to me) as I (to thee)? 5. . . . . my heart to make war 6. . . . . I come up after thee, 7. when thou didst take, and in the assembly of the gods didst obtain life. In the German edition of Smith's work (Leipzig, 1876) p. 318, Friedrich Delitzsch proposed the following translation: Ich suche dich auf, Hasisadora; dein Maass ist doch kein anderes, wie ich so du; und du selbst bist doch nichts andres, wie ich so du, d. h. du bist doch mein Vorfahr, warst auch nichts andres denn ich, warum solltest du mir nicht mittheilen wie du unsterblich geworden, damit ich es auch werde.

1 See the abstract of my paper on the name of the Babylonian Noah in the Transactions of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists (Florence, 1901) 1, cxxxvi; ZA 13, 288; KAT, 66, 4; KAT, 545, n. 2.

2 This translation is, of course, impossible, but it is at least intelligible.

3 See Oppert; Le poème chaldéen du déluge (Paris, 1885) p. 7. The French rendering reads as follows:

Istubar parla ainsi à Adrahasis à la lointaine demeure:
"Il faut que je t'interroge, ô Adrahasis!
Le nombre de tes années ne change pas, en cela tu me ressembles.
Toi-même tu ne changes pas, en cela tu me ressembles.
Tu perfection est de rester égal à toi-même.
Dis-moi pourquoi l'âge n'a pas de prise sur toi,
Pourquoi tu occupes cette place et que tu gardes ta vie dans l'assem-
blée des dieux?"

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I proposed at that time (i.e. more than fifteen years ago) the following translation:

Nimrod\(^1\) spake to him, even to Xisuthros\(^2\) the remote:
"I look up to thee (with amaze) Xisuthros;
Thy appearance is not changed, like me art thou;
And thou thyself art not changed, like me art thou
In thy perfection.—But my heart has still to fight the struggle
[Against all that is no longer] placed upon thy back;
[Tell me then] how thou didst come to dwell (here) and obtain life
in the assembly of the gods?"

I prepared a revised translation of the Deluge tablet for the third edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, but it has not been published so far; Schrader's ill health compelled him to entrust the third edition of his work to Winckler and Zimmern, and the new editors decided not to incorporate any transliterations of cuneiform texts. I placed the proofs of my new translation at the disposal of Canon Driver and our own Professor Jastrow (*ZA* 13, 293, l. 18). On p. 493 of his excellent\(^6\) book *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898) Professor Jastrow gave the following translation of the introductory lines of the Deluge tablets:

Gilgamesh\(^1\) speaks to him, to Parnapishtim,\(^4\) the far-removed:
"I gaze at thee in amazement, Parnapishtim.
Thy appearance is normal. As I am, so art thou.
Thy entire nature\(^5\) is normal. As I am, so art thou.
Thou art completely equipped for the fray.
Armor(?) thou hast placed upon thee.
Tell me how thou didst come to obtain eternal life among the gods."

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2 See above, page 69, note 1.
3 That is, thy speech, thy nature, etc. Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 498, n. 2. It might be well to add here that I consider Zimmern's note, KAT\(^3\), 350 to be unjust, and Hommel's remarks in the second edition of his pamphlet *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament* (Berlin, 1908) p. 53, below, are, to say the least, at variance with the resolutions adopted at the special meeting of the Assyriologists, held at Hamburg in connection with the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists. In the printed circular, which bears the signature of Professor Hommel, the first resolution states that the undersigned Assyriologists (including Hommel) have unanimously resolved to make an effort dass alles Persönliche bei der Kritik fachgenössischer Arbeiten vermieden werde.
This translation is undoubtedly superior to the rendering subsequently published by Jensen in the sixth volume of Schrader’s *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1900). Jensen still translates: *Deine Mausse sind nicht anders*, Thy measures are not different, like me art’ thou, confounding mündēti ‘appearance’ with mündēti ‘numbers’. Мініді in this passage must not be derived from the stem שְׁלֹם ‘to number,’ but it is the feminine plural of the noun мні ‘species’ which we find in the first chapter of Genesis and other Priestly sections. Species means not only a particular sort but also ‘visible form, appearance.’ The amplificative plural мніді ‘looks’ has the meaning of the Greek σχήμα, Lat. habitus. My explanation of this term was published seventeen years ago in Dr. Adler’s paper, On the Views of the Babylonians concerning Life after Death, read at the meeting of our Society in Baltimore, October, 1887 (JAOS 13, cexliii, n. 14); but this word is not recognized in De-
litzsch's Assyrian dictionary (HW 417) or in Meissner's Supplement; see also Zimmern's Beitr. zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion (Leipzig, 1901) p. 118, ll. 28. 30.

Lines 5 and 6, which are especially difficult owing to the mutilated condition of the beginnings of the last three lines of the opening paragraph, are rendered by Jensen as follows:

Whole to thee is the heart to make strife;
And yet thou liest on the side, on thy back?

"Ganz ist dir" das Herz, um Streit zu machen;
[und doch] liegtst du [auf] der Seite, auf deinem Rücken?

Jensen thinks that gamurka can mean 'Whole is to thee'; but we would expect gamur lippaka 'whole is thy heart,' or 'whole is thy heart within thee,' just as we read in the later parallel account of Saul's death in 2 S 1, 9 that the Amalekite, who brought the tidings of the death of Saul, reported to David that Saul had told him, Slay me, although my life is yet whole within me (ך ילה יער נפשך). Similarly Job (27, 3) says: All my breath is still in me (ך ילה יער נשמה). This is not an inversion for the normal ילה יער כננים וב, as Driver supposes; in these two passages ילה cannot be the noun ילה 'totality,' it must be an intransitive adjective like ילה 'great,' ילה 'light,' ילה 'weak,' ילה 'tender,' ילה 'bitter,' ילה 'alive.' Just as we find קיק, דليل, תבילה in Arabic and Aramaic alongside of Heb. ילה, ילה, ילה, so we find ילה 'whole' alongside of the intransitive adjective ילה.

Delitzsch states in his Assyrian dictionary under gamaru (HW 200) that he does not venture to translate line 5 of the Deluge tablet. In Zimmern's translation appended to Gunkel's

1 Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 117, x.
2 For the 'ך concessivum cf. Eccl. 12, 8: ילה יעה, although they are few; Eccl. 4, 14: ילה יעה את הימים היונים ילה, although he (the boy, i.e. Alexander Balas) may have come from a family of outcasts; see also Crit. Notes of Proverbs (SBOT) p. 39, l. 43. The Authorized Version has though in the margin for for in Gen. 3, 21; cf. although in Ex. 13, 17.
3 According to Duhm v. 3 should be inserted after v. 5.
4 Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890) p. 180; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§ 188, e; Gesenius-Buhl39, p. 370, above. H. P. Smith's conjecture that ילה יעה for ילה יעה is gratuitous; nor need we, with Nowack, suppose that ילה יעה is due to ditography of the preceding ילה.
Schöpfung und Chaos (Göttingen, 1895) p. 423 the introductory lines are omitted; nor are they translated in Winckler's Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament, second edition (Leipzig, 1903) p. 84 and in Alfred Jeremias‘ Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients (Leipzig, 1904) p. 125.

The ka after gummur can neither be a dative suffix, as Jensen supposes, nor can it be a personal affix of the permansive form; the second person of the permansive would be gummurata or gummurat, but not gummurka. Assyrian gummur-ka might mean ‘in thy perfection,’ as I translated in 1888, but I believe now that ka must be separated from gummur. I stated in my edition of the Babylonian Nimrod epic that there was room for an additional character between ka and the following word libbi ‘heart.’ In 1888 I suggested the conjunction u ‘and,’ but I am convinced now that we ought to restore the character pad (šuk) consisting of the corner-wedge u and the sign for ša. I propose to read: Gummur ka[pad] libbi ana epēš tuqunti, lit. Whole is the striving of the heart to make war, i.e., Eager is the desire of thy heart to do battle. This would be in Hebrew: נאצרא לשלש תמדמה. The meaning of the line is: Thou seemest just as hale and hearty as thou wast at the time thou wast wont to fight, thou lookest still like a warlike hero, fit or prepared for war, ready to engage in war.

The stem kapadu ‘to plan’ is commonly used in connection with libbu ‘heart.’ In the introduction to the cuneiform account of the Battle of Halûle (Senn. 5, 7) we find: ikpud libbašum ana epēš tuqunti, their heart planned to make war, and in the inscription (V R. 55, 7) from a boundary stone (found at Ašhabba) of Nebuchadnezzar I (about 1140 B.C.) translated in Hilprecht’s dissertation Freibrief Nebukadnezzar’s I (Leipzig, 1883), Nebuchadnezzar is called: ziqru gådu ša ana epēš taxāzī kitpudā emādqēšu, whose forces plan to do battle, not as Delitzsch (HW 346, below) explains: who is intent with all his strength on war (see also PSBA 6, 146).

1 See above, page 72, note 1.
3 Or חל or חל, i.e. חל (not חל ψ 49, 4). For חל cf. Eccl. 8, 11.
Kapadd libbi has about the same meaning as the Heb. phrase לבר (מַחְשֶׁבַת לַבָּר) in the introductory verses of the Biblical story of the Deluge. The statement לבר (Gen. 6, 5) could be translated into Assyrian: gummur\(^1\) kapadd libbiša ana epēš limitti and Gen. 8, 21: ‘the imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth’ (Heb. כִּי יוֹצֵר לְכֹל הָאָדָם רָעָה מִנָּעַריוֹ) would be in Assyrian: Ulû giišišu kapadd libbi amēli limmu ša.\(^2\) Just as the cuneiform account of the Deluge is but an episode in the Babylonian Nimrod epic describing the exploits of the ancient national hero of Babylonia, the prototype of the Greek Hercules,\(^3\) so the Biblical story of the Flood is preceded by a mythological introduction alluding to the intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men and their children, the giants, the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.

The traces at the beginning of the sixth line of the Deluge tablet lend themselves very well to sir-i-a-am as suggested on p. 493 of Professor Jastrow’s Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Zimmern states in KAT\(^4\), 650, l. 7 that Heb. זִירֵשׁ is probably a loanword derived from the Assyr. sirjam or siriam.\(^4\) This is undoubtedly correct, but this word seems to be a Sumerian compound: the second element of sirijam is probably the Sumerian word am ‘wild bull.’\(^5\) The defensive covering was no plate-armor or chain-mail, but it seems to have been a kind of

\(^1\) For gummur we may compare the post-Biblical לבר ‘to be determined, to strive,’ e. g. Ber. 17a: מַתָנִיתָה מְסִיָהוֹ רַבָּה מִיָּאֵר נָבוֹר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּר ילַבָּр


\(^3\) Cf. A. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 121, above; p. 287, below.

\(^4\) For Heb. זִירֵשׁ = Assyr. š see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 235, l. 47.

\(^5\) Not recorded in Leander’s dissertation cited above, p. 71, n. 8.

\(^6\) See Delitzsch, Zweiter Vortrag über Babel und Bibel (Stuttgart 1908) fig. 12 (p. 9).
buff-coat, made of the skin of a wild bull (cf. cuirass = coriaceus, of leather; loric, etc.). The Assyrian buff-coats are described by Col. Billerbeck on pp. 174 ff. of the third volume of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology. I gave this explanation of sirijam eighteen years ago in my translation of the cuneiform account of the Battle of Halâle in the Andover Review (May, 1886). In the same way xulijam in the passage of the Sennacherib Prism, xulijam āpīra rāšaʿu¹ must denote a helmet of buff-leather (cf. κυνέη). Both sirijam and xulijam are indeclinable. Sirijam lā naddāt(u) eli girika cannot be translated: Armor thou hast placed upon thy back; the armor covered chiefly the breast, not the back; eli girika must mean simply 'upon thee.'

I would therefore translate the introductory lines of the cuneiform account of the Deluge as follows:

Nimrod² said to him, even to Út-napišti,² the translated:
I gaze at thee (with amazement) O Út-napišti²;
Thy appearance is unchanged, like me art thou;
And thou thyself² art not changed, like me art thou.
Eager is the de[sire] of thy heart to do battle;
[Armor thou hast placed on thy body. bly of the gods.
[Tell me]³ how didst thou settle (here) and obtain life in the assem-

¹ See my paper on Assyrian Phonology in Hebraica, 1, 178, n. 1; The Assyrian E-vowel (Baltimore, 1887) p. 24.
² See above, page 70, note 1.
³ See above, page 69, note 1.
⁴ See above, page 70, note 3.
⁵ Read qī-ba-a-ma; cf. col. 4 of the twelfth tablet, Beitr. zur Assyriologie, 1, 59.
Some Remarks regarding the Pronunciation of Modern Syriac.—By Dr. Abraham Yohannan, Columbia University, New York City.

The Syriac language is called in the Urmia dialect ܝܘܪܡܝܐ; in the dialect of the Kurdistan mountains ܐܘܪܡܝܐ; in Mesopotamia ܐܘܪܡܝܐ; and further west in Jabal-Tūr ܐܘܪܡܝܐ. But Modern Syriac is called ܐܘܪܡܝܐ, that is, 'the new language;' ܐܘܪܡܝܐ, 'the colloquial or vernacular;' ܐܘܪܡܝܐ, 'the translated language;' while the classical Syriac is called ܐܘܪܡܝܐ, 'the old language;' ܐܘܪܡܝܐ, 'the language of the books;' and ܐܘܪܡܝܐ, 'the literary language.'

Whatever may be the origin of modern Syriac, whether it be a descendant of, or closely akin to, the classical Syriac or a relic of a more ancient tongue, it is certain that it has been influenced greatly by outside languages; in Persia by Persian and Turkish, in Kurdistan by Kurdish and Turkish, and farther west (especially in Jabal-Tūr) by Arabic. It is largely due to the admixture of these foreign elements, aided by the fact that up to the last half of the nineteenth century it was practically an unwritten language, spoken chiefly by illiterate people, that modern Syriac has been divided into over twenty dialects. The people of neighboring villages are able to converse with each other with a fair amount of fluency, but as the geographical distance between them increases, they become more and more unintelligible to each other; so much so that the dialects of

1 See Maclean, Grammar of Vernacular Syriac, pp. x, xiii, xiv; Duval, Les Dialectes Neo-Araméens de Salamas, pp. iii, iv; and compare Nöldeke, Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache, pp. xxi-xxiii; Asseman, B. O., iii. ii. 707; David, Grammaire de la Langue Araméenne; Introduction, p. 9; Rödiger, in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. ii, Göttingen, 1889.
Urtmus in the extreme East and of Jabal-Ṭūr in the extreme West appear almost to be two distinct languages.

The foregoing groups might easily be subdivided into minor dialects differing from each other in the pronunciation of certain words. In the Urtmus dialect, for instance, the abstract terminations ending in ʾā, as ʾā'ālā, ʾālā are pronounced in various ways in the different villages of the Urtmus district. The word for 'faith' in Degala and in most of the neighboring villages is pronounced ʾāli, while in Giogtapa, within five miles of Degala, it is pronounced ʾāli. In the village of Sipūrghan in the northern part of the Urtmus plain it is pronounced ʾāli, but in Gavilan at the extreme northern end it is pronounced ʾāli or ʾāli, just as in Salamas. The most peculiar dialect in Urtmus seems to be that of Tekka Ardishai, two villages at the southern end of Urtmus. Here Zgapa is variously pronounced as ʾa in cap; ʾa in fall; ʾa in fête. Take, as an illustration, the sentence ʾāli. In the speech of these two villages it is pronounced: ṣbe ḫisli ḫer ṣerī gō yāmā, 'my father went after the birds into the sea;' while in all the other villages of the Urtmus plain it is read: ṣbei ḫisli ḫar ṣairi gā yāmā.

It must be borne in mind that these variations in the Urtmus dialects are manifested in conversation only, the spelling being the same in all.

The speech of the villagers who live among the Mohamméndans of Urtmus is of a motley type; in some instances the Turkish words are more numerous than the Syriac. This is especially true in regard to the people who live along the upper part of the Barranduz river. 'As an illustration the following sentence will suffice: ḫalā ḫalā ḫalā ḫalā ḫalā, 'the magpie has built a nest on the willow tree.' Here the first, third and fifth words, all of which are substantives, are Turkish, while only the second (a verb) and the fourth (a preposition) are Syriac.
These foreign languages have to a certain extent affected also the pronunciation of some of the consonants. There are four explosive or emphatic sounds borrowed chiefly from the Kurdish, which have already found their way into numerous words which are of pure Syriac origin. As the original Syriac had no signs by means of which it could accurately represent these sounds, the nearest corresponding sign has been adopted. The first of these sounds is the emphatic labial which is represented by the letters ىل and ىل indifferently; thus، ىل or ىل ‘hoopoe.’ The letter ىل has this sound in words like ىل ‘to bleat,’ ىل ‘odd,’ etc. The second is the sound between ىل and ىل ظ; as instances of this may be cited the words ىل or ىل ‘father,’ ىل ‘deaf.’ The third is the emphatically pronounced ىل or ىل ظ, as in the following words: ىل ‘weapon,’ ىل ‘girl,’ ىل or ىل ‘rags.’ The fourth one might be called a cerebro-dental, or the cerebro-dental sound of ىل، ىل، and ىل. Compare the following words: ىل ‘tail,’ ىل ‘to hum,’ ىل or ىل ‘single or odd number,’ ىل in the word ىل ‘return,’ in certain dialects has this sound.¹

The spelling and transliteration of the words of foreign origin are rather arbitrary. As an illustration, the Arabic word ىل might be spelled phonetically: ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل، etc. There are also many words derived from the Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, which since they have come into Syriac through Kurdish, have been written and pronounced after the Kurdish manner. Thus: ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل while the more original forms would be ىل، ىل، ىل، ىل.

¹ This is presumably the sound of which Duval writes, ‘Hanuka donnait quelquefois au ىل (ىل) un son emphatique qui le rapprochait de très près de tet. Duval, Les Dialects Neo-Araméens de Salamas, p. vi.
Šamaš-šum-ukīn the eldest son of Esarhaddon.—By Christopher Johnston, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, died on the 10th day of Marcheshvan, 669 B.C., while on his way to Egypt in command of an expedition against that country. The succession to his dominions had been settled by the King before his departure, and his son Ašur-bānī-pal had been solemnly proclaimed heir to the throne of Assyria, receiving in that capacity the homage of the nobles and people, while another son, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, had been designated as King of Babylon. These dispositions were duly carried into effect, but matters had not run as smoothly as might appear upon the surface. Winckler⁴ has shown that, in all probability, Esarhaddon originally intended to bequeath to his son Šamaš-šum-ukīn the succession to his entire dominions, and perhaps even to make Babylon the real capital of the empire. This design was opposed by the national Assyrian party headed by Ašur-bānī-pal, and the King, after an unavailing resistance, was eventually forced to a compromise whereby he was only able to save the kingship of Babylon for his favorite son. Even this reservation was doubtless distasteful to the nationalist party, but they were unable to carry their point.

¹ Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, at Washington, April 7th, 1904. Since sending this article to the editors of the Journal, I have received Dr. Bruno Meissner's article Samassum-ukin und Asurbanipal published in MVAG, 1904, pp. 181-184. Although Dr. Meissner's interpretation of the Assyrian letter (Harper's Letters, No. 870), which I translate below, differs from my own in a number of points, I am glad to have the independent support of so able an Assyriologist for my view that the letter is addressed to Esarhaddon by a member of the national Assyrian party and refers to the political compromise, first pointed out by Winckler (Forschungen, I, 415 ff.) whereby Ašurbanipal succeeded to the throne of Assyria, while Šamaš-šum-ukīn became king of Babylon. Dr. Meissner has, of course, not overlooked the important reference to Šamaš-šum-ukīn as Esarhaddon's eldest son.

² Not 668; cf. Šanda's paper Das Todesjahr Assarhaddons in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 7 (1902) pp. 85-89.

³ Altorientalische Forschungen 1, 415 ff.
further and, after all, Šamaš-šum-ukin, though King of Babylon, would still be a vassal of Assyria and could be held in proper subjection. His subsequent career, the great rebellion that he organized against his brother, and his tragic death by fire in 647 B.C., are well known.

In a number of passages Šamaš-šum-ukin is referred to as the aunu talimmu of Ašur-bānt-pal, a phrase which Delitzsch (HW. 707; AL 191) renders twin brother. Assyr. talimmu, however, seems to mean not twin but companion, equal, and is appropriately applied by Ašur-bānt-pal to his brother Šamaš-šum-ukin in respect to the royal dignity they possessed in common. On other grounds, moreover, it is hardly probable that the brothers were twins. Šamaš-šum-ukin was certainly the son of a Babylonian mother, and this very fact tended to prejudice against him the powerful nobles who led the national Assyrian party. It is most unlikely that, had Ašur-bānt-pal been a twin brother of Šamaš-šum-ukin, or even a son of the same mother, this anti-Babylonian party would have supported his pretensions to the throne of Assyria, and have placed in him their hopes of a reversal of his father's policy. The very object and aim of the revolutionary movement which brought him to the throne required that he should be in all respects a true Assyrian, free from all taint of Babylonianism.

The motives which would induce Esarhaddon to make Šamaš-šum-ukin his successor are, in part at least, apparent. His Babylonian sympathies are well known, and doubtless the influence of his Babylonian wife was not without effect, but he was not the man to take such a step upon purely sentimental grounds. Babylon had been for ages the holy city, the Mecca of Western Asia. Historically she was the legitimate capital of the empire, and her people still brooded sullenly over the memory of the days when Assyria was merely one of her provinces. Compromises of all kinds had been tried without effect; the Babylonians could never be brought to accept without reserve the rule of the Assyrian usurpers. Babylon was, moreover, most favorably situated on the great highway of commerce running from the far east along the Euphrates to the Mediterranean coast,

1 Cf. C. F. Lehmann, Šamššumukin (Leipzig, 1892) r, pp. 28-38; Jensen in Schrader's KB. 6, 434.
2 Winckler, Forschungen, r, 417, n. 1.
and the rich traffic brought boundless wealth to her gates. If the ancient city could be established as the capital of the empire under a king ruling there legitimately, according to Babylonian ideas, and at the same time holding sway by right of birth over Assyria, the possibilities were magnificent. Such a king, reconciling all difficulties and jealousies by a judicious and tactful policy, could unite the historic prestige, the culture, and the commercial advantages of Babylon with the military strength of Assyria, and rule over a united empire from the Persian Gulf to the Nile. If then Esarhaddon actually cherished the idea of transferring the capital from Nineveh to Babylon, he was doubtless moved in great measure by these considerations. In selecting Šamaš-šum-ukin as his successor he probably counted upon his son's birth making him acceptable to the Babylonians, but there must have been some show of reason to satisfy the Assyrian party. Of the necessity of placating this party the king was certainly well aware, and he would hardly have attempted to disinherit Ašur-bani-pal in favor of a younger brother. If, however, Šamaš-šum-ukin were the eldest son of Esarhaddon, he would be the natural heir to the throne, and the king would then have a legitimate reason for leaving his dominions to his favorite son, who was in all respects likely to carry out his father's policy. That this was actually the case, that Šamaš-šum-ukin was indeed the eldest son of Esarhaddon would seem to be a fact. In Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (No. 870) is an address to the king from a person whose name is obliterated, but who was probably a priest. The text is, unfortunately, badly mutilated in some places, but the most important portion is well preserved. The letter may be rendered as follows:

TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant . . . . . ! Greeting to the King, my lord! May Nebo and Marduk bless my lord, the King! A thing displeasing in heaven the King, my lord, has wrought upon earth, and it has been revealed to thy son. Thou hast formed a plot, thou hast entrusted to him the sovereignty over Assyria, (and) thou hast appointed thine eldest son to be king in Babylon ******* The king, my lord, in (the matter of his) royal sons has done what is not good for the land of
Assyria. My lord, the King! From the rising of the sun until the sun is high Ašur is gracious to thee. Look upon these thy noble sons and let thy heart rejoice. Let the King, my lord, dismiss (?) this ill-omened thought from his mind*********

TRANSLITERATION.

OVERSE.

Ana šarrī beliša
Aradku * * * * * * *
Lū šulmu ana šarri beliša!
11 Nubā 1Marduq ana šarri beliša
5. lārubā! Šū ina šamē lā egirāni
Šarru beli ina qaggirē etāpaš, uktānišu ana pān mārēka.
KU. šitātu tartākas, šarrātu ša māt Aššur ina pānišu tussadyil,
10. aplaka rabā ana šarruti ina Bābili tussākan.

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***************

REVERSE.

*************** *************** šarru beliša
ina šarrāni mārē lā ūbtu
ana māt Aššur epuš. Umu,
šarru beli, ištuti upāx šamē
5. adī rabā šamēši Ašur ittānnaka.
Mārēka annūte damqūti duqū
tibbaka lā xadī. Dabānu
lā damqū šarru ištuti eli libbīšu
[liš]ēti ina libbi teniš ** ** **

The remaining lines are all mutilated.

NOTES.

Instead of egirāni, egirāni or epišāni might be read, but egirāni (𒄠) seems to suit the context best.

For qaggirē as a byform of qaggaru see Meissner’s Supplement, p. 85°.
The words KU šitātu tartākas offer some difficulty. KU is, of course, a determinative indicating that the following word is the name of some garment or texture, while šitātu must be connected with Heb. šēlē ‘warp in a loom’ (στήμων, stamen); see Moore in PAOS. 1889, p. cxxxviii, and Driver in the translation of Leviticus (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 77, l. 9. Assyr. šutā, as the name of some kind of garment or stuff, occurs in VR. 15, 5 e. f., while šutā, evidently from the same stem, is found in VR. 14, 43b. Assyr. šitātu tartākas may therefore mean: thou hast made fast the (threads of) the warp, i. e. thou hast prepared the web for weaving, thou hast formed a plot. In the same way we use to warp in the sense of fabricating, plotting, and web for plot, scheme. Cf. also rikiltā ‘plot, conspiracy’ (Senn. 5, 15) from rakāsu ‘to bind’ (Heb. יָשָׁפַל).

I take ittanannaka as a syncopated form for ittānanaka from יְתָנָנָא (HW. 101b); cf. Del. Gr. §§ 37b; 97.

Although no names are mentioned, the allusions in the text leave no room for doubt that the letter is addressed to Esarhaddon and refers to the king’s two sons Ašur-bānī-pal and Šamaš-šum-ukin. There was no other Assyrian monarch who made one of his sons King of Assyria, the other King of Babylon. The letter was, of course, inspired by Ašur-bānī-pal, and was doubtless written when he first learned the terms of the compromise his father had determined to make. He aimed to secure for himself an undivided sceptre and he was naturally disinclined to share the rule with his brother. As to his contention that the proposed arrangement was not good for the land of Assyria, subsequent events proved that he was entirely right. In any case, however, the writer of the letter distinctly states that Šamaš-šum-ukin was the eldest son of Esarhaddon.

1 I am indebted to Prof. Haupt for this illustration.
Erman's Egyptian Grammar.—By Christopher Johnston, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

While Assyriologists have derived invaluable assistance from the close analogy presented by a number of kindred languages and from the numerous lexicographical and grammatical tablets prepared by the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian scholars,1 Egyptologists have had no corresponding advantages. Egyptian stands practically alone; there is no group of sister dialects to throw light upon its structure and vocabulary, the Egyptian scribes seem to have paid no attention to the philology of their own tongue, and there is no grammatical tradition whatever. In the complicated and imperfect system of writing employed by the ancient Egyptians only the consonants are expressed, and there is no guide to the vocalization and pronunciation of the language except Coptic, which is at least 3000 years younger than the oldest monuments of the parent stem. Many texts lie at the disposal of the student, but comparatively few are suited to the purposes of grammatical research, and by far the greater number abound in errors and corruptions due to the ignorance and carelessness of the scribes. It is nevertheless with such unpromising material that the Egyptian grammarian must work, and from it draw his conclusions as to the structure and usages of the language.

In the early days of decipherment and discovery, and for a long time thereafter, the study of Egyptian grammar in the broader sense was an impossibility. The texts formed the only basis for the study, and the texts were useless until they were intelligible. Lexicography was therefore the prime need, and while, with the steady advance of Egyptology, a considerable number of grammatical facts became apparent, it was not until a fairly copious vocabulary was established that the work of classifying the facts discovered and deducing the general principles could be attempted with any prospect of success. For these reasons the grammatical treatises of the earlier Egyptologists have now little more than a historic value, but it should

never be forgotten that the labors of these great men laid the foundations upon which their successors have built, and made possible the present development of the science in grammar as well as in other departments. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, the study of Egyptian grammar can hardly be said to have reached a very advanced stage. Champollion’s *Grammaire égyptienne* (Paris, 1836) had, it is true, been superseded by later works, but the grammars of DeRougé, Brugsch, and Renouf still offered little more than an elementary treatment of the subject. In the course of its long history, Egyptian, like all other languages, underwent constant growth and change, and the speech of the Old (ca. 2500–2200 B.C.) or Middle (ca. 2000–1700 B.C.) Empire would have been unintelligible to an Egyptian of the New Empire. In spite of this fact, which became more and more evident, serious difficulties attended a study of the historic development of the language, and little had been accomplished in this direction. As a rule the text books merely indicated that certain words and forms belonged to the oldest or to the latest period.

The historic method of study was first successfully applied to Egyptian grammar by Adolf Erman in his *Phonalbildung des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1878), in which he discussed the formation of the Egyptian plural in the three chief stages of the language: in the Old Egyptian found in texts dating from the 4th to the 12th dynasty, in the later Egyptian of the 19th and 20th dynasties, and in Coptic. This valuable work, in which the author outlined his views on the true methods of Egyptian grammatical investigation, was but the preliminary to more extended undertakings. Two years later appeared Erman’s second important work, his *Neu-ägyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1880), wherein he gave a thorough and systematic treatment of the language of the New Empire (1600–1100 B.C.), employing as the basis of his work the tales, legal documents, and letters preserved in the hieratic papyri of the 19th (1350–1200 B.C.) and 20th (1200–1100 B.C.) dynasties. For wealth of illustration and clearness of exposition this work is unsur-

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1 *Chrestomathie égyptienne* (Paris, 1887 ff.).
2 *Hieroglyphische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1879).
passed. In connection with the *Pluralbildung*, it completely revolutionized the domain of Egyptian grammar, and its influence upon the scientific development of Egyptian philology would be difficult to overestimate.

Having thus clearly elucidated the grammar of the later phase of the language of ancient Egypt, Erman now directed his attention to the language of the older period. As the starting point for his studies in this direction, he selected the Papyrus Westcar, a collection of tales of magic dating probably from the Hyksos period (1700–1575 B.C.). The clear and simple narrative of the text renders it peculiarly well adapted for the purposes of grammatical investigation, while the language, though exhibiting a few points of contact with New Egyptian, is distinctly that of the Middle Empire (2000–1700 B.C.) and stands close to the classical speech of the older period. To the study of the Westcar Erman devoted a number of years and the result of his labors appeared in his *Sprache des Papyrus Westcar, eine Vorarbeit zur Grammatik der älteren ägyptischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1889). In addition to this he published a magnificent edition of the text in facsimile and in hieroglyphic as well as in Roman transliteration, with a translation, commentary, grammatical analysis, glossary, and an important excursus on the palæography of Egyptian hieratic papyri.¹

In the light of the knowledge gained by his thorough study of the Papyrus Westcar, Erman next extended his grammatical researches to the whole field of Old Egyptian literature, and five years later he gave, in his *Ägyptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894) a comprehensive treatment of the language of the Old and Middle Empires (ca. 2500–2200 and 2000–1700 B.C., respectively). His indefatigable labors had brought order out of chaos, and the difficult undertaking outlined in his *Pluralbildung*, some sixteen years before, might now be considered to have been accomplished. The historical method of study was firmly established, his two invaluable grammars offered a clear and scientific treatment of the older and the later language of ancient Egypt, while the *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894) of his distinguished pupil, George Steindorff, had placed the study of Coptic upon a footing commensurate with the progress of Egyptian philology. But more remained to be done.

