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AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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CHARLES C. TORREY, AND HANNS OERTEL

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn.

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn.

THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY**  
AT ITS  
MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1913

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred twenty-fifth occasion of its assembling, was held in Philadelphia, Pa., at the University of Pennsylvania, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, March 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1913.

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

Adler, C.	Ellis	Kaiser	Poebel
Arnold	Ember	Kent, R. G.	Price
Barret	Gottheil	Kupfer	Reider
Barton	Grant, E.	Kyle	Rosengarten
Bates, Mrs.	Grieve, Miss	Lanman	Rudolph, Miss
Bender	Groton	Lyman	Schoff
Bloomfield	Haas	Malter	Scott, Mrs.
Bolling	Haupt	Margolis, M. L.	Steele
Brookwell	Hirth	Michelson	Salsberger
Burlingame	Hock	Montgomery	Torrey
Carus	Hopkins	Moore, G. F.	Vanderburgh
Clay	Jackson	Müller	Ward, W. H.
Cunningham	Jackson, Mrs.	Nies, J. B.	Yivisakar
Edgerton	Jastrow	Nies, W. E.	Yohannan

TOTAL: 58.

The first session was held in Room 205, College Hall, on Tuesday afternoon, beginning at 3:15 p. m., the President Professor George F. Moore, being in the chair.

(77)



The reading of the minutes of the meeting in New York, April 9th, 10th and 11th, 1912, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the *Journal* (vol. 32, part 4, p. i-xi).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Jastrow, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at a quarter before three, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members on Tuesday evening; that the members of the Society were invited by Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, and his colleagues to a luncheon at the College on Wednesday at one o'clock; and that the Oriental Club of Philadelphia would, in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, entertain the men of the Society at dinner at the Franklin Inn Club on Wednesday evening at seven o'clock, while the visiting ladies were invited to be the guests of Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson at dinner at her home at the same hour.

#### REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

The correspondence of the Society has been constantly increasing, and during the past year the Secretary has interchanged letters with a large number of Oriental scholars in Europe and Asia, as well as with members in this country. As directed at the last meeting, the Secretary sent a greeting by cablegram to the International Congress of Orientalists, which met at Athens at the same time, and transmitted the good wishes of the Society to a number of the members longest on the roll. Replies have come in acknowledgment of these greetings, and the newly elected members have sent letters of acceptance and appreciation.

Among the correspondence with foreign members may be specially mentioned an interesting letter from Mr. Ely Bannister Soane, written at Chia Surkh in Southern Kurdistan and dated May 26, 1912, in which he makes some noteworthy remarks regarding the sect of the Ali Illahi and their possible connection with the Yezidis, numbers of whom are scattered through Kurdistan. He writes:

They are just as secretive as the Yezidis, and though the religious chief, Sayid Rustam, is a close personal friend of mine, I have never got much out of him; but I find that in Kerind, which is a stronghold of the Ali Illahis, there is the same aversion to any mention of Satan, who is also called Malek Taus (see Layard), and the same secret meetings take place. This seems rather interesting and looks as if they and the Yezidis are two branches, from a common origin, which have

developed along different lines — the Ali Ilahi, or Persian section, adopting Muhammadan outward semblance as a self-protective measure. Their initiation ceremony is also called *Jaoi*. Do you think this is any relic of the Avestic *Yaozhdah*, the modern ritual also being one of purification?

It is a sad duty to record the loss of several valued members by death during the past year.

Professor Willis J. Beecher, D. D., of the Theological Seminary at Auburn, N. Y., whose work along theological lines is well known, died May 10, 1912. He had been a member of the Society for twelve years.

Rev. Dr. David Blaustein, who became a member of the Society in 1891, died in the summer of 1912. He will be long remembered for his ability and noble character, no less than for his educational and humanitarian work.

Rev. Dr. Arthur W. Ewing, of Philadelphia, President of the Christian College at Allahabad, India, died September 20, 1912, at Allahabad. Dr. Ewing had devoted himself for years to philanthropic and educational work among the Hindus, but had found time also for the pursuit of Oriental studies. A number of years ago he published in the *Journal* a valuable article entitled 'The Hindu conception of the functions of breath' (*JAOS*, 22 [1901], p. 249-308).

Professor William Watson Goodwin, the distinguished Greek scholar of Harvard, has likewise died since the last meeting. He was one of the oldest members of the Society, having joined in 1857, and he always attended some of the sessions when the meetings took place in Boston or Cambridge. After the meeting last year the Secretary sent Professor Goodwin a hearty letter of greetings from the Society, as instructed, and received from him a cordial response expressing his appreciation of the remembrance.

Professor Alfred Ludwig, of the University of Prague, Bohemia, who had been an honorary member of the Society since 1898, died June 15, 1912. The work of this noted scholar, especially in the line of Vedic criticism, is too well known to require any record here. His learning was profound and his scholarship broad and varied, including not only researches in various branches of linguistics, but likewise investigations in Homeric studies, in Hebrew, and even in Finnish literature.

In concluding this report the Secretary wishes to express once again his appreciation of the continued co-operation of those who are associated with him in the work of the Society.

Professor Lanman spoke briefly on the character and achievements of Professor Goodwin; Professor Bloomfield, on Professor Ludwig; Professor Barton, on Dr. Blaustein.

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:





## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:

During the past year much has been done in classifying the books of the Library. Under my predecessor the serial publications were classified and given their own shelf number. Since then many new serials have been added to the Library, but they have been placed on the shelves without any attempt at cataloguing. This year we have made an inventory of all these publications, some 200 titles, with a view to cataloguing them and completing the classification. We have also some 244 volumes ready for binding, which will represent an outlay of about \$200. This has been provided for by the appropriation made one year ago. The catalogues of manuscripts were also catalogued under my predecessor, as well as the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but the work has not been kept up to date. This is now being done. In addition we have commenced to make a classified arrangement of the other accessions.

In order to make the work permanent in character and make the Library really accessible to the members of the Society, it is planned to prepare: (1) an author catalogue; (2) a scheme of classification adapted to the needs of an Oriental library; (3) a shelf-list, in which the cards are arranged in the order of the books on the shelves. The shelf-list will in reality be an inventory of the Library and should always be complete.

With the assistance of a trained librarian who is giving partial time to the work, we hope to accomplish these things in about two years, after which it will not require much time to take care of the accessions and keep everything up-to-date.

I might add that among the book accessions we frequently receive books for review. These have heretofore been acknowledged in the same way as other books, but with the consent of the Editors of the *Journal* acknowledgment of these will hereafter be made in the columns of the *Journal*.

## REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the *Journal*, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

In spite of a slight increase over last year's bill, the cost of printing the last volume of the *Journal* was well within the limits of our budget. The delay in issuing the last parts of last year's volume and of the first parts of the current volume was due to the tardiness of the contributors in sending in copy. The Editors hope that the remaining numbers of the current volume will be issued at the regular quarterly dates.

## ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):



## CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, Jr.	Dr. Felix Freilherr von Oefele
Mr. Edward T. Curran	Mr. T. Ramakrishna
Rev. Dr. C. E. Keiser	Dr. Joseph Reider
Dr. G. L. Khairalla	Mr. J. G. Rosengarten
Mr. Walter S. Kupfer	Prof. William C. Thayer
Rev. Dr. David Levy	Rev. Dr. Royden K. Yerkes
Prof. Henry Malter	Dr. S. C. Ylvisaker
Rev. John Meighan	

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1913-1914.

The committee appointed at New York to nominate officers for the year 1913-1914, consisting of Professors Montgomery, Gottheil, and Barret, reported through the chairman, Professor Montgomery, and nominated the following, who were thereupon duly elected:

*President*—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia; Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; and Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

*Recording Secretary*—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

*Treasurer*—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.

*Directors*—The officers above named, and Professors Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven; Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; George F. Moore, of Cambridge; Robert Francis Harper, of Chicago; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

Professor Jastrow announced that Provost Edgar F. Smith was unfortunately prevented from being present and welcoming the members to the University.

After a recess of ten minutes, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Bahism and Bahaism.' The Society thereupon adjourned for the day, at 5:10 p. m.

## SECOND SESSION.

The members reassembled on Wednesday morning at 9:35 a. m. for the second session. The President, Professor Moore, was in the chair. After the election of a corporate member (included in the list above), the Society proceeded to the hearing of communications, as follows:

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: Kugler's criterion for determining the order of the months in the earliest Babylonian calendar. — Remarks and a question by Professor Jastrow and reply by the author.

Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa: Dialectic differences between Assyrian and Babylonian. — Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor G. M. BOLLING, of the Catholic University of America: The *Saṁkalpa* of the *Atharva-Veda*.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: A possible metrical original of the Lord's Prayer. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: A preliminary exploration of the Reverse Vedic Concordance. — Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of greetings from Professor Toy, and was instructed to send a message to him and to some of the members longest on the roll. After a recess of ten minutes at eleven o'clock, the reading of papers was resumed, as follows:

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: Identifications of South Indian place-names mentioned in the *Periplus*. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins, Professor Jackson, and Professor Moore.

Professor C. A. B. BROCKWELL, of McGill University: The *couvade* in Israel. — Remarks by Dr. Michelson, Professor Max Müller, and Professor Montgomery.

Professor Max Müller made a few remarks, presenting a specimen of the Kunjara language of *Dār Fūr* in Arabic script.

At noon the Society took a recess until a quarter before three o'clock.

### THIRD SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened at 2:55 p. m. in the large lecture-room at the Dropsie College, President Moore being in the chair.

President Cyrus Adler, of the Dropsie College, made a brief address explaining the foundation and purposes of the College. Professor Bezold, who was present at the meeting, was invited to say a few words regarding a new projected Assyrian dictionary.

After the election of an additional corporate member (included in the list above), the reading of papers was resumed, in the following order:

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of the University of Pennsylvania: Buddha-ghosa's *Dhammapada Commentary*. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Mr. F. A. CUNNINGHAM, of Merchantville, N. J.: The identity of Phul with Tiglath-Pileser II.

Dr. A. POEBEL, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian noun. — Remarks by Professor Jastrow and Professor Arnold.

Mr. W. S. KUPFER, of New York: On some modern vernacular folk-songs of India. — Remarks by Professor Gottheil.

Dr. A. EMER, of Johns Hopkins University: Some Egyptian and Coptic etymologies.

Dr. F. EDHENTON, of Johns Hopkins University: Pañcadivyaśrīvaṇa, choosing a king by divine ordeal.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: Two poems of Haggai in the Book of Zechariah. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor P. HAUPT: The fifth Sumerian family law. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor P. HAUPT: A new Assyrian verb. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor A. V. Williams JACKSON, of Columbia University: On some fragments of Persian poetry.

Rev. Dr. J. B. NIMS, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: The Sumerian signs Tur, Gam, Allu, Mañu. — Remarks by Professor Barton.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: The Peabitta text of Genesis 32, 25.

Dr. A. YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: On the date of composition of Nizami's five romantic poems according to different Persian manuscripts.

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Classical parallels to a Sanskrit proverb. — Remarks by Dr. Yohannan.

Professor I. M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: The animal DUN in Sumerian inscriptions. — Remarks by Dr. J. B. Nims.

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Rev. Dr. F. A. VANDERBURGH, of Columbia University: A deed of sale in the reign of Nabopolassar.

At 5:40 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

#### FOURTH SESSION.

The Society met for the fourth session at 9:40 a. m. on Thursday morning in Room 205, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, the President, Professor Moore, being in the chair.

The President reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Cambridge and Boston, Mass., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1914. He reported further that the Directors had reappointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The President then announced the following appointments:

*Committee of Arrangements for 1914:* Professors Lanman and Lyon, and the Corresponding Secretary.

*Committee on Nominations:* Professors Hopkins, Kent, and Ropes.

*Auditors:* Professors Oertel and Torrey.



The President announced that, because of the large number of technical papers and the brief time available at the meetings, one half-day session at the next meeting would be held in two sections, for special Indo-Germanic and Semitic communications respectively.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their hospitable welcome, to the President of the Dropsie College and his colleagues for the entertainment so generously provided, to the members of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia and to Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson for their gracious hospitality, to the University Club, the College Club, and the Lenape Club for courtesies extended, and to the Committee of Arrangements for the thoughtful provision they have made for the entertainment of the members.

The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: Modern frauds in Ancient Palestine. — Remarks by Dr. Ward and Professor Jastrow.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: The Maccabean prototype of Luther's 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.' Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The Lokapālas, or world-protecting gods. — Remarks by Professor Lanman and Dr. Edgerton; additional statement by the author.

Professor M. JASTROW, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania: Wine in the Pentateuchal codes. — Remarks by Professors Jackson, Haupt, Moore, Brockwell, Arnold, Max Müller, and Montgomery.

Mrs. S. B. SCOTT, of Philadelphia: Notes on Mohammedanism in Borneo. — Remarks by Professor Gottheil, Dr. Yohannan, Mr. Ellis, Professor Barret, Professor Jastrow, and Dr. Michelson.

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: Symbolism in India. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Miss Grieve.

Dr. T. MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: On various attempts to connect the language of American Indians with the languages of the Old World. — Remarks by Professors Jastrow, Max Müller, and Moore.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: A Mandae inscription on a lead tablet. — Remarks by Professors Max Müller, Gottheil, and Barton.

Mr. William T. Ellis exhibited a vase from Korea, Grecian in form, inscribed in ancient Chinese characters, for the inspection of the members. Professors Haupt and Brockwell made some remarks regarding it.

The following communication was then presented:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: The names of two kings of Adab. (Presented in abstract.)

The Society adjourned at 12:27 p. m., to meet at Cambridge and Boston on April 16, 1914.

The following communications were presented by title:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: A Syriac grammatical manuscript of the fifteenth century.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The expression of indefinite pronominal ideas in Hebrew; (b) Some peculiar Philippine constructions.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of the University of Pennsylvania: *Dukhyan ariyasaccum* quoted in Bidpai's fables.

Professor C. E. CONANT, of the University of Chattanooga: Notes on the phonology of the Tirurai language (Philippines).

Dr. F. EDGERTON, of Johns Hopkins University: The verses of the *Vikramacarita*.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: The origin of the pronominal suffix of the third person masculine singular, in Egyptian.

Professor I. FRIEDLANDER, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: (a) Gnostic elements in heterodox Islam; (b) The rebirth of the Hebrew language in Palestine.

Dr. L. H. GRAY, of Newark, N. J.: Iranian Miscellanies.

Dr. G. C. O. HAAS, of the College of the City of New York: The *Tapatisamvarana*, a drama by Kulasekhara Varman, translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The epic Narada.

Dr. Mary I. HUSKEY, of Cambridge, Mass.: A deed of land dated in the reign of Elili-bani.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: On some words in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions.

Mr. Charles JONESTON, of New York: A catechism of the Vedanta.

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: The chronology of certain Indo-Iranian sound-changes.

Dr. T. MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: On Vedic archaisms in Epic Sanskrit.

Dr. A. POHRL, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Nisan; (b) Gold and silver in Babylonia in the third millennium B. C.; (c) A new Creation and Deluge text.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: (a) An unread Babylonian ideogram; (b) A Tammuz incantation.

Mr. G. P. QUACKENBUSH, of the College of the City of New York: A study of Bana's *Caṇḍīśataka*.

Rev. Dr. W. ROSENAD, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Some psychological terms in the Hebrew text of Maimonides; (b) The Strack edition of the Talmud.

Mr. G. V. SCHUE, of Johns Hopkins University: Some unpublished cuneiform fragments in the British Museum.

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: (a) Some features of the Kushan coinage; (b) A note on the name of the Erythraean Sea.

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## LIST OF MEMBERS.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

## I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BASTI, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Dr. RANKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll. Poona, India 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Prof. CHARLES CLEMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYE DAVIDS, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- CRONIN SAMUEL R. DRIVER, Oxford, England. 1909.
- Prof. ADOLPH EHRMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1905.
- Prof. RICHARD GARNER, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDERN, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDINGER, VII Holló-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1900.
- GEORGE A. GRIBBS, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IRRAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- Prof. HENDRIK KEEN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mohrstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strasbourg, Germany. (Kallergasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.



- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I<sup>er</sup>, Paris, FRANCE. 1908.  
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1898.  
 Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.  
 Prof. ERNET WINOCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890. [Total: 26]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

- REV. DR. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.  
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.  
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.  
 Prof. FELIX ADLER, 33 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 RONALD C. ALLEN, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 F. STURGEON ALLEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.  
 Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN, Northampton, Mass. 1906.  
 REV. DR. FLOYD APPLETON, 230 New Jersey Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
 Prof. WILLIAM B. ARNOLD, (Harvard Univ.), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
 Prof. KANICHI ARAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.  
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
 Hon. SAMUEL E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. LEROY CLARK BARNET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. BASTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.  
 Mrs. DANIEL BATES, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.  
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 418 West 20th St., New York. 1894.  
 Prof. HANLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1906.  
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERR, New Brunswick, 5 Seminary Place, N. J. 1893.  
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.  
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.  
 Dr. GEORGE F. BLACK, Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42d St., New York, N. Y., 1907.  
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE, Windaor Hills, Baltimore, Md.  
 Rev. PHILIP BLANC, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 1907.  
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Protestant Syrian College, Beirut Syria. 1898.  
 FRANCIS B. BLODGETT, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.  
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMSTEN, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.  
 Prof. MERRICK BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.  
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1896.  
 Rev. Dr. DAN FREEMAN BRADLEY, 2905 West 14th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.  
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
 Prof. C. A. BERRIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.  
 Pres. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.  
 Rev. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Jubulpore, C. P., India. 1909.  
 Prof. RUDOLPH E. BRÜCKNER (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.  
 Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 HAMMOND H. BUCK, Division Supt. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.  
 ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.  
 Dr. EUGENE WALTON BURLINGAME, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
 CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.  
 GRANTVILLE BURRIS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.  
 Prof. HOWARD CROSSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.  
 Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.  
 Pres. FRASELIN CARTER, LL. D., Williamstown, Mass.  
 Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.  
 Dr. L. M. CASANOVICH, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.  
 Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madras, Southern India. 1899.  
 Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemmaway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.  
 Dr. F. D. CHURTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.  
 WALTER E. CLARK, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.  
 Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.) 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.  
 \*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, New York 16 E. 41 st. Street. 1908.  
 \*GEORGE WYTHORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.  
 Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.  
 Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, 5423 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.  
 ECKLEY B. COXE, JR., 1604 Locust st., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.  
 Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM GRANT, Richmond, Mass. 1902.  
 FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. Y. 1912.  
 EDWARD T. CURRAN, 346 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.  
 Dr. HAROLD S. DAVIDSON, 1700 North Payson St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.  
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
 Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
 JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.  
 Rev. D. STUART DODDS, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1897.  
 Rev. WM. HASSELL DU BOIS, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.  
 Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.  
 Dr. FRANKLIN EDGESTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1910.

- Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.  
 WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.  
 Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, (Amherst College), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.  
 Dr. AARON ENNER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.  
 Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.  
 Prof. EDWIN WHITEFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.  
 Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.  
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.  
 Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.  
 Rev. Dr. FORCA, Istituto Biblico Pontificio, Via del Archelito, Roma, Italia. 1913.  
 Rev. THEODORE FOOTE, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.  
 Prof. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBERGE, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.  
 Dr. LEO J. FRANTZBURG, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Dr. CARL FRANK, 23 Montague St., London, W. C., England. 1909.  
 Dr. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 356 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.  
 ROBERT GABRIEL, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Miss MAURIE GELBAUGH, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.  
 EUGENE A. GELLOY 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.  
 Prof. BASIL LAMNEAU GILDERHOLM, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.  
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GUTHRIE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.  
 Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.  
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.  
 Miss LUCIA C. GREENE GRIEVE, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.  
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O., 1890.  
 Rev. Dr. W. M. GROTH, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.  
 \*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
 Miss LUISE HASSLER, 1230 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 Mrs. IDA M. HANCHITT, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska. 1912.  
 NEWTON H. HARRING, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
 Prof. SAMUEL HART, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.  
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1888.



- Prof. HERMANN V. HILFERT, München, Leopoldstr. 1887.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM J. HINKE, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
 Prof. CHARLES F. HOCK (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.  
 \*Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOENLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.  
 Rev. Dr. HUGO W. HOFFMANN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.  
 \*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.  
 WILSON S. HOWELL, Box 437, Pleasantville Station, N. Y. 1911.  
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.  
 Miss SARAH FENTON HOTT, 17 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1910.  
 Dr. EDWARD H. HUNE, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.  
 Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHREY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.  
 Dr. ASHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 S. T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 Miss MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1913.  
 \*JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.  
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.  
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.  
 Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 Rev. HENRY F. JENES, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.  
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
 Prof. CHRISTOPHER JONKSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.  
 Rev. Dr. C. E. KESLER, (Yale Univ.) 233 Chapel St., New Haven, Conn. 1913.  
 ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.  
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN LA KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.  
 Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, 45 HUNSWELL AVE., Newton, Mass. 1896.  
 Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
 Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
 Dr. G. D. KRISHALLA, Rapid City, S. Dak. 1913.  
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
 RICHARD LEE KORTAMP, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.  
 WALTER S. KUPFER, LEONIA, N. Y. 1913.  
 Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.  
 M. A. LANE, 451 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1907.  
 \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.

- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Dr. OTTO LACHT, 145 Tremont St., Arsonia, Conn. 1912.
- H. LANFIELD, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 19 Landale Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
- Prof. ERNO LITTMANN, Schweighäuser Str. 24, II, Strassburg i. Els. 1912.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- \*BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTNGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- C. V. McLEAN, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York. 1912.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGGON, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. HENRY MALVER, Dropsie College, Broad & York St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WILHELM ROBERT MARTIN, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- C. O. SYLVESTER MAWSON, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.
- Rev. JOHN MEIGHAN, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- J. RENWICK METHREY, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. THURMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- \*Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Rev. HANS K. MÜLLER, Jefferson, Wis. 1903.
- Prof. W. MAX MÜLLER, 4308 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MURKELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ANSOULT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. JAS. B. NIER, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1903.
- Rev. WILLIAM E. NIER, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.
- Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX FRÜHST VON OEFELD, 326 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Prof. HANS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.

- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.  
Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.  
Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Penn. 1906.  
Prof. ALBERT TENEYCE OLNEY, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.  
Prof. PAUL OLTRAHARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.  
\*ROBERT M. OLIPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1891.  
Rev. Dr. CHARLES RAY PALMER, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
Prof. WALTER M. PATTON, 405 Nevada st., Northfield, Minn. 1903.  
Dr. CHARLES PRABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.  
Prof. ISMAEL J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 96th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.  
WALTER PRIEUSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. 1909.  
Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Ross Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.  
Dr. ARSO POKKEL, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.  
Dr. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.  
Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
Prof. JOHN DYCELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.  
GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
RAMAKRISHNA, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.  
Dr. CAROLINE L. RANSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
G. A. REICHLING, 456 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.  
Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.  
BERNARD REYEL, 2113 North Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
Prof. PHILIP M. RHEINLANDER (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.  
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.  
J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada. 1913.  
EDWARD ROBINSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Rev. Dr. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1880.  
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROSES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
Dr. WILLIAM ROSENBAUM, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
J. J. ROSENWARTEN, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.  
Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 2098 East 100th St., Cleveland, O. 1894.



- Mrs. JAMES E. ROUTE-REES, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.  
 Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.  
 PIER, FRANK K. SANDERS, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.  
 JOSEPH F. SCHULTZ, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.  
 GEORGE V. SCHICK, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1909.  
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.  
 WILFRED H. SCHOTT, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.  
 MONTGOMERY SCHUTLER, Jr., Department of State, Washington D. C. 1913.  
 Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1896.  
 Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1895.  
 \*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (née Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Rev. JOHN L. SCULLY, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 83rd St., New York, N. Y. 1908.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 110 East Twenty-fifth St., Baltimore Md. 1902.  
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 \*JOHN H. SLATTERY, 14 bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.  
 Major C. C. SMITH, Fourth Cavalry, Nogales, Arizona. 1907.  
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, (Union Theological Seminary), Broadway and 190th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.  
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
 ELY BARNISTER SOANE, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W., England. 1911.  
 Prof. EDWARD H. SPIECKER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 MARTIN SPRENGLING, care of Prof. R. F. Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.  
 Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
 MAYER SULZBERGER, 1305 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. GEORGE SVENDBERG, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.  
 Prof. WM. C. THAYER, 59 Market St. Bethlehem, Pa. 1913.  
 DAVID E. THOMAS, 6407 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.  
 Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
 OLAF A. TOFTEN, 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
 \*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.  
 Prof. CHAMFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.  
 Rev. SYDNEY N. USSER, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.  
 Rev. HERVEY BOARDMAN VANDERBOGART, Berkely Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1911.  
 Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1906.

- ADDISON VAN NAMM (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.  
 MISS SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark,  
 N. J. 1874.  
 REV. DR. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.  
 MISS CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.  
 PROF. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline,  
 Mass. 1877.  
 REV. LE ROY WATERMAN, Mendville Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1912.  
 PROF. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
 PROF. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD Asst. Gen. Adviser to H. S. M. Govt.,  
 Bangkok, Siam. 1903.  
 ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
 PRES. BENJAMIN IRE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1883.  
 PROF. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge,  
 Mass. 1877.  
 JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.  
 \* MISS MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.  
 HON. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.  
 PROF. FERDINAND WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New  
 Haven, Conn. 1895.  
 DR. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.  
 REV. DR. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
 REV. DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 PROF. JOHN E. WISBART, So. Pasadena, California. 1911.  
 HENRY B. WITTON, 250 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.  
 DR. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1620 Madison St., Madison, Wis. 1904.  
 PROF. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.  
 WILLIAM W. WOOD, Shirley Lane, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 PROF. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
 DR. WILLIAM H. WORRELL, Homer Hall, Hartford, Conn. 1910.  
 DR. S. C. YERBAKEN, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.  
 REV. DR. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
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K. u. K. Direction der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek (Josephs-  
platz 1.)  
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.  
PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.  
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Bibliothèque Nationale.  
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)  
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.  
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)  
GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
Königliche Bibliothek.  
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughaus 1.)  
DARMSTADT: Grossherzogliche Hofbibliothek.  
GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
HALL: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
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Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)  
MUNICH: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.  
TRINIDAD: Library of the University.  
GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ire-  
land. (22 Albemarle St. W.)  
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S.W.)  
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell  
St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)  
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall,  
8 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.)  
ITALY, BOLOGNA: Reale Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna.  
FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.  
ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.  
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 Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.  
 LEYDEN: Cursatorium of the University.  
 RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno Ougrienne.  
 ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk  
 Archeologiji Institut.  
 SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

## III. ASIA.

- CHINA SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 TONKIN: l'École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.  
 INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)  
 BENGAL: Behares Sanskrit Coll. "The Pandit."  
 CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)  
 The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)  
 Home Dept., Government of India.  
 LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.  
 SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Benmore,  
 Simla, Punjab.)  
 CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.  
 JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.  
 KOREA: Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.  
 NEW ZEALAND: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.  
 PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: The Ethnological Survey, Manila.  
 SYRIA: The American School (care U. S. Consul, Jerusalem).  
 Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.  
 A-Machriq, Université St. Joseph, Beirut, Syria.

## IV. AFRIKA.

- EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

## V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

- The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).  
 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder,  
 Rothenthurnstr. 15, Vienna, Austria).  
 Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn,  
 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).  
 Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E.  
 Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).  
 Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. D. Karl  
 Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).  
 Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C.  
 Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

- Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerstr., Munich, Bavaria).  
 The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 438 East 57th St., Chicago, Ill.  
 Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof. F. G. Moore, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.).  
 Le Monde Oriental (care of Prof. K. F. Johansson, Uppsala, Sweden).  
 Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari, Asram, (Allahabad) Bahadurganj (India).

## VI. LIBRARIES.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institution or Libraries, not mentioned below, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

- Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.  
 Boston Public Library.  
 Brown University Library.  
 University of California Library, Berkeley, Cal.  
 Chicago University Library.  
 Columbia University Library.  
 Connemara Public Library, Madras, India.  
 Cornell University Library.  
 Harvard University Library.  
 Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.  
 Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Md.  
 University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
 Minneapolis Athenaeum, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 New York Public Library.  
 Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester N. Y.  
 Yale University Library.  
 Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be: —

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors,

may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

#### BY—LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be further guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and

shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

##### I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.





*Recent Researches in the Sumerian Calendar.* — By  
GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

There are many unsolved problems in Sumerology, and one of these is the arrangement and development of the calendar. For the period of the dynasty of Ur the area of uncertainty has been for Lagash and Nippur reduced to narrow limits, but for the earlier period there is as yet no agreement. The uncertainty is well illustrated by the fact that Genouillac in 1909 arranged the names of the months in a certain order for the period of Urkagina, beginning the year with the month Ezen-Bau at the vernal equinox;<sup>1</sup> the present writer in 1910 found thirty-six month-names for the same period, which applied to thirteen months, (one of them being the intercalary month), which he believed represented a year beginning at the autumnal equinox;<sup>2</sup> in the same year Myhrman compiled four lists of months which were in use during the period of Ur, one of which began with ŠE-KIN-KUD, and two with the month GAN-MAŠ.<sup>3</sup> He was influenced in the arrangement of these last mentioned lists by an old theory of his friend Radau, who had contended that the calendar began with that month. Finally Langdon 1911, arranged for the Urkagina period a calendar of twelve months. He ignored may the variant names. He began the year with the month August-September.<sup>4</sup> Each of the three investigators who treats the calendar of Urkagina has arranged the months in a different order and would begin the year at a different period. Langdon endeavors to connect the calendar of the Urkagina period with that of the Ur period, and believes that he has discovered a law

<sup>1</sup> *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* p. xvii ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JAOS*, XXXI, 251 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. III, 45 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Tablets from the Archives of Drachen*, Paris, Gauthier, 1911, p. 5 ff.



by which the months were gradually shifted. If one could accept his system and believe that his knowledge of the Babylonian seasons and harvests is accurate, Langdon would persuade him that the Sumerian calendar was invented 2100 years before the Ur dynasty or about 4400 — 4500 B. C. Such wide differences of opinion serve to show that we are all in a good degree groping in the dark.

Meantime Thureau-Dangin has collected from unpublished tablets the names and order of the months as he believes they were arranged in the calendars of Umma and Jôkha. While these calendars belong to the Ur period and the arrangements proposed rest in many instances on doubtful data, their variations in one or two clearly established points from calendars previously known throw light on a number of problems. They also make it clear there was no such thing as a uniform Sumerian Calendar for the whole of Babylonia.

It is the fashion among some Sumerologists to assume that all who engage in Sumerian studies except one's self and one's teacher or pupil, are ignorant of the first principles of the science, and accordingly each scholar fiercely asserts the correctness of his own opinions. So long as this is the case, and so long as the results obtained differ as widely as those referred to above, the general public cannot be blamed for thinking that Sumerology is not yet a science, but belongs to the realm of imaginative fiction.

It is not in this spirit that the writer approaches the study. He readily acknowledges his own humble position among the devotees of the craft, and is eager to learn from any and every quarter. So long as we are dealing with a matter which strives to escape from imaginative literature and to find standing room in the realm of science, it is quite right to test each theory by such facts as can be ascertained, and in this testing the humblest workers may find a place. It is with this purpose that the following criticisms are offered.

Myhrman, followed by Langdon, gives two lists of months of a year beginning with a month GAN-MAŠ. There is really no decisive evidence offered in support of such a year. It is true that in the great grain account published in CT, III, (Nr. 18343), the accounts run from GAN-MAŠ to ŠE-IL-LA, but that does not prove that the year began with GAN-MAŠ, but only that at the beginning of that month was

the new grain ready to be put into circulation. A modern firm might for economic causes run their fiscal year from Feb. 1st to Jan. 31st, but this would not imply that the calendar of the time did not begin its year with Jan. 1st. That the year of the authors of this tablet began with ŠE-IL-LA is shown by the fact that the intercalary month was DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD (cf. col. x, 48, xii, 40, and xiii, 9). If the year had begun with GAN-MAŠ, the intercalary month should have been a second ŠE-IL-LA. The lists which begin with GAN-MAŠ may, therefore, be disregarded.

On the other hand a tablet published by Radan, EBH, 299, (viz: EAH, 134), testifies to a year which began with ŠE-KIN-KUD and concluded with EZIN-MI-KI-GAL. This list which simply couples the names of certain officials with the different months, clearly arranges them in their calendar order. This is confirmed by a tablet recently published from Drehem.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, then, there were places in the Ur period where the calendar began with the month with which in other places it ended. Langdon<sup>2</sup> has rightly pointed out that in the tablets from Drehem published by him one can see the year shifting from one system to the other, sometimes DIR-EZEN-MI-KI-GAL<sup>3</sup> being the intercalary month, and sometimes DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD.<sup>4</sup> As ŠE-KIN-KUD is a name which signifies the "grain" or "barley-harvest" and as that harvest begins now about the middle of April,<sup>5</sup> it is clear that originally that month came a month later than in the calendar of the time of Ur at Telloh. For some reason, probably because intercalary months were not appointed often enough, it had been drawn back one place in the calendar. At Drehem we see the change in progress.

The recognition of this fact solves a difficulty which I felt when writing on the calendar two years ago;<sup>6</sup> but the right solution of which I did not then find. It accordingly necessitates a slight modification of my arrangement of the months, as will be pointed out below.

Langdon's inference that this process had been going on for such a length of time that the calendar had been drawn five

<sup>1</sup> *La trouvaille de Drehem*, par H. de Genouillac, Paris, 1911, Nr. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Nr. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Nr. 2.

<sup>5</sup> JAOS, XXXI, 259, n. 1.

months out of its original position, is based upon a number of misconceptions. One of the most fundamental of these is the notion that the barley harvest ever came as late as July-August, and that the date harvest came in July. These are simple facts which can be ascertained from modern conditions without a knowledge of Sumerian. Barley harvest began in the latter part of March and extended into April.<sup>1</sup> The wheat harvest followed on after it. The date harvest at Busrah, which is farther south than Telloh, begins now about the middle of September<sup>2</sup> and lasts for six or eight weeks. Langdon has also overlooked the fact that as early as the time of Urkagina the appointment of an intercalary month was in use.<sup>3</sup> It is inconceivable that a people who had invented an intercalary month to keep their agriculturally named months in coincidence with the agricultural seasons, should permit it to be drawn absolutely out of touch with them at a time when the agricultural names were fully understood. Indeed, on Langdon's theory the month names must have become fixed about 4400 B. C. and the process of dislocation must have been far advanced by 3000—2800 B. C., where we must place Urkagina. The month names of the time of Urkagina make such a theory wholly untenable. They are not only in a thoroughly fluid state, some months being named from any one of several agricultural processes which took place in it, but the names themselves occur in their fullest forms. They are still whole sentences, which have definite agricultural meanings. They are not the mere meaningless fragments which some of them had become by the Ur Period. Such changes as are traceable in the Sumerian calendar before the Ur period occurred in the space of 500 years and not 2100 years.

Langdon rightly begins the year toward the autumn. He makes the first month Ang-Sept., instead of Sept.-Oct. In the present state of our knowledge this is not a serious divergence, though his reason for choosing it, viz.: —that ŠE-KIN-KUD and ŠU-NUMUN originally belonged five months from the time where we later find them, is a misconception of the






















<sup>1</sup> JAOS. XXXI, 259, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Zwemer, *Arabia the Cradle of Islam*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> DP, Nr. 99.



Babylonian seasons. That the year began in the autumn as late as the time of Gudea<sup>1</sup>, is a fact to which attention has previously been called.<sup>2</sup> The change from this to a year which began with the vernal equinox was an innovation introduced between the time of Gudea, therefore, and the dynasty of Ur. What was the cause of the change, we can only conjecture, and conjecture in the absence of facts is futile. But all the information points to the theory that a definite change to a year beginning in the spring, had been made at Telloh within the comparatively short period between Gudea and the dynasty of Ur.

Langdon equates the stellar month-name of the period of Urkagina, viz: —ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-SUB-A-A, (i. e.         ) with ITU BAR-ZAG (i. e.   ) which occurs in the Ur period at Nippur. Langdon reads  Bar instead of BABBAR, which is, of course, possible. He then takes BAB-SAG as the name of the star, instead of interpreting SAG in the sense of "front" or "leadership" as I would do,<sup>3</sup> and takes the reading BAR-ZAG as another spelling for this. There is hardly a possibility that this is right, since in EAH 134 it is spelled ITU BAR-AZAG-GAR (   )    ). Though the BAR-ZAG is spelled differently in the two texts the presence of the GAR or GA-RA in both the Ur names introduces an element which is not in the earlier name, and the identification of either with the earlier name is extremely improbable. Langdon thinks that its use as a month name arose from the acronic setting of some unidentified star, though he admits that this is the opposite of the usage of the Persian period. The view formerly expressed by me,<sup>4</sup> that the star is Sirius, that the reference is to its heliac rising, and that the month is identical with the month LUK (month of the dog), once called LUK-BAD (month the dog dies), though conjectural, is still the most probable conjecture.

In this connection the date of DP 99 should be discussed. When writing two years ago, I recognized it as an intercalary month, though a part of the name was not then clear

<sup>1</sup> Stat. E., v, 1—2, stat. G, iii, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JAOS, XXXI, 255, and the references there given.

<sup>3</sup> JAOS, XXXI, 266.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 266 f.



to me. The month name is written (turning the signs into Assyrian script),  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ . The  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$  is very puzzling, and two years ago I was inclined to regard it as "day 2" inserted in a peculiar way. Analogy of later texts proves, however, that that is impossible. Hammurapi, for example, (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, pl. 14, l. 6), says, in appointing an intercalary month ITU KIN-<sup>a</sup> NANA II<sup>ka</sup> *li-ir-sa-[e-ir]*, "a second Ululu let it be registered".<sup>1</sup> We thus learn that an intercalary month could be called the "second" of the preceding month. Applying this to the  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$  of this old month name, we should render it, "Second Babbar, appointed". The inference lies close at hand, that BABBAR is an abbreviation for ITU-MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-SUB-A-A. If this was the case, this astral month was the closing month of the year, and not the first month, as Langdon supposes.<sup>2</sup>

Kugler<sup>3</sup> has made an interesting suggestion concerning another month name, Antasurra. A longer form of it occurs, though mutilated by the breaking of the tablet, in DP 116. It is ITU<sup>a</sup>-NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA-SUR-RA, "Month when the god Ningirsu pours out fire from heaven". Kugler interprets it as a reference to a shower of meteors. Kugler shows that about 2700 B. C. the Leonid meteors which now come about the middle of Nov. fell about July 14th. According to the data given by him, the Persid meteors, which now fall in August, then fell about June 25. At that time, accordingly, the month, June-July, would include both these showers, and a month might well be named for them. Langdon objects to this interpretation of the name (op. cit. p. 13, n. 5), on the ground that Antasurra was a part of the temple of

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Bu 88-5-12, 12 (CT, VIII, 3) is dated in ITU KIN-NANA II<sup>ka</sup>, and Bu 91-5-9, 320 (CT, VIII, 27) is dated ITU BAR-ZAG-GAR II<sup>ka</sup>. These are other instances of the practice in question, and the last example shows that in the reign of Abishu Nisan was used as an intercalary month.

<sup>2</sup> That GAI-LA-A is to be taken in the sense of *aidinnu*, "appoint", (Bp. 2253), is shown by CT, III, 18343 *passim*, where, whenever an intercalary month occurred in the year, we read ITU DIR I<sup>a</sup>-<sup>ka</sup> ŠABA-NI-GAL, "One additional month in (it) was appointed"; cf. iii, 33, 45, vii, 40, ix, 12, 22, 32, 41, 48, xvi, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, 174 ff. and ZA, XXV, 278. In my former article I read the name Antasurra, but this is incorrect.

Ningirsu (SAK, 243), and that it was also a proper name of men. Kugler's interpretation is plausible and attractive, though as yet uncertain.

Of the reconstruction of the calendars of Umma and Jōkha by Thureau-Dangin one feels some doubt. For example, it is assumed from the statement of a text, that "From the month ŠE-KIN-KUD to the month Dumuzi wastwelve months", that the year began with the month ŠE-KIN-KUD. While the fact that at Drehem ŠE-KIN-KUD began the year establishes a presumption that the same was the case at Umma, the statement itself does not prove it any more than the statement that from December to November is twelve months would prove that our year begins with December.

The statement does prove that at Umma, (and the same seems to have been true for Jōkha), the Feast of Amaraasi was called the feast of Tammuz. A deity sufficiently akin to Tammuz to be identified with him, seems to have been especially honored in the winter time.

Taking into account the new information which has come to light, the table of months published in vol. XXXI should be corrected as in the following list. The position of those preceded by an interrogation is still in doubt: The position assigned to those preceded by two question marks is wholly conjectural.

The exact date of the new year cannot as yet be accurately ascertained. Probably it was not accurately determined astronomically, but came somewhere near the date harvest. It may have ranged from the end of August to the end of September.

#### Tentative List of Months.

First month,	ITU EZIN- <sup>a</sup> BA-U
Second month,	{ ITU EZIN-BULUK-KÛ- <sup>a</sup> NINA
	{ ITU EZIN-ŠE-KÛ- <sup>a</sup> NINA
	{ ITU EZIN-AB-UD-DU
	{ ITU GAR-KA-ID-KA
Third month. (??)	ITU ŠI-GAR-MA
Fourth month. (??)	ITU UZ-NE-GU-RA-A

Fifth month, (??)	ITU GAI-ŠAG-GA <sup>1</sup>
Sixth month,	ITU AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA
	ITU AMAR-A-A-SI-DA
	ITU AMA-UDU-TUK
Seventh month,	ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD
	ITU MAL-UDU-UR
	ITU MAL-UR
	ITU*SIG-BA
	ITU SIG- <sup>a</sup> BA-U-E-TA-GAR- RA-A
	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-IL- <sup>a</sup> NINA
Eighth month,	ITU UDU-ŠE-A-IL-LA
	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-KŪ
	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA
	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NIN-
	GIR-SU
	ITU ŠE-GAR-UDU
	ITU KARU-DUB-BA-A
	ITU KARU-IMI-A-TA
	ITU ŠI-NAM-DUB-NI-BA- DUR-BA-A
	ITU-KARU-IMI-DU-A <sup>2</sup>
Ninth month,	ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A <sup>3</sup>
	ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA
	ITU EZIN- <sup>a</sup> NE-ŠU
Tenth month,	(?) ITU- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL- AN-TA-SUR-RA
	(?) ITU AN-TA-SUR-RA-A

<sup>1</sup> This conjecture is based upon the fact that at Umma and Jökha the feast of Tammuz came in the winter. As there is some probability that this was a feast of Tammuz, (cf. JAOS, XXXI, 268), I place it tentatively here.

<sup>2</sup> This name, which occurs in DP, 114, was overlooked by me when writing my former article. It means "Month when the storehouse tablets are sealed".

<sup>3</sup> I regret that in my former article (JAOS, 263, n. 1), I misunderstood Thureau-Dangin's position as to the reading of this name. It is not certain that GUD should be read HAR, but Thureau-Dangin still holds that opinion.

Eleventh month,	{	ITU EZIN-BULUK-KÛ- <sup>a</sup> NIN- GIR-SU
		ITU EZIN-ŠE-KÛ- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR- SU
Twelfth month,	{	ITU EZIN-DIM-KÛ
		(??) ITU EZIN- <sup>a</sup> LUGAL-ERIM
		(??) ITU GAL-UNUG <sup>ku</sup> -GA
		(?) ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E- TA-ŠUB-A-A
Intercalary month,		ITU BABBAR-MIN-GÁL-LA-A



*A Political Hymn to Shamash.* — By J. DYNKLEY  
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New York City.

This hymn of *Šamaš-šum-ukīn*, the rebellious viceroy and brother of the last great Assyrian king *Ašur-bāni-pal*, is of peculiar interest, because it is more than the ordinary invocation of a king to a god. After the usual praises of the divine power of the sun-god, *Šamaš-šum-ukīn* says, in line 9: "a mighty one as a partner thou givest me", a clear allusion to his imperious brother *Ašur-bāni-pal*. The hymn continues significantly in line 13: "the unopened documents of my glory thou proclaimest", implying that an unknown, but glorious future awaits the king. Most significant of all, *Šamaš-šum-ukīn* prays in line 27: "my partner may I overcome", and in line 30: "may I change my command"; viz., release himself from the Assyrian overlordship, plainly showing that, at the time when this hymn was composed, the rupture between *Ašur-bāni-pal* and *Šamaš-šum-ukīn* was contemplated, even if it had not become a fact.

The Semitic-Babylonian cuneiform text is published by David H. Myhrman in *Babylonian Hymns and Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1911), Plates 22—23, without photographic reproduction. The plates, although mutilated here and there, are plain enough to indicate the nature of the inscription, which is couched in fine style, characterized by an abundance of epithet, giving a literary merit to the production far above that of the ordinary conventional prayer. The whole hymn breathes a sincerity entirely natural in view of the special purpose and earnest desire of the suppliant.

Obverse.

1 (ra)-bu-u giṭ-ma-lu a-pil ūi ina arzi ū Babbar-ra

Great one; perfect one; son of the god in the month of  
Šamaš;

- 2 . . . . -tu šu-u pi-tu-u pa-an kalam-me mu-kal-lim nūra  
 . . . . he who opens the face of the lands; who reveals light;
- 3 (māš)- te-šir ina šarru-ti-ma UB-KAL mimma šum-šu  
 Who rules aright in my kingdom, the mighty ruler of  
 everything;
- 4 . . dannu il Šamaš (d U-tu) ša-ru-ur matāti  
 . . powerful one, Šamaš, glory of the lands.
- 5 (UD-KIB)-NUN-KI cu-lul E-Babbar-ra  
 Sippar, the shadow of the Temple of Šamaš
- 6 . . . . ina il Marduk tuk-lat Babilī (KA-DINGIR-RA-KI)  
 . . . . by means of Marduk the help of Babylon
- 7 . . . . (ēlī?) bi-ti-ka u-taq-qu-u il Annunaki il Igigi  
 . . . . (upon?) thy house the Annunaki (and) Igigi pour  
 out (bounteously).
- 8 il Me um-me cal-mat qaqqa-du i-tal-la-la māšara-ka  
 The goddess Me, mother of the black-headed, justifies thy  
 righteousness.
- 9 dannu ina tap-pa-a tu-šar-ši  
 A mighty one as a partner thou givest (me).
- 10 ana la i-ša-ru ta-nam-din ap-lu  
 To him who is unworthy thou givest a son.
- 11 da-(al)-ti sik-kur šam-e tu-pat-ti  
 The door (and) the bolt of heaven thou openest.
- 12 ana la sa-ti-lu ta-šak-kan nūra  
 For him who seeth not thou makest light.
- 13 duppi tanadātia (UB-MU) la pi-ta-a tu-ša-as-si  
 The unopened documents of my glory thou proclaimeest.
- 14 ina libbi immeru tu-šat-tar šira  
 Among the lambs thou makest plenteous the meat.
- 15 daiān (DI-KUD) il Annunaki bēl il Igigi  
 Judge of the Annunaki, lord of the Igigi;
- 16 il Šamaš bētia dūr šī-ma-a-ti at-ta-ma  
 Šamaš, my lord, wall of my fate art thou.
- 17 ana-ku m; il Šamaš-šum-ukin mār i-lī-šu  
 I Šamaš-šum-ukin the son of his god, (thee)
- 18 ina xul-lu-pa-ni dub-lu giš da-(al)-tu giš as-ma-ru-u  
 For our protection a foundation, door (?), lance;
- 19 lu šat-ma iccur nūri (XU-CAB) giš narkabat ci-(mit-tim)  
 ša-ma

Verily propitious, bird of light, to the chariot of my span  
favorable

20 *pal-xa-lu ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku*

I reverence, I fear and I am greatly in awe (of thee)

21 *(mu)-tū-bi ia-ši u bitia (E-MU)*

who makest glad myself and my house.

22 *(at-taz-) kar ab (A-A) amēli abu (A-A) -ku-nu ab (A-A)*  
*māt ili . . . .*

I proclaim the father of mankind, your father, father of  
the land of . . .

23 *(na-piš)-tu ši-i-mu a-lak-ti dum-mi-iq*

(my life) do thou order; my going do thou favor.

24 *(tu-šar)-ši ra-i-ma luš-tu-u-a*

Do thou grant mercy; may I drink

25 *ni-me-qa šuttu ianu-u-a (ME-U-A)*

wisdom; in dreams where am I?

26 *šuttu at-tu lu ana damiq-tim šuk-na*

O turn the black dream to favor!

#### Reverse

27 *i-ša-riš lul-lik tap-pa-a lu-uk-šu-ud*

Righteously may I walk; my partner may I overcome!

28 *ina u (UD)-mi-ia lu-rak damiqtam*

In my days may I prolong (thy) favor!

29 . . . šu . . . . -ma-ka ša damiqtim

. . . . . thy . . of favor.

30 *daiān (DI-KUD) lu-(nak)-kār qa-bu-ua*

O judge, let me change my command!

31 . . . . . *ri-ša-a-tu bīt biltuia (BIL-TU-MU)*

. . . . . (may he fill?) with joy the house of my  
tribute!

32 *il Me ri- . . . . . li-iz-ziz ina xegallia (KAN-MU)*

Goddess Me . . . . . may she be strong for my plenty!

33 *il Me ma- . . . . . li-iz-ziz ina damiqtia*

Goddess Me . . . . . may she be strong for my  
favor!

34 *šēp tal-lak-(ti lu)-šal-li-mu ina idia*



The foot of my progress may she make perfect for my power!

35 A-A . . . . . *pa-(kà)-dì ina arkia*

. . . . . to preserve behind me!

36 li . . . . . *il Bu-ne-ne rubu-ka damig-tim*

(May) the goddess Banene (endow) thy prince with favor!

37 il A-(A) . . . . . *ta(?)* . . . . . *ši xul-qu-ma*

May the goddess A-A . . . . . they are destroyed.

38 il Šamaš abu (A-A) . . . . . *at-(ta) ri-ša-a ri-e-mu*

Šamaš, father (?) . . . . . do thou grant mercy!

39 il Šam-ši alu(?) -ka . . . . .

O Šamaš, thy city . . . . .

40 il Me . . . . . *ru-bu-ka*

Goddess Me . . . . . thy prince

41 il Me . . . . . *-ka li-tib-bu*

Goddess . . . . . may thy . . be sweet!

42 KA-KA(?) -MA(?) . . . GA(?) -TU-LAL il Šam-šs

a prayer . . . . . a complete one to Šamaš.

### Grammatical Commentary

1. *ina arxi Babbar-ra* 'in the month of Šamaš' — the seventh month, *Tušritum* — *Tišri*, which was dedicated to the sun-god. The form *Babbar* is a reduplication of *Sum. bar*, the primary meaning of which is 'divide, penetrate' (see my MSL., 53 and cf. below on line 4). The reduplication has its counterpart in *Sum. tattab* from *tab* 'two'.

It is probable that this line is not the first line of the inscription, as the epithets herein contained apply rather to the king than to the god. The expression "son of the god" implies always a pious person (cf. line 17) and could only have been used of Šamaš-šum-ukin, whose name probably precedes this first line. The following epithets in lines 2—3 ff. are undoubtedly descriptive of the god himself.

3. UB-KAL is clearly a combination of UB. — *na'adu*, Br. 5783 and *tanattu*, Br. 5784 respectively — 'be lofty' and 'glory'. KAL. — *kal* and *lig* — *dannu* 'mighty'. The familiar *abkallu* 'leader' in Semitic, from *Sum. ab-kal*, is probably a



variant of this *ub-kal*, as AB = Sem. *nasiku* 'prince, prominent person' and appears also as a prefix in Sum. *ab-xal* 'seer'.

4. *Šamaš* is here called *il U-tu*, which I interpret to mean the god of the setting sun; viz., *u-* is the abstract prefix so common in Sumerian, + *tu* = *eröbu* 'enter, set', said of the sun. *U-tu* is, therefore, the epithet of the setting *Šamaš*; while *Babbar* = UD is the sun-god in his noonday glory. I am not inclined to connect *u-tu* with UD = *ud* etymologically, as I did in MSIL 355, although there was, no doubt, a paronomastic suggestion between the two forms.

5. *Šamaš-šum-ukin* restored Sippar; cf. Lehmann, *Šam.* II, 9, 24 ff.

7. *Utaqqū* is the *Ištaal* of 𐎶𐎶𐎵; an unusual form. *Šamaš* is the god of plenty here, as in line 14.

8. *il Me* is evidently a variant of the reduplicated *il Meme*, a secondary name of the goddess *Gula*, who seems to figure here as the consort of *Šamaš*. The form *il Me* appears in this inscription in lines 32; 32; 40; 41.

9. *Ina tappā* 'as a companion'; *ina* = 'for'; we should expect *ana*. *Tappū* 'partner' is probably a Sumerian loanword from Sum. *tab* 'two, another', and is not from Sem. 𐎧𐎶; Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary*, s. v. *tappū*.

10; 12. Note in these lines the characteristic Babylonian disregard for the case-endings, an indication that these suffixes probably ceased to be pronounced at a comparatively early date.

14. The sun-god appears here as the god of plenty, as in line 7.

18. *Ina xullupani dublu* 'a foundation to protect us'; a difficult phrase. *Xullupu* = 'cover'; hence 'protect' and *dublu* = *išdu* 'foundation', II. R. 35, 43 cf. The *-ni* is probably the 1 p. pl. suffix. The metaphor is plainly that of a fortification. The sun-god is called here "the door" (*daltu*) evidently of safety for his worshippers, and also "the lance" (*asmarū*, from the same stem as Ar. *musmār* 'nail'), because of his penetrating power. He is therefore a weapon of defence.

19. XU-CAB = *iccur nūri* 'bird of light', because of his flight across the heavens. Note that the storm-god *Zū* is also pictured as a bird.

22. This A-A here = *abu* 'father', as in line 38, and is not the goddess *Ā*, seen in line 37.

26. *Aṭ-tu*, an unusual feminine adjective from *ṭm* 'be dark, cloudy'.

36. *ṭ Bu-ne-ne* was the consort of *Malik* with whom she attended the sun-god.

37. Clearly the goddess *Ā* here, the consort of *Šamaš*.

38. Here again *A-A* = *ābu* 'father', as in line 22.

42. *KA-KA-MA* = Sum. *inim-inim-ma* = Sem. *šiptu* 'incantation, exorcism'. We expect rather Sum. *a-ra-zu* = *teslitu* 'prayer', as this hymn is an invocation. *GA-TU-LAL* is composed of the elements *GA-TU* = *malū* 'be full' + redundant *LAL* = *lā*; also = *malū*.

*Some Notes on the So-called Hieroglyphic-Tablet.* — By  
ELLEN SETON OGDEN, Ph. D. Albany, N. Y.

The following notes are an attempt to read the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet published in T. S. B. A. Vol. VI, p. 454 ff. Menant<sup>1</sup>, Houghton<sup>2</sup> and Delitzsch<sup>3</sup> have each discussed it wholly or in part, and for their suggestions grateful acknowledgment is here made.

The tablet is clearly a sign list. The characters at the right hand of each column correspond to those on the kudurrus of the Cassite and Paabe dynasties, differing from those of Hammurabi's time on the one hand and from the archaic forms of Nebuchadnezzar II on the other.<sup>4</sup> The signs on the left, except a few obviously late ones, are seemingly older and show little more than a passing resemblance to Babylonian traditions of writing.

Two problems are therefore to be solved:

1. The general plan and interpretation of the sign list.
2. The identification as to origin and date of the archaic characters at the left.

The association of several words under one sign seems to have been determined partly by unity of idea and partly by similarity of sound. In some groups a clue was found in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Leçons d'épigraphie Assyrienne* (Paris, 1873), p. 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VI p. 454 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 199 ff.

<sup>4</sup> My attention was first called to this fact by Dr. Geo. A. Barton of Bryn Mawr.

chief syllabic value, which under varying transcriptions stood for other more or less closely related words. Elsewhere, with several syllabic values, the divergence is greater. Generally the meanings given to the signs at the left fall within those listed by Brünnow and Meissner under the case-sign, but this has not been held to rigidly, because the present knowledge of lexicographical material is still far from complete. Of course the equations assigned these unknown characters and couched in the phraseology of Babylonian signs hold only as far as the *idea*, if the theory of a non-Babylonian origin is accepted.

As to the identification of the archaic signs three theories are tenable: —

a) That they are Babylonian, of a date and locality as yet unknown.

b) That they are foreign to Babylonian life and writing.

c) That they are Babylonian, but strongly under some foreign influence. In favor of the first view is the resemblance of certain of the characters to Babylonian signs, but at best this evidence is slight. A more clearly defined similarity exists between them and the proto-Elamitic, and if the parallel tablet in C. T. V., 81—7—27, 49<sup>1</sup> and 50, be collated together with this one, it makes a total of thirty-one signs in which this similarity challenges attention. What really results therefore is a triangular relationship between the three, the Babylonian, proto-Elamitic and these characters. Whether this is due to coincidence or to common origin with subsequent independent development, only future research can answer.

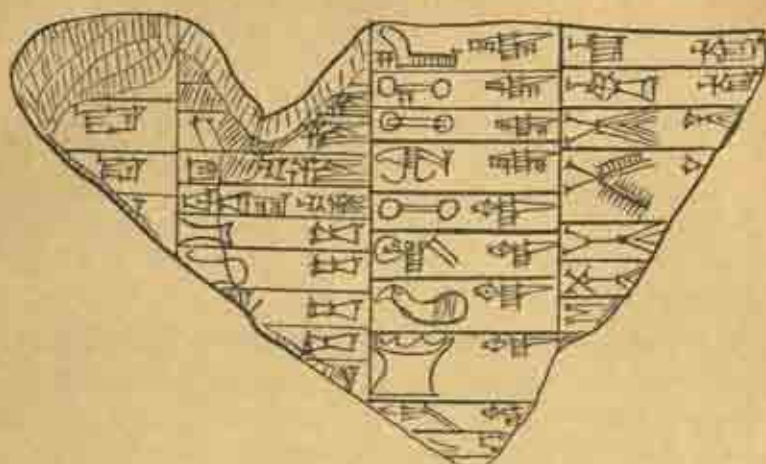
Meanwhile the writer would suggest the following as a possible solution, though one as yet unproved.

If, as has been thought by some, the Cassites were an Elamitic people, it is likely that they used or were familiar with the early Elamitic writing now known as proto-Elamitic, and also with its later forms. As part of their very strong influence upon Babylonian affairs, may not these Cassites have made some attempts to equate their own older signs with those of the language about them? If so, something like the present sign-list would have resulted.

<sup>1</sup> See J. A. O. S. Vol. 32.  
VOL. XXXIII. Part I.



## A






Col. I. Cases 1, 2. The case sign is RA (Hinke 113).<sup>1</sup>



Col. II. Cases 3, 4. The case sign is NAM (Hinke 37).

3)  = ? ?

4)  = ? ?

Cases 5, 6. The case sign is AB, ÊŠ (Hinke 77).

5)  = , AB (Rec. 344, 550 bis),<sup>2</sup> *abu*, father; *nasiku*, prince; *sibu*, old man. Allied with this sign is AB = , *littu*, offspring; *mīru*, the young of an animal; *banū*, *ša alādi*.

6)  = , AB (Rec. 345) *tāmtu*, sea; *aptu* enclosure; (*arah*) *Tobītu*, the mouth of floods; (*amelu*) *irrešu*, irrigator. Allied with this sign is ÊŠ = house, inclosure.

Col. III. Cases 1—4. The case sign is AZA, AZ, AS. (Hinke 206).

The sign is a compound of PIRIK = lion, and ZA = stone, jewel. In the early archaic inscriptions it appears only in the place name AZ (*kī*). Later it is equated with

a) (*is*) *Sigaru*, some means or implement of restraint.

b) *usu*, physician, or according to Langdon<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hinke, *Selections from the Kudurru Inscriptions*.

<sup>2</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1908).

<sup>3</sup> *Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy* (Paris, 1911), p. 204.

"An ointment or paste used in medicine."




The use of AZ = *šigaru* in the sense of 'chain' or 'fetter' is indicated by the combination in which the sign occurs.




AZ. BAL = *šrinnu*, *nābaru*, cage.




AZ. GU = (*ig*) *šigaru*, *ša kišadi*, chain for neck.




AZ. LAL = (*ig*) *šigaru*, *ša kallbi*, harness or leash for a dog. (LAL = *kašu*, *kamu*, *rakāšu*, to bind, and *šamādu*, to yoke).

AZ. BAL. LAL. E = (*ig*) *šrinnu*, cage, but used also as a synonym of *šigaru*. There is probably a connection between this *šigaru* = (*ig*) SL. GAR and *iškaru* = (*ig*) GAR or KAR, fetter or chain, if they are not the same word differently transcribed.

1)  =  (?) + , UR (?) + ZA (Rec. 438, 9), stone lion colossus. UR. MAH is the usual transcription for *nergallu*, the stone bas-relief of a lion placed at the entrance of palace or temple to ward off the evil power of Nergal the "destroyer". Rec. 439, as yet unidentified, resembles this present sign more closely than Rec. 438, but may be only a variant. UR. MAH is also the usual form for *nēšu*, lion, whereas *ūmu*, *labbu*, and (*lu*) *Nergal* as the lion-god are transcribed by PIRIK.

2)  =  + , NUNUZ + ZA (Rec. 282, suppl. 480), (*alan*) *šrimmatu*, necklace, or chain in the sense of fetter; cf. DAR. NUNUZ. GU = *niru*, yoke (Br. 8182).<sup>1</sup> Is this the same as *šrinnu* above? The pictograph represents a link-chain plus the sign for stone.









3)  =  + , NUNUZ + ZA (Rec. 283, suppl. 480), (*ig*) *šigaru*, chain or fetter.

4)  =  + , AZA (Rec. 185, suppl. 518), *asu*, physician. The pictograph is difficult to explain, unless by an association of both form and idea with GIR below, which see.









Cases 5—8. The case sign is GIR, NÉ, PIRIK, UG, (Hinke 202). Primarily this is GIB the sign for sandal,

<sup>1</sup> Brünnow, *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound Ideographs* (Leyden, 1899).

foot, but through similarity of form, there have been confused with it three other signs, as follows.<sup>1</sup>

- a)  =  = KIS (*ki*).  
 b)  =  = GIR, sandal, foot.  
 c)  =  = ANŠU, ass.  
 d)  =  = PIRIK, UG, lion.

Even the inscriptions of the archaic period show interchange of usage, a process heightened by time and growing complexity of the language. This interchange accounts for some of the parallelism between the groups above and this.

- 5)  =  (Rec. 283, suppl. 480) *karzu*, "Fulßfessel" (H. W. B. p. 355). This is the same sign, without ZA, as in cases 2, 3 of the AZ group.  
 6)  =  GIR (Rec. 224, 226, suppl. 224),<sup>2</sup> *šepu*, foot; *kibšu*, step; *gašru*, powerful. Without syllabic value it equals *tallaktu*, *padānu*, *urūu*. The pictograph represents a sandal with thongs. The expression GIR or GIR NITAḤ = *sakkanakku* and the association with *emūku* suggests that this form of sandal was one of the insignia of power.  
 7)  = ? = NĒ (?), *namru*, bright, *nūru*, light. The pictograph represents a lamp in the form of a bird, such as appears on the seal-cylinders and kudurrus as the emblem of the fire-god Gibil-Nusku.<sup>3</sup> Its presence here is accounted for by the confusion between NĒ =  and NĒ = , fire.  
 8)  = ? = NĒ (?), GUNNI (?) (Cl. Br. 9703) *kinunu*, brazier. For pictograph see Rec. 176 and the discussion under ID below.

Col. IV, Cases 1, 2. The case sign is DAR, SI, SU, UGUN



<sup>1</sup> For fuller discussion of this group, see E. S. Ogden, *The Origin of the Gung-Signs in Babylonian*, Leipzig, 1911.



<sup>2</sup> See also Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910).







(Hinke 267 and Clay, *Marushu*, 28).<sup>1</sup> Two signs, SI-GUNU and TARRU, have coalesced under this sign.<sup>2</sup>


1)  = , DAR (Rec. 34) *tarru*, bird, or SI, SU (Rec. 48).

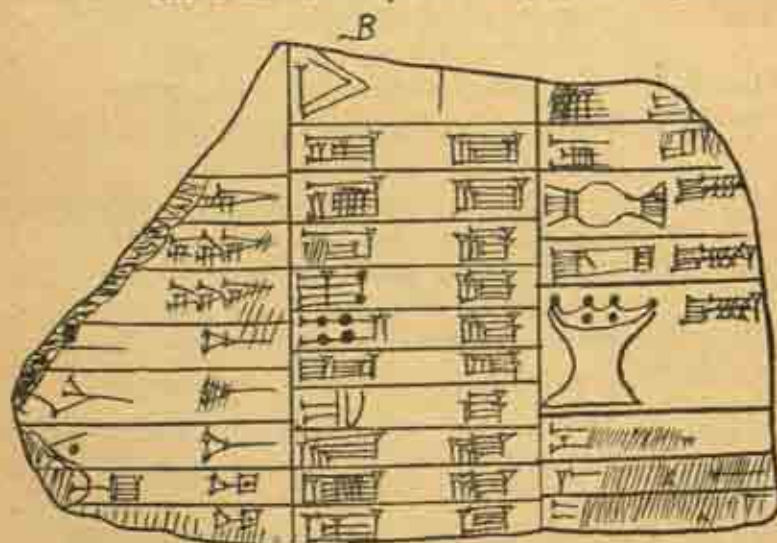
2)  = ? ? The sign seems to be composed of AS + SA + GA. For a possible connection compare  = *kalu* (Br. 3486) and II. Rawlinson 37, 45 a, f, where this is equated with *libbi*.

Cases 3, 4. The case sign is SUM, SU, RIG (Hinke 172), *kilutu*, burning, *šassûru*, uterus (or foetus?); *arkātu*, back, behind; *baltu* fullness, pudendum feminae; *mašadu*, to press. The pictograph equals SAL + SU (Rec. 190), the latter in the sense of *mašku*, skin; *šru*, *zumru*, body; *ruddu*, to increase; *erbu*, to enter.

3)  =  SU (Rec. 330) *šassûru*, uterus.

4)  =  SUM (Rec. 59), *dašadu*, be plentiful. The pictograph represents two crossed palm branches.






Case 5. The case sign is broken, but in C. T. V, 81—7—27, 49 and 50 and J. A. O. S. Vol. 32, the sign at the left of this case is equated with  DU, be plentiful.





<sup>1</sup> List of Signs Found on Tablets of the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian Periods.

<sup>2</sup> See E. S. Ogdon, *Origin of the Genu-Signs in Babylonian*, p. 96 ff.






Col. I. Cases 4—6. The case sign is ŠAL, SAL, MURUBT (Hinke 167), *zinništu*, woman; *urû*, pudendum feminae; *rapâšu*, to extend.

- 4)  = ? (broken).  
 5)  =  SAL, (Rec. 327) *zinništu*, woman.  
 6)  =  MURUB (Rec. 231), *hisbu*, fullness; *pû*, mouth; *urû*, pudendum feminae (Br. 10962—4). For the pictograph, cf. Prince, M. S. L. p. 217.








Cases 7, 8. The case sign is SAL + KU = NIN (Hinke 170) *beltu*, lady, mistress.

- 7)  =  NIN (Rec. 335) *beltu*, lady.



Col. II. Cases 2, 3. The case sign is GE, KIT, SAH, LIL (Hinke 136) *kitu*, structure (?) (Prince, M. S. L. p. 131); *lilu*, storm-demon; *sâru*, *zakîšku*, wind.

- 2)  =  LÊL, (Rec. 415) *kisallu*, a spacious place.  
 3)  =  (?) E. LIL (?) Cf.  Ê, LIL, LAL, (Br. 6249, M. 3799),<sup>1</sup> *bit irsiti*; *bit sôri*; *bit zakîki*.

Cases 4—7. The case sign is BAR, DAG (Br. 5528) BAR = *parru*, net; *šuparruru*, to spread out, DAG = *rapâdu*, to spread out; *našâru* and *nagâšu*, to destroy.

- 4)  = ? BAR (?) (M. 3869) *šubtu*, dwelling.<sup>2</sup>  
 5)  =  BAR, (Rec. 426) *parru*, net; *šuparruru*, to spread out.  
 6)  =  DAK (?), I, NA, ŠI, ZA (Rec. 322) *abnu*, stone or jewel. The sign was originally NI + UD = "shining light", "full of light". The present pictograph is analogous, NI + ZA, "full of brightness", or a "shining stone".  
 7)  =  GUG, GUK (Rec. 463), *kulku* (?).






Cases 8. The case sign is Ê (Hinke 133) *kibû*, to speak; *ikû*, canal.

- 8)  =  Ê (Rec. 109), *kibû*, to speak; *ikû*, canal.



Cases 9, 10. The case sign is Ê (Hinke 252), *bitu*, house.

<sup>1</sup> Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme* (Leipzig, 1909).










<sup>2</sup> Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 263.

- 9)  — , Ê (Rec. 423) *bitu*, house.  
 10)  —  (?) E. LIL. Cf. , E. LIL.  
 LAL = *bît irgiti*; *bît gêri* (Br. 6249, M. 3799).

Case 11. The case sign is KU, DUB (Hinke 258).

- 11)  — , UDU (Rec. 456, Clay, *Murashu*, 219) — *immeru*, lamb.

Col. III. Cases 3—5. The case sign is ID, 1. A. (Hinke 146). The original pictograph represents a forearm and hand. The meanings overlap those of DA = *idu*, hand or side, and of ZAG = *idu*, side, and it is evident that the three signs were more or less exchanged.

- 3)  — , NÊ or , GIBIL (Rec. 82—5), burning torch. For a possible channel of connection compare , GIBIL (Br. 9702) *kîlûtu*, torch; (sign name KI-IZAKKU) and , AZAG (Br. 6592) *azakku*, sickness? demon? It is possible that this is an allusion to the torch burned at the exorcism of demons of sickness.  
 4)  — , ID (Rec. 115) *idu*, hand; *êmuûu*, power. It requires very little conventionalizing to reduce the pictograph of a hand and forearm to this character, which differs in outline from the Cassite sign to the right only by the grouping of the so-called *gunu* wedges.  
 5)  — , ZAG (Rec. 176) *idu*, *pâtu*, hand, side; *êmuûu*, power. Also *ašru*, *êšrêtu*, shrine. The pictograph represents an hour-glass shaped altar such as appears on the seals.<sup>1</sup> In support of this compare ZAG-AN (*usug*) — *êšrêtu* (Br. 6499); (LU) U. SUG, GA, and (LU) U. SAG, GA — *usukku*, temple devotee.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ward, *op. cit.* p. 361—7.

<sup>2</sup> Gudea, B. 3, 15; A, 13, 14.



*Three Babylonian Tablets, Prince Collection, Columbia University.* — By Rev. FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

Three light dull-red baked clay-tablets, each five and a quarter centimeters long by three and a half in breadth and two in thickness; corners and edges rounded.

Nr. 1.

Memoranda for the month of *Simānu* of food consumed by messengers going to *Anšān*, *Sabūm* and *Šimāš*; also of those returning from *Susa*, *Huḫunuri* and *Adamdun*. The temple in which the memoranda were made and the approximate date can only be conjectured. Perhaps the capital city at this time was *Ur*. The obverse contains eleven lines and the reverse nine. The signs are all legible.

Obverse

BAR *zid ud-min-kam šā-uru*

Ten (*ka*) of meal for two days in the city,

*ia ka zid kaskal-šu*

five *ka* of meal on the journey,

*i-me-ta šukkal*

for *Imeta* the messenger,

*an-ša-an-ki-šu gin-ni*

on going to *Anšān*.

5 BAR *zid ud-min-kam šā-uru*

Ten (*ka*) of meal for two days in the city,

*ia ka zid kaskal-šu*

five *ka* of meal on the journey,

*lū-na-ba-a gin-giš*

for *Lunabā* the weigh-master,

*sa-bu-um-ki-šu gin-ni*  
on going to *Sabum*.

*ia ka zid lugal-ma-gur-ri šukkal*  
Five *ka* of meal for *Lugalmagurri* the messenger,

- 10 *nanā-erin-ki-ta gin-ni*  
coming from *Susa*.

*BAR zid ud-min-kam šu-uru*  
Ten (*ka*) of meal for two days in the city,

#### Reverse

*ia ka zid kaskal-šu*  
five *ka* of meal on the journey,

*i-ti-da šukkal*  
for *Itida* the messenger,

*ši-ma-āš-ki-šu gin-ni*  
on going to *Simāš*.

- 15 *ia ka zid dingir-ra-ne šukkal*  
Five *ka* of meal for *Dingirrane* the messenger,

*hu-hu-nu-ri-ta gin-ni*  
coming from *Huhunuri*.

*ia ka zid a-ne-ni šukkal*  
Five *ka* of meal for *Aneni* the messenger,

*a-dam-du-ki-ta gin-ni*  
coming from *Adamdun*.

*itu gud-du-ne-sar-sar*  
The month of *Simanu*.

The first two signs are *BAR* and *KU*. *BAR* with *ka* equals 'ten', otherwise *BAR* equals 'one half'. Here *ka* must be understood with *BAR*, whose value when standing for 'ten' was probably *u*; we know it to be *maš* when standing for 'half'. *KU* as 'meal' or 'flour' has the value *zid* = Assyrian *kēmu*. One *ka* is approximately equal to one liter. The duties of a *šukkal* (*LAH*), equal to *šukallu*, also called *luš*, were more than those of merely bearing a message; they were doubtless administrative and representative. This is confirmed by such expressions as the following which

is taken from a brick of *Temti-agun*: "*Temti-agun* the *šukkal* of *Susa* for his life a *zi-anam* to *Ismekarab* has built". *te-im-ti-a-gu-un šukkal šu-si-im a-na ba-la-fi-šu zi-i-a-nam a-na iš-me-ka-ra-ab i-pu-uš*.<sup>1</sup> In a brick by *Temti-halki*, *Temti-halki* is called the *šukkal-mah* of *Elam* (and) *Šimaš*. *arah simāni* is the third month of the year — May-June; the ideogram *itu gud-du-ne-sar-sar* given in the tablet is old Babylonian; the Assyrian ideogram is *itu šeg-ga*.

## Nr. 2.

Memoranda for the month of *Airu* of wine consumed by messengers returning from *Susa* and also *Sabūm*, as well as those journeying to *Anšān*. The nature of the mission of these messengers is not divulged. Their names are given and in some cases their occupation, or the fact that they are officials. The obverse contains thirteen lines and the reverse nine, including the date, which, however, forms a line separated from the rest of the composition by the space of a centimeter. One sign was almost wholly erased by the pressure of a finger before the tablet was baked. The characters are clear, although made with a fine stylus.

## Obverse

*ia ka kaš*

Five *ka* of wine,

*šū-dingir-nin-šul šukkal*

for *Šu-ninšul* the messenger,

*ia ka kaš ur-dingir-igi-ši gin-giš gal*

five *ka* of wine for *Ur-igiši* the chief weigh-master,

*nanā-erin-ki-ta gin-ni*

coming from *Susa*.

5 *BAR kaš ša-uru*

Ten (*ka*) of wine while in the city,

*ūš kaš u-sa kaskal-šū*

one (*ka*) of wine of the *sa*-plant on the journey,

*la-ni-a lū-giš-ku gu-la*

for *Lania* the chief spearsman,

<sup>1</sup> Scheil, *Textes Élamites-sémitiques première et troisième Série*, Pl. 7, 15; 20; 74.



ia ka kaš i-šis-ki-ni šukkal  
five ka of wine for Iššikini the messenger,  
ia ka kaš zib-iš-ni-šu dumu nu-banda  
five ka of wine for Zibišnišu the junior overseer,

- 10 sa-bu-un-ki-ta gin-ni  
coming from Sabūm.

BAR kaš ud-min-kam ša-uru  
Ten (ka) of wine for two days in the city,  
aš kaš u-sa kaskal-šu  
one (ka) of wine of the sa-plant on the journey,  
šu-dingir-en-lil šukkal  
for Šu-enlil the messenger,

#### Reverse

DIŠ kaš ša-uru  
sixty (?) (ka) of wine while in the city,

- 15 DIŠ-AŠ kaš kaskal-šu  
ninety (?) (ka) of wine on the journey,  
nim an-ša-an-ki-me  
for the ruler of the Anšānites,

gir šu-dingir-en-lil šukkal  
for the gir Šu-enlil the messenger,

an-ša-an-ki-šu gin-ni  
going to Anšān.

ia ka kaš i-sar-ba-kal šukkal  
Five ka of wine for Isarbakal the messenger,

- 20 ia ka kaš ba-ba-a dumu nu-banda  
five ka of wine for Babā the junior overseer,  
nanā-erin-ki-ta gin-ni  
coming from Susa.

itu gan-maš  
The month of Airu.

1. ka is a measure for liquids as well as for dry material, with the same capacity in either instance.

3. gin (TU)-giš (UŠ) = 'weighing-man'; here we have gin-giš gal; in Tablet Nr. 1 simply gin-giš.

6. There are two kinds of wine mentioned in this Tablet. One is plain *kaš* (BI); the other is *kaš* (BI) -*ā-sa*. The ordinary Assyrian word for *kaš* is *šikaru* 'strong drink', also 'date-wine', the verb being *šakāru* 'be drunk'. The *sa*-plant, from which the other wine is made, may be the same as the *sa*-tree which had a strong fibre with which ropes were made, the word being connected with *sa* used for 'net'.

7. *lū-giš* (IZ) -*ku* = 'man of wooden weapon'; the value of KU in this connection, I must say, is not determined. In the expression 'chief helper', or 'chief spearsman', 'chief' is expressed by *gu-la* 'great'; in line three, where we have the expression 'chief weighmaster', 'chief' is expressed by *gal*.

14. If the sign DIŠ stands for 'one', it should probably have the value *āz*; if it stands for 'sixty', *giš* should doubtless be the value.

16. *nim an-šá-an-ki me* = 'ruler of the *Ansanites*'. *nim* = *šaku* 'high', i. e., a ruler or minister like a secretary of state. *me* at the end of the line may be the sign of the plural, a shortened form of *meš*.

17. *gir* = *šepu* 'foot'; also *enūku* 'power'; then an official, for whom we have no Assyrian equivalent; this officer seems to have charge over other officials, particularly with reference to food supply.

20. *nu* (= *lū*) -*bandá* (TUR) = *labuttu* 'official', perhaps 'overseer', and *dumu* (TUR) = a 'youth of (attending upon) a *nu-banda*'.

22. The month of *Aivu*, second month, April-May, written in the Tablet *itu gan-maš* 'fields in blossom'. This is old Babylonian. The Assyrian ideogram is *itu gud-si-di* 'directing bull'.

### Nr. 3.

Memoranda for the month of *Kisilimu* of wine, food, meat, oil and also of women laborers for the officials of *Adamdun* and *Susa*. The obverse contains nine lines and the reverse twelve. The colophon, giving the date, is inscribed along the left side.

### Obverse

DIŠ *kaš du lugal*

Sixty (?) (*ka*) of best common wine,

DIS *gar lugal* DIS *udu*  
 sixty (?) (*ka*) of best food, sixty (?) sheep,

*ù-ba-apa-te-si a-dam-dun-ki*  
 for *Uba* patesi of *Adamdun*,

*a-dam-dun-ki-ta gin-ni*  
 coining from *Adamdun*.

- 5 PA *kaš BAR-min ka zid*  
 Twenty (*ka*) of wine, twelve *ka* of flour,

*limu (ZA) a-gam ni ud-limu-kam*  
 four vessels of oil for four days,

*šû-kur-ti lû-gið-ku gu-la*  
 for *Šukarti* the chief helper,

*mâ-id-ta è-è-ne zid-a*  
 who goes out on the river-boat for meal.

*ia ka kaš eš ka gar*  
 Five *ka* of wine, three *ka* of food.

#### Reverse

- 10 D IS *a-gam ni šû-uru*  
 sixty (?) vessels of oil in the city,

*aš kaš ú-sa ia ka gar*  
 one (*ka*) of wine of the sa-plant, five *ka* of food,

*kaskal-šû*  
 on the journey,

*dingir-ma-su šukkal*  
 for *Dingirmasu* the messenger,

*nand-erin-ki-šû gin-ni*  
 going to *Susa*.

- 15 *eš ka kaš min ka gar*  
 Three *ka* of wine, two *ka* of food,

DIS *a-gam ni-giš*  
 sixty (?) vessels of oil,

*iš-me-a lû-kabar*  
 for *Išmea* an official;



*ēšu gēme ēš ka zid-še ia gin ni-gi-ša*  
 thirty woman (each one) three *ka* of wheat-flour  
 (and) five measures of oil (*per diem*),

*ne-ra āš ag hu-hu-nu-ri-ki me*  
 for which they make an agreement,  
 viz., they of *Huhunuri*,

20 *lū iš-me-a lū-kabar*  
 for *Išmea* an official,

*hu-hu-nu-ri-ki-ta gin-ni*  
 coming from *Huhunuri*.

*itu ezin dingir-ba-a*  
 Month of *Kisilimu*.

5. The decimal system seems to be represented in two ways in these Tablets. 'Ten', 'twenty' and 'thirty' are represented by the use of the upright and one, two or three horizontals respectively; thus, BAR = 'ten', = val. *u*; PA = 'twenty', = val. *niš*; and AS = 'thirty' = val. *ēšu*. Down below, line 18, the corner wedge system is used; ES = 'thirty' = val. *ēšu*.

6. *ā* (ID) -*gam* = 'vessel' of some sort, *gam* itself being equal to *kipattu*.

8. *mā-il* (A. TŪ) -*ta* 'boat-river-from'. *ē* (UD. DU) -*ne* = 'his going out'. *zid* (KU)-*a*: whether KU-*a* stands for *āšbu* or *kēmu* is not quite clear; possibly the sign may not be KU.

16. *ni-gi-š* = 'oil of wood'. In lines six and ten *giš* is omitted.

19. In *ne-ra*, *ne* must be a pronoun and *ra* a postposition, *āš* a noun = *ēdu* 'one', *barāmu* 'seal', *magāru* 'favor', *nūtharu* 'agree' and other words of similar meaning, and *ag* a verb equal to *ēpēšu* 'make' and *banū* 'build'. *me* at the end of the line is the sign of the plural.

21. *hu-hu-nu-ri-ki-ta* 'from the place *Huhunuri*'; *ki*, however, might be omitted; see Tablet 1, line 16.

22. Month of *Kisilimu*, ninth month, November-December, written in the Tablet *itu ezin* (SAR) *dingir-ba-a*, month of the festival of *Bau* who was the goddess of agriculture. The Assyrian ideogram is *itu gan-gan-na*.

*Cities mentioned in the Tablets*

*Anšân*, mentioned by Nabonidus in the *Abu-Habba* Cylinder<sup>1</sup> as a province of which Cyrus was king, must have been a very ancient center. In a list of dates given by *Dungi*<sup>2</sup> one date reads thus: *mu dumu-sal lugal pa-te-si an-ša-an-ki-ge ba-tug*, rather doubtfully translated by Scheil as 'the year when the daughter of the king became *patesi* of *Anšân*'. Gudea in Statue B<sup>3</sup> also gives an interesting fact about *Anšân*. He says that he thrust down the weapons of the city of *Anšân* in Elam: *giš-ku uru-an-ša-an nim-ki mu-sig*.

*Sabûm*. On a door-socket, in which *Adad-nannar* memorializes the dedication of a temple built in *Gir-su* by *Gimil-Sin*, king of *Ur*, *Sabûm* is placed in the same list of cities as *Lagaš*. *Adad-nannar*, the chief minister calls himself *patesi* of *Lagaš*, *Gubelum*, *Hamazi*, *Ganbar* and *Sabûm*.<sup>4</sup>

*Susa*, mentioned in the book of Esther: 'Given in Shushan the palace'; 'the city of Shushan was perplexed'. In our Tablet we have the Sumerian name for *Susa*: *nam-er-in-ki* 'place of the goddess among cedars, plainly indicating the existence of a sacred grove'. In *Dungi's* Brick C, we are told that he built a temple to the god of *Susa*; from other sources we learn that this divinity was *Šušinak*.<sup>5</sup>

*Šimāš*. This was an old Babylonian city existing at a time when its ruler was a *šukkal* or a *šukkal-mah*.<sup>6</sup>

*Huhunuri* was a city flourishing in the dynasty of *Ur*, destroyed by *Bur-sin*.

*Adamdun*. From certain tablets we learn that *Adamdun* was a city governed by *patesi* and flourishing in the same period as the city of *Huhunuri*.

*Date of the Tablets*

The nomenclature for the months would place the Tablets not later than the third or fourth Dynasty of *Ur*. The second month was written in the time of Sargon I: *ezin gan-maš*,

<sup>1</sup> *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. V, Plate 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Plate 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Priest's Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie* VI, S. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Scheil, *Textes Élamites-égyptiques première et troisième Série*, Pl. 7;

15; 20; 74.

instead of simply *gan-maš*, and the third month: *ezin gud-du-ne-sar-sar*, and not simply *gud-du-ne-sar-sar*, as in the Dynasties of *Ur*. The name of the ninth month was written *ezin dingir ba-a* both in the time of Sargon I and of Dungi I, II and III. The six cities named in the Tablets, some of them Elamitic cities, are all mentioned in texts written concerning rulers of cities when *Dungi*, or *Bur-sin*, or *Gimil-sin* were supreme at *Ur*.



*The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions.* — By SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Professor in Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

1. The Oath in Sumerian Inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.

Sumerian literature in its original form is well represented by commercial and historical documents. We have, however, no original Sumerian religious composition, but of late copies of such literature we possess an abundance, as Langdon's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* well demonstrate. In this later class of Sumerian literature no indication of the taking of an oath has thus far been found, and even if there should be found such an indication it would not help us in the study of the growth of oath-taking, since obviously the same reference may have in mind different incidents. We shall, therefore, confine our study to oaths found in commercial and historical inscriptions.

While our contract tablets are primarily commercial documents, yet they are often found very useful for historical research, since most of them mention contemporary rulers either in their date formula, or as parties interested in the transaction. These documents which are primarily historical we shall study later, but shall now confine our attention to contract or commercial literature.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations not explained in the text: Gen. Dréh. H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhém*, Paris 1911. — Gen. Dréh. C. B. H. de Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Dréhém, étude avec un choix de textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles*, Paris, 1911. — ITT. *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, Tome I et II, par F. Thureau-Dangin et H. de Genouillac, Paris, 1910. — Myhr. D. W. Myhrman, *Sumerian Administrative Documents from the Second Dynasty of Ur*, BE, Series A, Vol. III<sup>1</sup>. — Nik. *Drevnosti Vostochnyy*, redaktsei M. B. Nikol'ski, Tome III<sup>2</sup>, S. Petersburg, 1908. — RA. *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Oppert, Lodsrain, et Heuzey, Paris. — RTC. *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, par F. Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 1903. — ZA. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, herausg. von C. Bezold, Straßburg.


The very earliest known Sumerian contract tablets (c. 4000 B. C.) such, for example, as AO 2753 which was published, transliterated and translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, RA VI, Nr. 4 p. 143, "Contrats archaïques", Nr. I, contain no oath nor any indication that would lead us to think that an oath was taken. Yet the argument *e silentio* may not have much real force here in considering the custom of oath-taking of this early period, since our records are so scanty.<sup>1</sup>

After about five or six hundred years, when we approach the period immediately preceding the time of the Ur-Ninur dynasty, i. e. c. 3500—3400 B. C., we meet with what seems to be a real development in the direction of that oath-taking custom which became so common in later times, especially during the great legal period of the Hammurabi dynasty. Thureau-Dangin has published, in his RTC, and transliterated and translated in RA VI, 4, p. 146 ff., "Contrats archaïques", four business contracts, RTC 12—15,<sup>2</sup> from Tello, belonging to this Pre-Ur-Ninur period which contain no mention of an oath, but which contain the names of witnesses (*galu-ki-enim*?) to the contract. In the case of Nr. 12, which is a document about a donation, the transaction seems to have taken place in the temple (*ki-nad Di-abzu-a*, "in the resting-room — lit., "place of rest" — of *Di-abzu-a*", i. e. a definite room, as it seems, in the temple where the transaction took place). Nos. 13 and 14 which are contracts of sale have, besides the witnesses, the name of the official scribe (*dub-sar*, "writer of tablets"), while Nos. 14 and 15 have the *dub-sar-gan*, "the scribe of the field" (the land-surveyor) which is sold.

From the dynasty of Ur-Ninur and the reign of Entemenn of Lagash (Tello) we have one business document, RTC 16,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See S. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 6 ff. for a full list of Sumerian literature.

<sup>2</sup> The others belonging to this period, namely RTC 1—11, contain no mention of witnesses.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to notice that the chief part of this compound , *galu*, contains within itself a religious idea, since it denotes a prostrate man in the act of adoration. This would teach us that the early idea underlying the action of a witness was a religious one. The witnesses at this early stage might well have been considered a sufficient guarantee of truthfulness without the taking of an oath.

<sup>4</sup> Transliterated and translated by S. Langdon in ZA XXV. 1—2, Sprechsal, "Some Sumerian Contracts", p. 205 ff.

which also contains evidence of the presence of witnesses (*galu-ki-enim-ma-bi-me*) and a scribe (*dub-sar*) but has no formal oath; and a similar one, RTO 17<sup>1</sup>, from the reign of Eulitarzi of Lagash in which the wife of Eulitarzi himself appears in the contract which is signed before witnesses among whom are scribes. There is an interesting statement at the end of this contract; it reads *dū-bi sag-gi bi-ag* "each of them thereunto put his right hand". As we know from Babylonian and Assyrian Literature the hand<sup>2</sup> played an important part in the ritual of an oath, and since the Arabic *يمين* means *oath* as well as *right-hand* we are perhaps right in seeing in this expression an indication that an oath was actually taken. In this same dynasty the reign of Lugalanda is represented by one contract, Nik. 17, where witnesses (*galu ki-enim-ma-bi-me*) occur. These three tablets also come from Tello.

On the famous Obelisk of Manistusu<sup>3</sup> King of Kiš, contemporaneous with Lugalanda of Lagash, we have commercial transactions which were ratified in the temple before certain specified persons, although there is no mention of an oath. Face A Col. 8 l. 19, for example, shows us that the transaction took place before (*pān*) *La-mu-un* priest of *Za-Mul-Mal* who was god of Kiš, which would be in the temple of that god; a scribe (*dub-sar*) was always present, cf. Col. 16 l. 7 of Face A, and Face D Col. 12 l. 13 *pān ilu Nin-kar*, "before the god *Nin-kar*". Here the scribe is mentioned in Col. 14 l. 16 of Face D.

The legal form used in these tablets which was the form used up to and including the period of the dynasties of Ur-Nina and Kiš is not very different from that employed during later periods. As a rule, the names of the interested persons are first given, then follow the object and nature of the transaction, then the mention of any extra incidents connected with it, then the witnesses and other officials, then sometimes the place where the transaction took place is mentioned, and, finally, the date. There is, however, no oath. Our conclusions are

<sup>1</sup> See p. 34, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Compare for an interesting parallel Ezra 10, 19, and many other such examples in the Old Testament.

<sup>3</sup> Published, transliterated, and translated by V. Scheil in *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, Tome II, Textes Élamites-Sémitiques, Première Série* p. 6 ff. Of early Semitic record this is perhaps the most important.



naturally limited as our records are few and all come from Lagash with the exception of the Obelisk of Manishtusa which was found at Susa.

It is not till we reach the dynasty of Ur (c. 2295 BC.) that we meet with contracts which contain a direct oath. Here again many documents are found which contain no such oath but which were witnessed before certain persons whose names are often given. Further, there are other contracts that are merely sealed, while still others are drawn up in the temple of a deity (e. g. RA VIII, Nr. 1, in the temple of *Nin-mar-ki, E. d. Nin-mar-ki-ka*). As such contracts are many I shall not deem it necessary to name them, but shall confine my study to those which contain a direct expression of an oath. Up to the dynasty of Ur, as we have seen, no contract has been found which contains any such expression of an oath. This does not mean that the custom of oath-taking may not have existed during that period, since an oath may actually have been taken before the custom of recording it in set terms arose; but so far as our inscriptions go we have no evidence that such an oath was recorded till the time of this dynasty.

Following are all the Sumerian contract documents which contain an oath. All of them with a few exceptions, which will be noted as we meet them, come from Tello. It is also to be noted that they all belong to the dynasty of Ur. This is perhaps due to the fact that most all of our tablets come from the same place. There are a few whose dates either are not given or are defaced, but we are pretty certain that they belong to the same dynasty since they were found in the same place and bear the same marks of composition and arrangement as those that are dated. The dynasty of Ur, according to Hilprecht's Chronological list of the Kings of Ur and Nisin, began in 2295 and lasted till 2178 B. C. The rulers were Ur-Gur 2295—2278, Dungi 2277—2219, Bur-Sin 2218—2210, Gimil-Sin 2209—2203, and Ibi-Sin 2202—2178. Many of the contracts belonging to this dynasty mention the fact that an oath was taken without stating whether any person or thing was invoked, others state that the oath was taken by invoking the name of the king. This is interesting for later, e. g. during the Hammurabi dynasty, the king is specifically named and as a rule one or more deities are invoked at the same time. During this early period such a form never occurs—either

there is no invocation at all, or merely the name of the king is invoked.

**I. Those contracts which contain an oath but no invocation.**

*Reign of Dungi 2277—2219 B. C.*

1. ITT 923<sup>1</sup>. This is a tablet containing an account of five different transactions: 1. A confirmation of the sale of a slave, which is sworn to (*nam-erim-am*<sup>2</sup>; "an oath there is") in the presence of the assessor (*maškim*<sup>3</sup>). The name of the swearer, as a rule, as here, comes before the oath. 2.<sup>4</sup> Ninnika is accused of stealing a cow, but swears (*nam-erim-am*) not guilty in the presence of the assessor. 3. An act of repudiation on the taking of an oath (*nam-erim-am*), before the assessor. 4. Lugal-gi-na is accused of theft, but swears (*nam-erim-nam*) not guilty before an assessor. 5. A suit about a garment. The case is not very clear as the tablet is much broken. The oath (*nam-erim-am*) is sworn in the presence of the assessor. Then follows the name of the patesi (*Ur-Lama pa-te-si*) who seems to have acted as judge<sup>5</sup> for the above five suits. Then comes, as is usual, the date.

In addition to what has been said about the word *nam-erim* in my Inaugural Dissertation already referred to in the footnote it may be well to note here the depth of meaning underlying it. As *nam* = *šimtu* = destiny, and *erim* = hostile it is evident that this word was originally connected with the idea of malediction<sup>6</sup> or curse and, when used in the oath formula, indicated that curse which would fall upon the per-

<sup>1</sup> Those thus\* marked have been transliterated and translated by H. de Genouillac in RA VIII, 1—2 p. 1 ff., "Textes juridiques de l'époque d'Ur".

<sup>2</sup> For a technical discussion of this word see my Inaugural Dissertation, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, Munich 1911, p. 26 f., which will soon be published by P. Geuthner, Paris, with an Appendix by E. Hemmel.

<sup>3</sup> See, for a full discussion of this term, *Babyloniaca* III, 2 p. 88, "Ša-tilla, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our", by F. Pélagaud. For the rendering "Assessor", see de Genouillac, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Although the word for judge does not occur here, as it does in many cases, yet the patesi's name occupies the same place in this tablet as the judge does in many others.

<sup>5</sup> In its Assyrian form it appears as *mamitu*, ban, curse, oath. In later Babylonian and Assyrian literature the curse almost completely replaced the oath in legal proceedings.



jurer. Therefore, in essence the oath was a conditional curse, and was expected to have the power of drawing forth from the contestants in a dispute the truth under penalty of malediction<sup>1</sup>, and when the name of the king was invoked it was done with the purpose of making the oath more solemn and binding, and, learning from experience that oaths were sometimes broken, to guarantee its preservation.

The legal literary form used in these tablets is so similar in every case that it may be well to give an analysis of the form which it takes in order to avoid unnecessary detail and repetition in our discussion of the other documents of this period. It will be seen that this form differs only in the oath formula from that of the earlier tablets. First, the names of the parties to the contract are given; secondly, the object and nature of the transaction are noted; thirdly, the mention of any extra incidents connected with the transactions; fourthly, the oath; fifthly, the name of the witness or witnesses, though not always given, and that of the assessor and judge or judges; and lastly, the date, often giving the day or year when some important event happened.

2. ITT 936\*. Here are two transactions; the first dealing with a robbery the details of which are not given, but an oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before the assessor; the second is a note of adoption of a female slave probably by her father. In this last case no oath is taken. The matter is confirmed (*ba-na[gi-in]*) before an assessor. The word *ba-na-gi-in* is interesting because its chief element *gin* — to establish. It cannot, however, be said to be a substitute for an oath because in RTC 291 we have the same word in a contract where a formal oath occurs. The judge in both cases seems to be Ur-<sup>4</sup>Lama the patesi. Then follows the date as usual.

3. ITT 948\*. This is a case of repudiation. The husband seemingly without definite cause repudiates his wife before consummation of marriage. The oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before the assessors, Ur-<sup>4</sup>Lama the patesi being judge.

#### *Reign of Bur-Sin.*

1. RTC 291†.<sup>2</sup> Galu-duga fails to pay Atud for a slave

<sup>1</sup> Compare the interesting place in Neh. 10, 29.

<sup>2</sup> These marked thus † have been transliterated and translated by F. Pélagaud, *Si-tilla, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our*, *Babyloniaca* III, 2, p. 81 ff.



which he has received from him, but Atud receives in compensation one of Galu-duga's own slaves. Alla son of Galu-duga and another person take an oath (*nam-erim-am*) evidently that the slave for compensation would be given to Atud. The oath is taken before the assessor and the judge is Ur <sup>4</sup>Lama the patesi. The date is that of the year when Bur-Sin became king, hence the same patesi as in the preceding reign.

2. Pél. XVIII (Pl. III) §<sup>1</sup>. In the exchange of a house it is complained that the manager Nagu did not confirm the transaction. An oath is taken (*nam-erim*) to that effect. A second oath (*nam-erim*) is recorded, but it is not certain that it has anything to do with the same exchange. The assessor is present, and there are two names Ur-ka-silim and Gudea which are probably those of the judges.

3. ITT 752\*. This tablet contains a collection of different transactions. The first has to do with inheritance. The next two seem to be related, the one dealing with the incapacity of an architect, and the other with a man who has also lost the confidence of his master. In the first transaction an oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken, and also in the first of the last two (*nam-erim-am*), which on account of their seeming inter-relation may be considered as having applied to both cases. In any case we learn that the three proceedings took place before an assessor, Ur <sup>4</sup>Lama the patesi being judge.

4. ITT 830\*. Here we have the confirmation of the sale of a girl by her father where, as in a regular law-suit, an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi ba-tar*<sup>2</sup>) by interested parties, before an assessor. No judge is present.

5. ITT. 963\*. Here are three law-suits about contested property. The tablet has been broken at the end of the first transaction but we can be tolerably sure that an oath was taken as in the other two, each of which has *nam-erim-am* before the assessor. It is interesting to note that the judge (*dī-kud*) in this last case who seems to be the same man as

<sup>1</sup> Those marked thus § have been published, transliterated and translated by Pélagaud in *Babyloniaca* III, 2, p. 81 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Or *nam-erim-bi in-tar* or *nam-erim-bi in-kud*. *Tar* is a better rendering than *kud*, compare *tar-ru-da*, shortened to *tar-da*. In any case the rendering would be "his oath he has taken".

the assessor in the other transaction, namely Ur-<sup>4</sup>Ka-di, is associated in his capacity as judge with another man, namely Gudea, who is called the elder of the city (*ab-ba-uru*).<sup>1</sup>

6. ITT 3516. This is a case of seizure. The matter is taken to court and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) before an assessor and the sentence is confirmed.

*Reign of Gimil-Sin.*

1. Pél. VIII (Pl. III)§. A certain man gave his son a house and a slave. The gift is ratified by oath (*nam-erim-am*) which is taken by three free-men and a slave to insure the constancy of the gift. No assessor, no witnesses, and no judge is present.

2. Pél. XI (Pl. V)§. Sale of a female slave. The witnesses whose names are recorded take an oath (*nam-erim-b(i i)n-tar*) before the assessor. Two judges are present.

3. RTC 295†. An oath taken (*nam-erim tar-a-bar*) in a previous transaction is protested and claimed irregular by a certain woman Sig-tur-tur and her son Gud-a-gir. The case is brought before judges and an assessor and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*).

4. ITT 744\*. A document concerning a dispute between a master and his slave, the details of which are very uncertain. An oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before an assessor and a judge.

5. ITT 746\*. A contested slave-sale in which the witnesses are relatives of the contending parties. The testimony, as it seems, is contested, but the purchaser on presenting a superior testimony takes an oath (*nam-erim-am*) before an assessor and two judges and the case is ended.

6. ITT 733\*. A dispute about a cloak in which an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*) by the slave that he did not give the cloak to the man who stole it. It is interesting to note that the oath was taken in the temple of Ninmarki (*E-d. Nin-mar-ki-ka*) before an assessor. Relatives of the interested parties are mentioned as being present, perhaps as wit-

<sup>1</sup> Compare the same office in the Hammurabi dynasty; also Ruth 4, 2. Compare E. Cuq, "L'organisation judiciaire de la Chaldée à l'époque de la prem. dynastie", RA VII, 2, p. 65 ff.

nesses. A certain Gudea an elder of the city<sup>1</sup> acts as assessor, and there are three judges. Notice the interesting phrase *ki-di-dur-ba u nam-erim-tar-a-ba*, "at the place where the seat of justice is and where the oath is pronounced".<sup>2</sup>

7. ITT 929\*. A dispute between a buyer and setter of plants in which the oath (*nam-erim-am*) settles the matter. Witnesses, an assessor, and two judges are present.

8. ITT 2802. Here we have a purchase contract which is badly broken. An oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) in the presence of witnesses.

9. ITT 3542. Another badly broken purchase contract which contains an oath (*[n]am-erim-bi i[n-t]ar*) and witnesses.

#### *Reign of Ibi-Sin.*

1. ITT 920\*. A house was given to Ud-id-da by the patesi which he gives away by contract. Ud-id-da desires it back, arguing that he had no right to give away such a gift. A magistrate takes an oath (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*) that Ud-id-da had given away the house. The man who received the house together with a witness also takes an oath (*nam-erim-bi ib-tar*). Ud-id-da loses the case. There were two assessors, three judges, and three personally named witnesses.

#### *Undated.*

1. ITT 924\*. The text of the tablet is in a poor condition. It seems that there are disputes about four accounts which are regulated by judicial authority and an oath (*nam-erim-am*) was taken in each case. No officials are mentioned but we find the interesting expression *ne Ur-ama-mu-dib u Ur<sup>a</sup> Al-la dub-sar ud-na in-gi-ni-eš* "by authority of Ur-ama-mu-dib and of Ur<sup>a</sup> Al-la the scribe they will now keep their engagements", which shows that the transactions were carried on in an official way and perhaps a direct oath was taken. It is further interesting to note that one of the debtors was a priest (*sangu*).

2. RTC 294†. This tablet contains a sworn receipt for the payment of a slave. An oath was taken (*nam-erim-bi tar-dam*) that the slave was received. Witnesses are mentioned by name,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 40 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ITT 960\* p. 47.



and an assessor. There is an additional affair on the same tablet but no oath is taken.

3. P<sup>2</sup>L XV (Pl. VI)§. A mutilated document concerning a slave sale in which an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*). There are present witnesses, an assessor, and two judges.

4. Viroll. *Compt.* XVI.<sup>1</sup> A mutilated business document in which nine different persons take an oath. The varying forms of the expression of swearing are: *nam-ne-ru-am* (twice), and *nam-ne-ru* (seven times).

5. ITT 1010\*. A very imperfectly preserved text. It seems that a previous judicial decision is changed by the authority of a patesi, Ur-<sup>4</sup>Lama. An oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-[tar]*), and witnesses are present. Although there is no evidence of a definite date, the fact that the patesi is Ur-<sup>4</sup>Lama would lead one, unless there was more than one patesi by that name, to conclude that it was in the reign of Dungi or his successor Bar-Sin.<sup>2</sup>

## II. Those contracts in which the name of the king is invoked.

### *Reign of Dungi.*

1. RTC 289†. A case of repudiation of a female slave who presents her case in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). Two interested persons, perhaps the witnesses, take an oath (*nam-erim-am*), but it is not at all sure that the swearer invoked the name of the king at the taking of the oath,<sup>3</sup> and it is also questionable whether the slave took an oath. The transaction took place before an assessor and Ur-<sup>4</sup>Lama the patesi.

2. Myhr. IV (Pl. 4, No. 7). An assurance that payment will be made in case Ur-Enlil fails to do so. There is here

<sup>1</sup> *Comptabilité Chaldéenne*, par Ch. Virolleaud, Poitiers, 1903. The author has not published the text of this tablet. He gives a transliteration and translation. It comes from Tello and is preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 38 f.

<sup>3</sup> A direct statement comes between *mu-lugal* and *in-ne-an-dug* (so and so, she said) which may be looked upon as an indication that an oath was sworn though not expressed. See below p. 45, section 2, and note 2. See also RTC 293 below p. 44, and ITT 960 below p. 47.

no doubt about the fact that the oath is sworn by invoking the name of the king. The text reads *mu lugal-bi ni-pad*, "by the name of the king he has sworn". There are present four witnesses but no assessor.<sup>1</sup>

Gen. *Dréh.* 5542.<sup>2</sup> A transaction concerning a barley loan in which an oath is taken (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

*Reign of Bur-Sin.*

1. Myhr. III (Pl. 3, No. 4). A slave swears that he will not run away from the house of his master. The name of the king is invoked (*mu-lugal ni-na-pad*, "by the name of the king he swore"). There are present three witnesses.

2. Myhr. V (Pl. 5, No. II). A promise to pay on a specific day a loan. The name of the king is invoked (*mu lugal-bi ni-pad-da*, "by the name king he has sworn"). Witnesses are present.

3. Myhr. VII (Pl. 8, No. 14). An agent buys a palm grove for his patron. The agent and the seller, so it seems, ratify the transaction by taking an oath (*[i]n<sup>2</sup> — [pad<sup>2</sup>]*) before the royal judge. Then another oath is taken by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi [in-pad]*), before witnesses.

4. Myhr. Pl. 10, No. 18. A transaction about the loan of silver in which a receipt is sworn to in the name of the king (*mu-lugal ni-pad*), before witnesses.

5. Gen. *Dréh.* CB, Pl. V, No. 22. A commercial transaction giving an account of cattle which were perhaps collected for sacrifice. The oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad-da*). This is an important document for two chief reasons: first; it shows that the legal literary form known in Nippur and its suburbs (for Dréhem, where it was found, the Sumerian name of which has not yet been identified, is such a suburb) was the same as that used in Lagash and Ur. Secondly; its interesting date formula and the mention of the city of Ur show us that while the account was

<sup>1</sup> It seems that whenever an oath is taken by invoking the name of the king no assessor is present. See the doubtful cases RTC 289, above p. 42; RTC 293, below p. 44; ITT 932, below p. 45; and ITT 960, below p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> All marked Dréhem were found at a place called in Modern Arabic Dréhem, three miles south of Nippur.

drawn up and legalized by oath in Ur, yet it was dated in "the year of the construction of the throne of Enlil" who was the great Nippurian deity. It seems probable that the cattle, collected perhaps in Dréhem, the account of which was made and legalized in Ur in the third year of the reign of Bur-Sin of that city, were meant for use in sacrificial services to Enlil of Nippur whose calendar system is used in the dating and who, though god of the tributary city of Nippur, was recognized in Ur. On account of the importance of the document and because it has never been transliterated or translated, I here append a transliteration and translation:

## Obv.

1. XX sil-ga	20 kids
2. XXI sal-sil-ga	21 female kids.
3. U-tud-da	U-tud-da
4. Ur- <sup>3</sup> Dumi-zi-da	Ur- <sup>4</sup> Dum-zi-da
5. u Nu-ur-i-li	and Nu-ur-i-li

## Rev.

1. mu lugal-bi in-pad-da	swore by the name of the king,
2. sag Uru-ab-ki-ma	in Ur.
3. itu Šu-eš-ša	Month of Šu-eš-ša.
4. mu d. gu-za d. En-lil ba-dim	year of the construction of the throne of Enlil.

*Reign of Gimil Sin.*

1. RTC 293<sup>+</sup>. This tablet contains three property transactions. In the first *Ur-egir* swears (*nam-erim-am*) in the presence of witnesses; in the second no oath is taken; in the third there is an oath taken (*nam-erim-am*) and a reference to another oath, but here the text is incomplete. In the third it seems that the promise to pay is made by invoking the king (*mu lugal*), but again as in RTC 289 it is not at all certain that a direct oath was taken.<sup>1</sup> The assessor is present at the first transaction, and likewise at the third, a circumstance which would lead one to conclude that the oath (in the third transaction) was not sworn in the name of the king (see p. 43, note 1).

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 42 note 3.



2. Pél. XXI.<sup>1</sup> This is a marriage contract and seems to contain either two separate oaths or one which is the development of the other. The first oath was taken in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). The substance of the oath being placed between *mu-lugal* and *nam-erim-am*, and forming a direct assertion ending with *ni-in-dug* (so and so, he has said).<sup>2</sup> There are no witnesses. The second is sworn in the name of the king (*mu-lugal pad-da*), but not, as Pélagaud thinks, in the name of the goddess Ninmarki, also because here *Ninmarki-ka* is a personal name. The sentence runs: *Mu<sup>4</sup>Nin-mar(ki)-ka-ge mu-lugal pad-da dug-ga-na ba-ni-gin-na-šu*, the *mu* here stands before a personal name, not the name of a goddess. Notice *šu* at the end of the sentence which confirms that.

3. Myhr. I (Pl. 1, No. 1). A slave is brought into court to be reminded of the punishment due to a runaway. The fact is made impressive by the use of the phrase *mu-lugal*, which, with the direct statement constituting the substance of the threat and the phrase *ni-in-dug* (see p. 44) may indicate that an oath was taken. The presence of witnesses and dating of the document would seem to confirm this.

4. Myhr. II (Pl. 2, No. 2). A law-suit about a disputed office. An oath is taken by the name of the king (*[m]u-lugal-bi in-na-pad*), before witnesses.

5. Myhr. VI (Pl. 6, No. 13). A promise to pay at a stated time a loan or investment. Oath by the name of the king (*mu-lugal in-pad*). Witnesses are present, but are not named as such. They have the word *igi*, "before" immediately before them.

6. ITT 932\*. A law-suit in which a complaint is addressed to the grand-vizir in the name of the king and is examined by the assessor and is repeated before judges. There is no mention of an oath nor does the phrase *ni-in-dug* with a direct statement occur, but one of the interested persons is presented in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). It is very doubtful whether an oath was here taken.

<sup>1</sup> See *Babyloniaca* III 2, p. 114, note 1 for place of publication.

<sup>2</sup> See also Myhr. I (Pl. 1, No. 1), &c. But here no oath is expressed. The form *mu-lugal* with a direct assertion may be considered a substitute for the regular oath formula.

7. ITT 1008\*. A document of purchase in which an oath is taken by the king (*mu-lugal in-na-pad-da*) in the presence of witnesses. A second oath is referred to but the text is badly preserved.

8. ITT 3470. This is a commercial transaction in which an oath is sworn by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

9. ITT 3523. Another case of seizure, as ITT 3516, but here the oath is taken by calling upon the name of the king (*mu-lugal in-na-pad-da*). The tablet is badly broken.

10. ITT 3529. This is a gift document, the oath in which is sworn by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*). The complaint is made in court but no witnesses appear as far as we can make out from the broken tablet.

11. ITT 3532. A document dealing with a disputed purchase. The oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

12. ITT 3538. A business transaction concerning real estate. There is a reference to an oath which, as it seems, was formerly taken (*nam-erim-am*), and then the transaction is sworn to by the name of the king (*mu lugal in-pad-da*).

13. ZA XXV, 1—2, Sprechsaal, "Some Sumerian Contracts" by S. Langdon, p. 205 ff., No. 1 B. 6. The purchase of a female slave. The transaction is ratified by an oath taken by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) in the presence of certain named persons who are undoubtedly the witnesses. There is a promise directly connected with the oath, namely, *galu galu nu gi-gi-da*, "man shall not bring suit against man" a formula found here for the first time on tablets belonging to this early period, but very common during the Hammurabi dynasty. The interesting Semitic word *bukānu*, under its Sumerian form *gišlag*, occurs in Obv. l. 6 which is used so often in contracts of the Hammurabi dynasty, and may very well mean, as Langdon suggests, "dye" or "stamp", although it was not confined to slave-sales especially during the Hammurabi dynasty, as it is oftenest used in transactions pertaining to the produce of the field.

14. ZA XXV, 1—2, p. 209, No. 2. Bodleian Inscr. Sum. A 18. A fragmentary document of a settled commercial dispute in which the oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) in the presence of witnesses.

15. Gen. *Dréh.* 5541. A transaction concerning a barley loan in which an oath is taken before witnesses in which the name of the king is invoked (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*).

*Reign of Ibi-Sin.*

1. Gen. *Dréh.* 5539. A dispute about cows which is settled, and an oath by the name of the king is taken (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

2. Gen. *Dréh.* 5540. A loan negotiated in presence of witnesses by taking an oath by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*).

*Tablets undated or whose dates are uncertain or broken off.*

1. Pél. XIX (Pl. VII)§. A law-suit concerning the planting of a park. The condition of transaction is introduced by the phrase *mu lugal*, but no more direct evidence of an oath appears. The end of the tablet is broken. It is doubtful whether an oath was taken.

2. Myhr. Pl. 7 Nr. 13. A very much broken legal transaction which contains an oath by invoking the name of the king (*[mu] [lu-gal in-pad]*).

3. ITT 931\*. A law-suit concerning a man's right to take a concubine in case of the barrenness of his wife. The text is very poorly preserved but it seems that the wife claims that an oath in the name of the king should not be taken (*mu lugal ba-ra-mu-enim-enim*) that her place be taken by a concubine. Witnesses are present among whom is a woman. The husband's name is Ur-Lama, perhaps the patesi whom we have already met.

4. ITT 960\*. This is a very interesting document. It deals with arrangements for a marriage. It seems that the consent of the parents must be procured in case of this marriage, and even the opposition of the mother would be sufficient to defeat the case. Face l. 12 has *ki-mu-lugal-pad-da-ka ni-dur-sa* "the place where an oath is taken by the name of the king"; shows us that there must have been at this time such a place legally designated, although I have not been able to find anything more definite till we come to the Hammurabi dynasty

\* Cf. p. 40 No. 6.



where we find such place commonly designated, e. g. at the *šurrinnu*, etc. A direct statement comes between *mu-lugal* and *in-na-ni-dug-ga* (so and so, she said)<sup>1</sup> and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) by the father of the bride and the young people are given the right of marriage. Witnesses, an assessor, and three judges are present.

Among the many historical inscriptions belonging to the period previous to the Hammurabi dynasty and which is classed as Sumerian, I have found only one which contains an oath. It is a treaty which was transliterated and translated some years ago by Thureau-Dangin in *Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Accad*, and in 1909 was published, transliterated and translated by the same author in conjunction with L. Heuzey in *Restitution Matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*. E-an-na-tum king of Lagash (c. 2900 B. C.) made a treaty with the people of Gishu; E-an-na-tum swore to the people (*nam-e-na-ta-tar*, "by that which [*šušgal*] I swore to them"), and they swore to him (*nam-mu-na-tar-ra*<sup>2</sup>, "they swore"). The oath is quite elaborate. The king invokes the *šuš-gal* ("net")<sup>3</sup> of Enlil (Bel), of the goddess Ninḫarsag, of Enki (Ea), of Enzu (Sin), of Babbar (Šamaš), and of Ninki; and the people call upon the name<sup>4</sup> of the same deities. The oath was taken in the camp of the god Nin-gir-su (*a-ša(g)*<sup>4</sup> *Nin-gir-su-ka*) the son of Enlil.<sup>5</sup> The same object by which the oath is sworn, namely the *šuš-gal*, will slay the person who proves to be a perjurer.

In the foregoing study every instance of an oath in the literary remains of the Sumerians has been recorded and commented upon wherever necessary. The study, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 42, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The following are variations of the same formula which are found in this inscription: *nam-e-ta-tar-ra*, "by which they swore"; *nam-ni-ma-ni-tar-ra*, "by whom they swore"; also, the phrase occurs: *mu-pa-da*, "whose name was pronounced".

<sup>3</sup> Symbolically used. Cf. Hab. 1, 16: "Therefore he (the Chaldean) sacrificeth unto his net, and burneth incense unto his veils".

<sup>4</sup> Here *zi*<sup>4</sup> . . .

<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that if we admit that in the oath by En-lil his son Nin-gir-su is included, then the number of those invoked would be seven, the holy number of swearing.

covers that period of history from the earliest times to the First Babylonian or the Hammurabi dynasty.

During this period commercial literature has shown a progressive development in the method of oath-taking. In transactions of the earliest periods no oath is recorded. This was due, it seems, more to the stage of legal development than to any lack of religious feeling connected with a legal promise. Legal precautions developed a legal form in which we see an external expression of the religious thought always underlying the idea of the oath. During the Pre-Ur-Ninan period (the tablets of which come from Tello) we meet with a fairly stereotyped legal form of transaction, as such contract as RTC 12-15 show. Yet no oath was taken. An advance in form at least is, however, evident. Witnesses are present, and the very word for witness, as we have seen above, shows the religious idea underlying this innovation in formula. In the Ur-Ninan period (the tablets of which come from Tello and Susa) there is still no expression of an oath, at least in contract literature, but the stereotyped legal form is still present, witnesses are recorded. There is an interesting reference in one document which indicates a tendency which later ripened. I mean the ritual act of giving the hand at the conclusion of a transaction (see page 35). The transaction is also referred to as having been ratified in a temple. When we reach the dynasty of Ur (the tablets of which come from Tello and Dréhem) we find not only the same stereotyped legal form but, in addition, the direct expression of an oath. This takes two forms; first, where a simple oath is sworn: and secondly, where an oath is taken by invoking the name of the king. Here also the oath was sometimes taken in a specific place.

The only historical inscription representing the whole Sumerian period which contains an oath belongs to the dynasty of Ur-Nina, and the reign of Eannatum king of Lagash c. 2900 B. C. Here we see the oath in a form which is not found in any commercial literature of the Sumerian period, but which is common in both historical and commercial inscriptions of later times. A treaty is made, the chief ritual of which is the taking of an oath by both interested parties. The oath is made by invoking the *šugál* of definitely named deities, and was taken in the camp or temple of Nin-gir-su. And what is still more interesting, a conditional malediction

was pronounced. Here we have the older form, the malediction,<sup>1</sup> and its successor, the oath, side by side in an important transaction.

As this historical inscription shows, being the only evidence of an oath prior to the dynasty of Ur, we have in these inscriptions the evidence not of the growth of a religious idea, but that of a legal custom in commercial transactions. Long before the custom of recording an oath in a legal document arose, this historical inscription teaches us that the custom of oath-taking was known. The idea underlying an oath and perhaps also the custom of practically taking an oath is as old as religion itself. The foregoing study, however, demonstrates that the legal formula in contracts was the result of a long development.

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<sup>1</sup> Although in very late literature the malediction became again the more prevalent.



*On Māyāvāda*, by HERMANN JACOBI, Professor in the University of Bonn, Germany.

In my last article<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the attitude taken up by the orthodox philosophers in India towards the epistemology of the Buddhists. In connection with this discussion I shall now treat the question about the nature of early Vedānta, and, as I hope, bring it nearer to a conclusion.

The arguments of the Buddhists of both the Nihilistic and Idealistic schools regarding the unreality of the objects of perception may thus be summarised. Our perceptions in dreams do not, in principle, differ from those in the waking state, and consequently the latter must be just as void and as independent of something existing beside them (their object) as the dream-impressions; further examples of impressions void of really existing objects are magic, *fata morgana*, and mirage. This view of the Illusionists is confuted much in the same way in the Nyāya and Brahma Sūtras; here we are concerned with the latter only. The discussion of Bādarāyaṇa (B. S. II, 2, 28—32) as illustrated by the passage from the ancient Vṛttikāra, quoted by Śaṅkarasvāmī in the Bhāṣya on M. S. I, 1, 5 (see above, 31, 23), leaves no doubt on the point at issue, viz. that, according to these ancient Vedānta authors, there is a generic difference between dream-impressions and waking impressions, and that therefore the latter are not independent of really existing objects.

The oldest work on Vedānta Philosophy besides Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma Sūtras, are the Karikā's<sup>2</sup> on the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad

<sup>1</sup> The Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras of the Brahmins; see JAOS. 31, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Anandasrama Series, No. 10. An English translation of the text and Commentary has been issued in India; but the book has not been accessible to me.

by Gauḍapāda.<sup>1</sup> The chronological relation between Bādarāyana and Gauḍapāda will be discussed hereafter; for the present we have to deal with his philosophical opinions. Gauḍapāda is, as far as we know, the first author who formulated the Māyāvāda or the doctrine that everything except Brahma is an illusion; this doctrine was either originated by him, or by a school of thinkers of whom he became the head; the latter alternative would seem the more probable one.

Now Gauḍapāda has used the very same arguments as the Buddhists to prove the unreality (*vaitathyam* — *asatyatvam*) of the external objects of our perceptions; he states this argument in II 4 which is thus explained by his commentator, Śaṅkara<sup>2</sup>: "Things seen in the waking state are not true; this is the proposition (*pratijñā*); because they are seen: this is the reason (*hetu*); just like things seen in a dream: this is the instance (*dṛṣṭānta*); as things seen in dream are not true, so the property of being seen belongs in like manner (to things seen) in the waking state; this is the application of the reason (*hetūpanaya*); therefore things seen in the waking state are also untrue; this is the conclusion (*nigamana*). Things seen in a dream differ from those seen in waking in that the former are reduced in size because they are within (the body of the dreamer). But there is no difference in so far as both are 'seen' and are 'untrue'." — And in II 31 all unreal things are mentioned together: "As dreams or magic or *fata morgana* are regarded (as unreal by ordinary men), so this whole world is regarded by those versed in the Vedāntas".

The argument thus expounded by Gauḍapāda forms the basis of his doctrine of Māyāvāda, and it is, as we know, the same argument which the Buddhists employed to establish the

<sup>1</sup> I fully concur with Mr. Barnett in his review of Max Walleiser, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des älteren Vedānta* (Heidelberg 1910) in JRAS 1910 that Gauḍapāda is the name of the author and that it has not wrongly been abstracted from the title Gauḍapādīya Kārikāḥ. Whether the author be the same as, or different from the Gauḍapāda the oldest commentator on the Sāṅkhya Kārikās, in both cases there can be no doubt that Gauḍapāda was an actual name.

<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to think that this Śaṅkara is not the same as the author of the *Sūtraka Bhāṣya*. The latter would hardly have stated the argument in the form and the terms of an *anumāna* according to Nyāya principles.

Śūnyavāda. As that argument is strenuously confuted by Bādarāyaṇa, it is evident that he cannot have held the same opinion in this matter as Gauḍapāda, or, in other words, the Brahma Sūtras do not teach the Māyāvāda. This is one point which I wish to make.

The next question we must try to solve is whether Gauḍapāda is acquainted with the Śūnyavāda or the Vijñānavāda. The answer is furnished by kārīkās IV 24 ff. For in kārīkā 24 a Realist contends that ideas (*prajñapti*) and feelings would not arise if not caused by external things. The opponent, in kārīkās 25—27, shows the unreasonableness of assuming objects existing beside and independent of ideas (*prajñapti, citta*). This refutation is, as the commentator tells us, "the argument of the Buddhists of the Vijñānavādin school, who combat the opinion of the realists (*bāhyārthavādin*), and the Ācārya agrees with him thus far". That the statement of the commentator is right, is evident from the nature of the argument itself, and becomes still more so from the next verse (28), which furnishes the final decision of the Vedāntin: "Therefore the idea (*citta*) does not originate, nor does the object of the idea originate; those who pretend to recognise the originating of ideas, may as well recognise the trace (of birds) in the air". For here the fundamental doctrine of the Vijñānavādins, which admits only a continuous flow of momentary ideas, is clearly referred to and confuted. Since the Brahma Sūtras and the ancient Vṛtti refer to the Śūnyavāda only, as I hope to have established in my former article, the Gauḍapādīya Kārīkās which allude to the latest phase of Buddhist philosophy must be considerably younger than the Brahma Sūtras. This has always been the opinion of the Pandits. It has, however, lately been controverted by Dr. Walliser: on the ground that the Gauḍapādīya Kārīkās only are quoted in ancient Buddhist books as an authority on Vedānta philosophy. Even in case this assertion should be confirmed by the progress of research, the alleged fact would not necessarily upset the above result. For the enigmatical character of the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa make them unfit for quotations, at least of an outsider, to illustrate a point of Vedānta philosophy. And besides the



Buddhists may have ignored the old Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa as the Jainas did so late as the ninth century A.D.<sup>1</sup>; but they could not well have ignored the Gauḍapādi, since that work taught a philosophy which resembled their own in many regards.

Our inquiry has established 1. the near relation, amounting almost to identity, between the epistemology of the Sūnyavādins or Vijñānavādins on one side and of Gauḍapāda's Māyāvāda on the other; 2. the opposition of the latter to Bādarāyaṇa on this head; and 3. the posteriority of Gauḍapāda to Bādarāyaṇa. Now these facts admit, in my opinion, of a natural and probable construction, viz. that Gauḍapāda adapted the Illusionism of the Buddhists to the teachings of the Upaniṣads. This view is supported by the many coincidences between the Gauḍapādīya Kārikās and the Mādhyamika sūtras to which Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin has lately drawn attention.<sup>2</sup> The theory, that the Māyāvāda is a Vedāntic adaptation of the Sūnyavāda, has been first put forward by V. A. Sukthankar<sup>3</sup>; I may add that I perfectly agree with him.

The probable history of the Māyāvāda may be briefly described: originally the doctrine of some school of Aupaniṣadas, it became an orthodox philosophy, when it had successfully been made the basis of interpretation of the Brahma sūtras, already by earlier writers and finally by the great Śaṅkara. For the two Mīmāṃsās are the preeminently orthodox systems; but we should never lose sight of the fact that they are originally and primarily systems of the Exegesis of the Revelation, the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā of the Revelation as far as it is concerned with sacrifice (*karmakāṇḍa*), and the Uttarā Mīmāṃsā with regard to Brahma. These two schools of orthodox theologians developed philosophical doctrines of their own, but these are found in the Bhāṣyas and are scarcely alluded to in the sūtras themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Haribhadra, *Śaṅkarānandasamuccaya* v. 3; Siddharṣi, *Upamitiḥhavyapra-*  
*panā* Kathā p. 861 ff.; see above vol. 31, p. 6 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS 1910 p. 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> WZKM vol. 22, p. 136 ff. see also above vol. 31, p. 8, note 1.

*Sanskrit Kabāiras or Kubāiras and Greek Kabeiros.*<sup>1</sup>—

By E. W. HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University.

The phonetic equivalence of the Greek and earlier Sanskrit forms is patent and has already been noted by Professor Wackernagel (KZ. 41, p. 314 ff.), who explains the labialization in the later Sanskrit form as due to the proximity of the labial consonant. The difficulty in the identification has lain in the apparently incongruous character of the two spirits.

In preparing a manual of Hindu mythology I have recently been impressed with the fact that the incongruity is more apparent than real. The variant Ko-beiros, which Hesychius identifies with the kobalt or gobelinus ordinarily called Kobālos was originally one with the form Ka-beiros. That is to say, the house-spirit full of tricks was at first not differentiated from the gnome of the mountain-caves, *kybēla*. The chthonic mountain-mother abstracted from the caves is Kybēlē (Kybele). I shall give no analysis of the character of the Greek spirit. The tricky troll of the Athenian home, the mysterious gnome of the mountain caves, with his phallic characteristics, his affinity with the worker in iron and fire, the hoarder of treasure connected with the god of luck, finally the mystery and revelling of the Kabeiros—these need only to be mentioned to be recalled. But as for Kabāiras or Kubēras, who would think of him as capable of being interpreted in the same way, I venture to add even described with the same words?

The fact is, however, that Sanskrit scholars are obliged to depend in large part for their understanding of Hindu gods upon statements made in comparatively late literature, and when these statements are united in the current mythological handbooks with other data drawn at random from Vedic and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Meeting of the Oriental Congress—Athens, April, 1912.

epic literature, the result is such a hodge-podge of truth and error that the god depicted represents neither the Vedic, epic, nor Puranic conception, but a fearful mixture of notions drawn from different millenniums. Thus the latest and least authoritative native authors furnish the data which give the outline of Kubēra as pictured in the standard mythology. He is a god having several wives, none of whom is known to any ancient writer; he possesses only eight teeth and has three legs, characteristics opposed to his earlier conception, though perhaps in part retained from traits not formally acknowledged,<sup>1</sup> he has several sons, only one of whom is really known as such; he "receives no worship", whereas he is worshipped in earlier literature; and finally, most of his characteristic traits are ignored altogether. A closer study of the Kubēra (Kubāiras) of early literature will show that this "god" wins his high title late in life and that he is no bad representative on Hindu soil of the Greek Kabeiros-Koboiros (Kobalos).