¹ *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar* (Berlin, 1890).
In 1889, Erman advised his pupil, Kurth Sethe, to undertake the examination of certain classes of verbal stems in which the morphological changes were less completely disguised by the purely consonantal system of Egyptian writing.¹ Sethe, however was soon led to extend his examination to verbs of all classes and to include the syntax as well as the morphology of the verb within the scope of his investigations. The result of his labors, extending over a period of ten years, was his great work *Das ägyptische Verbum* (Leipzig, 1899), in which, after an exhaustive investigation of Egyptian phonetics, he gives a comprehensive discussion of the Egyptian verb from the earliest to the latest period of the language, treating successively and in the fullest detail the various classes of verbal stems, the morphology of the verb, and the syntactical usages which govern its employment. The results of Sethe’s work are far-reaching and, while they in general amply confirm Erman’s methods and theories, they have at the same time developed a large store of new information, especially in the matter of phonetics and morphology, and have thrown a flood of light upon many subjects previously obscure. Erman promptly undertook the preparation of a new edition of his grammar, which he thoroughly revised, incorporating in it all the important discoveries made by Sethe, and utilizing also Griffith’s researches into the origin and development of the Egyptian system of writing which had appeared in the meantime.² The new edition of Erman’s *Ägyptische Grammatik*, which appeared in 1902, presents therefore the best attainment of Egyptian scholarship up to the present time, and sets the standard for all future work in this field.

Among the most interesting of Sethe’s discoveries is the fact that originally the Egyptian stems were prevailingly triconsonantal. Biconsonantal stems are rare in the oldest texts, and the few that exist evidently arise from the loss of a weak stem-consonant. In the later periods of the language they become continually more common through mutilation of original tri-

¹ These were the stems containing a radical נ, the stems נ Gemini-

consonantal stems. The quadriliteral and quinquiliteral stems that occur so frequently in Egyptian are either reduplicated forms or derivatives from simple stems. The fact that triconsonantism was the rule in ancient Egyptian lends strong support to the theory maintained by Erman and his followers—the so-called Berlin school—in regard to the close relationship existing between Egyptian and Semitic. In a paper read before the Berlin Academy, in which he summarizes and reviews the results attained in Sethe's *Verbum*, Erman expresses himself upon this subject in no uncertain terms. At some prehistoric period, he believes, Egypt was invaded by Semitic hordes from Arabia who conquered the Nubian inhabitants of the Nile valley and imposed their language upon them. The Egyptians were therefore Semitized Nubians, to use Erman's own expression, and the language was primarily Semitic. The unfamiliar Semitic sounds were clipped and mutilated in the mouths of the subject people, and the language underwent many changes, but none the less it is a true offshoot of the Semitic stem, and never entirely lost the impress of its parentage.

Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyāṇa. — By TRUMAN
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Prefatory Note.—In preparing this paper I have used the
following editions of the whole or of parts of the Rāmāyāṇa:
the Bombay edition of 1902, books i–vii; Peterson’s edition
of book i (1898); Schlegel’s edition for book ii; Gorresio’s
edition for book ii and part of book iii; the Bombay edition
of 1888 for the first 12 chapters of book i; and Peterson’s
edition of book i (1879) for the first seven chapters. However,
when the first draft of the paper was finished, I used all these
texts in their entire extent for a short period.

It is proper at this point to acknowledge previous work on this
topic. The most important articles are Bōhltlingk’s collections
Wiss. 1887; his collections for book vii of the Bombay edition,
and books i–iv of the Bengal recension in ZDMG. xliii. My aim
in this paper is to supplement B’s work; accordingly, to make it as
useful as possible, I have inserted much that will be found in B’s
articles, but which was collected by me independently, though
afterwards I consulted Bōhltlingk’s collections and was thus en-
abled to make some sections more complete. I may here state that
I have in general noted only the archaisms of the Bombay recen-
sion; and that after book iii, usually only such archaisms as do
not occur in books i–iii or else phenomena of special interest have
been inserted; moreover, in the case of archaisms such as grhya
for grhutvā, which occur repeatedly, my collections even for
books i–iii are not exhaustive: it has been my aim not so much
to gather numerically strong collections, as to present a well
digested account of all the archaisms. A glance at the present
paper will show that I have not merely duplicated Bōhltlingk’s
work: some archaisms passed over by him will be found here,
and some false references are either corrected or pointed out, to
say nothing of the new material collected from books v and vi
of the Bombay text, or of the introduction of metrical con-
siderations, and of parallels adduced from Vedic, Pāli, and
Prākrit. These latter were inserted to show that the language of the Rāmāyaṇa presents a hodge-podge which, in principle, is not unlike that which the language of Āpastamba’s Sūtras presents, to wit: a heterogeneous mixture of Vedic, Middle Indian, and Classical Sanskrit. Furthermore, I beg to call attention to the insertion of a supplement (which probably is not complete) from the Rāmāyaṇa to Whitney’s Root-Book. Comparisons drawn from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are intended to show that the language of the Purāṇas stands in close relationship with Epic Sanskrit.

For Prākritic material I have been almost wholly dependent on Pischel’s Grammar. The material for Mbh. is taken from Holtzmann’s Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata, and from Hopkins’s Great Epic of India. In Pāli I have been more independent and have drawn on my private collections almost exclusively, though I have, of course, constantly consulted Kuhn’s Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik, and Fausbøll’s Index-Vocabulary to the Sutta Nipātā. The Vedic material is taken almost wholly from Whitney’s Grammar, and from Lanman’s Noun-Inflection in the Veda, although I have now and then consulted Delbrück’s Altindisches Verbum.

I would also acknowledge my indebtedness to Rāma, the native commentator on the Bombay text of the Rāmāyaṇa. I have had to check him constantly, because, in spite of his general excellence, he is too much inclined to call anything that is contrary to the rules of native grammarians Vedic. He thus usually fails (but not always: for be it said to his credit, he never says of kurmi, ity āṛṣam; although he does say ity āṛṣam when touching on ādmi at i. 27. 15) to distinguish what is Vedic, what is peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, and what is Prākritic. He has hopelessly confused the first two headings, and rarely

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2 His fault in this matter would be much decreased if we could believe that by āṛṣa he meant Epic, and not Vedic, Sanskrit; but as he applies chāṇḍasa sometimes to the forms which he ordinarily denotes as āṛṣa, we cannot accept this view. (For example, he explains the augmentless imperfect sāṁsat, i. 1. 59, by chāṇḍaso ‘dabhāvak, but the augmentless imperfect ardāgan, i. 17. 84, by adabhāva āṛṣah; similarly touching on sma, he says at ii. 93. 7 chāṇḍaso visargalopaḥ, but at i. 65. 19 visargalopa āṛṣah.)
keeps the third heading distinct from the other two. For example, he is justified in explaining augmentless tenses used non-modally by chāndaso ‘dañhāvaiḥ, aśadhaśca chāndasah, aśadha aśrṇaiḥ, or aśrṇo ‘dañhāvaiḥ; but he is wholly unwarranted in saying chāndasovisargalopaḥ in explanation of sañc at ii. 93. 7; or salopaś chāndasah when touching on karisyāma at i. 40. 9; or avīdhi aśrṇaiḥ by the way of explanation of the irregular sandhi of saś in so śrama-. Furthermore he explains some forms which are not archaisms at all but downright textual corruptions, as Vedic. A noteworthy case of this is brūyaiḥ, ii. 52. 38, which he explains thus: brūyā brāyāḥ: chāndasam etat. There can be no question here that brāyām (which Schlegel adopts) must be read in place of brūyaiḥ, for aham is the subject. Treating prasastavayāu, i. 4. 17, the commentator says iñ unveiling analopaḥ chāndasau. This implies that the ordinary form should be prasāsitisvayāu; but no such form with the auxiliary vowel -i- is registered in Whitney’s Root-Book. As a matter of fact sañstavya- (without the auxiliary vowel -i-) is found in the Brāhmaṇas and Ṛepics, but -sastavya- is peculiar to Epic Sanskrit. Again, he is silent on many points on which we might fairly expect some elucidation. Thus he fails to comment on grasate (according to Whitney found in V.B. only), i. 56. 13; on syāmas, i. 45. 16; on nivasīyasi, i. 48. 29; on uṣya, ii. 52. 84; on ṭudyām, iii. 49. 4; on ḍraksyauntu, vi. 73. 7.

The references, enclosed by a half bracket, on the left of the pages are to Whitney’s Skt. Grammar, and for the most part correspond to the paragraphs of the same numbers in Holtzmann’s Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata. Apart from these, the references, unless expressly stated to be otherwise, are to the 1902 Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

It is not surprising that I have collected a few forms that occur in the Rāmāyaṇa which are not registered in Whitney’s Root-Book. Forms that are authorized by native grammarians, but believed to be non-quotationable, are constantly turning up in the literature; and like forms which are supposed to be confined to certain periods of Sanskrit, are repeatedly appearing in other periods. See the remarks of Garbe in the preface of his edition of Āpastamba’s Śrāuta Sūtra, and those of Bloomfield in the introduction to his edition of the Kāśīka Sūtra. Thus the periphrastic future goptā and the gerund saptvā, both author-
ized by the native grammarians, but supposed to be non-quotable, are found in the despised Bhāgavata Purāṇa at viii. 17. 18 and ix. 9. 36 respectively. The infinitive yoddham, supposed to be peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, is found in KuŚ. at xvi. 1. Similarly the (Epic) future grhīṣyāmi in BKM. at xvi. 2. 39; so also the future middle mudiyase ibidem ii. 2. 2. 33; the perfect ruroda ibidem ix. 2. 16118119; the perfect sasnāra ibidem ix. 3. 2920. The following is a list of forms found in BhP.1; they are arranged in the alphabetical order of the roots, and the period or periods in which alone the forms are quotable according to Whitney, are added in parentheses: arcitā (E.), viii. 16. 39; arcitā (E.), v. 18. 21, viii. 16. 7, x. 58. 38; anvīyanāna (iyānāna ŚB.), x. 30. 12; samīde (īde RV.), viii. 17. 24; krnū (kṛṇotī -ute, V.B.S.; krṇhuḥ RV.), x. 31. 7; grasate (V.B.), x. 34. 6; carisīye (B.), iii. 24. 34; jīvisye (Mbh. [but jīvisye also at R. v. 40. 10]), ix. 9. 32; draśta (E.), viii. 23. 10; dadhmānu (E.), i. 11. 1; paktevā (AV.E.), ix. 9. 21; pāvā (V.B.S.), vi. 1. 59, x. 19. 12; āgpotī (āpneyat s.), v. 5. 4; bhavītā (B.U.E.), ix. 12. 12, 14, 15; rurudus (E.), x. 32. 1; vīvyathus (E.), x. 20. 15; abhīṣtvānu (stwīnu V.), vi. 12. 34; sasnāra (E.), iii. 23. 34; vijahire (jah B.), x. 33. 15. Among forms that are not authorized by the native grammarians—at least not registered by Whitney as such—and non-quotable elsewhere, but found in BhP., I may mention: the perfect jagrāsa, vi. 12. 29; droydhem, vi. 4. 7; rakṣāsye, vii. 22. 35.

Where their intrinsic value seems to justify their mention, I have occasionally inserted in this paper some facts about the language of the Rāmāyaṇa which do not strictly fall under the heading of archaisms.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Hopkins for reading my paper in manuscript, as well as for many suggestions, and for some additional matter.

I must thank my teacher, Professor Lanman, not only for proposing this topic to me for investigation, but also for his friendliness in going over the larger part of the manuscript, as well as for many kind and helpful suggestions during its preparation.

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1 In Whitney's Root-Book, BhP. falls under the category of Classical Sanskrit.
List of Abbreviations.

Most of these are those in common vogue and easily understood. The following will, I believe, be sufficient to enable the reader to follow my paper:

BKM. Brhat-Kathā-Mañjari.
By. Bombay ed. of the Rāmāyaṇa, 1902.
G. Gorresio’s ed. of the Rāmāyaṇa.
KuS. Kumāra-Sambhava.
Majjh. Majjhima Nikāya (ed. of the Pāli Text Society), vol. i.
MV. Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-Piṭaka (Oldenberg’s ed.).
Sl. Schlegel’s ed. of the Rāmāyaṇa.
SN. Sutta Nipāta (ed. of the Pāli Text Society).

References to Pischel, unless otherwise stated, are to his Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen. Similarly the references to Kuhn and Speyer are to their works on Pāli and on Vedic and Sanskrit syntax respectively. References to Garbe are to his Preface to his edition of the Śrāuta Sūtra of Āpastamba. The abbreviations of the names of various Prākrit dialects are those employed by Pischel.

INTRODUCTION.

The language of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the Mahābhārata, which is essentially the same, is styled Epic Sanskrit. Böhtlingk affirms that this contains no true archaisms, with the exception of augmentless tenses, but only new analogical formations; Jacobi does not qualify Böhtlingk’s statement. I take exception to this, and submit the following true Vedic archaisms which are found in both Mbh. and R.: 1. double sandhi, which is very frequent in the Kashmere recension of the Atharva Veda, and in the Kānsika Sūtra; 2. nom. pl. neuter of the a-declension in -ā which is found a few times in Mbh. and once (or possibly twice) in R.; 3. imperative in -tāt, found once in Mbh. and R.; 4. mā with augmented tense; 5. sporadic absence of reduplication in the perfect; 6. perfect middle participle, found once in R. and in Mbh. Moreover Mbh. and R. have a number of verb-forms that are found in Vedic, but not in Classical Sanskrit. In the following list, which is compiled

1 See below, Decl. of nouns and adj., a-stems. 2 See below, 807.
from Whitney's Root-Book, though supplemented in a few instances by my own collections, the periods in which the forms are quotable are added in parentheses. The forms are usually given in the third person singular of the active in the case of finite forms, even if this person sometimes is not actually quotable. The appended 'etc.' is omitted, as Whitney in the preface to his Root-Book, p. ix, admits that he has not used it consistently. The list is divided into seven groups: 1. where the forms are found in the various Saúhitáś and in Epic Sanskrit; 2. where they are found in the various Saúhitáś, the Bráhmanaś, and Epic Sanskrit; 3. where the forms are peculiar to the Bráhmanaś and Epic Sanskrit; 4. where they occur in the Bráhmanaś, Upanishads, and Epic Sanskrit; 5. where the forms are found in the Upanishads and Epic Sanskrit; 6. where the forms are found in the various Saúhitáś, Bráhmanaś, Upanishads, Sútras, and Epic Sanskrit; 7. where the forms are peculiar to the Sútras and Epic Sanskrit.

1.

Pres. [6.] stuwać (AV.E.).
Perf. nanáśa (V.E.); mamára (RV.E.); susáva susúma (V.E. su 'press').
Aor. [2.] druhas, -hau (V.E.).
Aor. [5.] aseśhíś (RV.E.).
Aor. [7.] amṛgaśata (RV.E.).
Gerund. -druhya (MS.E.); paktvá (AV.E. BhP.').
Middle voice. krośate (RV.E.); tautkṣe (V.E.); nadayate (RV.E.); hurṣayate (V.E.).
Intensive. dodhavit (V.E.); nānadati [3d pl.] (V.E.).
Causative. dīpyate (TB.E.); nadvayati, -te (RV.E.).

2.

Fut. [1.] krunyayati -te (AV.B.E.).

3.

Pres. [1.] sphoṭati (B.E.).
Perfect. ruruvire (B.), ruráva (E.).
Aor. [3.] adúdipat (B.E.).
Fut. [1.] jayisyati (JB.E.); notsyati (E.), notsyate (B.E.);
bhotsyati (B.), -te (E.); häsyate (B.E. hä 'go forth').
Fut. [2.] jētā (B.E.); harta (B.E.); datta (B.E.).
Active voice. padēti (A.B.E.).
Middle voice. ruchāte (Ś.B.E.); kṛnate; bhāṣayate (B.E.).
Aor. pass. 3d sing. abhedi (B.E.).
Intensive. nānudāye (J.B.E.).
Desiderative. īpsate (B.E.).

4.
Fut. [1.] vṛṣisvāte (B.U.), -te (E.).
Fut. [2.] bhavita (B.U.E.; BhP. three times).

5.
Pres. [1.] gṛhṇati, -te (U.E.); jānati, -te (U.E.).
Perfect. oṣaka (U.'E.).
Middle voice. krāmate (U.E.); dhāmate (U.E.).

6.
Aor. [4.] aharṣit (V.B.U.S.E.).

7.
Past participle. uṣita- (S.E. vas ‘shine’).
Middle voice. glāyate (S.E.); jīghrate (S.E.).

Although in the main, as was said above, the language of the Rāmāyaṇa is the same as that of the Mahābhārata, yet there are some archaismes and peculiarities which are found in Mbh. but not in R., and vice versa. Examples of Vedic archaismes found in Mbh. but not in R. are: dvandva compounds like indrāviśpā; the acc. pl. vrṣīyas (cf. Vedic āryas); the optative of the first aorist of the root ji, jāyāt (peculiar to JUB. and Mbh.). Peculiarities found in Mbh. but not in R. are: the optative sāvas, and the acc. sing. duhitām.

Vedī archaismes found in R. but not in Mbh. are: nom. pl. of ā-stems in -vas (see below, 342 k); nom. pl. fem. of derivative ī-stems in -īs (see below, 363g); the sandhi of pragyāya vowels (see below, 138g, and Whitney, Gr. 138g). Furthermore there are quite a number of verb-forms which R. has in common with the older language, which have not been found in Mbh. Thus the present yakṣati, etc., is peculiar to RV. and R.; the present dharṣati, etc., is found only in VS. and R.; the middle
grasate, etc., occurs only in V., B., BhP., and R.; the participle stuvvāna- is peculiar to U. and R.; the gerund yātvā appears only in B., S., and R.; the future active āsisya- is peculiar to TS. and R.; the gerund āsitvā is found only in B., S., and R.; the gerund pūtvā is peculiar to V., B., S., BhP., and R. Peculiarities of R. not yet noted in Mbh. are: gen. pl. of ā-stems in -ānām (see below, U-stems, gen. pl.); acc. sing. of ī-stems in -īm (see below, I-stems, acc. sing.); inst. pl. of ī-stems in -īhīs (see below, I-stems, inst. pl.); gen. sing. of derivative ā-stems in -uēā (see below, derivative ā-stems, gen. sing.); voc. sing. of r-stems in -ā (see below, R-stems, voc. sing.); the first sing. brāmi; etc.

This seems to be the proper place to record a few forms which, though unrecorded by Whitney, are found in the Rāmāyaṇa. The following list is divided into four groups: 1. where the form is authorized by the native grammarians, but non-quotable elsewhere; 2. where the forms are found in R. as well as Mbh.; 3. where the forms are registered as occurring in Classical Sanskrit only; 4. where the forms are not recorded by Whitney as being authorized by the native grammarians, and are non-quotable elsewhere.

1.

Under this heading I have noted: phalisyati, vi. 92. 53 (vphal 'burst'); yognaḥkyete, vi. 54. 17 (vtydh 'fight'); vardhisyate, v. 39. 11; paspande, vi. 60. 52; pra-skanditum, iii. 31. 48; babhrāje, v. 1. 71.

2.

Sma is found in R. too often to quote in extenso. See below, 542a.

The imperative bṛuvadhvam occurs at iv. 64. 22.

The future middle jēvisye is found at v. 40. 10.

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1 This and the following verb-forms are not recorded in Whitney's Root-Book as occurring in BhP. or R. Grasate, BhP. x. 34. 6; R. i. 56. 18. Stuvvāna-, R. vi. 90. 4. Āsisyasi, R. iv. 54. 16. Uṇāṣitvā, R. i. 1. 97. Yātvā, R. ii. 50. 1. Pūtvā, BhP. vi. 1. 59, x. 19. 12; R. ii. 12. 76, vi. 4. 4, vi. 60. 93.

2 Cf. Böhrlingk, l. c., and the verb-forms cited in the preceding paragraph.
3.

Upāsya, i. 35. 1; àidayan, iii. 5. 11; īhitum, v. 38. 42; cūkūjatas, vi. 90. 49; cūkobha, vi. 56. 25; vi-cinvañdhvam, i. 39. 13; natvā, v. 5. 23; -pupāre, iv. 46. 6; babhañjire, vi. 4. 65; bhuñktvā, v. 54. 43, 44, 47; loptum, vi. 24. 28; spanditum, vi. 70. 74. For convenience, I here add harśanāma, vi. 73. 10, vi. 90. 4 (harṣate etc. V.C.); -dhita-, vi. 90. 47 (V.C.).

4.

The future paripreksyati, vi. 32. 25; the future kāñksisyē, vi. 67. 80; the gerund nikkuya, v. 1. 36; the infinitive -kālītem, iii. 24. 13; the infinitive -karsitum, iv. 54. 11; the gerund krūditvā, v. 9. 34; the optative īdhyām (vītud), iii. 49. 4; the causative tarjāpayati, vi. 34. 9; the infinitive tyaktum (tyaktu-E.), v. 25. 19; the gerund vinarditvā, iii. 30. 18; the perfect babhaksā, vi. 67. 93; the future bhaksisyē, iv. 56. 5; the past participle bhartsita, v. 25. 4; the gerunds warnbartsyā, vi. 22. 46; nirbhartsya, vi. 65. 1; the causative bhartsāpayati, vi. 34. 9; the passive bhartsamānā, v. 26. 4; the pluperfect ababhramat, i. 43. 9; the active future modisyasi, vi. 33. 34; the gerund yuddhāv, vi. 7. 10; the reduplicated aorist middle pra-saśaṁsanta (the active aśaśaṁsat is authorized by the native grammarians, but is nowhere quotable), iv. 55. 18.

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS.

Quantity of vowels.

1. Short for long.¹

Occasionally a short vowel is substituted for a long vowel when the meter favors the former; especially is this so in the case of a final long vowel of the prior member of a compound. Examples where the shortened vowel is not the final vowel of the prior member of a compound are: kārunavedītvād, i. 2. 14; prabhāvam, i. 36. 27; aprastāve, iii. 29. 19; jahātām, vi. 8. 18 (transfer-form² for jahītām; cf. akuvātām, Mbh. i. 76. 9, cited by Hopkins, Epic, p. 247). Whether patniśa, i. 37. 6; maharaddhīnām, v. 8. 5; -jñātānām, vi. 126. 43, belong under this rubric is uncertain: see below, derivative ī-stems: transfers to

the i-declension; i-stems: gen. pl. in -inām. With these are to be compared: patañhitḥ, ĀpŚŚ. xiv. 15. 2, TB. ii. 3. 10; grāmanyihhitḥ, ĀpŚŚ. xx. 4. 3; ucchriyamāna-, ibid. ix. 11. 26. Examples where the shortened vowel is the final vowel of the prior member of a compound are: laksñavardhana-, i. 18. 28, iii. 12. 22, iii. 15. 30, v. 31. 3; laksñivānapunānas, i. 18. 30; suññatvādhāraḥ (where suññā is felt to be one word), ii. 8. 26; jayaṭipurovataḥ, v. 14. 28; jayaṭiputre, v. 30. 44; aksañhiṇīśavatam, vi. 41. 96. With these are to be compared: strīvaijanav-, ĀpŚŚ. viii. 6. 1; garbhiniḥ-prīṣaṭavat-, ibidem ix. 19. 14; madīrīpā, ibidem xv. 16. 2, 3. In Prākrit, furthermore, we have the same phenomenon. Thus: naipura=nadiṇāra, etc.

2. Long for short.3

Less frequently is a long vowel substituted for a short one. The majority of instances are metri causa. In the citations below, the prolonged vowel is set in Clarendon: anūdake, i. 18. 50; durākrāmāṇ, i. 21. 17; prakrajauḥ, i. 42. 1; udāharas, ii. 63. 26; anucitaś, v. 36. 21; Ṛtī, v. 58. 34, vii. 32. 65. It is uncertain whether cases like devas'ruṣaṁ, saktihhitṛ, etc., belong under this rubric: see below, i-stems: acc. sing. in -in, inst. pl. in iḥhīṣ.

78] 3. Phuti or protraction.

In the Bombay text of 1902 the protracted vowel is regularly written as short, but with a figure 3 after it; if the next word begin with a vowel or diphthong, the hiatus thus occasioned remains (Whitney, Gr. §138e):

sūtaḥ ity eva cābhāṣya, ii. 49. 13;
tataḥ etad bhavat vīti, ii. 103. 25.

Here Sl. reads tātā; but Govinda and Maheśvaratīrtha, as cited by Jacobi (p. 112), read tatāi 'tut te bh-.

Rules of euphonic combination.

125d] Hiatus: 1. within pāda.4

Hiatus within the pāda is fairly common; the most frequently occurring case of it is the combination -a r-. Examples

---

1 The citations of ĀpŚŚ. in this section are taken from Garbe’s introduction to his edition.
3 These collections are not complete even for books i-iii.
are: hatvā aśvān apātayat, vi. 79. 30; mahoragani gṛhya ivān-
dajēśavarāh, v. 47. 35; citrakarma ivābhāti, vii. 28. 41; vālmī-
kaye ca ṛṣaye, i. 2. 26; agnihotre ca ṛṣinā, ii. 119. 6; sarve ca
ṛtasvas tatrā, iii. 73. 8; devagandharvasiyakṣarākṣasātīs, vii.
35. 65; gṛhya ṛkṣarājās tāu tu, vii. 37. 45; rāghavot'uḥ ṛṣer
vākyam, vii. 37. 2; atha ivrāhvaun tu gatav vā, vii. 23. 2;
guṇā ivā mahāgajās, vii. 31. 36; esā eva tamāḥ pūrvā, vii.
69. 28; vasanta iva sūlinaḥ, ii. 67. 28; yatrāuṣte ṛṣayāḥ smṛtāḥ,
vi. 23. 12; velāṁ etya ivānāvah, vii. 8. 1.

At i. 9. 16 is found na gacchena ṛṣer bhītāḥ. It is indeed
possible to assume here an optative gacchena, with primary
ending (cf. syāmas, etc., 542a, below); but, in view of the
undoubted instances of -a ṛ- quoted above, it seems more
probable that hiatus is to be assumed.

125d] Hiatus: 2. at the end of odd pāda.¹

Hiatus here seems to be confined to no particular combina-
tions. In the citations the pāda is indicated by a, etc., and the
initial word of the succeeding pāda is given in parentheses:

pratyabhijñāya (arjunāya), vii. 33. 5 c; mā . . . . gamiś-
yāma (aprasādya), vii. 35. 63 e; saṁtussa (aviśādam) vii.
36. 16 c; rāma (iha), iii. 13. 4 a; ca (idam) vi. 90. 4 c; ca (ṛṣi-
nām), ii. 92. 31 a; vasāsthena (ṛṣinā) vii. 59. 2 c; ca (ṛkṣasya),
i. 3. 26 a; ca (śakṣya), i. 3. 29 a; śrutvā (ṛṣimadhya), P. i. 69.
13 a, By. i. 69. 13 c; śrutvā (ṛṣyakṛṣṇavacca), P. i. 9. 48 a;
dṛśtvā (ṛṣyaśrīgam), P. i. 9. 43 a; śrutvā (ṛkṣa-), vii. 49. 13 a;
rājā (idam), ii. 15. 25 a; brāhma (indrasya), vii. 33. 4 c; iti
(uktam), i. 21. 8 a; api (ṛṣyamākam), iv. 11. 76 c; -bhedī
(rr-), vi. 105. 13 a; tu (ṛtānām), P. i. 19. 1 a; mahādūho (ṛṣa-
yas, vii. 37. 8 a; bhadrain te (itti), i. 14. 17 c; bhadrain te (iha),
iii. 56. 11 c; sarve (ṛṣyas), vii. 37. 52 a. For samanvojñātā
(amṛta-), vi. 28. 7a, as a Vedic archaism, comm. cites Pāṇini

135d] Sandhi of -a- gives -e.-

I have noticed three instances where initial -a- is lost after
final -e, namely: antardadhā "tmānam, vi. 73. 26; yuddhe "hvā-
yati, vii. 34. 2; te "jñām, vii. 67. 13. The comm. says at vi.
73. 26: antardadhā "tmānam ity atrākārañcalopāh chāndusāh; at

¹ These collections are not complete even for books i-iii.
vii. 34. 2: yuddhe "hmayati: yuddhaṁimittam āhmayatity arthaḥ; at vii. 67. 13: te ājñaṁ ity arthaḥ; samudhir āṛṣaḥ. In Mbh. te "jñāyaḥ is found instead of ta ājñāyaḥ. Nilakantha, as reported by Holtzmann, offers two solutions, namely: an archaic elision of ā- is to be assumed; or else we have an old word jñā- in the sense of ājñā-. Holtzmann regards the latter explanation as correct. Furthermore in Mbh. the initial ā of ātmānun is occasionally elided after a final -e. As regards the rationale of the sandhi respecting yuddhe "hmayati and te "jñām, it appears to me that the following is plausible: the initial ā- of āhmayati and ājñāṁ was shortened to ā- before two consonants (as in Pāli and Prākrit), and then the regular sandhi of -e ā- to -e- took place. The elision of the initial vowel of ātmānun is only apparent; in Vedie, the abbreviated form tman- is found beside ātmān.-

138g] Sandhi of prayāhya vowels: 1. -i i- gives -i.

I have noted but one example of a dual in -i combined with a following ī-, namely, sarasīva, vi. 97. 1. The comm., touching on this, properly remarks that the sandhi is Vedie—sarasi iva; samudhir āṛṣaḥ.

138g] Sandhi of prayāhya vowels: 2. -o a- gives -o.

After the final o of aho the initial a- of atibalavat is elided at vii. 27. 7, and the initial a- of asya at vii. 30. 3. The comm. notes the latter case and correctly says that the sandhi is Vedie.

Sandhi of prayāhya vowels: 3. -e a- gives -e.

The initial a- of uṭidhārmikāu is elided after the final -e of jajñāte at vii. 102. 15. The comm. says the sandhi is Vedie. I know no authority for his statement.

176a] Sandhi of eṣas.

Although eṣas regularly loses its -s before consonants, yet at vii. 69. 35 eṣo pūrvasya occurs. This sandhi is, apparently, not induced by the meter. In Mbh. we find a parallel in eṣo hi, vii. 192: 13, which is, however, to avoid an anapaest in the prior pāda of a half-śloka: see Holtzmann, p. 4 (top), Hopkins, Epic, p. 247. So eṣo hi, By. vi. 28. 23. Compare Gāthā eṣo, Pkt. Pāli eso.—At vii. 37: 1 by double sandhi of -as p- we have eṣarkṣaraṣajāś instead of the regular eṣa ṛkṣ-.
175c] Sandhi of -us r- gives -o r- at the end of odd pāda.

I have noted but two examples of this, namely, mahātmāno ṛṣayas (i. 60. 34) and bhūto ṛṣyamūkam (iv. 11. 64). That is, the final -us of mahātmānas and bhūtas is treated like final -as before a sonant consonant (Whitney, Skt. Gr. 175a).

133c] Double sandhi: 1. -e i- becomes -e-.

Examples of this are fairly numerous, but it should be noted that the i- is always the initial i- of iti, whereas in Mbh. this limitation does not obtain. Instances are: karisyeti, i. 21. 8; pravidhiyateti, ii. 37. 34; vatsyānuheti, ii. 52. 28; siteti, iii. 60. 35; priyeti, iii. 61. 29, iv. 6. 17; ranṣyānuheti, iii. 69. 14; sumitreti, v. 25. 11. The comm. touching upon these cases, says śāndhir ārṣah or else ikāralopa ārṣah.

176b] Double sandhi: 2. -as a- becomes -ā-.