In regard to the form of the name, it appears as Kubāra for earlier (\*Kabēra) Kabēraka (the ending *-ka* is secondary and is found also in the epic Kubēraka), in which *ē* — *āi*. Native authorities enlist the form with other words in *-ēra*, *guhēra*, *godhēra*, *kathēra*, *kuṭēra*, *gaḍēra*, *gudēra*, etc., a formation which begins early and till late remains active enough to produce fresh combinations of the same sort, such as *śrāmanēra* and *saṅgamanēra*, the Buddhistic tinge of which, together with the marked linguality of the earlier group, may suggest that forms in *-ēra* were felt to be vulgar rather than acceptable Sanskrit. Professor Wackernagel also explains the form in *u* as a "*mundartliche oder plebeische Form*" (*loc. cit.* p. 316). Yet the *-ēra* words stand in close connection with *-ēru* forms, and these again (*madēru*, *sanēru*, etc.) are merely variants of older or perhaps more elegant forms in *-ara*, *-aru*, and *-ru* (cf. *patēra* — *patara* — *pataru*; also *śatēra* — *śatru*). Other variations also occur, *muhēra* — *muhira*, etc. Some of these are not found in the extant literature, but there is no reason for supposing, for example, that a native scholar made out of whole cloth such words as *gaḍēra*, "cloud" or *dañśēra*, "harmful". It is with these forms that the word Kubāra is

<sup>1</sup> The three-legged Kubēra is doubtless a phallic conception parallel to the *tripedētēstēs* of Theocritus.



grouped, which stands to Kubēra as the similar *guḍēra* stands to *guḍēraka*.<sup>1</sup>

But if Kubēra has a vulgar form it is no more than he deserves. For he begins as a vulgar little fellow. His name probably comes from *kub* (as *daśēra* from *daś*, *guhēra* from *guh*, etc.), to which native authorities assign the word *kubra*, "cover" as hole (cave) and as forest, *kub* itself being explained as "cover over" (*kub*, *kumb*, *ācchādane*). Possibly *kubja*, "bent" may be from the same root. Kubēra then is etymologically a spirit of cover, of hiding. Hence his character as chief Guhyaka (*guh*, "hide"), allied etymologically again with *guhēra* as "blacksmith", with that association of smith and secrecy seen in the case of the Kabirs and other gnomes. Our Kubēra is primarily and above all a Guhyaka-Yakṣa, "hiding-spirit". Kubēra has a son Kūbara (related in ending as *patēra* to *patara* "flyer", bird) to which is prefixed *nala*, as I think for *nara*, sprite, the *Naras* being spirits belonging especially to the court of Kubēra and associated with him as a peculiar kind of Gandharva-spirit distinct from the *Kim-naras*. The *nara* anyway is a spirit (*Naraka*, "place of spirits"), of water particularly. There is a body of water underground where these water-spirits abound, the noise of running water being the "singing" of the *Kim-naras*, which accompanies the "dancing" of these spirits of cloud and waterfall. *Nala* is identical with *nara* and means a water-plant (cf. *nahana*) or water-sprite (cf. *Nalasetu*). *Nārāyaṇa* means the place of water (spirits).<sup>2</sup>

The form *Kāubēra* is used of the followers of Kubēra or of his other belongings, or of the drama concerned with his daughter-in-law (Rambhābhīṣara, H. 8694), but not of his son (as patronymic).

<sup>1</sup> The AV. form *Kāśveraka* (Kashmir) is not so original as *Kābēraka* (v. l. *Kāvēraka*). It is due to an attempt to make a regular patronymic of Kubēra, like *Bhāuvāyana* and *Dhṛāva* from *Bhuva* and *Dhruva*. *Kābēraka* reverts to "Kabēra as Śābara to Śābara, Hāleya to Hali, etc. Compare *daśēra-ka* and *daśēra*, the creature that bites (camel or fish).

<sup>2</sup> Activity connotes energy and bravery, hence the tertium that connects water and bravery (*puruṣa*, a brave man, *purīṣa*, water, *purīṣya*, of fire as energetic); hence too the (vital) spirit, as an active energy and the hero (*Nero*, *Neria*, *aspe*) on the one hand and *Nereus*, water-spirit, on the other. Virtue, activity, is nerve (cf. *gūṇa*, sinew and virtue). *Nart*, "dance" is only a special form of activity and is related to the water-idea as salt and saliva come from *śar* "go", "flow".

The group of beings over whom Kubēra is lord are, as has been said, "hidērs", and his most characteristic name in all periods is "lord of the Guhyakas", who are also called the "other people", the old euphemistic designation (equivalent to "good people") of sprites, gnomes, and ghosts. His father is a doubtful personality, who is represented as a great seer or as the son of the Creator-god. His mother is the earth, represented as a cow, whence he is called "son of the cow"; yet another tradition, which had as yet scarcely obtained foothold in the epics, but appears in the subsequent Puranic literature, assigns him a nymph-mother called Ilavilā. He is primarily lord of the spirits who hide (and find) treasure in the mountains. The one son he has lives with him in the hill-country in the North, where, with them, bands of Guhyas or Guhyakas watch all gold and wealth hidden in the hills. Kubēra and his troops are under the patronage of the phallic mountain-god Śiva, to whom Kubēra stands in somewhat the same relation as that occupied in relation to Kubēra himself by his own underling, the great "Jewel"-spirit, whose name appears in full as Mapi- (or Māni-) bhadrā (or -vara), and whose father is declared in the later part of the epic to be "he of the silver navel".<sup>1</sup> It is Śiva who is the mighty god of the North and as such, though the especial friend of Kubēra, as the Mountain-goddess was also his friend (despite the fact that their anger was not restrained when Kubēra was indiscreet), he was historically the cause of Kubēra's remaining an inferior spirit. So rapid is the growth of Kubēra's reputation that, as patron spirit of wealth and treasure, he would undoubtedly have become to the North what Agni became to the East; but in fact he was scarcely able to attain the position of world-protector, and Śiva overshadowed him completely. He is first represented as a sprite of concealment, living on that as his sustenance and associated with similar spirits the "good people", who also are thus nourished by their earth-mother. Earth the shining goddess is their mother, earth (the soil) is their "dish", as contrasted with the "silver" dish (the moon) of the Manes. This is expressed in the following passages of

<sup>1</sup> This epithet is applied to the greater and lesser spirits; probably at first to Śiva and then transferred to Kubēra (cf. *trishiraṇ* and *trishiras*, of Śiva and Kubēra). Cf. Guha as son of Śiva.



the Atharva Veda and the Great Epic, identical passages in variant forms.<sup>1</sup>

AV. 8, 10, 28, so 'dakrāmat se 'tarajanān āgacchat tām itarajanū upāhvayanta tirodha ehi 'ti; tasyāh Kubero Vāisṛavaṇo vatsa śisū, āmapātram pātram; tām Rajatanūbhīh Kabērako 'dhok, tām tirodhām evā 'dhok; tām tirodhām itarajanā upa jīvanti, tiro dhatte survam pāpmānam upajīvantiyo bhavati ya evam veda (v. l. *puṇya* for *itara*).

Mbhā. 7, 69, 24:

antarādhānam cā 'mapātre dugdhā puṇyajanāir Virāt,  
dogdhā Vāisṛavaṇas teṣāṃ vatsūś cā 'śid vṛsadhvajah  
(v. l. in SI. text, cā 'śit Kuberakah).

Harivaṃśa, 382 f.:

Yakṣāś cā śrūyate rājan punar dugdhā vasumāharā,  
āmapātre mahārāja purā 'ntardhānam akṣayam;  
vatsam Vāisṛavaṇam kṛtvā Yakṣāḥ puṇyajanāis tadā,  
dogdhā Rajatanūbhas tu pitā Maṇivarasya yah,  
Yakṣātmajo mahātejās trisīrṣaḥ sumahātāpāh;  
tena te vartayanti 'ti paramarṣir uvāca ha.

About the same time probably as that of the first of these passages is that of the Brāhmaṇa which describes Kubera as lord of Rakṣasas (ŚB. 13, 4, 3, 10) and (or?) *selagas* (*śerabha* "snake"?). Rakṣasas the Hindus regard as brothers or cousins of the Yaksas, the former being prevaillingly evil but sometimes good, the latter prevaillingly good but sometimes evil. The Guhyakas are often identified with the Yaksas, although they occasionally appear as a separate band. In fact, however, Yaksas are the genus and Guhyakas are the species, as Kinānaras are a species of Gandharvas. All these spirits, of hiding, helping, singing and dancing, together with serpents, dwarfs, personified gem- and jewel-spirits, and "wizard"-spirits, are under Kubera.

Kubera's association with Śiva rests on a deeper basis than the hills where they live together. Both are geni of productivity. This is the reason why Kubera and Isāna (Śiva) are invoked together and especially "for the husband" at the marriage-ceremony (Śāṅkh. GS. 1, 11, 7). Kubera is god of increase, both of children and wealth. His wife is thus Riddhi, Prosperity, who is recognized as such in the later parts of

<sup>1</sup> Here and in the following I omit the macron over *i*, not usually written in Sanskrit words.



the epic; as Lakṣmī is also so closely connected with him that she is associated with Nala-Kūbara at his court, possibly with the idea that she is really Kubera's wife, as was actually imagined in post-epic literature despite Viṣṇu's claim upon the lady. When a man marries and when a man digs for treasure, he makes offerings to Kubera as the spirit of good luck and prosperity in general. But the adoration of Kubera and the offerings made to him were regularly similar to those offered to his coadjutor the Jewel-spirit; though once identified with those offered to a recognized god, namely when the epic hero is digging for treasure.

Kubera is a god, *deva*, only in the later parts of the epic. The view that he was once a man, afterwards raised to god-head, is an exaggeration both of the epic data and of the historical facts. In the epic he is the "king of kings", as is Rāvaṇa the Rākṣas, and he is "chief of kings"; but he is never thought of as a mere man, as he is seldom thought of as a god in the full sense of that term. He is always a *Gṛhyaka* "hiding-spirit", one of that spirit-clan to which are assigned dubious characters, such as animals and plants of recognized spirit-power, and in particular the half-gods or half-divine dioscuroi twins (*Aśvins*), though later (Puranic) tradition asserts definitely enough that Kubera, together with his follower Nandīśvara (also the name of Śiva's follower and of Śiva himself), was a "god with human nature", *manuṣya-prakṛti*, for which there is no basis at all in the early texts. One may assume that all demoniac forms were "degraded tribes" of Hindus; but this opens up a question similar to that as to the interpretation of European fairies as wild men, etc. One might say that the Śābalas are wild demoniac mountaineers and that Kuberas and Śābalas (*k* = ś, *r* = l) were originally one (cf. *kimīdina* and *śimīdas* as demons); but that would be guess-work and after all would not help us to determine what the epic Hindus thought of Kubera. Both epics state plainly that Kubera was not at first a god; but godhood was given to him as a special boon.

One other point in regard to a misunderstood tradition. The epic poets call Kubera *Naravāhana* ("having a vehicle of Naras"), and the later writers interpret this as "carried by men", that is in a palanquin or *narayāna*. One looks in vain, however, for any evidence that Kubera was carried by

men. In post-epical times he rides a buffalo; but that is another comparatively modern touch. The curious thing is that, if *naras* be men, Kubera is described as "carried by men" just when he is not so carried. Like other supernatural beings of the epic, gods, seers, angels, etc., Kubera has his own aeroplane, a very large and roomy car, which was especially presented to him by the Creator, and which has the reputation of being the fastest car on the road of spirits. And yet even as Kubera, who always rides in this car, is stepping into it, the poet calls him *Naravāhana*. But this absurdity is overcome if one remembers that the verb from which comes *vāhana* is used of the spirits called *Guhyakas* as "carriers" of Kubera's car. "By the *Guhyakas*", it is said, "is carried, *uhyamānam*, the car of Kubera". In other words, as explained above, the *Naras* are spirits, and Kubera's car is harnessed by spirits, sometimes described as *Guhyakas* and sometimes as mysterious horse-like birds or bird-like horses, who yet at the same time are *Gandharvas*, that is, I suppose, the *Naras* as singing spirits, half horse and half bird. They "fly" like birds and "neigh victory" like horses and are called *Gandharvas* as well as *Guhyakas*, so that there is not much doubt as to what *Naravāhana* in Kubera's case really means, "he who is carried by spirits", though the same word is applied in *naravāhin* to a palanquin used by kings and ladies in its normal human sense. The fearful foe of the gods, *Nahuṣa*, drove a team of spirit-saints and because they were saints he sinned. Kubera drove a team of his own spirits, who were his servants.

Gold is the metal with which Kubera is especially concerned. In this he differs from the *Kabirs*, who worked in baser metal, whereas the Northern mountains where Kubera lives are famous for "fair Himalayan mines of gold", not to speak of the gold brought from *Hātaka*, also in the Northern mountains, or of the "gold dug up by ants", which must also have come from the mountains (perhaps from the upper Ganges), because the only time it is mentioned it is spoken of as being brought down by the mountaineers of the North as tribute (to Delhi, as now named).

In connection with this gold (Kubera, by the way, is said to have a "body made of gold"), there is a well-known proverb, which appears half a dozen times in the epic in almost



but not quite identical words and states that a rash and greedy man is like the climber after honey, which is to be got only by scaling cliffs, on the face of which, at the mouth of cliff-caves, the bees build. So the proverb: "He longs for honey but forgets the fall". Now this proverb is applied to a king who has stolen another's wealth and is liable to fall in consequence, and the epic poet likens him to one who seeks to steal the "honey loved of Kubera". Of course the native expounder says that Kubera's pet food is honey, and perhaps it is; but it is worthy of notice that the poet is careful to say nothing about eating. He does not say it is Kubera's food but it is "that (thing) beloved by Kubera", or "Kubera's gold honey", *madhu pītakamāksikam*, which the Petersburg Lexicon (comparing *\*suvarnamāksikam*) interprets as pyrites, though saffron might just as well be meant, since this also is picked off the cliffs and it is dangerous work for one "who gathers samphire, dreadful trade", whether practiced at Dover, in Lemnos (home of the Kabir!), or in India. Yet the "honey of Kubera" is not on the face of the cliff but in a jar in a cave, and the application of the proverb must lie in the necessity of scaling the cliff to get to the cave. Now in India not only honey but gold is kept in jars, in fact the jar buried underground is the ordinary bank of the Hindu peasant to this day. Thus the allusion, made rather skillfully to what is called "Kubera's honey", is in fact to "the favorite of Kubera", i. e. gold. This gold is described as kept in a cave guarded by dragons (serpents) and he who attains to this, is made happy ever after: "It gives to mortals immortality; it makes the blind see; it restores [youth to the aged]" (Mbh. 5, 64, 18 f.). Perhaps that is claiming a good deal, even for Kubera's gold, but it is as reasonable as to turn the gold into pyrites; though it might be saffron (*kāvera*, the name suggests this) and it is possible to take Kubera's honey literally as eating may be implied, though not stated. There is something Medean about the restoration to youth which suggests the possibility of a connection with the "dragon-guarded" fleece, though they may be independent tales, and the Hindu version is perhaps not without conscious twisting to the honey-moral, which is the sole reason why it is dragged into the story. It is a tale which has to be explained by spirit-experts or jugglers with spirits, as if to be taken with a grain of salt



(*vidyājambhāvartika* priests, also said to be *jambhasādhakas* ib. 16 and 20) and is told for edification rather than for belief. The moly (of Hermes) may also be compared with "Kubera's Gold", if it should prove to be a plant.

Another mark of Kubera is his interest, one might almost say ownership, in the "playground of the gods". For though this is recognized as "the gods' playground" in general, yet in particular it is called "the playground of Kubera". This is almost a foregone conclusion, since it is Kubera who possesses the mountain-top on which the playground is found. But the only play known to the gods is the dance, and this is the real meaning of *ā-kṛīḍa* (*kṛīḍ* "play" is really the same with *kūrīḍ*, "leap, play, dance"; cf. Grk. *kordax*). The *ākṛīḍ-abhūmi*, "ground for dancing", is also said to belong to the spirits who especially act as attendants of Kubera, probably the spirits of dancing waters. One of Kubera's spritelike characteristics is his trick of keeping spellbound a chance visitor from the earth, who is travelling through the hill-country and suddenly comes upon the "lake of lotuses of gold", near Kubera's home. Kubera receives him very politely and immediately proposes to entertain him with an exhibition of dance and music given by his attendant nymphs and musicians. At the end of the "divine year" during which the performance lasts, the guest hurries away, realizing for the first time the passage of time. As he departs, Kubera says, rather dryly, "Yes, this music is a very captivating thing" (*hāryo 'yaṁ gāndharvāḥ*) and lets him go (Mbh. 13, 19, 33 f.).

Among the regular attendants of Kubera are the *Nāgas* or *mahoragas*, the cobra-serpents famous for stealing and hiding jewels. If Kubera has more to do with gold than with iron or copper, it is not because he is never conceived as a smith, *guhera*, but because he is rather a *Guyaka* than a *guhera*; that is, he conceals gold and jewels rather than manufactures things from metal, though one tradition has it that he made his own palace, which is all of gold-work. But another tradition says that this palace was made by the "All-maker", and it is this figure of the All-maker which has put Kubera aside as a fashioner, as it has put aside Agni the fire-god as a companion to Vulcan, though now and then Indra or some other god takes the All-maker's place and is represented as himself the maker of arms and palaces. Never-

theless, both in the matter of gold and in that of jewels, Kubera has to do both with fire and with serpents. Thus one of the regents of the constellation under which a successful search for treasure may be prosecuted is the Serpent of the Depth, Ahi Budhnya, and the treasure is found through the combined aid of Agni and Kubera.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the Serpent of the Depth presides over the finding of treasure, has several bearings of interest. In the first place it suggests the relation between Kubera and the serpents in general. As inhabitants of holes, underground palaces, etc., snakes are looked upon both as guarding and as stealing treasure, especially jewels. The case of the Diamond Necklace is not more famous in modern literature than was the case of The Queen's Ear-rings in India, stolen by the king of serpents. Likeness also illustrates the connection between jewels and snakes, "brilliant as the golden stone guarded by serpents", etc. It is these serpents that are part of the retinue of Kubera, though he himself is not in any way serpent-like; but since he is *guhya* or *guhya*, the "Concealing" Nāgas are associated with him.

Another bearing of the fact regarding the Serpent of the Depth is that, as Kubera's treasure is found by men, so Kubera himself in turn is presented by the great god Śiva, his particular friend, with one quarter of all the wealth of the golden mountain (Meru), and it is thus that men eventually get it through the aid of Kubera, Fire, and Wind (which clearly indicate a sort of Vulcan with forge and bellows); for Kubera himself first gets out the treasure, which in this case is the gold of the hills, and then out of that which the supreme god of the mountains, Śiva, has allowed him, he gives one sixteenth to man. Analogy between the luck-spirit and the Hellenic god of luck is evident; but there is no special connection between the names or functions of Kubera and

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly Kubera had to do originally with *kupya*, copper and other base metals, as well as with gold. This word (ascribed in P.W. to *kup*, as *irrasomdim*, or "metal easily moved") may be from *kup*, "shine", and is possibly represented by the "copper-isle", Kypros, which is as likely to have been named "copper-land" as copper is likely to have been named "Cyprus-stuff". So the Kassiterides were named from their metal (Sk. *kassira* is a late loan word). A parallel may be found in *śābara*, "copper" from *śābara*, mountaineer, as "mountain-stuff".



Hermes, and except for his association with Wind and Fire, Kubera has no likeness with Hephaistos.

The luck-function of Kubera and his kind stands of course in direct connection with that attribute of Kubera and the "good-people" which is the most conspicuous trait on his first appearance (in the Vedic text cited above) and on which the epic poets are never weary of harping. Kubera has "disappearance" as his very sustenance; he and his followers live on it, that is, like the goblins of other lands, they disappear at will; but also, as they disappear (fading out of sight, as one epic poet says, "like *fata morgana*"), so too they appear at will; and lastly, also like gnomes of other lands, things which have disappeared they can make appear to plain view. This they do by the application of magic, as when Kubera lets appear for an aged saint, who according to a third tradition of his birth is his own grandfather, a complete phantasmagoria of his beloved gardens and parks; or, again, by letting a mortal use some magic water, "and when he uses it he shall see all concealed things". This is what Kubera did for the hero Rāma, sending him a bottle of this magic eye-wash by a Guhyaka servant (Mbh. 3, 289, 9).

It may be asked whether there is any probability that the "good people" associated with Kubera are ghosts. I think not. Both in the Veda and in the epic the Yakṣas and other fairies are kept distinct from the Manes. It is a later tradition (still obtaining in Ceylon and India) which confuses "Yakkas" with the ghosts of the dead. Thus in the Atharva Veda, "the Fathers (ghosts) and the good people" are distinguished from each other, as both together are distinguished from the gods (AV. 8, 8, 15, etc.). Exactly so in the Great Epic, *Guhyāḥ pitṛganāḥ sapta*, "Guhyakas and the seven groups of Fathers" (3, 3, 43) are differentiated, as in another passage (7, 69, 10 f.) "the seven seers, the good people and the Fathers". The Guhyakas, except as messengers, rarely leave their hills, though they occasionally join the host of gods, demons, Fathers, and spirits who watch and admire a conflict of men; but unique is the notion that Guhyakas are among the luminous bodies of heaven, though even there they are differentiated from the equally luminous souls of departed saints which shine as stars on high. Such an isolated bit of poetic fancy cannot impugn the value of the current view,



that the Guhyakas, of whom Kubera is one and the chief, are earth-goblins, who belong to the shrinking class of hiding sprites. That they are not very martial spirits, like their cousin or brother Rakṣasas, may be gathered from the fact that cowardly soldiers do not go to the world of Indra, the god of battles, but to the "world of Guhyakas" (II. 26, 12 f.), though to get even to this place they must at least be killed with a sword, and not "killed anyway"; otherwise they go to the land of the peace-loving (not martial) Hyperboreans (Northern Kurus). Kubera's own world, in the formal enumeration of all possible worlds of spirits and gods, stands almost at the bottom of the list, only one degree higher in fact than the world of Death (Yama), which of course is underground. It is thus located far below the world of the real gods and turns out on examination to be in fact nothing save the mountain-region round the upper reaches of the Ganges (his paradise of Alakā), final indication of the essentially earthly, if not chthonic<sup>1</sup>, nature of this goblin, who, though in time he became "king of kings", "god", and "guardian of the North", became thus exalted ever with the clear understanding that divinity was given him because he "clove to the Father-god" and was virtuous, instead of siding with his brothers, the Rakṣa-giants, who strove against the gods.

Kubera changes his form but once. That is when the gods and good spirits are all frightened at the onslaught of these same giants or fiends and take the shape of animals, "thousand-eyed Indra" naturally becoming the peacock (which explains why that bird still has a thousand eyes in its tail), Kubera becoming the chameleon (which explains why the chameleon is of such brilliant hues). Perhaps, however, the connection of thought originally was in the association of the chameleon also with holes, and hiding-places; for *godhā*, chameleon, is derived by native scholars (perhaps correctly) from the same root *guh*, *guh*, *κρυβω*, from which comes Guhyaka.

Though Kubera has only one spirit-son, Nala-Kubara, the Rāmāyaṇa assigns him an incarnation in the shape of the monkey called Gandhamādana. As this is also the name of Kubera's favorite mountain, the tale may be due to confusion of thought or conscious feeling of appropriateness, especially

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the "Banyan-tree of Vessavaṇa", Mahavāṇsa, 10, 89.

since Kubera seems to be an afterthought, the original story being that Yama and not Kubera was sire of the incarnated divinity called "Gandhamādana the ape". This fact is not without further significance. The later inclusion of Kubera when the gods are called upon to reincarnate themselves in earthly forms to fight against the giant fiends, shows what was thought of Kubera. He was not primarily one of the great *devas* who so incorporated themselves. But later he was assigned a son, on earth, as were the other gods, because he was then risen to the position of guardian god.

Nala-Kubera, the only real son of Kubera, is a spirit noted for his grace and good manners in the non-epic but popular tradition of the Jains, as was his father for beauty in the same cycle. Preller (fourth ed., p. 858) supposes that the epithet *καλλίπαις*, given to the Lesbian Kabeiros, implies (one son) Hermes, a doubtful suggestion at most; but in any event it is curious that Kubera's one son should be a model of the grace for which Hermes stands as type (*kubera* itself is said to mean "charming"). This son of Kubera wed the "fairest of nymphs", Rambhā, who was turned into a rock, like Niobe, for certain indiscretions less innocent than those of her Hellenic companion in suffering. She doubtless belongs to the large class of those petrified spirits, which are found all over earth, from India and the Pillar of Salt to the stones of South America which "once were men" but died for impiety and still "look like men". Instead of men, women and spirits are the favorite victims in India.

The attention paid in the Great Epic of India to the lower mythology is in marked contrast to the indifference displayed toward this most valuable survival of antiquity both in Greek epic poetry and in earlier Brahmanic poetry with the exception of the Atharva Veda. Elsewhere we pick up as we can what the poet has unconsciously let fall. Here we find the lower mythology itself presented as worthy of regard. Thus Kubera himself, as a superior goblin become a god, is naturally *fêted*, but also his humble followers are given name and place, sometimes both, often only the name or only the place. I have already pointed out that the attendant spirits of Śiva have names reflecting Kubera's own essential characteristics. It remains to speak of the many little followers of Kubera who are referred to by name, unfortunately



seldom of much significance, and of the enumeration of shrines sacred to the female followers of Kubera. There are several of these lady fairies or goblinettes who have renowned "bathing-places", that is, shrines at a river, where one may offer prayers or bathe, for the good of his life if not of his soul. At one of these shrines to a Yakṣiṇī, one is said to "obtain all his wishes", while at another, if one only bathes there (it is a sort of Kurhaus), one is freed from all ills and evils, even "the ill (evil) of slaying a priest". Both Kubera and his attendant Maṇivara are, so to speak, patron saints of the travelling merchants, whose misfortunes are spoken of so often in Buddhist stories. These doubtless did much to elevate the rôle of Kubera and his attendants, the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs or Yakṣiṇīs, to whom the caravanners prayed and raised shrines. It will be remembered in the tale of Nala that the master of the caravan at once assumes that Damayantī may be the goddess of the place, either of the forest or "of this mountain", or a Yakṣi or a Rākṣasi and, believing her to be "goddess or fairy", first calls upon her "*kuru naḥ svasti*", "give us weal"<sup>1</sup> and then, when he finds she is only human, concludes with the prayer, "Maṇibhadra, king of Yakṣas, have mercy upon us". This "Jewel"-spirit shares with Kubera the title "king of Yakṣas" (fairies); but very likely Kubera stole it from him as an extension of his own proper title, "king of gnomes" (Guhyakas); for though Kubera becomes the lord of the Yakṣas as well as the lord of all the Kinnaras and other spirits of this ilk, yet this is simply an illustration of his gradual evolution into a god. For example, the technical title, Kinnarāśvara, "lord of Kinnaras" is not actually given to him till a later period than that in which he is spoken of as (informally) master of these spirits, just as he is not actually called a god till the later epic. He is made a god and so he is made lord and king of Yakṣas, but by nature he is lord of Guhaykas and Rākṣasas, spirits "concealing" and "guarding" (also "injuring"). From this point, with the advance in trade and exploration, Kubera rises to be lord of all the

<sup>1</sup> It is not to be taken for granted that a fairy Yakṣi will be kindly disposed, though this is usually the case. There is such a thing as "possession by a Yakṣa", which drives one mad, or makes ill, etc. When roused to anger even a female saint may act like a fiend.



fairies and spirits and "guardian of the North". When he gets to that point he inevitably becomes the "god of the North" though still by grace of Śiva, his friend and over-lord.

Rubensohn, in his *Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, after saying very reasonably that both names and number of the Kabeiroi are still quite doubtful, suggests that further investigation may enable us to trace these spirits to their "Phoenician origin", and then sums up what we really know about them: "es sind chthonische Gottheiten, die in einem gewissen Verwandtschaftsgrad zur Kybele standen" (p. 128).

But Rubensohn, like his predecessors, imagines that the Kabeiroi were attached to the cults of Dionysos or Hephaistos because they were "not quite at home" in Hellas, failing to see that the lower mythological figures are never quite at home in the companionship of finer and loftier gods, not because these gods are necessarily racially distinct but because they represent a different civilization in which, to survive at all, the lower must cling to the higher. That has always been the case. That the Kabeiroi are accidentally attached to the mother-goddess Rhea is as much an assumption as that they were accidentally attached to Kybele. Their connection with Kybele is that of the gnome to its cave; their attachment to Rhea is through Kybele, who was identified with a higher conception of the earth-mother. It is also with the mountain "mothers" of the Śiva-cult that the Hindu counterpart of the Greek Kabeiros has closest connection, for these mothers too are mountain-spirits and their names are in part identical with Kubera's. Vittadā, Vasudā<sup>1</sup>, Pīṅākṣī, called "mother" spirits in the cult of Śiva, are merely Kubera's titles, "wealth-giver", etc., in a feminine form; as his own titles, "lord of beings" (spirits), are in part those of Śiva himself. Kubera (= Kabairas) is in fact a pigmy Śiva, as Śiva is a monstrous over-grown Kabairas. The spirit of the cave, the hiding spirit, who is guardian of treasure, lord of treasure-trove, and whose rôle as spirit of increase covers also

<sup>1</sup> Vasudā is also "earth". Parallel forms are Vasudharā, Vasudharā, Vasumdhara; of which the first is one of the names given later to "Kubera's city", while all three forms designate the Buddhist goddess known as the wife of Kubera Jambhalaṇ. Compare A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie hindoue de l'Inde*.

productivity (as genius invoked "for the man" in marriage), whose Guhya-name is reflected in the *guhera*, "smith", *loha-ghātaka*, is as near a counterpart to the Greek Kabeiros as could be wished. The Kabeiroi also were eventually reckoned as "great gods". The part of the Kobaloi, the mischievous sprites hiding in the house rather than in the mountain-cave, is not so obvious in the epic; but literature outside of and older than the epics shows that the "servants of Kubera" were particularly annoying to children, and these must have been house-spirits who plagued children (as described in Hiran. GS. 2, 1, 3, 7; not included in the list at Parask. GS. 1, 16, 23), as did Śiva's evil mother-spirits.

That Kubera is not mentioned in the solemn literature devoted to the great gods is not a proof that he was unknown to the early age of the first Vedas. He was not yet divine. It took a long time for him to become a god, but finally he achieved this and as god of the North became even a witness-god in the law-courts. If Śiva had been as non-local as Viṣṇu, Kubera would probably have taken his place as great god of the North. As it was, he remained at best a respectable *deva*, whose cult was largely augmented by the growth of commerce. As a god it was felt that he ought to be good-looking and so the epics represent him, beautiful, luminous, glorious to see. But probably the concurrent conception of him as a goblin, and goblins are seldom beautiful, resulted in the eventual triumph of the opposite view that he was deformed, perhaps *kubja* (see above), "bent", with too few teeth and too many legs. Then, instead of referring Kubera to *kub*, the wise men invented the word *vera*, gave it the meaning "body" and interpreted Kubera as *ku-vera*, "having a vile body". The beginning of this is found in the last (latest) book of the Rāmāyana, which explains that Kubera became jaundiced in one eye, because he indiscreetly looked at the Mountain-goddess when she was occupied with Śiva, her husband; a tale which, while it looks forward to Kubera's later ugliness, also reverts to his character as a Peeping Tom, or gnome. His later title, "Lord of Love", is connected with his attributes as marriage-divinity; for which reason also he is closely united with the amorous Gandharvas.



*Atharvaprāyaścittāni.* Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof.  
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Germany.

Oṃ namo 'tharvavedāya<sup>1</sup> | athā 'to yājñe karmanī prāya-  
ścittāni vyākhyāsyāmo vidhy-aparādhe<sup>2</sup> | sarvatra<sup>3</sup> punaḥ kṛ-  
tyam<sup>4</sup> kṛtvō 'ttarataḥ prāyaścittam prāyaścittam vā kṛtvō 'ttara-  
taḥ samādhānam<sup>5</sup> | yat pūrvam prāyaścittam karoti grhāḥ paśu-  
bhir evai 'nam samardhayati | yad uttarataḥ svargenai<sup>6</sup> 'vai 'nam<sup>7</sup>  
tal lokena samardhayati<sup>8</sup> | katham<sup>9</sup> agnī ādhāyā 'nvābhārya

<sup>1</sup> B oṃ namo brahmavedāya C oṃ namo gaṇeśāya | atharvavedāya  
namah | <sup>2</sup> A 'yarādhe; dafür setzt K. S. 25, 1. 1 folg.: karmopapāte  
und fügt hinzu: sa ca catuḥprakāro bhavati akaraṇam nyūnakaraṇam  
akṛitakaraṇam ayathākaraṇam ce 'ti; Śv. Prāy. 1b: ... śrautaprāyaścitta-  
ni ... vihitā-karaṇe anyathā-karaṇe ca bhavanti | Śrautaprāyaścitta-  
candrikā 1. 1: śrauta-karmanu bhrama-pramādaḥkarm akaraṇasyā 'nyathā-  
karaṇasya vā sambhavitatvena karmanām asūrgatvā- "pattisamkayā lokānām  
apravṛtter asakya- "ansthāna-lakṣaṇam apramāṇyam prasaṅgya | ato 'karaṇā-  
'nyathākaraṇa-dosa-dustāny api karmāṇi kṛta-prāyaścittāni saṃgāni bha-  
vanti 'ti karma-nirvāhikāni prāyaścittāny ucyante | yathā "hur acārya-  
pādāḥ | prāyo vināśa-paryāyāḥ | sa ca 'py akaraṇād bhavet | anyathā-  
karaṇād vā [pi] tat-samādhā 'cittiko 'cyate | tāni dvividhāni mantrānāni  
gaṇanāni ca | mantra-lingaṇā 'mātāni mantrā- "mātāni | abhi[r]  
gīrbhir ity ādini gaṇeṇā 'mātāni mīmāṃsādi-gaṇāni | prāyaścitta-homa-  
kālas trayāḥ | pradhāna-sauvīkṛt-kṛt-samīkṣa-yajña-jam prāg ity evam-ādāyāḥ |  
iṣṭi-rūpāni prāyaścittāni upakṛānte- "jñau samāptāyām bhavanti |. Zwei  
Arten der Sühne: s. Anm. 6. <sup>3</sup> B sarva <sup>4</sup> B kṛtyam kṛtvō 'ttarataḥ  
samādhānam <sup>5</sup> C svagnam <sup>6</sup> Nach K. S. 25, 1. 1 sollen  
rituelle Verfehlung und Sühne gleichzeitig erfolgen; vgl. Agn. Prāy.  
1b: vidhy-aparādhe prāyaścittih | vihitasyā 'karaṇe anyathā-karaṇe prā-  
yaścittih kartavyā parādhe sati tad-arthataya vihitam asti eot tad eva  
kartavyam | tan nā 'ti eot vyāṅgīhomah kartavyāḥ | kālas tu prāyaścitta-  
nām nimittā-nantaram | rītā-bhāve pratidinib; dazu Comm.: mukhya-  
sya 'bhāve pratidinib upādātavya eva | pratidinib sadṛśāḥ | ājya-payasoh  
parasparaṇi pratidinibivam | yathāha kauṇḍīnyāḥ | ... tādṛśa-yathokta-  
vāstr-aśābhe tu grāhyam ( ) tad-anukāri yad yavā-bhāve tu godhūmā(?)  
vrihyā-bhāve tuśale tu āvelaya iti manuh (corrupt). <sup>7</sup> Vgl. Ait.  
Brāhm. 7. 12. 4.



śrapaṇam<sup>8</sup> āharet | katham iti | prāṇa<sup>9</sup> vā<sup>8</sup> ete<sup>9</sup> yajamānasyā  
 'dhyātman nīdhyante yad agnayas | teṣu hutesu dakṣiṇāgnāv<sup>10</sup>  
 ājyāhutim<sup>10</sup> jūbūyad agnaye 'nnādāya 'nnapataye svāhe 'ti | ka-  
 tham agniṁ ādhāya pravāsati<sup>11</sup> | yathai 'nān<sup>12</sup> na virodhayed<sup>12</sup>  
 api ha<sup>14</sup> śasvad<sup>14</sup> brāhmaṇanigamo bhavati | prāṇan vā eṣo  
 'nucarān<sup>15</sup> kṛtvā carati yo 'gnim ādhāya pravāsati<sup>16</sup> 'ti | katham  
 agniṁ ādhāya pravatsyan<sup>17</sup> prośya vo 'patiṣṭheta<sup>17</sup> | tūṣṇim eva  
 'ty āhuḥ | tūṣṇim vai<sup>18</sup> śreyāṁsam<sup>19</sup> ākāṅkṣanti<sup>19</sup> | yadi manasi  
 kurvitā<sup>20</sup> 'bhayaṁ vo<sup>21</sup> 'bhayaṁ<sup>21</sup> me 'stv ity abhayaṁ  
 hai 'vā 'sya bhavaty evam upatiṣṭhamānasya | ekavacanam  
 ekāgṇan<sup>22</sup> | purā chāyānām<sup>23</sup> sambhedā<sup>24</sup> gārhapatyād āhava-  
 niyam<sup>25</sup> abyuddharen<sup>25</sup> | mṛtyum vai pāpmānam chāyām  
 tarati<sup>26</sup> | sampraiṣam kṛtvā<sup>27</sup> 'ddharā 'havanīyam iti | sam-  
 praiṣavarjam ekā-ḡṇan | 1 | vacā tvā hotrā prāṇena<sup>28</sup> 'dhvar-  
 yunā<sup>29</sup> cakaṁṣo 'dgātrā<sup>30</sup> manasā brahmaṇā srotreṇā 'gnī-  
 dhireṇai<sup>31</sup> 'tais tvā pañcabhir rtvigbhir daivyaḥ abhyuddha-  
 rāmy<sup>32</sup> | uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmāno mā yad avidvān yac  
 ca vidvāṁś cakārā<sup>33</sup> | 'hnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam sarva-  
 smād<sup>34</sup> enasa uddhṛto<sup>34</sup> muñca tasmād iti sāyam | rātryā yad  
 enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam<sup>35</sup> iti prātar | amṛtā- 'hutim amṛtāyām ju-  
 homy agniṁ prthivyā adityā upasthe | tayā 'nantam lokam aham  
 jayāmi prajāpatir yaṁ prathamo jigāya | 'gnir<sup>36</sup> jyotir jyotir

<sup>8</sup> B śrapaṇam. <sup>9</sup> A prāṇapṛte. <sup>10</sup> B 'pāgnādāyā āhutim. <sup>11</sup> Ait. Brahm. I c. 8. <sup>12</sup> A yathai 'nām B yathai 'nān. <sup>13</sup> BC navarohayed.  
<sup>14</sup> A hayasa B ha śasva C ha śasvat. <sup>15</sup> A navarānā B nucaran. <sup>16</sup> B pravāsati, — es ist zu unterscheiden zwischen der mindestens über eine Nacht sich hinausziehenden, vorübergehenden Ortsveränderung (Ap. 6. 24. 1) und der dauernden Übersiedelung (Ap. 6. 28. 1). <sup>17</sup> AB pravatsyan prośyamā co 'patiṣṭheta BC ... co 'bhayaṁ haivāsyupatiṣṭheta (D 'tiṣṭhet). Vielleicht: pravatsyan prośyamā co 'patiṣṭheta 'bhaye hai 'va syām iti. <sup>18</sup> A ca 'va. <sup>19</sup> A śreyāsam ākāṅkṣanti B śreyāsa kāmāṅkṣanti C śreyāsam ākāṅkṣanti. <sup>20</sup> C kurvito. <sup>21</sup> fehlt bei B. <sup>22</sup> Dieser, wie mir scheint, ohnehin anfechtbare Passus ist bei C verderbt. <sup>23</sup> B chāyānām. <sup>24</sup> A sambhedanā, vgl. die Zeitbestimmung Ap. 6. 1. 2: adhivṛkṣasūrya ariṣūrye vā ... <sup>25</sup> D 'yam iti bhyuddharen. <sup>26</sup> In den Man. verderbt. Verbessert nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 12. 3. <sup>27</sup> B kṛtvā. <sup>28</sup> B mānānā. <sup>29</sup> A dvaryūna. <sup>30</sup> B 'dgātrā. <sup>31</sup> BCD 'gnīdhireṇai; vergl. Ap. 6. 1. 6ff. <sup>32</sup> B 'rābhy. <sup>33</sup> Ap. 6. 1. 7. Dieser Passus ist bei B verderbt: | uddharāmy uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmāno mā yad vidvān yac ca vidvāṁś cakārā |. C wie A, nur: pāpmāno. <sup>34</sup> A sarvasmāt pāpmāno dṛto ED sarvasmād enasa uddhṛto C sarvasmād enasasmād uddhṛto D sarvasmād uddhṛto. <sup>35</sup> B pāpasarvam. <sup>36</sup> Ap. 6. 1. 8.

agnir iti sāyam | sūryo jyotiḥ jyotiḥ sūrya<sup>37</sup> iti prātar |  
 hiranyam antar dhārayed | ārṣeyas tat paśyann āhavanīyam  
 abhyuddhared | atha<sup>38</sup> yasya "havanīyam abhyuddhrtam ādityo  
 bhyastam iyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>39</sup> | darbheṇa hiranyam  
 baddhvā pascād dhārayed | ārṣeyas<sup>40</sup> tat paśyann agnim<sup>41</sup>  
 āhavanīyam abhyuddhared | atha yasya "havanīyam abhyuddhr-  
 tam ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | darbheṇa rajatam  
 baddhvā purastād dhārayed<sup>42</sup> ārṣeyas tat paśyann āhavanīyam  
 abhyuddharet | atha yasya sāyam ahutam agnihotram prātar  
 ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | maitraḥ puroḍāśaś  
 carur vā | nityaḥ purastāddhomāḥ samsthitaḥomesu mitraḥ  
 prthivyā adhyakṣa<sup>43</sup> iti madhyata opya samerāvabhāgaib  
 samsthāpayed | atha yasya prātar akṛtam agnihotram sāyam  
 ādityo 'bhyastamiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | varuṇaḥ puroḍāśo  
 nityaḥ<sup>44</sup> purastāddhomāḥ<sup>45</sup> | samsthitaḥomesu yat kim ce'dam  
 varuṇe | 'ti<sup>46</sup> madhyata opya samerāvabhāgaib samsthāpayed |  
 atha yasya prātar ahutam agnihotram ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā  
 tatra prāyaścittir | maitraḥ puroḍāśo nityaḥ purastāddhomāḥ |  
 samsthitaḥomesu<sup>47</sup> mitraḥ prthivyā adhyakṣa iti madhyata opya  
 samerāvabhāgaib samsthāpayed | ahuti<sup>48</sup> vai 'tabhyām rgbhyām  
 jūbuyāt | 2 |

atha yo 'gnihotreṇo 'dēti<sup>49</sup> svargam vā eṣa lokam yajamānam  
 abhivahati | na<sup>50</sup> 'hutiḥ "varteta | sa yady āvarteta svargād  
 evai 'nam tal lokād āvarteta | 'tha yasya 'gnihotram hūyamā-

<sup>37</sup> Ap. 6. 10. 8. <sup>38</sup> B ātha <sup>39</sup> C fügt iti ein. <sup>40</sup> K. Ś. 25. 3. 17.

<sup>41</sup> agnim fehlt bei D <sup>42</sup> K. Ś. 25. 3. 20 bestimmt, daß in analoger Weise  
 in östlicher Richtung ein Silberstück aufgehängt werden soll.

<sup>43</sup> vgl. Kauś. S. 6. 9. <sup>44</sup> C ni <sup>45</sup> C 'ddhomāḥ D 'ma. <sup>46</sup> AV.

6. 51. 3. <sup>47</sup> B 'samsthita' <sup>48</sup> A ahutiḥ C ahutiḥ <sup>49</sup> udeṭi dem

Sinn nach gleich: prāś udeṭi; der Adhvaryu wendet sich, nachdem er  
 die zum Agnihotra-Opfer erforderliche Milch auf dem Gārhapatya-Feuer  
 zum Kochen gebracht hat, in östlicher Richtung zum Ahavaniya.  
 Vergießt er dabei die Opferspeise teilweise oder ganz, so darf er nicht  
 etwa rückwärts (nach Westen zu) umkehren, denn das hieße: den Opfer-  
 herrn von der Himmelswelt wegwenden, den er durch seinen Gang nach  
 Osten dieser entgegenführt; s. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5 und Komm. dazu; daselbst  
 eine kleine Differenz im Ritual gegenüber dem unseres Textes; vgl. Agn.  
 Prāy. 7. 1: punar-unnāyane 'yam viśeṣaḥ | prācīna-haraṇe yāvati gate  
 skunnam bhavati tāvaty eva 'dhvany upaviśya sthālim anyena prācī[ṇa]  
 nūtvā tatraiva 'paviṣṭa unnayet | na avayam erug vā pratyag gachet | sthā-  
 lyām apī yadā na 'sti tadā tatraivā 'jyam grhītvā(?) unniya tena  
 homaḥ | <sup>50</sup> D mā



nam skandet kâ tatra prâyaścittir | aparenâ "havanīyam dakṣi-  
nam jānuś aśyo 'paviṣati | yat śruṣy atīṣiṣtam syāt taj juhuyād |  
atha yatrai 'vâ 'vaskannam bhavati tam deśam abhivimrjya  
vimrgvarim prthivim āvadāmi<sup>31</sup> | ti prāṇmukho(!) 'paviṣyā<sup>32</sup>  
'guir bhūmyā<sup>33</sup> iti tisrbhīr<sup>34</sup> alabhya 'bhūmamtrayeta | 'tha  
cet sarvam eva skannam syād yac carusthālyām atīṣiṣtam  
syāt taj juhuyād<sup>35</sup> | atha "havanīya ājya- 'hutim juhuyād | yan  
me skannam<sup>36</sup> ity etayarcā | yan me skannam manaso jāta-  
vedo yad vâ 'skandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra utpruṣo vipruṣaḥ  
samjuhomi satyāḥ santu yajamānasya kāmāḥ svāhe 'ty | atha  
yasyā 'guirhotre 'medhyam āpadyeta kâ tatra prâyaścittir | apa-  
renâ "havanīyam uṣnam iva bhasma nirūhya tatra tam āhutim  
juhuyāt | tad dhutam cā 'hutam<sup>37</sup> cā bhavati<sup>38</sup> | yac carustha-  
lyām atīṣiṣtam syāt taj<sup>39</sup> juhuyād<sup>40</sup> | atha cec carusthālyām  
evā 'medhyam āpadyeta kâ tatra prâyaścittis | tat tathai 'vâ  
huta 'tha 'nyām āhūya dohayitvā śrapayitvā tad asmai tattraī  
'vâ 'anūyā<sup>41</sup> 'nvāhareyur | (atha ūrdhvam prasiddham agni-  
hotram) | atha yasyā "havanīya-gārhapatyāv antarena yāno vâ  
ratho<sup>42</sup> vâ nivarteta śvā vâ 'nyo vâ 'bhīdhavet kâ tatra prâ-  
yaścittir<sup>43</sup> |

<sup>31</sup> AV. 12. 1. 29. <sup>32</sup> cf. K. S. 25. 2. 11. <sup>33</sup> AV. 12. 1. 19. <sup>34</sup> Mit tisrbhīr bricht C ab. Die Lücke reicht bis zu den Worten: tvaṣā ('gne prtham) des Citats MS. 2. 15. 22c. <sup>35</sup> Vgl. K. S. 25. 2. 5—11.

wo zugleich des Zerbrechens der śruṣ gedacht wird; s. auch unten 1. 5. Vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. <sup>36</sup> Kan. 6. 1; Vait. 16. 17. <sup>37</sup> Comm.

zu Ait. Brāhm. erklärt: tad etad bhasmana upatvād dhutam api bha-  
vati | agni-rāhityād āhutam api bhavati | <sup>38</sup> Nach K. S. 25. 5. 10 soll man alles, was durch Haare, Würmer, Kot, Berührung von Unreinem, Beschneppern u. s. w. besudelt ist, in Wasser oder heiße Asche werfen; cf. unten 2. 6; 3. 7; 4. 1; 4. 3. <sup>39</sup> BC tatra <sup>40</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5.

<sup>41</sup> A. anūyām <sup>42</sup> K. S. 25. 4. 19. <sup>43</sup> cf. unten Text und Parallelen von 5. 2; ferner Aum. 143; — Nach K. S. 25. 4. 17 f. soll man im all-  
gemeinen bei störendem Eindringen zwischen zwei Feuern u. s. w. von  
einer Stühne abgehen, wenn es sich um das Agnihotra-Opfer handelt; da-  
gegen wird, wenn ein Hund, ein Wildschaf und ein Wildschwein (so  
geg. Comm.) in den geweihten Raum eindringt, ein Wasserstrahl vor-  
geschrieben, der vom Gārhapatya- zum Ahavanīya-Feuer führt; cf. unten  
Aum. 143. Vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 15 b f.: nirupṣe havie samīṣṭa-yajnyāḥ pū-  
rvaṃ manusyādīr yadi viḥsram atikramet | tadā yena pathā vyavāyo jāta-  
tēna pathā gau[r] netaṣyā | tato gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryantam bha-  
malekham udaka-dhārāḥ cā samtanuyāt | tantum tanvann (RV. 10. 53. 6)  
iti mantreṇa pratyekam mantrāvṛttiḥ | tata āhavanīyam anagamayitvā  
punaḥ prāṇīya yad agne pūrvam . . . . . vājavatyā (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) tvam agne  
saprathā ast 'ti (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) co 'patīṣṭheta | tatas tad eva taptram upajītya



mantravanti ca kṛyāni sarvāny adhyayanam ca yat |  
nāntarāgamanam teṣāṃ sādhu vichedanād bhayam |

iti gārhapatyād adhy āhavanīya udatantum<sup>64</sup> niśīncan<sup>65</sup>  
iyāt<sup>66</sup> | tantum tanvan rajaso bhānum anv ihi<sup>67</sup> jyotiṣmataḥ  
patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtān | anulbanam vayata joguvām apo |  
manur bhava janayā daivyaṃ janam | tamnavas tantur upa se-  
dūr agne tvam<sup>68</sup> pathā rajasi devayānah<sup>69</sup> | trayā 'gne prsthām<sup>70</sup>

sūrpādānādi-pāthikṛtīḥ kṛyā | samīkṣa-yajusa ūrdhvaṃ cet tadaiva garā-  
'tikramā-'dy-upasthānāntam kṛtvā karma samāpya tesv evā 'gnīsv anvādhā-  
nā-'di-pāthikṛtī kṛyā | agnīṃ vyavāye tu pāthikṛty eva | aśākāpālāḥ  
vetthā hi vedho . . . sukṛato (Āśv. 9. 10. 12) | ā devānām api kalpayāti 'ti  
(ibid.) anādvān daksīṇā | tato viṣṇu-smaraṇam | karma-madhyād anyatra  
puruṣādinaḥ vyavāye manasvatī caturgrhīta-homaḥ | bandhāyana-mate[h]  
karma-madhye dvīpadānām catuṣpadānām marjārā- dīnam agnimadhye  
gamane rīg-agnimadhye gamane vā 'dhvanyur nimittā-'namtaram aṣṭi-  
kājyā-siddhau ājyam samakṛtya sruk-eruvam sammrjya tat-siddhau tenaivā  
'jyābhāgādy-anamtaram yathāsamūbhavam juhvām sakṛd grhītvā 'havanīyo  
juhoti | yan ma ātmāno (Ap. 9. 12. 11) 'ni svāhā | agnaya i' | punar agnīḥ  
cakṣur adāt (ibid.) 'keyoḥ svāhā | agnīm i' | bhūḥ svāhā | agnaya i' | bhava  
svāhā | yām ara i' | suvah svāhā | sūryāye 'dam | bhūr bhuvah suvah svā-  
hā | prajāpataya i' | om svāhā | brahmaṇe i' | imam me varuṇa (RV. 1.  
25. 19) | Āśv. 2. 17. 10) tai[t]vā yāmī (Āśv. 7. 4. 3) tvan no agne (RV. 4.  
1. 4) iti tierah | tantum tanvan . . . janam (RV. 10. 53. 6) svāhā | agnaye  
tantumata i' | adbhudhyasvā 'gne . . . tantum etam (V. 8. 18. 61) svāhā |  
agnaye tantumata iṣṭiḥ trayastriṃśat tantavo dadhāmi (Āśv. 3. 14. 10)  
svāhā gharma devām apyeta svāhā | agnaye tantumata iṣṭiḥ | anv agnir  
uśasam . . . ātatāna (T. S. 4. 1. 2. 3) svāhā | agna[jyo] jatavedasa idam namas  
mano jyo' | bhūr agnaye ca prthivyaī ca mahate ca svāhā | agnaye prthi-  
vyai mahate i' | bhūvo vāyave cā 'tarikṣya ca mahate ca svāhā | vāyave  
'atarikṣya mahate iṣṭiḥ | suvar ādityāya ca dive ca mahate svāhā | ādi-  
tyāya dive mahate i' | bhūr bhuvah suvaś candramase ca naksatrebhyas  
ca digbhyas ca svāhā | candramase naksatrebhyo digbhyo mahate i' | sapta  
te agne samidhaḥ gṛtana (V. 5. 17. 79) svāhā | agnaye vata i' | prajā-  
pate 'rayinām svāhā | prajāpataya i' | tato viṣṇusmarāṇam | antarāgama-  
nādikāni cin nimittāny apanyupasy āha bhagavān bandhāyanah | mīmā-  
hanti ca hotavye vyāhṛtyah prajāvedhikāḥ | vāruṇyas tantumatyaś cā  
'nvagnīś ca manasvatī | mahāvyaḥṛtayaḥ sapta prajāpatyaṃ tatīva ca |  
prasamdhānaya yajñasyai 'te mantrāḥ prakṛtītiḥ | sapte 'ti sapta te agne  
iti mantrōkṛtīḥ | ayam mīmāḍi-gayaḥ |

<sup>64</sup> Neben dem Wasserstrahl ist Asche möglich: a. unten Anm. 143 und  
vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 2b: gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryantam bhasma-lekhām  
udaka-dhārām ca samtanuyāt | <sup>65</sup> AB niśīncan D niśīncipt <sup>66</sup> Der  
Śloka hat zweifelloos als Interpolation einen Mantra verdrängt; cf. Ap.  
9. 8. 5; Āśv. 3. 10. 15. <sup>67</sup> RV. 10. 53. 6; cf. K. 8. 25. 4. 19. <sup>68</sup> M. S.  
2. 13. 29; Ap. 9. 8. 6. <sup>69</sup> A ebenso, jedoch corrumpt und . . . 'jati  
devayānah; dieser Passus fehlt bei BC. <sup>70</sup> D prīthe

vayam āruhemādā devaiḥ sadhamādāmadema | svāhe 'ti sarvatrai 'tat prāyaścittam antarāgamane smṛtam<sup>71</sup> |

yajñasya samtātir asi yajñasya tvā samtatyā samtānomi | vasūnām rudrānām adityānām marutām ṛṣṇānām bhṛgūnām amṛitasām atharvanām brahmanāḥ samtātir asi brahmanas tvā samtatyā samtānomi<sup>72</sup> | yan me chidram manaso yac ca vācaḥ sarasvatī manyumantam jagāma viśvais tad devaiḥ saha samvidānāḥ sampadadhatu brhaspatih | 3 | mā na āpo medhām mā brahma pramathistana | śasyadā yūyam syandadhvam upahūto 'ham sumedhā varcasvi | mā no medhām mā no dikṣām mā no himsiṣtam yat tapah śivā naḥ samevanta ayuṣe śivā bhavantu mātaraḥ<sup>73</sup> | namas te pathyā revati<sup>74</sup> svasti mā parāyanaḥ<sup>75</sup> | svasti mā punarāyanaḥ<sup>76</sup> | mā na āpo medhām<sup>77</sup> | punar maitv indriyam<sup>78</sup> iti ca | 4 | atha yasya 'havanīyo<sup>79</sup> 'gnir<sup>80</sup> jāgryād gārhapatyau upasāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>81</sup> | yat

<sup>71</sup> Nach B. & Conc. nicht zu belegen. <sup>72</sup> Soweit AV. 19. 40. 1 ff. Das Folgende ist korrupt. <sup>73</sup> Vielleicht ist an RV. 5. 51. 14 b gedacht.

<sup>74</sup> B parāyanaḥ <sup>75</sup> A svastimāpunarāyanaḥ; gemeint ist vielleicht svasti mā sampārāya s. Conc. — B svasti mā punarāyanaḥ. Die Mss. lassen mā weg.

<sup>76</sup> AV. 19. 40. 2; D wiederholt: mā no medhām (B vedhām) <sup>77</sup> AV. 7. 67. 1.

<sup>78</sup> cf. in dem parallelen Passus des Alt. Brāhma. 7. 4: 'niye hā 'gnir' <sup>79</sup> K. 8. 25. 3 5; Agn. Prāy. 11 a: āhavanīye ced dhriyamāṇe gārhapatyō 'nugacchet tadā tadīyo-

hmukebhyo manthayeyuḥ | āhavanīyam anugamāyēt | ulmukā-'bhāve hāsmānā 'raṇi samprēya manthayēt | vidyamāna āhavanīye gārhapatyō yady anugacchet tadā (l) anugataṁ gārhapatīyam utpādayiṣyāmi 'ti samkalpya hāsmānā 'raṇi lepayitvā tato manthayēt | ito jāhe prathamam . . . prajānann (VS. 13. 34) iti pratiprayatnam mantrāvr̥ttil |; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 5 b: āhavanīye dhriyamāṇe gārhapatyō 'nugacchet tadā tadīyo-

hmukebhyo manthayeyuḥ | āhavanīyam anugamāyēt | ulmukā-'bhāve hāsmānā 'raṇi samprēya (l) ito jāhe prathamam . . . prajānann (Āśv. 8. 12. 22) iti manthayeyuḥ | uk 'nyatra mantrāḥ | tato gārhapatyād āhavanīyam prāṇīya agne samrād īṣo . . . dadha (Āśv. 8. 12. 23) ity upati-

ṣṭheta | tataḥ prākṛtam karma samāpya tapasvatīṣṭim kuryāt | athavā 'havanīyād eva (l) āhavanīyam prāṇīya dakṣiṇāgneś ca 'haranaṁ kṛtvā prakṛ-

taṁ tapasvatīṣṭih | athavā sakabhasmānam āhavanīyam dakṣiṇato viḥa-

ram gāvā gārhapatyā-'yatane nidhāya tataḥ prācnam āhavanīyam uddha-

ret | homaṁ samāpya tapasvatīṣṭih | tasyāṁ pradhāna-devatā agnis tapas-

vān janadvān yāvakavān | śyūhi tapasā jāneṣv agne . . . dadat (Āśv. 8. 12. 27) | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 10 a: āhavanīye dhriyamāṇe anvāhita-gārhapatyā-

nāśe dakṣiṇena viḥaram sarram āhavanīyam gārhapatyāyatane (l) āniya āha-

vanīyam prāṇīya pūrvavat prāyaścittam kṛtvā gārhapatyasya paśād upa-

vidīya manūgne varca (RV. 10. 198. 1) ity ādinā triṇi kṣāṇāy ādhāya vyāhṛ-

tyupasthānam kṛtvā 'havanīye 'nvādhāno-'pasthāne kuryāt | cf. Agn. Prāy. 12 a: yadi gārhapatyō 'nugacchet anvāhitam gārhapatīyam anugatam utpādayiṣyāmi 'ti samkalpya gārhapatyā-'nugata-hāsmānā pradhānā-'raṇi



prāncam udvartayati tenā "yatana[c] cyavate<sup>79</sup> yat pratya-  
 ŋcam asuravad yajñam tanoti | yad anugamayati "svarā vai  
 nam tat prāṇa<sup>80</sup> hāsyur<sup>80</sup> iti<sup>81</sup> vā<sup>81</sup> | 'tha nu katham<sup>82</sup> iti |  
 sabhaamakam āhavanīyam<sup>83</sup> daksinena<sup>84</sup> daksināgnim parihrtya  
 gārhapatyasyā "yatane pratisthāpya tata āhavanīyam<sup>84</sup> pra-  
 payed<sup>85</sup> | bhadrād abhi śreyah prehi<sup>86</sup> 'ty etayarcā gārha-  
 patya<sup>87</sup> ājyam<sup>87</sup> vilāyo 'tpūya caturgrhitam grhitvā "havanīya-  
 gārhapatyāv antarena vyavetya juhuyād | ayam no agnir  
 adhyakṣa iti dvābhyām<sup>88</sup> etena u vā asya samtvaramānasyā  
 "havanīya-gārhapatyau janitā vayam mā loko 'nusamtanutām  
 ity | etena ha vā asya samtvaramānasyā "havanīyagārhapat-  
 yau<sup>89</sup> pāpmānam apahatah | so 'pahatapāpmā jyotir bhūtvā  
 devān<sup>90</sup> apy eti<sup>91</sup> 'ti | athā "havanīya ājyāhutim juhu-  
 yād asapatnam purastād<sup>92</sup> ity etayarcā | 'tha yasyā 'gni-  
 hotram śrāpyamānam viṣyandet<sup>93</sup> tad adbhīr upanīyayet<sup>94</sup> |  
 tad anumanīrayate | prthivīm tūriyam<sup>95</sup> ity etābhiḥ | prthivīm  
 tūriyam<sup>95</sup> manusyān<sup>96</sup> yajño 'gāt | tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa<sup>97</sup> |  
 amtarikṣe tūriyam<sup>98</sup> | divi tūriyam<sup>99</sup> | (apsu<sup>98</sup> tūriyam |  
 apsv<sup>99</sup> ity<sup>99</sup> āha<sup>99</sup> bhūtāni tāni | devān yajño 'gāt<sup>100</sup> | tato  
 mā draviṇam āṣṭa<sup>101</sup>) | trātāram indram | yayor ojase | 'ti<sup>102</sup>  
 caī "tā viṣṇu-varuna-devatyā roo japati<sup>103</sup> | yad vai yajñasya  
 viriṣṭam tad vaiṣṇavam | yad guṣṭitam<sup>104</sup> tad vāruṇam<sup>105</sup> |  
 yajñasya vā<sup>106</sup> rddhir<sup>106</sup> | bhūviṣṭhām rddhim āpnoti yatrai 'tā  
 viṣṇu-varuna-devatyā roo japaty<sup>107</sup> | athā 'dbhutesv etā eva

samprīya mathitvā "yatane nidhā[ya] bhūr iti upasthānādi vrato-pāsa-  
 nīya-yajur-japāntam samānam |

<sup>79</sup> A cyavante <sup>80</sup> vielleicht prāṇa jāhyur gemeint; Opt. des a-Aorist.  
<sup>81</sup> D iti dve <sup>82</sup> B vā 'tha m <sup>83</sup> D 'ya <sup>84</sup> B lißt diese und die  
 inzwischenliegenden Worte aus. <sup>85</sup> cf. Gop. Brāhm. I. 3. 13. <sup>86</sup> AV.

7. 8. 1. <sup>87</sup> ABCD lesen: gārhapatyā-jyam <sup>88</sup> Kauś. S. 89. 13. Hier lesen  
 ABCD: AD etena ha vā asya samtvaramānasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau  
 B ebenso, nur samtvaramānasyā "O etena vahavā — — — caramānasyā "

<sup>89</sup> Hier schieben BC von neuem ein: B janitā (C: janisā) vayam mā loko  
 nusamtanutām ity etena ha vā asya samtvaramānasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau  
 (C: 'tyo) <sup>90</sup> BCD devānām <sup>91</sup> ACD etv B emptv <sup>92</sup> AV. 19. 16. 1.

<sup>93</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. 2: yasyā 'gnihotram adhiṣṭam skandati vā viṣya-  
 ndate vā . . . ; cf. unten Anm. zu 4. 3. <sup>94</sup> vgl. oben Anm. 55.

<sup>95</sup> cf. Conc. "viṣṭ tṛti" <sup>96</sup> BD devān <sup>97</sup> ACD āriṣṭam  
 B āriṣṭam <sup>98</sup> Daß hier eine Interpolation beginnt, ist logisch  
 selbstverständlich, textkritisch aber interessant; dieselbe fehlt bei D.

<sup>99</sup> A sāvinyāha B sāvityāha <sup>100</sup> AC angāt B gāt <sup>101</sup> ABC āriṣṭam  
<sup>102</sup> AV. 7. 25. 1. <sup>103</sup> BCD statt dessen: yatrai 'tā viṣṇu(r)varuṇa-

devatyā roo japanti <sup>104</sup> A guṣṭitam C uṣṭitam <sup>105</sup> C varuṇam  
<sup>106</sup> B vatyā rddhi <sup>107</sup> BD japanty



tisro japet | tisro japet | 5 | iti<sup>109</sup> yajñaprāyaścittasūtre  
prathamo 'dhyāyah samāptah<sup>108</sup> |

atha yasya puroḍaṣe 'medhyam apadyeta kṛtā tatra prāya-  
ścittir | ājyenā 'bhūghāryā 'psv antar<sup>109</sup> iti sakrd evā 'psu  
hutvā 'thā "havanīya ājya-"hutim juhuyāt asapatnam pura-  
stād<sup>110</sup> ity etābhyām rgbhyām | atha yasya puroḍaṣaḥ kṣāmo  
bhavati kṛtā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye kṣānavate 'śtākāpā-  
lām puroḍaṣam nirvapen<sup>111</sup> | nityāb purastāddhomāb | samsthi-  
tahomeṣu prtanājitam sahamānam<sup>112</sup> iti madhyata opya tathā  
samsrāvabhāgaih samsthāpayed | athā "havanīye tābhyām  
rgbhyām | atha yasyā 'gnihotram trītye nityahoma-kale<sup>113</sup> vi-  
chidyeta kṛtā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye tantumate 'śtāka-  
pālam puroḍaṣam nirvapen<sup>114</sup> | nityāb purastāddhomāb | sam-  
sthitahomeṣu tvam agne saprathā asi justo hotā varenyah |  
tvayā yajñam vitanvata<sup>115</sup> iti madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaih  
samsthāpayed | asapatnam purastād<sup>116</sup> ity etābhyām rg-  
bhyām | atha yasya<sup>116</sup> sānnāyām<sup>117</sup> vyāpadyeta kṛtā tatra prā-  
yaścittih | prātardoham<sup>118</sup> dvaidham krtvā tena yajetā<sup>119</sup> |  
'thā ahavanīya ājya-"hutim juhuyāt trātāram indram<sup>120</sup> ity  
etayarcā | prātardoham ced apahareyuh sāyandoham dvai-  
dham krtvā tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya ājya-"hutim juhuyāt  
trātāram indram<sup>120</sup> ity etayarcā | 'thā cet sarvam eva sā-  
nnāyām<sup>121</sup> vyāpadyeta kṛtā tatra prāyaścittir | andram puro-  
ḍaṣam mahendram vā sānnāyasyā<sup>122</sup> "yatano pratisthāpya  
tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya<sup>123</sup> ājya-"hutim juhuyāt trātāram  
indram<sup>120</sup> ity etayarcā | 'thā yasya havimṣi vyāpadyeran kṛtā  
tatra prāyaścittir | ājyasyai 'tāni nirūpya<sup>124</sup> tena yajetā | 'thā  
"havanīya ājya-"hutim juhuyāt trātāram indram<sup>120</sup> ity etaya

<sup>109</sup> D ity atharvade vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasange navamo 'dhyā-  
yah | <sup>109</sup> AV. 1. 4. 4. <sup>110</sup> AV. 19. 18. 1. <sup>111</sup> cf. Brahm. Prāy. 67a:  
yad agnaye kṣānavate 'śtākāpālam nirvapet yai 'vā 'ya kṣānapriyā  
tāna tā(m) evā 'ya bhāgadheyena samayati; s. auch K. Ś. 25. 8. 18 ff.  
<sup>112</sup> AV. 7. 63. 1. <sup>113</sup> A homakale. <sup>114</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 69a: yasyā  
'jaṣam vichidyeta 'ntaritan homān(?) hutvā 'gnaye tantumate 'śtākāpālam  
nirvapet. <sup>115</sup> RV. 5. 13. 4. <sup>116</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 4. 1. <sup>117</sup> B  
sānnājyam; CD sānnājyam. <sup>118</sup> Nach Analogie des Folgenden müßten  
wir vor prātardoham ergänzen: sāyandoham ced apahareyuh; vgl. unten 4. 1;  
s. auch Ait. Brāhm. 7. 4. <sup>119</sup> Brāhm. Prāy. 21 b: [sānnāyām] kośakṛtādinā  
yadi vikriyeta tatra kṛp prāyaścittam iti | prātardoham dvaidham dohayitvā  
(mūṣṭapoya pracureta; cf. unten 4. 1. <sup>120</sup> AV. 7. 20. 1. <sup>121</sup> B sānnāp-  
jyam CD sānnājyam. <sup>122</sup> B sānnājyasyā C sānnājyasyā D sānnā-  
jyasyā <sup>123</sup> B 'havanīyā <sup>124</sup> ACD nirūpya B tūrūpya

reṣa | 'tha cet sarvāṇy eva havimṣi vyāpadyeran kṛā tatra  
 prāyaścittir | ājyasyai 'tāni nirupyai 'taya "jyahaviṣe-ṣṭyā  
 yajeraṇ | ity api hi kirtita[m] | madhyā[s] tv eva<sup>125</sup> bhavanti |  
 tair yajeta | 'thā "havaniya ājyahutim juhuyāt trātāram in-  
 dram<sup>126</sup> ity etayarcā || 1 || athā 'to<sup>127</sup> drṣṭā- 'bhyuddrṣṭāni 'ty<sup>127</sup>  
 ācaksate | 'dya sāyam amāvāsyā<sup>128</sup> bhaviṣyati 'ti | na pratihara-  
 nāya ca<sup>129</sup> sa syād | atha sa yo 'nyo brūyād adarśam cā  
 'dya purastād iti tam tu kim iti brūyād | atha vā<sup>130</sup> | sa syād  
 evā 'dhas | tam eva prāyaścittim kṛtvā yajete 'ti dvaiṣāyanah |  
 kṛtasya<sup>131</sup> vai prāyaścittir bhavati 'ti lāṅgalih | samāpyai 'va<sup>132</sup>  
 tena haviṣā yad-daivatam tad<sup>133</sup> dhavi[h]<sup>133</sup> syād<sup>133</sup> | atha  
 'nyad dhavir nirvaped agnaye dātre purodāsam indrāya pra-  
 dātre purodāsam viṣnave śipiviṣṭāya purodāsam | athai 'tān<sup>134</sup>  
 yathāniruptāms<sup>135</sup> tredhā kuryād yathā brāhmaṇo-ktam<sup>135</sup> |  
 nityāḥ purastaddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv<sup>136</sup> agnim vayam trā-  
 tāram havāmahe<sup>137</sup> ya imam trāyatām asmād yakṣmād asmād<sup>138</sup>

<sup>125</sup> A aiva <sup>126</sup> cf. Kauś. Brāhm. 4. 2. Aśv. Prāy. 14 b: haviṣāṃ skannam  
 abhimpṣet | devāṅjane 'ty | (gemeint ist etwa Aśv. 3. 13. 15; Ap. 9. 13. 5) ava-  
 ṣṭena pracaret | śeṣa-bhāve punar mantravaṇ nirvā[pā]di kuryāt || ājya-  
 bhāgā-namtarāṃ sarvaprāyaścittāṃ viṣṇuamarāṇaṃ ca kuryāt || pakāt  
 pūrvam haviṣaṃ keśi- "dy-upahatau (cf. unter 2. 6) prakṣāṇena prokṣa-  
 ṇaṃ vā śuddhiḥ | .... yadā havir apakṣaṃ bhavati .... vidagdhe [haviṣi]  
 .... sarvadāhe tasmāi prayoge śūrpādānādi havir utpādyā sarva-prāya-  
 ścittāṃ kṛtvā viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā tena yajeta || yad vā 'dhvaryur vidagdham  
 juḥ prāsyā "jyabhāgā-namtarāṃ sruveṇa juhuyāt āhavantiya || yau ma  
 (bhr)ātmano (Ap. 9. 12. 11) punar agniḥ cakṣu" (ibid.) iti dvābhyām | tataḥ  
 sarvaprāyaścittāṃ viṣṇuamarāṇaṃ ca kṛtvā "jyena pracaret | dravye 'dhvar-  
 yur ājya-bhāgā-namtarāṃ sruveṇa juhuyāt | vāyave svāhā (cf. Ap. 9. 10. 5)  
 vāyava idam || tad etad yadākadapi || cf. Aśv. Prāy. 17 b: pradhāna-haviṣāṃ  
 vyūpattāḥ api punar-yāgā-śaktau ājyabhāgā-namtarāṃ adhvaryur juhvāṃ  
 sakṛd grhītvā juhoti || yau ma ātmanah (Ap. 9. 12. 11) punar agniḥ  
 (ibid.) || mano jyotiḥ (Ap. 9. 8. 1) || tato viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā dhrurājyāt pra-  
 caret | yad āha bhāgavān baudhāyanah | ājyena vā pracaret | sai 'va tatra  
 prāyaścittir api khalu kṣipra-saṃskṛatam (l.: 're tad?) ājyaṃ ku(r)yata  
 iti mīmāṃsūti hutvā manasvatīm juhoti || sai 'va tataḥ prāyaścittir iti  
 vijñayata iti | tad etad yadākadapi | baudhāyanenā "vāhanadi-pūrvakāśādy-  
 anukte iti || <sup>127</sup> A drṣṭābhyuṣṭānti\* B drṣṭābhyuṣṭānti\* C drṣṭābhyo-  
 drṣṭānti\*; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 37 ff. <sup>128</sup> A āvāsyā <sup>129</sup> D vā <sup>130</sup> vā  
 fehlt bei B; D kṛ <sup>131</sup> C kṛtasya D kṛtasyai <sup>132</sup> A samāthaiva  
 B samāpyeva <sup>133</sup> D yad dhaviṣyād <sup>134</sup> BC athāniruptāḥ  
 D athāniruptāḥ <sup>135</sup> Deutet auf Gop. Brāhm. 2. 1. 9. <sup>136</sup> A sa-  
 samsthitahomeṣv BCD samsthitahomeṣu <sup>137</sup> A hūvāmahe <sup>138</sup> B  
 asmādāma punah D \*smādāmayaiah s. Paipp. 2. 50. 1.



amayata[h]<sup>138</sup> | trātāram indram<sup>139</sup> | uru viṣṇo vikramasve 'ti<sup>140</sup>  
 madhyata opya<sup>141</sup> | samśrāvabhāgān samsthāpayet | pathikṛti<sup>142</sup>  
 'ty ācakṣate<sup>143</sup> | paurṇamāsy-amāvāsye 'ti cā 'tipanne<sup>144</sup> | 2 |

<sup>138</sup> AV. 7. 86. 1.<sup>139</sup> AV. 7. 26. 3.<sup>140</sup> A. ūtha? BC opya?

<sup>141</sup> D. yathapākṛti?; cf. Aśv. Prāy. 81: athā 'māvāsya-bhrameṇa catur-dāśyām sāmāyāyo parigrhīte candrodāye na jāte 'kāle prakṛtiṣṭi-devatā-athāne agniḥ datā indrah pradātā viṣṇuḥ āpiviṣṭa iti devatā yajāvayāḥ | tatra nirvāpāt pūrvam akāle pravṛttam iti jñāne ukta-devatābhyo vṛhīn nirūpya samkṣāha(ha)na(?)-nirūpyanūṣṭam kṛtvā taṇḍulāṃ tredhā vibhajya (cf. u. 5. 3) agnīm sthūlān sthūlātārān kṛtvā sthūlānām agnaye dātṛe juṣṭam adhivapāmi tati (bati? dati?) adhivapādy agnau kapāleṣu adhīśrayati | sthūlātārān taṇḍulān indrāya dātṛe iti budhyā caru-dharmena sāyagdohe adhīśrayati agnīm taṇḍulān caru-dharmena viśvāye āpiviṣṭāya prātardohē 'dhīśrayati | śeṣam a[mā]vāsya-tantram | tīkṣṇā cājyānuvākyāḥ | agne dā ..... sūnumataḥ (RV. 3. 24. 5) sa yajntā .... magham (RV. 3. 13. 3) ity agner datuḥ | dirghas te astu .... sunvate (RV. 8. 17. 10) bhadrā te hastā ... n (RV. 4. 21. 9); iti indrasya pradātuh | vasat te viṣṇuḥ (S. Ś. 1. 8. 8 vgl. RV. 7. 99. 7; pra tat te adya (RV. 7. 100. 5); iti viṣṇoḥ āpiviṣṭasya | nirvāpāt ūrdhvam akāle-jñāne tūc eva taṇḍulāṃ tredhā vibhajya pūrvavad iṣṭiṃ kuryāt | nā 'tra punaryāgaḥ | puroḍāś-ārapanūṣṭam prātardohē dugdhe jāte puroḍāśam ājye vinikṣipet | dugdham api yathā na nāsyati agni-samśargena tathā rakṣantīyam | vratacārī sāyam-doham dugdhvā śvo bhūte darśayāgaḥ karyāḥ | yāge kṛte akālajñāne prāyaścittam punaryāgaś ce 'ty eke | aomayāgino 'pi(!) akālajñāne sarva-prāyaścittam punaryāgaś cety eke |

<sup>142</sup> Agn. Prāy. 3 a: | yady amāvāsyaṃ paurṇamāseṣu vā 'tiyād yadi vā 'nyasya 'gniṣṇ yajeta yadi vā 'sya 'nyo 'gniṣṇ yajeta (cf. unten 5. 5) yadi vā 'sya 'nyo 'gnir agnīm vyaveyād (d. h. wenn ein weltliches Feuer die sakralen stört; a. unten 2. 7; 5. 4) yadi vā 'sya 'gnihotre upasanne haviṣi vā nirupite cakṛivac chvā puroḥa vā viḥaram antariyād (cf. oben 1. 3) yadi vā 'dhve(!) pramiyete 'ṣṭiḥ (vgl. unten 2. 8). — Comm.: yady amāvāsyaṃ paurṇamāseṣu vā svakāle kṛtvā 'tiyāt(!) yady agnihotradrave kuṣeṣu 'pasādite yadi darśapūrnāmāsādiṣu haviṣi nirupite cakṛivad ratha-śkaṭādiḥ śvā agniḥ puroḥa vā manuyajātīḥ sarvā (Text: sarve) agnīnāṃ madhyenā 'tikramet | yadi vā yajamāno 'dhvani grāmāntare mriyetai 'teṣv anyataro-nimittēṣu nimittā-nantaram | agniḥ pathikṛd vettha hi vedho adhvana ā devānām api paṇṭham aganne 'ti (RV. 6. 16. 3; 10. 2. 3) anādvam dakṣiṇā | vyavāye tv anagninā prāg īster gamināntareṇā (i. e. gūm antareṇā) 'tikramayed bhaṣmanā śanah padam pratīpedit idam viṣṇuḥ vicakrama iti (RV. 1. 22. 17 vgl. unten 5. 2) gārhapatya-<sup>143</sup>havanīyayor antaram bhaṣmarājyo [a oben Anm. 64] daka-rajya ca samtanuyāt taptu[m] tanvan rajaso bhānum anvīti 'ty anugamayitva cā 'havanīyam punah praṇītyo 'patīṣṭheta | tatra prayogaḥ | nimittā-nantaram gava-<sup>144</sup>di-kramāṇaṃ karyam | tataḥ taptu[m] tanvan ... janam (cf. oben 1. 3) iti mantreṇa gārhapatyād bhavaniya-paryam-<sup>145</sup>taṃ bhaṣmarājya-udakarāṇibhyām samtanam kṛtvā 'havanīyam anugamayet | Mit diesem Passus stimmen Aśv. Prāy. 2 a ff. fast wörtlich zusammen; doch lesen sie: manuyajātīr vā viḥaram atikramet ... yena pathā vyavāye jatas tena pathā gaur netavyā | śva-vyavāye tu bhaṣmanā śanah pa-



athā 'to<sup>145</sup> 'bhyu[d]dr̥ṣtāni 'ty ācakṣate | 'dya sāyam amāvāsyā  
bhaviṣyati 'ti<sup>146</sup> na pratiharanāya<sup>147</sup> ca<sup>148</sup> sa syād | atha sa  
yo 'nyo brūyād adarśam cā 'dya paścād iti tam tu kim iti  
brūyād | atha vā sa syād evā 'dhas | tam eva prāyaścittim  
kṛtvā yajete 'ti dvaipāyanah | kṛtasya vāi prāyaścittir bhavati  
'ti lāṅgalir | yena pathā vaivasvato<sup>149</sup> yamo rāja no yayau  
agnir nas tena nayatu<sup>150</sup> praja[na]n vaiśvānarah pathikṛd vi-  
śvagr̥ṣṭih | samāpyai 'va tena haviṣā yad daivatam tad dha-  
viḥ<sup>151</sup> syād<sup>152</sup> | athā 'nyād dhavir nirvaped | agnaye pathi-  
kṛte<sup>153</sup> puroḍāsam indrāya vrtraghne puroḍāsam vaiśvāna-  
ram<sup>154</sup> dvādaśakapalam puroḍāsam | nityūh purastāddhomāh |  
samsthita homesu<sup>155</sup> tvam agne saprathā asi<sup>156</sup> | yena pathā  
vaivasvataḥ<sup>157</sup> śasa itthā mahān asi<sup>158</sup> | vaiśvānaro na ūtaya<sup>159</sup>  
iti madhyata opya samprāvabhāgaih samsthāpayen | mahāpā-  
thikṛti 'ty ācakṣata | ubhayor api<sup>160</sup> pattayos<sup>161</sup> | tad āhur na  
te vidur ye tathā kurvanty | atha nu katham iti | gārhapā-  
tyājyaṃ vilāyo<sup>162</sup> 'tpūya caturgrhitam grhitvā 'havanīya-gārha-  
patyāv antareṇā 'tivraja juhuyād | asau ya udayāt puro  
vasāno nilalohito 'tha dr̥ṣtam adr̥ṣtam no duṣkṛtam tat<sup>163</sup>  
svāhe 'ty | evam evā 'bhyu[d]dr̥ṣte | asau ya udayāt paścād  
vasāno nilalohito [tya]<sup>164</sup> 'tha dr̥ṣtam adr̥ṣtam no duṣkṛtam  
karat<sup>165</sup> svāhe'ti | sa ya<sup>166</sup> evam etena<sup>167</sup> tejasa 'jyena<sup>168</sup>  
yāsasā prīṇati so 'syai 'sa<sup>169</sup> dr̥ṣtaḥ prāṇan yāsasā<sup>170</sup>

dam idam vighur vicakrama ity eṣa pūrayet | pratipadam mantrāvēttir ity  
adhikam | tato gārhapatyād āhavanīyaparyantam bhasma-lekhām udaka-  
dharām ca samtanuyāt tantum tanvan ... anvihī jyotiṣmata iti mantrēna |  
pratyekam mantrāvēttih | tata āhavanīyam anugamayitvā 'gnihotra-madhye  
(agnihotravad-iṣṭi-madhye) iṣṭivat punaḥ praṇīya yad agne pūrvam ...  
vitanvata (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) iti mantradvayeno 'patiṣṭheta | tato 'gnihotram  
samāpya teṣv evā 'gniṣu pāthikṛti kūr्या |<sup>145</sup> A. cūtipattre B. nvātipamte  
C. cūtipamte (kann heißen: atipāte oder atipattau; corrupt); cf. in 2. 3.

<sup>146</sup> B. tsayāto <sup>147</sup> D. tay; cf. Kauṣ. Brāhm. 4. 3. <sup>148</sup> C. 'haranādya  
<sup>149</sup> B. tva? nva? <sup>150</sup> Bei C ist dieser paḍa verderbt. <sup>151</sup> A. nayata  
C. nayat <sup>152</sup> BCD. haviṣyād <sup>153</sup> K. S. 25. 4. 22-26 bestimmt die Fülle,  
in denen dem Agni pathikṛt geopfert werden soll. <sup>154</sup> B. vaiśvānarim  
C. 'narām <sup>155</sup> Hier wiederholt B. einen Passus des Textes, nämlich 2. 3:  
agnim vayan trātaram havīmahe .... bis samsthāpayen [mahāpāthikṛtīty].  
<sup>156</sup> RV. 5. 13. 4. <sup>157</sup> Unermittelbar. <sup>158</sup> AV. 1. 20. 4. <sup>159</sup> AV.  
6. 35. 1. <sup>160</sup> BC. Hi statt apī; L: aī\* <sup>161</sup> cf. oben 2. 2 letztes Wort.  
I.: 'punnayoo. <sup>162</sup> AGD. vilīyo' <sup>163</sup> ACD. tat B. ta statt karat; Sinn und  
Metrum wären herstellbar, wenn man lesen würde: duṣkṛtam adr̥ṣtam  
karat <sup>164</sup> BC. lassen tya aus. <sup>165</sup> C. tat statt karat <sup>166</sup> ya fehlt  
bei BC <sup>167</sup> B. fligt tena ein. <sup>168</sup> B. tejasaibdhrena <sup>169</sup> B. hūṣt 'sa  
aus; D. liest statt soasyaisa: saumyasa <sup>170</sup> B. yah esa

prīṇāti | 3 | atha yo 'hutvā<sup>170</sup> navam praśnīyād agnau vā "gama-  
 yet kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye vratapataye<sup>171</sup> 'stākāpālaṃ  
 puroḍāṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthītahomeṣv  
 agne praśnāhi prathamāḥ tvam hi vettha yathā haviḥ<sup>172</sup> | vanvan  
 havir yathā dēvebhyo yajamānam ca vaddhaya 'gnis ca deva  
 savitas | tvam agne vratapā asi<sup>173</sup> | idāvatsaraye 'ti<sup>174</sup> madhyata  
 opya samśrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | yady anugatam agniṃ  
 śaṅkamāna mamtheyur mathite 'gnim adhigacheyur bhadrād  
 adhi śreyah prehi<sup>175</sup> 'ti vyāhrtibhiḥ ca mathitam samāropya  
 'the 'tarasmin punas tvā prāna<sup>176</sup> iti pañcabhir ājya-"hutir  
 hutvā yatho 'ktam prākṛtā vṛttir<sup>177</sup> | atha yasyā "gniho-  
 trī gharṇadughā duhyamānā vāsyet<sup>178</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittir | aśana-  
 pipāse evai 'sā yajamānasya samprakhyāya vāsyati 'ti<sup>179</sup>  
 tām<sup>180</sup> tṛṇam<sup>181</sup> apy<sup>182</sup> ādayet<sup>183</sup> sūyavasād bhagavati<sup>184</sup> 'ty  
 etaya rcā | 'thā "havanīya ājya-"hutir<sup>185</sup> juhuyād dhātā dadhātu  
 naḥ pūrṇā darva<sup>186</sup> iti dvābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasyā "gni-  
 hotrī<sup>187</sup> gharṇadughā (vā<sup>188</sup>) duhyamāno 'pavišet<sup>189</sup> kā tatra  
 prāyaścittir<sup>190</sup> | bhayaṃ vā eṣā yajamānasya prakhyāyo 'pa-

<sup>170</sup> so rekonstruiert nach Ap. 9. 12. 10: yadi homāyo 'pasamiddheṣv ahu-  
 teṣv agniṇa yajamāno 'ndīyāt ... <sup>171</sup> K. Ś. 25. 4. 27 ff. bestimmt die  
 Opfer für Agni vratapati.

<sup>172</sup> Vgl. sa hi veda yathā haviḥ T. B.

2. 4. 8. 7. <sup>173</sup> AV. 19. 59. 1. <sup>174</sup> AV. 6. 55. 3. B idāvatsaroyeti C im-

drāvaruṇāyeti <sup>175</sup> AV. 7. 8. 1. <sup>176</sup> Es könnte etwa an T. S. 1. 3. 14. 4.

gedacht sein. <sup>177</sup> C vṛttir D pravṛtā vṛttir <sup>178</sup> ABCD vāsyet; cf.

hierzu Ap. 9. 5. 1; Aśv. 3. 11. 4; Aśv. Prāy. 3 b; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. Auch

bei der Schlachtung darf das Opfertier nicht brüllen: K. Ś. 25. 9. 12.

Im folg. ist pipāse bei A u. C corr. <sup>179</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 5. 2. 7. 6.

<sup>180</sup> A tam <sup>181</sup> BU tṛṇam <sup>182</sup> A athā dadhyet D athā 'dayet Aśv.

Prāy. 3 b: tṛṇam bhakṣyam prakalpayet <sup>183</sup> AV. 7. 73. 11; K. Ś. 25. 1. 19.

<sup>184</sup> A 'huti B 'hutir; der im Anschluß hieran so überaus häufig er-

wähnte Fall, daß die Opferkuh blutige Milch (Blut statt Milch) gibt, fehlt

unserem Texte. <sup>185</sup> vgl. AV. 7. 17. 2; 3. 10. 7; s. auch Paipp. 1. 106. 6.

<sup>186</sup> Brāhm. Prāy. 35 b kündigen an: athe 'dānīm agnihotrāprāyaścittāyā

abhidhīyante tad-artham idam ucyate ... agnihotrām cet prāg adhiśra-

ṇāṣ[ti] akandēd iti ... nīśidēd upavišet tatra yasmād bhitte 'ty anena

mantrēṇābhimantrīya udasthā[d] devīty utthāpyo 'dapātram ūdhasi mukhe

co 'pagrhyāt; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. <sup>187</sup> vā fehlt bei BCD. <sup>188</sup> cf.

Aśv. Prāy. 3 b, welches diesen Fall noch differenziert: atha yasyā 'gniho-

trādhenur vafan(s)-sargād arābhya dōhana-paryantam upavišet | tadā

yasmād bhitā ... tūlhuṣe ity abhimantṛayeti | tatas tām utthāpayet |

udasthā ... varuṇāya ca | ity etad ubhayaṃ yajamāno bomakartā vā

kuryāt | atha asyā ūdhasi ca mukhe co 'dapātram upagrhyā dugdhvā brāh-

maṇam pāyayet | tasya brāhmaṇasya yāvajjīvaṃ samvatsaram vā 'nanaṃ

nā 'ntīyati | <sup>189</sup> cf. Aśv. 3. 11. 1; Brāhm. Prāy. 40 b: yā agnihotrāyo

'pasṛjati nīśidēd iti nīśidānamantṛaḥ; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3.



viṣati | tasyā ūdhasy udapātram ninayec<sup>190</sup> cām no devir  
 abhiṣṭaya<sup>191</sup> iti dvābhyām | tām anumantryate yasmād  
 bhūta niṣṭasi<sup>192</sup> tato no abhayam krdhi paśūn naḥ sarvān  
 gopāya namo rudrāya mādhuṣa<sup>193</sup> ity | athai 'nām utthāpaya-  
 ty uttiṣṭha devy adite devān yajñena bodhaya | indrāya kruva-  
 ti bhāgam mitrāya varuṇāya ce 'ty | utthitām anumantryate  
 udasthād devy adite devān<sup>194</sup> yajñena bodhaya | āyus ca tasya  
 bhūtim ca yajamānam<sup>195</sup> ca<sup>196</sup> vardhaye 'ty | atha "havaniya  
 ājyā"-hutir juhuyān mā no vidan<sup>196</sup> ity etair abhayai rau-  
 drais ca | 4 | atha yasya vapām āhutim vā grhitām āyēnah  
 śakunih śvā vā 'nyo vā "hared<sup>197</sup> vāto vā vivamet<sup>198</sup> kā tatra  
 prāyaścittir | divam prthivīm<sup>199</sup> ity abhimantryā 'thā "hava-  
 niya ājyā"-hutir juhuyād vāta āvātu bheṣajam<sup>200</sup> iti sūktenā |  
 'tha yasya somagraho grhito 'tisrāvet kā tatra prāyaścittir |  
 drapsas caśkande<sup>201</sup> 'ty abhimantryā 'thā "havaniya ājyā-"  
 "hutir juhuyān manase cetase dhiya<sup>202</sup> iti sūktenā | 'tha yasyā  
 'śtāpadi vaśa syāt kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>203</sup> | darbheṇa hiranyam  
 baddhvā 'dhy-adhi garbham hiraṇyagarbhena juhuyād | yathā  
 'mum sū garbham abhyaścotayad yathā 'mum garbham sadar-  
 bham<sup>204</sup> iva sahiranyam tam uddhṛtya prakṣālyā<sup>205</sup> 'nupadam  
 śrapayitvā prakṣirasam udakpādyam kamasūktena<sup>206</sup> juhu-  
 yād anamgandhi<sup>207</sup> 'ti ve 'ty<sup>208</sup> aṣṭabhir nabhasvatibhir<sup>209</sup>  
 hiraṇyagarbhena vā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmani tā-  
 ntriko 'gnir upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir | yam tvam agne<sup>210</sup>  
 punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasava<sup>211</sup> ity anyam<sup>212</sup> prāpiya pra-

<sup>190</sup> cf. Āsv. 3. 11. 3. <sup>191</sup> AV. 1. 6. 1. <sup>192</sup> AB. 5. 27. 2; 7. 3. 2; hierher gehören auch die folgenden Zitate dieses Abschnitts; vgl. die analogen Partien Ap. 9. 17. 6 f. <sup>193</sup> M. Ś. 3. 2. 1, fortgesetzt durch Āsv. 3. 11. 1; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. <sup>194</sup> A "vāpū <sup>195</sup> D "mānāya <sup>196</sup> AV. 1. 19. 1.

<sup>197</sup> Der gleiche Fall wird in dem korrupten Paśans Brāhm. Prāy. 77 b behandelt; vgl. unten 3. 10; s. a. Manu 7. 21: Krühen genießen von einem Opferkuchen. <sup>198</sup> A vivamet (?) B viramit CD viramet <sup>199</sup> AV. 3. 21. 7. <sup>200</sup> cf. Gop. Brāhm. 1. 3. 13. <sup>201</sup> AV. 18. 4. 28. <sup>202</sup> AV. 6. 41. 1. <sup>203</sup> Brāhm. Prāy. 78 b yadā 'śtāpadi syāt aṣṭāpadyā garbham śūle

krtvā madā pralipya śmītre nikhāmyet | Komm.: yadāpi garbhiny āla-  
 bhyate kālāḥ]-parimāṇavijñānāc ca 'śtāpadi syāt ... śmītre nikhāpajot  
 tasyā ūdhasād ayaśpātram upakṛtya śrapayed ity arthaḥ | ... mā bhūd iti  
 hiraṇyam aṣṭāpadam dakṣiṇā tasmīnu eva kālā samāpte ca mahi dyaus iti  
 paśuśrapaṇe garbham upavasati <sup>204</sup> BCD saṃdarbham <sup>205</sup> B prajyālyā  
<sup>206</sup> AV 19. 52. <sup>207</sup> Wahrscheinlich Paipp. Citat. <sup>208</sup> A "gandhīṣṭvety  
 B "gandhīṣṭvety D "gandhīṣṭvety <sup>209</sup> gemeint: AV 4. 15? <sup>210</sup> ge-  
 meint ist wahrscheinlich AV. 18. 3. 6 (yam tvam agne). <sup>211</sup> AV. 12. 2. 6;  
 Vait. 28. 29; Ap. Ś. 9. 10. 9; 16. 12. 13. <sup>212</sup> A agnim



jvālyā<sup>212</sup> mamā 'gne varca<sup>213</sup> iti sūkteno 'pasamādhāya karma-  
 śeṣam<sup>214</sup> samāpnuyur<sup>215</sup> | atha yasyā 'samāpte karmani barhir  
 ādipyeta<sup>216</sup> tatra tan<sup>217</sup> nirvāpya juhuyād yad agnir barhir  
 adahad vedyā<sup>218</sup> vāso apom<sup>219</sup> bhata tvam eva no jātavedo<sup>220</sup>  
 duritat pāhi tasmāt<sup>221</sup> | nirdagdā no amitrā<sup>222</sup> yathe 'dam  
 barhis tathā | amitrāṇām śriyam bhūtim tām eṣām parinirjahi |  
 yat-kāmā<sup>223</sup> te<sup>224</sup> juhūmas tan no astu viśāmpate<sup>225</sup> | ye devā  
 yajñam āyānti te no rakṣantu sarvataḥ | avadagdhām duḥṣva-  
 pnyam avadagdhā arātayaḥ sarvāḥ ca yātudhānyāḥ | mā tvā  
 dabhyam yātudhānāḥ | mā bradhnaḥ śarmabhiḥ<sup>226</sup> ṣṭuhi<sup>227</sup> |  
 darbho rājā samudriyāḥ | pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ | athā 'nyad  
 barhir upakalpyo 'dakena samprokṣya punaḥ strāṇti | 'dam bar-  
 hir amrtene 'ha siktam hiraṇmayam haritam tat strītam<sup>228</sup>  
 naḥ<sup>229</sup> | tad<sup>230</sup> vai purāṇam abhinavam āstrīṣva vāsaḥ praśa-  
 stam prati me grhāne 'ty<sup>231</sup> | atha yasya pitrye<sup>232</sup> prapito 'gnir  
 upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir | bhasmā 'labhyā 'bhimantra-  
 yed<sup>233</sup> dviśantam agne dviśatām ca vittam | prajāṃ<sup>234</sup> dviśad-  
 bhyo naya dakṣiṇena | pitrye prāṇita upaśāmyamānāḥ pāp-  
 mānam agne tam ito nudasva | dviśantam agne dviśatām ca  
 vittam<sup>235</sup> gaccha tvam ādāya parāvato 'nyān<sup>236</sup> | pitrye prāṇita  
 upaśāmyamāna iha prajāṃ dirgham āyus ca dhehi | yas<sup>237</sup>  
 tvam agne pramattānām prāṇita upaśāmyasi<sup>238</sup> | sukalpam agne  
 ta[t] tvayā punas tvo 'ddipayāmasi 'ty ucyamāne<sup>239</sup> 'gnim<sup>240</sup>  
 prāṇiya prajvālye<sup>241</sup> 'ndrasya kuṁksir aṣi 'ti<sup>242</sup> dvābhyām sa-  
 midhāv abhyādadhāt | 5 | atha yasya yūpo virohed<sup>243</sup> asam-  
 āpte karmani tatra juhuyat yūpo virohañ<sup>244</sup> chataśakho  
 adhvaraḥ<sup>245</sup> samāvṛto mohayisyān yajamānasya loke | vedā-

<sup>212</sup> C prakṣālyā <sup>213</sup> AV. 5. 3. 1. <sup>214</sup> A karmaśeṣam karma śāpnuyur  
<sup>215</sup> cf. AP. 37. 5. 1. <sup>216</sup> A tam; bei BCD fehlt tam <sup>217</sup> A vedyām  
<sup>218</sup> AB apo. Auch alle für die Textgeschichte in Frage kommenden  
 Mss. der AP., denen dieses Zitat entnommen ist (37. 5. 2) lesen pom resp.  
 apom; D apounata <sup>219</sup> B 'da <sup>220</sup> Parallel AV. 1. 25. 1. <sup>221</sup> AP  
 53. 7. 3: 'mitrās tu <sup>222</sup> AB vāmāste <sup>223</sup> AV. 7. 79. 4. <sup>224</sup> BC  
 carmabhi <sup>225</sup>—<sup>226</sup> AP. 37. 5. 6 śāmyam icchata <sup>227</sup> AD strīṇamtaḥ B  
 tastītam naḥ; C tatstītam naḥ; AP. 37. 5. 8 etat tat strītam naḥ; te strīṇāmi  
<sup>228</sup> BC yad <sup>229</sup> D fūgt hinter 'ty ein: athavā 'nyad barhiṣo prachādāye  
 'ty <sup>230</sup> B pitrya <sup>231</sup> D 'yeta <sup>232</sup> B lūdt diese und die inzwischen-  
 legenden Worte aus. <sup>233</sup> D 'nyūt <sup>234</sup> ABCD yaṇ <sup>235</sup> A upaśāmyati  
 B upaśābhyeti CD upaśāmyeti <sup>236</sup> BC ucyatena A ucyamānena  
<sup>237</sup> B te 'gnim <sup>238</sup> C prakṣālye <sup>239</sup> AV. 7. 111. 1. <sup>240</sup> D varohed;  
 Ap. 9. 19. 15 f.; vgl. unten 5. 6. <sup>241</sup> D varo <sup>242</sup> Kauś. 8. 195. 2.

bhigupto brahmaṇa<sup>243</sup> parivṛto 'tharvabhīḥ śāntaḥ suktām  
 etu lokam | yūpo hy arukṣad dviṣatām vadhāya na me yajño  
 yajamānaś ca riṣyāt | saptarṣinām suktām yatra lokas tatre  
 'mam yajnam yajamānam ca dhehi | yo vanaspatinām upatā-  
 po babhūva<sup>244</sup> yad vā grhān ghoram uta 'jagāma tan nirja-  
 gāmo haviṣa ghrtena śam no astu dvipade śam catuspade | yo  
 vanaspatinām upatāpo na āgād yad vā yajnam no 'dbhutam  
 ājagāma | sarvaṃ tad agne hutam astu bhāgaśaḥ śivān vayam  
 uttaremā 'bhi vājān<sup>245</sup> | tvāstre svāhe 'ti hutvā | tvastā me  
 daivyam vaca<sup>246</sup> iti tvāstraṃ vaiśvarūpam<sup>247</sup> ālabhetā | 'tha  
 yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi yūpaḥ prapatet<sup>248</sup> tatra juhuyāt<sup>249</sup> |  
 ya indreṇa sr̥ṣto yadi vā marudbhīr yūpaḥ papāta<sup>250</sup> dviṣa-  
 tāṃ vadhāya | tam nirjagāmo<sup>251</sup> haviṣa ghrtena śam no astu  
 dvipade śam catuspade | tvāstre svāhe 'ti hutvā tvastā me  
 daivyam vaca<sup>252</sup> iti tvāstraṃ sarvarūpam ālabhetā | 'tha  
 yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi yūpe dhvāṅkṣo<sup>253</sup> nipatet tatra juhu-  
 yāt ā pavasva hiraṇyavad<sup>254</sup> āśvāvat soma viravat | vājam<sup>255</sup>  
 gomantam<sup>256</sup> ābhara<sup>257</sup> svāhe 'ti madhyata opya saṃsṛāva-  
 bhāgāḥ saṃsthāpayed<sup>258</sup> | yadi<sup>259</sup> duṣṭam<sup>260</sup> haviḥ syāt ki-  
 tāvapaṇnam<sup>261</sup> vā<sup>262</sup> tat<sup>263</sup> tasmin bhasmany upavaped apsu

<sup>243</sup> D 'ṇah<sup>244</sup> Kauś. S. 135. 9.<sup>245</sup> Die Wiedergabe

namentlich des letzten Pāda in den Mss. ist überaus lückenhaft und reich an Irrtümern. D wiederholt den Halbvers: tam nirjagāmo catuspade

<sup>246</sup> AV. 6. 4. 1. <sup>247</sup> ABCD viśvarūpam; Brahm. Prāy. 79 b: satre cet

prāg spavargād yāpo virohet [t]vāstraṃ bahurūpam ālabheran 80 b: vi-

rohanam amkurādi-prādurbhāvah <sup>248</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 11. 26; Brahm. Prāy. 80a:yadi yūpam āvr̥ṇheḥ cālayed ve 'ti ... <sup>249</sup> Hiervon scheint auch der

völlig zerstörte Text von Brahm. Prāy. 76a zu handeln, der sodann folgende

Modalität erwähnt: yadi divyān mānuṣān vā pramāda[t] svaruṇaṃ nāsyeta

anya-yūpa-śakalam anya-grahaṇam kriyate 76 b: anyasya 'lābhe yūpād eva

ikṛtya saṃskaraḍi siddham ta[t] tvā svadhītise āhutiṃ hutvā 'taḥ saṃ-

skṛtyā 'ktvā svadhītī-karma kuryāt | cāśālanāśe 'nyasmād adhikṛtya(?)

<sup>250</sup> AD prapāto BC prayāto <sup>251</sup> D 'gāma <sup>252</sup> AV. 6. 4. 1.<sup>253</sup> K. Ś. 25. 6. 9 f. <sup>254</sup> RV. 9. 63. 18. <sup>255</sup> D vājam gomantam āsvinābharaṇtam cf. Vāj. S. 8. 6. 3. <sup>256</sup> B saṃsthāpaye hādiṣṭam <sup>257</sup> Agn.

Prāy. 4 b: vyāpanāni haviṣi keśa-nakha-kiṭa-patamgair anyair vā bi-

bhataiḥ | śaritra[c] cyuta-keśa-nakha-"dibhir haviḥ | saṃsargo [do]ṣāya

bhavati | tathā kiṭa-patamgair amedhya-nivāsibhiḥ saṃsargo doṣāya bha-

vati | duṣṭaram havir apau prakṣīpya punar-nirvāpā-"di kuryāt | atha vā-

jasaṇeyi-śākhāyāṃ devayoniḥ | śra-vāya[am]ā-"khu-mārjara-nakula-grdhṛā-

-"di-kṛtabhakaṣaṇa-vaghrāṇa-śparśa[nā]-"dibhir upahatānām śṛtānām puro-

dāmdnām tyāgaḥ | bhakṣaṇenai "va madhū-"daka-payo-vikāra-taila-sarpiḥ-

prabhṛtinām ca tyāgaḥ | sveda-śru-ślegma-karṇavid-duṣikā (so statī "si")



ve 'ty eke<sup>259</sup> | bhuvāya svāhā | bhuvanāya svāhā | bhuvana-  
pataye svāhā<sup>260</sup> | bhuvāmpataye svāhā | viṣṇave svāhe 'ty | ete  
ha vai devānām rtvijas | ta evā 'sya tad dhutam<sup>261</sup> iṣṭam  
kurvanti | yat prayājeṣv ahuteṣu prāḡ aṅgārāḥ<sup>262</sup> skanded  
adhvaryave ca<sup>263</sup> yajamānāya ca<sup>264</sup> paśubhyaś cā 'gham<sup>265</sup> syād  
yadi dakṣiṇā<sup>266</sup> brahmane ca yajamānāya ca | yadi pratyag<sup>267</sup>  
dhotre<sup>267</sup> ca patnyai<sup>268</sup> ca<sup>269</sup> | yady udag agnīdhe<sup>269</sup> ca<sup>270</sup>  
yajamānāya ca paśubhyaś cā 'gham<sup>271</sup> syāt | tam anupraharet |  
sahasrasrāga<sup>272</sup> | ity etaya rcā || 6 || atha yasya 'gnayo mi-

netramale 'ṣṭk-raktavāsi-mānuṣa- (Text: 'ṣu)-svivṛtā-reto-mūtra-prabhṛti-  
bhīr upahatānām haviṣm parityāgaḥ | śūdra-śūdrako-'dakya-'di-samapṛtā-  
nām haviṣm parityāgaḥ |. Die Träne verunreinigt; cf. Ait. Brāh. 7. 8:  
ya śūdrāguir upavassathe 'śru kurvita . . . so 'gnaye vratabhṛte . . . cf.  
Aśv. Prāy. 5 b: athau "pavasaihya-dine arty-aiṣu-pāte pūrvoktām vrata-  
bhṛtiṣm kuryāt | cf. oben Anm. 58; vgl. A. P. 37. 7. 1; cf. auch Aśv. Prāy.  
17 a (cf. oben Anm. 125): avāhana-kālāt pūrvam keśa-kiṭā-'dinaḥ pakva-  
haviṣ-doṣe jāte tasyaiva haṣṭi-jah punar-utpattiḥ kṛtvā sarva-prāyascittam  
ca hutvā viṣṇum smṛtvā tena yajavyam | yad vā | adhvaryor ājya-bhāga-  
'nantarāṃ juhvām sakṛd gṛhītvā juhōti | yan ma ātmāno | punar agnūḥ |  
mano jyotiḥ gṛhītena svāhā | tato viṣṇum smṛtvā (dhruvā-jyena?) pracaret |  
cf. Aśv. Prāy. 17 a: avāhanād ūrdhvaṃ pradhāna-yāgād arvāk keśa-kiṭā-  
'dinaḥ haviṣ-doṣe jāte tasya sthāne dhruvāś caturgṛhītam ājyam āyājet |  
avyāpannais ca yathāpūrvam | tataḥ prayogaṃ samāpya vyāpanna-haviṣ-  
mātrasyai 'vā 'nvādhānādi-punaryāgaḥ kartavyaḥ | evaṃ dvayor bahūnām  
ca vyāpatīau samānam | vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 18 b: dustena haviṣe 'stvā samīpta-  
yajusah prāḡ dustam haviṣ itī-jantīyāt | tadā 'jyena punar-yāgaḥ | ūrdhvaṃ  
cet smarayaṃ tadā 'nvādhāna-'di-punaryāgaḥ | bahuhaviṣke yāge yad eva  
dustam haviṣ smarēt tasyaiva punaryāgo na sarvasya | cf. Agn. Prāy.  
16 b f: avāhana-kālāt prāḡ dhavir-doṣe punar-āvṛttiḥ | apy ājyamāṇaṃ guṇa-  
bhūtanām | spradhānārthanām ājyādi-guṇa-bhūtanām dravyāṇām utpattir  
ā karmasamāpteh | prāk avīṣṭakṛta uktaṃ pradhāna-bhūtanām | haviṣm  
vyāpatīāv ity asmin sūtre yā haviṣ-vyāpattir uktaḥ sā pradhāna-bhūtanām  
dravyāṇām avāhanād ūrdhvaṃ avīṣṭakṛtāi prāk bhavati cet tadā 'jyene  
'ṣṭim samāpayet | avadānadoṣe punar āyatanād avadānam | gṛhītasā 'va-  
dhānasya 'medhya-'dinaḥ nāśe jāte | abhāgi-devasāyāḥ yāge kṛte 'pi 'ti ra-  
māṇāḥ | ubhaya-madhye 'nyatara-nimitte sati punas tad avadānā-  
'yatanād eva gṛhītvā yāgaḥ kartavyaḥ | na punar utpattiḥ | dveṣṭre tv  
iḥa dakṣiṇam dadyāt | kṣāme śiṣṭene 'ṣṭi'vje 'ty asmin prayoge yā dakṣiṇā  
ā dveṣṭre dātavyā | dakṣadāna (l.: dakṣiṇādāna?) urvarām dadyāt |  
<sup>259</sup> B tatre C tace

<sup>260</sup> Aśv. 3. 10. 20-22.

<sup>261</sup> Kanś. S. 116. 2 unter abweichendem

Schlusse.

<sup>262</sup> BCD bhutam

<sup>263</sup> ABC aṅgārā; cf. unten 4. 1.

<sup>264</sup> fehlt bei BC

<sup>265</sup> fehlt bei A

<sup>266</sup> ABC scheinen adyam zu lesen;

cf. Ap. 9. 2. 9.

<sup>267</sup> A dakṣiṇa

<sup>268</sup> ABCD pratyah hotre

<sup>269</sup> A

yatryaiva BCD patni ca

<sup>270</sup> BCD agnīdhre

<sup>271</sup> A lūkt en ans.

<sup>272</sup> BC cādyaṃ

<sup>273</sup> AV. 18. 1. 12; s. Ap. 9. 3. 1.



thah samrjyeran<sup>273</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittih<sup>274</sup> | so 'gnaye vitaye<sup>275</sup> 'stākāpālam puroḍaśam (prāṇ) nirvāpen<sup>276</sup> | nityāḥ purastāddhomaḥ | samsthitahomeṣv agna āyāhi vitaye<sup>277</sup> grāṇo havvadātaye ni hotā satsi barhiṣi 'ti madhyata opya samrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo grāmyenā<sup>278</sup> 'gninā samrjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye vivicaye<sup>279</sup> 'stākāpālam puroḍaśam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomaḥ | samsthitahomeṣv agnim iḥ purohitam<sup>280</sup> vivicim ratnadhātamaṃ pra na āyūṃṣi tārisad | iti madhyata opya samrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayaḥ śāvenā 'gninā samrjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye śucaye<sup>281</sup> 'stākāpālam puroḍaśam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomaḥ | samsthitahomeṣv | agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ<sup>282</sup> śucir viprah śucih kavīḥ | śuci rocata āhutaḥ | ud agne śucayas tava<sup>283</sup> śukrā bhrājanta irate | tava jyotiṃṣy arcayaḥ svāhe | 'ti madhyata opya samrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo dāvenā 'gninā samrjyeran<sup>284</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>285</sup> | anna-

<sup>273</sup> Überhaupt gilt der Zusammenfall von Opfersubstanzen als verhängnisvoll; s. Äsv. Prāy. 16a: carv-ādīnām samrāve durgādi-guṇaḥ prāyaścittam || <sup>274</sup> Vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die verkürzte Wiedergabe in 5. 4. <sup>275</sup> B titaye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6: yasya gārhapatyā-

"havanīyau mithaḥ samrjyeyātām . . . . so 'gnaye vitaye 'stākāpālam puroḍaśam nirvāpet. <sup>276</sup> Über die dem Agni bei den einzelnen Läuterungszeremonien zukommenden Attribute spricht Agn. Prāy. 14b:

agnir guṇībhedeṣu vratapatyādiko guṇaḥ | api vā prāyaścitte-ṣṭīnām sthāne tasyai tasyai dovatāyāi pūrṇāhutiḥ jubhūd iti vijāyate | dvādasa-grhītena sruvāṃ pūrayitvā 'gnaye vratapataye svāhe 'ti hūyate sā pūrṇāhutiḥ dvādasa-grhītenā 'tagrhitena caturgrhītena sruva-pūrṇena ve 'ti entvārah pakṣo (!) bodhāyane (!) prāyaścittēṣṭiḥ saha vikalpyate | <sup>277</sup> RV. 6. 16. 10; Äsv. 3. 13. 7; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6.

<sup>278</sup> A vivivaye B vivicaye; cf. Äsv. 3. 13. 5; aber Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6: yasya sarva evā 'gnayo mithaḥ samrjyeran . . . agnaye vivicaye . . . und ibid.: yasyā 'gnayo 'nyair agnibhiḥ (Comm.: ahavanīyādy-agnayo 'nyādyair ahavanīyādbhir laukikāgnibhir vā) samrjyeran so 'gnaye grāmyenā . . . ; vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7: yasyā 'gnayo grāmyenā 'gninā samdāhyeran so 'gnaye samvargaya . . . . cf. Äsv. Prāy. 8a: grāmyenā 'ranyena vā samarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye samvargasya pūrṇāhutiḥ || <sup>279</sup> RV. 1. 1. 1. 1.

<sup>280</sup> Äsv. 3. 13. 4, dessen Komm. sich hier als vortrefflich unterrichtet erweist. K. S. 26. 4. 35; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7. <sup>281</sup> A: śucir RV. 8. 44. 21.

<sup>282</sup> RV. 8. 44. 17. <sup>283</sup> Die Profanation der heiligen Feuer durch Wasser usw. verlangt Sühne (Äsv. Prāy. 15b): jalādina 'guy-opaghāte punas tvā 'dityā rudrā vasavaḥ samprdhātām punar brāhmaṇo vasañtha rudraih (!) | ghrītena tvam tanuvo vardhayaṣva satyāḥ santa yajamānasya kāmāḥ (TS 4. 2. 3. 4 folg. mit Variation) evābā || ity etayā samidham

dyaṃ<sup>286</sup> vā eṣa yajamānasya samvrjyāvṛta<sup>287</sup> upa to<sup>287</sup> ranṇād  
grāmam adhy<sup>288</sup> abhyupaiti | so 'gnaye 'nnādāya 'nnapataye  
'ṣṭakapālam puroḍaṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ |  
samsthitahomeṣv | apaścād aghvānnasya bhūyāsam<sup>289</sup> | iti  
madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā  
'gnayo divyenā 'gninā samśrjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so  
'gnaye jyotiṣmate<sup>290</sup> 'ṣṭakapālam puroḍaṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ  
purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣu | vidyotate dyotate | vi-  
dyuto 'gnir jihvā<sup>291</sup> | vidyutā bhrājanti dyotata<sup>292</sup> a ca dyota-  
ta<sup>293</sup> | iti madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed |  
atha yasyā 'gnayo 'bhīplaveran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so  
'gnaye 'psumate<sup>294</sup> 'ṣṭakapālam puroḍaṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ  
purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv apām agnis tanūbhīr<sup>295</sup> |  
iti madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | atha  
yady anugatam<sup>296</sup> abhyuddharet kā tatra prāyaścittih | so

adhāya 'jyabhāgūdy-annataram yathāsamābhavam anenaiva manitrena  
svāhakarāntena sruvābutiḥ juhuyāt | agnaya idam |<sup>297</sup> Hierzu  
gehören die Ausführungen der Brahm. Prāy. 65 b; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7.

<sup>286</sup> A atrāgham B annādy (i) C annādya <sup>287</sup> A samjyāvṛjyano  
B samjāvṛta upato C samvrta upato; D samśrjyāvṛta upato <sup>288</sup> fehlt  
bei A. <sup>289</sup> AV. 19. 55. 5. <sup>290</sup> cf. Aśv. 3. 13. 8; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7.

schreibt für den gleichen Fall die gleiche Spende für agni *apamant* vor.  
<sup>291</sup> D liest hinter jihvā: vidyotate dyotate adyotata iti madhyata

<sup>292</sup> Bei B dittographiert. <sup>293</sup> Vait. 14. 1 A āvadyotata BC ātadyotata?

<sup>294</sup> cf. Aśv. 3. 13. 8; KS. 25. 4. 33 schreibt das gleiche Opfer — offenbar  
ursprünglicher — für den Fall vor, daß sich himmlische und irdische  
Feuer mit einander vermengen; ebenso Aśv. Prāy. 8 a: vaidyutā 'gni-  
samvarge samāropanādi agnaye 'psumate purāhutiḥ |

<sup>295</sup> AV. 4. 15. 10. <sup>296</sup> Hier scheint von dem Erlöschen irgendeines Opfer-

feuers die Rede zu sein. Brahm. Prāy. 62 a (s. folg. Anm.) beziehen sich  
jedoch auf das Ahavaniya-Feuer, dessen unser Text in diesem Zusammen-  
hang nicht gedenkt. Vgl. aber Agn. Prāy. 12 a: anvāhiteṣv agniṣu yady  
āhavanīya 'nugaccheṣṭ tadā 'nvāhitam āhavanīyam anugatam utpādayiṣyā-

mi 'ti saṃkalpya | aṣṭ agnir apāśmā itatāne 'ti (AV. 7. 82. 4) gārha-  
patyād prapīyamto bhūr iti manaso 'pāsthūnaḥ kuryāt | tata ājyapūrṇena  
sruveṇa juhoti | yo agnim devavitaye . . . mṛdaya (RV. 1. 12. 9) evāhā ||

agnaye pāvakāye 'dam tato | juhva juhoti | idam viṣṇur . . . pāpsure (RV  
1. 22. 17) evāhā | viṣṇava idam | tata [h] sarvaṃ prāyaścittam | idam viṣṇur  
RV. 1. 22. 17) japed ity eke | tato manasā yajamāno japati | agne vrata-

pate | vrataṃ cariyāmi vāyo vratapate āditya vratapate vrataṣāṃ vrata-  
pate (Āp. 4. 5. 2) | vrato- 'pāyanottaram agny-anugamane vratoḥ pāyantya-  
japo nā 'ayutāḥ | ibid. 12 b: prapīte 'nugate prāḥ ghomād iṣṭe  
agnir jyotiṣmān varuṇāḥ | agnihotrā- 'rīham prapīta āhavanīyahomāt prāḥ  
anugate śkyam agnihotrārtham prapītam āhavanīyam anugatam utpāde-

yiṣyāmi 'ti saṃkalpya | prātur agnihotrā- 'rīham iti prāṣṭāḥ | uddharāṇa-



'gnaye 'gnimate 'śākāpālām puroḍāśām nirvapen<sup>297</sup> | nityāḥ  
 purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣu | śivau<sup>298</sup> bhavatam<sup>299</sup>  
 adya<sup>300</sup> no<sup>301</sup> | 'gninā 'gnih samsrjyate<sup>302</sup> kaviṛ grhapatir  
 yuvā havyavāḍ juhvāsyaḥ<sup>303</sup> | tvam hy agne<sup>304</sup> agninā vipro<sup>305</sup>  
 vipreṇa san satā sakḥā sakhyā samidhyase || sa no rāsva  
 suviryam<sup>306</sup> iti madhyata opyā 'tha samsrāvabhāgañ samstha-  
 payet | 7 | atha<sup>307</sup> ya<sup>307</sup> āhitāgnis<sup>307</sup> tantre<sup>307</sup> pravāse  
 mṛtaḥ syāt<sup>308</sup> katham tatra kuryāt | katham asyā 'gnihotram  
 juhuyur<sup>309</sup> | anyavatsāyā<sup>310</sup> goḥ payase | 'ty āhur<sup>311</sup> adu-  
 gdhāyā<sup>311</sup> vā śūdradugdhāyā vā<sup>312</sup> | 'sarvam<sup>312</sup> vā etat  
 payo yad<sup>313</sup> anyavatsāyā goḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā 'sarvam<sup>314</sup>  
 vā etad agnihotram yan mṛtasyā 'gnihotram<sup>315</sup> | tāvad

mantrēno 'ddhṛtya hiraṇyam puraskṛtya rajatām puraskṛtye 'ti prastāb |  
 [sāyam] hiraṇyam agrato hṛtvā "havanīyasya paścād (dhirāṇyam) nidhāya |  
 prastāb rajatām agrato hṛtvā "havanīyasya purastān nidhāye 'ti viśeṣaḥ |  
 tato prañayana-mantrēna nidhāya 'gnim pratīhāpayet | tato 'gnaye  
 jyotiṣmate svāhā | agnaye jyotiṣmata idam | varuṇāya svāhā | agnaye jyoti-  
 ṣmata idam | varuṇāya svāhā | varuṇāye 'dam (Ap. 9. 9. 14; corr.) | iti  
 puroḥkutip hutvā tasmin evā 'gnau homo-samāptih | Beim Erlöschen  
 des Ahavaniya-Feuers soll ebenso wie bei dem des Dakṣiṇāgni (cf. unten  
 6. 1) verfahren werden; jedoch ist ibid. folgende Differenz vorgeschrieben:  
 Ahavaniyaḥ 'tara-paścima-deśe prahvas tiṣṭhan dhātā dhātṛpām (RV.  
 10. 128. 7) ity adinā tri[ni] kṛtḥāny ādadhāti 'ti viśeṣaḥ | ubhayaṛ nāse  
 dakṣiṇāgniṇi praṇīyā "havanīyam apī praṇī[ya] pūrvavad ahavaniya-prā-  
 yaścittādi kṛtvā paścāt pūrvavad dakṣiṇāgni-prāyaścittādi kuryāt |

<sup>297</sup> Brahm. Pray. 62a: ahavaniyānugame 'pi praṇīya hutvā ivo bhūte  
 gnaye 'gnimate 'śākāpālām nirvapet | cf. ibid. Bl. 56a folg.: yasyā  
 'gnā[v] agnim abhyuddhareyur (vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6) bhavatam naḥ  
 samanasāv (Kauś. 108. 2) ity abhimamtryā 'gnaye 'gnimate 'śākāpālām  
 nirvapet | yasya yajamānasya daivān mānuṣād vā pramādād agnāv uddhṛte  
 praṇīte vidyamāna eva punar abhyuddhareyus tatra 'bhimukhyeno  
 'rddhivam uddhareyur . . . . . bhava(n)tan naḥ samanasāv iti . . .

<sup>298</sup> ACD āivo B āive <sup>299</sup> CD bhavatam. <sup>300</sup> ABC adhya

<sup>301</sup> A to; Kauś. 108. 2. <sup>302</sup> C samsrjate <sup>303</sup> RV.

1. 12. 6. <sup>304</sup> ABC fügen agnir ein. <sup>305</sup> RV. 8. 43. 14. <sup>306</sup> RV.

5. 13. 5; 8. 98. 12. <sup>307</sup> A atha āhitāgnis tantrapravāse B atha ya

āhitāgni tatre pravāse C atha yasyāhitāgnih tantre <sup>308</sup> cf. Ap. 9.

11. 22; K. Ś. 25. 8. 9; vgl. die Anm. 518; 514. <sup>309</sup> A juhuran

B juhuyaranye C juhuyuranye D juhuyatranye <sup>310</sup> A nyavatsāya

B 'nya C nyavatsāya <sup>311</sup> Diese Stelle ist im Original verderbt.

A liest diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte: āhuḥ tad adugdhāyā vā

sarvam vā prānāyaya yajñenā 'nyavatsāyā gauḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā BC

āhuḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā (C vāt) sarvam vā etyayojanye (C jñe) nā 'nya

(C 'nā-)vatsāyā goḥ śūdradugdhāyā evā (evā) D āhuḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā

<sup>312</sup> A sarvam <sup>313</sup> fehlt bei CD. <sup>314</sup> fehlt bei ABCD. <sup>315</sup> cf.

Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2.



agnim<sup>316</sup> paricareyur yāvad<sup>317</sup> asthnām<sup>317</sup> āharapam<sup>318</sup> |  
 āhṛtyā 'gnibhiḥ<sup>319</sup> samspṛśya tam pitṛmedhena<sup>320</sup> samāpnuyur |  
 atha yah<sup>321</sup> samāropitā-samāropite mṛtaḥ syāt katham tatra  
 kuryāt | so 'gnaye tantumate pathikṛte vratabhṛte<sup>322</sup> puroḍa-  
 śam nirvaped ekakapālam saptakapālam navakapālam | nityaḥ  
 purastāddhomaḥ | samsthitahomesu | tvam agne saprathe asi<sup>323</sup>  
 yena pathā vaivasvataḥ<sup>324</sup> tvam agne vratapā asi<sup>325</sup> | 'ti ma-  
 dhyata opya (atha) samśrāvabhāgāḥ samsthāpayed | atha naste  
 araṇi syātām<sup>326</sup> anyayor araṇyor viḥṛtya tam<sup>326</sup> mathitvai  
 'tābhīr eva hutvā 'thai 'nam samāpnuyuh<sup>327</sup> | 8 | atha yasyo

<sup>316</sup> D agnihotrām <sup>317</sup> A yāvavadaśhnām (?) B yāvadaśhnām D yāva-  
 dāśhnām. <sup>318</sup> Agn. Prāy. 4b: *adhve pramītasya* (cf. oben Anm. 308)  
 'bhivānyavataśyāḥ payasa 'gnihotrām tūṣṭim sarvahutam juhuyur ā sama-  
 vīyat | pāthikṛtṛṇ kṛtvā tasmīn eva vihare abhivānyavataśyāḥ payasa  
 tūṣṭim | dharmakāmā 'gnihotrām sakṛd eva sarvaṃ juhuyur | nā 'tra  
 bhakṣyo 'ti | pūrvāṅgāny uttarāṅgāny api tūṣṭim eva bhavanti kālas tu  
 śyapṛt prātar eva | ā śarīrasyā 'gni-sambandhatvāt | pradhāne prajāpati-  
 dhyēnam kartavyam | yady āhitāgnir aparapakṣe mriyeta 'hutibhīr  
 enaṃ pūrvapakṣam hareyuh | pakṣahoma-nyāyena |; cf. *Āśv. Prāy.*  
 2b: atha pravāsa-mṛtasyā 'hitāgner viśeṣaḥ | putrādayaḥ pāthikṛtṛṇ  
 kṛtvā 'hitāgni-śarīrasyā 'gnibhiḥ sambandha-paryantam mṛtavatesyā goḥ  
 payasa tūṣṭim sarvahutam juhuyuh | prajāpatiṃ manasa dhyatvā svāhe  
 'ti mantrēṇa bhakṣaya-varjaṃ śūṣṭam pradhānam kartavyam | athavā  
 yajña-puroḥavākṣyabhyam pūrvahutam juhuyāt | atha 'hitāgner apura-pakṣe  
 maraṇa-samkṣya syāt tadā pakṣahoma-nyāyena 'vaśiṣṭa-<sup>319</sup> 'gnihotrā-<sup>320</sup> 'hutayo  
 darśeṣṭā ca kartavyā | nā 'tra kalānyamaḥ | evaṃ cāturmāsya-ntarale  
 maraṇa-samkṣyāṃ..... | maraṇa-samkṣyāṃ karaṇa-sambhave maraṇa-<sup>321</sup> nāp-  
 tarām apy.....kāryāṃ | <sup>322</sup> B āhatāgnibhiḥ C āhr(?) tāgnibhiḥ <sup>323</sup> BOD  
 pitṛmedhe tena <sup>324</sup> C yah <sup>325</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 27 folg., wo die Fülle auf-  
 gezählt werden, in denen dem Agni vratabhṛt geopfert werden soll.  
<sup>326</sup> cf. oben 2. 1. <sup>327</sup> Gemeint ist der schon oben zitierte Spruch

— AV. XIX 59. 1.

<sup>328</sup> RV. 8. 11. 1.