I have noted but one case where -as a- combines to -ā-, namely, nas avamanyata at P. i. 34. 20:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mā bhūt sa kālo dūrmedhaḥ} \\
pitaraṁ satyavādinam \\
nāvamanyā svadharmena \\
svayaṁvaram upāsmah.
\end{align*}
\]

By. at i. 32. 21 (the passage corresponding to P. i. 34. 20) reads avamanyā; but the comm. notes the variant reading nāvamanyā and has an elaborate note on it: ‘nāvamanyā iti pāṭhas tu kvacit ko ‘papāṭhaḥ, tathā pāṭhe na iti ceśeṣaḥ: chāndasaṁ dir-ghatvam; no ‘smākaṁ sa kālo mā bhūd ity anvayaḥ; another variant is also given by the comm., namely: no ‘vamanyasva.

In Pāli this phenomenon occurs in the formula: esāhaṁ bhava-tantaṁ Gotamaṁ saraṇau gacchāmi, SN. iii. 4, p. 85.

176b] Double sandhi: 3. -as ā- becomes -o-.

I have noted two instances where -as ā- combines to -o-, namely, eso ‘hitāgniś, vi. 109. 23, and so ‘śramāvasathas, vii. 81. 12. The text of the first passage is:

\[
\begin{align*}
eso ‘hitāgniś ca mahātupāś ca \\
vedānta-gaṁ karmasu cāgryasūraḥ \\
etasya yat pretagatasya kṛtyaṁ \\
tat kartum icchāmi tava prasādāt.
\end{align*}
\]
Here the comm. says: eṣṭo "hitāgnir ity āṛṣaḥ saṁḍhīḥ; āhi-
tāgnir iti echedaḥ. The text of the other is:

`sṛutvā tāśānaso vākyāṁ
so "śramāvasatho janaḥ
niṣkrānto viṣayāt tasmāt
stānaṁ cakre `tha bāhyutaḥ.

On this the comm. observes: so "śramāvasatha ity āṛṣaḥ saṁ-
dhīḥ; sa āśramāvāvāsīty arthaḥ. Bōhtlingk, against the
comm., assumes that āryo ṣhayati, ii. 34. 11, and bālino ṣha-
ṇam, iv. 12. 15, are also examples of the loss of initial ā- after
final -as.

176b] Double sandhi: 4. -as i- becomes -e-.

I have met but one instance of this in the whole text, namely,
eseva, vii. 36. 47, which the comm. notes—eseva: eṣa iva;
saṁḍhīr āṛṣaḥ. The comm. at vii. 36. 42 has siṁhaḥ kuṇjara-
ruddheva as a variant to -ddho vā of the text. If his variant
be adopted we must assume double sandhi of -as i-.

176b] Double sandhi: 5. -as u- becomes -o-.

Examples of this are very frequent: socyatāṁ, i. 9. 20; tatot-
thāya, i. 19. 21; sovāca, i. 58. 4; dīvolkās, ii. 4. 17; vāyha-
vojīvaśītas (a reading mentioned by the comm.), ii. 16. 31;
tatovāca, ii. 51. 8, iii. 13. 12; saṁvadantopatishṭhaṁ, ii. 67. 26;
bahusoktavān, iii. 66. 17; mulītotpataṁ, vi. 62. 9; lakṣmaṇo-
vāca, vi. 84. 6; vyāḍhayopekṣītas, vii. 5. 8; pulastyoṁvāca, vii.
33. 13; sotasaśraṁ, vii. 33. 69; etc.

176b] Double sandhi: 6. -as e- becomes -āi-.

The sole example of this phenomenon that I have noted is
esāīva, vii. 26. 23, which the comm. explains by eṣa eva with
the remark that this sandhi is Vedic—saṁḍhīr āṛṣaḥ.

177b] Double sandhi: 7. -ās a- becomes -ā-.

Instances of this are numerous. Examples are kāṁcanaṁ-
kṛtābhavan, i. 14. 24, =kṛtās abhavan1; yasyāḥ, i. 20. 8, =
yasyās aham; tasyāyam, i. 24. 10, =tasyās ayaṁ; tasyāvāle-
panam, i. 43. 6, 35, =tasyās ava-; gatābhīmukham, i. 45. 43, =

1 Or bhavan as augmentless imperfect, as the comm. takes it.
gatās abhi-; aprajāsmī, ii. 20. 37, =aprajās asmi(?); nāsyāntam, ii. 84. 2, = na asyā antam; hṛṣṭādṛṣṭaparākramam, iii. 20. 12, =hṛṣṭās adṛṣṭa-; ugratapābhavat, iv. 60. 8, =ugratapās abhavat (?).  

177b] 

Double sandhi: 8. -ās ṛ- becomes -ār-.  

I have noted but one example of this, namely, pṛtanārka-, vi. 41. 51, which the comm. explains by pṛtanāḥ ṛkṣety atra sandhir ārṣaḥ.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

A- stems.

329c] 

Acc. pl. neuter in -ā.

A questionable case of this, namely, kṛtapratikṛtā, is found at vi. 79. 26:

viddham anyonyagātresu  
dvigneṁi vardhate balam  
kṛtapratikṛtyonyaṁ  
kurutānī tān ranājire.

On this the comm. remarks kṛtapratikṛtā kṛtapratikṛtāṁ: ārṣo gādeśo vibhakteḥ; kurutāṁ akurutāṁ: adabhāva ārṣaḥ. The meter shows that this is not a textual peculiarity (as in viśvānē bhuvanā vicaśe, AV. vii. 81. 1, for viśvān anyo bhṛ- etc. of RV. x. 85. 18); but rather than take it as a real archaism, perhaps we should regard it as an attempt at avoidance of an unusual repetition of similar syllables, such as we see in īradhyāi of RV. i. 134. 2, for īradhadhyāi, or in viṣo-viṣah praviśiśvān-sam imaḥ of AV. iv. 23. 1 (cf. viśvāyāṁ viśi praviśiśvāṁsam imaḥ of TS. iv. 7. 15).

The comm. at vi. 88. 57 takes kṛtapratikṛtā again as acc. pl. neuter; but I do not see how to construe it as such. The text is:

vyāśiyata mahād divyāṁ  
kavacaṁ lakṣmaṇasya tu  
kṛtapratikṛtyonyaṁ  
babhūvatār abhidrutāu.

1 Comm.: aprajāsmīti mānasāsokābhīṇayaḥ. samāsāntābhāvo 'nitya- 
tvāt. sandhir vārṣatvāt.

2 Or bhavat as augmentless imperfect, against the comm.
Comm.: *anyonyasî kṛtapratikṛtā: ārṣo dā . kṛtapratikṛte yuttān bahihwatur ity arthaḥ.* Holtzmann, p. 12, § 329, is in error when he states that the neuter pl. in -ā is found but once in Mbh., namely, in the hymn to the Āśvins: bhuvanāṇi visvā is found at xiii. 102. 55, and bhuvanānāha visvā occurs at vii. 201. 77. Generally *supta* takes the place of *visvā.* See Hopkins, Epic, p. 251.

**U- stems.**

1. **Loc. sing. in -o(?)**

At P. (ed. 1898) i. 16. 1 *visno* apparently is a locative-singular. Thus:

putratavaṁ tu gate *visno.*

This is clearly a misprint for -āu, which P. (ed. 1879), S.l., and By. (i. 17. 1) have. *Were visno* a genuine form and not a typographical error, it would be most archaic. The sole Vedic example of a loc. sing. in -o from an *u*-stem that Whitney (342 f) gives, is a neuter, *sāno.*

342 k; NIV. p. 415] 2. **Nom. pl. in -vas.**

I have noted but a single instance of this, namely, *prabhaviṣṇvas,* vii. 5. 14:

prabhaviṣṇvo bhavāmeti
parasparam anuvratāḥ.

On this the comm. observes: *prabhaviṣṇvaḥ: yan ārṣaḥ.* Even in Vedic the nom. pl. in -vas (-vas) is rare. Böhtlingk’s emendation of -vo to -avo appears to me unwarranted.

3. **Gen. pl. in -ānām.**

I have noted two instances of this, namely, *grāhnānām,* vi. 75. 14, and, in the next line, -manyānām. They both are metri causa and are expressly noted by the comm.

**I- stems.**

1. **Acc. sing. in -im.**

Instances of this are not common. Examples are: *vedāśrutīm,* iii. 50. 22 (beside *vedāśrutīm,* vii. 2. 17); *devāśrutīm,* iv. 6. 5; *smṛtīm,* v. 15. 33. These are metri causa, and are either

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1 Both previously noted by Hopkins, Epic, p. 247.
instances of transfer to the long vowel declension such as we see in the case-forms -āi, -ās, and -ām, or else their -i- is a purely metrical prolongation of -i-. See above, Quantity of vowels: 2.: long for short. Compare the instrumental pl. in -īḥiṣ below.

2. Gen. sing. masc. in -inas.

I have noted but two examples of this, namely: arisṭameminas, iv. 66. 4 (comm.: arisṭameminah; kāśyapasya; nāntatvam ārṣam); aśvapatinas, vii. 100. 4 (comm.: aśvapatinaḥ num ārṣah; aśvapater ity arthaḥ). Unless I am mistaken, arisṭameminas occurs in book i also. The ending -inas is by transfer to the in-declension. Compare Pāli aghino (= aghinas), Kuhn, p. 79; Prākrit aghino (= aghinas), Pischel, §§ 377, 379. With the use of n in the gen. sing. masc. of an -i- stem, may be compared the use of n in the Vedic gen. sing. masc. cārunas (NIV. p. 410 bottom). See also below, R-stems: masculines from stems in -ṛ.

3. Acc. dual in -ināu.

At v. 35. 37 -pānināu is found instead of -pāṇī. This is a transfer to the in-declension.

4. Acc. pl. in -ayas.

Hopkins, Epic, p. 264, footnote, adduces two certain examples of this, namely: drakṣyasya osadhyo dītpāḥ, vi. 74. 32 (comm.: osadhyo dītpāḥ: dītpā osadhir ity arthaḥ), and sāntvayitvā prakṛtyah, vi. 112. 19 (comm.: prakṛtyah: prakṛtāḥ). A less certain case is -vrṣṭayas at v. 14. 10:

utpatadbhir dvijaganātiḥ
pakṣār vātāṅiḥ samāhataḥ
anekavarnā vividhā
municauḥ puspavrṣṭayah.

Comm.: vṛksā iti vṛṣaḥ; puspavrṣṭayah: puspavrṣṭāḥ. The names of several kinds of trees are mentioned in the preceding lines, which somewhat justifies the comm. Moreover the verb muce is transitive and not intransitive. Compare NIV. pages 395, 384, and 410 end.

5. Inst. pl. in -īḥis.

I have noted four examples, all of which are metri causa, namely: citrapattīḥhis, iv. 25. 23; rathaśaktīḥhis, vi. 71. 14,
śaktibhis, vi. 86. 21; asanīdhis, vii. 7. 49. The -i- of the first three is to avoid a diambus at the close of the prior pāda of a half-sloka. See Hopkins, Epic, p. 248. The -i- of the last example is to make the fourth syllable of a tṛṣṭubh line long, so as to conform to the predominant type of tṛṣṭubh (ظروف) in the Rāmāyana.


Examples of -inām for -inām are: harinām, iv. 44. 16; mahrddhinām, v. 8. 5; jūdātinām, vi. 126. 43. These are metri causa; they are either transfers from the i-declension to the in-declension, or else they are simply metrical shortenings for -inām. See above, Quantity of vowels: 1. short for long.

343d]

7. Declension of pati-.

The inst. sing. patinā is found at both By. i. 2. 12 and P. i. 2. 15 (the corresponding passage). P. i. 70. 35 has patinā rahitā, corresponding to By's patyā vīrahitā (i. 70. 36). The comm. at By. i. 70. 36 mentions P's reading and remarks that the ending -nā is Vedic—'patinā rahitā' iti pāthe nā-bhāva ārṣāḥ. Other examples of patinā are at By. v. 26. 34 and vii. 49. 17, which last instance was previously pointed out by Hopkins, JAOS. xx. 2 p. 222. The genitive sing. -patinas has been noticed above, 2. gen. sing.

Radical á- stems.

354b]

Nom. sing. in -s.

Suprajās as a nom. sing. fem. occurs at By. ii. 70. 17 and ii. 96. 7. Corresponding to the second example, both Sl. and G. have -ās at ii. 97. 8 and ii. 106. 7 respectively; corresponding to the first example Sl. (ii. 70. 17) has -ās but G. (ii. 72. 18) -ā. Perhaps this is not to be treated as a root-stem: cf. the Vedic transition-stem -praajas, NIV., p. 556.

Diphthong stems: go.

1. Nom. pl.

At ii. 47. 12. -gās occurs as nom. pl. The comm. notes the form and says that it is Vedic—'gā ity ārṣam. This is supported by its occurrence as a nom. pl. at ĀpŚŚ. x. 26. 7.

1 See Hopkins, Epic, p. 276.

Gāvas as acc. pl. is found at iii. 14. 28. The comm. correctly explains the form: gāvaḥ gā ity arthaḥ. G. avoids the construction as acc. pl. by reading rohinyāṁ jañīre gāvo (iii. 20. 29) instead of rohīṇy ajeyayad gāvo (By. iii. 14. 28). Cf. Pkt. gāo = *gāvas (Pischel, § 393). From memory I can cite gāvas used as acc. pl. once in BhP. Professor Hopkins tells me that in Mbh. also, at iv. 47. 34, it is used as acc. pl.

Derivative ṛ- stems.

Gen. sing.

An instrumental form with the function of the genitive and with gen. pronoun and participle in concord with it, is seen at v. 25. 9, namely, sitayā:

tasyāḥ sā dirghahabulā
vepantyāḥ sitayā tādā
dadṛśe kampitā venī
vyātiva purisarpāti.

The comm. notes the form and remarks that the inst. is here used in the sense of the genitive. It may be charged to the meter.

Derivative l- stems.

363g; NIV., p. 393] Nom. pl. -īs.

The sole instance that I have noted as occurring in books i--iii is bhāminīś, ii. 91. 18 ab:

śakrāṇ yāś copatisthanti
brahmāṇāṁ yāś ca bhāminih.

This is metri causa; -inyah would have given us in the seventh place a heavy syllable, which, in an even pāda, is barred.

363g; NIV., p. 395] Acc. pl. -yas.

Instances of this are not common. Examples are: puṣkariṇyās, iii. 55. 12; samālabhanṭyas, svapanyas, hasanyas, viniḥsvasanyas—all at v. 5. 13. Of these, only puṣkariṇyās is metri causa (for -inīś) to avoid the combination o u-u as the close of
the prior pāda of a half-sloka; 1 samālabhantyas, etc., all close triṣṭubh lines. In Mbh. vilāsinyas is found as acc. pl. at xiii. 104. 19, xiii. 107. 39: cf. Hopkins, Epic, pp. 265, bottom, 266, top.

Transfers to the i- declension.

These are not frequent: in books i-iii I have noted only the nom. pl. patnayas (By. i. 36. 22=P. i. 37. 22, By. ii. 65. 29) and the loc. pl. patniṣu (By. i. 37. 6=P. i. 38. 6). The comm. notes patnayas at By. ii. 65. 29, and patniṣu at By. i. 37. 6. Patnayas at By. i. 36. 22 (=P. i. 37. 22) stands for patnyas in order to avoid a catalectic pāda in a sloka; at By. ii. 65. 29 it is to avoid a triṣṭubh line in a jagatī stanza. Patniṣu stands for patniṣu in order to make the seventh syllable of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka short. Compare patnībhīs at ĀpŚS. xiv. 15. 2; TB. ii. 3. 10. 2 Possibly patniṣu is only a metrical shortening of patniṣu. See above under the heading, System of sounds; quantity of vowels: 1. short for long.

Derivative a- stems.

Nom. pl. in -ās (?).

Böhtlingk cites jambās (stem jambā-) as occurring as a nom. pl. in G. at ii. 100. 27, adding, however, that perhaps the form is only a blunder for -vas. On account of the many undoubted cases where the acc. pl. is used as a nominative, I think that we may safely dismiss this suspicion.

R- stems.

1. Acc. sing.

At vii. 12. 2 svasar makes svasām as acc. sing. Professor Hopkins tells me that this is found in Mbh. also, namely, at vi. 116. 3 and xiv. 66. 12. Moreover, duhitār in Mbh. makes duhitām in the same manner. See Holtzmann, p. 12. Svasā, the nom. sing. of svasar, is the point of departure in this phenomenon: by the analogy of senā to senām the acc. sing. svasām was formed. Prākrit offers exact parallels in the inflection of mā (=mātā), dhiyā (=*duhitā), and dhiuā (=*dhuktā). See Pischel, Pkt. Gr., § 392.

1 Cf. Hopkins, Epic, pp. 223, 236.
2. Voc. sing.

The form -mātā, noted by the comm. as archaic, is used as a vocative singular at ii. 40. 38, where it stands metri causa for mātar:

\[
\begin{align*}
tato & \text{ halahalam} & \text{abdo} \\
jajñē & \text{ rāmasya} & \text{ prṣṭhatah} \\
nūrāṇām & \text{ preksya} & \text{ rājanām} \\
sūdantam & \text{ bhṛśaduḥkhitam} \\
hū & \text{ rāmeti} & \text{ janāḥ kecid} \\
rūmamāteti & \text{ cāpares} \\
antahyraseṣamṛddhāni & \text{ ca} \\
kroṣṭantam & \text{ paryadevayān.}
\end{align*}
\]

In Pāli, pitā is used as voc. sing. as well as nom. sing., and in Prākrit, piḍā (=pitā), according to the native grammarians, may also be used as voc. sing., but examples are not quotable. A close parallel is Pkt. bhattā (=bhārtā), which is used as a voc. sing. and also as nom. sing. See Pischel, §§ 390, 391; Kuhn, p. 84.

373c] 3. Acc. pl.

Mātaras (nom. pl. in form) is used as acc. pl. at ii. 39. 36; likewise -dātāras (nom. pl. in form) at vii. 21. 19 occurs twice for -dāṛṇ. Whitney (373c) does not note that -āras is ever used as acc. pl. like -arās; nor does Holtzmann give any instance of it in Mbh. For the employment of nom. pl. forms as acc. pl., compare above: Diphthong stems, go, 2. acc. pl.; Derivative i- stems, acc. pl.; below: Consonantal root-stems, stem ap; An- stems, 2. acc. pl. in -ānas. Furthermore, Pāli pitaro (=pitaras), Pkt. pidaro, piyaro (=pitaras), are used as acc. pl. and also as nom. pl., and thus present a close parallel to both mātaras and -dātāras.


The gen. pl. of nṛ- is written nṛṇām regularly; I have noted but one instance where nṛṇām is written, namely, at iii. 43. 33, where nṛṇām would be barred by the metre. Nṛṇām at ii. 2. 47, ii. 11. 29, and ii. 91. 28, is metrically an iambus; at i. 15. 26 and i. 67. 4, it may be either an iambus or a spondee. It should be noted that nṛṇām is the only gen. pl. of an r-stem that is regularly written with -r- in RV., and that here it is metrically often a spondee. See NIV., p. 430.
5. Masculines from stems in -tr.

The combination brahmaṇā lokakartṛṇā, occurring at vii. 37.1 10, was cited by Hopkins in JAOS. xx.2, p. 222. I find it occurring also at vii.10.18. It appears, not only from the sense of the combination, but also from an examination of the passages cited by BR. under lokakartvar, that the word brahmaṇā is here certainly masculine. The latter passage may be given:

\begin{align*}
\text{evam ukte tadh vāma} \\
\text{brahmaṇā lokakartṛṇā} \\
\text{dūṣugrīva uvācendun} \\
\text{krtaṇjaliḥ athāgrataḥ.}
\end{align*}

This departure from ordinary usage may perhaps be compared with the Vedic feminines dhāriṇā, nādhinā, NIV., p. 381 (cf. per contra the Vedic neuter dhāres, NIV., p. 385). Furthermore, as regards u-stems, "in the Veda we have neuters without n and masculines with n" (NIV., p. 401). See also NIV., pp. 410, 411. Compare also above, I-stems: gen. sing. masc. in -inas.


An apparent instance of such a neuter is lokakartṛṇā. The anomaly here, however, we must consider to be in the use of the neuter form as a masculine: see above, Masculines from stems in -tr.

Consonantal root-stems.

398a; NIV., p. 483] Stem ap.

Āpas (in form a nom. pl.) is employed as acc. pl. at v. 13. 41 in order to avoid an anapaest immediately before the combination u-v at the close of the prior pāda of a half-sloka. See Hopkins, Epic, pp. 219, 220. The comm. notes the form and explains it correctly. The use of āpas as acc. pl., although an archaism, is one confined mostly to AV. and to the later books of RV.

As- stems.

415a] Transfers to a- declension.

Durvacas (cf. Pāli dubbaco, Majjh. ii. 5, p. 95) is found as nom. sing. masc. at ii. 1. 24; similarly ayaśas at ii. 74. 6. Neither is metri causa for -ās. Compare NIV., p. 547 ff.
Transfers to á-declension.

These are not frequent and are confined mostly to the use of apsarā- for apsaras-: -apsarā (nom. sing.), i.e. 63. 4; apsaras (nom. pl.), i.e. 45. 33; apsarāṇām, i.e. 45. 34; atīyasām, ii. 31. 2; pratisrotām, iii. 5. 36. The form -apsarā is not metri causa; apsarāṇām stands for apsarasām in order to avoid an anapaest before ā- at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-slokā (see Hopkins, Epic, p. 245); the metrical necessities compelling apsarās, atīyasām, and pratisrotām are too obvious to be worth commenting on. In late Mbh., nom. -ā and acc. -ām from as- stems occur. In Vedic there are also parallel cases: see NIV., p. 549 ff. In connection with apsaras above, it should be noted that an acc. sing. apsarām is found in AV. Compare Pāli and Prākrit acchārā (=Skt. apsaras-, but also apsarā-), which is declined throughout as an ā-stem. See Kuhn, p. 78; Pischel, § 410.

Is- stems.

Acc. pl. of havīs
dus

Haviṣas at ii. 20. 17 occurs as acc. pl. (so comm.) instead of haviṣī, in order to produce a diāiambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a sloka. Professor Hopkins suggests that haviṣas as acc. pl. is due to the analogy of is to iṣas.

Us- stems.

415c; NIV. p. 569] Transfers to ū-declension.

Although my collections seem to indicate that these are confined to the substitution of jaṭāyu- for jaṭāyu-, yet probably this is not the case. Examples are: jaṭāyo (voc. sing.), iii. 49. 38, 40, iii. 68. 4; jaṭāyos (gen. sing.), v. 35. 65. Examples of the regular inflection from the stem jaṭāyu are: jaṭāyuṣām, iii. 67. 10, iv. 6. 4; jaṭāyuṣā, iv. 56. 9; jaṭāyuṣas, iv. 56. 14, 23. The loc. sing. āyuṇi is the sole instance in RV. of a transfer of the stem āyuṣ ‘life’ to the ū-declension.

An- stems.

1. Nom. pl. -ānas.

In books i–iii I have noted three instances of this, namely: mahātmanas, i. 61. 3; puṇyakarmanas, iii. 24. 20; saṁmata-
parvanas, iii. 39. 12—all of which stand for -ānas and produce a diiambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka.

2. Acc. pl. -ānas.

In books i–iii I have noted but two instances of this, namely: mahātmānas, i. 57. 16, 17—both times at the close of an odd pāda and standing for -ānas in order to avoid the combination -o-o-o-o- in the prior pāda of a half-sloka. See Hopkins, Epic, pp. 236, 457 section 46. The comm. notes the first example. P. at i. 57. 15, the passage corresponding to By. i. 57. 16, also reads mahātmānas; but at i. 57. 16 (=By. i. 57. 17) mahābhāgān. It is doubtful if kṛtakarmāṇaḥ is an acc. pl. at v. 64. 17, as it might equally well be construed as a vocative. Both Pāli and Prākrit offer similar cases of -āno (=*-ānas) for *-ano (*-anās) in the acc. pl. See Pischel, § 399; Kuhn, p. 73.

In- stems.

Gen. pl. -inām.

Mekhalinām as gen. pl. is found at ii. 32. 21. The comm. remarks that the long -i- is Vedic—mekhalinām: brahmacāri

nām; dīrgha ārṣaḥ. As a matter of fact the -i- is Prākritic. The form is used for -inām to avoid an anapaest immediately before o-o-o of a pathyā pāda. See Hopkins, Epic, p. 220.

Present active participle.

Nom. pl. masc.

Vudatas (in form acc. pl.) at iv. 59. 1 is used as a nominative plural masculine:

\[\text{tatas tud anṛtāsvādānūn} \]
\[\text{grḍhirvājena bhāṣitām} \]
\[\text{nīśamya vadato hṛṣṭās} \]
\[\text{te vacaḥ plavagārśabhāḥ}.\]

The comm. notes the absence of the nasal as Vedic (vadata ity atra num-abhāva ārṣaḥ). I am not aware of any authority for this. Elsewhere we have seen accusative plurals substituted for nominative plurals for metrical reasons; and we may assume that such is the case here: the nasalized form would have produced o-o-o-o-o as the prior pāda of half-sloka without caesura after the fifth syllable—in R. a practically unheard of combination.
See Hopkins, Epic, pp. 221 section 3, 236, 453 section 26. In this connection it may be observed that in Pāli, in the present active participle, cases which should be formed with strong stems are sometimes made with weak ones. Thus *rājataṁ* for *rājantaṁ*. See Kuhn, p. 77.

Formation of the feminine stem of participles in -ant.

449c]

1. *-Atī* for *-antī*.

Instances of this are not infrequent; but in book i I have noted only *parigārjatīm* and *anīcchatī*. Examples are: *parigārjatīm*, i. 26. 18; *anīcchatī*, i. 36. 24; *āyacchatīṁ*, ii. 4. 30; *asahatī*, ii. 12. 89 (cf. Epic, p. 248); *gacchatī*, ii. 32. 8; *anudhāvatīm*, ii. 40. 44; *janayatīm*, ii. 95. 16; *abhiyacchatīṁ*, iii. 13. 4; *jivatīṁ*, iii. 18. 19, v. 26. 35; *anuśocatīṁ*, iii. 46. 9; *apasyatīṁ*, iii. 52. 44; *śocatīm*, iii. 72. 26; *vartatīm*, iv. 6. 6; *prāpatīm*, iv. 20. 22; *anīcchatīṁ*, v. 22. 9; *īcchatīṁ*, v. 22. 43 a; *tarjatīṁ*, v. 24. 28; *parisarpatīṁ*, v. 25. 9; *śocatī*, v. 26. 2; *vasatīm*, vi. 126. 42. The comm. notes only two-sevenths of these. Two-thirds of the above instances are in order to produce a diambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka: compare Hopkins, Epic, p. 246.

Besides the similar formations in Vedic and Mbh. (for which see Whitney and Holtzmann), BhP. also has some fem. participles in -ātī for -antī. Thus: *vikṛłatīṁ*, viii. 12. 18; *anīcchatīṁ*, viii. 12. 28; *gāyatīṁ*, x. 33. 14; *īcchatī*, x. 58. 20.

In Prākrit, moreover, according to Hemacandra, verbs of the first class may form their fem. present participle in -ātī as *hasāī=hasatī* (Skt. *hasatī*), *vevaī=vepatī* (Skt. *vepatī*, usually middle *vepamāṇā*). See Pischel, § 560.

449j]

2. *-Antī* for *-atī*.

This substitution is not infrequent, but in book i I have only noted *bruvantuṇyas* and *rudantī* (twice). Examples are: *bruvantuṇyas*, i. 33. 4; *rudantī*, i. 54. 7 (twice), ii. 9. 23; *bruvantuṇīm*, ii. 8. 13; *upāhiṇīsantī*, ii. 9. 4, ii. 9. 10; *jānantī*, ii. 10. 35, ii. 44. 6, v. 35. 6; *pratigrhṇantīm*, ii. 12. 48; *bruvantī*, ii. 12. 57; *rudantīm*, ii. 12. 75, ii. 40. 44, iv. 24. 25; *mṛdantī*, ii. 27. 7; *rudantīs*, ii. 65. 29, ii. 76. 29; *prajānantī*, ii. 72. 14; *bruvantuṇīm*, ii. 104. 27; *vicinvantī*, iii. 42. 32; *bruvantuṇīs*, v. 24. 22. The comm. does not note a single one of these. Of the twenty-two
instances quoted above, eight are metri causa for -ati; six certainly are not metri causa; the remaining eight are probably not metri causa. Of the eight which are metri causa (rudanti, i. 54. 7a; upahīrsanti, ii. 9. 4, ii. 9. 10; jānanti, ii. 10. 35 c; pratigṛhantam, ii. 12. 48; rudantim, iv. 24. 25; prajānanti, ii. 72. 14; vibīrvanta), one (rudanti) is to avoid the fifth vipulā, which is not found in R.; one (rudantim), to make the fourth syllable of a tristubh line long; the remaining six are to avoid a diambus at the close of an odd pāda. The six which are clearly not metri causa are: bṛuvantyas, i. 33. 4; jānanti, ii. 44. 6; rudantyas, ii. 65. 29, ii. 76. 22; bṛuvantyām, ii. 104. 27; bṛuvantyās, v. 24. 22. We cannot help suspecting that some of the remaining eight, which are probably not metri causa, are in part due to faulty assimilation¹ to other fem. participles in -anti. Thus rudanti at i. 54. 7d has been assimilated to rudanti (pāda a, metri causa) and kroṣantā, both of which are in the same śloka. Similarly rudantim, ii. 40. 44, probably owes its nasal to kroṣantim, which is in the same śloka.² Possibly bṛuvantim, ii. 8. 13, may have been induced by cintayanti, ii. 8. 8. In a like manner mṛdantā, ii. 27. 7, may have been assimilated to acintayanti, ii. 27. 12.

In Mbh. also, participles in -anti for -ati are found. In Prākrit, furthermore, the fem. present active participle is made in -anti regardless of the conjugation. Thus santā = Skt. sati, apāvantā = Skt. aprūpyavatī. See Pischel, § 560.

449γ] 3. Formation of feminine participle of roots in ā, of the root class.

Hopkins (JAOS. xx.², p. 222; Epic, p. 250) cites a couple of examples where roots which belong to the root class and end in -ā, use the nasal termination -anti- in forming fem. participles, to wit: āyanti, vii. 26. 47; āyantim, vii. 96. 11. To these I can add amuyantī, vi. 4. 25. Holtzmann, p. 13 (last line), cites yānti as occurring in Mbh. at xii. 175. 28.

Perfect participle in -vāns.

462c] Weak stem in strong cases.³

Vivāns makes a nom. pl. -viduṣas (in form, acc. pl., as in other instances cited above) at vii. 1. 8 instead of the regular

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² Wrong: the case is metrical.
³ See also Hopkins, Epic, p. 262.
-videvañsas. This is to avoid the fifth vipulā, which is not found in R. In Vedic, similar formations appear, as for example the acc. sing. cakrīṣam. See NIV., p. 511. In Mbh., as might be expected, we find analogous cases, as for example the nom. pl. vidusas. See Holtzmann, p. 14; and BR., under videvāns. In Pāli and Prākrit we have an instance of a weak stem-form in the nom. sing., namely: Pāli vidō, Prākrit viū, = Vedic vidus (Pischel, Ved. St. ii. 236, Pkt. Gr., § 411).

This phenomenon is to be explained as a transfer from the -vāns declension to the -us declension by a proportional. Thus dirghāyusā, -usas (gen. sing.), -usi, are to dirghāyus, -uyas (nom. pl.), as vidusā, -usas (gen. sing.), -usi, are to (Vedic) vidus, (Epic) -usas (nom. pl.).

Comparatives in -yāns.

Weak stem-form for strong.

In books i–iii I have noted kaniyasaṃ, i. 61. 18, 19, 21; and yaviyasaṃ, ii. 105. 42. Kaniyasaṃ at i. 61. 19, 21 stands for -yānsam to give a diambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka; at i. 61. 18 it is used to avoid the combination — u — — as the prior pāda of a half-sloka where the caesura is not after the fifth syllable (see Hopkins, Epic, p. 221, last paragraph). Yaviyasaṃ at ii. 105. 42 is for -yānsam in order to make the third syllable of a triśṭubh line short so as to conform to the prevailing type of the triśṭubh in the Rāmāyaṇa, namely: u — u — u — u — (Hopkins, Epic, p. 276).