<sup>329</sup> Diese und die in-

zwischenliegenden Worte liest A: syātām anyayor araṇyor viḥṛtya ta B  
 syāt tayor araṇyor viḥṛtyam tam C syāt tayor ara viḥṛtya tam D syāt  
 tayor araṇyor viḥṛtyamta <sup>327</sup> *Āśv. Prāy.* 7a folg.: atha samśrāvāḥ  
 agniṣv araṇināśe 'gnyādheyam punarādheyam vā kartavyam | vahnīṣe  
 sataḥ araṇi-nāśe prāyascittam punar-ādheya-varjam | araṇi-nāśa-nimittāni  
 dāho manthanam ca | [Śloka:] manuṣya-'sthi śavam viṣṭha rajo viṣ  
 mutram eva ca svedo 'ru pūyikā śleṣma madyam cā 'medhyam ucyate |  
 śṛgūlā-<sup>328</sup> mṛtyaja-kurapa-pratilomaja-<sup>329</sup> rajasvalā-surika-patita-śūdra-vāyasa-  
 risabha-sūkura-kaka-kukkuṭādyāḥ | agnyādhanam go-pitṛ-yajñavarjam |  
 bandhāyanānam tasya prathama[h] prayoga eva 'vāyakaivāt | anyatara-  
 'raṇi-nāśe 'nyatarām chittvā arañidvayam kṛtvā manthanam kartavyam  
 iti | araṇi etāḥ samspṛṣṭe bhavatam naḥ samantasav (VS. 5. 3) iti jāle  
 nikaṣṭyā 'māvāsyāyām nava araṇi mantrēṇa 'bṛīya darśane 'śtvā navā-

'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ prapatet<sup>328</sup> kṛtā tatra prāyaścittih | sprtibhir  
 juhuyād<sup>329</sup> vāyave nyutvate yavāgūṃ<sup>330</sup> nirupya<sup>331</sup> 'nyam  
 tadrūpaṃ tadvarṇaṃ ālabheta<sup>332</sup> | 'jyena 'bhigārya paryagni  
 kṛtvo 'pākurvītai | 'te<sup>333</sup> vai<sup>334</sup> devaspr̥tayo<sup>335</sup> | agneḥ te vācam  
 spr̥nōmi svāhā | vātāt te prāpaṃ spr̥nōmi svāhā | sūryāt te  
 cakṣu spr̥nōmi svāhā | candrāt te mana spr̥nōmi svāhā |  
 digbhyas te jyoti<sup>336</sup> spr̥nōmi svāhā | 'dbhyas te rasam  
 spr̥nōmi svāhā | 'sthibhyas te majjānaṃ spr̥nōmi svāhā | sne-  
 hebhyas te snāvēnaṃ spr̥nōmi svāhau | 'śadhibhyas te lomāni

'raṇyor agnir maṣṭreṇa samāropya manthanasyā 'vṛta mathitvā tantu-  
 matim iṣṭim kuryāt | agnis tantumān devatā | tantum tanvan . . . priyam  
 (RV. 10, 53, 7) sū-uvāhārya-śarāva-parimita odano dakṣiṇa śeṣam (?) pauru-  
 māsavat | atha vahnīṣu sataḥ jirṇā-ṛaṇi-prāyaścittam || jantubhir man-  
 thanena jirṇe arāṇi vijāyete | tat-sadṛṣe nava arāṇi maṣṭreṇa āhṛtya  
 'māvāsyāpratipadi darsene 'tvā jirṇārāṇi śalkikṛtya gūḥapatye kṛptvā  
 prajvalya dakṣiṇa-kareṇa navo-ṭṭarā-ṛaṇim savyenā 'dharā-ṛaṇim ādāya  
 agner upari dhārayan niṣṭapati || udhodyanavā 'gne pravāsaṇa yonim  
 anyāṃ devayajyāyāṃ vai jatavedah | arāṇyā 'ṛaṇim anusaṃkramaṇa  
 jirṇāni nūm (?) ajirṇāyā nudaṇva || tato [']yam te yonir ityivo . . . . .  
 'gīrah (RV. 3, 29, 10) || iti samāropya mathitvā 'gnū viḥṛtya manasvatyā  
 caturghṛta-bomah | tantumatī-ṣṭim pūṇāhutim vā kuryāt || ukta-nimi-  
 ttair arāṇi-nāse pratyakṣa-vahnir yadi nāsyet tadā 'gny-ādhanam iti bau-  
 dhāyanah mūtra-vid-etas-ci[ti]ti-kāṣṭha-śleṣma-pātya-āṣṇi-karpātā-ṣṭhy-adi-  
 bhīr amedhyair agnisamsarge samāropya mathitvā 'stih | tasyām devatā |  
 agnir pavamānah | agnir pavakah | agniḥ śucir iti | pūṇāhutayo vā |  
 āśaktaḥ punas tvā 'dityā rudrā vasavaḥ (samimdhātāṃ) punar brāhmaṇo  
 vasuntīha rudrāḥ ghṛteṇa tvam tanuvo vardhayaṇva satyāḥ samtu ya-  
 macasya kāmā (VS. 12, 44) iti maṣṭreṇa 'pasamimdhanaṃ kuryāt | u-  
 da-kubīndu-pāte 'py etad eva || caṇḍala-patita-rajasaḥ-sūtikasya [spa]rśe  
 agnyādheyam || caturdine snānānantaram sparśe samāropya mathitvā  
 'gnaye śucaye 'śākapālam nirvapet | pūṇāhutim vā || cf. Agn. Pray. 13 b:  
 agniṣv arāṇyoh samāradheṣv arāṇyor-nāse 'gnyādheyam punaradheyam  
 vā kartavyam | anyatara-ṛaṇi-nāse 'pi bhavati | Der in obigen Zitaten  
 erwähnten Verunreinigung des heiligen Feuers gedenkt unser Traktat  
 nicht ausführlicher; dagegen sprechen z. B. Agn. Pray. 19 a von einem  
 udaka-'dina 'gny-upagata-prāyaścittam | : punas tvā . . . kāmā (VS. 12, 44)  
 iti samit-prakṣepāḥ | und von Selbstentzündung des Opferfeuers der  
 gleiche Text ibid.: svayam-prajvalana-prāyaścittam | addipyaṇva . . . .  
 paripātaye 'ti (TA. 10, 1, 4, 5) pratimaṣṭram ekaikam samidham ādadhāt  
 (m)agnihotra-prārādha-karmaṇu | ā samāpter.

<sup>328</sup> cf. unten 5, 6.<sup>329</sup> Vgl. hierzu Ś. Br. 11, 8, 4, 6; K. Ś. 26, 6.<sup>330</sup> BC yavāstam. <sup>331</sup> A nirupya B tirubya CD nirupyaṃ. <sup>332</sup> Das Entflehen und Zugrundegehen des Opfertieres erheischt Sühne: K. Ś. 25, 9, 1; cf. unten 6, 7: āśvamedhe ced āśvo nā 'gacchet . . .<sup>333</sup> A 'kurvīteyevaidevāspr̥ta tayo. B 'kurvīteyotavai OD 'kurvīteyotavai<sup>334</sup> A jyoti, verändert in digbhyas BCD diśāṃ



spruomi svāhā | prthivyaś te śarīram spruomi svāhā | 'ntari-  
kṣāt<sup>335</sup> ta ākāśam spruomi svāhā | mānuṣāt<sup>336</sup> ta ākāśaḍ di-  
vyam<sup>337</sup> ākāśam spruomi svāhe | 'ndrāt te<sup>338</sup> balam spruomi  
svāhā | somāt te rājāḥ<sup>339</sup> kīrtim<sup>340</sup> yaśaś ca spruomi svāhe |  
'ti ca hutvā 'thai 'nam punaḥ pradiśati vāyave tve<sup>341</sup> 'ty |  
atha yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśur mriyeta kā tatra prāyaścittih |  
sṛtibhir eva hutvā 'thai 'nam anuḍiśaty ṛtave tve<sup>342</sup> 'ty |  
atha yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ samśrīyeta kā tatra prāyaścittih |  
sṛtibhir eva<sup>343</sup> hutvā 'thai<sup>344</sup> 'nam anuḍiśati | rakṣobhyas  
tve 'ti | nā 'nudeśanam ity āhur | yo vā eṣa prapatito bha-  
vati tad yad enam adhigacheyur<sup>345</sup> atha tena yajeta | 'tha  
yāv<sup>346</sup> etan śīrṣa-mṛtau bhavatas<sup>347</sup> tayoh prajātāny avadā-  
nāny avadāye 'tarasya vā paśoh sampraīsam kṛtvā brāhmaṇān  
paricareyur apo vā 'bhyupahareyuh sṛtibhir<sup>348</sup> | yadi vā 'nyah  
syā[ce]<sup>349</sup> chāmitram<sup>350</sup> enam prāpayeyur<sup>351</sup> ..... sṛtibhir eva  
hutvā sāmitram evai 'nam prāpayeyur | ata ūrdhvaṁ pra-  
siddhaḥ paśubandho | 'tha ya upatāpinam yajayet<sup>352</sup> kā tatra  
prāyaścittih | sṛtibhir eva hutvā 'gado haiva<sup>353</sup> bhavaty | atha  
ced bahava upatāpinaḥ syuh kā tatra prāyaścittih | sṛtibhir  
eva hutvā 'gado hai 'va bhavaty | atha yo 'dhiśrīta 'gnihoṭre  
yajamāno mriyeta katham tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat parya-  
dadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ sandahyete<sup>354</sup> 'ty | atha "havaniya  
ājyāhutim juhuyād | yajña eti vitataḥ kalpamāna<sup>355</sup> | ity etaya

<sup>335</sup> A liest statt dieser und der inzwischensliegenden Worte nur:  
'ntarikṣa śarīraspruomi svāhā ite; BC lesen statt 'ndrāt te: 'ndraddhi  
D: 'ndrādvi <sup>336</sup> BC mānuṣāt <sup>337</sup> C divam;  
D divam

<sup>338</sup> A rāja BCD rājā <sup>339</sup> ACD kīrtir B kīrti  
<sup>340</sup> V. S. 7, 7. <sup>341</sup> A ṛtam vetyety BCD ṛtave tvey  
atha

<sup>342</sup> Bei A verderbt. <sup>343</sup> D adhivyāyacheyur BC  
adhivyāgacheyur; vyā offenbar nur dittographisch aus dhi entwickelt.

<sup>344</sup> Statt dieser und der inzwischensliegenden Worte liest A yāceto sau  
śīrṣamṛto bhavata BC yajai [C vai] taugmau śīrṣa [C rṣa] mṛtau bha-  
vata; D ya vaitāgmau śīrṣamṛtau bhavataḥ <sup>345</sup> A caśasṛbhir C  
sṛtibhi

<sup>346</sup> BCD 'syām amitrām <sup>347</sup> Das folgende, im Text Aus-  
gelassene ist ganz verderbt: A tad āha śaṁ vai sandhriyam ca haratity

atha nu katham iti tat paṇḍasāpapaṇḍāya vahanti B tadāha śaṁ vi sandhi  
'yam ca harati 'ty aha nu kam iti tat paṇḍasāpapaṇḍāya vaharanti C tadā  
śaṁ vi sandhriyam ca haratity aha nu katham iti tat paṇḍasāpapaṇḍāya

vaharanti; D tad āha śaṁ ci sandhriyam ca haratity aha nu katham iti  
tat paṇḍasāpapaṇḍāyavaharanti; I. etwa: tad āha śaṁyu sandhriyācam  
harati 'ty | aha nu katham iti paṇḍasā-paṇḍas (?) vahanti <sup>348</sup> A  
yajayet <sup>349</sup> haiva fehlt bei ABC. <sup>350</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7, 2.

<sup>351</sup> AV 18, 4, 18.



roā | 'tha ya aupavasathye<sup>322</sup> 'hani yajamāno mriyeta katham  
 tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat pradadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ  
 samdahyete 'ty | athā 'havanīya ājyāhutim juhuyād | yajña  
 eti vitataḥ kalpamāna<sup>323</sup> ity etayarcā | 'tha yaḥ samāsa-  
 nneṣu<sup>324</sup> haviṣṣu yajamāno mriyeta katham tatra kuryāt |  
 tatrai 'vai 'tat<sup>325</sup> paryadadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ samdahye-  
 rann ity | athā 'havanīya ājyā-'hutim juhuyād | ape 'mam  
 jīvā arudhan grhebhya<sup>326</sup> | ity etayarcā | 'tha yo dikṣito  
 mriyeta katham enam daheyus | tair evā 'gnibhir ity ahur |  
 havyaavāhanās cai 'te me<sup>327</sup> bhavanti tat kavyavāhana ity | atha  
 nu katham iti | śakṛtpiṇḍais tatra ukhāḥ<sup>328</sup> pūrayitvā tāḥ  
 pradadh[y]us | tā dhūnuyus | tā<sup>329</sup> susamtāpā ye<sup>330</sup> 'gnayo<sup>331</sup>  
 jāyerams tāḥ samāpnuyuh | bahir<sup>332</sup> vā evam (bhavan)ti  
 te no vai 'te | tasya<sup>333</sup> tad eva brāhmaṇam yad adah<sup>334</sup> purah<sup>335</sup>  
 savane<sup>336</sup> pitṛmedha<sup>337</sup> aśiṣo<sup>338</sup> vyākhyātās | tam yadi pu-  
 rastāt tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam brūyād vasūnām tvā devā-  
 nām vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | gāyatṛim paṛśam<sup>339</sup> adhaḥśirā  
 'vapadyasve 'ti | tam yadi dakṣiṇatas tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam  
 brūyād rudrāṇām tvā devānām vyātte<sup>340</sup> 'pi dadhāmi | traistū-  
 bhīm<sup>341</sup> paṛśam<sup>342</sup> adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | tam yadi paścāt  
 tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam brūyād adityānām tvā devānām  
 vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | jāgatim paṛśam<sup>343</sup> adhaḥ-<sup>344</sup> śirā 'vapadyasve  
 'ti | tam yadi uttaratas tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam brūyād<sup>345</sup> |  
 viśveṣām tvā devānām vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | ānuṣṭubhīm paṛśam  
 adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | tam yadi antardeśebhyo vā tiṣṭha-

<sup>322</sup> A upavasathye, verändert in au; BC pavasathye D apavasathye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. <sup>323</sup> A yaḥ samāsattreṣu B samāsannēṣu; C samāsattreṣu D samāsanneṣu; unsere Lesung nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. <sup>324</sup> A tat <sup>325</sup> A V. 18. 2. 27. <sup>326</sup> D ne <sup>327</sup> Die Mss. scheinen ugh zu lesen. <sup>328</sup> A tāhsusamtāpayed agnaye BD tāmaṣsamtāpaye gnyayo C tāmaṣsamtānām samtāpaye gnyayo <sup>329</sup> Bloße Wiedergabe einer kaum verständlichen und jedenfalls sehr korrupten Stelle nach Ms. A. B barhiṣy eva bhavante no vai te tasya C barhir vā eva bhavanti tenodāte tasya D teno ete yad adobarhiṣā vā eva bhavati teno vai te tasya; L etwa: teno ete yad adobarhiṣā vā eva bhavanti teno vai te? <sup>330</sup> D ahaḥ <sup>331</sup> AB purasavane <sup>332</sup> A pitṛmedhā <sup>333</sup> A āśiṣo B āśiṣo cf. Gop. Br. 1. 5. 22. <sup>334</sup> D paṛśam <sup>335</sup> In den Mss. vyātte = vyādāte; so D an dieser Stelle und bei allen ihren Wiederholungen. <sup>336</sup> B traistubhām C bhā <sup>337</sup> BC paṛśamdhāḥ <sup>338</sup> B paṛśamdhāḥ C paṛśamdhāḥ <sup>339-345</sup> A liest diese und die in zwischenliegenden Worte aus.

ntam upavadet tam brūyāt<sup>370</sup> ..... | tasmai namas kuryāt | sa cet prati namas kuryāt kuśalenai 'vai 'nam<sup>371</sup> yojayet<sup>372</sup> | sa<sup>373</sup> cen<sup>373</sup> na<sup>373</sup> prati namas kuryāt tenā 'bhicaret | savyam<sup>374</sup> agranthinā prasavyam agnibhiḥ pariyād<sup>375</sup> | vatsaro 'si<sup>376</sup> parivatsaro 'si samvatsaro 'si<sup>376</sup> 'ti | tam<sup>377</sup> yadi<sup>377</sup> jighāmsed<sup>377</sup> yayoh<sup>377</sup> sarvam iti sūktena bādhakih<sup>378</sup> samidho 'bhyādadhyāt | tṛtīyāham nā 'tījivaty<sup>379</sup> | atha yo hotā 'rddhahuta ucchiṣṭah<sup>380</sup> syāt<sup>380</sup> sahaiva tenā 'camyā 'gnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastad<sup>381</sup> ity etām japtvā yathā-rtham kuryād yathārtham kuryāt | 9 | iti yajñaprāyaścitte dvitīyo 'dhyāyah samāptah<sup>382</sup> |

athā 'to somarūpāni vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | prajāpatir manasi | śārasvato vāci<sup>383</sup> viśr̥ṣṭāyām<sup>383</sup> | vidhānam<sup>384</sup> dikṣāyām | brahmavrate savitā<sup>385</sup> sandhīyamāne<sup>386</sup> 'ndho 'cheto<sup>388</sup> divyah<sup>387</sup> suparnah parikhyāto | 'ditiḥ prāyaṇye<sup>388</sup> | paśusthā nyup-to<sup>389</sup> | yajño<sup>390</sup> hūyamāno<sup>391</sup> | bhadro vicīyamānah<sup>392</sup> | chandāmsi mīyamāno<sup>393</sup> | bhagah panyamāno | 'surah krito | varuno 'pasamnaddhah | pūṣā somakrayāne<sup>394</sup> | śīpiviṣṭo 'rāv<sup>395</sup> āsādyamāno<sup>396</sup> | brhaspatir utthito | vāyur<sup>398</sup> abhīhriyamāno<sup>397</sup> | 'dhipatiḥ prohyamāno | 'gnīsomiyah paśāv<sup>398</sup> | atithi<sup>399</sup> (rudro | varunah<sup>400</sup> sadātithye | varunah samrāj | āsādyām<sup>401</sup> āsādyamāna<sup>401</sup> | aindrāgno<sup>402</sup> 'gnau<sup>403</sup>

<sup>370</sup> Den zweifellos hier fehlenden Spruch haben sämtliche Mss. ausgelassen. <sup>371</sup> A kuśalam evainam C kuśalenaitemam <sup>372</sup> D yajayet  
<sup>373</sup> A sa cenā B sa ce tan ra C sa cenra; D sa cet <sup>374</sup> fehlt bei B.  
<sup>375</sup> Bei BCD fehlt: pariyād vatsaro si <sup>376</sup> VS 27. 45. <sup>377</sup> A  
 tayamdirjighāmsaghamyoh BCD tam yadi jighāmsavyayoh <sup>378</sup> Ver-  
 wendung des bādhaka-Holzes bei bösem Zauber: s. Pet. Wb. u. bādhaka  
 und die allerdings unklare Stelle AP 24. 1. 8. <sup>379</sup> CD nātijivaty  
<sup>380</sup> A utciṣṭasyāt BC u(c)chiṣṭa syāt l.: utciṣṭasēt (vgl. PW.) <sup>381</sup> AV.  
 19. 17. 1. <sup>382</sup> D ity atharvavede vaitānāstre prāyaścittaprasaṃge  
 dāśamo 'dhyāyah | <sup>383</sup> vāvivisr̥ṣṭāyām C vacivī <sup>384</sup> D vidhāna  
<sup>385</sup> D savitāram <sup>386</sup> Texte unklar 'māne ajaste? 'māne a-aste?  
<sup>387</sup> C divyam <sup>388</sup> C prāyaṇyo B prāyañ <sup>389</sup> So nach BC.  
<sup>390</sup> C yajña <sup>391</sup> D 'māno <sup>392</sup> ABCD vai bhi <sup>393</sup> AD vai  
 mīyamāno BC vai mīmāno <sup>394</sup> ABC 'pū D 'pam <sup>395</sup> A 'ṣtor āśā;  
 BCD 'ṣtorāśā; sprachlich möglich wäre es, statt ūrav: ūrū zu re-  
 konstruieren, unter Anwendung eines unfehlbaren Sandhi also zu lösen:  
 'ṣto 'rv āśā; vgl. śīpiviṣṭa āśaditah TS. 4. 4. 9. 1. E. Ś. 34. 14. <sup>396</sup> C ṣhāsur?  
<sup>397</sup> A abhīdhriyamāno B abhīhriyamāno CD abhīhriyamāno <sup>398</sup> BCD  
 paśave <sup>399</sup> A atithye <sup>400</sup> BCD varunah <sup>401</sup> B āsādyam vatsādyā-  
 māna C āsādvatsādvatsādyamāna D āsādyavatsādyamāna <sup>402</sup> ABC 'gnau  
<sup>403</sup> ABCD lassen 'gnau weg.



mathyamāna | aindrāgno 'gnau<sup>404</sup> prañyamāne<sup>404</sup> | sāma<sup>405</sup>  
 tānūnaptre<sup>405</sup> | tapo 'vantaradikṣāyām | prthivy upasady | anta-  
 rikṣam upasadi | dyaus upasadi | yajñasya pramā<sup>406</sup> 'bhimo  
 'nmā<sup>406</sup> pratimā vedyām kriyamāṇāyām | paśava uttarave-  
 dyām | dyaus havirdhāne | 'ntarikṣam āgnidhriye | prthivi  
 sadasi | 1 | prāṇa uparaveṣu | bhrātṛvyā dhiṣṇyeṣu | paśavo  
 barhiṣi<sup>407</sup> | vedyām stīryamāṇāyām | apsu<sup>408</sup> visarjane<sup>408</sup> | pra-  
 jāpatir hriyamāno<sup>409</sup> | 'gnir āgnidhriye | vaiṣṇava śasana-  
 karmāṇi | hasto viśṛṣṭo<sup>410</sup> | vaiṣṇavo yūpa | ośadhayo raśanā-  
 yām<sup>411</sup> | medha āprisu<sup>412</sup> | haviḥ paryagnikṛtaḥ<sup>413</sup> | pitṛde-  
 vatyah paśau samjñāpyamāne | yajñasya mithunam pannejane-  
 ṣu<sup>414</sup> | rakṣasām bhāgadheyam vapāyām<sup>415</sup> udgrhyamāṇāyām |  
 yajñasya samtātir vasativarīṣv abhihriyamāṇāsv<sup>416</sup> | indra-  
 gnyor dhenur dakṣiṇasyām<sup>417</sup> uttaravedi<sup>418</sup> śronyām<sup>419</sup> avasā-  
 dayati<sup>420</sup> | mitravarunayor dhenur | uttarasyām uttara-  
 vedi<sup>418</sup> śronyām<sup>419</sup> avasādayati<sup>421</sup> | viśvesām devānām āgmi-  
 dhriye | chandāmasy upavasathe<sup>422</sup> | havir upāvahrtah<sup>423</sup> |  
 sarsavataḥ<sup>424</sup> pratarannvāke | 'tharvā 'bhyuptah | prajāpatir  
 vibhajyamāne | devatā vibhakte | 'ndro vṛtrahe 'ndro<sup>425</sup> 'bhi-  
 mātilhendro<sup>426</sup> indro vṛtratur<sup>427</sup> unniyamāna | āyur upāṃśv<sup>428</sup>  
 antaryāmāyor | yamo 'bhihitah | 2 | nibhūyapurādhava-  
 niye<sup>429</sup> supūtaḥ pūtabhrti suśukra<sup>430</sup> śrir<sup>431</sup> mamtha<sup>432</sup> śriḥ

- <sup>404</sup> fehlt bei A; D 'gno      <sup>405</sup> A sarsavato-nupāpte B sāsati  
 nūyāpte C sāsati yāpte; D sāsatiagrāme      <sup>406</sup> A pramā-  
 bbhimatonmā pratimā vedyantarikṣam upasadi dyaus upasadi yajñasya  
 pramābbhimatonmā pratimā B setat an Stelle dieser Wiederholung:  
 pramādisamomā C pramāhisamomā; D pramābbhimate hi mā      <sup>407</sup> ABC  
 barhiṣu      <sup>408</sup> A āvisarjane C apūtsarjane      <sup>409</sup> A  
 hriyamāne C hriyamāne D hriyamāno      <sup>410</sup> C tiṣṭho      <sup>411</sup> B  
 raśanāyām C rajñāśanāyām      <sup>412</sup> D āpritya      <sup>413</sup> A  
 paryagnittatam      <sup>414</sup> ABCD patitja\*      <sup>415</sup> A capāpām  
 B vamaṣyām      <sup>416</sup> A abhidriyamāṇāsv B abhihriyamāṇāsv  
 D abhihriyamāṇāsv      <sup>417</sup> D uttarasyām; vielleicht besser.  
<sup>418</sup> B 'vedih      <sup>419</sup> ABC 'nyām      <sup>420</sup> A vacasam  
 nodayati D vamaṣam nodayati BC vamaṇnodayati; vielleicht die Lesart  
 von BC (vamaṇ no 'da') beizubehalten.      <sup>421</sup> B vamaṇnodayati  
 D vedinodayati (sic!) C vamaṇnodayati A avasādayati; vielleicht auch  
 hier mit BC zu lesen.      <sup>422</sup> BC upavasatho; D upavathyo  
<sup>423</sup> A upāvahataḥ B upāhataḥ C upāvahāḥ D avahataḥ      <sup>424</sup> C  
 sarsavataḥ      <sup>425</sup> fehlt bei B.      <sup>426</sup> A bhimatir  
 D bhimater\*      <sup>427</sup> A vṛtraghua D vṛtraghnir      <sup>428</sup> B  
 upāṃśv      <sup>429</sup> AD nidhāya\*      <sup>430</sup> BC śukrah      <sup>431</sup> C  
 śri      <sup>432</sup> A matha D mayah



saktośriḥ kṣiraśriḥ kakubhaḥ pātreṣu <sup>433</sup> | vāyur bahiṣpa-  
 vamāne <sup>434</sup> | hotra <sup>435</sup> pravare | vasavaḥ prayājeṣu | yaddevatyah  
 somas <sup>436</sup> taddevatyah <sup>437</sup> paśur | vaiśvadeva unnīyamāna <sup>438</sup> |  
 aindragna unnīto | rudro hūyamāno | vāto māruto gaṇo <sup>439</sup> |  
 'bhyāvrtto | nrekaśū <sup>440</sup> pratikhyāto <sup>441</sup> | bhakṣo bhakṣyamā-  
 naḥ | sakṣā <sup>442</sup> bhakṣitaḥ | pitaro nārāśamsā <sup>443</sup> | [ā]gneyam  
 prātaḥsavanam | aindram mādhyandīnam savanam | yajño  
 dakṣiṇāyām | aindrāṇi prsthāni | vaiśvadevam tṛtīya-sava-  
 nam | vaiśvānaro 'gnīṣṭomam | aindravaruṇam māitravaruṇa-  
 syo 'ktham <sup>444</sup> bhavaty | aindrābārhaspatyam <sup>445</sup> brāhmaṇa-  
 cchamsina uktham <sup>446</sup> bhavaty | aindravaishnavam achāvākasyo  
 'ktham <sup>447</sup> bhavaty | aindrah śoḍaśrātrah <sup>448</sup> | paryāyā <sup>449</sup>  
 'gneyo <sup>450</sup> rāthamtarah sandhiḥ <sup>451</sup> | sauryam āśvinam <sup>452</sup> | ahar  
 yajña | ādityā anuyājeṣu | yad antaraḥ kriyate sa samudro | varupo  
 'vabhrtha <sup>453</sup> | samudra rjīṣe | yad <sup>454</sup> avāre <sup>455</sup> tirtham <sup>456</sup> tat  
 prāyanīyam | yat pāre tad udayantiyam <sup>457</sup> | vaiṣṇavo vaśyām |  
 svar divi | kāsū <sup>458</sup> brahma <sup>459</sup> samīṣṭyām <sup>460</sup> | 3 | yasyā <sup>461</sup>  
 yasyā <sup>462</sup> 'mtataḥ <sup>463</sup> somo vyāpadyeta tasyai tasyai devatāyā <sup>464</sup>  
 iṣṭim nirvaped ājyahomān va | 'tha juhuyāt | tvām <sup>465</sup> yajño  
 viṣṇur <sup>466</sup> iti ca | tvām yajño viṣṇur yajña-viṣṇu anūnam <sup>467</sup>  
 hitvā <sup>468</sup> ātmānam deveṣu vidayāmiti <sup>469</sup> | vanaspate <sup>470</sup> 'mta-  
 taḥ <sup>471</sup> syā 'nuṣṭubham chandaso yam tam abhyukta etena  
 sampadadhāmi 'ti sampadhāya yan me skannam <sup>472</sup> iti skanne |  
 yad asṃpti <sup>473</sup> 'ti ca karmaviparyāse 'ti <sup>474</sup> ca <sup>475</sup> tad <sup>476</sup> yad <sup>477</sup>

<sup>433</sup> C pavitreṣu

<sup>434</sup> ABC barhi\*

<sup>435</sup> B hotraḥ C hotra;

vgl. Kath.: hotraḥ.

<sup>436</sup> fehlt bei D

<sup>437</sup> C 'ne

<sup>438</sup> gaṇe <sup>439</sup> AC nrekaśū <sup>440</sup> A prātikakṣāto; dann folgt bei A bhakṣo  
 bhakṣyamānaḥ sarvobhakṣitaḥ B bhakṣo yamānaḥ sarvobhakṣitaḥ C bhakṣo  
 bhakṣyamānaḥ sarvobhakṣita

<sup>441</sup> A sarvo BC sarvo D sarvo.

<sup>442</sup> C nārāyanamsā <sup>443</sup> AC 'varuṇasyo 'cham B 'vyoccha <sup>444</sup> B 'bār-  
 haspatye <sup>445</sup> AC ucchaḥ B uccha <sup>446</sup> ABC cham. <sup>447</sup> A śoḍa-

śaśrātri BCD śoḍaśrātri <sup>448</sup> ABCD paryāyāgneyo <sup>449</sup> A sampdhi  
 BC sampdhirya <sup>450</sup> A āśvina <sup>451</sup> A vabhrthyā <sup>452</sup> A yad avāre

tirtham B yad ācatiriryam CD yad ācāre tirtham <sup>453</sup> A udayantiyam  
 B udayantiyam <sup>454</sup> B kāsūbrahmamīṣṭyā C kāsūbrahmamīṣṭyām; D kāsū-

brahmamīṣṭyām iṣṭyām <sup>455</sup> A yasyām yasyām śantataḥ C yasyā yasyā tataḥ;  
 D yasyām yasyā śantataḥ <sup>456</sup> C devatāyāḥ <sup>457</sup> D tvā <sup>458</sup> Korrupt.

<sup>459</sup> D ān (mit Virāma) <sup>460</sup> A hitvā <sup>461</sup> A devayāmiti. <sup>462</sup> D 'ti

<sup>463</sup> BD 'mtata <sup>464</sup> Kauś. 6. 1 f.; Vait. 16. 17. <sup>465</sup> AV 7. 106. 1.

<sup>466</sup> A karmaviparyāsetayad yktam om B karmaviparyāsetiyacadakta om  
 C karmaviparyāseti ya ca yaddrktā tu; D karmaviparyāseti ya cad rktā.

Zum folg. vgl. Gop. Br. 1. 3. 3.

rakta<sup>466</sup> om<sup>466</sup> bhūr janad<sup>467</sup> iti gārhapatyē juhuyād | yadi  
 yajusta<sup>468</sup> om<sup>468</sup> bhuvo<sup>469</sup> janad<sup>470</sup> iti daksināgnau juhuyād |  
 yadi sāmata<sup>471</sup> om<sup>471</sup> svar janad<sup>472</sup> ity āhavanīyē juhuyād |  
 yady atharvata<sup>473</sup> om<sup>473</sup> bhūr bhuvah svar janad om<sup>473</sup> ity āha-  
 vanīya eva juhuyād | atha daivatāny | āgneyam hautram |  
 vāyavyam adhvaryavam | sauryam audgātram | cāndramasam  
 brahmatvam | tasya ha vā agnir hotā<sup>474</sup> "sid | vāyur adhvaryuh |  
 sūrya udgātā | cāndramā brahmā<sup>475</sup> | prthivi vā rcām<sup>476</sup> āya-  
 tanam | agnir jyotir antarikṣam (vai)<sup>477</sup> yajusām āyatanam<sup>478</sup> |  
 vāyur jyotir dyaur<sup>479</sup> (vai)<sup>479</sup> sannām āyatanam | āditya  
 jyotir āpo 'tharvanām āyatanam<sup>480</sup> cāndramā jyotir iti  
 ca | 4 | atha yad avocāmā<sup>481</sup> "pattau<sup>482</sup> somam<sup>483</sup> ce 'ti<sup>484</sup>  
 yajamānam ced<sup>485</sup> rājanam<sup>486</sup> stena<sup>487</sup> ha vā prathamā<sup>488</sup>  
 cā "hareyus cittavyāpatyur<sup>489</sup> vā bhaved<sup>490</sup> | ity āhā 'śmara-  
 thyo | ne | 'ty āhatuh kṛva-gopāyanau | yadai 'va karmā 'bhy<sup>491</sup>  
 adhvaryur<sup>492</sup> vihitas<sup>493</sup> tadai 'va sarvakratūn praty āpado  
 vihitā | ity āhur ācāryā | atha katham atra<sup>494</sup> yajamānakarmāṇi  
 syur | upacārabhakṣapratī<sup>495</sup> ce<sup>496</sup> | 'ty adhvaryur asya yaja-  
 māna<sup>497</sup> karmāṇi kuryād<sup>498</sup> | atra<sup>499</sup> yajamāna "sane mār-  
 jahiye vā camasau nidhāya tatra 'sya bhakṣakāle bhakṣāṇy  
 upasthāpayeyur ā samīṣṭa-yajuso homāt | prāk samīṣṭa-yajur<sup>500</sup>

<sup>467</sup> fehlt in ABCD. <sup>468</sup> A yajustam C yajustam <sup>469</sup> A bhuva  
<sup>470</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>471</sup> A sāmataṇ. <sup>472</sup> A atharvatam; cf. Brāhm. Pray.  
 5b; tatra hñuh svāhe 'ti gārhapatyē juhōti 'ti varittate | tathau (?) ttarayor  
 api yojyam | yajusta bhuva svāhe 'ti daksināgnau sāmataḥ svah svāhe  
 'ti daksināgnau sāmataḥ svah svāhe 'ty āhavanīyē . . . . ibid. Bl. 6 a; tatra  
 "dhūnā-nukrameṇa pūrvam gārhapatyē daksināgnāv āhavanīya iti homo  
 vidhīyate | rgveda "dinām ca gārhapatyā "dibhir abhisambandhah | ū-  
 tyamīare rgvedo gārhapatyō yajurvedas tu daksināḥ sāmavedas tu āhava-  
 nīyata iti | <sup>473</sup> Vgl. zu diesen Ausführungen KS 25. 1. 4—10.  
<sup>474</sup> kvām B unklar C yām <sup>475</sup> fehlt bei BCD <sup>476</sup> B fūgt sāmā ein.  
<sup>477</sup> CD dyanh <sup>478</sup> A avocāmā BC avocāma <sup>479</sup> L: [u]papattau?  
<sup>480</sup> Der folgende Passus ist ganz korrupt und mir völlig unverständlich.  
<sup>481</sup> AC sauman <sup>482</sup> D tēti <sup>483</sup> A ced rājāna B ced rājanam  
 C yend rājanah D candrōjanas <sup>484</sup> L stena? <sup>485</sup> C pramas  
<sup>486</sup> L: vittam? D vyāpaiyur <sup>487</sup> BC bhavedad D bhavasyad <sup>488</sup> A  
 karmābhyadhvaryo BCD karmābhyuddhvarāy <sup>489</sup> A vihitat (?)  
<sup>490</sup> Bei ABC fehlt atra <sup>491</sup> A apavārabhakṣapratīscety B upacāra-  
 bhakṣapratīscity C upacārabhakṣapratīscety; L: prāyaścittety? <sup>492</sup> BC  
 yajamānasya <sup>493</sup> ACD fügen hinter kuryād ein: adhy B aya <sup>494</sup> A  
 fūgt hinter atra ein: bhakṣabhakṣapāya B bhakṣabhakṣanāpāya C bhak-  
 ṣabhakṣanāpāya D bhakṣabhakṣanāpāya L: anyatra bhakṣabhakṣanāpā-  
 pāyaya? <sup>495</sup> BC "yajāna D "yaja



homāc<sup>495</sup> ced<sup>496</sup> yajamāna<sup>497</sup> āgacchet samastān eva bha-  
kṣajapān japtvā bhakṣayec cheṣam | samāpyā vabhr̥tham  
abhyupeyuh<sup>498</sup> | 5 | atha ha yam<sup>499</sup> jivan<sup>500</sup> na<sup>501</sup> śrutipatham  
gacchet<sup>502</sup> kiñtantam asya kalam agnihotram juhuyur | yady  
eva hitam āyus tasyā 'śeṣam prasamkhyā[ya]<sup>503</sup> tāvantam<sup>504</sup>  
kalam<sup>505</sup> tad<sup>506</sup> asyā<sup>507</sup> 'gnihotram hutvā 'thā 'sya prāya-  
ñiyena pracareyur | vyākhyātāḥ pātraviniyogo<sup>508</sup> 'pi<sup>509</sup> yathai 'va  
śarīrādarsane | sa cej jivann<sup>510</sup> āgacchet<sup>511</sup> katham vā proṣyā<sup>512</sup>  
'gatāya<sup>513</sup> yathākāryam<sup>514</sup> karmāṇi kuryāt | sa<sup>515</sup> cet svayam-  
uttha[ḥ] syād punar asyā 'gnim ādhayā 'dbbutāni<sup>516</sup> vācako  
japam | iti hutvā mārjayitvā tato 'yam āgataḥ karmāṇi kuryāt<sup>517</sup> |  
sa cet punar anuttha[ḥ]<sup>518</sup> syāt<sup>519</sup> tathā samsthitam eva 'sya<sup>520</sup>  
tad agnihotram bhavati | jaramaryam<sup>521</sup> vā etat suttram<sup>522</sup> yad  
agnihotram | iti ha śrutiḥ bhavati<sup>523</sup> | 6 | atha ya<sup>524</sup>  
āhitāgnir<sup>525</sup> vipravasann agnibhiḥ pramiyeta<sup>526</sup> katham  
tatra pātraviniyogam pratiyad | ity āhā 'śmarathyo<sup>527</sup> | yady  
anyāni pātrāṇi yajñā- yudhāni<sup>528</sup> 'ty upasādyā vihr̥tya 'gnim  
āhr̥tya prajvālyā vihareyur nirmathya<sup>529</sup> vā prajvālyā vihareḥ |  
ity etāvata 'mgaprabhrtibhiḥ<sup>530</sup> samsthāpyai 'vam pātraviniyo-  
gam ity anuchādayed<sup>531</sup> | yad yad utsannāḥ<sup>532</sup> syur vāraṇi-  
sahitāni<sup>533</sup> pātrāṇi | 'ty apsu samāvaped<sup>534</sup> | eṣā te 'gne<sup>535</sup> |

<sup>495</sup> A homādyajamāna <sup>496</sup> B apahareyuh C hareyuh <sup>497</sup> B jivantaḥ  
D jivanah; (st. yas. 1. yo) <sup>498</sup> Ein ähnlicher, z. B. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 9  
erwähnter Fall ist der, daß man von dem Ahitāgni fälschlich hört, er sei  
gestorben; cf. (Aśv. Prāy. 8b): yasminnet āhitāgnau jivaty eva mṛtasābdah  
ārūyeta | tadā 'gnaye surabhaye purāhutiḥ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 14b: surabhaya  
eva yasminne jive mṛtasābdah | yasminn āhitāgnau jivaty eva mṛta iti  
yadi sābdah samjāyeta tadā surabhimate 'ṣṭh (?) kartavyā | <sup>499</sup> D  
'khyai <sup>500</sup> A ti vartimānakālam A tā vratam <sup>501</sup> A tasyā  
<sup>502</sup> A 'viniyoge <sup>503</sup> fehlt bei BCD <sup>504</sup> B jivauantāgacchet OD ji-  
vanam na "gacchet" <sup>505</sup> A prokṣagataśyadhākāya B prokṣagata-  
kāya C prokṣagataśyadhākāya D prokṣagatāya yathā kārya <sup>506</sup> Diese  
und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. <sup>507</sup> B ādhay-  
āndbbutāni C ādhayāndbbutāni <sup>508</sup> Mss. unklar; sie lesen hinter  
uttha syād die Silbe at; C utthāsyaḥ at. <sup>509</sup> BC eyām <sup>510</sup> BC  
jaramāya A jaramaryam D jaramayam <sup>511</sup> A sarvatra <sup>512</sup> D  
vadati <sup>513</sup> ABC yat tryāhitāgnir <sup>514</sup> cf. oben Anm. 308; —  
"agnibhiḥ" ist wohl zu streichen. <sup>515</sup> A 'amayorathyo B imayorathyo  
<sup>516</sup> A yajñāni yudhāni B yajayudhāni <sup>517</sup> B nirmathya <sup>518</sup> C  
"gah prabh" <sup>519</sup> A anuchādayed B anuchāyayed <sup>520</sup> A udet  
sannā B utthamā C utamā D utthamā; zu erwarten wäre etwa  
mārtikah cf. unten 6. 6. <sup>521</sup> C vāruṇī; l. vāruṇa? <sup>522</sup> cf. oben  
Anm. 58. <sup>523</sup> VS 2. 147



yo agnis<sup>524</sup> | tayā me<sup>525</sup> hy āroha tayā me hy āviṣe<sup>526</sup> | 'ty a-  
 śmamayāni vā<sup>527</sup> lohamayāni vā brāhmaṇebhyaḥ prada-  
 dyād<sup>528</sup> | daśarātram niyatavratā[h] syuḥ | samvatsaram cā 'pi  
 gotriṇa | ekādaśyām keśaśmaśru-lomanakhāni<sup>529</sup> vāpayitvā |  
 'dbhutāni prāyaścittāni<sup>530</sup> vācakam<sup>531</sup> japam iti hutvā mā-  
 rjayitvā<sup>532</sup> tato yathāsukhacārino<sup>533</sup> bhavanti | [7] | atha  
 yady enam anāhitagnim iva vṛthā-ḡgninā<sup>534</sup> daheyur evam  
 asyai 'śa<sup>535</sup> mṛt-pātraviniyoge<sup>536</sup> | 'ti patnya<sup>537</sup> bhavati | 'ty  
 āhā 'śmarathyo | ne 'ty āhatuḥ kāvagopāyanau | yadai 'va  
 karmā 'bhy<sup>538</sup> adhvaryur<sup>539</sup> vihitas tadai 'va sarvakratūn praty  
 āpado vihitā | ity āhur ācāryā | atha katham asyām āpattau  
 yathai 'va śarīrā-darśane vā samāmnātānām āpadām<sup>539</sup> ka-  
 tham tatra pātraviniyogam pratiyād ity āhā 'śmarathyo |  
 'ranyor agniḥ samāropya śarīrānām ardham . . . . . eṣā<sup>540</sup>  
 tūṣṇā nirmathya prajāya vihrtya madhye 'gūnām<sup>541</sup> edhām<sup>541</sup>  
 citvā darbhan samstīrya tatra 'sya śarīrāni nidādhyur | bhāru-  
 pdaśamāni gāpayed|yady<sup>542</sup> agāthāḥ<sup>543</sup> syād athā 'py asama<sup>544</sup>  
 kuryā[c] | ebarīrā-darśane pālāśa-tsarūṇy<sup>545</sup> āhṛtya 'thai  
 'tāni puruṣa-'krīmi kṛtvā ghr̥tenjā 'bhyajya māmsa<sup>546</sup> tva-  
 asthy asya ghr̥tam ca bhavati 'ti ha vi(r)jñāyate<sup>547</sup> | yady  
 āhavanīyo devalokam yadi daksinaḡgnih pitrlokam yadi gārha-  
 patyo mānuṣyalokam | yadi yugapat sarvesv asya<sup>548</sup> lokeṣv<sup>548</sup>  
 avaruddham bhavati 'ti ha viññāyate | tasmād yugapat  
 eva sarvānt sādāyitvā 'tha yady enam an[?]alabheta punar  
 dahet | stenam<sup>549</sup> iva<sup>549</sup> tv<sup>549</sup> eva brāyād | yat kim cā 'vidhi-  
 vihitam karma kriyate tasyai 'śai 'va sarvasya kṛptiḥ sarvasya  
 prāyaścittis ce | 'ti hi<sup>550</sup> śrutir bhavaty<sup>551</sup> | athā 'py atrā 'gner

<sup>524</sup> AV. 12. 2. 7? <sup>525</sup> B. pre <sup>526</sup> s. Gop. Br. 2. 4. 9; Vait. S. 24. 14.  
<sup>527</sup> BCD ca <sup>528</sup> Vgl. das unten unter 4. 1 und 6. 5 Gegebene; s. 2.  
 K. S. 25. 7. 32 folg. <sup>529</sup> BC roma<sup>5</sup> <sup>530</sup> D citta<sup>5</sup> <sup>531</sup> BCD  
 kṣip statt vācakam vgl. oben 3. 6: vācako japam <sup>532</sup> fehlt  
 bei D <sup>533</sup> AB 'cārino <sup>534</sup> bei D fehlt ḡgninā <sup>535</sup> B asyaivā;  
 AC asyānā D asyaivāt <sup>536</sup> bei D fehlt mṛt <sup>537</sup> A patrya;  
 l.: pātriyo? <sup>538</sup> D karmābhy uddhavyan <sup>539</sup> A āpadān <sup>540</sup> eṣā  
 unverständlich; davor jedenfalls eine Lücke; D eṣān <sup>541</sup> AD  
 'nāmedhām B 'nām medhām C 'nāmedhyam <sup>542</sup> D yathā  
<sup>543</sup> ABC agāthā D gāthā • <sup>544</sup> B asama C asame D asame  
<sup>545</sup> so mit sämtlichen Mss., vgl. Āp. 9. 11. 23. K. S. 25. 8. 15. <sup>546</sup> BCD  
 māmsam <sup>547</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. <sup>548</sup> A unklar B asasya lokeṣv  
<sup>549</sup> D avenam ity <sup>550</sup> B ha <sup>551</sup> Hier endet auch D der Abschnitt 8;  
 der Rest fehlt.

ayātā<sup>552</sup> somatanūr<sup>553</sup> bhavati | samanvāgamevāvām<sup>554</sup> kar-  
 masu samanv ā 'trā 'gamayed | yat kimcid yajñe viriṣṭam  
 āpadyeta tasyai 'cai 'va sarvasya kṛptiḥ sarvasya prāyaścittis  
 ce | 'ti hi śrutir bhavati || 8 || athā 'taḥ sattriṇām<sup>554</sup> vakṣyā-  
 maḥ | pravṛtte<sup>555</sup> tantre 'nstantre vā grhapatir<sup>556</sup> upatā-  
 paḥ<sup>557</sup> yasya<sup>558</sup> 'yur<sup>559</sup> grhi[t]vā<sup>560</sup> 'nugacheh<sup>561</sup> kāmam  
 tasya putram bhrātaram vo 'padikṣya<sup>562</sup> samāpnuyur | (na<sup>563</sup>  
 samāpnuyur) | na<sup>564</sup> vā rtvijām cai 'kam iva<sup>564</sup> | ne 'ty<sup>564</sup> āhā  
 'śmarathyo | na hi grhapater<sup>565</sup> upadikṣa<sup>566</sup> vidyate | grhapatim  
 samikṣya<sup>567</sup> yadi manyeta | jived ayam ahorātrāv ity ekahāny  
 (ekadvivāsavane)<sup>568</sup> sarvāni savanāni samāveśayed | yasmims  
 tu samāveśayet tasya savanasya vasam upayanti 'tarāni | sa-  
 vanāni nānātantrāni ced api bhavanti durgāpattan ca<sup>569</sup> sa-  
 māse<sup>569</sup> ve 'śtinām<sup>570</sup> samāveśa[yed]<sup>571</sup> vakṣyakāmo<sup>571</sup> | yāḥ<sup>572</sup>  
 kās cai 'katantra<sup>573</sup> iṣṭaya[h]<sup>573</sup> syur ayyavahitāḥ<sup>574</sup> kāmam tā  
 ekatantra<sup>575</sup> samāveśya haviṣam ānupūrvyeṇa pracaret | prak  
 sviṣṭakṛto<sup>576</sup> mukham tu pañcā-'jyā-'huttir juhuyād | agnaye  
 somāya viṣṇava indrāgnibhyām prajāpataya iti | yadi sauviṣṭa-  
 kṛtyā pracaranti khalu vai yadi bahūni vā sruveṇa yathāvadā-  
 nenā<sup>577</sup> 'tikramet | 9 || athā 'taḥ sa[t]triṇām vakṣyamah |  
 pravṛtte tantre samnaddhe-'dhmā-barhiṣi paścāc candramasam  
 paśyed | ya<sup>578</sup> eṣā 'mā(mā)vāsyāyām<sup>579</sup> āgneyaḥ puroḍaśas tam  
 pāthikṛtam<sup>579</sup> karoti prakṛtye 'taram vinai | 'tad yajñaś chi-  
 dyate ya etām antareṣṭim tanvite | 'ti hi śrutir bhavaty | atha

<sup>552</sup> I.: apattan? so 'tanur?

<sup>553</sup> B samalage vācāp. C saman-

vagevāna (tvā?) karma; sama tv āgamayed (vāvām) karmasu sama vā 'trā  
 "gamayed | āgāpayed statt āgamayed zu lesen? also: im ersteren Falle  
 soll man nur ihm wie zu einem Diebe (d. h.: leise) reden? I.: samanv-  
 āgame vācam?

<sup>554</sup> ABC sattriṇām

<sup>555</sup> ABD

prakṛpte. <sup>556</sup> A ditt: grhapati

<sup>557</sup> BD upatāpa

<sup>558</sup> BCD sya

<sup>559</sup> B "yu

<sup>560</sup> B gahivā

<sup>561</sup> CD "nugachah; dem Wortlaut nach

für mich nicht rekonstruierbar. Dem Sinne nach: "Wenn der Hausherr  
 während oder nach Vollendung eines Opfers krank wird oder stirbt. . . ."

<sup>562</sup> B "padī C padikṣam

<sup>563</sup> B ne C liēt na uza

<sup>564</sup> ABCD

ivānitya

<sup>565</sup> ABCD\* tir

<sup>566</sup> upadikṣya; A wiederholt die  
 Worte von samāpnuyur bis upadikṣa (sic!).

<sup>567</sup> C samikṣa

<sup>568</sup> Soll

wohl Glosse sein und gelautet haben: ekadvivāśni

BCD cāsamāsan.

<sup>569</sup> B vaśtinām

<sup>570</sup> A sāmā BC samāveśa-

vakṣyakāmo

<sup>571</sup> BC yāścaika\* D kāscaikam\*

<sup>572</sup> B dyṣṭayah

<sup>573</sup> A ayyavahita BC ayyaveditāḥ

<sup>574</sup> B yekatantrai

<sup>575</sup> ABCD

\*kṛta

<sup>576</sup> C yathāvaidanena

<sup>577</sup> B yeṣamā\*

<sup>578</sup> B prakṛtam

C pāvi (?)kṛtam



yasya paurṇamāsyam (vā<sup>580</sup>) vyāpadyeta kāmam tatra prākṛtiḥ<sup>581</sup> kuryāt | tad<sup>582</sup> ya[h] kratur [dyāvākrato vā vāyo] vidyate<sup>582</sup> 'tha nirvapaty | āgneyam aṣṭakapālam aindram ekadaśakapālam āsādy havīṃṣi prāyaścittir<sup>583</sup> juhuyād | yad udagān mahato mahimā asya<sup>584</sup> māno asya jagataḥ pārthivasya mā naḥ prapad uchunā<sup>585</sup> kācid anyā | kasmai devāya haviṣā paridadema svāhe 'ty | atha 'taḥ pasubandhaḥ | pari yajñasya bhojyasya<sup>586</sup> bhojyavatka<sup>587</sup> mo<sup>588</sup> ye<sup>589</sup> kecit ta-trasthāḥ paśavaḥ somakāriṇā<sup>590</sup> teṣāṃ bhakṣabhakṣaṇam | tad yathā | varāha-mārjā[ra]-māhiṣāṃ<sup>591</sup> śakuno<sup>592</sup> 'nyo 'vadanāni māmsāni jaṃgalāni ca yady aśiṣaḥ<sup>593</sup> syān māsi māsi śaddhotāram juhuyāt | sūryam te cakṣur gacchatu vāto ātmānam prāno dyām prṣṭham antarikṣam ātmāngair yajñam prthivīm śarīraiḥ vācaspace 'chidrayā vācā 'chidrayā juhvā devāvṛdham divi hotrām airayat svāhe 'ti śaddhotāram hutvā<sup>594</sup> prajāpatih sarvam eve 'dam utsrjed | iti hi śrutir bhavati<sup>595</sup> | 10 | (ity<sup>596</sup> atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta - prasamge ekādaśo 'dhyasyaḥ<sup>597</sup> iti yajñaprāyaścitte tritiyo 'dhyāyah samāptaḥ.

(sānnāyām<sup>597</sup> yad udbo-) dhayeyuṣ<sup>598</sup> ced vatsā<sup>599</sup> vāyavyā-(yā)<sup>599</sup> yavāgyā<sup>599</sup> sā[nnāy]yam<sup>599</sup> yajeta<sup>600</sup> | 'py<sup>600</sup> ekasyā[m]

<sup>580</sup> vā fehlt bei B.<sup>581</sup> AC prakṛti B kṛti<sup>582</sup> A

liest statt dieser und der zwischenliegenden Worte: vā krator vā vāyo vidyate; D nahyakrautadyāvākrator vā vāyo vidyate; — statt ya kratur vermute ich: prakṛti; möglich auch: tad yaḥ kṛto vā yo vā 'kṛto vidyate  
<sup>583</sup> A prāyaścittir B 'ścitti C 'ścitti; D 'ścittim <sup>584</sup> A asyam; dieses Zitat ist für mich unermittelbar. <sup>585</sup> L: uchunā? <sup>586</sup> fehlt bei B.

<sup>587</sup> L. vielleicht: bhuktvā<sup>588</sup> L: 'mi?<sup>589</sup> A pe<sup>590</sup> BD soma-

kāriṇaḥ <sup>591</sup> A \*-māhiṣāṃ BC 'hiṣa; D 'hiṣa <sup>592</sup> B śakuno AD śakunā; zu erwarten wäre: māhiṣāṃ śakunānam <sup>593</sup> ACD 'śiṣa;

gemeint ist etwa: aśiṣaḥ; der Sinn des Satzes findet sich wieder z. B. Brāhm. Pray. 77a: yadi śyeno vā māṃ[sara] haret | anyad vā sattvam anyad vā 'vadanāni yad apārṇkṣo chakunir? | iti juhuyāt | jede Berührung durch räuberische Tiere wie z. B. die Krähe ominös: AP 57. 2. 1.

<sup>594</sup> ABC viḥtvā K. S. 6. 1. 36. Zur Fassung dieses Textes gegenüber einer Reihe von anderen (s. Bloomfield, Conc. u.: vācaspace chidrayā ...) neigen unsere Mss., wie die Lesungen von A: airaya B: airayant CD airayam beweisen. <sup>595</sup> Diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei A; D 'śaddhotāram hutvā prajāpatih <sup>596</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>597</sup> AD sāmāyam; cf. Ap. 9. 1. 24ff. <sup>598</sup> A udabodhayeyuṣ B udabhodayeyuṣ ....

<sup>599</sup> B vatsāyavyāyavāgyavāgyam C vatsāvāyavyāyavāgyavāgya; D vat-āvāyavyāyā yavāgyā asyam; zu diesem Abschnitt vgl. Aśv. 3. 13. 13 folg. <sup>600</sup> AD 'tath



dhītāyām adhītā dohayed | adhītābhīḥ saṁsthāpya <sup>601</sup> dhītānām  
vatsān <sup>602</sup> apākṛtya <sup>603</sup> śvaḥ <sup>604</sup> sāmānyena <sup>605</sup> yajeta <sup>606</sup> | sāyam-

<sup>601</sup> A samātha <sup>602</sup> A vatsānapākṛtya B vatsānāpākṛta C... tsāna-  
thākṛtyah; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 17 b (äußerst korrupt); K. S. 25. 4. 39. <sup>603</sup> A  
eva B śruḥ <sup>604</sup> A sāmānyena B sāmānyena CD sāmānyena  
<sup>605</sup> Hierzu findet sich in dem Passus Brahm. Prāy. 17a folgende, durch  
Korruption fast jedes Wortes leider verschleierte Parallele (ich zitiere  
ohne Veränderung des Textes): yadi vatsā apākṛta dhayeyuḥ tatra nā  
'dhānam vidhīyate | kṛp tarhi mitratveno 'padīyate tatraidam prāya-  
cittam vaky[ya]mānam bhavati | vatsaprahānam kṛp vatsānādhāne prāya-  
cittam | mṛgānāpāśānāpādhāne prāya-cittam mā 'bhūd ity apākṛta iti  
apākṛtair dhāne prāya-cittam | ... apare tu tatra dṛṣṭva tu vṛhīn eve  
'chanti vāyavye 'ti devatā-viśeṣa-niyamārthan | yavāgve 'ti .... var-  
tāmāne vatsān apākṛtya punar yajeta 'ti ... vāyavyā yavāgvā praca-  
ryeta (.... nirvāpakalo na viśasyate | tatra nimittakala eva nirvāpāḥ  
kuta etad gunyate | sāyamdohartā vakṛtyati indrāya vṛhīn nirvāpeta  
śvobhūte tegy anunirvāpet iti ... śvobhūteṣv eva vṛhī-yaveṣu va pra-  
kṛtebhyo 'gnyadibhyo 'nyadibhyo 'nunirvāpet | ... sāmānyābhāvād dhotā  
nirgatayānābhyuditeṣṭi yasya sāmānyam candramā abhyuditi darśa-  
nat | ... vgl. oben 2.1 u. Brahm. Prāy. 22a: sāyamdoham iti samastatā  
yam doham iti samasta-sāyamdohasya 'pāhare doṣe va dvaidhe dohanam (?)  
avayavapāhāraśeṣeṣa yaga eva bhavati | atha dvaidham dohanam prasarute  
tatra dugdhānu vatsā-pākṛtānādi dvitīyasyam kubbhyam dohaḥ karitā-  
vyah | ekasya dvayoh paśūnām va ekatra dugdhānu vatsā-pākṛtānādy  
anyasyam tāvatyo dugdhāseṣe dvaidham dohayet | dvaidham dugdhe ādy-  
sya sāyamdohasyo 'pānābhoḥ prachrah karitavyah | ... Bl. 22b: yadi  
sāyamdoha arttim nīyad indrāya vṛhīn nirvāpeta .... yadi sāyamdohe  
vatsā dhayeyuḥ prātardohartīḥ syāt tatra vāyavya puroḍāṣaḥ karitavyaḥ |  
sāyamdoha-prātardohē dhite puroḍāṣaḥ vāyavya ca yadi sāyamdoha arttir  
iti vṛhīno nirvāpā vijñānam pūrva vatsē dhite indrāya vṛhīn yavān va ...  
nirvāpāḥ karitavyah | yady ubhāv ānūdrām paṇcaśarāvam odanam pacet |  
yady ubhāv iti prakṛtan sāyamdohaprātardohan tu pratyavampīyete |  
yady ubhāv a[r]tti[m] niyetām ... ity arthah | tatra 'dam prāya-cittam paṇ-  
caśarāvam odanam pacet | yad iha vidhīyate yavāgūḥ puroḍāṣah paṇ-  
caśarāvo va sarvaśakṇe naṣṭe dṛṣṭe vo ty asya yavād indrāye 'ti yamā-  
rtham āhānūdrayajino 'pi 'ndrāyāgavacanādīyah prakṛto yogo yavāgū  
puroḍāṣah paṇcaśarāvo va tat-sambandho yāga syāt | — Bl. 24a: yasya  
sāmānyam havā candramā abhyudiyāt vatsān u pratindut sāyamdohe  
havitātanecanam vrato yathākālām yajeta .... Bl. 25a: dhite [']dhiteṣv  
arttigatē va vatsān apākṛtya punar yajet | cf. unten 5. 3 und Brahm.  
Prāy. 26b: yasya sāmānyam candramā abhyudita abhyuditasya 'nantaram  
paśūkām māvāsyam iṣṭvā tūgūḥ sarvān vatsān apākaroti ... cf. Agn.  
Prāy. 6b: vatsānām dhāne vāyave yavāgūḥ | sāmānyā-rtham apākṛtānām  
vatsānām pāne(n) vāyu-devatā yavāgūḥ nirvāpye taya yajāvyah sarva-  
pāne etat prāya-cittam | pīta-śiṣṭam eva havīṣah paryāntam cet | vyāhṛti-  
homa eva na yavāgūḥ | yavāgū yagam kṛtvā punar yagah karitavyah |  
vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 3a: sāmānyārtham apākṛtānām sarvapāne vāyudevatyam

doham<sup>606</sup> ced<sup>606</sup> apahareyuh<sup>606</sup> prātardoham dvaidham krtvā  
 'nyatarat sāyamdohasthāne krtvo 'bhābhyām yajeta<sup>607</sup> | prā-  
 tardoham<sup>608</sup> ced<sup>608</sup> apahareyuh<sup>608</sup> sāyamdoham dvaidham<sup>609</sup>  
 krtvā 'nyatarat<sup>610</sup> prātardohasthāne krtvo 'bhābhyām yaje-  
 to<sup>611</sup> | 'bhan ced duṣyeyātām aindram pañcaśarāvam<sup>612</sup> oda-  
 nam<sup>612</sup> nirupya<sup>612</sup> "gneyena pracaryai 'ndreṇā 'nupracā-  
 red uttarām upo 'ya(to) v(ādo) 'bhābhyām yajeta | sarvāni  
 ced dhavimey apahareyur duṣyeyur<sup>614</sup> vā "jyena ca devatā

yavāgūṃ nirupya śrapayitvā yajavyam | sa tvaṃ no ... (RV. 8. 26. 25)  
 tūnāya prabutir yas ... (RV. 7. 90. 2); vāji aśi vā\* (RV. 10. 50. 3) iti  
 yajyānūvākye | avadāna-paryāptene 'stis punar yajeta |

<sup>606</sup> A sāyamdoham vekaśvareyuh B sāyamdoha cadepahareyuh  
<sup>607</sup>—<sup>611</sup> Diese und die inwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. <sup>607</sup> Brahm.  
 Pray. 68a: tathā 'nyataranāśe ekam api sa pūrva[m] dvaidhikṛtya nir-  
 mathya ity eke; — so dem ganzen Passus Ath. Pray. 4. 1 vgl. Ap. Ś. 9.  
 1. 21 ff.; cf. Āśv. Pray. 17b: sāyamdohe naṣṭe prātardoham dvaidhā vi-  
 bhajyai 'kām bhāgam ātameya tūbhyām yāgam kuryat | prātardohē naṣṭe  
 tad-devatyam purodākam krtvā yāgaḥ | āmikaśāśe 'py etat | tasyaḥ prā-  
 tardoha-vikāratvāt | āmikaśam eva utpādyā taya yajeta 'ti kecit | vajina-  
 nāśe ājyena yāgaḥ | ānnāyāye ubhaya-doḥe aindram pañcaśarāvam oda-  
 nam gūṇapātye śrapayitvā tene 'ndra-yāgaḥ | atra sarva-prāyaścittam  
 viṣṇu-smaraṇam ca kuryam | <sup>608</sup> A prātardhi cen <sup>609</sup> A cedvai-  
 dham B dvaidhyam C dvaidham <sup>610</sup> A 'nyatarata <sup>611</sup> A yajñeto  
 B yajeto <sup>612</sup> A pañcaśarāvadanam; cf. Āśv. 3. 10. 27; K. Ś. 25. 5. 2;  
 s. auch unten in 4. 4. <sup>613</sup> ABC nirūpya\* D setzt mit dem

korrupten Passus wieder ein: tau bhau ce duṣyen mā tām aindram  
 pañcaśarāvam odanam nirūpya. <sup>614</sup> Brahm. Pray. 7a bringen folgende  
 Klassifizierung des rituell Unreinen: duṣtam trividham varṣayanti | ....  
 jātīduṣtam āśrayaduṣtam saṃsargaduṣtam ca | jātīduṣtam palāṇḍu-gra-  
 janakā-di | .... āśrayaduṣtam anāryadi-parigṛhītam tatra 'pi mlechā-  
 'dibhir anāryaiḥ saha saṃvyavahāra .... saṃsargaduṣtam malā-dibhiḥ |  
 .... evam ādibhir upahatam dravyam apo 'bhyavaharet | apah pratiga-  
 mayet | vgl. ibid. 7b: .... tad vā prakṣepya tatrat 'vo 'dakam āsihet.....  
 ibid. 8a: atha pātrāṇy apo 'bhyavaharet iti varttate ... nirlikhed dāru-  
 mayam ... niṣṭapen mārṭtikam | ādibhiḥ saṃvarṇa-rājatam saṃsodhayed  
 iti śeṣaḥ | athavā nirlikhed iti varttate | nirlikheṇam ca saṃsodhanam  
 mārṭtikasya niṣṭapanam saṃvarṇa-rājatasya 'dibhiḥ eva saṃsodhanam | iti  
 upasargah | — Über den Begriff des Substituts findet sich ibid.  
 Bl. 9a folg. eine Auseinandersetzung. Nachdem eine Stellvertretung des  
 Opferfeuers und des Opferherrn als ausgeschlossen hingestellt ist (Bl. 9a:  
 agner na pratiniḍhiḥ svāmīnāś ca pratiniḍhir na 'sti | samavāyat | yo hi  
 yajate sa eva phalena saṃbadhiyate | tasmād yajamānasya pratiniḍhir nā  
 'sti |) sagt der sehr korrupte Passus, in interessanter Weise den Begriff  
 der Opferbarkeit umschreibend: ... yathā māśā (?) māśura-kodravā-di  
 yasya yam (?) saṃpyogah | sarvatrai 'va pratīdhiyate | ayajñiṣyā vai māśāḥ |  
 ayajñiṣyāḥ kodravā iti ... und ibid. 10a: atha yajñiṣyam anapratiniḍheyam



yajeta<sup>612</sup> | 'thā 'nyam adosām iṣṭim tanvitā(m | a)po dustam<sup>616</sup>  
 abhyavahareyur<sup>617</sup> | brāhmapair abhaks[ya]m[am] dustam havir |  
 bhūtam<sup>618</sup> ced ājyam skanded<sup>619</sup> bhūpataye<sup>619</sup> svāhe 'ti<sup>619</sup>  
 tribhir prādesair diṣo mimāya tad yajamāno devān<sup>620</sup> janam<sup>620</sup>  
 agann<sup>620</sup> ity<sup>620</sup> anuṣango<sup>621</sup> | yajñasya tvā pramaye 'ti  
 catarbhiḥ parigrhṇīyat | yajñasya tvā pramayo-'nmaya-bhi-  
 mayā pratimayā (paridadema)<sup>622</sup> svāhe<sup>622</sup> 'ty | anutpūtam

yathā palāśasya pūribhadrahaḥ | āsvatthasya gardabhāṇḍaḥ khadirasya  
 kadira(?) bhavati sāmānyena tu kvacit tatus teṣām aparigrahaḥ | anyatra  
 'coditavāt pratiśiddhasya ca māśāde(?) aparigraha eva tatā 'nugrahika  
 ukta-vrīha(?)-yava(?)-puroḍāśasya teṣām alābhe tuṣavattīnāṃ tanjūlavattī-  
 nām ośadhīnāṃ puroḍāśān kurvaṇti māśādi-varjam iti . . . ; vgl. auch  
 ibid. 28a: sarvaskāne naṣṭe duṣṭe vā yathāpūrvaṃ punaḥ saṃskaraṇam |  
 und die ganz verderbte Stelle 29b: śānneṣu haviṣu sarvasmin duṣṭe  
 duḥḍhe vā naṣṭe vā sarvaṃ saṃśodhya vatsāpākaraṇādi-sadyahkriyā  
 cōlāśa-śaravidhmapimāpitrya . . . vedyah saṃskaraḥ kṛta eva | mrt pra-  
 diyate | ayatir anumanṭṣṇam nā 'gnihotraṃ dohādi śiddham | vedam  
 kṛtvā(?) paristarvādi-pātrayogaḥ śiddham anyat | Vgl. anch K. Ś. 25. 4.  
 13 folg., — verunreinigtes Wasser wird weggegossen: AP 37. 18. 1. Das  
 nirklekhanam resp. saṃśodhanam der Opferinstrumente erfolgt mit der  
 Hand: [śuddhir] yajñapātrāṇāṃ pānīnā yajñakarmaṇi (Agnip. 156. 4.).