NUMERALS.

Cardinals.

-Sat for -sati.

Caturviṃśat is found at i. 4. 2. The comm. remarks: caturviṃśad iti caturviṃśatir ity arthakūc chāndasaḥ.

-Satam for -sat.

Triṃśatam occurs at iv. 65. 4 (comm.: triṃśad ity arthe triṃśatam ity ārṣam):

śarabho vānaras tatra
vānarāṇs tān uvāca ha
triṃśataṁ tu ganiśyāmi
yojanānāṁ plavāṅgamāḥ.
Multiplication of numbers: illogical construction.

At ii. 39. 36 an example of the 'peculiar and wholly illogical' construction occurs, namely, \textit{trayah satasatarthas}, which means 350, that is \((3 \times 100) + 50\), as the comm. points out, and not \(3 \times (100 + 50) = 450\).

Declension of \textit{catur}: gen. pl. fem.

\textit{Catusṛṇām} occurs at i. 72. 12 By. (ed's. of 1902 and 1888) and i. 72. 12 P., the corresponding passage. The comm. expressly notes the form and says the \(-ṛ-\) is Vedic—\textit{dirghatvam āraṇam}. The form is for \(-ṛṇām\), probably to avoid an anapast immediately before the terminal dīambus of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka. Compare Hopkins, Epic, p. 245. The form with long \(ṛ\) also occurs at By. (ed. 1902) i. 73. 35, and at P. i. 73. 31, the corresponding passage; By. (ed. 1888) here reads \textit{catusṛṇām}; the comm., furthermore, is silent. Moreover, the meter bars \textit{catusṛṇām} in the present instance, for the fifth vipulā is unknown to R. (Hopkins, Epic, p. 222). In the face of such cumulative evidence we must here consider \textit{catusṛṇām} as the correct reading. By's (ed. 1902) and P's \textit{catusṛṇām} is accordingly a faulty assimilation\(^1\) to \textit{catusṛṇām} at By. (both ed's) i. 73. 35; P. i. 73. 31.

Ordinals.

\textit{-Ama-} for \(-ā\).

\textit{Dvādaśama}- is found at vii. 55. 4, vii. 70. 9, vii. 71. 1.\n
\textit{Dvādaśama}- occurs in BhP. at viii. 13. 27.

PRONOMINAL DECLENSION.

Personal pronouns.

First personal pronoun: me as inst. sing.

The form \textit{me} is not infrequent as inst. sing. It is clearly marked as such by the participle \textit{tiṣṭhatā} at iv. 14. 14:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{tato veti balenādaya}
  \item \textit{vālināṁ niḥtaṁ raṇe}
  \item \textit{anṛtaṁ notkāparvam me}
  \item \textit{ciraiṁ kṛcehe ‘pi tiṣṭhatā} ;
\end{itemize}

\(^1\) Compare Lanman, Album-Kern, p. 303.
here G. has in the corresponding passage (iv. 13. 38) hi for me and mayā for cīram, but has me (as the equivalent of mayā) in fact at iii. 13. 31 (= By. iii. 9. 33). Further cases are asi me śrutos (iii. 7. 10), etad upāhṛtam me (iii. 9. 33: so also G. at iii. 13. 31), vidito me 'st (iv. 11. 30), vāidehyā yathā me haraṇaṁ śrutam (iv. 59. 6); idānāṁ me smṛtām (iv. 46. 21); dvān māsāṁ raksitavyān me (v. 22. 8). The comm. explains me by mayā in all these cases except me at iii. 9. 33.

With me as inst. sing., Pkt. (and Pāli?) me, used the same way, is to be compared. See Pischel, § 418; Kuhn, p. 86, near the bottom. See under the heading, Second personal pronoun: te as inst. sing.

First personal pronoun: me as abl. sing.

Me is used as an ablative singular at vi. 19. 20 and at vii. 10. 17. The comm. explains me both times by mattah.

na me jīvan vimoksya te (vi. 19. 20).

varah anyāṁ vṛṣṇeva me (vii. 10. 17).

First personal pronoun: maṁyaṁ as gen. sing.

Maṁyaṁ at i. 13. 4 is used in the sense of a genitive and is so explained by the comm.—maṁyaṁ iti sūthyarthe:

bhavāṁ snigdhoṁ suḥṛṇ maṁyaṁ

Guruḥ ca paramo maṁyaṁ.

Sl. (i. 12. 4) and G. (i. 12. 4) substitute suḥṛṇ cāiva for suḥṛṇ maṁyaṁ of the Bombay text.

Śrutvāiva ca vaco maṁyaṁ

kṣipram āṣyati rāghavaḥ

occurs at v. 36. 34 and at v. 37. 20. The comm. explains maṁyaṁ at v. 36. 34 by mattah; but at v. 37. 20 he remarks maṁyaṁ: mama matto vā. G. at v. 34. 4 (= By. v. 36. 34) reads mama śrutvāiva tu vacaḥ, etc.; for By. v. 37. 20 there is no correspondent in G. As maṁyaṁ is in the same pāda as vacaḥ, it is much better to take maṁyaṁ as a genitive dependent on vacaḥ, than to consider maṁyaṁ as an ablative.

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1 In some of them, in spite of the comm., one may doubt the author's assumption that me and (in the sequel) te are real instrumentals, and not rather after all simple genitives (Whitney, § 296 b).
of separation, to be construed with esyati in another pada. G’s reading strongly supports this view. We may add mahyan (comm. mama), vii. 49. 9.

492a] First personal pronoun: me as loc. sing.

Me at ii. 85. 10 is construed by the comm. (me: mayi) as a locative singular. The text runs:

\[\text{tam nivartayitum yami} \]
\[\text{kakutshahi vanarasinam} \]
\[\text{buddhir anya na me karyah} \]
\[\text{yaha satyam bravimi te.} \]

The comm. gives another reading, namely, te for me, which reading both Sl. (ii. 85. 10) and G. (ii. 92. 19) have in the corresponding passages. G., moreover, substitutes upavartayitum for tam nivartayitum. The reading te yields better sense: if correct, te is an instrumental singular; see below, Second personal pronoun: te as inst. sing. If me is accepted as the correct reading, it is hard to see why it can not be construed as a genitive singular: the comm’s forced construction appears needless. Whitney, § 492a, says that me as loc. or dative is peculiar to VS.

Second personal pronoun: te as acc. sing.

Hopkins, JAOS. xx. 3 p. 222, gives an example of this where te is shown to be acc. by the adjective upapam agreeing with it: apapani vedmi Site te, By. vii. 49. 10. The comm. explains te by team, which G. (in the corresponding passage) has. To this I can add only one more example,1 to wit: aham ajnapayami te, vii. 47. 9 (comm.: te tvam ity arthaḥ). Pischel, ZDMG. xxxv. 715, cites te as a Pali acc. from Jātaka i. 22521,22, and as a Vedic acc. from RV. i. 30. 9. In some Prākrit dialects, furthermore, te (de) is used as acc. sing. See Pischel, Pkt. Gr. §§ 420, 421. Notice that me is used as acc. sing. in Ardhamāgadhi Prākrit, and in Vedic. See Pischel, § 418.

Second personal pronoun: te as inst. sing.

Instances of te as instrumental singular are not numerous. Examples are: buddhir anyah na te karyah, Sl. ii. 85. 10, G. ii. 92. 19; comm’s variant at By. ii. 85. 10; pujitah cāpi te vayam,

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1 In the proof I add sa te mokṣayitā šāpāt, vii. 53. 21.
ii. 89. 7; nahi te niṣṭhurāṁ vācyo bharato, ii. 97. 15; āgaṇta- 
vyān ca te, iii. 8. 16. The comm. explaining all these cases of te 
by tvayā except his variant te at By. ii. 85. 10, where he records 
it as a variant reading only. See above, First personal pronoun: 
me as loc. sing. Pischel, § 421, cites te or de for Pkt. as inst.; 
and Kuhn, p. 86, cites te, doubtfully, for Pāli. Compare also 
me used as'inst. sing. Note, however, that in the instances 
quoted above, te might be a gen. sing.

Second personal pronoun: tubhyam as inst. sing.

The comm. at iii. 49. 39 records tubhyam as a variant of 
tvaya of the text—tubhyam iti pāṭhe tvayety arthe ārṣaṁ tat. 
Pādas a and b of the text run:

nāīṣa vārayituiḥ śakyas
tvayā krāro niśācaraiḥ.

G. has no corresponding passage. Neither Pāli nor Prākrit 
offers any analogies for the use of tubhyam as inst. sing.

Second personal pronoun: tubhyam as gen. sing.

Tubhyam at i. 54. 15 is to be construed as a genitive: apra-
meṣyaḥ balaiḥ tubhyam (comm. tubhyam: tava). The meter 
demands — to avoid diambus at the close of the prior pāda 
of a half-sloka; hence tava would be barred. Pkt. tubbham 
(=Skt. tubhyam), as gen. sing., is to be compared.

Second personal pronoun: yāyam as acc. pl.

At v. 64. 17 yāyam is found as acc. pl.:

nājñāpayitum iśo ‘haṁ
yuvarājo ‘smi yady api
ayuktaiḥ kṛtaṁśaṁ
yāyaiḥ dhārṣayitum balāt.

On this the comm. observes:

yady api ahaṁ yuvarājo ‘smi yuṣmān ājñāpayitauṁ nesāś ca:
tatra hetuḥ—kṛtaṁśaṁ yāyam: kṛtaṁśaṁ yuṣmān ity 
arthā arṣaṁ idam. tathāpy ataḥ param balād dhārṣayitum 
a yuktam.

Demonstrative pronouns.

Ayam: loc. sing. fem.

At v. 16. 11 asyā is found as a loc. sing. fem. (in place of 
asyām), in opposition with a loc. sing., namely, nimitte:
\[\text{\textit{āśvaryaśām vānarāṇāṁ ca}}
\text{\textit{durlabhāṁ vālīpālītāṁ}}
\text{\textit{asyāḥ nimitte sugrīvāḥ}}
\text{\textit{prāptavāṁ lokaviśrataḥ}}\]

The comm. says that \textit{asyāḥ} [i. e. \textit{asyās} with loss of -\textit{s}] is a genitive in place of a locative—\textit{saptamyaṁtrhe saṣṭhi}. The comm. also quotes Tirtha as follows: \textit{asyāṁ nimitabhaṁtāyāṁ satyāṁ}.

\textbf{Adjectives declined like pronouns.}

525c

\textit{Paścima-}.

P. reads \textit{paścinṣayāṁ} at i. 61. 3, where By. (i. 61. 3), in the corresponding passage, has \textit{paścināyāṁ}; at By. iv. 37. 3, however, the former form is found. It is to be noted that the meter allows either form.

\textbf{CONJUGATION.}

\textbf{Voice.}

529a

\textit{Interchange}: 1. active for middle.

Verbs which in Classical Sanskrit are never inflected in the active voice, are occasionally used in the Rāmāyaṇa in that voice. The phenomena may be divided into three categories: 1. where the active is found in Epic Sanskrit only; 2. where the active is peculiar to R.; 3. where the active is found only in Vedic and R. Examples of 1. are \textit{avagāhanti}, iii. 16. 22, and \textit{vāśyaṁtus}, iii. 23. 15. An instance under 2. is \textit{modisyasi}, vi. 33. 34 (\textit{modisyē E.}). An illustration of 3. is \textit{āśisyasi}, iv. 54. 16 (\textit{āśisyati TS.}).

529a

\textit{Interchange}: 2. middle for active.

Verbs which in Classical Sanskrit are never inflected in the middle voice, are used occasionally in the Rāmāyaṇa in that voice. The phenomena may be divided into four divisions, namely: 1. where the middle is found in Epic Sanskrit only; 2. where the middle is peculiar to R.; 3. where the middle is found in R., BhP., and Vedic only; 4. where the middle occurs only in R. and Vedic. Examples of 1. are \textit{bhedaśayaśa}, i. 64. 7, and \textit{tapsyāmahē}, i. 61. 2; \textit{tyakṣye}, iv. 62. 15; \textit{modisyē}, v. 65. 24, etc. Illustrations of 2. are \textit{svaśiśye}, ii. 24. 35, \textit{cālayate},
i. 40. 15, and kṣamisyē, vii. 58. 14. Instances of 3. are graṃsate (V.B. BhP. 3 x. 34. 6), i. 56. 13 and grasamānasya, i. 56.
17. Types of 4. are āpsyaye (āpsyate, etc., B.R.), P. i. 69. 9, prāpsyaye, ii. 24. 30, ii. 74. 12, and uāpsyaye, ii. 32. 31, ii. 32. 36.

Personal endings.


Examples of this are infrequent and are confined to the use of -mas for -ma in the first person plural of the present active optative, and to the use of -tha for -ta in the second person plural of the present active imperative. Thus: syāmas, i. 45. 16; prāṣṭānas, vi. 66. 24; avāṭṣānas, vi. 66. 25; -gacchathā, i. 39. 13, 14. Possibly we have to assume that gaccheṣa (before ?-) stands for gaccheṇas at i. 9. 16: see above, 125d.

Ajarāṣ cāmarāṣ cāiva
kathin syāmeta rāghava

is read by Sl. and P. (i. 45. 17) and G. (i. 46. 17) instead of

anarā vijarāṣ cāiva
kathin syāmo nirāmayāḥ, By. i. 45. 16.

Of course double sandhi of -as i- might be assumed, but it is far better to regard syāmeti as syāma+iti (Whitney, Gr. §127).

BhP. at vi. 4. 7 has an imperative second person plural in -tha:

mā druṇebhyo mahābhāga
dinebhyo drogāhun artha.

For the construction of mā followed by the imperative, see Whitney, Gr. §879c.

Moreover, both Pāli and Prākrit employ a primary ending in the second person plural of the imperative. Thus: Pāli suṇātha ‘hear ye,’ Pkt. namaha (=*-tha) ‘bow ye.’ See Pischel, §471, Kuhn, pp. 100, 101.

In Mbh. the optative syāvas is found instead of syāva, precisely as syāmas for syāma. See Holtzmann, p. 22.

Again it should be noted that both Pāli and Prākrit furnish parallels: they have primary endings in the first1 (this rarely) and second persons sing., and in the second person pl. of the

1 Not registered by Whitney.
2 Not given by Whitney as occurring either in R. or BhP.
3 I cannot cite examples for this person in Pāli.
optative. Thus: Pkt. uččj̥ämi, karččj̥ämi, nivṛddihāsi (=Skt. nivṛddayed), citthāj̥āha (=*-tha); Pāli jānayāsi, passeyyāsi (both Majjh. ii. 3. 5, pp. 510, 511), bhajeyyāsi (Majjh. ii. 3. 5, p. 512), kubbehā (SN. iv. 14: 3).

Furthermore, Pkt. offers an exact parallel to syāmas, etc., in that it employs a primary ending -mo (=Skt. -mas) in the first person pl. of the optative. Thus: puccrččj̥āmo, kuhcrččj̥āmo. See Pischel, §§ 459-465.

543a] 2. Substitution of secondary for primary ending.

Instances of this are frequent, but are confined to the substitution of -ma for -mas (apart from raṁsyāva, discussed below). Examples of presents in -ma for -mas are sma, i. 14. 17, 47; P. i. 29. 24; i. 28. 13; i. 31. 4 (?) ; i. 33. 3, 4; i. 65. 19; ii. 6. 22; ii. 17. 9; ii. 48. 28; ii. 54. 6; ii. 54. 37 (comm's variant); ii. 55. 11; ii. 57. 12; ii. 61. 26; ii. 63. 33; ii. 92. 6; ii. 93. 7; ii. 99. 9; ii. 111. 21; iii. 8. 5; iii. 10. 11; iii. 11. 94; paśyāma, ii. 17. 10; ii. 51. 24; iv. 56. 13. Examples of future in -ma for -mas are: karīsya, i. 40. 9; prāpaṁyāma, i. 45. 17; vētsyāma, ii. 17. 9; drakṣyāma, ii. 40. 22; ii. 47. 11; pravēksyāma, ii. 54. 16; suksyāma, ii. 56. 7; ganiśyāma, ii. 91. 59; vatsyāma, iii. 15. 19; iv. 27. 7. Hopkins (Epic, pp. 245-249, 251) thoroughly discusses the metrical considerations which make for -ma in place of -mas.

Raṁsyāva, the only case of the substitution of -va for -vas that I have noted in R., is found at iv. 27. 25. As far as the sense is concerned it might be an imperative, and I am inclined to regard it as such for the reason that the use of -va for -vas is not found elsewhere in R.3

In Mbh. the same phenomenon is to be observed: thus, sma, gacchāma, etc. See Holtzmann, p. 18. BhP. at ix. 10. 26 has sma (for smas: hā hatāḥ sma vayaṁ nātha), and drakṣyāma at x. 46. 19. Prākrit allows the same substitution, with this restriction, namely, that apart from mha (=Skt. smas) and vitarāma and dacehāma (=Skt. drakṣyāmas, but cf. drakṣyāma, R. ii. 40. 23), the use of -ma for -mo (=Skt. -mas) is found only in verse. And -ma for -mo in the future is rare. See Pischel,

1 sma occurs so often in every book of R. that it did not seem worth while adding more instances of it.
2 Possibly we should emend sma at i. 31. 4 to sva.
§§ 455, 520. In Pāli -ma is used as a primary ending constantly without restriction; thus amha (=Pkt. mha, Epic Skt. sma); gacchāma, SN. iii. 9, p. 121; bhavissāma, aharissāma, apiyissāma, patipajjissāma, rakkhissāma (=*rakṣīṣyāma, cf. rakṣiṣye, BhP. viii. 22. 35)—all at Majjh. i. 4. 9, p. 273.

546] 3. First person dual.

Although no form in -vas is quotable in the Veda (Whitney), and although it is rare in Mbh. (Holtzmann), yet in R. the form is by no means infrequent. Examples are: jīvāvas, ii. 53. 31; ichāvas, ii. 64. 26, iii. 3. 3; tīṣṭhāvas, ii. 96. 20; vicinuvās, iii. 61. 18; karisyāvas, iv. 3. 38; pāṣyāvas, iv. 61. 6; ganiṣyāvas, iii. 75. 6; gačchāvas, iii. 75. 10.

On the other hand, forms in -va are very uncommon in R. Examples are: karavāva, i. 31. 4, vii. 93. 17; jīveva, Sl. ii. 53. 32 (corresponding to the jīvāvas of By. ii. 53. 31); gačchāva, iii. 42. 1; apiṣyāva, iv. 61. 5.

Instances of the termination -vahe are about on a numerical par with those in -va. Examples are: icchāvahe, i. 38. 10; yatāvahe, iii. 61. 17; nikhanāvahe, iii. 4. 10; gačchāvahe, iii. 64. 22; raiṣyāvahe, iii. 69. 14; nivasa vahe, iv. 27. 25.

4. Second person sing. perfect active.

At v. 67. 13 a wholly anomalous form, cikṣepa, occurs as a second person singular perfect active:

\[
\text{sa tvam praḍīptam cikṣepa} \\
\text{dabhaṁ taṁ vāyasaṁ prati} \\
\text{tutuṁ vāyasaṁ diptāḥ} \\
\text{sa dabho 'nujaṅgama ha.'}
\]

The comm. notes the form and says that it is Vedic (!) usage: cikṣepa cikṣepitha. ārṣaḥ prayogah. Possibly (if cikṣepa stands for *cikṣepas) we should compare Pāli babhūve, papace, = *-vas, *-cas respectively. Cf. Kuhn, p. 114. This comparison was suggested to me by Professor Hopkins.

Improper subjunctive.

563, 576]  Future sense.

The context shows that we have an instance of this at i. 9. 6:

\[
tasyāivaṁ vartamanasya \\
kalāḥ samabhivartata.
\]
The comm. correctly explains the form: \textit{samabhistateti bhavisat} \textit{lau a\hat{a}\hat{a}bh\hat{a}ras c\hat{a}r\hat{a}h}. Sl. and P. at i. 8. 10 (the corresponding passage) read:
\begin{quote}
\textit{tasy\hat{a}icau vartam\hat{a}nasya}
\textit{k\hat{a}\hat{a}la\hat{h} samabhivartyati}.
\end{quote}

G. at i. 8. 10 (=By. i. 9. 6) has:
\begin{quote}
\textit{tap\hat{a}rata\hat{a}na tasy\hat{a}icau}
\textit{k\hat{a}\hat{a}la\hat{h} samabhivartyati}.
\end{quote}

This construction is seen in the RV. also: thus, \textit{indrasya n\acute{u} v\hat{a}ry\hat{a}n\hat{u} pr\acute{u} vocam}, i. 32. 1.

\textbf{Imperative mode.}

\textit{Imperative in -t\hat{a}t.}

The comm. at iii. 62. 14\textsuperscript{1} gives, in a half-sloka "variant of Kataka," an example of an imperative in -t\hat{a}t:
\begin{quote}
\textit{t\hat{a}tu eva k\hat{a}\hat{a}th\hat{a}h sa}
\textit{tatr\hat{a}iva vasat\hat{a}d iti'}
\end{quote}

\textit{ity ar\hat{a}ham adhikau katakap\hat{u}the. tato da\hat{s}\hat{a}ratha eva k\hat{a}\hat{a}rtha\hat{h}. vasat\hat{a}d iti lo\hat{t}\acute{u} vrat\hat{a}nyevam.} It may be remarked that in Mbh. only one example of this has been pointed out by Holtzmann, namely, \textit{kur\hat{a}t\hat{a}t}. In Vedic the imperative in -t\hat{a}t is not rare. See Whitney, Gr. §§618, 654, 704, 723, 740, 752c. They become quite common in late works: see L. D. Barnett, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. 1902, p. 430, and 1903, p. 825, and Böhtlingk, Ber. d. sächs. G. d. W., 1902, p. 19.

\textbf{Prohibitions.}

\textit{579a; Speyer, §193} M\textit{a} with augmentless imperfect.

An example is \textit{m\text{\ddot{a}} ca\text{n}am ab\text{\ddot{a}}bh\text{\ddot{a}}sath\acute{a}h}, ii. 9. 23. Whitney cites one example of this construction from Mbh. See Whitney for Vedic examples. Professor Hopkins informs me that the construction is not uncommon in late Sanskrit.

\textit{579b] M\text{\ddot{a}} with the optative.}\textsuperscript{1}

Whitney notes that this combination occurs once and only once in RV., and that no other instance of it is found in the

\textsuperscript{1} This, apparently, is the citation meant by Böhtlingk's iii. 62. 4.
older language. It is infrequent in R. Examples are: mA vijram manyur aśiṣet, i. 10. 31; mādharma mām iha sparṣet, ii. 12. 36; mā teā ghoreṇa caksuṣa dahe, iii. 50. 16; mā ca buddhikm adharme tvam kuryaḥ, vii. 40. 11; mā gacchet, iv. 14. 13; and, with inversion, gaccher mā, iv. 22. 22; and, with the particle sma: manyur mā sma bhaved itī, P. i. 9. 65 = By. i. 10. 31; mā smānāṃ pratyudikṣetāḥ, ii. 9. 23; mā sma janayet pūtram idṛśam, ii. 53. 21. The passage at ii. 38. 6 is ambiguous. As example of mā with the precative, BR. give māsyā dharme mano bhāyāt, ii. 75. 42, and I can add no other.

579e; Speyer, § 193] Mā with augmented tense.

I have noted but three instances of this construction in R., namely:

mā niśāda pratiṣṭhānu tvam
agamaḥ śāsvatī samāḥ, i. 2. 15;
mā vālipatham anvagāḥ, iv. 34. 18; iv. 30. 81.

The construction occurs but once in ŚB., TA., and KS.; in Mbh. it becomes more frequent, and in Pāli is a favorite, as has been illustrated by Speyer, § 193. Thus: mā evam āvuso Arittha avacca, Majjh. i. 3. 2, p. 130; mā... ahavattha, ibidem ii. 9, p. 118; mā te ahosi đīgharattāṁ ahitāya dukkhāyāti, ibid. i. 5. 10, p. 332; mā ayyā evam avacca,thā, Sam. vol. iv. xlii. 10. 4; mā agamittha, MV. i. 24. 2; evam me rūpam mā ahosi, ibidem i. 6. 38; mā Yasassa kulapputta koci antarāyaṁ akāśi ayāraṁ anagāriyaṁ pabbajjāyāti, ibidem i. 7. 3.

Mā with the future imperative.

Hopkins, JAOS. xx. 223, cites a couple of examples of this construction, namely: mā vināsāṁ gamisyadhvam, G. vii. 38. 113, and mā vināsāṁ gamisyāma, By. vii. 35. 63 (the corresponding passage). The comm. merely notes that there is hiatus between gamisyāma and the initial vowel of aprasādyā (the first word in pāda f). Compare below, 938.


Instances of augmentless forms used as simple indicatives are frequent, but (with the exception of the aorists praty-
anyūṇāsīt, ii. 87. 16, praśaśaśaṃsanta, iv. 55. 18) are confined to the imperfect tense; especially numerous are they when the verb has a prefix. Examples are: śaṅṣat, i. 1. 59; abhipūrṇayān (comm's variant), i. 7. 13; bhavaṇ, i. 14. 24 (?); ardhaṇ, i. 17. 34; upahāraṇayat, i. 18. 44; śobhaḥyetaṃ, i. 22. 10; abhīrāṇayayan, i. 23. 20; abhipūrṇayān, i. 26. 27; anuvaṇayat, i. 43. 15; niśedrayat (comm's variant), i. 50. 22; priyetaṃ, i. 52. 11; pūdrayān, i. 66. 22; prasādlayayān, i. 66. 23; utsādayayān, i. 75. 24; smarataṃ, ii. 1. 3; cyavaṇyat, ii. 11. 18; vicaṣṭa, ii. 34. 60; udbhīnaḥkaraṇaḥ, ii. 36. 17; pādhyat, ii. 41. 9; prasādlayayān, ii. 48. 4; sampaṭkaraṇa, ii. 54. 4; abhīrāṇayayan, ii. 56. 16; niśedrayān, ii. 67. 4, ii. 91. 58, ii. 91. 60; udbhāraṇaḥ, ii. 63. 52; chindanaḥ, ii. 80. 7; vinispataṭaḥ, iii. 11. 59; abhīnispataṭaḥ, iii. 12. 21; janayat, iii. 14. 18, iii. 14. 29; dakaṭaḥ, iii. 72. 3; pariṣṭhayat, iv. 16. 27; yudhyetāṃ, iv. 16. 30; gṛprahāṇaḥ, iv. 60. 20; tādayat, vi. 46. 17; kuraṭāṃ, vi. 79. 26; etc. Twenty-nine of the thirty-nine examples quoted above are in even pādās; the remaining ten in odd pādās. We shall first consider the former cases.—Of these the following are not metri causa: śaṅṣat, abhipūrṇayān, abhiprājya, niśedrayayān, udbhīnaḥkaraṇaḥ (three times), prasādlayayān, gṛprahāṇaḥ. Of the remaining twenty-one, nine are due to the fixed number of syllables: bhavaṇ, i. 14. 24 (if it be an augmentless imperfect), śobhaḥyetaṃ, priyetaṃ, pūdrayaṇaḥ, udbhāraṇaḥ, chindanaḥ, dakaṭaḥ, tādayat, kuraṭāṃ. The balance—twelve in number—are due to considerations of vowel-quantities. Of these, one (abhipūrṇayān) is to avoid an amphimacer immediately before o–o o, which ends the pāda; one (vicaṣṭa) is in order to make the sixth syllable of a tristubh line short; all the rest are to produce o–o o at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka.—Of the ten cases which are found in odd pādās, two (niśedrayaṃ, cyavaṇa) are not metri causa; seven (ardrayaṇaḥ, utsādayaṇaḥ, smarataṃ, sampaṭkaraṇaḥ, janayat [twice], yudhyetāṃ) are due to the fixed number of syllables; one (pratyanyūṇāsīt) is to avoid eight long syllables in a pāda.

1 So the comm. ; but double sandhi of -ds a- would be possible.
2 śaṅṣad rāmo is not metri causa, because rāmo'asfaṣāsan (which P. at i. 1. 56 reads) could have easily been substituted for it.
3 This case is rather metri causa, to avoid – o – before o–o o.
PRESENT SYSTEM.

Root-class.

618end] Present imperative: strong form in the second person plural.

To stota, etc., should be added bravītva, which occurs at vi. 14. 10. With bravītva, Vedic bravitana is to be compared. The comm. explains bravītva correctly by brātu. For the strong form in the second person plural of the present imperative, see Whitney, Gr. §§ 618, 654, 690, 704, 723. Compare also Pāli gañhātha=*gṛhṇāt(h)a; Pāli suṇātha, Pkt. suṇādha=*śrṇāt(h)a (cf. Vedic śṛṇota).

625a] Transfers to the a-class.

The roots ās and śās are often inflected according to the a-conjugation. Thus: upāsante, i. 14. 18; paryupāsate, i. 33. 12; samupāsata, i. 43. 1; prāsākṣi, i. 21. 13. All the examples quoted are metri causa; and it should be observed that they all are compounded with a verbal prefix. Compare also below, 632 and 637.

632] Present system of brā.

Brāmi as the first person sing. act. of the root brā is quite common. Instances of it are found at ii. 19. 4; iii. 13. 17; iv. 7. 14; vi. 9. 20. In the corresponding passages G. usually dodges the difficulty (as at ii. 16. 6=By. ii. 19. 4; iv. 6. 14=By. iv. 7. 14) or else substitutes brāmo for brāmi (as at iii. 19. 18=By. iii. 13. 17), but reads at v. 80. 22 (=By. vi. 9. 20) bravīny aham hitam pathyam for hitam tathyaṁ tv aham brāmi: that is, G. never has brāmi corresponding to brāmi of the Bombay text in the cited passages. Brāmi is a Pulicisim1 of the clearest kind, for in Pāli brāmi is constantly used: in my Pāli reading I have never observed bravīmi.

Abruvam, the first person singular of the imperfect active, which is found in U. and Mbh. also, occurs at ii. 64. 11; ii. 86. 2. In G. the form also occurs, namely, at ii. 66. 9. It should be observed in connection with this that in Pāli the third person sing. imperfect abrvari occurs beside abravi=Skt. abravit. Bravadhvam, which occurs also in Mbh. (see BR. v. 157), is

1 Compare Hopkins, Epic, p. 262.
found at iv. 64. 22, in place of the ordinary brūdhvam. In G. the śloka is lacking. Both abravam and bruvadhvam are transfers to the a- conjugation, brought about doubtless by a proportion of this kind, to wit: tudanti is to atudam or tudadhvam, as bruvanti is to abravam or bruvadhvam. Pāli abravi = *abruviti is a compromise between abravi = abruvita and *abruva = *abruveta, having the vocalism of the latter but the termination of the former, unless it be an īṣ aorist from a secondary root bru (secondary because the īṣ aorist of bru should make *abrāvi = Skt. *abravīt, cf. Skt. apāvīt from the root pū). This latter hypothesis is very improbable, as no such aorist is made from either bru or bru in Skt.

The irregular second person sing. of the act. imperative bravīhi, which is found also in Mbh. and MārkP., occurs at ii. 23. 40, ii. 95.1 52, iii. 31. 43. G. at ii. 20. 45 has
tud bruhi ko 'dyāiva viyujyatām mayā
corresponding to

bravīhi ko 'dyāiva mayā viyujyatām,

By. ii. 23. 40. At ii. 105. 51, G. reads

kim uṣṇiṣ śātayatata te
śavaśiketi kathyatām;

for which By. ii. 95. 1 52 has

śaravīṣikā bravīhi me

in pāda d. According to Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 229, there is no passage in G. that corresponds to By. iii. 31. 43: observe, therefore, that G. nowhere has bravīhi corresponding to bravīhi of By. in the passages above cited; nor has Böhtlingk cited bravīhi as occurring elsewhere in the first four books of G. The comm., touching on bravīhi, says at ii. 23. 40 bravīhīty āṛṣam u, and at iii. 31. 43 bravīhi: uḍ ūṛṣaḥ.

In Vedic, strong stems are occasionally used in the second person sing. of the act. imperative. Examples are: yuyodhī śīśādhi (beside śīśāhī), gṛṣṇāhi, stṛṇāhi, pṛṇāhi, śṛṇāhi, etc. See Whitney, Gr. §§ 654, 723.

Bravīśva, second person sing. middle of the imperative with strong for weak stem, is found at By. vi. 3. 3. Doubtless the form was made after the analogy of bravīhi.
Bravīta, second person pl. act. of the imperative, has been noticed above, 618.

637b] Present system of han.

Examples of forms from the transfer stem hanu are -hanat (augmentless), iii. 51. 18; hanadhve, iii. 26. 25, hanantas, v. 58. 153. The starting-point of the transfer was undoubtedly ahanam, a third person singular ahanat being made after the analogy of abhavan, abhavat. From ahanat spread forms from the thematic stem hanu. In Mbh. there are also similar transfer stems. See Holtzmann, p. 22.

Ghnata (second person plural of the present imperative active) is found at vi. 89. 19. The comm. notes the form as archaic; according to Whitney (Root-Book, under han, 'smite') it is found in both Epic and Classical Sanskrit. Obviously it is an analogical formation: ghnantu is to ghnata as bhavantu is to bhavata.

Reduplicating class.

669, 672] Present system of dā.

Instances of dadmi are to be found at i. 27. 15, ii. 53. 21. Compare Pāli dammi=dammi.1 The form is also found in Mbh. and the Purāṇas. Dadmi was made after some such proportion as this, to wit: hanmas is to hannī as dadmas is to dadmi. That is, dammi is a transfer to the root-class.

Examples of inflection from the secondary root dad with a-conjugation are adadām, i. 75. 25; adadat, G. iii. 4. 19, G. v. 58. 14. In Mbh. and the Purāṇas the same phenomenon is found. This phenomenon is an analogical formation:—dadāmi is to dadasi, dadati, dadāmas, etc., as bhavāmi is to bhavasi, -ti, -ānas. In Vedic, Pāli, and Prākrit there are also analogous formations. See Whitney, § 672, Pischel, § 500.

Transfer to the a-class.

At iii. 46. 30 is found bibhyase, which the comm. explains as bibheṣi. As far as the form is concerned it might be a subjunctive middle, since it occurs in an interrogative sentence, namely, kathāṁ tebhyo na bibhyase, but this supposition is per se highly

1 Compare Hopkins, Epic, p. 262.
improbable;—especially as in the following śloka we have an interrogative sentence, namely, katham ekā mahāraṇye na bibheśi varūnane, in which the indicative bibheśi is found: we must therefore regard bibhyyase as a transfer to the a-class. See Hopkins, Epic, p. 247.

**Nasal class.**

688a] **Formation of the optative.**

Prayuṇīyāt, at i. 4. 3, is found:

\[
\text{vintayāṁ āsa ko vr etat}
\]
\[
\text{prayuṇīyād iti prabhuḥ.}
\]

The comm. says the form is Vedic: prayuṇīyād iti cchānda-sam. The authority for this may be vṛṇīyām, which is found once in AB., as far as the -i- is concerned. Possibly yuṇīyāt is regarded by the comm. as a transfer to the a-class with an optative formation like saṁśiṇyāt, nayīta, etc. (Whitney, 738 b), and so is called Vedic. Professor Lanman suggests that yuṇīyāt may be a phonetic spelling of yuṇīyāt (pronounced as a tri-syllable), such as we find in swar of TS., or the mahiṣyam, for mahīyam, of the Pāippalāda AV., birch-bark folio 264b³.

**Nu- and u-classes.**

At vi. 90. 4 the middle present participle stuvvāna-, which, according to Whitney, is peculiar to the Upaniṣhads, is found:

\[
tatus tān rākṣasān sarvān
\]
\[
harṣayan rāvaṇātmajāḥ
\]
\[
stuvvāno harṣamanāṇā ca
\]
\[
idade vacanām abravīt.
\]

The comm. notes the form, and correctly interprets: stuvvāna ity ārṣam. stuvann ity arthaḥ.

715a] **Inflection of ky: first person sing. present active.**

At ii. 12. 36, v. 22. 20, and vii. 78. 20 kurmi is found. The comm. explains these by karomi. Kurmi is a downright borrowing from the vernaculars: cf. Gātha kurmi, Pāli kummi (=kurmi). The relation of hannas to hanmi and of dadmas to dadmi is like that of kurmas to kurmi, which, accordingly, is a transfer from the u-class to the root-class.
Transfer to the a- conjugation.

The form vicin vadham is found at i. 39. 13. Whitney lists the transfer of cinu- to cinva- as occurring only in Classical Sanskrit.

731] Nā- class: transfers to the a- conjugation.

My collections indicate that this is confined to transfers from gṛṇā- to gṛṇā-. Examples are: pratigrṇa (second person sing. present active imperative), G. iii. 9. 27; pratyagṛṇa (third person sing. imperfect middle), By. iv. 27. 4; ‘agrṇanta (third person pl. imperfect middle), By. v. 61. 1. Pratyagṛṇa is due to the preference of -u- to -u- before a pathyā foot. The same transfer is found in the Upanishads and Mbh., and occasionally in Pāli.

A- class.

Present system of bhū.

At ii. 103. 30 and ii. 104. 15 is the following proverb:

yadannaḥ puruṣo bhavati
nadannāḥ tasya devatāḥ.

G. at ii. 111. 36 (=By. ii. 103. 30) avoids this by

yadannaḥ puruṣo nānaḥ
tadannaḥ pitrādevatāḥ.

Sl. reads as By. It is an open question whether we are to regard the By. reading as a hypermetric verse, or pronounce bhavati as dissyllabic (cf. Pāli hoti, Pkt. bhodi hodi). See Jacob, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 24, footnote, Gurupūj., p. 62; Hopkins, Epic, pp. 252–254, 259, 260, 261; Lanman, as reported by Hopkins, Epic, p. 260.


The only instance of this in books i–ii that I have noted is pariṣvajāna-, ii. 83. 10, which the comm. correctly explains.1

Whether Vedic cyāvāna, yātāna, etc., belong under this rubric is difficult to say, as it is doubtful whether they are aorists or presents.

In Pāli the use of -āna for -māna is infrequent: in my collections I have noted only vadāno, SN. 893, 888, 910; vadā-

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1 Read pariṣvajānāḥ for -ānā in the comm.
Passive voice.

Passives with active terminations are fairly common. A good example is hanyena, iv. 53. 27. Other instances are pūryata, ii. 63. 32; pralabhyaunti, iv. 62. 7; hiyet, v. 37. 57; sambhryanant, i. 12. 15. In Mīh. the same phenomenon is to be observed. For examples see Holtzmann, p. 25. In Pāli and Prākrit, passives are ordinarily formed with active terminations. Thus Pkt. thuvan̄i corresponds to Skt. stāyāse, Pāli vucañi to Skt. uryate. See Pischel, §535 ff.

Perfect system.

1. Absence of reduplication.

This is only sporadic. Examples are: saśisirān, ii. 19. 35; -vīśas, v. 22. 45; saśus, v. 53. 23; and prapājīre, vii. 69. 39. In Vedic, also, absence of reduplication is infrequent.

2. Uṇa instead of ṣūddhi in the 3rd sing.

At vi. 80. 5 juhāva is found metri causa instead of juhāva. The comm. notes the form and says the absence of ṣūddhi is Vedic; observe, however, that in the Veda the -a- would be short only in the first person singular (793 d). At vi. 82. 24 also it occurs in exactly the same phraseology; juhāva being metrically barred.

3. Strengthening in other than the singular persons.

Instances of this are quite common. Examples are: jagrathus, i. 45. 37 b; pramanārjus, ii. 104. 19; dadarśatus, iii. 69. 11, 33, v. 35. 25; -sasarjatus, iii. 72. 1; -pasparśatus, vi. 80. 24; -cakartatus, vi. 80. 31; -avārśus, vi. 57. 37, vii. 23. 33; munocatus, vii. 23. 49. Four (jagrathus, vavārśus [twice], pasparśatus[?]) of the instances just quoted are not metri causa. Four (dadarśatus, iii. 69. 33; -sasarjatus; cakartatus; munocatus) are to produce -a at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka. Two (pramanārjus; dadarśatus, iii. 69. 11) are to avoid an anapaest immediately before -a at the close of the prior pāda of a half-sloka. The first vipulā is responsible for dadarśatus, v. 35. 25.
Yuyopína and viveśus (RV.) are to be compared with these; in connection with pasparśatus, it should be observed that in KeU. pasparśus is found. In Mbh. are similar cases of strengthening in other forms than those of the singular; see Holtzmann, p. 27.

4. Weak form of the perfect-stem of pat.

Böhtlingk cites the irregular ápapatus (instead of the regular ápetus) as occurring in By. at iii. 3. 20. This is not found in the 1902 Bombay text, which correctly has ápetusus (3d person dual):

\[ \text{tān khādṛgān kṣīpран uḍyamya} \\ \kṛṣṇasarpāv ivodyatāu \\ \tārṇam ápetusus taṣya \\ \tuḍā praharatām balāt. \]

5. Active perfect participle.

These are quite numerous. In books i–ii I have noted the following: suṣrūvān, i. 19. 22; vinedüşi, i. 26. 25; uṣipayān, i. 58. 2; jajñivān, ii. 10. 10; ápeditān, ii. 12. 6; ajajñivān, ii. 14. 45; abhidadhyuṣi, ii. 16. 21; -ṣvaṣivān, ii. 19. 35; eyi-vān, ii. 62. 20; -jahrīvān, ii. 94. 27; eyuṣas, ii. 99. 6.

6. Middle perfect participle.

The only instance I have noted is samparipupuṣvānam, vi. 73. 3, which is rightly explained by the comm. In Mbh. possibly there is one case, namely, didviṣāna–; see Holtzmann, p. 27.

7. Pluperfect.

I have noted but one pretty certain example of this, namely, ababhramat, i. 43. 9. It is not in Whitney’s Root-Book, and for it P. (i. 44. 12) has the reduplicated aorist abibhramat. The comm. observes: ababhramat: ārṣavāt savadītvān na. The fact that ababhramat is not a reduplicated aorist is shown by the reduplicating vowel, which is a and not i. See Whitney, Gr. §§ 643, 660, 782, 858 a, 860. To be sure, were ababhramaṭ a reduplicated aorist, it could apparently be matched by ababhakṣat, found in the SB. only, and thus listed by Whitney; but the latter might be a pluperfect on account of the undoubted perfect bahbaksā, which, although not registered by Whitney, occurs in R. at vi. 67. 93. Whether ababhakṣat is a reduplic-
cated aorist or a pluperfect, it is impossible to say, except so far as the sense of the SB. passage can guide us, since the root \textit{bhakṣ} is a heavy syllable (Whitney, Gr. § 860 c); whereas, since the root \textit{bhram} is a light syllable, the reduplication-vowel of a reduplicated aorist from this root should be -\textit{i} (as in \textit{abhramat}). Similarly, because \textit{sau} is a heavy syllable, the reduplicated aorist of the root \textit{sau}, \textit{auśauśasat}, does not militate against \textit{abhramat} being taken as a pluperfect (Whitney, Gr. §§ 860, 79). The aorist \textit{acukamata} from the root \textit{kum} ‘love’ would indeed furnish an exact parallel to \textit{abhramat} from the root \textit{bhram} in having \textit{a} as reduplication-vowel; but on the one hand the form is non-quotable; while on the other the regular \textit{acikramat} occurs in the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover \textit{acukamata} in form is a pluperfect and not a reduplicated aorist, as is shown by its reduplication-vowel -\textit{u-} (Whitney, Gr. §§ 782, 858, 859).

**AORIST SYSTEM.**

[904d]  

\textit{Is-} aorist.

\textit{Agphitum} is found at i. 4. 4: but P. and Sl. (i. 4. 2) have \textit{agphitum}; and G., in a closely corresponding passage (i. 3. 40), has \textit{agphatus}. The comm. says that the form \textit{agphitum} is Vedic—\textit{chauśasum}, though it occurs in Epic Sanskrit only. The imperatives \textit{gphitā} and \textit{gphṣva} (in place of \textit{gphutā} and \textit{gphūṣva}), however, exhibit the same irregularity in formation.

[925a]  

\textit{Precative.}

In books i and ii I have noted \textit{bhogat}, namely at i. 21. 8 and ii. 75. 42. Both times it stands for the optative, \textit{bhavet}, in order to avoid diiambus at the close of the prior pāda of a half-sloka. Moreover, in i. 1. 100, \textit{iyat} occurs four times.

**FUTURE SYSTEMS.**

\textit{Sibilant future.}

\textit{Use of the auxiliary vowel -i-.}

Some verbs which never assume the auxiliary -\textit{i-} in Classical Sanskrit, assume it rarely in R. Cases in point are:

\footnote{1 Authorized by the native grammarians, but non-quotable according to Whitney, although \textit{pra-śaṇaśanta}, an augmentless form of the reduplicated aorist of this root, apparently occurs at By. iv. 55. 18.}
1. Where such usage is authorized by the native grammarians, but non-quoting elsewhere. The sole instance of this that I have noted is *vardhīsyate (vartṣyati, C.), v. 39. 11.

2. Where the use of -i- is peculiar to Epic Sanskrit. Examples of this sort are: *vasīṣyasi, i. 48. 29, *vasīṣyāmi, ii. 30. 39 (vatsya- B. +); *svaṁīṣyantī, ii. 48. 14; *sāpyār, iv. 11. 5. As regards the last two cases, it is to be noted that *srosya- and *sāpya- are authorized by the native grammarians, but that neither is notable.

3. Where the use of -i- is wanting in Classical Skt., although Vedic parallels are found. Instances of this sort are: jaiṣyasi, i. 27. 3, *jaiṣyase, vi. 105. 3 (cf. jaiṣyṛa-, JBE., beside the usual jesya-, V. +); svāpyār, ii. 24. 35 (cf. svāpyār, AVR., beside the usual svāpsya-, B. +).

Non-use of the auxiliary vowel -i-.

In R. the auxiliary vowel -i- is sometimes omitted in verbs where such omission does not obtain in Classical Sanskrit. The instances may be divided into two classes, namely: 1. where such omission of -i- is common to Mbh. and R.; 2. where such omission of -i- is peculiar to R. As examples of class 1 may be cited: tyakṣyāmi, iii. 74. 28; tyakṣyantī, iv. 54. 16; tyakṣye, iii. 45. 36; iv. 62. 15 (tyaṁṣyṛa- E. +). As examples of class 2 I can cite from root raks, the future rakṣye (marked with an interrogation point by Whitney), which occurs at i. 61. 19; this stands for rakṣiyye (which, though not given by Whitney in his Root-Book, occurs in BhP. at viii. 22. 35), as if implying *rakṣye. The comm. glosses rakṣye by rakṣiyāmi. Moreover, rakṣyāmi is found in BKM. at ii. 2. 3²⁴. Again a future takṣyati, etc., from the root takṣ, is authorized by the native grammarians, though, to be sure, it is non-quoting. Furthermore, the root ḍks makes a future ḍksyati, etc., at iv. 40. 39, vi. 32. 25, vi. 59. 141. The form is precisely analogous to didhakṣyāmi instead of didhakṣiyāmi: see below, 1036 a.

933a] Personal endings: substitution of secondary for primary ending.

The substitution of -ma for -mas is frequent. Examples of this sort are: karīṣyāma, i. 40. 9; drakṣyāma, ii. 40. 22; ṣakṣyāma, ii. 56. 7, etc. Compare above, 542a. Whether we have the
substitution of -va for -vas in râmsyâva, iv. 27. 25, is doubtful. See below, 938.

936e] Future stem of grah.

Although Böhtlingk gives many citations for a future gṛhīṣyati (etc.), in the Bombay editions of 1888 and 1902 gṛa- is found instead of gṛ- in each one of the specified instances. The sole example of a future gṛhīṣya- that I have noted in the Bombay edition of 1902 is gṛhīṣyāmūs, vi. 64. 26.—A future gṛahīṣyati is made at vi. 82. 74 G., to which passage, however, By. seems to have no correspondent. Neither of the forms above quoted is metri causa.—It may here be noted that the future gṛhīṣyati (etc.) is not peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, as it is found in the Bhāt-Kathā-Mañjarī at xvi. 2. 39. The form gṛhīṣyāmi (l. c. ix. 1. 20.110) is apparently a compromise between gṛhīṣyāmi and gṛahīṣyāmi.

Future stem of jau.

A future stem jāṣyati- is sometimes found instead of the regular jauṣyati-. Thus: jāṣyatha, P. i. 38. 6, and comm. on By. i. 37. 6.

938] Optative.

Draṣṭyeta is found at iii. 56. 20. The comm. explains it by paṣyet.

938] Imperative.

Though Böhtlingk refuses to admit a future imperative for the epics, yet in the Rāmāyaṇa there are some undeniable instances of it. Such are: apāneyaṁ, iii. 56. 27; draṣṭyaṁ, vi. 73. 7; vatsyaṁ, vii. 40. 17. Furthermore, I hold with Hopkins (Epic, p. 247) that forms in -syadhvam are future imperatives. Examples of these are: bhavisyadhvam, i. 27. 27; draṣṭyaṁ, iv. 67. 21; gamisyadhvam, G. vii. 38. 113. The only example of a future imperative in -ma that I have noted is gamisyāma, By. vii. 35. 63 (=G. vii. 38. 113). Perhaps raṁsyāva, iv. 27. 25, belongs under the rubric of future imperative. See above, 933 a.

941] Conditional.

In all the poem I have noted but one instance of the conditional, namely: samayokṣyata (vi. 128. 67); this the comm. correctly designates as such (he says ārṣo bhā).
Periphrastic future.

944b) Omission of auxiliary.

The usual asmī is omitted with kurtā and yoddhā, found respectively at i. 18. 58 and i. 20. 3.

944c) Optative of auxiliary.

Whitney gives one example of this, namely, yoddhā syām, which is found at P.Sl. i. 22. 25; in place of it By. (i. 20. 27) and G. (i. 23. 26) in the corresponding passages have yoddhun yāsyāmi and pratiyotsyāmi respectively. I have noted no other.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS.

Passive participle.

Use of the auxiliary vowel -ī-.

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel -ī- is sometimes used in the past passive participle of verbs where it is not employed in Classical Sanskrit. An example is nirāsita-, G. iv. 13. 45 (uṣṭa-, V. +). Compare Pāli tāsita-, Pkt. tasiya- (beside tattha-= Skt. trasta-), *trasita-, as contrasted with Skt. trasta-; Pāli supīta-, as opposed to Skt. supīta-.

Non-use of the auxiliary vowel -ī-.

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel -ī- is rarely omitted in the past passive participles of verbs where in Classical Sanskrit such omission either does not obtain or else is rare. Examples are: kṣubdha-, ii. 114. 4 (kṣubhita- E. +; kṣubdha- B. +, but rare in C.); uṣṭa-, vii. 23. 4 (uṣṭa-, S. +; uṣṭa- E.). With uṣṭa- may be compared Pāli and Pkt. vuttha-1. With the Skt. timita-, guphita-, apahārita-, lasīta-, contrast the forms tinta-(Pāli, Ap.), gutha-(Pkt.), ohaṇṭha-(Pkt.), lattla-(Pkt.): cf. Pischel, § 564, § 565.

Infinitives.

Use of the auxiliary vowel -ī-.

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel -ī- is sometimes used in the stem of the infinitive where it is either wholly wanting or

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1 Otherwise Pischel, who implies that Pkt. [and Pāli] vuttha- comes from *vasta-. Pāli vusita- and Pkt. usīa- correspond to Skt. uṣita-; whereas, on the other hand, Pāli vasīta- and Pkt. vasia- imply formation from vas as a secondary root.
else rare in Classical Sanskrit. Examples are: sahitum, ii. 20. 46, ii. 23. 10, ii. 40. 42, ii. 30. 21; -haritum, iii. 68. 4; bandhitum, Sl. G. ii. 18. 23; nayitum, v. 37. 39. In Pāli and Pārkrit the same phenomenon occurs. Thus: Pkt. gamidam, Pāli gamitum, as contrasted with Skt. gantum. Similarly Pkt. karidam, martri, -haridam, ramidam, dahidam, bandhidam=SKt. karta, martum, kartum (haritum once in R.), ramitum (Epic ramitum), dagidam, bandhdam (Epic bandhitum), respectively. Compare above, under Passive Participle, Use of the auxiliary vowel -i.

*Non-use of the auxiliary vowel -i.*

In the Rāmāyana the auxiliary vowel -i- is rarely omitted in the stem of the infinitive where it is used in Classical Sanskrit. An example is laptum, v. 26. 1 (lapitum C.).

*Infinitive modeled on present stem.*

At ii. 106. 5 -sidiitum is found as the infinitive of the root sad. This is clearly from a secondary root sīd, abstracted from the present sīdati, etc. In Pāli and Pārkrit we have the same phenomenon. Thus: Pkt. anuyucchidam is formed from the present stem of the root gam; Pkt. anvucchitdam similarly; Pāli pucchitum, Pkt. pucchidam in the same way from pucch abstracted from the present pucchāmi; Pāli gāniitum from the secondary root gaśk (present gaśhāti = gṛhyāti). See Pischel l. c. § 573.

*Infinitive: stem modeled on the passive participle.*

Instances of this are rare. Examples are: prasthitum, ii. 30. 10, gṛhitu-kāmas, G. v. 2. 25. The cases of gṛhītim for grā- which Böhtlingk gives as occurring in the Bombay recension are not found in the Bo. ed. of 1902: grā- is always substituted. It is in place to note that gṛhītim is not peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, for it is found in BKM. xv. 1. 1241.

*Gerund.*

*Use of the auxiliary vowel -i.*

The auxiliary vowel -i- is taken by verbs in R. in some cases, where such usage does not obtain in Classical Sanskrit. Thus: uṭsmañyītvā, i. 1. 65; smañyītvā,1 vi. 71. 46; -tapitvā,2 vi. 68. 3.

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1 Given by Whitney as occurring in compounds only.
2 Not registered by Whitney.
Gerunds in -tvā from compounded roots are very common, but the majority of them are from the causative stem. Examples from the primary conjugation are: utsmayitvā, i. 1. 65, iii. 43; upāsitvā, i. 1. 97; anudhyātavā, P. i. 2. 20; puraskṛtavā, i. 11. 27, i. 73. 10; āpratvā, i. 72. 20, i. 74. 1, 2; vinarditvā, iii. 30. 18; visarpitvā, iv. 63. 2; asainṣpratvā, iv. 67. 16; nihatvā, v. 53. 40; prabuddhavā, v. 58. 131; pratayitvā, vi. 68. 3. Examples from the causative stem are: nivedayitvā, i. 1. 74, iii. 1. 18, iv. 39. 43; visarjayitvā, i. 8. 21, 23, i. 12. 22, ii. 19. 34, iv. 38. 2, vi. 9. 23; saṅvarayitvā, i. 16. 24; saṁcintayitvā, i. 54. 5; āropayitvā, i. 67. 17; utthāpayitvā, ii. 72. 23; -vartayitvā, ii. 73. 27, iv. 30. 22; āśvasayitvā, ii. 89. 22; niveseayitvā, ii. 89. 22, iv. 39. 44; saṁyayitvā, ii. 115. 18; pradarṣayitvā, ii. 32. 25; prabodhayitvā, iii. 40. 18, iii. 42. 8; aparvāhayitvā, iv. 28. 39; paritayitvā, iv. 30. 57; nīpadayitvā, iv. 31. 37; prasūdayitvā, iv. 31. 44; pṛapayitvā, iv. 58. 35; viṣṭambhayitvā, v. 36. 35; uṭpatayitvā, v. 43. 17; atikramayitvā, vi. 41. 66; viśravayitvā, vii. 46. 21.

Pāṇini at vii. 1. 38 states that gerunds in -tvā from compounded roots occur in the Veda. As a matter of fact they occur from AV. down. Whitney cites pratyarayitvā, AV. (the only case in AV.); samṝrayitvā, MS., virocyaytivā, TA.; utkṣiptvā, U.; pratyuktvā, E.; prayasitvā, S.; prahasitvā, Mbh.; sāṃdarṣayitvā, Mbh.; viṃuktvā, R.; nivedayitvā, R.; proktvā, Paṇe.; amupitvā, V.B.S.

In Pāli compounded verbs of the primary conjugation take -tvā more frequently than -ya. Examples are: āruhitvā, SN. ii. 8. 6; saṇṇatvā, Majjh. i. 1. 1, p. 1; paṭipucchitvā, ibidem i. 1. 5, p. 27; purakkhatvā, ib. i. 1. 5, p. 28; nikkhiṭitvā, ib. i. 4. 1. p. 207; ampuharitvā, ib. i. 5. 5, p. 306; abbhajitvā, ib. ii. 1. 1, p. 343; sacchikatvā, ib. ii. 1. 1, p. 344; ābhujitvā, ib. ii. 1. 1, p. 346; saṅhāritvā, ib. ii. 1. 3, p. 354; paviṣitvā, ib. ii. 1. 3, p. 354; manasikaritvā, ib. ii. 1. 3, p. 354. Examples where -ya is used are: oruyha (Skt. avaruhya), F.Jāt. 46; ādāya, utthāya, nissāya—all in Majjh. ii. 1. 3, on p. 354. Compounded causative verbs take the gerund in -tvā exclusively. Examples are paṇāmetvā (SN. iii. 7, p. 108); viśāretyā (SN. iii. 7, p. 103); ohāretvā, aceṭavā (both at Majjh. ii. 1. 1,

¹ Skt. aceṭā-, not Skt. aceṭā-.
p. 344); abhivādetvā, nicāsetvā, paññāpetvā, pasiṣṭhāpetvā, pakkhaṭetvā, sandassetvā, samadāpetvā, samuttejetvā, samapahānestvā, āropetvā (all at Majjh. ii. 1. 3, p. 334).

In Pākṣaṭ, AMg. and JŚ. and JM. use tvā frequently in place of -ya. Thus AMg. uvanitā *=upanitvā, utthitā= *utsthitvā, nijñāitā =*nijñāyātā, āpālītā =*āpālāyītā, uttāsaṅitā =*utraṅgaṅitvā, paṇgaṅitā =*prakalpaṅitvā; JŚ. ālovitā =*alavayītavā, nihaṅitā =*nihaṅitvā; JM. āhanītā = *āhanītvā, paccaṅkhaṅitā =*pratyakhyaṅitvā. For details see Pischel, §§ 581–594.

Gerunds: -ya for -tvā.

Gerunds in -ya (for -tvā) from uncompounded roots are not uncommon, but are confined to a comparatively small number of verbs. Examples are: usya, i. 27. 1, i. 48. 9, ii. 15. 1, ii. 52. 84, vii. 72. 19; ghṛya,1 i. 29. 25, i. 43. 6, i. 49. 6, ii. 3. 34, iii. 68. 13; drṣya, i. 30. 19, i. 48. 11, i. 76. 22, vii. 1. 11, vii. 8. 19, vii. 25. 33, vii. 53. 8; tyajya, i. 58. 11; yoṭya, Sl. ii. 39. 10; tudya, ii. 75. 17; rasya, ii. 97. 12; gamya, iii. 69. 5; sthāpya, ii. 14. 22, iv. 25. 52, vi. 41. 3, vii. 23. 28; lakṣya, vii. 15. 1; prechya, vii. 37. 17; labhya, vii. 23. 60. The fixed number of syllables is responsible in small measure for part of these, especially in the case of sthāpya (ghṛya occurs so frequently that we can scarcely assign this as a cause). The fact that no gerund in -tvā is quotable from the roots ind and rus accounts for tudya and rasya respectively: the meter as regards these two is not a determining factor. The termination -ov at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka is accountable for usya, ii. 52. 84; drṣya, i. 48. 11, vii. 8. 19, vii. 23. 33; gamya, labhya. The first vipulā is the cause of drṣya at vii. 1. 11, for the second vipulā (-ov) is not as frequent after -v as is -uv: see Hopkins, Epic, pp. 221, 235, 236, 448 (bottom), 449 (top), 450. Drṣya, at i. 30. 19, i. 76. 22, vii. 33. 8, and prechya are in order to make the fifth syllable of a pathyā pāda as the prior pāda of a half-sloka short. The remaining examples (usya, i. 27. 1, i. 48. 9, ii. 15. 1, vii. 72. 19, tyajya, yoṭya [By. yuktavā]) are not metri causa.

1 Ghṛya occurs so frequently in every book of the Rāmāyaṇa that it is not worth while to cite every passage in which it occurs, even in the first three books.
In Mbb. the same phenomenon occurs; for examples, Holtzmann, p. 40. BhP. has kṛtyā at x. 32. 8. Whitney (l.c.) cites a few examples from Manu, AGS., ŚvU. As -tvā is not used in Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit, and only occurs in the gerunds kaduṇa and gaduṇa (=kṛtva and gatva respectively) in Śauraseni, Māgadhī, and Dhakkī Pkt., there is no need of citing instances where uncompounded verbs of these dialects have -yu for -tvā. Examples where Prākrit dialects other than these show -yu for -tvā in uncompounded verbs are: AMg. pṛṣa ( = *paṣya), chindiya (= *chindya), jāniya; JM. suviiya; JM. JŚ. gahiya ( = Epic vṛṣya); Ā. gṛṣiya.

990b] Gerunds with the negative prefix a.

Pāṇini, vii. 1. 37, gives the rule that verbs compounded with the negative prefix a take the gerund in -tvā. Kielhorn (Skt. Gr. § 513 b) merely states that a is permissible with either -tvā or -yu. He gives anītvā and acoragītvā as instances where -tvā is used; others may be given: adṛṣṭva (Kuś. i. 6, BhP. vi. 5. 6, 11, 12; By. iv. 47. 7, v. 13. 38), aviditva (BhP. ix. 18. 40), akṛtvā (By. iv. 65. 30), abaddhīvā (By. vi. 2. 11), acintātvā (By. vi. 56. 12, vi. 100. 45), ahatvā (By. iii. 23. 22); adarśayītvā (By. vi. 65. 4). As examples where -ya is used he cites avanīya and aprabodhīya; but in any case the verbal prefixes vi- and pra- require the gerund in -ya: the only case of a gerund which has the negative prefix a as well as a verbal prefix, but the suffix -tvā instead of -ya, that I can cite for Sanskrit is asaṁaprīṣtvā, By. iv. 67. 16, which is matched by Pāli asallakkheṭvā (Andersen, Pāli Reader, p. 3, line 18). Whitney states that the negative prefix a (or an) does not cause the gerund to take the form in -ya, but cites acintya as an exception. His exception is found at By. vi. 58. 51; and to it I can add from my collections only adṛṣṭya (v. 7. 16) and aprīṣya (vi. 101. 35).

993a] Gerund in -yā (?).

The comm. at ii. 39. 10 (By. ed. 1902) gives yojyā as a variant to yuktvā of the text: yuktva = yojayītvā. yojyā iti pāthe 'pi evam eva. Sl. reads yojya. As far as the meter is concerned any one of these three readings satisfies the requirements. Unless yojyā is a misprint (and the Bombay oblong text
does not help us in this matter, for it has yoṣyeti, etc.), we have an extraordinary archaism, for in RV. the -a of -ya is long in two-thirds of the cases. The prolongation is found in AV. but once, and that in a RV. passage (so Whitney).

SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS.

Intensive.

1013b] Present active participle with retained nasal.
At i. 60. 31 jājvalaṃ occurs instead of the regular jājvalat.

Desiderative.

1036a] Future.