<sup>612</sup> cf. Ap. 9. 15. 14 f.

<sup>616</sup> cf. Brahm. Pray. Bl. 6b: dustam apo

bhyavaharet | und Bl. 7a: tathā ca dharmasāstre | vasi śokram asrg  
 majjā viḥ mūtram karṣvaṇi nakhāḥ | śema-śra dūyika(?) svedo dvadāśai  
 'te nṛṇāni malaiḥ | cf. K. Ś. 25. 5. 9 folg., vgl. Ann. 68 und die dort zitierten  
 Stellen.

<sup>617</sup> Aśv. Pray. 17a folg.: vyāpannam havir jāle vinikṣipet |  
 tatā 'jyena sviṣṭakṛt | prayajā-dy-ānga-havir-nāṣe tu tad dhavir ut-  
 pādyate na yajeta | na tatā 'gnyanvādhānādi punaḥ prayogaḥ |

<sup>618</sup> Nur verständlich als Korruptel einer älteren Fassung von Ap. 9.  
 15. 17: yad āryaṇām abhojanīyam ayan na tena yajeta; — statt bhūtam  
 l.: pūtam? vgl. unten: anutpūtam.

<sup>619</sup> A skandet tad adbhūtayeye  
 svāhe 'ti B made skande ced bhūtanīyeye cet svāhe 'ti CD skande  
 ced bhūpataye cet svāhe 'ti; vgl. Ap. 9. 13. 6, 7; 14. 28. 6.

<sup>620</sup> A devāṃ janmāṅga nityam B devāṃ janmāṅganityam CD devāṃ  
 janmāṅgam nityam; dieser Vorschritt entspricht genau Ap. 9. 13. 5.

<sup>621</sup> Brahm. Pray. 30b: devāṃ janam agan . . . iti ekaṇnam abhimamtryā  
 'po nīyayet | Aśv. Pray. 9a: athe 'ṣṭi-madhye haviṣā skannam abhi-  
 mīret | devāṃ janam agan yajñas . . . anphaso (Aśv. 8. 13. 15). bhūpataye  
 svāhe bhuvanapataye svāhe bhūtānāṃ pataye svāhe yajñasya tvā pramaye  
 'nmaya 'bhimaya pratimayā drapaś caskamda ceti (RV. 10. 17. 11). . . .  
 Auch das Überlaufen des Opfermuses wird gedacht: Aśv. Pray. 16a:  
 carau śrāpyamāṇe prāgdiḥ tīpād utlikte . . . dakṣiṇatāś ced . . . pascāc ced  
 . . . uttaratāś cet . . . yugapat sarvatāś cet . . . vidikṣu [cet] . . . utlikṭam  
 carum āpyūyati |

<sup>622</sup> So BC; A liest: yajñasya tvā pramadanmayā-  
 bhimayā paridadema svāhe 'ty. Bl.'s Index verzeichnet nur: yajñasya tvā  
 pramayonmayābhimaya pratimayā, so auch die wahre Meinung der korr.  
 Fassung von D; vgl. Aśv. 8. 13. 15; zu vgl. ist ferner: Ap. 9. 13. 6.



ced ājyam skanded<sup>623</sup> vittam<sup>624</sup> prāṇam<sup>624</sup> dadyāt<sup>625</sup> | tatho  
 'tpūtam<sup>626</sup> utpūyamānam ced ghṛtam<sup>627</sup> dadyād atho 'tpū-  
 tam<sup>628</sup> utpūyamānam ced ghṛtam<sup>629</sup> prāṇam dadyād<sup>630</sup> deva-  
 tāntare<sup>631</sup> ced<sup>631</sup> ghṛtam<sup>631</sup> | āhutioparyatyāse<sup>632</sup> | tvam no  
 agne | sa tvam na<sup>633</sup> | iti sarvaprayāścittam<sup>634</sup> juhuyāt |  
 tvam no agne varuṇasya vidvān<sup>635</sup> devasya heḍo 'vayāsi-  
 siṣṭhāh | yajīṣṭho vahnitamaḥ śośucāno viśvā dvesāmsi pramu-  
 mugdhy aśmat | sa tvam no agne 'vamo bhavoti nedīṣṭho  
 aśyā uśaṣo vyūṣṭau | ava yakṣva no varuṇam rarāṇo vihi  
 mṛḍikam suhavo na edhi svāhe 'ti | devatā-vadāne yājya-  
 'nuvākya-vyatyāsa<sup>636</sup> 'nāmnāta<sup>636</sup> prayāścittānam vā<sup>637</sup> yady

<sup>623</sup> AB skandet C skande <sup>624</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 13. 1. <sup>625</sup> cf. Mān. Ś. 3. 1. 2. 1. Auch die Verunreinigung der Schmelzbutter verlangt Sühne (Āsv. Prāy. 17 b): ājyo-pahatau tajjale prakṣipya 'nyat samakṛtya tena pracārah ||; vgl. ibid. 18a: avattadvī-avadāna-'deh ślemādinā nāse punar āyatanād eva 'vadāya sarvaprayāścittam kṛtvā yastavyam || eka-dvy-ādvy-avadāna-vaikalyena 'jivā tvam no agne sa tvam no agne (Āp. 9. 12. 4) ity etābhyāṃ sruvāhuti hutvā punar avadāya yajete ty uktaḥ prayāścitta-campirikāyām || <sup>626</sup> D anu-putam. <sup>627</sup> A unklar; BC vṛtam; cf. M. S. 1. 4. 13. <sup>628</sup> A 'tpūyam <sup>629</sup>...<sup>631</sup> Diese und die inzwischensliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. A ve vittam B va cica C ve cinva <sup>630</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 13. 2 yady utpūtam citram deyam. Dieß ist ursprünglich der Sinn des hier gänzlich korrumpierten Passus gewesen. <sup>631</sup> A evatāntaravedvittam B devatāntāmnareca-cittam C devatāntare cec cittam; so D, jedoch: 'tara cec... <sup>632</sup> Das Zuviel oder Zuwenig bei dem Hersagen von Mantra erheischt Sühne (Āsv. Prāy. 18a): śrāvāṇa-pratyāśrāvāṇa-vaṣaṭkṛteṣu mamtrāmtara-nyūna-tireke sati śrāvītam atyāśrāvītam (Āp. 3. 11. 2) ity adhvaryuḥ sruveṇa juhuyāt | Des Anfalls des ganzen Agnihotra-Opfers wird gedacht in Agn. Prāy. 10 b: praxāḡdā-dhomaṃ lopaprayāścittam likhyate | ekasya dvayor bahūnam api vichede caturghṛtam manasvatya juhuyāt | anekā-ghnihotra-'tipatti-nimittam manasvatya caturghṛtam hoṣyāmi 'ti samkalpya [gnip vibṛtya manasvatir] juhuyāt | kecid yavamtaḥ kāla- [1: 14?] homena vichinnāse tāvato(m) ekaikam kālam prati(l) ekaiko homaḥ karttavyaḥ | na manasvaty-āvṛtīh | pakṣahoma-nyāyena tān homān kuryād iti prayā-ścitta-pradipe | <sup>633</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4f.; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 14 b: ... devatāvadāna-yājya-'nuvākya-mamtra-karma-viparyāse 'nāmnāta-prayāścitt... āpadi tvam no agne sa tvam no agna... bhinnā-krama-yogo(?)-viparyāsaḥ... cf. 'karmaviparyāsaḥ" oben in 3. 4. — devatāviparyāsa: K. Ś. 25. 5. 19. <sup>634</sup> CD 'prayāścittam cf. hierzu Āp. 9. 16. 10. <sup>635</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4. <sup>636</sup> A 'tyāsenātyāta B 'tyāsenāmnātaḥ C 'tyāsenānyāta D 'tyāsenāmnāta; vgl. Āsv. 3. 13. 14. K. Ś. 25. 5. 19. <sup>637</sup> vgl. Āsv. Prāy. 17 b: yagāt prāḡ dhotur yājya-'nuvākya-viparyāse sati..... und ibid.: kṛte tu yāge anuvākya-viparyāsa-jāte prayāścittam eva na tu yāge-bhyāsaḥ | yājyaṃ api avihita-devatāyām tad-devatāyām anyadevatāyām vā vihita-devatā-

'deṣam kṛtvā vihīṣām eva devatām dhyāyan yadi vaṣaṭ kuryān na tada

rkto<sup>638</sup> 'bhy ābadhaḥ syād<sup>639</sup> bhūr janad iti gārhapatye juhuyād | yadi yajusta om bhuvo janad iti dakṣiṇagnau juhuyād | yadi sāmata om svar janad ity āhavanīye juhuyād | yady<sup>640</sup> anājñātā brahmata om bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad om ity āhavanīya eva juhuyād<sup>641</sup> ājyabhāgānte sve<sup>642</sup> devatām āvāhayaḥ yasyai ('va) havir nirupatam syāt tato 'ntaya yajetā 'jyasayai 'tani nirupya<sup>643</sup> | yadi bhāginiṃ<sup>644</sup> nā "vāhayed<sup>645</sup> yatra smaret tatrai 'nām upo-'tthāya "vāhya<sup>646</sup> "āpa-sthāne<sup>647</sup> yajeta<sup>648</sup> | barhiḥ skanne<sup>649</sup> nā "driyeta | da-

yāgā-bhyasah pūrvoktam prāyascittam viṣṇusmaranam ca kuryam | avibhityajyam vadaṃ avibhita-devata-dese dīyane [l. 'nam] kurvan yadi vasaḥ kuryat tadā pūrvoktam prāyascittam kṛtvā punar avadāya yajeta | aṣṭa-kṛd-anantaram smarane ājyena 'tyadi pūrvavat | agnīṣomīyena purodāśeṇā 'gnaye yāge kṛte uktam prāyascittam kṛtvā 'gnayenā gñīṣomīyayāgah | sarva-prāyascittam viṣṇusmaranam ca | cf. ibid.: devate anuvākye yāgye va vipariṇṭhya 'jye avadāne haviḥ vā | devata-viparyāse avahana-'dīya vyutkramah | anuvākya-viparyāse 'nyadīyam anyasyā 'nubhīyāt | etam yāgya-viparyāseḥ | ājya-viparyāse jauhavan-pabbhṛtayoḥ ity ādi | avadāna-viparyāseḥ pūrvārdhat pūrvārdhat pūrvam ity ādi | havir-viparyāse nīreṣpādi | yāge ca 'nyadīyasya 'nyasya yāgah | eteṣāṃ madhye anyatarā-nimitte sati prāyascittam kuryaṃ | yad vo devā . . . nidhātana svāhe 'ti (Āp. 3. 11. 2) tiṣṭhān ājyāhutiṃ hutvā jāv āgā bhūr iti gārhapatye juhuyād yadi yajusta bhuva iti dakṣiṇagnau | vgl. dazu ferner Stellen wie Āv. Prāy. 9b. atha "vahana-'dīya devatānām viparyāse yāgyānāvākya-viparyāse vā juhū-pabbhṛd-dhruvā-'jyānām parjāse vā pūrvārdhā-'vādāna-samaye aparīrdhā-'dy-avadāne vā havir-viparyāse vā yad vo devā atipātayāni . . . (Āv. 3. 13. 18) ity ājyāhutiṃ brahmā juhuyāt | tasmā yajamāno mukhyam dhanam dadyāt | yāgāḥ prāg yāgya-'nāvākya-viparyāse-jāne prāyascittam kṛtvā punaḥ samuccārya yāgah kuryah | yāgānāntaram jāne prāyascittam eva | Über die Vertauschung der Opfermaterialien sprechen auch Āv. Prāy. 10a: juhū-pabbhṛd-dhruvā-'jyānām viparyāse yad vo devā iti aruvāhutiṃ brahmā juhuyāt | tasmā yajamāno mukhyam dhanam dadyāt | vgl. ibid. 16b: haviṣām viparyāseṇa 'dvāne brahmā yad vo devā iti pūrvavat juhuyāt | tasmā yajamāno mukhyam dhanam dadyāt | kapālānūdvasane (?) adhvaryuḥ āravayati cet tadā 'gnaye vāśānsrāya pūrvāhutiḥ |

<sup>638</sup> A pūbhīyābhādhyā B pūbhīyābhādhyā syād om C pūbhīyātvādhyā syād om D pūbhīyābhādhyā syād om; <sup>639</sup> AD lassen diese und die inzwischengeschobenen Worte aus; vgl. Gop. Br. I. 3. 3. <sup>640</sup> l.: sva-\*

<sup>641</sup> D nirupya <sup>642</sup> A bhāginiṃ nāvahayed B bhāginiṃnāvahayed Brahm. Prāy. 36a: bhāginiṃ cen nā "vāhayed | bhāgo aya 'ti 'ti mantrārthīya iti bhāginiṃ yasya nirvāpāḥ kṛtāḥ śāstreṇa yāgāḥ coditāḥ sā bhāginiṃ tām cen nāvahayed . . . cf. Āv. Prāy. 18a: hotā yajāvyāp devatām anāvāhye 'tasmā karmā yadi kuryāt tadā yatrai 'va smaret tatrai 'vo 'tthāya tām devatām āvāhayed | na mantra-eva-nyamāḥ | manasa 'ty eka | yady aśthāniniṃ āvāharet tadā nigameṣu tām nigamayet | aśthāniniṃ ca 'dhva-



kṣīṇena ced yajeta 'rddharcāt<sup>447</sup> pratisthāṃ dadyāt | puro-  
 ḍāṣe du[h]ṣṛite<sup>448</sup> sarpisy annam catuḥśarāvam odanam  
 brāhmaṇebhyo dadyāt<sup>449</sup> | tatas tam eva punar nirvapet |  
 puroḍāṣe vikṣāṃe<sup>450</sup> yato<sup>451</sup> 'sya kṣāmaḥ<sup>452</sup> syāt tato  
 yajeta<sup>453</sup> | dvesyāya tam dadyād dakṣiṇām ca<sup>454</sup> | puro-

ryuś ca yāgakāle caturgrhītena dhruvājyena yaṣṭavyāṃ yajet | tad-deva-  
 tye yajyānuvākye boṭrā paṭhanīye | annamāntrāṇaṃ yajamāṇena | tato  
 viṣṇusmarāṇaṃ | viparyāṣena 'vāhaṇe brāhmā pūrvavad yad vo devā itī  
 juhuyāt | tasmā yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanaṃ dadyāt | cf. Agn. Prāy. 16a:  
 sthānīnīm anāvāhya devatām upoṭhāya 'vāhāyēn mānase 'ty eka ājyēnā  
 'sthānīnīm yajet | yadi kasmīṃś cīt karmāṇi yaṣṭavyā[ṇa] devatām anā-  
 [vā]hyat 'vo 'ttaram uttarām uttarāṃ karma kuryāt tadā yavati gate  
 smarati tad eva [l. 'aivo] 'poṭhāya 'vāhāyē | yady asthānīnīm pramadād  
 āvāhāyē tadā 'eminn eva krmeṣu tām ājyena yajet | nigameṣu ca niga-  
 mayet | <sup>447</sup> A bāhya <sup>448</sup> BC vāpasthāne <sup>449</sup> A yajet B yajetta;  
 Äv. 3. 13, 19 cf. Äv. Prāy. 17b: anubruhi 'ty atra bhāginy-ālekhe  
 hotary apī bhāgīnīm puro 'nu vā vadati prāg vadanāt smarāṇe sati catur-  
 grhītena dhruvājye yāgah kartavyah | avadāna-nāptaram smarāṇe saty  
 abhāginīm iṣṭvā punar avadāya bhāginyā yāgah kiryaḥ | <sup>450</sup> Äv. Prāy.  
 12b: npari sthāpitāṃ śakhe-dhima-barhīr-ādī yady adhartat patati tadā  
 brāhmaṇapratisthā-mānaso brāhmaṇasoo brāhma-yajhāṇaṃ haviṣām ājyāya  
 cā 'tiriktāṃ māntrēṇa pūrvavat samasthāpyā 'jyām samakṛtya eruk-  
 eruṇaṃ saṃmṛjya tenaiva māntrēṇa svāhākāraṇtenā 'havanīye dhva-  
 ryaḥ sravā-'hotim juhuyāt | yajāya brāhmaṇa idam | ājya-bhāgā-  
 'nāptaram sthālyājyena hutvā viṣṇu-smarāṇaṃ kuryāt | śakhe-dhima-bar-  
 hīr-prastara-veda-paristarāṇa-pavitra-vidhīti-paridhy-upaveśā-'di-dravyā-  
 ṇaṃ dāhā-'dīnā nāṣe (cf. oben in 2. 5.) viṣ-mūtrā-'dy-upabatau vā  
 'dhavaryuḥ taj-jātyam anyad vidhāya svasthāne niyojāyēt | tato ājyām  
 samakṛtya 'jya-bhāgā-nāptaram vā sravāhoti juhuyāt | tram agne āyāi  
 (Agn. 9. 12. 4) 'sajag svāhā | agnaye yasa idam | prajāpate na 'gaṇi evā-  
 hā | prajā 'idam tato viṣṇusmarāṇaṃ | pavitra-nāṣe mīmāḍi-gaṇo prāya-  
 scittam ity uktam prāyaścitta-pradīpe | ājya-valokanā-nāptaram etat  
 prāyaścittam tat-prāk mīmāḍi-gaṇa iti kecit | sa ca 'gre vakyaṭe | sarvadā  
 samuncayo vā | idhmā-barhīṣaḥ prajā-ānyajāṇaṃ ca nyūnā-'tīrke...

<sup>447</sup> AD 'rddharātrāt <sup>448</sup> cf. Brāhm. Prāy. 31b: yasya puroḍāṣau  
 duḥṣṭāv iti brāhmaṇoktaṃ prāyaścittam pradhanasy eva tad bhavati |  
 gumeint ist M. S. 1. 4. 13. <sup>449</sup> cf. Agn. 9. 15. 18; Äv. 3. 14. 1.

<sup>450</sup> A vikṣāṃepato B vikṣābheyato cf. M. S. 1. 4. 13. <sup>451</sup> A kṣāma  
 BCD kṣāmaṇ <sup>452</sup> cf. oben 2. 1; vgl. Äv. 3. 14. 2 und Brāhm. Prāy. 32a:  
 atha yasya puroḍāṣau kṣāyate iti śrutidarśanāt piṇḍapitṛyajñādiṣu punah-  
 samakṣara eva karitavya ity uktam | Agn. Prāy. 16a: haviṣi duḥṣṭe catuḥ-  
 śarāvam odanaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ bhojāyēt | yadi havir apakyaṃ bhavati tadā  
 tenai 'vā haviṣā tato karma samāpya catuḥśarāva-parimitāṃ vṛthibhir  
 odanaṃ paktvā cataro brāhmaṇāṃ bhojāyēt | dakṣiṇāṇaṃ vīhṛtya ta-  
 sminn odanaṃ paktve 'ty āpastambah | <sup>453</sup> Agn. Prāy. 17b: kṣāma  
 ājyēnā 'sṭvā punar yajeta | ekadēśa-dagdhe prāyaścittam na bhavati |  
 [yadā] 'vadāna-paryāptam nā 'sti cet tadā tenaiva mūtrā-'pacāreṇaiva



ḍaṣe sarvaśāme nirvapaṇaprabhṛtyām udāhṛtya<sup>654</sup> | ka-  
pāle<sup>655</sup> naṣṭa<sup>656</sup> ekabāyanam dadyād<sup>657</sup> | dhātā dadhātu pītūh

yāgaḥ kartavyaḥ | tantram samāpya punar-viharaṇā<sup>658</sup> di tasyaiva yāgaḥ  
kuritavyaḥ | avadāna-dvaya-paryāptam akṣama-dravyam asti. cen naiva  
prāyaścittam | idam ekadeśam adagdhaya lakṣaṇam | aśeṣe punar-śvṛtīh |  
aśeṣa-dagdhā punar-śvṛtīh kṛyā | sarva-dagdhā ity abhiprāyaḥ | punaryā-  
ga-punaravṛtyor ayaṁ viśeṣaḥ | vartamāna-karma(m) samāpya punar ādi-  
ta eva<sup>659</sup> rabhya<sup>660</sup> 'ntataḥ kriyā punar-yāgaḥ | punar-śvṛtīh tu vartamāna-  
prayoge naṣṭasya haviṣaḥ punar-utpādanam iti punar-utpāditena haviṣā  
sa eva prayogaḥ samāpayitavyaḥ | ayaṁ anayor viśeṣaḥ | . . . . . kṣāme  
śiṣṭeṇa 't[iv]e<sup>661</sup> ty asmin prayoge yā daksina sa dvestre dātavya |

<sup>654</sup> A nudāhatya B mudāhyatya C 'hṛtya <sup>655</sup> Diese und die darzwischen-  
liegenden Worte fehlen bei D. <sup>656</sup> B naṣṭe ACD naṣṭe; cf. Ait. Brāhm.  
7, 9: yadi kapālaṁ naṣṭet . . . āsvibhyaṁ dvikapālaṁ puroḍāṣam nivāpet |  
<sup>657</sup> Āsv. 3, 13, 9; cf. Āsv. Prāy. 8a: puroḍāṣa-śrapaṇam arabhya kapālo-  
dvāsana-paryantam kapāle naṣṭa idam (nämlich: agnaye vaiśvānarīya  
pūrnahutiḥ) eva prāyaścittam | udvāsanaḥ ūrdhvam na doṣaḥ | pātrā-  
śādana<sup>662</sup>-disrapaṇād arvāk kapāla-bhedane gāyatrīyā tatākṣarāyā sam-  
padadhāmi 'ti (Āsv. 3, 14, 10) samdhāyā bhūno gharṇo . . . . . anusanīcarantu  
(ibid.) . . . . . prati dadhmo yad atra svāha yajño 'pyeta devān (ibid.) iti  
mamtrābhyām apau niksīpet | evaṁ eva<sup>663</sup>-dibhir ghrātāny api kapālāni  
pūrva-mamtrābhyām apau niksīpet | anyāni mṛmāyāni pātrāṇi bhīṇāni  
śūci-sampāṇḍhīni vā bhūmir bhūmim agān . . . . . bhidyatām (A. 8.  
3, 14, 12) iti mamtreṇa<sup>664</sup> 'psu niksīpet | bandhāyana<sup>665</sup>-cārya-vāde kapāla-  
nudvāsane adhvaryur āśvāyati cet tadā 'gnaye vaiśvānarīya pūrnahutiḥ |  
Āsv. Prāy. 14b: puroḍāṣa-śrapaṇād ūrdhvam api kapālo-dvāsana-pary-  
antam kapāle naṣṭe ity-āśaktan śrucam dvādaśa-grhītena caturgrhītena vā  
pūrayitva juhuyāt | agnaye vaiśvānarīya svāhe 'ti | agnaye [vaiśvānarīya  
'dāp' | pātrā-śādana<sup>666</sup>-di yavac-śrapaṇam kapāla-bhedane gāyatrīyā tvā  
tatākṣarāyā sampadadhāmiti samdhāyā bhūno gharṇo . . . . . anusanīcarantu  
(Āsv. 3, 14, 10) | trayastriṃśad devān (ibid.) iti mamtrābhyām apau prakṣīpet |  
evaṁ śvādibhir āghrātāni kapālāni pūrvamamtrābhyām apau prakṣīpet |  
tatāḥ kapāla-ntaram prokṣaṇādi kṛtvā yojayet | sarvaprayāścittam viṣṇu-  
smaraṇam ca kuryat | yathokta-samkhyā-dhiko-padhāne nyūno-padhāne  
vā kapālānām paraspṛaṇam sunyaḥ-melana<sup>667</sup>-bhāve vā 'ṅgula-dvayo<sup>668</sup>-rdhva-  
pramāṇābhāve vā 'jyābhāga<sup>669</sup>-mantaram adhvaryur vyāhṛtibhiḥ eruvāhutiḥ  
juhuyāt | kapālo-padhanakāle nihita-ṅgore puroḍāṣo-padhanāt pūrvam  
anugate manasvatim āhavanīye hutvā pūnah kapāleṣv angirām nida-  
dhyāt | anyāni mṛmāyāni pātrāṇy akṛta-prayojanāni bhīṇāni śūci-sampā-  
ṇḍhīni vā bhūmir bhūmim agān . . . . . bhidyatām iti mamtreṇa<sup>670</sup> 'psu kṣī-  
pet | sarva-prāyaścittam kṛtvā pūrvavat pātrā-ntaram yojayet | yasmin-  
kaṣmīṇa<sup>671</sup>-cid dārumāye pātre tat-sthāne 'nyan nīdhāya bhūr āyur me  
dhārayata prāṇam me dhārayata prajāṁ me dhārayata paśon me dhā-  
rayata āyuh prāṇaḥ prajāḥ paśavaḥ parasidhyerann (TS. 3.1.8.1) ity abhi-  
mantṛya mindādī-gaṇena dvādaśa-grhītena śrucam pūrayitva jātavednāi  
sunavama-soma mano jyotir (Āsv. 2.5.14) [iti] dvābhyām tīrbbhir mahā-  
vyāhṛtibhir juhuyād esa durgādī-gaṇaḥ | durgādī-gaṇena hutvā bhūmir

pitānaṣṭo<sup>659</sup> gharma viśvāyur yato jātas tato 'py avām<sup>660</sup> svāhe  
'ti juhuyāt<sup>655</sup> | kapāle bhinne gāyatrīā tvā śatākṣarayā sam-  
dadhāmi 'ti<sup>660</sup> samdhāya dhātā dadhātṛ ity eva juhuyād |  
agneya[m] ekakapālam nirvaped āśvinam dvikapālam vaiṣṇa-  
vam trikapālam saumyaṃ catuhkapālam<sup>661</sup> | naṣṭe bhinne ca  
bhārgavo hotā<sup>662</sup> kiṭā-vapannam<sup>662</sup> sānnāyyam madhya-  
mena parṇena mahi dyaur<sup>663</sup> ity antaḥparidhidesē ni-  
nayan<sup>664</sup> | mahi dyauḥ prthivi ca na imam yajñam mimi-

bhūmim ity ahavantiye praharet | pātra-madhye jalādau vartiamāna idam  
prāyaścittam | kevala-pātrahede ahavantiye prāya mīmādir eva na  
bhūr āyur ma ity aklam prāyaścittam cāndrikāyam | cf. Agn. Prāy. 14 b:  
kapāle naṣṭe 'udvāsīte 'bhyāśrāvīte vā | udvāsānāt pūrvam kapālasya  
'uci-samarga-nimittam | yeṣāṃ śrapaṇā-nūptarām udvāsānāt tesām  
anudvāsīte kapāle saty āśrāvapādi kṛtam ced ubhaye | nimittayor any-  
tara-nimitte sati vaiśvānareṣṭh kṛyā |

<sup>658</sup> Mān. S. 3. 1. 25.

<sup>659</sup> 1. agām — agān

<sup>660</sup> Āp. Ś.

9. 13. 8. Āśv. 3. 14. 10. M. S. 1. 4. 13. A wiederholt kṛāme yato syā kṛā-  
nam ayāt tato yajeta dveyāyatam dadyād dakṣiṇām ca puroḥāse; cf.  
Brahm. Prāy. 33 b: yadi kapālam bhidyeta gāyatrīā tvā śatākṣarayā sam-  
dadhāmi samdhāyo 'padadhyāt<sup>661</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 5. 1. — Brah. Prāy.  
33a sehen noch folgende Möglichkeit vor: dvayo[h kapālayor] bhinnayo[r]  
bahūnāp ca 'vam eva prthak samdhāyo 'padhanam ekaikasya tathā  
prakṣepaḥ kecid ichaṃ | ichamti yato jātam tad apy aryo (?) tayato jāte  
tad apy agātām (?) yato jātāni tad apy agur iti ye tu madhyama-puru-  
ṣeṇa pracuramti tad apy agā svāhe 'ti ... 33 b: atha yasya kapālam  
naṣyati 'ti (vgl. M. S. 1. 4. 13) prakṣāya (?) yadā tat (?) haviḥ samtiṣṭhe[ti]  
tathā-gṇaye vaiśvānarīya dvādaśakapālam nirvaped iti ... 34a: naṣṭadhi-  
gutata kapālam apsu praharet iti varttate viśvāyur jato (?) tātam tad  
apy agā svāhe 'ti ... namas te rudra ity anumantṛaṇam. — vgl. Agn. Prāy.  
17a: kapālam bhinnam anapavṛtta-karma gāyatrīā ... samdadhāmi 'ti  
samdhāya 'po 'bhyavahareyuh | puroḥāsa-śrapaṇāt prak kapāla-bhede gāya-  
trīā tvā ... 'mi 'ty anena manireṇa samdhānaka-dravyaib samdhānām  
kṛtvā 'bhinnō gharma jṛḍasur yata ṛttas (each Āśv. 3. 14. 10) tad  
agān ... yajño 'pyeta devān (Āśv. S. 3. 14. 10, cf. Āp. 9. 13. 9) iti  
dvābhyām apo 'bhyavahareyuh | evam apalidhā 'bhikṣipteja | svādibhir  
abhikṣiptāni tad-aśana-'dibhir abhyasya 'uci-samdhānāni kapālaya abhi-  
nnāny apy evaṃ kuryāt | abhinno gharma ity ādi pūrvavat | tato vaiśvānare-  
'yith | ata eva 'nyāni mṛumayāni | kapālebhyo 'nyāni mṛumayāni bhinnāny  
abhinnaṇi ca | bhūmim bhūmim agān mātā ... bhidyatām ity apa eva  
'bhyavaharet<sup>662</sup> A hotyātakitābbih na D hotākidyadyannam; cf. Āp. Ś.  
9. 2. 5; vgl. oben Ann. 119. <sup>663</sup> RV. 1. 22. 13. <sup>664</sup> A nigēa B ni-  
nayeta C ninayet; Āśv. 3. 10. 23 f. Āp. Ś. 9. 2. 4; — cf. Agn. Prāy. 5 b: yadi  
haviḥ[he]u mubṣeyuh pātrīya samayā vibhajya 'nupūrveṇa pracured ity  
evam devayanib (1. 'yonib) | bhūna-siktāni ca | ... prajapate na tvad  
etiṣy aya (RV. 10. 121. 10) iti valmikavapāyam (vā) sānnāyyam doṣṭam  
madhyumena palāsa-parṇena juhuyāt | ... anena svāhakarantena maṇe-



kṣatām | piprtām no bharimabbhīḥ<sup>665</sup> svāhe 'ti | prak prayāje-  
bhyo<sup>666</sup> ṅgāram bharīṣy adhiṣkanden<sup>667</sup> namas te astv āya-

trena valmikadvāre prastīcet | apau vā tūṣṇīm | viśvamdama(da)nam  
mahi dyaub . . . ity antuṣparidhīdeśe nirvapeyuh |

<sup>665</sup> cf. Āv. Prāy. 18a: sūnūyāṃ pāka-samaye kuṇḍhīm atītya bahīḥ  
patati cet tadā tat pātrūṃ[ta]re ādāya paridhi-deśe mahi dyaub prīhīti ca  
na ity anena ninayet | sarva-prayāścittam kṛtvā 'vāṣṭena yajet | sarva-nāśe  
punar-dohā 'di | āmikya-yāge py etat samānam | tasyaḥ payo-vikāratvat |  
<sup>666</sup> D prayājebhyām . . . et of. Komm. zu Ap. 9.1.17: . . . pura prayājebhyo  
bahisparidhy aṅgārāḥ skandet . . . vgl. Brahm. Prāy. 34a: yadi prak prayā-  
jebhyo bahisparidhy aṅgārāḥ skandet tam abhimantrayeta adhvaryu[m]  
mā 'himsir ity evam adibhīḥ purastād daksīṇataḥ paścād uttarata iti  
mantraviśeṣair uktam abhimantrānam | . . . . . yasyām diśi skanno bhavati  
tatra yo 'vāhito mantrāḥ tenaivā 'bhimantrāṇaṃ bhavati | anyeṣāṃ ādi-  
tyaṃ purastāt paridadhātīty aparimānatvād ādityasya purastāt skanne  
prayāścittam na bhavati . . . . . 34b: yadi bahavo ṅgārā bahisparidhi  
skanne bhavanti tadā 'bhimantrāṇādi-prakṣepāntam karma pṛthak kartta-  
vyam abhihomā te sad ete ca 'ti abhiyukto'hi brahmaprayāścittāni  
sruveta juhōti 'ti; vgl. auch oben 2. 6 und Āv. Prāy. 18a: prak prayā-  
jebhyāḥ paridhi-deśeḥ bahir yady aṅgārāḥ patati purastāt tadā brahmā  
tam aṅgārāṃ srava-dampḍena nidadhyāt | mā tapo mā yajñas tapan mā ya-  
jñapatī tapan | namas te astv āyate namo rudraya te namo yatra nīśi-  
dasi adhvaryuṃ mā himsir yajamānaṃ mā himsir iti | yadi daksīṇataḥ  
patet sa eva sravadampḍena nidadhyāt | mā tapo 'si brahmānaṃ mā him-  
sir yajamānaṃ mā himsir iti | yadi paścāt patet tadā . . . hotārāṃ patet  
mā himsir patanti mā himsir yajamānaṃ mā himsir iti | yady uttarataḥ patet  
tadā . . . . . āgnidhram mā . . . . . yajamānaṃ mā . . . . . iti | athainam anupra-  
haret | aham yajñam dadhe nīrṣṭer upasthāt . . . māmādanta iha no  
deva . . . . . yacchate 'ti | prahṛtam aṅgārāṃ abhiyuhuyāt | sahasra-ṛṅgo  
vṛṣabho jīṣaveda . . . pratikāḥ | mā no himsīd dhīmaito na tvā jahāmi gopo-  
jaṃ ca no virapojaṃ ca no yaccha svāhe 'ti | tataḥ sarva-prayāścittam  
viśvamarānaṃ ca | cf. Agn. Prāy. 18a folg.: prak prayājebhyo ṅgāram  
bahisparidhi nirvritam sravadamīdā (l.: 'dampḍenā) 'bhinidadhyāt | yadi  
prayājebhyāḥ prak bahisparidhy aṅgārāṃ gachet tadā srava(m)-dampḍena  
pidāyēt | paridhi-grahaṇaṃ deśo-palakasya-rītiṃ | no paridhi-praharaṇo-  
tiāram eve 'ti niyamah | mā tapo mā yajñas tapan mā yajñapatī tapas |  
namas te astv āyate namo rudra parayate namo yatra nīśidasi | iti prati-  
dīṣam japitva tato (yadi) purastād ced adhvaryu[m] mā himsire[ḥ] yaja  
[l.: '[hāp] mā himsir yaja[mānaṃ] mā himsir iti | yadi paścād dhotārāṃ  
mā himsire[ḥ] patanti mā himsir yaja[mānaṃ] mā himsir iti | yady uttarata  
āgnidhram mā himsir yaja[mānaṃ] mā himsir iti | pratidīṣam pūrva-  
mantra-śeṣaḥ | athai 'nam anuprah[ar]jed aham yajñam dadhe . . . . .  
sarva yacchate 'ti tam abhiyuhuyāt sahasraṛṅgo vṛṣabho jīṣavedaḥ etoma-  
pṛṣṭhe ghṛtāvaṇaṃ upratikāḥ | mā no himsīd dhīmaito na tvā jahāmi gopo-  
jaṃ ca no virapojaṃ ca yaccha (Āv. Ś. 1. 12. 37) svāhe 'ti | Dieses Zitat  
ist ein besonders deutlicher Beleg dafür, daß die Agn. Prāy. die Mantra



te<sup>668</sup> namo astu parāyate | namo yatra nīśidasi<sup>669</sup> 'ty abhima-  
ntrya "ham yajñam dadhe nirrtter upasthāt<sup>670</sup> tam deveṣu pari-  
dadāmi vidvān | suprajās tvam śatam hi māmadata iha no  
devā mahi śarma yachate 'ty ādaya sahasraśrūga<sup>671</sup> ity  
anuprahṛtya | mā no mahāntam<sup>672</sup> | tvam no agne<sup>673</sup> | somā-  
nam svaranam kṛnuhi<sup>674</sup> brahmanaspate kakṣivantam ya ausi-  
jah | sa tvam no 'gne<sup>675</sup> | vṛṣabham carṣaṇinām viśvarūpam  
adābhyam bṛhaspatim varenyam<sup>676</sup> | ud uttamam mumugdhi  
no vi paśam madhyamam cṛta avādhāmāni bādhta<sup>677</sup> | ud  
uttamam varuṇe 'ty<sup>678</sup> etābhir juhuyāt | | sarvaṇi<sup>679</sup> ced  
śhutivelāyam<sup>680</sup> patny<sup>681</sup> anā lambhukā<sup>682</sup> syāt tām apa-  
rudhya<sup>683</sup> yajeta<sup>684</sup> | samāpyā 'mo 'ham asmi sā tvam<sup>685</sup>

in der speziellen Fassung des Aśv. S. bringen; statt: „na“ liest unser Ms. hier und Blatt 16a: „ne“, also doch wohl: ne 't.

<sup>668</sup> A. V. 11. 2. 15.

<sup>669</sup> Āp. 9. 2. 9.

<sup>670</sup> Āp. 9. 2. 10.

<sup>671</sup> Gemeint ist wohl: AV. 4. 5. 1.

<sup>672</sup> AV. 11. 2. 29.

<sup>673</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4.

Brahm. Pray. 34b: sahaṃ yajña ity anena matreṇa "dṛte sahasraśrūga

ity anuprahṛati

<sup>674</sup> RV. 1. 18. 1.

<sup>675</sup> RV. 4. 1. 5.

<sup>676</sup> RV. 3. 62. 6.

<sup>677</sup> RV. 1. 25. 21.

<sup>678</sup> AV. 7. 83. 3.

<sup>679</sup> Korrupt! etwa: sarvaṇe sa

lesen? <sup>680</sup> BC śhutavelāyam; Āp. 9. 2. 1 ff. T. Br. 3. 7. 1. 9. Die fast wörtliche Übereinstimmung beider Stellen ist textgeschichtlich bemerkenswert.

<sup>681</sup> A. palp

<sup>682</sup> A. anā lambhukā; Komm. zu Āp.

9. 2. 1: ārtava-vaśāḥ sparsanā-narhā <sup>683</sup> AC aparudhye B arupadhye

<sup>684</sup> K. Ś. 25. 11. 13 folg. bestimmen, daß die menstruierende Frau die zur Weihe notwendigen Geräte niederlegen und auf Sand sitzen resp. stehen, nach Ablauf von drei Tagen mit Wasser, dem Kuhurin beigefügt worden ist, sich reinigen und erst alsdann zu bestimmten Diensten zugelassen werden soll; vgl. Aśv. Pray. 18b: sūtikāṃ putravatīṃ viṃśati-rātreṇa karmāṇi kūrayet | māsena strījanī | tataḥ prāg yajamāna eva rajaśvalā-  
yām api ca karmāṇi kūrāt | sūtake (t) yajamānāḥ karmakāle svatva kar-  
māṇi kūrāt |; (vgl. auch oben Anm. 257). — Aśv. Pray. 12a: anvādhāna-  
dina patni ṛtumatī | cet tām vibhaye 'śīh | yo kṛmam [so] tarvedyam (?)  
udag-agraṃ vidhāya patni-maṇṣṭrān yajamāno jape | etad [d]vitiya-prayo-  
ge | vikṛtiṇa (i. e. vikṛteṇa) dvitīyo 'pakramo na bhavati | upakramo-ṭṭara-  
kām ṛtumatī cet sarvatra tām vibhaye 'śīh | prathamā-prayoge 'nvaram-  
bhaṇīyāṃ vrato-paṇavanād ūrdhvam ced ṛtumatī tām vibhaye 'nvaram-  
bhaṇīyāṃ samāpya yasyo 'nvarambhaṇīyā tat-karma samāpyet | yathā  
"huḥ | iṣṭy-anvarambhaṇīyāṃ pādūke vaikṛtiṣu | vṛtād ūrdhvam ṛtumi  
dṛṣṭvā kūrāt kār्याṃ na lopayet | proṣṭe yajamāne vrāṭye hani ṛtumatī  
cet tadā paṇame hi yāgaḥ | proṣṭe 'pi anṣkalpo-ṭṭarakālam cet tām  
aparudhya kūrāt | cāturmāseṣu vaiśvadeva-parvaṇo yāge kṛte varuṇa-  
praghaṇā-divyā anvarambheṣv api malinā-mbarāyāṃ sve sve kule 'pa-  
rudhyai 'va yāga ity uktam śaradvayāṃ | ādhāne dakṣiṇa-pratigrahāt  
pūrvam ced ṛtumatī tadā 'gnayo laukikā bhavanti | sarvam uterjyam  
haviṣ apsu kṛptvā paṇaḥ samasya-mfare 'groyādhānam kūrāt | dakṣiṇa-

iti tasyā dakṣiṇam hastam anvālabhyo 'pāhvayita<sup>686</sup> | "hutis  
ced bahiṣparidhi<sup>687</sup> skanded agnidhram<sup>688</sup> brūyuh<sup>689</sup> sam-  
krahisyām<sup>690</sup> tvā juhudhi 'ti<sup>691</sup> | tasmai pūrṇapātram da-  
dyāt<sup>692</sup> | puroḍaśā ced adhiṣṭita udvijed utpated<sup>693</sup> vā<sup>694</sup>  
tam advāsa barhiṣy āsadayet kim utpatasi kim utprosthah<sup>695</sup>  
śāntah śānter ihā "gahi | aghoro yajñiyo bhūtvā "sida sadanam

pratigrahā-namṣtaram ced itumati tām aparudhya samāpayet | audhy-  
anamṣtaram agnihoṭra-rasbhah | <sup>686</sup> AV. 14, 2, 71 cf. Ap. 9, 2, 3.

<sup>687</sup> A "pāhvayita" D "pāgr[ha]ti(yi)tā" <sup>688</sup> ABC bahiṣparidhi (A  
läßt dhi aus) <sup>689</sup> D "dru" <sup>690</sup> A brūya <sup>691</sup> C unklar;

wohl: sakrayiṣyān; denkbar wäre samgrahiṣyān; vgl. Ap. 9, 16, 1 und die  
Bestimmung in Äsv. 3, 13, 16. <sup>692</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 36b: yadi bahiṣ-

paridhy āhutiḥ skanded agnidhram brūyāt (!) etām samkasya juhudhiti...;  
der folgende Komm. liest samkasya... kasyati gatyarthah: zweifellos besser  
samkasya; wörtlich identisch mit MS. 1, 4, 13; cf. Mon. 8, 3, 1, 3, 1 vgl.  
Äsv. Prāy. 9b: āhuter bahiṣparidhi-skandane pūrvavad abhimrṣyā "gnidhras  
tām āhutiḥ juhuyāt | yajamānas tasmai dhānyādi-pūrṇapātram tadānim  
eva dadyāt | Agn. Prāy. 16a: āhutiḥ ced bahiṣparidhy agnidhra etām  
juhuyāt dhutavate pūrṇapātram dadyāt | yadi hūyamānā "hutir bahiṣ-  
paridhi skandet tadā skana-bhimsāns kṛte agnidhras tām ādya tō-  
gṣm eva juhuyāt | homam kṛtavate agnidhrāya tadānim eva yena yena  
kena cid dhānyadinā rasadinā vā pūrṇa-pātraḥ dadyāt iti | Der Sühne-  
bedarf es, wenn die geopferte Speise auf die Streu herabfällt (Äsv. Prāy.  
18a): āhutiḥ hūyamānā yadi barhiṣy adhipatet tadā "gnidhras devān  
janam agnau yajñah caakamde 'ti (Ap. 9, 10, 16) tām anumantrya tōgṣm  
eva juhuyāt | yajamānas tasmai dhānyādi-pūrṇapātram dadyāt | sarva-  
prāyaścittam viṣṇumārṣam ca kuryāt | — oder wenn sie nicht ins Feuer  
fällt (ibid.): hute haviṣi anagnau patite tvam no agne sa tvam no agne  
(RV. 4, 1, 4 folg.) ity etābhyām adhvaryuḥ sravāhuti hutvā punar ava-  
dāya yajeta | <sup>693</sup> Äsv. 3, 13, 17. <sup>694</sup> AB utyuted <sup>695</sup> Äsv.

Prāy. 18a sieht auch folgende, für die ausgebildete Kasusistik der Sühne-  
zeremonien interessante Möglichkeit vor: ekakapālāḥ puroḍaśāḥ sarva-  
hutaḥ tat-paryāvarttane prāyaścittam | yady ekakapālāḥ puroḍaśāḥ sarva-  
hutaḥ parj[ava]ritāḥ tat | tam adhvaryuḥ sravāhane pratisthāpayet |  
prajāpater varttanim anuvarttāva... mayantu (Ap. 9, 14, 1) yajamāno  
"numamtrayate | pratikṣatre... namah (Ap. 9, 14, 2) | adhvaryuḥ sravāhuti  
juhuyāt | askām dyaus... prajānyata (Ap. 9, 6, 7) svāhā | yajñāye  
'dām | askān ājani prājani... prajānimahi (Ap. 9, 6, 7) svāhā | yajñāye  
'dām |; cf. Agn. Prāy. 17b: yadi puroḍaśāḥ sphuted vo 'tpated vā | yadi  
puroḍaśo bhidyāt | udched (i. udvijed?) vā tadā kim utpatasi...  
sadanam svam iti barhiṣi nidhāya tato mā himsir... ammin āsida  
barhiṣi ity abhimamtrayet | <sup>696</sup> cf. Ap. 9, 16, 11; Äsv. 3, 14, 13; Äsv.  
Prāy. 16b: puroḍaśasya bhedane patane vā kim utpatasi kim utprosthah  
śāntah śānter ihāgāhi... sadanam svam iti | barhiṣi nidhāya 'bhima-  
mtrayate | tam [mā] himsir devaprerita... barhiṣi 'ti | abhimamtrya sarva-  
prāyaścittam juhuyāt |



svam āsīda sadanam svam | mā himsīr deva presīta ājyena  
 tejasa "jyasva mā nah kimcana ririṣo | yoga-kṣemasya śāntya  
 aamin āsīda bahir iti | taptam cet karma (gupo) tv<sup>696</sup> an-  
 tariyāt<sup>696</sup> sarvapṛāścittam hutvā mo 'dvijen<sup>697</sup> | (nā 'āga  
 "hutim<sup>698</sup> antarlhitām dadyān | na ta-pa-varga-nimittā-bhāvāt  
 pradhānalope 'ntarāye<sup>699</sup> vā nirvaped vyāpadyeta) | śeṣ(ad a-  
 vadye)ś ced vyāpadyetā "jyena svistakrīd-īde samāpnuyāt |  
 samāpte ced duṣṭo<sup>700</sup> na kṛtām antaram vā vidyāt punaristīr  
 abhyāvarteta | yajño yajñasya pṛāścittir bhavati 'ti | 2  
 agnyādheye samitśv ahitāsu nā 'gnim grhād uddhareyur nā 'nyata  
 ahareyur | na prayāyān nā 'nugached | yadi prayāyād anu-  
 gached vā samvatsaram samvatsarābhiprāyo vā yadi tvared  
 brahmaudanam paktvā punaḥ samidham abhyādadhyaḥ | agni-  
 hotram ced anabhyuddhrtam śaraśarāsyād<sup>701</sup> amuḥ samū-  
 ho<sup>702</sup> 'ti brūyād | viśyannam<sup>703</sup> agne<sup>704</sup> tvam<sup>705</sup> na iti<sup>706</sup> ju-  
 huyān | madhyamena parṇena mahi dyaur<sup>707</sup> iti<sup>708</sup> tan<sup>708</sup>  
 (madhyame palāśāvānaparṇena mahi dyaur iti<sup>709</sup> tan ma-  
 madhyame palāśāvānaparṇena<sup>710</sup> mahi dyaur<sup>709</sup> ity<sup>708</sup>) antaḥ-  
 paridhīdeṣe ninayed<sup>711</sup> | [d]juhyamānā<sup>712</sup> ced avabhi[n]dyād anya-

<sup>696</sup> A tvāntariyā B 'nvāyāt; D 'nvāptariyāt <sup>697</sup> A madvijeta  
 BC madvijena <sup>698</sup> ABC 'hutim <sup>699</sup> D ntaya <sup>700</sup> AD.  
 duṣṭo <sup>701</sup> ABCD śaraśarā (BC 'rāt) syād; s. auch Äp.  
 9. 6. 10; cf. Äsv. 3. 11. 19; śaraśarāyat; Komm. in Brah. Pray. 43 a  
 fällt dies Wort onomatopoeisch auf: yady adhiṣṭitam . . . śaraśiro  
 ty eva[m] śabdaḥ kuryāt; so auch Äsv. Pray. 4a: agnihotradravyam  
 adhiṣṭitam śaraśarā-śabdaḥ karoti . . . vgl. Äg. Pray. 8b: agnihotram  
 śaraśarāyat samoṣṭam iti dvestāram udāharet | adhiṣṭitam agnihotra-  
 dravyam yadi śabdāyet tadā 'bhimantrayeta | <sup>702</sup> Äp. 9. 6. 10.  
<sup>703</sup> A viśyannam B viśantam C viśyāntam <sup>704</sup> A agnis <sup>705</sup> A  
 tam C tvam <sup>706</sup> Zitiert ist: RV. 5. 24. 1. <sup>707</sup> RV. 1. 22. 13;  
 vgl. Äsv. Pray. 4a: atho 'dvāsitam tāparaśena viśyandantānam agni-  
 hotra-dravyam tadā mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na iti mantreṇa āhavanīyasya  
 bhāsmānte ninayet | sthālgatena homaḥ | tad-abbhāve dravyāntareṇa  
 homaḥ | atha bibhātse dravye madhyama-palāśa-parṇena valmika-vapā-  
 yām prajapate na tvad eśāny anya ity eṣā prakṣipyā dravyāntareṇa  
 homaḥ | athava tūcīm prakṣipyā dravyāntareṇa homaḥ | <sup>708</sup> D  
 ityāntaḥ <sup>709</sup> Diese und die inzwischengeschalteten Worte fehlen  
 bei B. <sup>710</sup> D palāśaparṇena <sup>711</sup> Äp. 9. 2. 5; cf. oben Ann. 93  
 und Äg. Pray. 8b: viśyandamānam mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na ity āh-  
 vanīyasya bhāsmānte ninayet | viśyandam tu pūrvavat | adhiṣṭitā-va-  
 sthāyām pay[o]-yavagr-ady-agnihotra-dravya-viśyandamāna yudā 'guṇi  
 prapṇate tadā sthāli-gata-dravyo-pary udakam upasitcet | athai 'nad  
 dakṣiṇena pānina 'bhimṛya japati | divam tṛtīyam devā yajño agāt . . . .  
 pūrvahūta (Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. 3) | ity etābhyāṃ tata[h] sthālgatam apu



syām sthālyām<sup>713</sup> dohayitvā 'dhiśrayed<sup>714</sup> | adhiśriyamānam<sup>715</sup>  
 ce[ti] skanded adhiśritam unniyamānam<sup>716</sup> unnitam punar eva  
 sannam<sup>717</sup> ahutam<sup>717</sup> skandet<sup>718</sup> punar ānyā 'nyām<sup>719</sup> do-  
 hayitvā 'dhiśrityo 'nyā juhuyāt<sup>720</sup> | prācinam ced dhriyamā-  
 nam skandet prajāpater viśvabhṛtaḥ skannihutam asi svalhe  
 'ti<sup>721</sup> | dohanaprabhṛtyā homa<sup>722</sup> skandet<sup>723</sup> samudram tvā

prakṣipet | udvāste viśyamānā viśyamānā yadā bhāṣin prāpyate  
 tadā mahi dyauh . . . . bharimabhir (RV. I. 22. 13) ity āhavanīyasya  
 bhasma-madhya prakṣipet tataḥ punar-utpattir ubhayatra | <sup>713</sup> ABC  
 uhyamānā; cf. Āp. 9. 5. 7.

<sup>713</sup> cf. AP 37. 3. 1 . . . . ājyasthāḥ cyavate pracalati vā . . . . ibid. 37. 20. 1  
 atha cet (udapāttram) prabhajyeta . . . . <sup>714</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 41 b: yadi duhya-  
 mānā 'vubhiṇdyād anyām āryakṛtīm prakṣāya punar dohayet. Daß ārya-  
 kṛtīm statt āryatattīm des Textes zu lesen ist, beweist der unmittelbar  
 folgende Komm.: yadi duhyamānā 'vubhiṇdyād iti brāhmaṇadarśanād  
 anyām āryakṛtīm . . . . Agn. Prāy. 6 b: agnihotram adhiśritam aravad abhi-  
 mantrayeta | adhiśritam agnihotra-dravyaṁ sthāli-mulena yadi aravati tadā  
 aravam abhimantṛayeta | garbham aravaptam agadam akarmā 'gnir  
 (akarma nach Aśv. S. 3. 10. 31) . . . . pānśād (Āp. S. 9. 4. 1) iti bhinnam  
 siktam vā 'bhimantrayeta (zweitei wörtlich gleich Aśv. Prāy. 3 a folg.) |  
 sthāli-bhēdena vikṣiptam agnihotra-dravyaṁ duṣṭam bhavati | skandanena  
 ca vikṣiptam ubhayaṁ yavat skannam tāvan-mātram duṣṭa[ti] bhavati na  
 pātṛgataṁ (cf. oben Ann. 724) | samudram vā prahīṇomi svām yonim  
 api gachate | ariṣṭā asmakaṁ vitā mayi gāvah samta gopatār (Aśv.  
 3. 11. 6; cf. unten in 4. 4) iti mantrēna duṣṭasyā 'bhimantrayā-bhi-  
 mānāne taptrēna kuryāt | tata apo (!) ['bhyavahareyuḥ | skanno payasya  
 etad abhimantṛagaṁ na bhavati agre vakṣyamāṇatvāt | <sup>716</sup> A adhi-  
 śrayamānam <sup>717</sup> Bei A dittographiert. <sup>718</sup> A sannamahutam  
 B sannamāhutam C sannamāhutam <sup>719</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 42 a  
 werden folgende Möglichkeiten aufgezählt: yady adhiśritam skanded  
 yad udvāsyamānam yady udvāsitam yadi vo 'nniyamānam (?) yady  
 unnita[m] yadi purah parāhṛtam (?) [cf. Komm. zu Āp. 9. 6. 2] homāya  
 punar avanyād . . . . vāruṇim nigadya vāruṇyā 'jyam juhuyāt (!) imam  
 me varuṇa (RV. I. 26. 19) ity ādya . . . . ca nigadya tat tvā yāni (RV.  
 I. 24. 11) 'ty uttarayā juhuyāt tatra karma praderāyate; — in den Worten  
 unseres Textes: punar eva . . . . ahutam skandet kann eine Korruption von  
 yadi purah parāhṛtam skandet (s. o.) gesehen werden. <sup>720</sup> ABC anyān

<sup>721</sup> Āp. 9. 5. 8 f. <sup>722</sup> Vergl. dazu: prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaḥ hutam  
 asi svāhā Āp. 9. 6. 5; Aśv. 3. 11. 11. <sup>723</sup> BCD homā; L: ā homāt;

<sup>724</sup> cf. Aśv. Prāy. 3 b: aṭha dohanādi-prāci[nā]-haraṇāt jṛm yadi skanno  
 samudram va iti mantrēna yad adya dugdham prithivim asṛpta . . . . tan  
 mayi 'ti [Aśv. 3. 11. 7] cūbhimantrīyo 'pāṇsu japeṭ | tad apu prakṣipyā  
 pātṛgata-śeṣeṇa homaḥ | homā-bamarthe śeṣe 'nyām dugdhvā homaḥ |  
 Der Anfang dieses Passus ermöglicht ein Verständnis, wo nicht eine Re-  
 konstruktion, des obigen Textes; s. auch die unmittelbare Fortsetzung  
 der Aśv. Prāy.: aṭha 'nnayanādi-pārvāhuti-paryantam dugdhā-'di-sādha-

prahinomī 'ty<sup>724</sup> apo<sup>725</sup> niniyo<sup>725</sup> 'd uttamam ity abhima-  
ntrīyo 'd uttamam mumugdhi nā<sup>726</sup> ud uttamam varuṇe<sup>727</sup> 'ti  
varuṇy(en)a<sup>728</sup> 'jyā-'hutir<sup>728</sup> juhuyā[c]<sup>729</sup> | (chāvali<sup>730</sup> deva).

raṇa-homa-dravye skanne prajāpater vīrabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam aśi 'ty  
[Ap. 9. 6. 3] abhimpīya apsu prakṣipya homaśa[mar]jhaśeṣeṇa vārunīm  
japitva varuṇya pūrvahutiṃ juhuyāt | anya-homaśaśa-paryāptam yajamā-  
nasya 'naśanam bhavati | aśeṣe skanne sthālyāḥ punar-annayanaṃ kā-  
rayitvā pūrvavaj juhuyāt | sthālyam apy abhāve ājyam saṃkṣiptya nniya  
pūrvavād dhomādī karīavyam | aśhāvā śeṣeṇa juhuyāt punar unniya aśeṣe  
ājyam aśeṣe iti nimittatraye prakṛtyād dhomaḥ | vāruṇī japo vāruṇī  
homo 'naśanam ca yajamānasya naimittikam karmatrayaṃ punarhomaṃ  
ca gūṇagāriḥ | ājyam aśeṣa iti tṛtīya eva nimittam tat trayaṃ śeṣa-  
homaḥ punar unniya homa iti kecit | Āśv. Pray. 4 b: prācīna-haraṇā-  
nantaram dūṣṭe punar-annayanaṃ |

<sup>724</sup> AV. 10. 5. 23; Ap. 9. 5. 6; daher werden unreine Substanzen dem  
Wasser übergeben; cf. oben Anm. 58. Āśv. 3. 11. 6; Brahm. Pray. 41 b:  
samudraṃ vaḥ prahinomīty anena mantrēṇa 'pa upanītya nīcau [l.:  
nīcāir] dravyaṃ prāpyaṃ yatra skandet tad apo niniyed iti brāhmaṇam  
yad adya dugdham abhimantrayati . . . Āśv. Pray.: aśhā sthālī-bheda  
bhimpīya skannaṃ va sādharāṇam agnihotra-dravyam abhimantrayet |  
samudraṃ vaḥ . . . . . gopālāv (Āśv. 3. 11. 6) ity apsu prakṣipet |  
<sup>725</sup> AB ayonīnyo C apo mīnyo D apo mīnyo <sup>726</sup> RV. 1. 25. 21.  
<sup>727</sup> RV. 1. 24. 15; cf. Agn. Pray. 7 a: śhuti-dvayasya 'paryāptam anyam  
dravyam . . . juhuyāt | etad dohana- 'dy a prācīna-haraṇāt | prācīna-haraṇāt  
prāg agnihotra (l.: 'tre) skanne samudraṃ va ity anenā 'bhimpīya  
yad adya dugdham (cf. Ap. 9. 5. 6) iti payasī | payo-vyatiriktē dravyo  
adhūcīṣṭā-vasthāyāṃ skanne vakṣyamāṇam brāhm[ṇ]ojaktam viśyamāṇe  
yad abhimantrayati tad bhavati | tataḥ skannaṃ apo 'bhyavahareyuh |  
prakṛta eva homaḥ | prajāpater vīrabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam aśi 'ti  
(Ap. 9. 6. 3) tatra skannabhimantrāṇaṃ śeṣeṇa juhuyāt punar unniya  
śeṣa ājyam aśeṣa etad a homād vārunīm japitva varuṇya juhuyād  
unāśanam a 'nyasmād dhoma-kālāt | tata[h] prayogaḥ | prācīna-haraṇādy-  
uttarāśhuti-madhye yady agnihotraṃ skandet tadā prajāpater . . . aśi  
payo-'bhimantrāṇaṃ samudraṃ va ity anena tapājulādy-abhimantrāṇaṃ  
kṛtvā tataḥ skannaṃ apo 'bhyavaharet | tataḥ śruci madhye homa-dvayasya  
paryāpta-dravyaṃ cetanaiva [l.: cet tanaiva] mātṛa-pacarenaiva homaḥ nā  
'trā 'bhyānayanam | yadi sarvaṃ skandet tadā punar unniya homaḥ |;  
vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3: yasya 'gnihotry upavasyṣṭā duhyamāṇa spandeta  
. . . . a yatra skandayet tad abhimpīya jayet . . . tatra yat parīṣṭam  
syāt tena juhuyād yady alam homāya syād | yady u val sarvaṃ śikṭam  
syād athā 'nyam abhya tāṃ dugdhvā tena juhuyāt . . . ; cf. Āśv. Pray. 3 b:  
pātra-gutāṃ tad dūṣṭam śeṣa-bhāve dravyāntareṇa homaḥ | <sup>728</sup> A  
varuṇye dadyādāyahutir BC varuṇyo madhyad ājyāśhuti D varuṇyādogdhā-  
dāyahutir <sup>729</sup> Ap. 9. 6. 1; — Brahm. Pray. 42 b: vāruṇī prayāścittam  
karīavyam varuṇo va stat (?) yajñasya grbhuṭi yad ārchati cf. oben Anm. 724.  
<sup>730</sup> D 'vapi



sāyam [yasya] skanno<sup>721</sup> homaḥ<sup>722</sup> syāt<sup>723</sup> prātar nā 'śnyāt |  
 prāta[r ya]sya skanno<sup>721</sup> homaḥ<sup>722</sup> [syāt] sāyam nā 'śnyāt |  
 (mantraskannam)<sup>724</sup> ced abhivarsen mitro janān yātayati<sup>725</sup>  
 'ti samidham ādhāya 'nyā(m) dugdhvā punar juhuyād<sup>726</sup> | mitro  
 janān yātayati hrūvāno mitro dādāra prthivīm uta dyām |  
 mītraḥ kṛtīr animiṣā bhicaste mītrāya havyam gbrtavaj  
 juhota svāhe 'ti<sup>727</sup> mantra-samskṛtam<sup>728</sup> | kṛtā-vapannam hira-  
 nyagarbha<sup>729</sup> iti valmīkavapāyām<sup>730</sup> avanyā<sup>731</sup> 'nyām dugdhvā  
 punar juhuyāt<sup>732</sup> | 3 | agnihotram ced anabhyuddhrtam sūryo

<sup>721</sup> ABC skanno D skannā <sup>722</sup> A homāp syāt B homāsyā  
 C homāt D homā syāt <sup>723</sup> BCD homāt cf. Āp. 9. 6. 9; Agn. Prāy.  
 8a: varuṇ-japo varuṇa-homo 'nāsanam ca | <sup>724</sup> l. vielleicht:

'trasmakṛtam; a. im folg. <sup>725</sup> RV. 3. 59. 1; Āp. 9. 2. 6 (fast

wörtlich übereinstimmend); Āśv. 3. 11. 22; K. Ś. 25. 11. 25. <sup>726</sup> Brahm.

Prāy. 42a: avavṛṣṭap nā mṛd eva kṛttakasecanam divyādir adbhīh sap-

sarga ity arthaḥ | paṭalādi-dravya-vihṛtair ity arthaḥ... tatra bhūr bhūva

svar iti purastād dhoto vidad ity evam-ādi brāhmaṇa-darśanāt | vyāhṛtir

agnihotram iti vo 'cārya mītra hi pāvām śhutin juhuyāt parisaṁpṛte

tasminn aparahomānte atome ca parisaṁpṛte 'pare punaḥ (l) ahomo vā

'parayor ity etat sūtram etad vṛtatam ichaṁti | teṣām iha prāg aparahomād

anyām dugdhvā 'tha punar agnihotrāp juhuyāt (l) anyām dugdh[va] 'l vā

'n[y]ena dohanam niyanyate | kiṁ ta punar agnihotrāp vidhiyate anyā[d]

dravyam upādāya punar agnihotrāp hotavyam iti payasī vā 'vavṛṣṭe ni-

yamaḥ | kiṁ tarhi sarvadravyeṣv eva vṛṣṭeṣu tatra (l) avavṛṣṭavaseṇa

etat | nai tan naimittikaṁ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 9a: mitro janān yātayati

bruvāṇa iti samid-ādhanam | aragāte (?) 'gnihotra-dravya yadā varset tadā

nimittā-'nantaraṁ mitro .... juhote 'ty āhavanīye samidham adadhyaḥ |

tatas tenaiva homaḥ | vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 4b: agnihotra-dravye vṛtīr

idam (?) ścota(m)ti tadā mitro .... juhota svāhe | mītrāye 'dāp | iti samid-

antaraṁ nimittā-'nantaram eva juhuyāt | athavā prakṛta-mantra-ethāno

ayap tantrāḥ | <sup>727</sup> ABC 'hote 'ti <sup>728</sup> ABCD mantrāp-

<sup>729</sup> AV. 4. 2. 7. <sup>730</sup> ABC vapām <sup>731</sup> Msa. apa' resp. api'

Als Mittel, sich eines unreinen Gegenstandes zu entäußern, gilt das

Heraufgießen resp. Aussetzen desselben auf einen Ameisen- oder Maul-

wurfhügel, das Aufhängen auf Blumen, das Fortwerfen in Wasser.

Letztere drei Arten bei Beseitigung eines Fötus angewendet; K. Ś. 25.

10. 14. <sup>732</sup> Āśv. 3. 10. 23; Brahm. Prāy. 43 b: kṛtāvapannam

prajā(va)patyarcā valmīka-vapāyam avanyā bhūr ity upatiṣṭheta ...

prajāpatyarcā ... hiraṇyagarbha ity etayā aparī punaḥ prajāpate na hi

tvattāni 'ty etayā ... vṛṣya (?) sapṛā valmīka-vapāyam kṛtāvapannam

agrabparidhy avavṛṣṭe vā vidhānam avamayad iti ...; cf. Agn. Prāy. 6b:

duṣṭāni haviṣy apau prakṣipet sarvatra | prajāpate na tvad etāny anyā

[AV. 7. 80. 3] iti valmīka-vapāyam vā sūnnyam duṣṭam mādhyameṣu

palāṣa-purpṇa juhuyāt | prajāpate ... rayinām (l) ity anena svāhākārāṇo-

tens mantrāṇa valmīka-dvāre prasiṁpṛet | apau vā tūgṇin |



'bhyudiyād<sup>743</sup> ihaī 'va kṣemya edhī<sup>744</sup> mā prahāsr<sup>745</sup> mām  
 amum amuṣyāyaṇam<sup>746</sup> iti śamayitvā prapiya pravṛtta-ti-  
 ptau<sup>746</sup> maitraṃ caruṃ nirvapet sauryam<sup>747</sup> ekakapālam |  
 varo<sup>748</sup> dakṣiṇā | gṇin upasamādhāya yajamānaḥ patni vā 'bhū-  
 jānu vāgyatāv<sup>749</sup> arañipāṇi<sup>750</sup> sarvāṇam<sup>751</sup> upāśiyātām<sup>752</sup> |  
 dvayor<sup>753</sup> gavoh<sup>753</sup> sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād<sup>754</sup> | agnaye

<sup>743</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 51 a: anuddhṛtaṃ ced abhyudiyād uttarato gūrha-  
 patyaṣya samstīryā 'gnihotra-pātrāṇi prayujya samstīrya (?) pavitram  
 utpādyā pavitre prākṣa . . . (?) sravam juham ajyasthāṇi ced 'tarataḥ  
 prayujya agnihotrasya dāśahotrābhi . . . rānāntam kṛtvā saṃśadanāni  
 gūrhapatyasya pakayajñadharmenā 'jyam samrutyo 'tarataḥ agnihotra-  
 pātrāṇi avasthāpya caturghṛitam gṛhītvā pavitre gūrhapatyē akṛtvā  
 'jyasthāṇi apāniya siddham | <sup>744</sup> Ap. 9. 7. 6. (Die differenzieren-  
 den Bestimmungen finden sich in 9. 7. 2 ff.; cf. 9. 7. 10); Āśv. 3. 12. 7.

<sup>745</sup> D prahāśid idam aham amuṣyāyaṇam iti <sup>746</sup> A pravṛttāpitaṃ  
 B pravṛttānīpattaṃ C pravṛttāpīpataṃ ('tvau?) s. hierzu Ap. 9. 7. 6; —  
 Brahm. Prāy. 58 a folg. behandeln das gleiche Thema; . . . prātar agni-  
 hotraṃ ced abhyudiyād anv agnir usasām agram akāśād (M. S. 1. 8. 9) ity  
 unūtam abhimantrayate | (Komm.) prātar agnihotragrahaṇāt prapite  
 gṇau prātar agnihotrārtham abhyudiyāt . . . na hi śūryābhyudaya eva  
 yaṣyā hutam agnihotraṃ sūryo 'bhyudiyād brāhmaṇa-darśanāt tatre 'dau  
 prāyaścittam anuṣaṅgam kuryād anv agnir ity unūtam abhimantrayate  
 brāhmaṇadarśanāt . . . anāśeṣād adhvaryur evābhimantrayate āhavanī-  
 [yam] yajamāna ihaī 've 'ty abhimantrayate . . . mām amam itī nāma  
 gṛhṇāty amuṣyāyaṇam itī gotraṃ mām yajñadattam bhāradvāja ity evam  
 anyatra 'thā mām itī . . . prātar vastor itī utpato 'nuṣajed itī sāyam-  
 agnihotra-kṣātikrama uktam | hutai maitraṃ caruṃ nirvapet | sauryam  
 ekakapālam hute hutamātre sadyakṛtyā syād itī | imdhānu dam-  
 pati vāgyatāv anāśanītau sarvāṇam upāśiyātām | . . . agnisamīpe . . .  
 śamayātām dvayor gavoh sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād . . . sāyam patny  
 anuśte na prātar itī patnyā prātar-anuśanam eva pratiśidhyate . . . prātar  
 agnihotraṃ ced abhyudiyād . . . anuddhṛtam . . . uddharanād arabhya  
 prāk pūrvasya 'huter idam prāyaścittam . . . vgl. oben 1. 2. <sup>747</sup> ABCD  
 saurya; cf. Ap. 9. 7. 7. <sup>748</sup> A vanaro B caro; cf. Āśv. 3. 12. 8.

<sup>749</sup> Auch der Bruch der Schweigepflicht verlangt Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 17 a):  
 yatra vāgyamo vihitas tad-bhṛese ato devā (RV. 1. 22. 16) itī japed api  
 vā 'nyāṃ vāgyavim | upāśe-madhyama-'dir yatra svaro vihitas tad-  
 bhṛese 'dhvaryur ābhīr gīrbhīr . . . . . syama (Taitt. Brahm. 3. 7. 11. 4—5)  
 svābe 'ti sravāhutiṃ juhuyāt | yatra ekāśruty-ādī vihitaṃ tad-bhṛese  
 viṣṇuṃ śrutvā tad eva pūnah patet | <sup>750</sup> BC arañipāṇi D arañi-  
 yāṇi <sup>751</sup> A sarvātsam BC sarvāṇam <sup>752</sup> B upāśidhātām; cf. Āśv.

3. 12. 9. <sup>753</sup> BC dvayokamoboh; ddvayor gaṭoh; verbessert nach  
 Ap. 9. 7. 9. <sup>754</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 47 a: yadi rudraḥ paśūn abhimanryeta  
 dvayo guvo sthālyā dohana co dohayitvā samāniya sajūr jātavedā (M. S.

1. 8. 6) itī pūrvam śhutiṃ juhuyāt | . . . dvayor gavyo sthālyā dohanena  
 ca (?) dohayitvā . . . stha sthālyāṃ samāniya bhūr bhuvah avar agni-

vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālam puroḍāśam nirvaped | yadi hy  
 ayaṃ divā prajāsu hi manyeta sajur jātavedo<sup>755</sup> divā prthi-  
 vyā haviṣo vihi<sup>756</sup> svāhe 'ti sajūruho<sup>757</sup> vā syāt sajur agnaye  
 divā prthivyā haviṣo vihi svāhe 'ti dvādaśarātram agnihotraṃ  
 juhuyād | yadi na viramayēd agnaye<sup>758</sup> suśrīyatamo<sup>759</sup> juṣasva  
 svāhe 'ty aparaṃ dvādaśarātram<sup>760</sup> niśāyaḥ śāyamāhuter  
 atipattir<sup>761</sup> prātaraśe prātārāhuter āśādyā 'gnihotraṃ ā<sup>761</sup> ta-

hotraṃ sajur iti co 'ktvā pūrvam āhutiṃ juhuyāt Bl. 48 a: dvayor  
 gavor ekasya dvayor vā nīdane punaḥ prāyascittam ity upajātam iti  
 kṛtvā prāyascittam bhū[va]ti. Bl. 60 b: dvayor gavoh śāyam agnihotraṃ  
 butvā ...

<sup>755</sup> Āp. 6. 14. 12. <sup>756</sup> C vihi <sup>757</sup> A sajūradvo B sajūruho  
 D sajuśho gemeint: sajur u hai 'va? <sup>758</sup> Statt dieser und  
 der inzwischengeschalteten Worte setzt D: niśā <sup>759</sup> A suśrīyatapto  
 B suśrīyatamo C anuśrīyatamo <sup>760</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 10. 23; Agn. Prāy. 4 b:  
 atha rātreḥ prathamāḥ praharaḥ śāyamhoma-kalāḥ | dāśa ghṛtikāḥ prā-  
 tarhoma-kalāḥ | svakāle praṇṭev agniḥ (?) uktakāśa-tikrame prāyascittam  
 ucyaṭe | śāyamkāśa-tipattāu ājyap ... saṃkṛtya catuṣgrhītaḥ grhītvā  
 āhavanīye juhuyāt | doṣa vast[oj]r namāḥ svāhe 'ti manitrēṇa | pariśa-  
 māhāndikuśeṇa 'pasādanāntam kṛtvā bhūr bhuvāḥ svar iti japitvā  
 brāhmaṇāya gṛhaḥ dattvā samid-āhāna-"di-homa-śeṣam samāpya teṣv eva  
 'gniḥ varuṇim iṣṭiṃ pūrṇahutiṃ vā kuryāt | atha prātaḥ-kāśa-tipattāu  
 prātara vast[oj]r namāḥ svāhe 'ti catuṣgrhītaḥ hutvā kuśeṇa 'pasādanānta-  
 m kṛtvā gṛhaḥ dattvā homaśeṣam samāpya (?) āhavanīyam eva 'nuga-  
 mayen na dakṣiṇāgnim | punar gārhapatyād āhavanīyam praṇayet | ihāvā  
 kṣemya edhi mā prahāsi | djevadattaṃ mā bhāradvājam iti praṇayet |  
 atra manitre yajamāna-nāma ... iṣṭir mītrāḥ sūrya iti devate |  
 abhi so mahina divam ... prthivīm (RV. 3. 59. 7) | pra sa mītra  
 marto ... dātā (RV. 3. 59. 2) iti mītrasya caror yājñanuvākye |  
 taranir viśvadarśataḥ ... anikam (RV. 1. 59. 4) iti sūryasya | pūr-  
 ṇahutyaṃ vā kārye | tato dāpanti vāgyataḥ (s. oben 4. 4) tān eva 'gṇim  
 jvalaya(n)to upaśyātāṃ | homakāle amānāntau ekasya gor dugdham  
 adhiṣṭitya tasmā dvitīya-gor dugdham anayet | tena 'gnihotraṃ hutvā  
 dakṣiṇāgny-āhavanīyayor na dhāmanam | tataḥ prātaḥkāle agnihotraṃ  
 hutvā 'iṣṭiḥ | agnir vratabhṛd devata | tvam agne vratabhṛo ... jātave-  
 daḥ | (A. Ś. 3. 12. 14) | pūrṇamāśavad anyat | pūrṇahutiḥ vā | atha pra-  
 ṇṭevā homakāśa-tipattāu agniḥ viṣṭvā 'jyap saṃkṛtya juhuyāt catuṣ-  
 grhītaḥ grhītvā manavatyā 'havanīye juhuyāt | evam anekā-kāśa-tipattāv  
 aṃy esvā prāyascittāḥ | atita-homa api pakṣa-homa-nyāyena kartavyā  
 ity eke |. Die Versümmnis eines Manenopfers muß rituell gesühnt wer-  
 den (Agn. Prāy. 19 a): apastambo-kā-piṇḍapitṛyajña-lopa-prāyascittāṃ |  
 piṇḍapitṛyajña-tipatti-nimittam catuṣgrhīteṇa 'jyena saptahotraṃ ho-  
 syāmi 'ti saṃkalpya catuṣgrhītaḥ grhītvā | mahā(n)-haviḥ hotā | satya-  
 haviḥ udhavyaḥ | acyuta-pajā agniḥ | acyuta-mānā upavaktā | anadhīryāś  
 cā 'pratidhīryāś cā yajñasya bhigaran | aṃyasya udgātā | vacaspatē hr̥dvīdhe  
 nāman vidhema te nāma | vidhes tvam samākaṃ nāma | vacaspatīḥ somam



mitor<sup>761</sup> āsita | samsthāpyau<sup>762</sup> 'm bhūr bhuvah svar janad  
[d]loṣā vastoh<sup>763</sup> svāhe 'ti juhuyād | atha prātar ahar-aha<sup>764</sup>  
rātrim<sup>764</sup> rātrim ity upasthāne syād | agnaye 'bhyujjaśva  
svāhe 'ti sruveṇa gārhapatye juhuyād<sup>765</sup> | yasyā 'nnam<sup>766</sup> nā  
'dyāt<sup>766</sup> tasmai brāhmaṇāya<sup>767</sup> dadyāt<sup>767</sup> adhastāt samidham  
āharet | smṛtāgnihoṭri tiraśco darbhān dakepāgrān<sup>768</sup> kuryād |  
yasyo 'bhāv anugatau sūryo 'bhiniṃloce<sup>769</sup> abhyudīyād vā  
'raṇim<sup>770</sup> gatā vā naśyeyur<sup>771</sup> asamārūḍhā<sup>771</sup> vā prakṛtyai

apād mā daivyaś tamoś chedi mā manasyah | namo dīve namah pṛthi-  
vya | (M. S. I. 9. 1 Text variiert vgl. TA. 3. 5. 1) svāhā vācspataye brah-  
maṇa idam ta ity āhavanīye juhōti | Das Verfehlen des richtigen Zeit-  
punktes ist selbst bei Einzelheiten des Opfervollzuges ominös (Āsv. Prāy.  
18 a): *vācspataye anāgate āsita vā . . . . .* Noch mehr bedarf das ver-  
sehbentliche Auslassen eines Opfers oder Opfergliedes der Sühne (Āsv.  
Prāy. 18 b): *prāyajā-<sup>762</sup>dy-<sup>762</sup>upga-<sup>762</sup>karane . . . . .* *astau vyāhṛtiś ca sruveṇa*  
*juhuyāt | pīṇḍapitryajñā-<sup>764</sup>karane 'py etat prāyaścittam | tad etat samīja-*  
*yajñaś pūrvam kūr्याm || sarvatra<sup>764</sup> karane . . . . .* Die versäumte heilige  
Handlung muß nachgeholt werden (ibid.): *prāyaścitis kṛte paścād*  
*astam api karma vā kūr्याm ity eka ācārya na 'ty ane[ke] 'pi*  
*vipaścitaḥ || pathikṛn-mukheṇā 'tjanna-yāgam vā juhuyād iti kecit || tad*  
*etat iṣṭy-antara-<sup>766</sup>raṇabhāt prāg yadā tatra kārāṇa-vaśāu na kṛtam tadā*  
*pathikṛn-mukheṇa 'iṣṭy-antaram kūr्याm ||* Auch bedarf es der Sühne,  
wenn gegen die beim Opfer vorgeschriebene Observanz in irgend einer  
Weise verstoßen wird (Agn. Prāy. 14 a): *athā 'gnēya iṣṭayo vrata-*  
*'tipattan vṛatapataye vrata-lopa-nimitta eva 'etiḥ kār्या | sāgnāv agni-*  
*prapayāns 'gnivate |* oder wenn die heiligen Feuer bei ihrer Anlegung  
verwechselt werden: *yady anyo 'gnir āhavanīyātane āhavanīyartham*  
*uddhriyate tum agnim anidhāyai 'va smarati cet tadā 'yatanustham*  
*uduhye 'dāntm uddhṛtam nidadhyāt | tathā 'asti 'stir na bhavati | eta-*  
*sminn api pakṣe yady anapavṛtta-karmo 'dohyeta tadā vyāhṛtihomuḥ*  
*kartavyaḥ || apavṛttam tu na kincid api prāyaścittam || tadā smṛtan*  
*etaṣmin pūrva-prapṛte nidadhyāt tadā 'gnivate 'etiḥ kār्या ||*

<sup>761</sup> A antamitor

<sup>762</sup> A samānya BCD samāny

<sup>763</sup> B

<sup>764</sup> vāstāh

<sup>764</sup> ABCD 'aha rātrim

<sup>765</sup> Brāhm. Prāy. 2 b

zitieren als maßgebend für alle Sühnezereimonien: *brahmā prāyaścittāni*  
*sruveṇa juhōty etat vūtram.* Agn. Prāy. 19 a: *sruveṇa juhuyād brahmā |*  
*sarvatre 'stika-prāyaścittesu brahmaiva kartā | Śroutapṛāy. Candrikā 1 a:*  
*boma-sādhana-pātrā-nuktan juhuh | catarghṛtā 'dī-viśeśā-nuktan juh-*  
*vām ekaḥgrhitam | vahni-viśeśā-nuktān āhavanīyaḥ | kartr-viśeśā-nuktān*  
*sādhvanyāḥ | karma-madhye patitāni prāyaścittāni tu āgyena bha-*  
*vanti |*

<sup>766</sup> A yasyānnanādyāt B yasyānnanādyāt C yasyānnan-

<sup>767</sup> A yasyānnanādyāt

<sup>767</sup> A 'dayadyāt; BCD 'yadadyāt

<sup>768</sup> BC dakepāgrān

<sup>768</sup> BC bhiniṃloce; D bhiniṃproceed

<sup>770</sup> C 'yānim

<sup>771</sup> B 'yu samā' C yuh samā' D yurasa-

mārūḍho



"va punar ādadhita<sup>772</sup> | 4 | iti yajñaprāyaścitte *caturtho*  
*'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ*<sup>773</sup> |

<sup>772</sup> Āśv. 3. 12. 29 f.; Brahm. Prāy. 51 b: yasya 'bhāṣe] ... gārhapatya-  
 bhavantiāv anugatau sūryo 'bhyastam iyāt abhyudiyād vā punarā-  
 dbheyam eva tasya prāyaścittih; K. Ś. 25. 3. 24; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 10 b:  
 gārhapatya- 'havaniyayor nāśe tō 'bhaya-niṣṭha-bhasmanā rañi ayaṃ  
 ta (RV. 3. 29. 10) iti mairiteṇa samapriye 'taḥ prathamam jajñe agniḥ  
 svād yoner ..... prajānaṃ (Kauś. S. 133, 6) mathiteā gārhapatya adbhaya  
 tata āhavantiyāṃ prantiya pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittam [d. h.: die beim Er-  
 löschen des gārhapatya-Feuers angewandte] kuryat | ubhayor ubhaya-  
 sṛpekṣatvena kramā- 'papatteḥ | tata ubhayatrā 'nvādhano- 'pantāne |  
<sup>773</sup> BC lesen statt dieses Kolophons: ity atharvavede vaiṭānasūtre prāya-  
 ścitta-prasaṅge dvādaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ | 12 |; B beginnt sodann mit: oṃ  
 D ity atharvavede vaiṭānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṅge dvādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ |

*Atharvaprāyaścittāni. Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof.  
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Germany.*

agnihotram<sup>774</sup> ced anabhyuddhrtam sūryo 'bhinimlocet<sup>775</sup>  
brāhmaṇo bahuvit<sup>776</sup> uddharet<sup>778</sup> | yo brāhmaṇo bahuvit syāt  
samuddharet<sup>776</sup> | sarveṇa 'vai nam tad brāhmaṇa uddharet  
yeṇā 'nitarhita[m]<sup>777</sup> hiranyam agrato haret<sup>778</sup> | vāruṇam yava-  
mayam carum nirvaped<sup>779</sup> ita eva prathamam iti | ita eva

<sup>774</sup> D 'tre

<sup>775</sup> BD bhimlocet C bhimloce; cf. Ap. 9. 6. 12.

<sup>776</sup> A liest statt bahu\*: ba\*; B bahuvit yo brāhmaṇo bahududdha\*; CD bahuvit uddharet yo brāhmaṇo [bahuvit syāt; cf. Aśv. 3. 12. 18.

<sup>777</sup> A yo nyanṭa\*; die Stelle ist zweifellos verderbt. <sup>778</sup> Brahm.

Prāy. 49a: yasyā 'gnim anuddhrtam sūryo 'bhinimrocet (!) yo brāhmaṇo bahuvit sa uddharet (!) yasya yajamānasya 'gnim anuddhrtam garhapatyāścaviyojitam ity arthah | . . . rtvig-vyastirikto 'pi yo bahuvit sa uddharet iti . . . anyeno 'ddhrtam apy anuddhrtam iti hiranyam baddhvā darbheṇā 'grato haretā paścād agnihotreṇā 'nviyāt (!) | hiranyam baddhvā darbheṇā 'ddhrtir iti vyākhyātam | yatra yatra hiranyam baddh[vyeti] tatra tatro 'ddharanam iti tene 'hai ke agnam tam baddhvā (?) 'grato haret iti agner uddharanam prakṛtam tasyā 'grato nayet ity arthah | paścād agnihotreṇā 'nviyād anugacched ity arthah . . . tatra bahuvit kecid ācaksate | caturdaśābhīr vidyāsthāpāir adhitāir vijñātāś ca bhavanṭi | Bl. 51a: iyāṃ tu viśeṣaḥ | caturgrhitam ājyam agrato haret caturgrhitena hiranyam baddhya-te (!) tathā kecid iti puraṣṭat pratyakmukhā ājyam juhuyāt | cf. Aśv. Prāy. 5b: athā "navanīye 'prapīte yadi sūryā 'stamānam (!) tadā bahuvitām brāhmaṇam ānīya tēno 'ddharanādini . . . nāntam kuryet | agnipraṇayana-kūle hiranyam darbhair baddhvā 'nyah puraṣṭān nayet | tataḥ paścād bahuvit agnim prapayet | tataḥ sāyam-kālā 'tipatti-prāyaścittam vāruṇī-ṣṭy-antam sarvaṃ kṛyam ity eke | kuśeṣe 'pasūdana-dī-vāruṇī-ṣṭy-antam ity apare | athā "navanīye 'prapīte yadi sūryodayas tadā samakṛtam ca-turgrhitam ājyam ekah puraṣṭān nayet | tataḥ paścād dhiranyavad rāja-tam eko nayet | tataḥ paścād bahuvit agnim prapayet | tala āyatane 'gnim nidhāya puraṣṭat pratyakmukhā upaviśya jānar ājya (i. jānā ājya) uṣaḥ ketunā evahe 'ti [A. S. 9. 7. 10] hutvā prastabhāśa-tipatti-pratar-vrata-bhṛtīṣṭy-antam āhavanīyā 'ngamavarjam kuryāt | kuśe[ṣe] 'pasūdanādi-pratar-vrātabhṛtīṣṭy-antam kuryād ity eke |

<sup>779</sup> Ap. 9. 7. 1.

prathamam jājñe<sup>780</sup> agnir ābhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ | sa  
gāyatrīyā triṣṭubhā jagatyā 'nuṣṭubhā devo devebhyo havyam  
vāhata prajānann<sup>781</sup> iti paścād gārhapatya-lakṣaṇasyā 'raṇi  
nidhāya mathitve 'še rāyṇai ramaṣve 'ty ādadhyāt | iṣe rāyṇai  
ramaṣva<sup>782</sup> sabase dyumna ūrje 'patyaya | samrād aśi sva-  
rād<sup>783</sup> aśi sārāsvatau tvo 'tsau prāvatām iti | yaḥ kaś ca  
'gninām anugachen<sup>784</sup> nirmanthyaś<sup>785</sup> ced<sup>786</sup> dakṣiṇāgnim |

<sup>780</sup> D yajñe. <sup>781</sup> Kanś. S. 133, 6; die Mss. fügen hinter 'nuṣṭubhā ein:  
brhatya paṇktyā guptāḥ (D uṇṇi) punar. <sup>782</sup> Ap. Śr. 9, 9, 1, wo aber  
die Vorbedingung für die Zitierung dieser Sprüche eine andere ist, vgl.  
V. S. 13, 35. <sup>783</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>784</sup> Für das Erlöschen aller Opfer-  
feuer schreiben Aśv. Prāy. 8 a vor: sarvavalinām nāḥ sūryā-śtamayo-  
'dayāt (!) prāḥ bhāsmānā 'raṇi saṃspṛīya mantreṇa mathitvā prāṇīya  
pūrvoktā tapasvatīṣṭir jyotiṣmatīṣṭi ca kartavyā | idam iṣṭidvayam ho-  
mam kṛtvā teṣv evā 'gnīṣu kartavyam | aṭhavā sūryā-śtamayo-dayā(t)  
prāṇ mantṛanopakramam kṛtvā pratidinīḥṇi laukikāgni-pramukham gā-  
rhapatya-yatane pratiṣṭhāpya viṣṭya homaṃ kṛtvā 'gnin uterjya mathi-  
tvā tapasvatīṣṭir jyotiṣmatīṣṭi ca kartavyā pūrnāhuti vā | sarveṣām nāḥ  
sūryā-śtamayo-dayāt prāṇ mantṛanopakramā-bhāve 'gnyādheyam pu-  
narādheyam vā kartavyam | . . . sūryā-śtamayo-dayā-mantaram sarvā-  
nugatam pūrvāvan mathitvā 'gnihotram hutvā tapasvatīṣṭi(r) jyotiṣmati-  
ṣṭi ca pūrnāhuti vā | vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 10 b: evaṃ sarva-nāḥ āyatana-tri-  
taya-niṣṭha-bhāsmānā 'raṇi ayam ta (RV. 3, 29, 10) iti mantreṇa saṃ-  
spṛīya pūrvāvan mathitvā 'gnidvayam viṣṭya pūrvavat prāyaścittam  
tanīreṇa kṛtvā paścād dakṣiṇāgnim viṣṭya prāyaścittam kuryāt | tasya  
'bhaya-sāpekṣatvāt | tata sarvatrā 'nvādhāno-pasthanāni | sarvanāḥ bha-  
smānā 'raṇi saṃspṛīya-bhāve ca yadi sūryā-śtamayo-dayau bhavataḥ tadā  
'gnivichitīḥ | anuvāhitānām ājāraṇām yadā kadācin nāḥ 'pi etad eva  
prāyaścittam | tatā 'nvādhānādī nā 'sti | pakṣāntaram uktvā "na bhaga-  
vān baudhāyanaḥ | manasavittu ced āhavanīye juhuyāt sa | 'ṣa 'jāsrāyām  
anuvāhitānām savana-gatīṣṭām cā 'gninām udvātānām prāyaścittir etad eva  
homakāle 'nvādhāna-varjam | etayaivā "ṛtāi 'kasmīn udvāte dvayor ve  
'ti | viṣṭya anuvāhita-nāḥ etad eva prāyaścittam | vgl. Agn. Prāy. 13 a:  
addharāṇo-ṭtaram udayāstamayāt prāḥ sarvaṃ (!) yugapad anugaccheyas  
tadā gārhapatyaṣya pūrvāvan mantṛanā-"dy-utpattiṃ kṛtvā "havanīyam  
prāṇīya tapasvatī(m) pūrnāhutiṃ kṛtvā 'gnim parityajya tato hiraṇyam  
puraṣkṛtye 'ty ādi varuṇāya svāhe 'ty aṇṭa(m) kṛtvā tato dakṣiṇāgnau  
utpattiḥ | tataḥ karmaṣṭeṣām samāpayet | udayā-śtamayā-mantaram iyam  
evo 'pattiḥ | udayāstamaye yugapad-anugamane sarvā-nugatāḥ tatra tu  
punarādhanam eva | karmaṇas treti-gnī-ādhyatvād āhavanīya-homa-kāle  
trayaṇām agnīnām samyak samimlhanam kṛtvā homaḥ (!) kuryāt | yasya  
kāṣya cit karmaṇyo 'rīḥāya viṣṭeṣv agnīṣu yat kimcid agnīśādhyā(m)  
naimittikam utpādyate tasya naimittika-sahitasya ta evā 'gnyo bhaveyaḥ |  
na punaḥ-punar vihartavyaḥ | sarvāṇā ced anugatān ādītyo 'bhīndīyād vā  
'bhyastam iṣād vā 'gny ādheyam punar-ādheyam vā yadi sarveṣv agnīṣv  
anugateṣv ādītyo 'śtam udayam vā gacheta tadā 'gnyādheyam punar-



ahute<sup>786</sup> cet<sup>787</sup> sāyam pūrvo 'nugached agnihotram adhiśrityo  
'onīyā 'guinā pūrvepo<sup>788</sup> 'ddhṛtyā<sup>789</sup> 'gnihotreṇa 'nudraved<sup>790</sup> |  
adattapūrva-dhanam<sup>791</sup> dadyāc | chvas tapasvatim nirvaped |  
āyāhi tapasā janīṣv<sup>792</sup> ā 'gne<sup>793</sup> pāvako arcīṣā | upe 'mām suṣtutim  
mama | ā no yāhi tapasā janīṣv āgne<sup>794</sup> pāvako didyat | havyā  
deveṣu no dadhad iti havimṣi dadyāt | sāyam ahutam ati 'tara-  
sminn<sup>795</sup> etad eva prāyaścittam anyatrā 'pi sūtyā<sup>796</sup> ced |  
ahute cet prātaḥ pūrvo<sup>797</sup> 'nugached avadāheṣum<sup>798</sup> aśni-  
yāt | teṣv alabhyamāneṣu bhasmanā 'raṇim samsprśya ma-  
thitvā 'vadadhyād<sup>799</sup> | agnaye jyotismata iṣṭim nirvaped | ahute

ādheyam vā prāyaścittam bhavet | Mit dem Fall, das irgendein Opfer-  
feuer erloscht, beschäftigen sich Agn. Prāy. 18a: anugate tu mamthanādi-  
tapasvatī-ṣṭy-anīyam tatra prāyaścittam | tatra tu yavajjanma tān/van ma-  
thitvā yadi laukikāgni-śthāpane anavakāśas tadā yavad-utpattis tavan  
ma[thit]thanam eva tāta āyatane nidhaya 'nuddharāṇa-prāyaścitta-pūrvaka-  
bomaḥ kartavya[s] ca | tato 'nuddharāṇa-prāyaścittena sāha yadi khalo  
'tipannas tadā manasvatihomas ca kuryaḥ | <sup>786</sup> AD nirmathyaś ce  
B nirmathyaś ce C nirmathyaś ce

<sup>786</sup> B ahute; cf. Āp. 9. 9. 6.

<sup>787</sup> A ce

<sup>788</sup> A 'nodvṛtyā

<sup>789</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 51 b folg.: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet |  
svapradhāne 'gnihotreṇa prāsaṅgike 'guinā ca sāha 'gnihotreṇa co [d]dra-  
vet | atirā 'nugached iti avayam anugātaya(?) tad (?) bhavati nānugameti  
yathānugamāyā pūrvam iti ahuta iti prāk pūrvasyā 'hute ita eva prā-  
thamaṇḍa jujña (MS. 3. 3. 1) uddhṛtam abhimantrayate pradhānatvad anya-  
sya ca 'nādeśād adhvaryūr abhimantranūdinī karoti | iṣe rāye ramaṣve  
ty (MS. ibid.) ādhāyamāne uddhṛtam ādhāyamānaṁ cā 'gnim abhiman-  
trayate samrūd asṭy (ibid.) ādadhāti | amṛtāhutim ity asyā 'dhānaman-  
trasyā 'yam apasādadyāmbādhakam | sārasvatau tvā (ibid.) ity āhitam  
avasthāpitam agnim abhimantrayate iti vyavahitam apy anuvarttate  
[h]ute [h]nayo jyotismata 'tākupālam nirvaped vāruṇam yuvamayam  
caruṇa hutasyā mātṛe upavasatho na syāt idam sāyam agnihotre vā  
viṣeṣā-bhīdhanāt ubhayam tu bhavati | <sup>790</sup> B '-parve-' <sup>791</sup> M. S. 4.  
10. 2. Āp. 9. 9. 3; vgl. auch Aāv. 3. 12. 27. <sup>792</sup> A agne <sup>793</sup> Die  
Worte von arcīṣā bis āgne fehlen bei C; AD lesen: agne. <sup>794</sup> A  
ahutemititi itaraściminn <sup>795</sup> BCD sūtyā <sup>796</sup> A

aparvā <sup>797</sup> A lōḍt diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte aus;  
vgl. Āp. 9. 9. 7; Brahm. Prāy. 68 b: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre [p]aro 'gnir  
anugached iti . . . AP. 37. 10. 1: aprasṭo 'hute 'gnir upaśmīyati; vgl.  
ibid. 37. 13. 1: prapito 'gnir upaśmīyati . . . <sup>798</sup> Brahm.  
Prāy. 52 a folg.: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotra uddharāṇād ārabhya prāk  
pūrvasyā 'huteḥ svapradhāna ity uktam | tatrā 'bhīmanāntam kṛtvō  
'ddharat | . . . agnim adhvaryūr grīhiyād agnihotrādravyam soma  
sarmā grīhiyāt sahanayanam somasarmā ndya chattraṁ kṛtvō 'pāste  
adhvaryuḥ | paristaraṇṣṭam kṛtvō 'pasādyaṁ juhuyāt taṁ ndya jyoti-  
smata bhūyo bhūyaḥ prapite 'nugame sakṛd eva 'ṣṭiḥ bahuvīdā prapī-  
yamāne 'nugate sa eka (?) bhūyaḥ prapayed abhimantranūdinī ca kuryat(?)  
g\*

est prātar aparo<sup>799</sup> vā 'nugacched<sup>797</sup> anugamayitvā pūrvam mathitvā 'param uddhṛtya juhuyāt | tvaramāṇaḥ pūrvam agnim anvavasāya tataḥ paścāt prāñcam uddhṛtya juhuyāt<sup>800</sup> | 1 | uparuddhe cen mathyamāno na jāyeta<sup>801</sup> yatra dipyamānam

ā paristarāṇād āyur mecheti sādite 'nugate agne(?) eva dakṣiṇato 'gni-hotradravasya prayogaḥ(?) yadi hutkṛtāṃ samidhā(?) 'nugachet(?) bhūyo 'nugata abhimanāṣṭrāṇādayo mantrā āvartante sakṛd eva samid bhūyo bhūyo 'nugata ekatra bhaṃsya avasthāpīte 'gner darśane tatṛṣṇāpadehān na jyotiṣmati(?) agnimati(?) āditaś ce 'yam eva sthāpīte bhūyo bhūyaḥ prajñite prathamasyā 'gner darśane 'bhyuddhṛtadharāṇalakṣṇāṇāgnimati jyotiṣmati bhavati gataśrīya uddharāṇabhāvād ita eva 'ty abhimanāṣṭrāṇam bhavati iṣe rāya iti ca mantratrāyaṃ bhavati | yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet tamo vā etasya yajñam yuvata iti brāhmaṇam

<sup>799</sup> D. ayaste cf. Kauś. 8. 7. 3. 4: abhyuddhṛto [']huto 'gnir pramadāt upaśmyati mathite vyāhṛtir juhuyāt . . .  
<sup>800</sup> Āp. 9. 9. 8; vgl. zu diesem Abeshniti Brahm. Prāy. 46 b folg.: yadi pūrvasyāṃ hutkṛtāṃ akampeta yatra ve 'ty arthaḥ | ity anena mantrāṇa samidham ābhāyo 'tarāṇa yathāvidhiṃ juhuyāt(?) vyākhyātaṃ punar agni-hotra-vidhānam | yadi pūrvasyāṃ hutayām āhavanīyo 'nugacched agnir darau darav agnir [M. Ś. 3. 2. 9] iti hiraṇyāṃ nidhāyo 'tarāṇa yathāvidhiṃ juhuyāt(?) hiraṇyāṃ nidhāye 'ty agnisampādunārthaṃ hiraṇyāṃ nidhāya juhoty agnimaty eva juhotti 'ti darśanat | uktam punar agnihotram yatra pūrvasyāṃ hutayām ekadeś āhavanīyā 'nugamaś ce 'bhayāṃ bhavati tatṛā 'gnisampādānāya pūrvam hiraṇyāṃ ābhāya samidham ādādhyaś . . . . .; vgl. ferner ibid. 53 a: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugacched ahuta iti prak pūrvasya 'hute(?) agnihotra iti . . . anugamayya pūrvasmin mathitvā prayayed anugamayya pūrvam aparasman mathitvo 'ti yena nyāyena manthanam samāropya mathitvā prayayed iti viśeṣa uktāḥ siddham agnihotram śvo bhūte 'gnaye tapasvate janadvate pava-kavate 'stakapāṇaṃ nirvapet śvo bhūta iti yena prakāreṇa śvo bhūto nirvapāḥ svastha evam arthaṃ kṛtvā 'nyedyur nirvapāḥ | yadi tvareta eva prāñcam uddhṛtya dakṣiṇāgnim anvāniya sāyamprātar juhuyāt . . .  
 Bī. 54 b: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugachet svapradhāne ud-dharāṇād ārabhya prak pūrvasya 'huter gārhapatyānugame anugamayya pūrvam gārhapatyam samāropya nirmathya prayayanād ārabhya 'gnihotram siddham | upavaśtam kṛtvā 'gnaye tapasvate iṣṭi uddhṛtamātra āhavanīye gārhapatyānugame pātryam eva 'nugamayet(?) anugamite yady aparo dr̥syate tapasvati jyotiṣmati(?) uktam anugate jyotiṣmati uktam anugate jyotiṣmati nā 'nugamita iti . . .  
<sup>801</sup> cf. Āśv. Prāy. 7 a: atha samārādheṣu mathyamāno na jāyeta tadā laukikāgni-brāhmaṇapāpy-ajakarna-darbhastambā 'psu kṣētheṣu prthivyāṃ hutvā 'manṭaram eva manthanam kuryāt | prthivyāṃ pūrvasamid apī na bhavati | homaḥ kāryaḥ | kṣēthe parisamipdhanādayo lpyante | brāhmaṇa-pāpy-ādan tierne tierāḥ samidho na bhavanti | tadāñiṃ yajamāṇasya yāvajjivāṃ sapva-tarāṇa vā vratam brāhmaṇapāpī-home brāhmaṇāya vasati-dānam | aja-karna-home aja-nṛpseṣa nā 'ntyāt | darbhā-stamba-home darbhāsane no 'paviśet | apsu home viveko na kāryaḥ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 18 a: agnihotrāya



parāpasyet tata śhrityā 'gnihotram juhuyād<sup>802</sup> | yadi tam na vinded brāhmanasya daksine pāpau juhuyāt | tato brāhmaṇam na paricakṣita | yadi tam na vinded ajāyā dakṣine karṇe juhuyāt | tato 'jām nā 'śniyād | yadi tām<sup>803</sup> na vinded darbha-stambheṣu<sup>804</sup> juhuyāt | tato darbheṣu nā 'sita | yadi tām<sup>805</sup> na vinded apsu juhuyāt | tato 'dbhiḥ pādau na prakṣālayita<sup>806</sup> | yadi tām na vinded dhiranye juhuyāt | tato hiraṇyam na bibhryād | āpadi mathitvā vihrityā<sup>807</sup> 'gnihotram juhuyād | agnihotre ced anabhyuddhṛte haviṣi vā nirupte śakunibh śyenabh śvā vā 'ntareṇa vyaveyād<sup>808</sup> idam viṣṇur<sup>809</sup> iti | idam viṣṇur vicakrame tredhā nidadhe padam | samūḍham aśya pāmsure | pra tad viṣṇur<sup>810</sup> | iti bhasmanā padam upavaped<sup>811</sup> | ano<sup>812</sup> rathā 'sya<sup>813</sup> puraṣo<sup>814</sup> [vā] vyaveyād<sup>815</sup> yad agne pūrvam nihitam<sup>816</sup> padam hi te sūryasya raśmin anvātātāna | tatra rayistham anusambharat | tām sam naḥ sṛja sumatyā vājavatyē<sup>817</sup> 'ty ād-dhyāt<sup>818</sup> [ 2 ] anvāhitāgnis cet<sup>819</sup> prayāyat<sup>820</sup> tubhyam tā

kale 'gnāv ajāyamāne 'py anyam śliya juhuyuh | agnihomārtham praṇayana-kāle samārādho 'gnir mathyamāno na jāyeta anyāḥ laukikam agnim śliya praṇiya tatraiva homa[h] kurtavyaḥ | etad anugate na bhavati | cf. Āśv. 3. 14. 14 ff.; K. Ś. 25. 4. 1 folg.

<sup>802</sup> Es handelt sich aber offenbar um das männliche Wesen; s. K. Ś. 25. 4. 5; — D tan <sup>803</sup> K. Ś. 25. 4. 6; kuśa-stambe <sup>804</sup> D tam

<sup>805</sup> Das Gleiche lehrt Āp. 9. 3. 14. Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 9 soll das Wasser in den zugehörigen Gefäßen an die Feuerstätten gestellt werden. Denn „vor dem Wasser darf man nicht Ekel empfinden, so lehrt der Veda“.

<sup>806</sup> AB vihatyā. — Die obige Aufrählung der Substitutionsopfer lehrt eindringlich den Glauben an die absolute Notwendigkeit des Vollzuges des Agnihotra. <sup>807</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 6. 11; vgl. auch Āp. 9. 10. 15, 11. 24; Āśv. 3. 10. 10.

<sup>808</sup> AV. 7. 26. 4. <sup>809</sup> AV. 7. 26. 2. <sup>810</sup> Āśv. 3. 10. 14. <sup>811</sup> ABD ato <sup>812</sup> D

rathāśva <sup>813</sup> ABCD 'ga <sup>814</sup> A vyavaped; Bryavāye

C vyavāyo; vgl. Āp. 9. 10. 17; I. ano-rathā-śva-puraṣa-vyavāye? <sup>815</sup> So

die Mss. mit M. Ś. 3. 4. 10. <sup>816</sup> T. B. 1. 4. 4. 10. Ap. Ś. 9. 10. 17; Āśv. 3. 10. 16.

<sup>817</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 70 a: yasya 'dhīrite 'gnihotre haviṣi vā nirupte some vā pratatte 'no ratho 'śvaḥ puruṣa śvā kṛṣṇaḥ śakunir anyad vā saḥtvam antarā viyāyā[t] trayastrīṃsat taptava (MŚ. 3. 4. 9) ity āhavantiye hūtvā gām anva[ve]tyā "varittayet . . . Bl. 70 b: yady ano vā ratho vā 'ntarā viyāyād iti katham punar aṭha śakuntam vā vinā vahair antarā gachet . . . ; daß unter dem śakuni der Ath. Prāy. der kṛṣṇaśakuni, also etwa der Rabe, zu verstehen sei, lehrt auch der Komm. zu dieser Stelle, der den Text erweiternd interpretiert: puraṣagrahaṇa[m] dvipadāprasidhy-artham . . . śva-grahaṇa[m] [rp] sinha-ārgala-śvāpada-prasidhy-artham kṛṣṇaśakuni[h] kakāḥ (!) tāṣya grahaṇam . . . ano-rathābhi pratyekam abhūmantraṇam trayastrīṃsat taptava iti; Bl.



angirasastama<sup>820</sup> viśvāḥ suksitayāḥ prthag agne kāmāya  
yemire iti hutvā prayāyāt<sup>821</sup> | anvāhitaś ced anugachet anv  
agnir<sup>822</sup> ity anyam prāṇiā 'gnyānvādhāna<sup>823</sup> - vrato- 'pāyānā-  
bhyām manaso 'pasthāya bhūr iti vyāhareṭ<sup>824</sup> | pāthikṛti<sup>825</sup>  
syāt<sup>826</sup> patho 'ntikāḍ darbhan āhareḍ | anadvān dakṣiṇā | sa-

71 a folg.: idam viṣṇu vicakrama iti padam khyāpayaty apo 'nvatiseet  
[l. 'vācet?] | padam yopayitve 'ti padanyāsenā 'ntarāgamanam prāyaś-  
cittam iti darśayati; vgl. oben 2. 3 und Text von 1. 3; a. auch Agn.  
Prāy. 3 b: āvayavāye tv ayam apy aparo viśvāḥ | idam viṣṇu ....  
pāpāre [cf. unten 5. 2] iti mantreṣa śano yāni padāni tāni bhāsmānā  
pūrayet | pratipadam mantrā- 'vrttiḥ | tataḥ (?) āhavanīyam punaḥ prāyayed  
uddhriyamāṇam iti | tata upatiṣṭheta tad (?) yad agne pūrvam .... vājavatyā  
(s. Text) tvam agne .... aśi 'ti (cf. oben 2. 1, 3, 8) ca .... etābhyām  
tato 'gnye pāthikṛte svāhe 'ti pūrnahutiḥ | iṣṭipakṣe varittamāṇam karma  
samāpāya tasmān evā 'gnau iṣṭiḥ karitavye [ti] prati darvi-homeṣv eṣa  
vidhiḥ | <sup>820</sup> A ce mriyāt B cet prāyāt O cet prathayāt D cet  
prāpnyāt <sup>821</sup> RV. 8. 43. 18. <sup>822</sup> Agn. Prāy. 1 b: anvāhitaḥ ced

prāyāno- 'papattau prthag agnir nayeyuḥ | .... tubhyam tā angirasastame  
'ti (?) (RV. 8. 43. 18) vā 'jyā- 'hutiḥ hutvā samāropayet | tubhyam ....  
're | ity ājyā- 'hutiḥ hutvā samāropayed vā | ayam te yonir rtiya ity  
araṇi gārhapatyē pratitapet | ... ayam te .... girāḥ (RV. 8. 20. 10) iti  
nā 'gny- 'smtare | pāṇi vā | yā te agne yajñiā tādā taye 'hy arohā 'tmā-  
nam aśā tasmāni kṛtvān arya .... rūṇi yajñā bhūtvā yajñam āśida iti  
(gemeint ist etwa TB. 2. 5. 8. 8) pāṇi pratitapet | dvayor api samāropāṇam  
yajamānāḥ kuryāt | varṇa- 'svare- 'di samyag uccārya samāropāṇam kartta-  
vyam | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 11 b: iṣṭi- 'madhye prāyāṇa- 'prāptau gārhapatyē  
ājyam samakṛtya janav ācya 'havanīye araveṇa juhōti | tubhyam tān  
angirasastama ... yemire svāhā | agnaya idam | araṇi gārhapatyē yajamā-  
nāḥ pratitapet | ayam te .... rayiḥ | tasmān itarayoḥ pratitapet | tata  
stihā- 'ntaram gatvā vihāram kalpayitvā uddhanyamāna (gemeint: 'manam  
Ap. 5. 4. 1) ity uddhṛtya śam no devir (RV. 10. 9. 4) ity avokṣya  
araṇi pratyavarohīya śam yor (RV. 10. 9. 4) iti mantreṣa man-  
thayet | svayam vā manthet | pratiyatnam mantrā- 'vrttiḥ | jātam agnir  
gārhapatyē ādhāya tata ubhayatrā 'pi viṣṭiā 'raṇigata- 'prāyaścittam  
karoti | tac caivam | gārhapatyē smārtavad ājyam samakṛtya aruk- 'sravam  
niṣṭapya sruci caturgrhītam grhītvā juhōti mano jyotir (VS. 2. 13) iti |  
tata sāṃgais- 'iddi- 'artham aruā- 'hutiḥ viṣṇu- 'smaraṇam ca kṛtve 'ṣṭi-  
śeṣam samāpayet | <sup>823</sup> AV. 7. 82. 4; 18. 1. 27. <sup>824</sup> A 'gnyam-

nādhāna B 'gnyānvādhāna O gnyānvādhāna; cf. dasu etwa Brahm.  
Prāy. 28 b: agner api nāhe yathāpūrvam eva samakaraṇam. <sup>825</sup> Brahm.  
Prāy. 15 b: vratopetasya ced āhavanīyo 'nugachet prauṣṭe manasā vratam  
upetya bhūr ity upatiṣṭheta <sup>826</sup> BC pāthikṛtvām; cf. Brahm. Prāy.  
8 a: kalatipattau pāthikṛti kartavye 'ti śrutiyarthāḥ <sup>827</sup> Āśv. Prāy. 2a:  
yadi ... āhavanīyāḥ śamyā- 'pafrāśād apy atiyāt | yadi vā (?) amāvāsyam  
paurṇamāsinā vā 'tiyāt | yadi vā 'dyasyā 'gniṣu svayam yajet | yadi vā (?)  
asyā 'gniṣv anyo yajeta | yadi vā 'yā 'nyo gñir agnir vyaveyāt | tadā

rvatra<sup>827</sup> pāthikṛtyām<sup>828</sup> anaḍvān | agninām cet kaścīd upa-  
vaks(ay)et<sup>829</sup> sa śam[yā]yā[h]<sup>830</sup> prāg vāsam<sup>831</sup> pāthikṛti<sup>832</sup>  
syāc | cham[yā]yāh<sup>833</sup> parā(k) parās(y)āc ced idam ta ekam<sup>834</sup>  
iti tiant<sup>835</sup> sambhareṭ<sup>836</sup> parā<sup>837</sup> ū ta<sup>837</sup> ekam iti dvitīyaṃ dviti-  
yena<sup>838</sup> | tṛtīyaṃ tṛtīyena jyotiṣe 'ti<sup>839</sup> | tasmād<sup>840</sup> avakhyā-  
yās<sup>841</sup> tatra nirvaped | adhi ced anuprāyāya<sup>842</sup> mathitvā  
tatrai 'kān vaset<sup>843</sup> kalā-tipāte<sup>844</sup> ca darsapūrpamāsayaṭ |

bhinna-kālīnāṃ prati nimittam pāthikṛti kṛyā | abhinna-kālīnā-'neka-  
nimitta-sambhave sakṛt pāthikṛti kṛyā | aśākāpālāḥ | vettha hi (RV.  
6. 16. 3) . . . om ye agniṃ pathikṛtām ā devānām . . . (RV. 10. 2. 3)  
anaḍvān daksinaḥ | <sup>827</sup> A sa sarvatra <sup>828</sup> BCD \*krivām  
<sup>829</sup> bei A unklar <sup>830</sup> bei A unklar <sup>831</sup> A vāsaḥ L: parā-  
sāt? <sup>832</sup> B schiebt ein [\*ti] syām anaddhān agninām cet kaścīd  
upavaksayet aśmāyā prāg vāsam pāthikṛti <sup>833</sup> B chamyā  
C chamyā <sup>834</sup> AV 18. 3. 7. <sup>835</sup> A tān B tān <sup>836</sup> cf.  
Agn. Prāy. 2 b: yady utpādant prayatno nihphala[h] syāt (cf. oben 5. 2)  
tadā-tadā punar-ārambha-vasare mantra āvarttayitavyaḥ | evaṃ punaḥ-  
punar āvarttayet | āhavanīyam avadīpyamānam arvāva (L: arvāk) śamyā-  
parāśād idam ta ekam para ū ta ekam iti samvapeṭ | Comm.: āhavanī-  
yasyai 'kadeśaḥ samastō vā yady āyatanād bahir gacchet [ta]dā 'śamyā-  
parāśāt tadā idam ta ekam para ū ta ekam tṛtīyena jyotiṣā samvīśasva |  
samvīśane tanvāś cārur edhi priyo devānām parame janitre (RV. 10. 56. 1) |  
iti tam ādāy 'yatane prakṣīpya tato vyāhṛtihomāḥ |. In unserem Texte  
werden wir dem entsprechend zu lesen haben: sa [agniḥ] śamyā-parāg-  
śād (besser: śamyāyāḥ parāg śād) [yadi syāt] pāthikṛti syāc | chamyā-  
prāg-śāc (besser: chamyāyāḥ prāg śāc) ced [agniḥ syāt] | idam te . . .  
Ap. Ś. 9. 1. 17 erwähnt den gleichen Fall; vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 2a: āhavanī-  
yasyai 'kadeśaḥ samastō vā yady āyatanād bahir arvāk śam[yā]parāśyat  
patati tadā idam te . . . ekam mantrēṇa punaḥ svāyatane kṣipeṭ | samastā-  
vyāhṛti-homāḥ kṛyā ity eke | na viśphulīṅgam vā 'tra 'syaitat prāya-  
ścittam | gārhapatya-dakṣiṇāgnyoḥ eva svāyatanād bahiḥ-patane tūṅṇīm  
prakṣīpya vyāhṛti-homāḥ kṛyāḥ | cf. Aśv. Prāy. 15 b: gārhapatya-da-  
kṣiṇāgnyor āyatanād bahiḥ-pāte tūṅṇīm prakṣīpya bruhmā vyāhṛtibhir  
juhuyāt |; ibid. 16 b: prak prayāḥebhya iti erug-ādīpanād arvāk sarvaṃ  
ghṛyata iti vṛtikṛto-ktam (cf. oben 4. 1) | etat-kalā-'tirikta-'ngāra-eka-  
ṇḍane idam ta ekam . . . . . parame janitre iti mantrēṇa svāyatane  
punaḥ kṣipeṭ | totaḥ sarva-prāyaścittam na viśphulīṅga-mātrasyai 'tat  
prāyaścittam | etad āhavanīyasyā 'rvāk śamyā-parāśāt patane | yadi śamyā-  
parāśād apy utfiyāt tadā pāthikṛti | aśaktau pūrpahutiḥ | agnaye pathikṛte  
svāhe 'ti | <sup>837</sup> ABCD paratra <sup>838</sup> B dvitīyamēṣa  
C fehlt <sup>839</sup> A \*ti tṛtīyam <sup>840</sup> A yasmād <sup>841</sup> L etwa  
avakṣayāne? A avakṣayās D avakṣayās <sup>842</sup> A anuprāyā B anu-  
prāya <sup>843</sup> L: vāsayet <sup>844</sup> D \*pāti B \*-tipāṭive; vom  
Verstreichenlassen der zum Opfer festgesetzten Zeit scheint auch AP  
37. 12. 1 zu reden.



vidhy-ardha-samāpte ced aparādham vidyāt (samāpte cet s) trīn  
 haviśyād<sup>845</sup> | agnaye vaiśvanarāya dvādaśa-kapalam puroḍaśam  
 nirvaped<sup>846</sup> | yasya havir niruptam purastac candramā abhyu-  
 diyāt tāms tredhā taṇḍulan vibhajed<sup>847</sup> | ye madhyamās<sup>848</sup>  
 tān<sup>849</sup> agnaye dātṛe 'stākāpalam puroḍaśam nirvaped | ye  
 sthaviṣṭhās tān indrāya pradātṛe dadhanti<sup>850</sup> caruṃ | ye kṣo-  
 disthās tān viṣpave śipivistāya | srite<sup>851</sup> prāg ukte<sup>852</sup> taṇḍula-  
 'bhāvād ardham vā vidyāt || 3 || agnaye vitaye<sup>853</sup> 'stākāpalam  
 puroḍaśam nirvaped<sup>854</sup> yasya 'gnayo mithah samsrjyerann | ag-  
 naye vivicaye 'stākāpalam puroḍaśam nirvaped yasya 'gnayo<sup>855</sup>  
 grāmyeṇā 'gninā samsrjyerann | agnaye śucaye<sup>856</sup> 'stākāpalam  
 puroḍaśam nirvaped yasya 'gnayaḥ śavēnā 'gninā samsrjye-  
 rann | agnaye 'unādāya<sup>857</sup> 'nnapataye 'stākāpalam puroḍaśam  
 nirvaped yasya 'gnayo dāvenā 'gninā samsrjyerann | agnaye  
 jyotismate 'stākāpalam puroḍaśam nirvaped yasya 'gnayo di-  
 vyēnā 'gninā samsrjyerann | agnaye 'gnimate<sup>858</sup> 'stākāpalam  
 puroḍaśam nirvaped yasya 'gnayo<sup>859</sup> 'bhiplaverann | agnaye

<sup>845</sup> BCD haviśyād; cf. Brāhm. Prāy. 37 b: kālatipattas pāthikṛty anāgate ca (!) atra nityavidegam etad [d]raṣṭavyam; dazu ausführlicher, korrupt überlieferter Comm.; L. oben im Text: cet trir haviḥ syāt?

<sup>846</sup> Diesem wohl nicht hierher gehörigen Satze fehlt der Vordersatz, der nach Āśv. Prāy. 8 a zu ergänzen sein dürfte: ahitāgneḥ śatrūṇāṃ bhojane 'gnaye vaiśvanarāya pūrṇāhutih | <sup>847</sup> vgl. oben 2. 2; 4. 1; Brāhm. Prāy. 28 a behandelt den gleichen Fall und stellt die spezielle Möglichkeit auf: yadai 'ko maṣṭi[r] dvan vā prakṛtinām niruptam bhavataḥ (!) tadā candramaso 'bhyudaye vijñāte katham kartavyam

<sup>848</sup> B 'mā syus tād

<sup>849</sup> B

<sup>850</sup> B srite CD srite

<sup>851</sup> BC prakte?

<sup>852</sup> fehlt bei A; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: gārhapatyā-  
 'havanīyayoh samvarge 'gnaye vitaye pūrṇāhutih |

<sup>853</sup> Ap. 9. 3. 21; vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die im Brāhmaṇa-Stil ausgeführte Reproduktion in 2. 7.

<sup>854</sup> Ap. 9. 3. 18; K. Ś. 25. 4. 31–32; „yasya 'gnayo“ d. h.: die zum Opfer nötigen Feuer; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: gārha-  
 patya-dakṣiṇāgni-mukhanām samvarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye vivicaye pūrṇāhutih |

<sup>855</sup> Ap. 9. 3. 22; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 29–30; danach kann in diesem Falle von einer Sühne Abstand genommen werden; cf. oben 2. 7; Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: agnīnā śavāgni-samvarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye śucaye pūrṇāhutih |

<sup>856</sup> Auch in diesem Falle ist nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 32 folg. eine Sühne nicht unbedingt notwendig. Das Sühneopfer soll vielmehr nur bei religiöser Überängstlichkeit stattfinden und dann dem Agni samvarga gelten. Eben dieser devatā soll es im ähnlichen Falle nach Āit. Brāhm. 7. 7 geweiht sein.

<sup>857</sup> AD pneumate; vgl. Ap. 9. 3. 22; K. Ś. 25. 4. 33.

<sup>858</sup> bei B fehlen diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte; vgl. Ap. 9. 10. 11.



'gnimate<sup>859</sup> 'stākāpālam puroḍāṣam nirvaped<sup>860</sup> ya ahavantiyam  
anagatam abhyuddhared | agnaye kṣamavate<sup>861</sup> 'stākāpālam  
puroḍāṣam nirvaped yasya 'hitāgner<sup>862</sup> agnigrhān<sup>863</sup> agnir  
dahed anagnir grhān vā | 'gnaye<sup>864</sup> vratapataye 'stākāpālam  
puroḍāṣam ni[r]vaped<sup>865</sup> ya āhitāgnir ārtijam<sup>866</sup> āsru<sup>867</sup> ku-  
ryāt<sup>868</sup> tatah<sup>869</sup> pravased<sup>870</sup> | agnaye vratabhrte 'stākāpālam  
puroḍāṣam nirvaped<sup>871</sup> parvaṇi yo vrata-velāyam avra-

<sup>859</sup> cf. aber Aśv. Prāy. 8a: sāgnāv āyatane 'gnim prantiya sthāpane 'gnaye  
agnimate pūrṇahutiḥ | pūrvapranīhāgnim nihkāsya sthāpane prāyaścittam  
nā 'eti | aranyoh samārūḍha-vahninām ucchiṣṭady-upaghāte caturgrhītenā  
'havanīye manasvati-homah | ātma-samārūḍhāgnir yadi bhojanādi kuryāt  
tadā 'raṇyor laukikagman vā 'varohya vihrtya pūrvoktam eva prāyaścittam |  
punaḥ tvā 'ditye 'ti (Ap. 9. 10. 9) samipdhanam vā | <sup>860</sup> K. S.  
25. 4. 36 ghadāhe 'gnaye kṣamavate puroḍāṣah

<sup>861</sup> A 'gnir  
<sup>862</sup> Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte sind korumpiert. Der  
Rekonstruktionsversuch schließt sich vorzugeweise an A an. A agni-  
grhād agni hedata (na?) agnigrhān ca (va?) B agnigrhān dahed an-  
agnigrhān vā 'gnaye C agnigrhān dahed anagnigrhān vā 'gnaye D  
agnigrhādahedanagnigrhān vāgnaye; unter anagnir wäre dann etwa  
'Phosphoreszenz' zu verstehen.