The irregular didhaksyāmi is found at iii. 68. 27. The comm. says daydhun ivcchāmi syan ārṣaḥ. The future rakṣye, i. 61. 19 (marked with an interrogation point in Whitney's Root-Book, though the comm. explicitly glosses it by rakṣisyāmi), in place of rakṣisyē,1 is a precise analogy to didhaksyāmi instead of didhaksisyāmi. Accordingly it is somewhat doubtful whether jījñāsyānas (Mbh.), didhaksyāmi (R.), and mūmān-syant (GGS.), all of which Whitley declares to be "presents with -syā- blunderingly for -su-", are not to be regarded as futures with -syā- (through -s[i]syā-) in place of -sīsyā-.

Causative.

1042n] Stem in -āpaya-.

To Whitney's examples krīdāpaya, jivāpaya, and dīksāpaya I can only add tarjāpayati and bhūtsāpaya (both at vi. 34. 9). It is unnecessary to give Pāli and Prākrit examples, as this formation is a favorite in both. See Pischel, §§ 551–553.

1043f] Present middle participle: -āna- for -māna-.

Instances of this are fairly numerous. Examples are: śobha-yānāu, i. 22. 7; prārthayānasya, ii. 25. 33; cintayāna-, i. 8. 2, ii. 64. 58, ii. 118. 38, iii. 55. 2, vii. 37v. 28; lobhayānam, iii. 44. 5; vedayānas, vi. 67. 26.

1050a] Sigmatic future.

Examples of this are frequent. Without pretending to completeness I cite: lepaṇisyāmi, ii. 9. 49; kārayāsyati, ii. 12. 75;

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1 Not in Whitney's Root-Book: it occurs at BhP. viii. 22. 35.
smārayisyati, iv. 1. 68; bhākṣayisyati, iv. 57. 3; lāṅghayisyati, iv. 64. 15; dārayisyāmī, iv. 67. 17; sōṣayisyāmī, iv. 67. 17, 22, vi. 21. 23, vi. 22. 1; sādhayisyati, iv. 65. 34; cārvayisyāmī, iv. 67. 18; kamprayisyāmī, iv. 67. 22; dārayisyati, iv. 67. 36; ṛvarayisyāmī, v. 62. 2; ápārayisyāmī, vi. 13. 19; kṣobhayisyye, vi. 21. 24; vādayisyāmī, vi. 24. 43; saivdarṣayisyati, vi. 25. 19; vartayisyasi, vi. 33. 30; dārayisyye, vi. 60. 69; bodhayisyati, vi. 60. 70; tarpayisyāmī, vi. 60. 80; utsādayisyāmī, vi. 63. 42; yodhayisyāmī, vi. 63. 43; pātayisyāmī, vi. 63. 52; ṣamayisyāmī, vi. 63. 52; janaisyati, vi. 101. 10; darsayisyāmī, vii. 98. 6.

**COMPOUNDS.**

Form of prior member.

*an-* stems.

Although an *an-* stem, as prior member of a compound, regularly loses the nasal, *uksan-* at ii. 32. 38 makes *uksāna-,* a transfer to the *a-* declension from the accusative *uksanam*.

*is-* stems.

Arcis makes *arcī- in the compound *saptasaptārcēvarcasus at v. 45. 1* and in the compound *arcimāli at v. 53. 40.* That is, *arcis in these two instances is transferred to the *i-* declension.*

Case-forms as prior member of a compound.

In the Veda all the oblique cases are so found (Whitney, Gr. § 1250). The instances of nominatives thus occurring are confined to a few *r-* stems and are plainly devoid of functional significance (cf. *mātā-pitrabhyaṃ, -pitros.* In the epos, accordingly, the survivals of this phenomenon are confined wholly to compounds with an accusative: but some are of stereotyped character, and are no longer felt as compounds (such are *patāṅga-, vihāṅga[ma]-. Instances where the compounds are felt to be such are fairly numerous. Examples are: *pathyāṅcarām, ii. 30. 9; sāgarāṅgamām, ii. 49. 10, ii. 52. 3.*

Stem-finals in composition.

*an-* stems.

As the final member of a compound, *rājan often loses its -n;* and so we find beside *yuvarājānam (ii. 4. 16) yuvarājas (v. 64. 17),* and beside *suvarājānas (ii. 74. 17) suvarājas (ii. 74. 19). Furthermore, we have *pratirājānas at i. 70. 28.*
APPENDICES.

Gender.¹

In R. a few words are of a gender different from that which they show in Classical Sanskrit. The following are worthy of mention:

**Masculine for feminine.**

At i. 71. 24 phalgunyaṁ is masculine, as is shown by uttare agreeing with it.

At ii. 40. 6 yatir is masculine unless esa (so Sl., By. 1873 and 1888) be a misprint for esa (the meter favors esa).

Parikhā- is masculine at vi. 42. 16, as is shown by its termination -ān.

**Masculine for neuter.**

At i. 2. 9 mithuna- is masculine as in Veda. This is shown by carantam, which agrees with it.

Āśramapaḍa- at i. 10. 15 is masculine as shown by its termination -o, though at iii. 11. 47 it is neuter.

At i. 45. 19 -sarpaśīrāṇi has a masculine pple. vamanto agreeing with it. This is a sense-construction. P. has vamanty, i. 45. 20, corresponding to -anto.

At i. 53. 19 śatāni has a masculine adj. agreeing with it, namely, bhūṣitān. This is a case of attraction caused by the masc. hauṇām (which depends on śatāni), in the next pāda.

**Feminine for neuter.**

The comm., i. 2. 6, gives vakkalā as a variant to -lam of the text.

**Neuter for masculine.**

At vi. 10. 16 occurs sarisrpaṇi. BR. mention the use of the word with this gender as found in the older language.

**Neuter for feminine (?)**

Hanumant says to Sītā (v. 38. 3) ‘you can’t cross the ocean because you’re a woman,’ strītvān na tvāṁ samarthaśi saγoṛaṁ vyatīvarītum.

Here the comm. gives the variant:

strī tvāṁ na tu samarthaṁ hi,

¹ See also Hopkins, Epic, p. 264, footnote.
and says that samartham is for -tha, and quotes Tirtha to the effect that the change of gender is archaic. Even with his reading we need resort to no such desperate shifting: join strītvam na tu samartham hi ‘womanhood (i.e. womankind) is not able.’

Breaches of common concord.

These are not frequent. The following are of sufficient interest to justify their insertion:

Dual subject with plural verb.

If, with Böhtlingk, we regard sma at i. 31. 4 as a finite verb, such a case is found here:

imān sma munisārdula
kitskarāu sammapāgatān
ājñāpayā munisṛṣṭha
śāsanaṁ karavāva kim.

If sva were found elsewhere in R., as it is in Mbh., we might be justified in emending sma in this instance to sva; but the comm. takes sma as a particle, and this seems wholly acceptable, and is supported somewhat by the variant of G. (at i. 34. 4), which has imān dvāu.

Dual subject with singular verb.

At vi. 48. 16 we have an undoubted case of this in the words rāghavāu pratypadyata. In the verse vi. 22. 6, which reads

tasmin vikṛṣṭe sahasā
rāghavena sarāsane
rodasi sampaphāleva
parvattāś ca cakampire,

we have perhaps rather to assume that rodasi is felt and used as a singular, as it undoubtedly is at RV. viii. 70 (59). 5.

Plural subject with singular verb.

The diiambic rule is responsible for the following case:

aṣṭādaśa hi varśāṇi
mama janmani ganyate, iii. 47. 11.

Hopkins, Epic, p. 245, gives other interesting examples of this kind, showing how grammar is subordinated to metrical exigencies.
Recent Discussions of Totemism.—By Professor Crawford Toy, Harvard University.

The terms "totem" and "totemism" have been and still are used in several different senses. Mr. Frazer in his Totemism speaks of clan totems, sex totems, and individual totems; and, though he observes that the second and third of these are not really totems, he continues to employ the terms, and they have ever since been employed. As the precise meaning of the word "totem" is not known, its employment is a matter of convention—we may use it as we will. But the things meant by the three terms mentioned above differ one from another in some important respects. The first term designates a clan organization, the third has no bearing on the communal clan life, and the second is too vague to be significant. It is desirable in the interest of clearness to have different names for things so different, and, as the first of these varieties is by far the most important, it is better to restrict the terms "totem" and "totemism" to the clan organization, and to give other names to the other two sorts, and such is the tendency in recent discussions. We may therefore reserve the designation "totemism" to indicate an exogamous organization in which a clan thinks itself allied by an intimate and sacred bond to a species of animal or plant or to some other natural object, every person male or female of the clan being born into the clan, all the members of the clan refraining from eating of the totem object when this is edible. What is called the individual or personal totem is not inherited but is chosen by the man himself or by his parents or friends, and as a rule is not transmissible, nor does it affect marriage relations; it resembles, then, the clan totem only in the single point of involving an intimate relation between men and a certain class of natural objects. We may call it a tutelary spirit. Of the so-called "sex totemism" we have very little information. It has been observed so far only in Australia, and there only in a few places, and appears to have no influence whatever on the social life of the tribe. It resembles the others in that it is marked by a special relation between human beings
and classes of animals or plants, but otherwise it seems to be without sociological significance, and, without denying that it may prove to be important, it will here be ignored. Exogamy is commonly assumed as a characteristic of clan totemism; though it has not been proved to exist everywhere, yet it is so generally found in communities in which totemism in a strict sense exists that we are warranted in regarding it provisionally as a characteristic of totemism.

Further, it has lately been insisted that totemism must be kept apart from the general worship of animals and plants, of which there are examples all over the world. The same remark, holds of the cult of family gods, of the organization of secret societies, of the employment of oaths, ordeals, colors, and of the observation of omens from the appearances of animals or plants. In all these cases there is a relation to an animal; but they do not present the peculiar social characteristics of clan totemism. It is possible that they may be found, in the last analysis, to be closely related to totemism. In the meantime it will conduce to clearness to keep them apart.

The question of the line of descent in early communities requires fuller examination than has yet been given it. In general in strictly totemic communities the descent is through the mother, and the practice of exogamy is held by many to be immediately connected with this rule of descent. But as the facts are not fully known, it will be better to treat every case by itself, to inquire in each case how descent is reckoned, and whether, if it be through the father, there are traces of its having been formerly through the mother.

What seemed to be a revolutionary description of totemism was announced by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their work on on The Native Tribes of Central Australia (1899). Of the Arunta tribe, which apparently had a totemic constitution, they stated that marriage was permitted within the totem clan, and that it was not only allowed but was in certain cases required that the clansmen should eat of their totem. This description, the correctness of which is indisputable, seemed to some writers to force us to a new definition of totemism, and to call for a re-examination of the whole subject. But a closer analysis of the facts, as given by Spencer and Gillen, has made it probable that the condition of things in the Arunta tribe is not primitive,
that we have in fact here not the original form of totemistic organization, but rather a development in which some of the early characteristics have been modified. Though the clans are now endogamous, there are signs that they were formerly exogamous; though they now eat the totem, there are hints that this was not always the custom. That is, we have apparently in this tribe an example of a partial dissolution of totemism.¹

Another instance of partial dissolution must probably be recognized in the case of the Kwakiutl tribes of British Columbia reported by Dr. Franz Boas.² In these tribes, he states, the clan is not held to be descended from the totem—to all questions concerning the origin of a totem he obtained in answer only legends recounting how a mythical ancestor had received the crest of the clan from an animal. Such crests are now placed on the fronts of houses and on totem poles. The legends, however, appear to involve belief in descent from a beast. Thus the ancestor of the bear clan was transformed, by association with a bear, into the shape of that animal, and a magical ceremony was necessary to restore his human form. Obviously the bear was the ancestor. This story is quite of a piece with those that are told of the Arunta mythical ancestors, among whom changes from man to beast and from beast to man were frequent and facile: As to individual guardian spirits, these are found alongside of the clan totem, and doubtless had a different origin. It may be added that the "totem posts," with their elaborate heraldic devices, though they do not absolutely involve descent from beasts, accord naturally with that hypothesis, and indeed receive from it their easiest explanation. It appears, then, that neither the Arunta conditions nor those of British Columbia call for a modification of the current definition of a totemic clan.

The necessity of recognizing the process of dissolution has been brought out in recent works. Dissolution is a general social phenomenon, but it is only of late years that its importance in the study of totemism has been recognized. It has become apparent that in every case of an apparently totemistic cult it is necessary to inquire whether this represents the earliest

¹ See the criticisms in Folk-Lore, 11, 65 ff. and L'Année Sociolog. 5, 82 ff.
form or is a modification of early forms induced by social progress. There are hundreds of examples of animal cults in the world, exhibiting many slight differences in detail, some of them appearing to approach very near totemism. There may always be, of course, a question whether any incomplete form is preparatory to or consequent on the more developed form; this question can be answered only by a full examination of all the facts accessible.

Recent writers have announced a good many theories of the origin of totemism. The most of these may be included in two classes: those which deduce the institution from an individual custom, and those which refer it to an original clan usage. We may briefly mention the principal varieties under these heads.

Proceeding from the sociological view that the family and the clan are founded by individuals, it is natural to suppose that such may be the origin of totemistic organizations. A totem clan is in fact simply a clan with a peculiar relation to some natural object; if we can account for the origin of clans in general, it will remain only to ask how such bodies came to believe that they had a peculiar connection with an animal or a plant. One view, which has been provisionally indorsed by Dr. E. B. Tylor, is based on a Melanesian custom: a man announces that after death he will take the form of this or that animal or plant; his descendants will revere the object in question as the embodiment of the spirit of the ancestor, and thus the man becomes the founder of a totemic family.1 A similar theory is that which is suggested by Hill-Tout2 from the custom of certain village communities in British Columbia, in which the individual mark is said to pass into the clan mark; for some reason a man chooses an animal or plant for his special friend and device, and, if he is a prominent man, his example may be followed and the totem clan arises. A somewhat different form of this individual theory is suggested by the well known custom of many American Indian tribes, among whom the youth after fasting and watching sees in a vision the animal or other object which is to be his personal protector; and, as in the cases mentioned above, it is assumed that any one who should found a family might hand down his protecting spirit to his descendants.

2 Cited in *Folk-Lore*, 13, 368.
and become the founder of a totem clan.\(^1\) A similar custom of choosing a protecting spirit exists, according to Hose and McDougall, among the Sea Dyaks: the spirit appears in a dream to a man, becomes his protector, and the man's descendants may share in the benefits of this protection, and thus a totemic community may arise.\(^2\) A different line of development appears in the suggestion of Mr. N. W. Thomas that the totem may have originated with the magical apparatus of certain men, this apparatus consisting of parts of an animal—the animal would thus become sacred, a sort of magical society would be formed owing its origin to some individual magician, and a magical totemic clan would be created.\(^3\) Mr. Herbert Spencer, as is well known, referred the origin of totemism to an epithet or nickname given to a man as characteristic of his qualities, the name being generally that of an animal or plant; the man after his death, the supposition is, would be revered, and would be identified with the object whose name he bore, and so the animal ancestor would be conceived of. Finally under this head may be mentioned the earlier theory of J. B. Frazer that the totem object is the locus of the hidden soul. Frazer's very interesting collection of examples of the belief in hidden souls (in his *Golden Bough*) is well known.

All these theories are, of course, mere hypotheses—no example has yet been produced of the actual rise of a totem clan from such individual action. There is doubtless much in savage life to suggest and support this hypothesis, and the fact that it has commended itself to so many observers entitles it to respectful consideration. Against it, however, a number of objections have been urged. Those who hold that uterine descent is the rule in early societies find herein a fatal objection to the theory. If a man is to found a clan, it must be by male descent; otherwise the clan would speedily be broken up into fragments by the presence of women of various groups, whose children belong to the group of the mother. The rule of descent, as is remarked above, cannot be said to be perfectly well established; but the number of cases in which uterine

\(^1\) See, for example, Miss Alice Fletcher, in *Proc. Amer. Assoc. for Adv. of Science*, 45, 10.


\(^3\) *Man*, 1902, No. 85.
descent exists among low tribes is so great that many writers are disposed to consider it the prevailing rule. Leaving this point aside, there is another difficulty, of a serious character, in this hypothesis. Systems of tutelary spirits of individuals are found, so far as we know, only in relatively advanced tribes, in such as are partly agricultural (as the Sea Dyaks), or such as have advanced beyond the hunting stage (as in Melanesia), or such as possess the elements of civilization (as some of the North American tribes in the United States). In all such cases it becomes a question whether the individualistic system is not later and higher than the totemic constitution proper. According to Miss Fletcher and others, the procedure of the young Indian, when he sets out in obedience to a dream or vision to find his protector, is marked by deep seriousness and a high degree of reflection, traits that are not found in the lowest stratum of life. Doubtless the influence of individual men has been great. But in historical times we find that the achievement of individual leaders lies rather in the modification of existing forms and ideas than in the creation of new systems, and such we should suppose to have been the case in the earlier period. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen remark that in the central Australian tribes the leaders, commonly old men, appear to have introduced reforms or modifications in customs from time to time; but these have apparently not touched the essential principles of the tribal life. In the absence of definite information, therefore, the proposed theory of individual origination of totemism cannot be regarded as satisfactory. All that we know of social history leads us to regard customs and organizations as the slow growth of generations or centuries, beginning and developing we hardly know how, making themselves felt by faint suggestions and minute movements, and taking definite shape only after a great lapse of time. This fact does not stand in opposition to the view, held by some, that the original community was a patriarchal family, consisting of a man with a wife, or several wives, and maintaining itself as a unity.

Passing now from these theories of individual origin, we find among recent works suggestions of a different sort. It is a not unnatural view that totemism arises from the deliberate choice of a clan. Every group of early men, it may be supposed, would naturally seek a powerful extra-human protector, and to
this end would turn to one of the objects that it had come to
invest with power, and with which it felt itself to have some
relation—ordinarily an animal or a plant. Animals would be
conceived of as being organized in classes or communities simi-
lar to those which existed among men. The human clan would
enter into an alliance with the animal clan, would take its name,
would regard it with reverence, and when it was edible, would
refrain from using it as an article of food. When the clan
had once become identified with the animal clan, the totem,
under the existing rule of exogamy, would attach itself to the
totem group. The totem, belonging to the human clan, would
be inherited by every new-born child. Thus we should have all
the recognized characteristics of the totem clan.

In this simple and attractive theory one feels that difficulty is
made by the supposition of deliberate choice. Customs, as is
remarked above, are not invented. It is doubtful whether a
single example can be found of a community's deliberately
choosing a god or a religion, and certainly such mode of pro-
cedure is scarcely conceivable in the case of very early peoples.
Further, the peculiar relation between man and the totem object
is here supposed to be later than the formation of the clan.
This is a point as to which no definite opinion can now be pro-
nounced, but the probability is that the peculiar attitude of
men toward the animals about them began with the earliest
human life and grew with human organization. All the laws
that govern savage life—exogamy, uterine descent, kinship with
animals—probably had their origin in conditions and feelings
that belong to the very first stages of human existence. To
this theory, further, the same objection may be urged that has
been supposed to tell against the individualistic hypothesis,
namely that, if uterine descent were the rule, the choice of a
totem object by a clan would be impossible. Other clans would
act in the same way and their women would carry their totems
to neighboring tribes, and it would be impossible to maintain
totemic unity in any given clan. The objections to this hypo-
thesis are strong enough to make us look elsewhere for the expla-
nation of totemism.

Mr. Frazer's earlier view has already been mentioned.¹
Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's account of the Arunta tribe led him

¹ For a criticism of this view see Folk-Lore, 18, 359 ff.
to adopt another theory. The function of the Arunta totem group, it seemed to him, is to procure food for the tribe. Every totem group performs magical ceremonies for the purpose of securing an abundant supply of its own totem object, animal or plant. To it is assigned the duty of bringing to the common store the products of its hunting or gathering. Every clan has to introduce its own variety of food by a solemn ceremony of eating. The kangaroo, for example, is forbidden food to the other clans of the tribe until the kangaroo clan, in the person of its elders, has first tasted the flesh of the animal; after this the flesh is free to the other clans but forbidden to the kangaroo clan. Thus every clan is of the nature of a magical society. By some means, Mr. Frazer supposes, a system of economic coöperation was established, an admirable method for assuring a sufficiency of food to the tribe. Such a system might be economically effective, but it does not appear to explain totemism. It is found, as far as we know, only in this one small group of tribes, and indeed supposes a degree of reflection and capacity of coöperation that we should not expect among savages. Moreover, the Arunta system has traces of a process of disintegration. It seems more likely that the solemn tasting of the animal or plant by the principal clan is a development out of an earlier stage in which the clan refrained from eating of its totem object. The theory in question would not account satisfactorily for the sense of kinship between animal and man, and the belief that the clan is descended from an animal ancestor. The beginning of totemism must be sought in a period when it was perfectly natural for men to regard themselves as the kinsmen of beasts, and when they regarded beasts as invested with some peculiar powers—when it was possible for men to regard animals as the creators of things and the founders of institutions.

Mr. Frazer has combined his earlier theory with his later one by the suggestion that the soul hidden in an animal was transmitted from generation to generation and became as it were the soul of the clan. The Arunta view is that birth is the result of the entrance of the spirit of an ancestor into the body of a woman; every child is thus the re-incarnation of an animal ancestor—a man of the kangaroo clan regards himself as identical with the kangaroo. Thus the identity between clan and
animal would be established, and thus we might account for the partial prohibition of eating the clan totem. Yet it is not clear why such identity between the clan and its totem should impose on the human group the duty of securing its totem object as food for the tribe. The theory of re-incarnation is found among other savage tribes; but it is a distinct thing from totemism, and must be regarded as one of the numerous conceptions held by savages as to the relation between animals and men.

In Dr. Frazer's later theory the assumption of a formal alliance between clans for economic purposes may be omitted while the economic feature is in other regards retained. Modern anthropologists are inclined to hold that the starting-point of social organization was the necessity of procuring food. This view Professor Haddon has taken as the basis of a theory of totemism.¹ Primitive man, he remarks, moved about in small groups or in a limited area, living mainly on one kind of food; and as, according to savage ideas; food does not grow of itself but nature must be assisted by magic, each group would become a magical society, and would devote its magical ceremonies to the increase of its particular kind of food; it would thus have its own specialty in food-magic, and would be brought into sympathetic relation with a particular group, or with several groups, of animals or plants; and the human group would naturally be named by outsiders from its animal or vegetable group. (Mr. Haddon holds, however, that the association of a group of men with a group of animals or plants is earlier than the performance of magical ceremonies for increase of food.) The name being fixed, myths to account for its origin would spring up as a matter of course. Mr. Haddon thus supposes that the names come to the human groups from without; and he would assume that the sacredness of the totem arose entirely from long-established custom. In this way the fact might be accounted for that a group-name represents not what the clan eats but what it does not eat—that is, the conception of kinship with the totem would lead to a prohibition of eating it. Exogamy, Mr. Haddon would doubtless hold, is a development independent of totemism, though arising in the same general period of society.

¹ See Proc. of Brit. Assoc., 1902, and Folk-Lore, 13, 393 ff.
This hypothesis is stated by Professor Haddon only as a "guess"; in the nature of the case it has no definite historical basis. In connection with it may be mentioned Mr. Lang's "guess." Mr. Lang objects to Haddon's theory merely that it is too narrow in that it derives the name from food alone. He himself would extend the area of origin—a name, he thinks, might be based on a fancied physical resemblance to an animal, or on some assumed trait of character visible in a particular species of animal—cunning, cruelty, cowardice, strength. The names, he assumes, like Dr. Haddon, to have been given from without—that is, they were in effect nicknames given by hostile clans, though the names need not have been derisive. He supports this view by citing from J. O. Dorsey a list of Siouan names, among which are found "Breaker of Law," "Bad Nation," "Eats No Geese," "Smellers of Fish"; and with these he compares the French *blasions* and certain parish sobriquets in western England, such as "Rogues," "Stage," "Bulldogs," "Bone Pickers," "Cheese Eaters"; alongside of the Australian "witchetty-grubs" he finds that the natives of a certain English village, in which the potato grub abounds, are styled "tater-grubs." (Mr. Maret reports similar sobriquets from the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, only the groups are friendly, and the nicknames are good-natured.) Mr. Lang holds that early men wandered about in small groups, every separate group, in accordance with Darwin's view, being patriarchal and polygamous, the young men, driven away by the jealousy of the patriarch, would have to go abroad for wives, and the groups would be exogamous, but not totemistic. In the natural intercourse between the various communities thus formed sobriquets derived from various sources are imposed on the groups by their neighbors and come to be generally accepted. Such exogamous local groups Mr. Lang calls "local animal-named groups"; these latter (from whatever cause) were heterogeneous—each one contained what later became different totem groups; to secure peaceful betrothals one local group made connubium with its neighbor, and these two became phratries of a local tribe; the two phratries would at first probably contain the same names, but as intertotemic marriage was not allowed, this arrangement of clans within the phratries was changed so that the same totem should not occur in both phratries. Assuming
that descent was reckoned through the mother, Mr. Lang finds the ground of the prohibition of intertotemic marriage in the fact of kinship; he, like Mr. Darwin, does not think the idea of female kinship too abstract for that stage of society. He adds, however, that the phratry prohibition may be the survival of the old local sobriquet-group prohibition and that the totem prohibition is an "aspect of the perhaps later totem taboo, which extends to marriage within the totem name as well as to the prohibition against killing and eating the totem animal."

These hypotheses, or "guesses," of Professor Haddon and Mr. Lang meet the requirements of the question in so far as they refer the origin of totemism to the action of groups, and as they derive the names from social conditions. But the hypothesis that the names are given from without makes a difficulty. There is no definite historical proof of such a method of naming. The examples of nicknames cited from European and Indian societies are hardly relevant; the customs existing in an English country parish cannot be regarded as authority for very early times; and as to the Indian names, neither their meaning nor their origin is precisely known. In the list of clan names of North American tribes (as, for example, those given by Dr. Boas) there is no sign that totem clans think of their names as anything but native. We lack a full investigation of the meaning and origin of clan names; but in many cases they are derived from names of places, not infrequently they mean simply "people." The case of the Eskimo is sometimes adduced, the term "Eskimo" being applied to these people by adjoining tribes; but the Eskimo know that their true name is "Innuit," and the other, coming from without, they do not acknowledge. It is doubtless true that names are given to people by foreigners, but such foreign designations are not adopted by the people so named; possibly an example of adoption may be found here and there under peculiar circumstances, but such cases would not prove the rule. We call the people of Holland "Dutch," but that name has never been recognized by them.

Mr. Haddon's supposition that every clan is characterized by its connection with a particular sort of food, is, as Mr. Lang observes, too narrow. It is not likely that a group would confine itself to a particular food; the fact appears to be that a clan eats everything within reach. There would indeed be a
general difference of food between coast clans and interior clans; but such difference is not actually indicated in clan names, nor would it in any case account for the great mass of totem designations. Mr. Lang’s extension of the field supplies an origin for a greater number of names, but still leaves a considerable number not accounted for.

These two theories, further, hardly explain satisfactorily the intimate relation that exists between a clan and its totem. The supposition is that when a group became definitely associated with an animal or plant, myths would arise to account for the fact, the totem animal would come to be thought of as ancestor and creator, and would be regarded with reverence. But it does not seem likely that the profound totemistic feeling which actually exists could have its origin at so late a period of social development, and could be based on a relation or a name which was imposed on the clan from without. We should naturally go back rather to the earliest conceivable period of human society, when kinship between men and other objects was a natural, or perhaps necessary, element of human thought. It is in favor of this latter view that animal names preponderate among totem designations, although even in hunting tribes the food is very largely vegetable. By this view also, a natural explanation is offered of totemic names taken from inedible things, such as heavenly bodies, natural forces, and inorganic things—sun, moon, wind, thunder; all these might be objects of reverence in early times, might be regarded as persons, and supposed to stand in near relation to the group. A religious element would seem to be involved in the beginnings of totemism. While the economic and other sociological conditions are important, it would be a mistake to ignore that attitude of the savage toward nature which develops into religion.

There are other points in which Mr. Lang’s theory appears not to be adequate. It accounts for early organization in phratries (a widely diffused system), but it does not explain why, when the connubium is established between two phratries, phratry exogamy is obligatory and not merely permissible. It is observed by Mr. N. W. Thomas (in *Man*, January, 1904) that Mr. Lang, in agreeing that the local animal-named group did not develop totemism, tacitly concedes that the animal name alone is not adequate to produce the totemistic organization.
Finally may be mentioned theories that derive totemism from some sort of clan-mark. Professor F. Max Müller (in his *Contrib. to the Science of Mythol.*, i. 198 ff.) suggests that a totem was originally a tribal emblem, the figure of an animal or other object set up in front of a settlement as a sort of heraldic device—in time the object so represented would come to be regarded as a leader and finally as an ancestor and therefore as sacred—and the tribe would abstain from using it as an article of food. Apparently of a similar character is the hypothesis stated in the article "Der Ursprung des Totenismus" (in *Jahrb. f. Vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft*, 1902). Apart from the fact that totemism is often found without the clan-mark, the defect of such theories is that they do not satisfactorily account for the intimate relation existing between the clan and the totem. This relation can hardly have been based on the accidental choice of an animal or other objects as the emblem or mark of the clan, but must rest originally on a conviction of the existence of kinship between human and other groups of objects.

This brief survey of theories of the origin of totemism suggests a number of questions which can only be mentioned here. Is exogamy prior to the totemistic organization? Is the adoption of a tutelary animal later than totemism? and does it represent a higher conception of the relation between man and the powers about him? Is a process of evolution in totemism going on continually, involving disintegration or dissolution or modification? What is the social and religious effect of the constant shifting of tribal organizations which is said to be going on in America and elsewhere? Can we speak of a totemistic cult? and is it true that a totemistic animal or plant has ever developed into a god?

These and other related questions yet await full examination. Take, for example, existing views of the origin of clan exogamy. This has been explained as an extension of family feeling: a natural instinct, it is said, opposes the intermarriage of members of the same household, and, when the family grew into a clan, the same feeling of repugnance would keep apart the

1 This article, to which my attention has recently been called, I have not yet been able to consult.
members of the clan. But this view credits early man with a delicacy of feeling that we have no right to assume, and, in point of fact, marital relations between members of the same family are found even in civilized communities (Egyptians, Hebrews), to say nothing of savage tribes. A modification of this theory represents the repugnance to interfamilial marriage or inter-clan marriage as due to the dread felt by men of the sacred or magical influences or qualities of women. Mr. Crawley, who has presented this view (in his Mystic Rose) at great length and with great ability, supposes that the line of demarcation between the two sexes was first drawn by the difference of their industrial occupations; this difference kept them apart in actual life, so that each sex seemed strange to the other, and, as to the savage the strange is dangerous, women were esteemed by men a source of danger, and taboos were imposed on them; this feeling of antagonism naturally was directed especially against members of the same family, and as men had to have wives, these had to be sought outside the family, and thus the rule of exogamy was gradually established. This theory is based on well-known facts, but it hardly accounts satisfactorily for exogamy. It has been urged (by Durkheim, Folk-Lore, 14, 423) that the antagonism between the sexes, as explained by Crawley, should be mutual; but it appears that it is chiefly the men who are afraid of the women, and it is by men that the taboos are imposed. This objection, however, does not seem important when it is remembered that the control of society, in the lowest strata known to us, is in the hands of men—the opinion of women is not formulated. A more serious objection lies in the doubt whether the cause assigned is sufficient to account for the fact. In savage societies the relations between the sexes, except where they are controlled by marriage-laws, are free to the point of license—there is no sign of mutual dread, nor do the customs and laws, as a rule, undertake to regulate inter-sexual relations except in the case of marriage. While, therefore, Mr. Crawley's elucidations of inter-sexual taboos are valuable, we must look elsewhere for the origin of the rule of exogamy. Mr. Lang's view (given in Man, Dec. 1903) is stated above, with the objections which have been made to it. None of these explanations has proved generally acceptable, and the question must be regarded as still undecided.
The above survey shows sufficiently the divergencies of opinion among competent writers on the origin of totemism. When the known phenomena are so differently interpreted, the inference can only be that data are lacking to establish a satisfactory theory. The discussions of the subject turn largely on the nature and genesis of primitive social groups, a point on which we do not find unanimity among either sociologists or students of the history of religion. Is the phratry, for example, earlier or later than the clan? Advocates of both views are to be found, and the question cannot be said to be decided. Yet, until this point and others of a similar character are settled, we cannot hope to make progress in the investigation of totemism. What is needed, therefore, is a more thorough inquiry into the nature of early social organizations. The inquiry should take the form of collecting all accessible facts, and setting forth the actual existing state of things. There is, of course, no objection to hypothetical constructions of prehistoric conditions; but such constructions must depend mainly on present facts, and the first duty is to gather and arrange these facts. All human customs, so far as we know, are social and communal. Even where men wander about in small isolated groups (as is said to be the case with the Fuegians and a few other peoples), it is clear that the usages are not peculiar to the detached groups, but have the support and sanction of a larger community. The social constitution of all known groups, large and small, bears the marks of hoary antiquity. The widest possible comparison of phenomena is necessary in order that we may penetrate behind the vail that divides the present from the past.

This study of early group-life is not the only thing necessary for the elucidation of totemism—this latter presents a very peculiar phase of social organization. It is now generally recognized that totemism is only one form of a widely diffused cult of natural objects, which embraces many varieties. These latter shade into one another in various details, some of them seeming to approach totemism, others standing at a great remove from it. There is particularly the class of tutelary spirits or animals, referred to above; these are connected sometimes with the individual, sometimes with the family, sometimes with a larger group. The known examples of all such cults and rela-
tions should be collected and arranged both according to distinctness of relation between man and natural object, and according to geographical distribution. A particular point to be had in mind is the relation between totem animals and various animal gods that appear in later stages of society.

Other points connected with totemism would present themselves in the course of such an investigation. The sacramental eating of the totem animal has been made, as we know, the basis of large theories of sacrifice. Many examples of solemn eating of an animal are found among low tribes, and it is desirable that all such instances should be brought together and compared with the more obvious cases of sacramental feasting. The nature of magic-societies and of secret societies in general must be investigated. Finally, especial attention should be paid to the phenomena connected with the dissolution or decadence of totemism; it is sometimes in the struggle to maintain life and in the pangs of dissolution that we can discover the essential nature of a custom or an institution.
Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan.—By Dr. Frank R. Blake, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Of the large number of languages which are spoken in the Philippine Islands, the two most important are without doubt Tagalog and Bisayan. Tagalog is the language of perhaps the most highly cultivated tribe in the Archipelago, and is spoken in the capital city of Manila, throughout middle Luzon, and on the coasts of Mindoro and some of the smaller islands south of Luzon. Bisayan in its various dialects, Cebuan, Panayan, Hiligayna, Samaro-Leytean, etc., forms the language of the Bisayan Islands, and of the north and east coasts of Mindanao, and is spoken by more people than any other Philippine dialect.

As is the case with all the languages of the Archipelago, these two idioms belong to the same family of speech, the Malayo-Polynesian, and the relation subsisting between them is very close and intimate. The two languages present the same general grammatical characteristics.

1) Roots are for the most part dissyllabic, e. g. Tag. gará ‘do,’ sálut ‘write,’ kán ‘eat;’ Bis. buhat ‘do,’ sulut ‘write,’ kuon ‘eat.’

2) Derivation is accomplished:

(a) By means of various formative prefixes, infixes and suffixes, which are in a large number of cases identical in the two languages, e. g. active verbal prefixes mag, man, pa, ma, maka, magpa, maki; active verbal prefix and infix um; the common passive particles, prefixed i, and suffixed an; the nominal prefixes, ku, pala, taga; the adjectival prefix ma, etc.

(b) By various forms of reduplication; a diminutive meaning is imparted to adjectives in both languages by reduplicating the root, e. g. Tag. ma-itim-itim ‘rather black,’ from ma-itim; ‘black;’ Bis. ma-itom-itom from ma-itom; complete reduplica-

¹ As the accentuation of Bisayan words varies greatly according to the place in which the language is spoken (cf. Encarnación, Diccionario Bisaya-EspañoL, 3ª ed., Manila, 1885, Advertencias Preliminares II), the Bisayan words in this paper are given without accent marks, except in certain dialectic forms.
tion of a noun often imparts the idea of 'every,' e. g. Tag. *a†awá†aw* 'every day' from *†aw* 'day;' Bis. *a†awawa* from *a†aw*

3) Inflection strictly speaking is confined to the pronouns.

4) The verb has usually the passive form, the object of the action or some accessory circumstance of the action being made the subject; e. g. the sentence 'Cain killed Abel' would be rendered by 'Abel was killed by Cain,' Tag. *si Abel ay pinatáy ni Cain.* The active is employed only when the agent of the action is specially emphasized, or when the object of the action is something indefinite, e. g. 'he killed a man,' Tag. *siyá†y punyatáy nong táwo.* In other words the most important or most emphatic element in the sentence is made the subject, and the verb put in the form required by that subject.

5) An extensive use is made of certain particles, Tag. *-ng, na;* Bis. *-ng, nýa* to connect the parts of speech which modify each other, such as nouns and adjectives, adjectives and adverbs, verbs and adverbs, etc.; e. g. 'good man' is in Tagalog *nabá†i-ng táwo,* in Bisayan, *maayo-ng táko* or *maayo nýa táko;* 'larger, more large' is in Tagalog *lálo-ng malaki,* in Bisayan *labí-ng dáko. 3*

The two languages then are as closely related perhaps as Spanish and Italian or German and Dutch, but there are a number of important differences between them.

In the first place the two vocabularies, while possessing a large stock of common material, differ in many particulars. This is true not only in the case of presentive words, i. e. nouns.

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1 This *q* is used to represent the Tagalog *r,* which is derived from inter-vocalic *d.* and is, according to the Spanish grammarians, a sound between *d* and *r.*

2 With this prevalence of passive construction is to be contrasted the use of the passive in Arabic. Here, if the agent is expressed, the construction must be active, e. g. *qatá†i *rá†i* nő *hábíla* *Cain killed Abel.* The passive form can be used only when the agent is understood, thus being a variety of intransitive verb (cf. my paper on the *Internal Passive in Semitic.* JAOS., vol. xxii, p. 45) e. g. *qútí* 'ra†i*rá†i* 'the man was killed.'

3 Compare the use of the *izdét* in modern Persian; 'pure water' is not simply *áb $pá†*  *áb pák,* but *áb-i $pá†* with a connective particle *i* between *áb* 'water' and *pák* 'pure.' Cf. Salemann u. Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik,* Berlin, 1889, p. 80, § 16.
adjectives, and verbs, where, especially in nouns, we find different words for the same idea even in the most closely related languages and dialects, but also in that of symbolic words, i.e. pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbial particles.

In Tagalog the word for 'shirt,' which constitutes about one-half of the ordinary civilized male Filipino's costume, the garment being worn with its tails or skirts hanging down over the other half, the trousers, is báño; in Bisayan it is sinina: the common adjectives 'good' and 'bad' are in Tagalog masáti and masumá, in Bisayan mayá and dunyá: the ordinary verb 'do, make' is in Tagalog g-an-aw, in Bisayan may-bukát.

With regard to symbolic words, it is to be noted that the demonstrative pronouns, and in the case of the Cebuan dialect the interrogative pronouns, are different, e.g. 'this' is in Tagalog yári or itó, in Bisayan kini or simi according to the dialect; 'who' is in Tagalog sino, in Cebuan Bisayan kinsa. The conjunction 'and' is in Tagalog at, in Cebuan ug, in the Panayan and Hiligayn dialects kay, probably a contraction of the two particles ka and ug.

The sounds employed by the two languages are practically the same, and cognate words are usually identical. A Tagalog i, however, is frequently represented by a Bisayan u or o, e.g. the word for 'one' is in Tagalog isá, in Bisayan usa; 'black' is in Tagalog maítim, in Bisayan maitom; 'to hear' is in Tagalog dinág, in Bisayan dinig, the passive particle Tagalog in appears in Bisayan as un or on.

An original intervocalic l which is preserved in Bisayan is often lost in Tagalog, compare Tagalog dían 'road' with Bisayan, Bikol, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Ilokan, Ibanag, etc., dalan. Sometimes a secondary consonant is developed between the two vowels after the loss of the l, e.g. Tagalog bákay 'house,' pówo 'ten' = Bisayan balay, poto.

Morphological differences between the two languages, although not very numerous, are strongly marked. The definite article and the demonstratives have in Tagalog three cases, a nominative, genitive, and oblique, e.g. the article is declined ang, nang, sa; the demonstrative 'this,' itó, nitó, dito: in Bisayan,

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1 Compare American 'shoes' with English 'boots,' 'baggage' with 'luggage,' 'satchel' with 'bag,' 'shirt-waist' with 'wash-body,' etc.
these pronouns have in general only two cases, a nominative, and an oblique which includes all other cases, e. g. in Cebuan the article is declined any, sa, the demonstrative ‘this,’ kini, niini. In Hiligayna, however, the article has three cases, nominative any, genitive sang, oblique sa.

In Tagalog the personal pronoun kitá is the dual of the first person meaning ‘we two;’ in Bisayan it is regularly the plural ‘we’ which includes the person addressed, and which would be used for example when a Spaniard says ‘we Spaniards’ in addressing his fellow-countrymen, but not if he used the same expression in speaking to Filipinos. In this case another pronoun, kani, must be employed. In Cebuan kitá means ‘you’ (dual) and kita, ‘you’ (pl.).

In Tagalog the tens, ‘twenty,’ ‘thirty,’ ‘forty,’ etc., are formed by multiplication of ‘ten,’ póvo, viz. ‘two tens,’ ‘three tens,’ etc., e. g. dalawá-ng póvo, tatlö-ng póvo, etc. In Bisayan, although the above mode of formation is found, especially in Hiligayna, the tens are regularly made from the units by prefixing ku and suffixing an, which is one of the most usual ways of forming abstract nouns in Tagalog: 1 e. g. ‘twenty’ is ka-luha-an from duha ‘two,’ l and d interchanging as in Latin lacruma and dacruma ‘tear,’ 2 ‘thirty’ is ka-tlo-an from toto ‘three,’ etc. 3

In Tagalog the future and present active of a verb with the prefixed monosyllabic particle mag, e. g. maglalañó ‘play’ from the root lañó, are made by reduplicating the first syllable of the root, m of the particle becoming n in the present, e. g. future maglalañó, present ndglalañó. In Bisayan, although

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1 E. g. ka-bandál-an ‘virtue’ from bandál, ka-lakás-an ‘strength’ from lakás.
this formation occurs in the Hiligayna dialect, the most usual and characteristic mode of forming these tenses is by adding an a after the particle may, changing the m to n in the present, e. g. from may-buhat 'do, make' are formed the future maya-buhat and present maya-buhat. This formation seems to have originated in roots with initial a, as e. g. asawa 'spouse.' The verb made by combining this root with the verbal particle may has the same tense stems in both languages, viz. Inf. mayasawa, Pret. mayasawa, Fut. mayasawa and Pres. mayasawa, the double a in future and present being due to the reduplication of the first syllable a of the root asawa. In Bisayan, however, the first a was regarded as belonging to the verbal particle, maya and naga being considered the particles of the future and present respectively. Therefore from a root with initial consonant like buhat 'do make,' was formed the future maya-buhat, and the present maya-buhat.  

Many classes of verbs in Bisayan, especially in the Cebuan dialect, have only two tense forms, there being no distinction between infinitive and future, and between preterite and present respectively, e. g. the root lohol 'kneel' combined with the particle man makes man-lohol infinitive and future, and man-lohol preterite and present. In Tagalog, on the other hand, four tense stems are distinguished in all the verbal classes.

The preterite passive of Tagalog verbs is characterized by a particle in which is prefixed in roots or stems with initial consonant, and prefixed to a root with initial vowel, e. g. y-in-awad from gawad 'do, make,' inudal from udal 'teach.' In Bisayan, instead of this in, a prefix gi or gin is regularly employed, e. g. from buhat 'do, make' is formed the preterite, Cebuan gibuhat, Panayan and Hiligayna ginbuhat. Forms with in (e. g. b-in-what) like the Tagalog forms, however, also occur, especially in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects.

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^ Similar instances of such a wrong division of words are English 'an orange' for 'a norange' (Spanish naranja), 'an adder' for 'a nadder' (German Natter); cf. Giles, Manual of Compar. Philol., 2d ed., London, 1901, p. 207 f.; and the German suffix -keit, which was formed in the middle German period by the 'clipping' of the final k sound of adjectives in -ec, e. g. miltec-keit > miltekeit, -keit being then used to derive many words not ending in a k sound, e. g. bitter-keit; cf. Willmanns, Deutsche Gram., Strassburg, 1893-96, 2te. Abt., § 290.
In the domain of syntax the following are the most important differences. In Tagalog a cardinal numeral is regularly joined to the noun which it modifies by the connective particle or ligature -ng, e.g. dalawá-ng táwo 'two men,' ápat na libro 'four books.' In Bisayan no ligature is employed in this case, the noun instead taking the prefix ka which denotes 'one, single, individual,' e.g. duha ka-tao, úpat ka-libro. This construction of cardinal numeral adjective with a noun derived with the prefix ka of individuality occurs also in Tagalog, e.g. isá ka-táwo 'one man,' dalawá ka-pótol 'two pieces,' but it is far less common than the construction with the ligature.

In Tagalog the ligature is regularly employed to join an infinitive to a governing verb ending in a vowel, or, when one or more words are inserted between governing verb and infinitive, to join the infinitive to the word directly preceding, e.g. akó'y tungmakbó-ng umális 'I hastened to go,' naálibin ng ka-ny umulát 'do you know how to write?,' where the infinitives umális and umulát are joined to the preceding word by the ligature -ng. In Bisayan, as a usual thing, no ligature is used before a dependent infinitive in this case, e.g. kinsa'y nahayag na punalit sa kabayo 'who wants to buy the horse?,' buró ka ba uninom bisan onsa 'do you wish to drink anything?,' where no ligature is employed before the infinitives punalit and uninom.

In Tagalog the particle ay is regularly used between subject and predicate when the subject precedes, e.g. akó ay (akó'y) sungmusulát 'I am writing.' In Bisayan in this case, although y may be used after a subject ending in a vowel, e.g. si Pedro'y mahaluyon 'Pedro is merciful,' it is regularly omitted, e.g. ang ia-ng balay dako 'his house is large,' ako nayasulát 'I am writing.'

The particle y is employed in Bisayan in some constructions where the ligature is used in Tagalog. In the latter language a definite noun following an interrogative pronoun is preceded either by the article any or the ligature -ng, e.g. anó any (anó-ng) ginawá mo 'what did you do?' In Bisayan the article may be replaced, not by the ligature, but by the particle y, e.g. Cebuan onsa ba ang (ansa'y) gibuhat mo 'what did you do?'

1 Probably of pronominal origin, cf. my paper on Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog, JHU. Circ. No. 163, p. 66.
interrogative particle *ba* is regularly employed in Cebuan in connection with an interrogative followed by the article, less frequently with *y*. In Tagalog also the equivalent particles *bagá* or *kayá* may be used in connection with an interrogative pronoun, e. g. *anó bagá ang (anó bagá-ng) ginawá mo.*

Bisayan *y* corresponds in its use to the Tagalog ligature also in the constructions which express the ideas of the possession and non-possession of something indefinite.¹ In Tagalog the particles *máy* and *walá* are employed for this purpose, in Bisayan, usually *máy, aduna* and *walá, walá* and *walá* being the negative of the other particles. The thing possessed stands after the particle without article. The possessor is in Tagalog always put in the nominative; in Bisayan it may stand in the nominative, or it may be expressed by a possessive adjective modifying the thing possessed or object of the particle, and joined to it by the ligature. The ligature in Tagalog and the particle *y* in Bisayan are added, in most of these constructions, to the word that immediately precedes the object, which may consist of a single word or a word and its modifiers, e. g.

**Tagalog:**

\[
\text{máy salapí akó,} \quad \text{I have money.}
\]

\[
\text{máy akó-ng salapí} \quad \text{I have no money.}
\]

**Bisayan:**

\[
\text{máy bínó akó (nom.)} \quad \text{I have wine.}
\]

\[
\text{máy akó-ng (poss. adj.) bínó} \quad \text{I have wine.}
\]

\[
\text{duma'y ano-ng (poss. adj.) tiempo 'we have time.'}
\]

\[
\text{duma ba kano (nom.) 'y tiempo 'you have time?'}
\]

\[
\text{duma'y ila-ng (poss. adj.) tiempo 'they have no time.'}
\]

\[
\text{walá kano (nom.) 'y tiempo 'we have no time.'}
\]

In Tagalog the indefinite character of the object of an action, as e. g. the words ‘some water’ in the sentence ‘take some water,’ is expressed by putting the verb in the active with its object preceded by the genitive of the definite article, which has here of course no definite meaning, but simply denotes the case, e. g. *kumáha ka nang tábig. ‘Take the water’ (definite) would be expressed by the passive, viz. *kináha mo ang tábig.* In Bisayan, what might be called an indefinite accusative par-

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¹ Cf. my paper cited above, loc. cit.
article has been developed, which is used instead of the case form of the article before the indefinite object of an active verb, e.g. the above sentence 'take some water' would be rendered by *kumuha ka ug tubig* or *kumuha ka sing tubig*, *ug* being the indefinite particle in Cebuan, *sing* in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects.

This indefinite particle is also employed before the indirect object of a passive verb, e.g. *ibuhat mo ako ug (sing) kape* 'make me some coffee (lit. let me be made for by thee with respect to coffee)' where Tagalog uses the definite article, e.g. *tbili mo ang bata nang kainin* 'buy the boy some food (lit. let the boy be bought for by thee with respect to food)'; and also before an adverb which stands after the verb it modifies, e.g. *nakapamolong ba kami ug maayo* 'do we speak well?', *siya nagasulat ug (sing) maayo* 'he writes well,' where Tagalog employs the genitive of the definite article or the ligature, e.g. *hampasin mo siya nang malakas* 'beat him soundly,' *itô'y gawa-* in ninyó-ng mahúsug* 'do this well.'

In the Hiligayna dialect the particle *sing* is often employed before the indefinite object of the negatives *vala, vea* 'have not, there is not,' instead of *y* (cf. above), e.g. *vala na sing bato sa bukid* 'there are no stones on the mountain,' *vala kami sing humay* 'we have no rice;' where in Tagalog the ligature is employed, viz. *valá-ng bató sa bundók, valá kamí-ng pálay.*

The two principal languages of the Philippine Islands, therefore, while perhaps more closely related than any other two of the important languages of the Archipelago, present a number of differences in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax. The difference in vocabulary is found not only in the case of presentive, but also in that of symbolic words; phonetic changes are few; morphological differences concern chiefly the verb, but also occur in the pronouns and numerals. In the syntax we find the differences principally in the use of various particles, especially the ligature and the particle *ay, y,* and in the expression of the indefinite object of an action. In general, the Hiligayna and Panayan dialects show more resemblance to Tagalog than does the Cebuan.
Some Minor Languages of Luzon.—By 1st Lieutenant William E. W. MacKinlay, 1st Cavalry, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

It is not contemplated here to give more than a sketch of some of the minor languages of Luzon, with only a mention of others. The field is so extensive that an article could well be devoted to each of the five civilized non-Tagálog tongues, and another to the dialects of the uncivilized tribes of the north.

The first language to which attention is invited is the Ilocano, spoken by the most industrious, reliable and promising race in the Philippines, as far as the lower classes are concerned, it bears in its structure and vocabulary, even to its intonation and accent, the hallmark of the people who speak it. It is the only language of the Philippines which has been carried beyond its original habitat within historic times, and bids fair to supplant Pangasinán, its neighbor to the south, as it has already displaced Ibamag in parts of the provinces of Cagayán and Isabela. This spreading has all been due to the working classes, known as the “tao” class to Americans and in Ilocano as “cailian,” or tribute-payers, in contradistinction to the Spanish-speaking, indolent upper class, who call themselves the “babañang” (nobility), and who are known to Americans as the “principalía,” and less politely as the “shoe-hombres.” Of the working classes, nearly one thousand have enlisted in the Philippine Scouts, which organization is a part of the United States Army, and several hundred more have been enrolled in the Constabulary or Military Police of the Archipelago. The Ilocanos make good, steady, reliable soldiers, and like all the natives of the Islands are clean, obedient, and brave when properly led. Some few of the wild tribes adjoining the Ilocanos on the east have also been enlisted and mixed with Ilocanos. These soldiers are mainly serving in the Tagálog region, and compose thirteen companies, numbered from the 12th to the 24th. Their officers are Americans, except Lt. Patajo, Ilocano. There are five Ilocano provincial governors, while in the two mountain provinces, where the Ilocanos form the town population and the Igorrotes
the country people, American governors have been chosen. Outlaw bands are unknown in the Ilocano region, and if the common people are let alone by upper class agitators, who live by their wits, there will be no serious disturbances reported from the Ilocan provinces. The history of the recent outbreak at Vigan, due to Tagálog intrigue, represented by Artemio Ricarte, confirms this assertion.

Philologically, the Ilocano tongue seems nearest to Pangasinán, which in its turn is closely allied to Pampango, adjoining it on the south. It has also a certain affinity with Ibanag, spoken on the Rio Grande de Cagayán, known anciently as the Banag. There is a much greater resemblance between these four languages than any has with Tagálog, although Pampango has borrowed many words from its more vigorous southern neighbor. As with all the Philippine tongues, "e" and "i," and "o" and "u" are almost interchangeable in Ilocano, although "i" and "o" seem to be preferred. The native consonants are: b, d, hard g, hard c, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, u, (w), and consonant y, together with the peculiar guttural-nasal ng. It does not exist in true Ilocano words. Other sounds, such as ch, f, h, and v, have been taken from Spanish, and now the school-children are struggling with the sounds, difficult to them, of short e, the two sounds of th, sh, and others which they encounter in the English now being taught.

A striking characteristic of Ilocano is the prevalence of t and d, and the absence of the euphonious system of ties with ng, which makes Tagálog so harmonious. Some expressions will show this clearly: "Good morning," Iloc. "Naimbag a aldao;" Tag. "Magandang aroa." "What is your name," Iloc. "Asin ti nagan mo?" Tag. "Sino ang pangalan mo?" Bicol. "Si isay an ṣaran mo?" "Asin" is used only for persons; for animals and things "ania" is used: e.g., "ania ti nagan ti asom": "what do you call the dog?"

Ilocano has received little or no study from philologists of note. Isabelo de los Reyes, an Ilocano, did some good work upon the language prior to 1896, but since that time has devoted his attention to political agitation. For some time he published a paper in Manila called "El Ilocano." There is practically no literature except a few romances of the class banished from European literature, by Don Quijote, and some lives of saints
published by the Augustine friars. This order was in charge of the Ilocano provinces from 1575 to 1898, and the two current grammars of the language are by members of that order. A small English-Ilocano vocabulary was published for the use of the schools by Wm. Edmonds of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, in 1902, and it is understood that he is now working upon an English-Ilocano grammar and dictionary.

The Ilocano-speaking population cannot be far from 400,000. Of these, twenty-five thousand may be able to understand a little Spanish, and a couple of thousand of the younger ones a little English. This however, is so little, that the upper Spanish-speaking aristocracy, numbering possibly 5000 in all, have the lower classes practically at their mercy, especially in regulating the communication between them and the American rulers. The result can be imagined.

The Ilocano region embraces the provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and Union. Ilocano is the town language in Abra, Lepanto-Bontoc and Benguet, a large part of Pangasinán and Zambales, and parts of Cagayán and Isabela. The two latter regions are separated from the other by the mountain tribes of the extreme north of Luzon, known as Apayaos, Adangs, Tinguianes, Guinaanes, and Igorrotes.

The language of many of these mountain tribes, especially that of the Adangs, Apayaos and Tinguianes, seems to differ little from Ilocano.

So little has ever been written about these tongues from actual observation that much discussion would be unprofitable, if not misleading. These tribes include perhaps from fifty to seventy-five thousand inhabitants, but the new census may give better statistics to work upon. The Guinaanes and some of the Igorrotes are wild and ferocious, but a tribe allied in language to the former, the Tinguianes, has settled in Abra and is quite pacific. The tribe numbers about 10,000, and it is the impression of those who have seen both, that they are closely related to the Apayaos of Ilocos Norte. Many Tinguian words are the same as those in Ilocano, and even the manner of forming the verbal tenses is the same. These observations upon the Tinguianes are at first hand.

Ibanag, meaning the dwellers upon the Banag, is quite closely related to Ilocano, but differs from all other civilized tongues of Luzon in possessing both f and v. "Fulan" is "moon," con-
trasting with "bulan" in the other languages of the group and Bicol, and with "bouan" in Tagalog. "Vagniu" is "brother" (or sister), being quite different from Tag. "capatid," Iloc. "cabsat," and Bicol "tugan." "Good morning" is "mapia na unma" and singular to say, "mapia" is "good" in the Maguindanao-Moro of Mindanao. No such form occurs in the languages between. It may be that this word was learned from a Moro band which was sent to Cagayan many years ago, and has returned to the south since the American occupation. "House" is "balay," practically the same as the corresponding word in Pangasinan, Ilocano, Pampango and mountain Bicol. The lowland Bicolos use the word "harong." The Tag. is "báhay." "Danum" is water in all the Northern dialects, "túbig" in Tag., Bicol, and Bisay. This shortsens to "ig" in Mindanao Moro, and changes to "áyer" in Malay. But in Malagasy it is "ranu," and it is "wai" in various Polynesian dialects. "Egg" is "iluc" in Tag.; in Iloc. and Bis., "itlog," in Pamp. "ibon;" in Bicol "sugoc." "Ibon" is "bird" in Tag., and a fowl is "manuc" everywhere in Luzon. "Manuc" is a bird in Malay, while a fowl is "ayam." This is the Bicol word for dog, while among the Tinguianes the term means any household animal tied under the house.

There are two Cagayan companies, the 25th and 26th. The race numbers over 100,000.

Pangasinan is spoken only in a part of that province and Zambales. It is constantly losing ground before the more vigorous Ilocano. No companies of this race are recruited for the service. Natives of other races claim that this tongue is the most difficult to speak in the Archipelago. It abounds in words terminating in "d." There may be 200,000 of this race.

Pampango is spoken in the province of Pampanga and part of Tarlac. It is distinguished by the substitution of "u" where Tag. has "o." The Macabebes, who have a settlement of some 20,006 in Pampanga, speak this language, with a curious Japanese intonation, and some Japanese words. Thus, "Nan nu?" "what is it?" is utterly unlike the Tag. "Ano?", and is like the Nagasaki dialect, in which this phrase is "Nan no?" clearly different from Tokio "Nan desu ka?" This is undoubtedly due to the settlement of Japanese Christians between 1650 and 1700 in Pampanga, still shown in the oblique Macabebbe eye. It would be hard to distinguish a Macabebe and a Japanese
company, if dressed alike. This is a personal observation at first hand.

The 1st to 11th Companies of Scouts are Macabebes, and have done gallant service. The men are dashing, brave and clean, and will follow their officers anywhere. All the officers are Americans.

Tagalog, spoken by nearly a million and a half people in Manila and the eight provinces adjacent thereto, as well as in several islands and parts of provinces, differs much from the other languages of Luzon, and seems in many ways to be more allied to Jolcano Moro that to any other tongue of the Philippines. It is more euphonic, and has changed primitive "r" to "l" in many cases, probably on account of the large admixture of Chinese blood for the last five or six centuries. For example, the word "daraga," which means a girl in several dialects, is "dalaga" in Tag. Similarly, the Arabic word "surat," meaning a writing in the Philippines, has been changed to "salat," in Tag.

Only three Tagalog companies have been enlisted, the well known instability of the race preventing the arming of a very large number. These three companies, however, have been carefully selected, and have done well.

The Bicol tongue, which is spoken by over 300,000 people in the three southern provinces of Luzon, Ambos Camarines, Albay, and Sorsogon, is but the most northern dialect of Bisayan. The people were known in ancient times as the Ibalones, and now take their names from the river Bicol. They are a quiet, peaceful people as a rule, and have two companies in the Scouts. There are two well defined dialects; that spoken in the lowland districts, and that spoken in the hill country around Mt. Isarog, Mt. Iriga, Mt. Buhi, and the great volcano of Mayon. Only one sentence will be here given of Bicol. "Good morning" is "marahay na aldao," and it will be seen at a glance that it is the same as the Bisayan "ma-ayon aldao." Two Spanish grammars exist of Bicol, and the writer has almost completed an English-Bicol vocabulary and phrase book.

Bisayan¹ will not be touched upon in this article, nor the many dialects of Mindanao and Joló.

¹ Bisayan is officially spelled Visayan in the government service in the Philippines, after the Spanish custom. The natives pronounce the initial as a b.
On Sanskrit l=Avestan d.—By Professor A. V. Williams
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The interchange of a d-sound with an l-sound, though not generally common, is a well-known phonetic phenomenon; e.g. Lat. lacruma for older dacruma, Gk. δάκρυ, O. Bret. duer, cf. Brugmann, Compar. Gram. i. § 369. In the Indian dialects the alternation between l and Sanskrit ḍ (cerebral) is quite frequent, although that between l and d (dental) is less common; see Wackernagel, Alttindische Grammatik § 194 a, b, and Gray, Indo-Iranian Phonology §§ 212a, 258a. In the Iranian family the interchange of dental and liquid consonants is rare, owing to the relative infrequency of l-sounds, except in Afghan, where the phenomenon is not unusual; see Geiger, Grundriss der Iran. Philol. i. 2. pp. 208, 209 §§ 3, 4, and Gray, op. cit. § 258b. Turning from parallel words within the single families, Indian and Iranian, and drawing comparisons between the two groups with regard to words containing ḍ or l, we may deduce two or three lexical equations.

One of these instances of l=d is Skt. khola ‘helmet’=Av. kudā, OP. -kudā, NP. xōd, xōi, noticed by Wackernagel, Alttind. Gram. § 194b. Another is Skt. lipi ‘writing, inscription’=OP. dipi (op. cit.). The third, so far as I know, is a new example, for I do not recall its having been previously drawn. This instance is Skt. lāma ‘tail’=Av. dāma. I think we may confidently equate the words dāma, lāma lexicographically and for the Iranian dialectic equivalents, NP. dām, dūm, Afg. lam, etc., refer to Geiger in his Grundriss, i. 2. p. 208 § 2, p. 210 § 8; Salemann, ib. i. 1. p. 266 § 29; Horn, Np. Etymologie § 573; but differently Bartholomae, Studien ii, 101.
Notes of a Journey to Persia, I.—Letters to the Corresponding Secretary, from A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

1. The Caucasus and Old Legends.

The Caucasus, March 5, 1903.—Early this morning we reached Vladikavkas, and I have been travelling all the forenoon beneath the shadow of the frosty Caucasus, which stands out like a giant barrier against the cloudy sky and is sharply set off by the white plain of snow beneath. Winter here is still in force, but the mountains wear a snowy coat at Vladikavkas almost all the year round. Looking at their frowning heights as we coast along, I can not but think of the old myth of Prometheus which arises vividly before my imagination, and I fancy I can picture the desolate vulture-peak where the Titan benefactor of mankind was doomed to suffer in galling fetters the torment imposed by Zeus. The entire region looks bleak and barren enough just now, and the lonely atmosphere about it is singularly impressive.

Here and there on the plain are large flocks of sheep huddled together in the open spaces of the snow. The rushing streams from the mountains with their hurrying sweep recall to my mind the story of Colchis and the Golden Fleece, for I learned en route that tradition still tells how the shepherds of by-gone days were wont oftentimes to find grains of gold clinging to the new-shorn fleece when they lifted it from the stream, where they had laid it to be washed, because the mountain torrent had left a golden deposit clinging to the woolly strands. The legend, therefore, of the rich reward of the precious metal seems not to be quite forgotten.

2. The Fire-Temple at Baku.

Baku, March 6, 1903.—I reached Baku on the Caspian Sea Thursday, March 6, and in passing through en route for Tiflis, I made inquiry regarding the old-time Atash-kudah, or Fire-Temple, at Surakhany near by. On this spot the faithful Guebers since ages past have paid homage to the eternal naphtha
flame that springs from the earth. The place is a goal of hallowed pilgrimage likewise for those in India who hold fire in special reverence. Only a year ago a pilgrim band of Parsis from Hindustan visited the venerated spot. The walls in fact are covered with dedicatory tablets left at various times and inscribed by different hands. The temple is one of the sights for those who may chance to come to Baku, but so far as I could find out it is no longer hallowed by any special religious association, which seems a loss from the standpoint of Zoroastrian tradition; but I hope to gather more on this subject when I return to Baku, and I look forward to taking some photographs of the old shrine and its surroundings, besides those which I have purchased.

Postscript, June 13.—On returning to Baku I spent half a day at Surakhany, and was able to complete my notes and take a number of pictures of the temple. The sacred precinct is enclosed by four rather high walls, in the midst of which the fire-shrine stands. It is a square building of brick, stone, and mortar, about twenty feet high, and with sides of like dimensions (the sides actually measure in meters 6.28 × 6.40). Facing the points of the compass there are four arched doors or entrances, each approached by four steps. Evidences are visible of pipes once used to conduct the oil to the center of the sanctuary. Near the top of the shrine, on the outer side facing the east, I noticed an inscription in the Nagari character, probably written in Marathi, but it was too high and the light at the time so unfavorable that I could not get a good photograph of it. Besides this I counted on the walls that enclose the precinct thirteen other inscriptions. They were generally written on tablets sunk into the plaster over the doors opening into the cells or cloistered chambers around the precinct. The import of the inscriptions so far as I could make them out was an ascription of praise to Fire. Almost all were Indian, and agnaye namaḥ (observe n) was of frequent occurrence. Only one of the records was in the Arabic script and this contained ātāš, the common Persian word for fire. One of the number seemed quite obliterated and illegible. In addition to the total number of fourteen within the walls, there was still another inscription of like character written on the outside of the enclosing wall:
In former times the temple and precinct were in charge of pious ministrants, whose duty it was to guard the sacred flame. The last of these devotees died a number of years ago and the shrine is no longer a center of religious worship. In the march of progress Baku has become the head of the Russian petroleum trade and these hallowed grounds now form part of the premises of a flourishing up-to-date oil company. The holy flame, so long cherished, has been extinguished, lest it should cause an explosion of the adjoining petroleum wells.

3. The Yezidis, or so-called Devil-Worshippers, around Tiflis.

TIFLIS, March 7, 1903.—On arriving at Tiflis one is struck immediately by the interesting combination of Orient and Occident. The old town, with its manifold and curious types of life, seems like a meeting ground of East and West. The sheep-coated dweller of the Caucasus crowds against the Armenian, Georgian, Persian, or Kurd, or moves side by side with the European, till one is bewildered by the ever-changing sea of faces. The Caucasian Museum, with its rare collection of material relating to the Caucasians, shows the loving and scholarly care of its director, Dr. Gustav Radde, and well repays a student’s careful visit.

In Tiflis, moreover, it has been my pleasant privilege to meet the Rev. John Larsen, who is in charge of the local Swedish mission. From Mr. Larsen I was able to gather some particulars regarding that interesting sect, the Yezidis, or so-called ‘Devil-Worshippers,’ a people to whose history I had already given some attention in connection with my studies of Zoroaster and the religion of ancient Persia. I mention the memoranda that I made, merely in the hope that other writers may be encouraged to add more to the material which is already accessible in print regarding the representatives of this curious religious persuasion. As Mr. Larsen told me, so far as relates to the religious beliefs of the Yezidis his information rests in a large measure on what he had learned indirectly regarding them, and it must be taken as such; but his knowledge of their manners and customs is based directly upon the acquaintance which he and his wife have had with these people in connection with the missionary work at Tiflis and the vicinity.
In the Caucasus region, so far as my informant had heard, the number of Yezidis may be as many as twelve or fifteen thousand. In the district about Tiflis alone there are several hundred of these people. It is largely their custom to dwell in the districts lying outside the towns. The same I believe is true of Erivan and of the territory generally here adjacent.

As to occupation, the Yezidis around Tiflis are chiefly engaged in menial work. Their principal employment is to perform scavenger jobs and drudgery tasks for the most part, and they go clad in the meanest rags. The stories that were told me regarding their functions reminded me in some respects of the 'sweeper class' of India; but recent Russian municipal ordinances have led to their duties being taken in part by others, so that their occupations have varied considerably within the last year. In the division of work in the family the husband as a rule works in the town during the day, while the wife carries on the agricultural duties and other charges connected with the household economy at home in the outlying districts. To this home in the suburbs the man returns at night. Despite their impoverished appearance a number of Yezidis are said to possess quite a little money, and in this vicinity at least they apparently lead contented lives, for their wants seem certainly to be very meagre.

As to their religion, I am more or less acquainted with the accounts given by Layard, Menant, Spiro, and others; but these I have not at hand of course at the moment, nor have I as yet had access to some of the recent articles on the Yezidis, e.g. Anastase in Al-Machriq, and notes by Crowfoot, Giamal, and others, in current numbers of English, Italian and French journals. For this reason my notes on the subject are practically only memoranda or comments, which other scholars may supplement, correct, adopt, or reject, according to circumstances.

I have already implied that my interest in the Yezidis is chiefly due to associating them in a distant way with certain phases of the old Iranian religion. It is generally recognized and acknowledged that some old reminiscences of the common Iranian faith, or possibly of the ancient pre-Zoroastrian creed, may have lingered down to present times among them, in spite of all the outside influences of Mohammedanism and of other religious doctrines. One point, for example, which was told me, struck me as being old Iranian. The Yezidis are shocked if
one spits upon the earth, because they interpret this as an insult to the devil. But, in my opinion rather, there must lie at the basis of this abhorrence the well-known Zoroastrian prescription, so familiar from the time of Herodotus and Xenophon onward, forbidding the earth in any way to be defiled.

Passing over the familiar material about Malik Taus, I record one or two points which my informant had received from a christianized Mohammedan on the subject of Yezidi beliefs. They are to be taken for what they are worth. The devil, as a fallen angel, is stated to have repented and to have done penance for seven thousand years, and his tears of repentance filled seven vessels which will be used at the Day of Judgment to quench the fire of the seven hells! God's gracious bounty accordingly saw fit to pardon the sinner and restored him to heaven, but the angels were inclined to look askance at their re-instated brother. Whereupon God bade them not to venture to scorn the devil, if he himself had thought right to pardon the penitent miscreant. Accordingly, as is well known, the Yezidis allow no derogatory allusion to the devil and if the name of Sheitan be mentioned in their presence they shrink with horror at the word. All those who have read Layard's account of the Yezidis will recall his personal experience in this matter. I have often thought that some similar but very distant idea may possibly lie hidden beneath the propitiatory sacrifice which Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, performed according to Herodotus (7, 114) and others. Is it indirectly possible that the daeva-yasna or 'devil-worshippers' in the Avesta may have had somewhat kindred notions; and that the Yezidis may show some surviving traces of the devil-worship in Mazandaran which Zoroaster anathematized so bitterly.

It is not necessary here to add that, owing to the residence of the Yezidis among the Mahommedans, if for no other reason, the sect naturally has much directly in common with Islam. I have incidentally mentioned the Yezidis in the Iranian Grundrisse, ii. 696, for example, in connection with the various religious movements that came more clearly into evidence in Persia as in part the outcome of the Mahommedan conquest. Among the Yezidis, as an instance, circumcision is known to be practised, but not regularly, and as to sacramental rites Mahommedan priests may officiate at Yezidi weddings and even at their
funerals. Polygamy is apparently not forbidden, but owing to the poverty of the people it is not commonly practised. The Yezidis drink wine, yet not in excess, according to the information I was able to gain. Much more information, however, could be given on such points, and with authority, by the Rev. Mr. McDowell, an American missionary, who has made special researches, I learn, among these people. From him my kind informant had heard that the Yezidis are also understood to believe in a father primeval, who lived before Adam and did not fall in sin. If this be so, and I have no books at hand to look further into the matter, the Zoroastrian student will at once recognize a far-off reminiscence of Avestan Gaya-meretan who lived prior to Mashya and Mashyoi, the Iranian Adam and Eve.

Several incidental points were likewise gathered indirectly from information of a Swedish lady, a friend of Mr. and Mrs. Larsen, who had spent some time among the Yezidis and had written a short account of her experiences. One point is worth noting; it is the recognition of a sort of ascetic order of women, fakiriah, in the Yezidi community, corresponding evidently to the general idea fakirs among men. Curious, but interesting, seemed the statement from the same source, that the Yezidis offer one sheep every year to Christ and thirty to the devil! The statements regarding a book of divine revelation, Eli-Yelvah, and its interpretation by Sheikh Adi (c. A.D. 1200) are known elsewhere and accordingly are not repeated. It is my hope further to continue my inquiries and studies regarding this sect, especially with respect to the Iranian side of their beliefs, which all who have studied the subject have recognized in a general way.


JULFA, TABRIS, URUMIA, March 14–25, 1903.—The journey by wagon and on horseback through northern Azarbaijan has given an excellent opportunity to study a part of the country which must have been the Avestan Airyana Vaéjäh, or Erân Véj. This was the country where Zoroaster arose, according to the view now more generally accepted. On the way I have had the Vendidad constantly before my mind, for the sights and scenes keep recalling it. Omitting some of the special observations
which I have made in the region, and I hope to publish them later, I shall call attention to two or three incidental matters.

The cold has been intense. With frozen ears and face and suffering from exposure and partial snow blindness, I can understand why the Avesta regarded the winter in Airyana Vaējah as ‘the work of demons’ (Vd. 1, 2 zymana daēva-dātom) created to mar this region which otherwise would be a paradise. In Airyana Vaējah according to the Vendidad (1, 3) there were ‘ten months winter and two months summer’—dasa avadra māwhō zymana dra hāminra. I could sympathize also with the sufferings of Xenophon’s soldiers in the snows among the Carduchi, yonder on the other side of the Kurdistan mountains. One wild ride en route to Urumia I shall not forget. In the mountains near Gūchī I had to abandon the wagon in drifts nearly as high as our heads. Night was falling and the storm was raging. There was nothing to do but to take to the horses’ backs. The guide, who had secured me some extra animals, ominously asked where our rifles were. [The awful murder of my friend, Rev. Benjamin W. Labarce and his servant, which has since been perpetrated in this very region, makes the risk of the journey still more real. The Avesta alludes to such bandits and assassins in Zoroaster’s time—tāyra, hizawha, gada.] For hours we plowed forward through the snow, as best we could, and amid darkness and blinding sleet, until shelter and safety at last were found in the plain. Winter seemed truly the creation of Aūra Mainyu.

On the journey around Lake Urumia, known to Zoroaster as ČuēΩista, I made special observations of the country and people, the cattle, sheep, dogs, and birds, so far as they would illustrate the Avesta. The details of these observations, together with my notes on the Ash Mounds around the City of Urumia, will be published in my Persia Past and Present. I shall add, however, some remarks here regarding the dogs, who do not enjoy among the Mohammedans the esteem they did among the ancient Zoroastrians.

The dogs are large, resembling the mastiff in size, wolfish in appearance, tawny in color as a rule, and frightfully savage in temper. [I may add now that the dogs in Northern Iran were larger and more ferocious than those in the south, for I took note of them from the Caspian almost to the Persian Gulf and
from Yezd to Bokhara and Samarkand.] In the town of Urmia, so often associated with Zoroaster’s name, I saw a good specimen of the ‘white dog with yellow ears—spānem spāētum zairi-guōšm—which the Vendidad (Vd. 8. 16 etc.) enjoins as one of the two dogs to be used in the sug-did ceremony of exorcising the spirit of death. The other, ‘a yellow dog with four eyes’—spānem zairitum cabru-cašnem—that is, with two spots above the eyes, I did not so specifically see, although tawny-colored dogs are common enough. The spots over the eyes are apparently less common, which may account for the value of such dogs in rites of exorcism, and it may be of interest to add that Europeans informed me that the German dachshund loses the tan spots over its eyes after a generation or two in Persia.

5. The Region where Zoroaster probably made his First Convert.

MIANDOAB, March 31, 1903.—My endeavor to determine the position of places connected with scenes in Zoroaster’s life has not been perhaps without result. I mention one such identification that seems to me plausible. It is a localization of the probable place where Zoroaster made his first convert, his own cousin, named Mādyō-māvha in the Avesta, or Mētyō-māh in Pahlavi. We know from tradition that Zoroaster passed much of the earlier part of his life in the region of Lake Urmia (Av. Čaēēistā). From times of antiquity the southern shores of this lake have been covered by great tracts of reeds. The map to-day shows a ‘Forest of Reeds’ some sixty miles in extent on the south. The Pahlavi writings of Zāt-spam (2. 38), in alluding to the incident of the conversion, locates the scene ‘in the forest of ready hollows, where is the haunt of the wild-boar species,’ as cited and discussed in my Zoroaster the Prophet, p. 54, but not then identified; see also West in SBE. xlvii. 155. The high road which leads around the lake and towards ancient Ragha (now Rai) near Teheran, where Zoroaster’s mother is said to have been born, passes along the edge of what I believe to be this very forest of reeds. I travelled over it by caravan. Near the village of Khor Khorah, between Mahmadyar and Miandoab, the region abounds in hollows and reeds and I saw immense masses of the slender stalks, some of them fifteen or twenty feet high, cut from the ‘forest.’
In the region also 'the swine of the wild-boar species' abounds, and the animals are hunted by the natives for sport. They are not eaten, however, by the Mohammeadans, to whom the flesh of the hog is forbidden by the Koran, but by the Armenians, who have no such religious scruples in the matter and derive actual advantage from the chase. All the surroundings of the place combine with what we know of Zoroaster's life through traditional literature, the Avesta, Zat-sparran selections, the Zartusht-Namah, and other works, to make us fairly certain that this was at least the region to which the Pahlavi passage refers, even if we cannot identify the precise spot. It serves also as another link to connect the beginning of Zoroaster's mission with northwestern Iran.

6. Among the Zoroastrians of Yezd.

Yezd, May 11.—I have had to omit notes from Hamadan, Kermanshah, Behistun [for the latter see now vol. xxiv. 77-95], Isfahan, Persepolis and Shiraz, but I now send a brief memorandum regarding my stay among the Zoroastrians at Yezd. There have been opportunities for conferences with them regarding their beliefs, religious observances, traditions, customs and the like. I have had the privilege of visiting their chief fire-temple to hear the ritual and have learned something of their home life. The results of their experiences will appear in my Persia Past and Present when it is published. Meanwhile I must simply call attention to the pronunciation of Avestan by the priests at Yezd. One point particularly struck me; they do not employ spirants, χ, θ, δ, γ, as we generally presume; but use stops or rather aspirates, kh, ph, dh, gh, etc., as I shall explain hereafter. The plans for the remainder of my journey will carry me to Teheran, the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara, and Samar-kand.
Some Folk-Stories of Rāmdās the Last of the Sages.—By
Miss Lucia C. G. Grieve, Satara, India.

The most picturesque figure in Marathi folk-lore is that of
Shivaji, the great military chief who broke the power of the
Moguls and gave the Hindus back their independence.

Next to him, and enshrined more deeply in the popular affection, stands Rāmdās, Shivaji's Guru or spiritual instructor. The king was a foreigner, often despotic—though that is a small matter to a Hindu—frequently as terrible to his friends as to his foes. But Rāmdās was one of themselves, the ideal holy man, the poet whose verses are still treasured, the founder of a popular religion, the gentle sage who went about doing good, and whose ready wit and keen sense of humor confounded his foes and endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

The facts of his life are heavily encrusted with legend, the wild legend in which the Hindu mind revels; but some truth can be gathered in tiny scraps.

He was born in a small village near Atit, about eleven miles south of Sātāra, a Brahman of the Deshāsta caste, the younger of two sons. In his childhood, so great was his love for the god Rāma that he refused to go to school, much to his father's disgust, and spent his whole time collecting sacred pebbles and worshipping them. At six or eight years of age the ceremony of investiture with the sacred muṇja was performed, and he was very happy to become a Brahmacārin, or adult unmarried ascetic; and unmarried he resolved to remain all his life. That he was now permitted to recite the holy texts gave him great pleasure; and though he had no Guru, he tried his best to keep all the forms as he had read them or seen them explained in the religious books. When he was nine or ten years old, his father decided that it was time for him to marry, and selected the girl and fixed the date for the ceremony. Rāmdās had said little about his resolve not to marry, and what little he said his father did not heed. So the boy allowed the preparations to go on, even to the point where the shawl is dropped between the "high contracting parties," and the priest begins to say the irrevoca-
ble words. But just as the priest opened his mouth Rāmdās descended from the marriage throne, told his father he would not marry, and leaving the house made his way to the jungle. Here, in a cave on the side of the hill Sajanaagara, near Parali, about four miles from Sātāra, he dwelt and worshipped "with heart and soul," performing the Sāndhya ceremonies according to all the prescribed rites. At the end of twelve years Rāma appeared to him and endowed him with miraculous power. After that he took up his residence in the village of Parali; and in the great temple at that place are still to be seen his stick, his drinking-cup, and his coach. Here Shivaji heard of him, went to visit him, and was so pleased that he made him his Guru. Thenceforth the king did nothing, great or small, public or private, without consulting this sage. Rāmdās had many disciples, of whom Kalyāna was the chief; and together they traveled and revived the Hindu religion all over India as far north as Benares, introducing the worship of Mārōti, a popular god, not so hedged about with ceremonies as are most of the other Hindu divinities.

Many anecdotes, most of them of miraculous character, have crystallized about the name of Rāmdās.

It is said that one day when Rāmdās was at Parali, Shivaji wished to see him. No sooner had the thought taken shape in the king's mind than Rāmdās stood before him in Sātāra Fort. The king was amazed, but as he was fond of him and an honest and true disciple he made bold to ask how he had come there in so short a time. Rāmdās answered that he should see; and he forthwith placed one foot on Sātāra Fort and the other on the fort at Parali four miles distant. Shivaji began to be afraid when he saw this, and the sage resumed his natural form. Thenceforth the king regarded him more highly than ever before.

There was another sage who had miraculous power, but he was very proud. Rāmdās decided that something should be done to lessen his pride. So one day he took a buffalo and killed it before all the people. Everyone was horrified, and they sent word to Shivaji and to the other sage. Meanwhile Rāmdās had the flesh cut up and put into baskets and carried into the cook-room; and when the king appeared, he asked what he had come for. Shivaji said nothing, but the rival sage answered
that it was not proper for a Brahman to kill a buffalo. Râmdâs asked, where was any buffalo killed? The sage replied that its flesh was in the cook-room. Râmdâs told him that if that were so, to bring it out. The sage went to get it, but strange to say, all the baskets were filled with dishes! Then the sage fell at the feet of Râmdâs and begged him to pardon him; but Râmdâs replied that it was only to remove his pride that he had done this.

Râmdâs was kind to all and made no distinction between Brahmins, Mohammedans, etc. One day a Mohammedan emperor invited him to meet him in one of the forts. As soon as they were inside, the emperor had all the doors locked and asked the sage how he could get out. In these old forts on the hill-tops, there are small holes at the edge through which those within could fire down on the enemy below. Râmdâs replied that he could go out through one of these holes. The emperor did not believe him and told him to go. Whereupon the sage made his body smaller in diameter than a bullet, and passed through quite easily. The emperor was greatly amazed, and from that day began to love and reverence him.

The disciples of Râmdâs were very honest and just, and greatly devoted to him. One of the disciples used to give the sage vida, first chewing the leaf to make it soft, so that he could eat it easily. Râmdâs by his miraculous power knew this, but because the man was a good disciple, he ate the vida that he brought him. One day a gentleman told Râmdâs all about it. The latter told the man to tell the disciple to send the instrument by which he reduced the vida to pulp. When the disciple heard this he took a sword, and cutting off his own head, handed it to the man. At this the gentleman began to be afraid, but he was obliged to carry the head to the sage. When he told Râmdâs, the latter replied that the disciple would do anything for him, so he loved him and ate the vida; but he was afraid the disciple would die without his head. So he took the head and put it on again, and it was as good as ever: but he did not set it quite straight, and the disciple ever after had his head twisted a little to one side.

Kalyâna was the first and chief disciple of Râmdâs. One day, in order to put the latter to the test, Râmdâs did a miracle. He called together all his disciples and showed them a great
swelling on his thigh from which he was suffering much pain, and he told them that if any of them would suck the matter from it he would recover, but otherwise he would die. All professed great sympathy, but as he called on them one by one to perform this service, "they all with one accord began to make excuses." But when he came to Kalyāṇa and asked if he were willing, this disciple replied that he had made an offering of his life to him and therefore he would do anything. Then he applied his lips to the swelling, but as he did so the lump became a large and sweet mango! Everyone was astonished, and Kalyāṇa became chief of the disciples.

At another time, to put Shivaji to the test, Rāmdās told the king that he was very sick, but that if he would bring him some milk from a tigress he would recover. The king resolved to bring the milk or die in the attempt. So he started out and came to a thick jungle and entered it and began to search for a cave. Presently he found one with a big tigress inside. She was very fierce and terrible, and as he approached her she made at him. But strong in his resolution, he was not afraid, but went boldly up to her and began milking her. This enraged her still more, and she tried to eat him, but he persevered and filled his pot with the milk. Then he started to go home; but as he looked back he saw, not the tigress, but the sage! So the king fell at his feet rejoicing, and thenceforth Rāmdās regarded him as one of his most devoted disciples.

[The Deshāsta Brahmans mentioned in this article are those of the Deccan from Ahmadnugger to Sātāra, in contradistinction to the Konkun Brahmans of the coast. Mārōti, as Miss Grieve carefully writes the word, to give the pronunciation, is Sk. Māruti, in the epic a late epithet of Hanuman, but now the usual name of this deity in the mouth of the common people. The statement that the worship of Hanuman was introduced by Rāmdās is interesting as a legend. Historically it may be doubted whether it was even revived; perhaps it was extended or emphasized by the saint. The vīda is the betel, Sk. viṭikā. —Ed.]
A Bibliography of the Plays of Bhavabhūti and of Kṛṣṇa-
mīśra.—By Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., United States
Embassy, St. Petersburg.

In volumes xxii (1901, pp. 237–248), and xxiii (1902, pp. 93–
101) of the JAOS. I published a bibliography of the dramatic
works of Kālidāsa, and in the Verhandlungen des XIII. Interna-
tionalen Orientalisten-Kongresses (Sektion ii a, pp. 33–37) a
bibliography of the plays of Harṣadeva. The present article
is designed to continue the compilation of a "Bibliography of
the Sanskrit Drama," which is to appear as Volume III of the
Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series. Bhavabhūti wrote
three plays, the Mālatīmādhava and two dramas or dramatic
epics on the life of Rāma, the Mahāvīracarita and the Uttara-
rāmacarita, while Kṛṣṇamīśra is known by his only work, the
interesting Prabodhacandraadaya or "Rise of the Moon of
Intelec;," a play resembling the early mystery plays of media-
val Europe. ¹

MĀLATĪMĀDHAVA.

TRANSLATIONS.

A. English.

1. Malati and Madhava or the Stolen Marriage, translated from
Sanskrit by H. H. Wilson.
(In his "Theatre of the Hindus," vol. ii.)

B. French.

Malati et Madhava. Drame traduit du sanscrit et du prakrit
par G. Strehly, précédé d'une préface par A. Bergaigne.
Paris, 1885, 12°, pp. 12+274.
(Bibl. Orient. Elzéver. xlii.)

¹ Here, as in the three articles mentioned above, the translations are
arranged according to the language in which they are written, and
under each heading chronological sequence is followed. In transcri-
b­ping titles I have usually followed the spelling of the original. Works
of general criticism dealing only incidentally with the plays are not
noted here. Nor have manuscripts been included, although I expect to
include them in the forthcoming Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama.
M. Schuyler, [1904.]

C. German.
Leipzig, 1883, 32°, pp. 125.

D. Dutch.
(In Tijdspeigel, 1871, i, 418.)

E. Bengali.
Malatee Mudhaha, a comedy of Bhavabhootee. Translated into Bengalee from the original Sanskrit, by Kali Prusno Sing.
Calcutta, 1859.

F. Marathi.
Malatimadhava. Translated into Marathi by K. S. Rajvade and revised by Chiponkar.
Bombay, 1861, 8°, pp. 152.

TEXT EDITIONS.
1. Mâlatîmâdhava; a drama in ten acts; with a commentary of the Prakrit passages.
Calcutta, 1830, 8°, pp. 175.
Bonnae, 1832, 4°, pp. 48.
3. Mâlatîmâdhava, with a translation of the Prakrit passages, edited by Kailasa Chandra Dutt.
Calcutta, 1866, 8°, pp. 148.
4. Mâlatîmâdhava with the commentary of Jagaddhara, edited with notes, critical and explanatory, by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.
Bombay, 1876, 8°, pp. 399+76. Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. xv.
5. Mâlatîmâdhava, edited with a commentary by Jibânanda Vidyâsâgara.
Calcutta, 1876, 8°, pp. 185.
6. Mālatīmādhava with the commentary of Tripuraisuri called Bhavapradīpaka, in Telugu.  
Madras, 1883, 8°, pp. 128.
Calcutta, 1886, 8°, pp. 60.
8. Mālatīmādhava. With the commentary of Jagaddhara.  
Edited with an interpretation of the Prakrit passages by Bhuvanachandra Vasāka.  
Calcutta, 1886, 8°, pp. 317.
Bombay, 1892, 8°, pp. 402.

MAHĀVĪRACARITA.

TRANSLATIONS.

A. English.

An Indian Drama in seven acts. Translated into English Prose from the Sanskrit by John Pickford, M.A.  
London, 1871, 8°, pp. xvi+172.  
London, 1892 reprinted, 12°, pp. 20+172.

TEXT EDITIONS.

1. Mahāvīracarita. Edited by Francis Henry Trithen.  
London, 1848, 4°, pp. iv+147.
2. Maha Vira Charita, a drama in seven acts. Edited by Tarānatha Tarkavachaspati with occasional glosses.  
Calcutta, 1857, 8°, pp. ii+120.
Calcutta, 1873, 8°, pp. 142.
4. Maha Vira Charita. Edited by Anundoram Borooah, with a Sanskrit commentary and a Sanskrit-English glossary.  
Calcutta, London. 1877, 8°, pp. xiii+310.
5. Maha Vira Charita, edited with various readings and notes in Sanskrit by Sridhara Ganesa Jyotishi.  
Poona, 1887, 8°, pp. 135+29.
   Bombay, 1892, 8°, pp. 260.

CRITICAL WORK.


UTTARARĀMACARITA.

TRANSLATIONS.

A. English.

   In his "Theatre of the Hindus," vol. i.

2. Uttara Rāma Charita, a literal translation from the original Sanskrit by Hiranmaya Mukhopadhyaya.
   Calcutta, 1871, 8°, pp. 84.


   Calcutta, 1891, 8°, pp. 142.

5. Uttara Rama Charita, edited with a Sanskrit commentary by B. S. Ghate. Together with an English translation and notes, a vocabulary and introduction by V. S. Patvardhan.
   Nagpur, 1895, 8°, pp. 336.

B. French.

Le Dénouement de l'histoire de Rama, Uttara Rama Charita drame de Bhavabhouti, traduit avec une introduction sur la vie et les oeuvres de ce poète par F. Nève.
   Bruxelles, Paris, 1880, 8°.

C. Hindi.

Uttar Ram Charita, by L. Sita Rama.
   Allahabad, 1899, 8°, pp. 96.
   (In "Our Ancient Theatre," No. 2, by Sita Rama.)
TEXT EDITIONS.

1. Uttara Rāma Charita, or continuation of the history of Rama, with a commentary explanatory of the Prakrit passages.
   Calcutta, 1831, 8°, pp. 132.

   Calcutta, 1862, 8°, pp. 181.

3. Uttara Rama Charita, edited with commentary by Tarakumara Chakravati. With a preface by Barada Prasada Majumdar.
   Calcutta, 1870, 8°, pp. 208.


5. Uttara Rama Charita, with a commentary called Bhavabodhi by Ramachandra Budhendra. In Grantha characters.
   Madras, 1881, 8°.

6. Uttara Rama Charita, with extracts from two Sanskrit commentaries and notes in English by Krishnarao Bapaji Mande.
   Poona, 1881, 8°, pp. 75+17.

7. Uttara Rama Charita, a drama in seven acts. Edited by Jibānanda Vidyāśāgara.

8. Uttara Rama Charita, a Sanskrit Drama, edited with copious Sanskrit and English notes by Shrinivas Govind Bhanap.

9. Uttara Rama Charita, with Sanskrit commentary by Pandit Bhatji Shastri Ghathe, together with a close English translation and notes by Vinyak Sadashiv Patwardhan.
   Nagpur, 1895, 8°, 12+192+31+16.

    Bombay, 1899, 8°, pp. 174.
    (See also No. 4 under Translations above.)
CRITICAL WORK.


GENERAL CRITICISM OF BHAVABHUTI.

Bhavabhūti and his Place in Sanskrit Literature by Anundoram Borooah.
Calcutta, 1878, 8vo, pp. 64.

KRŚṆAMIŚRA.

PRABODHACANDRODAYA.

TRANSLATIONS.

A. English.

Prabodha Chandrodaya, or Rise of the Moon of Intellect, a spiritual drama, and Atma Bodha, or the Knowledge of the Spirit. Translated from the Sanskrit by J. Taylor, M.D.
2nd ed. Calcutta, 1854, 8vo, pp. xiii+125.

B. French.


C. German.

Vol. xxv.] Bibliography of the Plays of Bhaavabhūti, etc. 195


Königsberg, 1842, 8°, pp. xxv+183.


Zürich, 1846, 8°.

D. Dutch.


Amsterdam, 1869, 8°.

E. Russian.


F. Bengali.


Calcutta, 1822; 8°, pp. 194, with the verses of the original in Sanskrit.


Calcutta, 1852.


Calcutta, 1832, fol. pp. 54.

G. Hindustani.

Taḥzil i makal also called Ta’wiz i iman. Translated by Aka Hasan.

Gujranwala, 1871, 8°, pp. 60.
TEXT EDITIONS.

   Leipzig, 1835–45, 8°, pp. viii+254.
   With the commentaries of Ramadasa and Nyayalamkara.

2. Prabodha Chandrodaya, with the commentary of Nyayalamkara.
   Calcutta, 1838.

3. Prabodha Chandrodaya.
   Poona, 1851.

4. Prabodha Chandrodaya, with the commentary of Nyayalamkara. Edited by Jibānanda Vidyāśāgara.
   Calcutta, 1874, 8°, pp. 135.

5. Prabodha Chandrodaya. With Ramadasa’s commentary called Prakasa. Edited by Sarasvati Tīruvenkatachārya.
   Madras, 1876, 8°, pp. iii+166.

6. Prabodha Chandrodaya, with Ramadasa’s Prakasa, revised by Tryambaka Gondhalekhara.

   Poona, 1886, 8°, pp. 178.

8. Prabodhacandrododaya, with the commentary Prakasa of Dikshitaramadasa.
   Madras, 1891, 8°, pp. 166. In Telugu.

   Shibpur, 1894, 8°, pp. 168.

    Calcutta, 1895, 8°, pp. 161.

11. Prabodha Chandrodaya with the commentary Candrika.
    Bombay, 1898, pp. 251.

    Bombay, 1898, 8°, pp. 247+4.
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