<sup>863</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 66 b:  
yasya 'hitāgner iti vyākhyātam brāhmaṇe 'gnaye kṣamavate 'stākāpālam  
nirvaped | yasya 'hitāgneḥ sattognir grhān dahed agnir vai 'tasya  
kṣāmo grhān abhyacyantam iti sa dahaty eva 'param iti . . . . kṣāmo  
grhān abhyacyati [ucah samavāye samavaiti] dahanāya sa kṣamah sa[m]-  
bhūya ('pā?) enam api dahati | . . . . adāhuko 'syā 'param agnir grhān  
bhavati | cf. Aśv. Prāy. 8a, welches — offenbar ursprünglicher und ver-  
nünftiger — den *Vratapati* bei Verletzungen der religiösen Enthaltens-  
keitsvorschriften empfielt: anvādhānā- 'namtarāṇ grāmāntarāṇ na  
gacchet (cf. oben 4. 3) | madhu-māṇsā- "dī nū 'ntiyāt | na buddhi-pūrvam  
retah skandayet | ityādi vrata-lope vratapataye pūrṇahutiḥ | — Zur  
Rekonstruktion des Textes sind Aśv. Prāy. 8a wichtig: ghadāhe 'gnaye  
kṣamavate pūrṇahutiḥ | . Zu obigem vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 12a: anvādhānā-  
'namtarāṇ buddhi-pūrvaka-retah-pāte imam me varuṇa [V. S. 21. 1]  
tat tvā 'yāmi iy [VS. 21. 2] etābhyam sruvā- 'huti ājyabhāgā- 'namtarāṇ  
juhuyāt | buddhi-pūrvakaretah-pāte ārtiā 'śru-pāte madhu-māṇsā- "dī-  
bhakṣaṇe vā vratapatiḥ | anaktāv ājyabhāgā- 'namtarāṇ truci dvādaśa-  
grhītam caturgrhītam vā grhītvā 'havanīye juhuyāt | agnaye vratapataye  
evāhe 'ti tato viṣṇusamarāṇam | ; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 14a: kṣāmāya (erg.:  
'gnaye) 'gāra-dāhe śucaye samparjane 'gninā | anyene 'ti sarvāgnibhiḥ |  
mithas ced vivicaye | garhapatyādayah sarve dvau dvau vā parasparāṇ  
yadi samparjyeran tadā vivicaya iṣṭiḥ kṛya | grāmyeṇa saṁvargāya paca-  
nāgnih | vaidyutenā 'paumate | vaiśvānarāya vimatānām sana-bhojane |

<sup>864</sup> A āvirjam ānu BD ārtijam āsru C tvijam āsru; verbessert nach  
Ap. 9. 4. 16; cf. K. S. 25. 4. 28, 11. 30. <sup>865</sup> A kuryāstat  
B kuryāt C kurya <sup>866</sup> B prasaved; cf. Ap. 9. 4. 15. <sup>867</sup> ABCD  
wiederholen hinter 'ped: ya āhitāgnir ārtijam āsru kuryāt pravaṇet;  
C läßt āsru aus.

tyam<sup>868</sup> carēd agnaye tantumate<sup>868</sup> 'stākapaṃ puroḍaṣam nirvaped yasya samtataṃ<sup>869</sup> agnihotraṃ juhuyāḥ || 4 || atha samnipatiteṣu prayaścitteṣu vaiviciṃ<sup>870</sup> prathamam kuryāt | tato 'gnaye śucaye | vr̥tapatim antataḥ kṣamavatiṃ<sup>871</sup> parivarttayēd<sup>872</sup> yasya 'gnisv<sup>873</sup> anyam<sup>873</sup> yājayed<sup>874</sup> yo<sup>874</sup> vā<sup>874</sup> yajen<sup>874</sup> | mārutam trayodaśa-kapāṃ puroḍaṣam nirvaped yasya yamau<sup>875</sup> putrau jāyeyātām gāvo vā | yamasūr dakṣiṇā dhenur bhāryā vā<sup>876</sup> | pṛṣṭadājyam cet skannam<sup>877</sup> skannā dyaur<sup>878</sup> ity abhimantrya | skannā dyauḥ skannā prthivi skannam viśvam

<sup>868</sup> A. nvr̥tāyam caret tantumate dagnaye tantumate B. vr̥tāyam caret tantumata agnaye tantumate C. wie A., jedoch agnaye; cf. Ait. Brahm. 7. 8.

<sup>869</sup> B. tatam C. tantatam; cf. Āp. 9. 4. 15. <sup>870</sup> Nach Brahm. Prāy. 63 a. folg. wird aber die Vaivici vollzogen, wenn die Opferfeuer sich mit einander vermengen oder wenn deren Asche sich vermischt; ebenso Ait. Brahm. 7. 6. Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 32 ist das Opfer für Agni vivici in gleichem Falle fakultativ.

<sup>871</sup> A. kṣamavati. <sup>872</sup> B. parivarttayēd C. parivartayed. <sup>873</sup> B. sv anyam fehlt bei C; bei A. unklar.

<sup>874</sup> A. yājaye vā yajen B. yājayed yo vā yajen C. yājaye yo vā yajen; cf. Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 62 a: yo 'nyāgniṣu yajeta yasya cānye 'gniṣu yajeran yaśyāgnayāḥ samr̥jyeran . . .; cf. K. Ś. 25. 8. 16.

<sup>875</sup> Āp. 9. 14. 7, 17. 1; Āśv. 3. 13. 12, Ait. Brahm. 7. 9. <sup>876</sup> cf. den sehr korrupten Passus Brahm. Prāy. 68 b; ferner Āśv. Prāy. 8 b: yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayet tadā marād-bhyāḥ pūrṇakutib | Agn. Prāy. 14 b: yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayed iṣṭir marutāḥ |

<sup>877</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 72 a. folg.: yadi pṛṣṭadājyam skandēd (?) hiranyam antarddhāya bhūyo [bhyūnnyo] (?) 'śveno (?) 'pāgrāpya mano jyotir vaddhatām bhūtir ity etābhyām āhutim juhuyāt | . . . Bl. 72 b: yadi pṛṣṭadājyam skandēd iti pṛṣṭaskannam ājyo pṛṣṭadājyam ājyam dadhimīraṇa ghr̥taṇa śaḍgunaviśiṣṭaṇa pṛṣṭadājyam ity abhidhiyate | . . . hiranyam antarddhāya hiranyam tatā 'vasthāpya yadi skanno bhūyo bhyūnnyāḥ bhūya tatāi 'vā 'bātmukhyena niyēti vacanāt | . . . Bl. 73 a: śvēnuḥ guṇḍho pādan kārāyitrā mano jyotir vaddhatām bhūtir ity etābhyām āhutir juhuyād . . . trayastrīṃśat tantava ity ahavaniye hutvā . . . Bl. 73 a. folg.: tatāi 'vā 'antarddhāya 'vasthāpya yut skannam hiranyam apāniya pṛṣṭadājyam śvēno 'pāgrāpya [śvēnam apāniya brahmā 'huti juhoti . . . Es ist von einigem Interesse, daß der Vers „trayastrīṃśat tantavas“ als Zauber bei Zerreißungen verschiedener Art angewendet wird, z. B. (Bl. 75 b. folg.): yadi rasnām chidyād yadi dvidhā kuryāt paśuvikṛtī paśor (?) eva trayastrīṃśat tantava ity etayā granthiṇā samdhāya? . . . jyaitayai 'vā juhuyāt (cf. AP. 37. 16. 1, 17. 1) . . . patni-rasānāya[m] mekhalāyam vā dvidhō kṛtāyam punaḥ sannahanam brahmacariṇo mekhalāchede kṛtāsyā gopri 'tyādayas trayo mantrā bhavanti | . . . Bl. 94 b: yadi soma skandē vyākhyātām pṛṣṭadājyena soma skandēd iti; cf. K. Ś. 25. 6. 6–7, 10; pṛṣṭadājya-skandane caike catustrīṃśad-dhoman ichanti.



idam jagat skannādo<sup>879</sup> viśve devāḥ prā-skannā[ti] prāyatām<sup>880</sup>  
 havir ity abhimantrye 'ha gāvāḥ<sup>881</sup> prajāyadhvam<sup>882</sup> ity  
 anyasya prasadājyasya juhuyāt paśugavā<sup>883</sup> cet sruvair<sup>884</sup> hut-  
 vā 'srāvam<sup>885</sup> yāty<sup>886</sup> avadānam<sup>887</sup> akarme<sup>888</sup> 'ty anyasyām  
 dr̥dhatarāyām śrapayeyur<sup>889</sup> | [yady] avadānam na vimdet tadā  
 'jyasyā 'vadyed<sup>890</sup> | upākṛtāḥ cet paśuḥ prapated<sup>891</sup> vāyavyām  
 yavāgūm nirupyā 'nyam tad-rūpam tad-varṇam iti samā-  
 nam | 5 | atha yasyā 'hargane<sup>892</sup> [visamāpte yūpo virohet<sup>893</sup>  
 pravṛhya yūpavirūdhāny avalopya tapo hy agne<sup>894</sup> amtarām  
 amitrām<sup>895</sup> tapa śamsam ararusah parasya tapo vaso cikitāno  
 acittān vi te tiṣṭhantām ajarā ayāsah | yo naḥ sanuty abhi-  
 dāsad agne<sup>896</sup> yo amtarō mitramaho vanuṣyāt<sup>897</sup> | tam ajare-  
 bhir vrsabhis tava<sup>898</sup> svais<sup>899</sup> tapā<sup>900</sup> tapistha tapasā tapas-  
 vān | yasmāt<sup>901</sup> kṛnoti ketum ā naktam cid dūra ā sate |  
 pāvako yad vanaspatin<sup>902</sup> yasmān minoty ajaro (nabhi-  
 hita)<sup>903</sup> iti dve | pañcabhir aparam paryukṣya suparnā vā-  
 cam<sup>904</sup> iti virūdhāni hutvā punaḥsamāyāt tasmims tvāṣṭram  
 ajam piṅgalam paśum baburūpam ālabhetā | 'gninā tapo 'va-  
 bhavad<sup>905</sup> | vācā brahma | maninā<sup>906</sup> rūpāṇi | 'ndreṇa devān |  
 vātena prānānt<sup>907</sup> | sūryeṇa dyām | candramasā nakṣatrāṇi |  
 yamena<sup>908</sup> pitṛn | rājānā manuṣyān | upalena nādeyān | ajaga-  
 reṇa sarpaṇ | vyāghreṇā 'raṇyān paśūm | chyeneṇa patatrino |  
 vṛṣṇā 'śvān | ṛabheṇa gā | bastenā 'jā | vṛṣṇinā 'vīr | vṛhiṇā

<sup>879</sup> Ap. Ś. 9. 17. 1. <sup>880</sup> A skannādyau <sup>881</sup> A prāyatā B prāyepṛtām  
 C prāyeyātām; gemeint vielleicht: prajāyātām <sup>882</sup> A gāvoghām  
 B jā vo yam C yāvo ya D gāvo yam; — gemeint: AV. 20. 127. 12;  
 RV. 1. 177. 4. Ap. Śr. 9. 17. 1. <sup>883</sup> B 'gāvā; paśugavā ist  
 offenbar eine Interpolation, die das Subjekt des Satzes verdrängt hat.  
<sup>884</sup> A sruvair B bruvai C sruvai <sup>885</sup> A śrāvam BC sruvam  
<sup>886</sup> ABD yāti <sup>887</sup> A madāvāmakarme B madāmakarme  
 C madāmakarme <sup>888</sup> cf. Ap. 2. 4. 1. <sup>889</sup> Brahm.  
 Prāy. 77 b: . . . . . avadānāny api yadi na vimdet tadā 'jyasyā 'vadyet . . .  
 praiṣa indraguibhyām ājyasyā 'nubṛhi 'ti darśanāt (!) ājyena samsthā-  
 pya punar yajeta atra kecid ācakṣate sruvaviṣayam etad bhavati |  
<sup>890</sup> cf. oben 2. 9. <sup>891</sup> D ahavisargane <sup>892</sup> Vgl. oben  
 2. 6; K. Ś. 25. 10. 1 folg. <sup>893</sup> RV. 3. 18. 2. <sup>894</sup> A  
 amitrāya <sup>895</sup> B agner; RV. 6. 5. 4. <sup>896</sup> Mss.: manuṣyāt  
<sup>897</sup> AD varāhais; B tavasyais C tāpastes <sup>898</sup> AD tapo <sup>899</sup> A  
 yasmā; bei C fehlen die Worte yasmāt bis vanaspatin <sup>900</sup> RV.  
 5. 7. 4; Ap. Ś. 14. 29. 3. <sup>901</sup> L: nā 'bhibite? <sup>902</sup> AV. 6. 49. 3.  
<sup>903</sup> Ap. Ś. 20. 11. 10. <sup>904</sup> Die Mss. lesen: bolinā <sup>905</sup> A  
 prāpa C prāpāh



'anāni | yavenau 'śadhir | nyagrodhena<sup>905</sup> vanaspatin | udu-  
mbareno 'rjam | gāyatrīā chandāmsi | trivṛtā stomān | brā-  
hmanena vācam iti brahmā pūrnābutim juhuyāt | [ 6 ] iti<sup>906</sup>  
yajñaprayāścitte pañcamo 'dhyāyāḥ samāptāḥ<sup>906</sup> |

athā 'taḥ saumikāni vyākhyāsyāmo | havirdhāne cet pra-  
pateyātām purā bahiṣpavamānād adhvaryur dakṣiṇam ud-  
grhṇīyāt | pratiprasthāto 'pastabhnuyāt<sup>907</sup> | pratiprasthāto  
'ttaram udgrhṇīyād | adhvaryur upastabhnuyād<sup>907</sup> yathā-  
prakṛti stambhāno 'pamānu<sup>908</sup> (?) sam aśvinor avasā nūtanena<sup>909</sup>  
mayobhuvā supraniti<sup>910</sup> gamema | ā no rayim vahatam ota  
virān ā viśvāny amṛtā saubhagāni<sup>911</sup> | śiro yajñasya pratidhi-  
yatām<sup>912</sup> amṛtām devatāmayaṁ<sup>912</sup> | vaiṣṇavyāḥ | (kriyatām<sup>913</sup>  
śira aśvinyāḥ<sup>914</sup> pratihriyatām<sup>915</sup> amṛtām<sup>916</sup>) dyubhir aktubhiḥ  
paripātām<sup>917</sup> asmān<sup>918</sup> ariṣṭebhir aśvinā saubhagebhiḥ | tan  
no mitro varuṇo māmāhantām aditiḥ sindhuḥ prthivī<sup>919</sup> uta  
dyaur | ity āgnidhriye<sup>920</sup> juhuyād | audumbarim ced apahareyur  
yām eva kāmicit prachidyā 'vadadhyād adhvaryur udgātā yaja-  
māna | ūrg asy ūrjam mayi dhebi | śriyām tiṣṭha pratiṣṭhitā |  
divaṁ stabdhvā 'ntarikṣam ca prthivyām ca drdḥā bhava 'ti<sup>921</sup> |

<sup>905</sup> Diese und die darzwischenliegenden Worte sind in den Mss. ganz entstell. A yamena pīva yajña manuṣyā phalena nādeyātrajagareṇa sarpaṇ grāmyeṇāranyān pāvānnāpanena patatirīṇo vṛṣabheṇa gā vastenājā vṛṇāvi vṛhiṇāntābī yavenauśadhīnyagrodhena [vanaspatin] B yamena pitṛn rajña manuṣyān phalena nādeyāny ajagareṇa sarpaṇ vyāghreṇa "ranyān pāvūn chyenena patatirīṇo vṛṇāśvīn vṛṣabhopyagā vastenājā vṛṇāśvīn vṛhiṇā 'nāni pavanenauśadhīn nyagrodhena; C (ähnlich B und D) yamena pitṛn ajña manuṣyān upalena nādeyān ajagareṇa sarpaṇ vyāghreṇāranyān pāvūn ebenena patatirīṇo vṛṇāśvīn vṛṣabheṇa gā vastenājā vṛṇāśvīn vṛhiṇāp- nāni yastvośadhīnyagrodhena; auch die folgenden Worte sind bei A und B sehr inkorrekt geschrieben.

<sup>906</sup> Bei BCD lautet der Ko-  
lophon: ity atharvavede vaitānastūtre prāyaścitta- prasauje trayodaśo  
'dhyāyāḥ samāptāḥ <sup>907</sup> ABCD 'pastha brīyāt <sup>908</sup> A

pasamāno BD pamāno C pamāno vielleicht Imperative plus „ana-“.  
<sup>909</sup> RV. 5. 42. 18. <sup>910</sup> A 'pitām <sup>911</sup> A 'bharāṇi

<sup>912</sup> Ap. Ś. 14. 33. 8; Mss.: pratihriyatām (A 'hriyatām) <sup>913</sup> B  
skriyatā C kriyatām; gemeint ist: dhriyatām <sup>914</sup> C upadhinyā

<sup>915</sup> A pratihudayatām; gemeint ist: pratidhiyatām <sup>916</sup> fehlt  
bei BCD; der in Klammern gesetzte Passus ist offenbar eine Wieder-  
holung der letzten Worte des vorausgegangenen Mantra. <sup>917</sup> C

'patām <sup>918</sup> RV. 1. 112. 25. <sup>919</sup> AC 'vir <sup>920</sup> Vgl.  
K. Ś. 25. 6. 8. <sup>921</sup> AD bhavati BC bhava

dhartri dharitri janitri yamitri<sup>922</sup> 'ti brahmā<sup>923</sup> | 'ntaḥ<sup>924</sup> sada-  
 so<sup>925</sup> bahispavamānena stāyur<sup>926</sup> | dikṣitasya gārhapatyo 'nte<sup>927</sup>  
 gārhapatyo 'nugacched<sup>928</sup> agnim nro dīdhitibhir aranyor<sup>929</sup>  
 hastacyuti janayanta praśastam | dūredrṣam gr̥hapatim atharyum  
 iti mathitvā 'vadadhyād | āśv anuprapitaś<sup>930</sup> ced anugached etayai  
 'va<sup>931</sup> mathitvā 'vadadhyād | agnayaś cen mithaḥ saṁsrye-  
 rann<sup>932</sup> agninā 'gnih saṁsryata<sup>933</sup> ity ete<sup>934</sup> japeḥ | chālāmukhi-  
 yaś ced anugacched gārhapatyāt prāṇya bhadrām karnebhir<sup>935</sup>  
 iti catasro japeḥ | bhadrām karnebhiḥ śruyāma devā bhadrām  
 paśyemā 'kṣabhir yajatrāḥ | sthirair āngais tuṣṭavāmsas tanū-  
 bhir vyaśema devahitam yad āyuh | svasti na indro vṛddha-  
 śravāḥ<sup>936</sup> svasti naḥ pūṣā viśvavedāḥ<sup>937</sup> | svasti naś tārksyo  
 'riṣṭa-nemiḥ svasti no brhaspatir dadhātu | pradaśvā ma-  
 rutaḥ prānimātaraḥ<sup>938</sup> śubhamyāvāno vidathesu jagmayāḥ<sup>939</sup> |  
 agni-jihvā manavaḥ sūracakṣaso viśve no devā āvasā gamann  
 iha | śatam in nu śarado anti devā yatra naś cakrā jara-  
 sam tanūnām | putrāso yatra pitaro bhavanti mā no ma-  
 dhyā rīṣatāyur gantoḥ | iti | preddho agne<sup>940</sup> ity ete  
 catarbhir juhuyāt | preddho agne didihi puro no 'jasrayā  
 sūryā yaviṣṭha | tvām śaśvanta upa yanti vājāḥ | sapta  
 te agne samidhaḥ sapta jihvāḥ<sup>941</sup> sapta ṛṣayaḥ sapta dhāma  
 priyāni | sapta hotrāḥ saptadhā tvā yojanti sapta yonir  
 āprnasva ghr̥tena svāhā | yan me manasaś chidram yad vāco  
 yac<sup>942</sup> ca me hr̥daḥ<sup>943</sup> | ayam devo brhaspatiḥ sam tat  
 siñcatu rādhasā<sup>944</sup> | mamā 'gne varca<sup>945</sup> ity eka- 'gnidhriyaś ced  
 anugacched gārhapatyāt prāṇya mamā 'gne varca iti śaḍbhir

<sup>922</sup> Ap. Ś. 14. 33. 2; das Zitat ist in der Wiedergabe der Mss. völlig  
 korrumpiert; es lesen BOD: dhartri dharitri janitriti amitriti haritry  
 adharitri janitry amitriti janitri hanitriti <sup>923</sup> BD brahmātaḥ;  
 AC brahmātra; korrumpiert! <sup>924</sup> ABCD svaraso <sup>925</sup> A

brūyuh B stāyur. <sup>926</sup> A 'tyotpate B 'tyo 'nro C tyomte; 1:

'patyo 'tpate? <sup>927</sup> Vom Erlöschen der Opferfeuer handelt zu- <sup>928</sup> RV.

sammenhängend K. Ś. 25. 3. 1 folg.; cf. oben 1. 5; 2. 7. <sup>929</sup> RV.

7. 1. 1; Ap. 14. 16. 1. <sup>930</sup> C 'pīṣā; A 'pīte B 'mīti D 'pi <sup>931</sup> Kauś. S.

<sup>932</sup> C etayiva <sup>933</sup> cf. oben 2. 7; 5. 4. <sup>934</sup> A nte

108. 2; dagegen Ap. a. a. O.; agninā 'gnih samidhyate <sup>935</sup> A nte

<sup>936</sup> RV. 1. 89. 8; Ap. 14. 16. 1. Von dieser Eventualität scheinen auch

Brahm. Pray. Bl. 114 a zu handeln (durch Korruption fast völlig unver- <sup>937</sup> RV. 1. 89. 6, 7, 9. <sup>938</sup> C viś-

ständlich geworden). <sup>939</sup> RV. 1. 89. 6, 7, 9. <sup>940</sup> C viś-

vatejaḥ <sup>941</sup> A jamayaḥ <sup>942</sup> RV. 7. 1. 3. <sup>943</sup> VS. 17. 79.

<sup>944</sup> AC yat evagne hr̥daḥ B yas tv agne hr̥daḥ <sup>945</sup> ABCD rādhasa

<sup>946</sup> AV. 5. 3. 1.



juhuyāt | auttaravedikāś<sup>943</sup> ced anugacchec chālāmukhiyāt  
 prāṇye 'mo agna<sup>944</sup> iti trayodaśabhir juhuyāt | imo agne vita-  
 tamāni havyājasro vakṣi devatātim achā prati na tū surabhini  
 vyantu | sapta te agne samidho<sup>945</sup> | yan me manasaś chi-  
 draṃ<sup>946</sup> | mamā 'gne varca<sup>947</sup> iti juhuyāt | paśuśrapanaś ced  
 anugacched auttaravedikāt prāṇya tvaṃ no agne<sup>948</sup> sa tvaṃ  
 na<sup>949</sup> iti sarvaprāyaścittam hutvā | yady ukhyo<sup>950</sup> 'nugacchet  
 punaḥ punaḥ prajvālya || 1 || kāyamāno vanā tvaṃ<sup>951</sup> yan mātṛ  
 ajagann apah | na tat te agne pramrṣe nivartanam yad  
 dūre sann ihā 'bhavaḥ | yās te agna ādrū yonayo yāḥ ku-  
 lāyiniḥ<sup>952</sup> | ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayaḥ | yās te agne

<sup>943</sup> cf. Āśv. Prāy. 11a: varuṇapraghāseṣv auttaravedikasyā 'gner dak-  
 ṣiṇa-vihāraṣṭhasya vā nāśe śālāmukhāt prāṇya pūrvoktāṃ prāyaścittam  
 kuryāt | („pūrvokta“ a. den Schluß des im Ma. unmittelbar vorhergehenden  
 Passus Ann. 784 Cit. 2) nā 'trā 'nvādhānaṃ | śālāmukhiyā 'nvādhāna-vya-  
 tirekeṇa pṛthag anvādhānasya pūrvam ananusthānāt | na caivam anvā-  
 hita-prāyaścittam na syād iti vācyaṃ | anvāhita-śālāmukhiyāt prāṇitvena  
 dvayor apy anvāhitatvāt | anvāhita-śālāmukhiyā-nāśe tu purāṇa-gārha-  
 patyāt tam prāṇya pūrvoktāṃ prāyaścittam kṛtvā 'nvādhānādi kuryāt |

<sup>944</sup> RV. 7. 1. 18.

<sup>945</sup> VS. 17. 79.

<sup>946</sup> Āp. 14. 16. 1. 17. 1.

<sup>947</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4.

<sup>948</sup> AV. 20. 98. 2.

<sup>949</sup> Des in anderen

Traktaten häufig erwähnten Ausgehens des dakṣiṇāgni gedenkt unser  
 Text nicht; s. z. B. Āśv. Prāy. 9b: anvādhāna-nantaram dakṣiṇāgni-nāśe  
 śuciḥ bhūtvā vihāraṃ praviśya gārhapatyam tam prāṇya prāṇān āyama  
 dakṣiṇāgni-nāśe-nimittam prāśayec cittaṃ (l.: 'nimitta-prāyaścittam)  
 kariṣya iti samkalpya gārhapatyē smṛtavad ājyam samakṛtya sruk-sruvaṃ  
 nistapya sammrjya sruci caturgrhītaṃ grhītvā 'havanīye samidham  
 ādhāya juhōti | mano jyōtir juṣatām ājyam (A. Ś. 2. 5. 14) haviṣa ghṛtēna  
 svāhā | manase jyōtiṣa idam na mama (gemeint: AV. 18. 2. 2?) | sāṃgatā-  
 sidhyaribham ekāṃ sruvāhotim juhuyāt | bhār bhuvah evaḥ svāhā | tato  
 viṣṇu-smaranam | adhvaryu-sannidhan sa eva survaṃ kuryāt | samkalpam  
 tyāgam ca yajamānaḥ | viṣṇu-smaranam abhayaḥ | aṣṭikājye sati na  
 smṛtavad ājyu-samakarāḥ | aṣṭi-sammārge sati na punaḥ patra-sammārge  
 ity uktam prayaścitta-candrikāyam | tato dakṣiṇāgneḥ paścād ārdhvaṃ  
 jānu(r) upaviśya mahyam yajante (AV. 5. 3. 4) ity ādi tātri (?) kṣāṭhāny  
 ādhāya vyāhṛtibhir upasthānam kuryāt | evam anvāhita-'havanīya-nāśe  
 'pl |; ibid. 10a folg. findet sich eine Sühnezeremonie 'gārhapatyā-dakṣiṇā-  
 'gnyor nāśe"; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 12b: dakṣiṇāgny-anugamanam (l.: 'no)  
 tūṣṇin gārhapatyāt prāṇya bhār ity upasthānādi samānam | homa tu (?)  
 āhavanīye ta[t]-tud-agnau vā sruva-prāyaścittam tu (?) āhavanīya eva |  
 ity anvāhita-prāyaścittam | ibid. 13a: atha dakṣiṇāgner anugatiḥ | anu-  
 gatam dakṣiṇāgnim utpādeṣyisvām ti samkalpya yonitāḥ praṇayet | tata  
 āhavanīye 'gnaye tapasvate janadvate pūvakavate svāhe ti pūnāhutim  
 juhuyāt |

<sup>950</sup> RV. 3. 9. 2.

<sup>951</sup> M. S. 2. 7. 15. 98. 11; Āp.

15. 17. 5.



tanva ūrjo nāma tābhiḥ tvam ubhayibhiḥ samvidānaḥ śatam cinvānas tanvā niśidata | śakam hi śucinā śuciḥ<sup>952</sup> prasasta kratunā 'jani | vidvān<sup>953</sup> asya vrata dhruvā vaya<sup>954</sup> ivā 'nurohata ity<sup>954</sup> ādhāya samidham kṛṣṇām dadyād | vāso-yugam<sup>955</sup> dhenum<sup>956</sup> vā | yady ukhā vā<sup>956</sup> bhidyeta tair eva kapālāḥ samcītyā 'nyām kṛtvā syūta devebhir amṛtenā<sup>957</sup> gā<sup>957</sup> ukhām svasāram adhi vedim asthāt satyam pūrvair ṛsibhiḥ cakupāno<sup>958</sup> | agniḥ pravidvān iha tat karotu | stavādejarudharanamadrir<sup>959</sup> ity anumantrayet<sup>960</sup> | vasativaris<sup>961</sup> cet skandeyuh<sup>962</sup> prthivi vibhūvari<sup>963</sup> 'ti | cālyakam<sup>964</sup> cety<sup>964</sup> āvṛte | namas te bhuvo viśva[m] tad grhitvā mānda vāśa<sup>965</sup> iti catasṛbhir āgnidhrye juhuyāt | mānda vāśāḥ śundhyūr ajirāḥ | undatīḥ suphenāḥ jyotiṣmatis tamasvatir | mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭrā iha māvata | vṛṇo aśvasya samdānam asi vṛṣṭyai tvo 'panahyāmi | devā vasavā agne indra sūrya<sup>966</sup> | devā udno datto 'dadhīm bhintta divas pa-

<sup>952</sup> RV. 2. 5. 4; Āp. 16. 15. 7.

<sup>953</sup> C viddhā ārtvijyā

dhruvā vrata

<sup>954</sup> Das Zitat ist in den Mes. sehr korumpiert. AC lesen statt: 'rohate ity: 'rohasaty; B 'rohasity

<sup>955</sup> AC

'yugam dhenu BD 'gām dhenum

<sup>956</sup> A lūst vā aus.

<sup>957</sup> M. S.

2. 7. 16. Āp. 16. 26. 6.

<sup>958</sup> AD cā kūr्याn; B cākūr्या C cā kūr्याm;

gemeint ist wohl die Fassung von K. Ś. 30. 3.

<sup>959</sup> Infolge seiner

Korruption für mich nicht identifizierbar. BD: stavādejarudhīramadrir C wie B, nur: stadeja

<sup>960</sup> A 'yeta

<sup>961</sup> A 'variyaś

<sup>962</sup> Āśv.

Prāy. 13a erwähnen einen in der Opferpraxis sicherlich sehr häufig auftretenden analogen Fall: prañītanām prokṣṇānām cā 'mbuskandane samprāve vā...

<sup>963</sup> K. Ś. 35. 3; Āp. 14. 17. 3.

<sup>964</sup> Durch Kor-

ruption unverständlich geworden. Statt des ca-Lautes vielleicht (mit A) va zu lesen; D statt dessen sinvaly urupdha ity

<sup>965</sup> Ap. Ś. 14. 18. 1.

<sup>966</sup> TS. 2. 4. 8. 1. Das Zitat, wohl aus abweichender Rezension hervorgegangen, ist verunstaltet; A liest: māndā vāśasandubhejirā undatī suphedāḥ | jyotiṣmatis tamasvatir mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭra ihamāvataḥ | vṛṣṭyam samdānam asi vṛṣṭye tvo 'panahyāmi | devā vasavo 'gūi sūryo tro danuo dadhibhurdivasparjanyaṇḍamtarikā samudrāt tato no vṛṣṇyāvan | devām yujo mitravarunaryamā śakra tadevātsavitāyāhāyā tamṛannapām nārāṇapohnodatto dadhikimā divāḥ syur janyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyavum iti

BO māndāvāśā śrudhyā (? C śrudhyā) iṣa bhejirāṇḍamudūḥ suphetāḥ | jyotiṣmatis tamasvatir mitrabhṛtā kṣatrabhṛtā svarāṣṭra ity amāvata | vṛṇo (C 'vṇo) aśvasya samdānam asi vṛṣṭyai (C vṛṣṇyau) tvopanahyāmi | devatā vasavo agna (C āgna) indrasūryo hnodatto (nho-) dadhimbhī | divas phū(syū)-rjanyaḍ amtarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyavat | devā yujo mitravarunāryamā yuktam (C flūgt no ein) devāḥ amtarikṣā apām napat tanūnapām nārāṇapmo 'hnodatto dadhimbhī (C dadhimdibhī) diva sparjanyaḍ amtarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṇyāvān iti

rjanyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vr̥ṣṭyā 'vata | deva yujo  
 mitrāvaruṇā 'ryamā yuktam devāḥ sapitayo apām napat tanū-  
 nāpān naraśamṣa udno datto 'dadhim bhintta divas parjanyād  
 antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vr̥ṣṭyā 'vate 'ti | pravṛttāś cet  
 syuḥ samāsincantv<sup>967</sup> iti sameñcen<sup>968</sup> | nivṛttāś cet syur apām  
 ūrmi<sup>969</sup> 'ti gr̥hītvā śaḍbhir ābhavanti juhuyād | indriyāṇān  
 madintamas tam vo mā 'va kramiṣam | achinnam tantum  
 prthivyā anu geṣam<sup>970</sup> iti hutvā || 2 || abhivṛṣṭe<sup>971</sup> some dyauḥ  
 ca tvā prthivi ca śṛṇtām antarikṣam ca | indur indum avāgād  
 imdor imdro 'pat<sup>972</sup> | yajñāś ca tvā vāyus ca śṛṇtām ahaś ca  
 tvā rātriś ca śṛṇtām darśaś ca tvā paurnamasaś ca śṛṇtām  
 yajñāś ca tvā dakṣiṇa ca śṛṇtām dakṣaś ca tvā mānasaś ca  
 śṛṇtām arkaś ca tvā 'śvamedhaś ca śṛṇtām | . . . . ś ca  
 tvā . . . .<sup>973</sup> imdur indum upāgāt<sup>974</sup> sāyame so ma<sup>975</sup> bhūt  
 sarva<sup>976</sup> tasya<sup>976</sup> ta<sup>976</sup> imdāv<sup>976</sup> | indrapitasyo 'pahūtasyo  
 'pahūto bhakṣayāmi<sup>977</sup> 'ty abhimṛṣṭasya<sup>978</sup> bhakṣayet | saso-  
 mam cec camasam sadasi stotreṇā 'bhyupākuryād dhiraṇya-  
 garbhaś tad<sup>979</sup> it<sup>979</sup> padam<sup>979</sup> iti<sup>979</sup> dvābhyām<sup>979</sup> juhuyat<sup>980</sup> |  
 tad it padam na viciketa vidvān<sup>981</sup> yan<sup>982</sup> mṛtaḥ<sup>982</sup> punar apy  
 eti jivān | pravṛtta<sup>983</sup> ca sthali syāt<sup>983</sup> trivṛd yad bhuvanasya  
 rathavṛj jivo garbho na mṛtasya jivat svāhe 'ty | anyāś ced<sup>984</sup>  
 āgrāyanād<sup>984</sup> gr̥hītyād<sup>984</sup> āgrāyanāś<sup>985</sup> ced upadasyed āgrā-  
 yanād gr̥hītyād grahebhyo<sup>986</sup> vā 'hṛtya<sup>987</sup> śakra-dhruvan<sup>988</sup>

<sup>967</sup> Gemeint ist AV. 7. 33. 1.

<sup>968</sup> AD saipvam

B āipvaṣi C saipgnicāṣi

<sup>969</sup> AV. 20. 28. 4; Vait.

31. 22.

<sup>970</sup> Ap. Ś. 10. 19. 10.

<sup>971</sup> A abhivṛṣṭa

<sup>972</sup> K. S. 35. 11; Ap. 14. 29. 2.

<sup>973</sup> die Mes. geben nur diese Silben

als Rest des Textfragments; AD śrutvā

<sup>974</sup> MS. 3. 6. 15.

<sup>975</sup> BCD

somā <sup>976</sup> A: (somas) tat savita imdāvah |

BC ('mā) bhūt sarva tasya

ta imdāv | D bhūḥ tat savitasya ta

<sup>977</sup> vgl. V. S. 38. 28.

<sup>978</sup> l.: abhivṛṣṭasya?

<sup>979</sup> BC aditidvābhyām

<sup>980</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 23 a:

cec camasam abhyupākuryāt (?) hiraṇyagarbha ity āgnidhṛtye pūrnāhutim

juhuyāt . . . . [Comm.] yadi sadasy avasthitaṁ camasam abhyupākuryāt (?)

hiraṇyagarbha ity . . . . . <sup>981</sup> TR 3. 7. 10. 6.

<sup>982</sup> A: yad amṛtaḥ

B yan mṛtaḥ C yan ataḥ

<sup>983</sup> Diese und die inzwischengeschalteten

Worte fehlen bei BCD; statt ca line A va; cf. AP 37. 19. 1

yasya 'śamāpte

karmāny upapātram pravṛtitate

<sup>984</sup> hinter ced etwa: upadasyed

zu ergänzen. A anyāścāgrāyanāhṛītyād B anyāś cendragrāyanād gr̥-

hītyād C anyāś cedāgrāyanāś gr̥hītyād; vgl. K. S. 25. 12. 25. folg.

<sup>985</sup> BC nāc

<sup>986</sup> ABC gr̥hebhyo

<sup>987</sup> ABC 'hṛtya cf. Brahm.

Prāy. 82 a: yady āgrāyanāś skandeyur upa vā dasyed itarehiyo grahebhyo

nirgr̥hītyāt | . . . yadi 'tare grāhā skandeyur upa vā dasyeyur puro grāya

spo nirgr̥hītyāt.

<sup>988</sup> A dhruvo



varjam | ā tvā jajñasye<sup>989</sup> 'ti catarbhir juhuyād | ā tvā  
 jajñasya ramhyā[t] suśvāṇaḥ pavate sutah | pratnāni pāti kā-  
 vyaḥ | goṣa<sup>990</sup> indo nṛṣā asy āsvasā vājasā uta<sup>990</sup> | pratnāni  
 pāti kāvyaḥ | devānām deva<sup>991</sup> iti dve | dhruvaś ced upadasyet  
 pravṛtta cet sthāli syād vasavas tvā "dis tarpayantu rudrās tvā  
 tarpayantu | ādityās tvā tarpayantv ity utsrjya dhruvā dyaur<sup>992</sup>  
 ity abhimantrya dhruvam<sup>993</sup> dhruvene<sup>994</sup> 'ti grhitvā "yurdā asi  
 dhruva iti catarbhir agnidhrye juhuyāt | āyurdā asi dhruva  
 āyur me dāḥ<sup>995</sup> svāhā | varcodā asi dhruvo varco me dāḥ  
 svāhā | tejodā asi dhruvas tejo me dāḥ svāhā | sahodā asi  
 dhruvaḥ saho me dāḥ svāhā | grāvni<sup>996</sup> śirṣe<sup>996</sup> dyotānasya<sup>996</sup>  
 mārutasya brahmasāmena stuvirann<sup>997</sup> ity eke bhakṣanīyam<sup>998</sup>  
 uparaveṣv apinayet | 3 | apidagdhe<sup>999</sup> some kṛtāmtvād<sup>1000</sup>  
 upakrameranyam<sup>1001</sup> vacanāt<sup>1002</sup> | japtvā purā dvādaśya<sup>1003</sup>  
 punar<sup>1004</sup> dikṣāvāntādviti<sup>1005</sup> | tatra tā dadyād<sup>1006</sup> yāḥ<sup>1007</sup>  
 kasyai tvā<sup>1008</sup> dāsyā<sup>1008</sup> bhavati | tathai 'vai 'nām<sup>1009</sup> rtvijo<sup>1009</sup>  
 yajayeyur<sup>1009</sup> | yady ākrīta-somam<sup>1010</sup> apahareyur<sup>1011</sup> anyāḥ<sup>1012</sup>  
 kṛitavyo | yadi kṛito<sup>1013</sup> naṣṭaḥ<sup>1014</sup> syāt sā nityā 'bhiṣi-  
 cyo | rājā-hāra<sup>1015</sup> iti kimcid devam<sup>1016</sup> | tenā 'sya sa

<sup>989</sup> RV. 9. 6. 8. ACD atvāyasyeti B atmāyājñāsceti <sup>990</sup> RV. 9. 2. 10;  
 fehlt bei B. <sup>991</sup> Kauś. S. 74. 12. <sup>992</sup> AV. 6. 88. 1; Āp. 14. 27. 7.  
<sup>993</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>994</sup> AV. 6. 87. 3; Āp. 14. 27. 7. <sup>995</sup> Āp. 14. 27. 6;  
 S. Ś. 4. 12. 10. <sup>996</sup> A gnāhi śirṣe rghotāsyā BC grāvni śirṣe  
 dyotā asya; D dhyātā asya <sup>997</sup> A stuviram <sup>998</sup> ABCD  
 \*yām <sup>999</sup> A apidagve BCD apidagdham <sup>1000</sup> A kṛte tā  
 B kṛtām tvā C vṛtām tvā?; I wahrscheinlich: kṛtāmtvād <sup>1001</sup> Brahm.  
 Prāy. 25 a: yadi rājā 'bhidāhyeta grahān adhvaryu[h] spāśayeta stotrāny  
 udgātā śastrāni hotā 'tha [a]dhvar[yur] yajñam sa[m]bhṛtyā purva cestu-  
 ramp. . . . Bl. 96 b folg.: yadi rājā 'bhidāhyeta krayāt prāg dukṣipakalāt  
 sarveṣv eva 'yadhiṣṭa prāptam kāmam vipracārād eka icchanti <sup>1002</sup> BD  
 cavanām; zu diesem völlig verderbten Passus scheint Äsv. 6. 8. 1 parallel  
 zu sein. <sup>1003</sup> A \*dāśā <sup>1004</sup> A punad B puna <sup>1005</sup> A  
 'ddhiti A wiederholt: tatra krameranyam vacanāt japtvā purā dāśā pu-  
 naddikṣāvāddhiti; s. K. Ś. 25. 14. 30. <sup>1006</sup> B drdyād <sup>1007</sup> fehlt  
 bei BCD <sup>1008</sup> A tvasya tad; zu verbessern nach K. Ś. 25. 14. 31.  
<sup>1009</sup> AD tayaivānā rtvir yajayeyur B tathaiiva nām rtvijo ryayajñeyur  
 C wie B; nur: ryajaya <sup>1010</sup> A 'krītaḥ so' <sup>1011</sup> AC upa'  
<sup>1012</sup> BC anya AD anyatra <sup>1013</sup> A kṛitām yo BCD kṛitavyo <sup>1014</sup> BC  
 ceṣṭa AD neṣṭa <sup>1015</sup> D rājohāra <sup>1016</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 82 a:  
 cet kṛitām apahareyur iti yasya kṛyena 'bhisambandhaḥ(?) upariṣṭā  
 somagrahanāt . . . dvau somaprakāraṇa haimavato 'sau javanakha tatra  
 haimavate (?) alohita-varṇako manjavato babhruvarṇakah | . . . manja-  
 vatasā 'pahare kecit haimavata āhartavya tam abhiṣuṇuyāt | . . . cf. K. Ś.



parikrito bhavati | yadi somam na vindeyuh pütikān abhiṣu-  
nuyur<sup>1017</sup> | yadi nā pütikān arjunāny<sup>1018</sup> atha<sup>1019</sup> ya<sup>1020</sup>  
eva kās cau 'śadhīr āhṛtyā 'bhiṣunuyuh<sup>1021</sup> | pañcadakṣiṇam  
kratun samsthāpayeyur ekadakṣiṇam vā | yena yajñena kama-  
yeta tena yajeta | [ajtra yat kāmayeta tatra tad dadyāt | prā-  
tāḥsavanāc cet kalaśo vidīryeta vaiṣṇaviṣu śipiviṣṭavatiṣu tṛeā<sup>1022</sup>  
stūyur<sup>1023</sup> | (mādhyamdinaś cet<sup>1024</sup> pavamāne sa-mādhyam-  
dināt<sup>1025</sup> pavamānā<sup>1026</sup>) yadi mādhyamdinaś<sup>1027</sup> 'rbhavya<sup>1028</sup>  
pavamānasya purastād vaṣaṭ-kāra-nidhanam sāma<sup>1029</sup> ku-  
ryād | yadi tṛtīya-savana etad<sup>1030</sup> eva<sup>1031</sup> 4 || bhūmir bhū-  
mim agāu<sup>1032</sup> mātā mātaram apy agāt | rāhyasma putraiḥ  
pasubhir yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām iti | yan mātṛikam  
bhidyeta<sup>1033</sup> tadā 'po gamayet<sup>1034</sup> tathaiṣa dārumayam ya  
rte cid abhiṣṛiṣa<sup>1035</sup> ity etayā 'labhya 'bhīmantrayate |

25. 12. 17 folg. Dem āloḥita entspricht hier vollständig avyaktarāga-  
puṣpāni trāṇāni. Als Surrogate werden genannt (der Stufenfolge nach  
eins für das andere) śyenahrta, pütika, ādāra, arupadūrva, haritakuṣa; die  
Schilderung dieser Pflanzen ist von Wichtigkeit. <sup>1017</sup> Wörtlich gleich  
PB 9. 5. 3; cf. Āsv. 6. 8. 5 f.; Brahm. Prāy. 83 a; K. Ś. 25. 12. 18; Pet. Wb.  
u. pratinidhi: soma-bhavo bhavet pūtidhiḥ pratinidhāv uta | <sup>1018</sup> A  
arjunānairthāya B arjunānairthāya C arjunānairthāya D arjunānairthāya  
<sup>1019</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 83 a: yadi nā pütikān atha 'rjunāni yadi nā pütika-  
trāṇāni ca vinde[ti] tata abhiṣunuyād iti varitāte lohita-tulāni haima-  
vatasya sthāne haimavato lohita-kūra iti bhāvah . . . manjavatsasthāne  
bahhrutūlāny arjunāni varitāte . . . yadi nā 'rjunāni nā vinde[ti] ity  
varitāte ca ea (?) yā kās co 'śadhīr āhṛtyā darbhakā ādikā abhiṣunuyāt soma-  
vikrayiṇā ca kimpid dadyād iti . . . 93 a gedenkt noch des Falles: dropa-  
kalaśo cet somam na vinde[ti] skanded (?) upadāyad (?) vā . . . tad dhi-  
rāgya[m] rjīṣe 'py asya prakṣipyā 'bhiṣunuyād . . . <sup>1020-1021</sup> cf. unten  
6. 6; statt tṛeā erwarten wir rjīṣu <sup>1022</sup> B cī C cit <sup>1023</sup> A  
'dinā BC dināt <sup>1024</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>1025</sup> 'dina  
ārbha\* wäre grammatisch richtig. <sup>1026</sup> A sama B samāna  
C samā me <sup>1027</sup> fehlt bei C <sup>1028</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 87 a: (yadi  
mādhyamdine grāvā śīryate [cf. oben 6. 3] . . .) yadi prātāḥsavane  
kalaśo dīryeta vaṣaṭkārānidhanam . . . . . ekasmin dārumaye kalaśo  
dropakalāśa iti prayoga . . . . . etejām astānām yadi kās cid dīryeta . . .  
87 b [ganz verderbt]: yadi prātāḥsavane dropakalāśam kalaśo dīryeta  
'bhīmarānakāle tatra somasūrya 'tmin pātre samāvapati ya tṛtīya (?)  
sthānā[ti] tu kṛtv 'dgātṛbhiḥ prahitaṃ samumṛjyam avasthāpya tasmin  
somam avanayet . . . . . <sup>1029</sup> Āp. 3. 20. 9; 9. 16. 2. <sup>1030</sup> cf.  
Āp. 9. 16. 2 f.; Āsv. 3. 14. 12; cf. oben 3. 7—8. <sup>1031</sup> A yogamayait  
BC yo maye; D yo gamayet <sup>1032</sup> AV. 14. 2. 47; vgl. K. Ś.  
25. 5. 29 f. und unten Note 1147.

sarvatra śrīne bhinne naṣṭe 'nyam kṛtvā punar mai 'tv indriyam<sup>1023</sup> ity ādadita<sup>1024</sup> | bahiṣpavamānam cet sarpatām<sup>1025</sup> prastotā vichidyeta brahmane varam dattvā tatas tam eva punar vṛṇiyād | yad udgātā vichidyeta sarvavedasa-dakṣiṇena yajñena yajetai | 'vam sarveṣām vichinnānām sarpatām ekai-kasmin kuryād | dyauṣ ca ma indraṣ ca me<sup>1026</sup> | tantum tanvan<sup>1027</sup> | mā pragāma patho vayam<sup>1028</sup> iti | śāstrāc<sup>1029</sup> cec chastram anuṣaṃsan<sup>1030</sup> vyāpadyeta mā<sup>1031</sup> pragāma patho vayam<sup>1032</sup> iti pañcabhir juhuyād | rāthamtarām cet stūyamānam<sup>1033</sup> vyāpadyeta samyag digbhya<sup>1034</sup> iti dvābhyām juhuyād<sup>1035</sup> | yavā-'dīnām avapannānām<sup>1036</sup> vyāvṛttānām uttarāsām<sup>1037</sup> yathāliṅgam dvābhyām juhuyān | nārāṣaṃsā(d) unnetād<sup>1038</sup> upadasyeran<sup>1039</sup> ayam no agnir adhyakṣa<sup>1040</sup> iti dvābhyām pāñnejanyāś ced upadasyet samāsincant<sup>1041</sup> it isamsincet | 5 | atha ced dhutā-'hutau somau pītā-'pītau vā samsrjeyātām<sup>1042</sup> yajñasya hi stha ṛtvijā<sup>1043</sup> gavimdrāgni kalpatā yuvam hutā 'hutasya cā 'syā yasye 'ndrāgnivitam pibata ghṛtam imām ghṛtam iti dvābhyām juhuyāt | prāṭhasavanāc<sup>1044</sup> cet<sup>1045</sup> kalaśo<sup>1046</sup> vidiryeta vaiṣṇavatīṣu<sup>1047</sup> śipiviṣṭavatīṣu gaurivītena stūyuh<sup>1048</sup> | samāna-janapadau cet somau samsavau syātām pūrvo

1023 Kauś. 9. 2.

1024 AD 'dbita; K. Ś. 25. 6. 1 folg. lehrt

die Entstehungsgeschichte irdener Gefäße in interessanter Weise.

1025 ABC sarpatāām.

1026 TS. 4. 7. 6. 2.

1027 RV.

10. 53. 6; Āp. 9. 8. 7.

1028 AV. 13. 1. 59.

1029 A

śāstrāṃ

1030 AC 'sa B 'sam

1031 Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D.

1032 AB 'sūya'

1033 BC samādigbhya AD samādiya; cf. Paipp. S. 15. 1.

1034 A

āpavannānām B āpannānām C āpannānām

1035 A uttarāsām

C uttasasām; l. uttarābhyām?

1036 l. unnitā? cf. K. Ś. 25. 12. 11;

vgl. Brahm. Prāy. 89 a: yadi nārāṣaṃsā upadasyeyuh yaṃ yaṃ hamanu-

patiṣṭheta tasya bindum avanayet

1037 Kauś. 89. 13.

1038 Gemeint

ist jedenfalls AV. 7. 33. 1; cf. Āp. 7. 17. 1: samāñ avantu payasā |

1039 Brahm. Prāy. 90 a (ganz korrupt): yadi hutāhutātopapītau va somau

samsrjeyātām antaparidhy amgarā dakṣiṇāho hy ahutaṣye 'ti juhuyāt

yadi hṛtād hṛte hute ['hute pītārupīti apītād vā 'pī 'ti samsargo bhavet

tam yat samsarṣe 'dam tataḥ paridhy amgarām dakṣiṇā 'po hyu 'hutasya

ce 'ti juhuyāt

1040 cf. RV. 8. 38. 1; (Text nach BC); hinter ṛtvijā

liest A: gavimdrāgnivitam pibata ghṛtam imām ghṛtam taṃ pibata

ghṛtam imām ghṛtam

1041 ABC 'vanam

1042 D ca tad

1043 B 'se; vgl. K. Ś. 25. 12. 22.

1044 ABC 'vīṣu cf. 6. 4

1045 Brahm.

Prāy. 103 b folg. behandeln in überaus korrupter Form das gleiche oder

ein ähnliches Thema: yadi prāṭhasavanavesomer ity etāsti so somo iya

stuta iti marutvatīṣu gāyatṛeṇa stūyuh | ..... yadi madhyandine somā



'gnim<sup>1056</sup> parigrhñiyāt<sup>1056</sup> pūrvo devatāḥ parigrhñiyāt | nā 'tirā-  
 trya<sup>1057</sup> prātar-anuvākam upākuryād | abhiṣṭavyā 'tha<sup>1058</sup> sam-  
 veśayo<sup>1059</sup> 'paveśaya gāyatryai chandase 'bhibhūtyai svāhe<sup>1060</sup> 'ti  
 purastāt prātaranuvākasya juhuyāt | trisṭubha<sup>1061</sup> iti mādhyam-  
 dine<sup>1062</sup> vidviṣāṇayoḥ samsavāv<sup>1063</sup> iti vijnāyate<sup>1064</sup> | savaniyā-  
 'nantaram agnaye yaviṣṭhāyā śākāpālām ity āhavanīye<sup>1065</sup> ma-  
 had<sup>1066</sup> abhyādadhīyāt<sup>1067</sup> | sambhāraṇām caturbhīḥ caturbhīḥ  
 pratidiṣaṃ juhuyād | uttamam<sup>1068</sup> agnīdhīrye somabhāga[m] brāh-  
 maṇeṣu śamse[t]<sup>1067</sup> | vajraṇām śyenaviṣāṇasya<sup>1068</sup> ca phatkāra-  
 prabhṛty<sup>1069</sup> anujāñiyāt | sarveṣu cā 'bhicārikeṣu samsdikṣitāṇām  
 ca vyāvartteta 'gneran brāhmaṇaḥ<sup>1070</sup> procyā jivā nāma sthā  
 tā imam jivet(v)o<sup>1071</sup> | 'pajivā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta |  
 jivikā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta samjiveta | jivālā nāma sthā  
 tā imam jiveta samjiveta | samjivikā nāma sthā tā imam  
 jive(s)t(v)e | 'ty<sup>1072</sup> apah<sup>1072</sup> paribṛuyāt<sup>1072</sup> | tāsām udag-  
 arvāk<sup>1073</sup> kuryād | upāśv-antaryāmanau<sup>1074</sup> ca cet te<sup>1074</sup> prāṇā-  
 pānau<sup>1074</sup> pātām | upāśv-savanas te vyānaṃ pātu | śrotram cā  
 'śvīnau pātām | daksakratū te mitrāvaruṇau pātām | stana ity  
 rtupātre<sup>1075</sup> | atmānaṃ ta āgravaṇaḥ pātṛ | aṅgāni ca ta ukthyaḥ  
 pātṛ | āyus te dhruvaḥ pātu | viryam te lakṣmīḥ pātṛ iti juhu-

'tiridhīyati . . . vñy mahāsti sūrye 'ty adityavatiṣṭu gauriviteṇa sapte  
 sūryaḥ | yadi tritīyasavane somo tiricyeta viṣṇo śipivistavatiṣṭu gaurivatena  
 sāmno s[ti]yuyā . . . yady atirātravistavatiṣṭu viṣṇo bṛhatā stavya yady  
 atirātrād itiricyati viṣṇo śipivistavatiṣṭu vahanāśāstrādayaḥ | vgl. K. Ś.  
 25. 13. 6 folg.

<sup>1056</sup> ACD gnir grhñiyāt B gnir grhñiyā. Vgl.  
 K. Ś. 25. 14. 8 folg.; P. B. 9. 4. 2.

<sup>1057</sup> A tāni rātryāḥ B tāni  
 rātryā C tāni rātryāt

<sup>1058</sup> A abhiṣṭavyarthē BC atisṭavyātha  
 D iti bhiṣṭavyātha

<sup>1059</sup> C samsesātho B samsētyo D samsveśayo  
<sup>1060</sup> P. B. 9. 4. 6.

<sup>1061</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>1062</sup> ACD  
 \*denā D \*nevā

<sup>1063</sup> A samavov; BCD samāvāv; zu ergänzen hinter  
 mādhyamdine: samsveśayo 'paveśaya gāyatryai chandase 'bhibhūtyai svāhe

'ti tritīya-savane; l. sodaṇ: nānā-vidviṣāṇayoḥ samsava iti <sup>1064</sup> BC

'yante D jñāyante; cf. TS. 2. 2. 9. 6; trisṭubham mādhyamdinam  
 astanam <sup>1065</sup> A 'āyamahrdadhīyādadhīyāt <sup>1066</sup> A 'mamam

<sup>1067</sup> A samse B śamse B śamse <sup>1068</sup> A 'yānasya BC 'viṣānasya  
<sup>1069</sup> B vaṣatkāra OD vaṣatkārah <sup>1070</sup> CD brāhmaṇaḥ <sup>1071</sup> Ap.

14. 20. 8 in erweiterter Fassung; cf. AV. 19. 69. 2 ff.; in den Mss. kor-  
 rumpiert; vgl. Äsv. 6. 9. 1. Die Fehlerhaftigkeit des vorausgegangenen

Textes macht es schwer verständlich, daß es sich bei diesen Sprüchen  
 um die Abwehr von Krankheiten, die den dikṣita befallen haben, handelt.

<sup>1072</sup> BC, dessen Textfassung wir im übrigen gefolgt sind, liest: ity ayaḥ  
 paribṛuyāt; AD ity ayaḥ paridhiḥ bruyāt; A liest die Worte samjiveta jivālā  
 nāma bis ayaḥ pari' aus. <sup>1073</sup> A arvām B arcā C acā; l. udakartham?

<sup>1074</sup> Ap. 14. 21. 4; Äsv. 6. 9. 3; AB 'yāmo cet prā' C 'yāmanu ce prācet-  
 prācet prā' <sup>1075</sup> AB kratupātre (l.: rtu?) C rēpātre



yāt | puṣṭinā puṣṭim<sup>1076</sup> prāṇena prāṇam tejasā tejaś cakṣuṣā  
 cakṣuḥ śrotreṇa śrotam āyuṣā "yuh punar dehi 'ti sakṛd etāni  
 juhuyād brahmāṇi sūktāni | 6 | brahmā brahmapācchamṣi vai  
 "ndra-vāyavād<sup>1077</sup> graham grhīyāt<sup>1078</sup> | sa cen<sup>1079</sup> mri-  
 yetā<sup>1080</sup> 'gnibhya<sup>1081</sup> eva<sup>1082</sup> trin aṅgārān uddhṛtya dakṣiṇam  
 pāṇim<sup>1083</sup> śronim<sup>1084</sup> prati<sup>1085</sup> dagdhvā<sup>1086</sup> 'sthini<sup>1087</sup> upa-  
 dadhyus<sup>1088</sup> | tasya putram bhrātaram vo 'padikṣam<sup>1089</sup>  
 samāpnuyuh<sup>1090</sup> | sa cen mriyetā 'gnibhya eva trin aṅgārān  
 uddhṛtya dakṣiṇam pāṇim śronim pratitapyai 'va dagdhvā<sup>1091</sup>  
 hotuh<sup>1092</sup> pramukhā<sup>1093</sup> rtvijah<sup>1094</sup> prācīnāvitam kṛtvā da-  
 kṣiṇān ūrin aḥnānāḥ sarparājñinām (ūrttyā)<sup>1095</sup> kirttaya-  
 ntaḥ<sup>1096</sup> stotre<sup>1097</sup> stotre<sup>1098</sup> 'sthi-putam<sup>1099</sup> upanidadhyuh |  
 samvatsare<sup>1100</sup> 'sthiputam<sup>1101</sup> nidadhyuh<sup>1102</sup> | samvatsare  
 'sthini yāyayet | samāpte samvatsare dikṣitānām ced upadikṣeta  
 somam<sup>1103</sup> vibhajya<sup>1104</sup> viśvajitā<sup>1105</sup> 'tirātrena | yady āsvi-  
 ni[ṣu]<sup>1106</sup> śasyamānāsv<sup>1107</sup> adityam purastāt na paśyeyur āsvam  
 śvetam rukmapratihitam<sup>1108</sup> purastād avasthāpya<sup>1109</sup> sauryam  
 śvetam (g)ajam<sup>1110</sup> upālambhyam alabheta tasya<sup>1111</sup> tāny eva

<sup>1076</sup> cf. Āp. 10. 10. 6.

<sup>1077</sup> A vempdra' BGD

caimdra'

<sup>1078</sup> ACD grhṇati yāt

<sup>1079</sup> A ven C te

<sup>1080</sup> A mriyetā' C bhāyetā'

<sup>1081</sup> A 'bhya C 'bhāva <sup>1082</sup> A

'pāṇib

<sup>1083</sup> B dam CD fehlt

<sup>1084</sup> A tathaiva dagdhā

O dadhyā; L: pratidhāya; der völlig korrupte Text Brahm. Prāy. 112a gibt die gleichen Worte wieder. <sup>1085</sup> Diese und die dazwischen-  
 liegenden Worte fehlen bei A.

<sup>1086</sup> B uyannidhyus

<sup>1087</sup> D

'dikṣeraṇ

<sup>1088</sup> K. S. 25. 13. 28 folg.; dieser Satz ist zweifellos

eine Duplik des Folgenden.

<sup>1089</sup> B daśvā. C läßt dagdhvā aus.

<sup>1090</sup> B hotuh

<sup>1091</sup> CD 'kha

<sup>1092</sup> fehlt bei C

<sup>1093</sup> AD

śāyamarājñināmūrttāya B śāyamarājñināmūrttāya C śāyamarājñināmūrttāya

<sup>1094</sup> A kirttānastotre BD kirttiyāntastotre C kirttiyānastotre <sup>1095</sup> fehlt  
 bei AC.

<sup>1096</sup> AD sthipuṭa BC sthiputrim <sup>1097</sup> A 'tsarāsthipumṭha

C 'puram

<sup>1098</sup> vgl. hierzu K. S. 25. 13. 31—36.

<sup>1099</sup> A

somam avibhajya

<sup>1100</sup> K. S. 25. 10. 4 folg.

<sup>1101</sup> A āsvini

<sup>1102</sup> C 'nāstv D 'nāhv

<sup>1103</sup> ABCD chutaṇi

<sup>1104</sup> Brahm.

Prāy. 101a: yasyā 'śvine śasyamāne sūryo no 'diyād āsvam śvetam  
 rukma-pratimuktam purastāt pratyānmukham avasthāpayet kūrmeṇa pār-  
 vām avedam naimittikam abhidhīyate yasya rajamānasya 'śvina śasya-  
 māne sūryo no 'diyāt tato 'ktam udite sūryo niti tad yadi no 'dgiyāt (?)  
 tato gachet tasmin kālā sūryas tata iti naimittikam āsva śveta-rukma-  
 pratimuktam pratipūrvam ukṭābandhane ['śvavadvā rukma prapnoti  
 purastād varṣavidvatsar tasmin eva kālā sūryasapatny (?) rthasrasratam  
 mukham avasthāpayet.... <sup>1105</sup> Statt des sachlich unmöglichen  
 gajam von ABC ist vielmehr: ajam zu lesen, wie z. B. aus Brahm. Prāy.

102a hervorgeht: sauryo ja śvetam apālambhyā....

<sup>1106</sup> A tasyā

tantrāni yāni savantyasyuh purastāt samdhi camasā <sup>1107</sup>  
 "savānām <sup>1108</sup> anupradānam syād | aśvamedhe ced aśvo nā  
 "gacched āgneyo 'stākāpālā iti mrgākṣhare <sup>1109</sup> sādḍhaviṣkām <sup>1109</sup>  
 iṣṭim <sup>1109</sup> nirvaped daśa-haviṣam ity eke <sup>1110</sup> | vaḍavām ced aśvo  
 'bhiyād agnaye 'mhomuce 'stākāpālām sauryam payo <sup>1111</sup> vā-  
 yavyāv ājyabhāgau || 7 || somarūpeṣu 'kta ācāryakalpo | brā-  
 hmanam tu bhavati | trayastrimśad vai yajñasya tanva |  
 ity ekāṇa <sup>1112</sup> - trimśo <sup>1113</sup> pākāgnim <sup>1114</sup> aśvanām <sup>1115</sup> ity  
 arthalopān nirvrttiḥ | triṇi vā catur-grhitāny anuvākasye 'ty  
 ācāryā ete nityakalpāyā "rtvijetarūpayasām <sup>1116</sup> tanvām  
 arttim ārchatām cōttarām vā samdhim <sup>1117</sup> samdhāya juhuyād  
 iti taittirīyabrahmanam iṣṭvā tad-daivatyām <sup>1118</sup> edhikīyatām <sup>1119</sup>  
 arttir vidyāj jāmim puruṣavidhim māyāyā vā yajñasamba-  
 mdhinim vāc-manas-cintāyām <sup>1120</sup> prāg viharanād artāya prajā-  
 patir manasi sūrasvato vāci viṣṭāyām vidhānam dikṣāyām  
 brahmavrate svāhe 'ty etena nyāyena vājasaneyibrahmana-  
 moghena mantrāḥ <sup>1121</sup> kīptāḥ <sup>1121</sup> | prajāpataye svāhā dhātve  
 svāhā pūṣne svāhe <sup>1122</sup> 'ty | aparāhnikāś cet pravargyo 'bhyastam  
 iyāc chukro <sup>1123</sup> 'sī <sup>1124</sup> divo 'chata <sup>1125</sup> iti juhuyād vyāhṛtibhiḥ  
 ca | śvāhsutyām <sup>1126</sup> ced ahutāyām tad-ahartāv <sup>1127</sup> apaga-  
 ched <sup>1128</sup> indrāya harivata <sup>1129</sup> iti brūyād ihā 'nvicamatibhir  
 iti tierbhiḥ | prātaranuvākam ced duritam upakuryāt pra vām  
 dāmsāmsy aśvināv avocam <sup>1130</sup> iti pañcabhir juhuyāt || 8 ||  
 pra vām dāmsāmsy aśvināv avocam asya patiḥ syām sugavaḥ  
 suviraḥ | uta paśyann aśnuvan dirgham āyur astam iva 'j

<sup>1107</sup> AB vamaṣā C vamaṣā<sup>1108</sup> ABD aśvānām C aśvān<sup>1109</sup> AD mrgākṣhasamḍadhaviṣāyām iṣṭim BC mrgāravaresadḍhaviṣābhiṣṭim<sup>1110</sup> Einen allgemeinen Fall dieser Art erwähnten Brah. Pray. 73 b: yadi daivān mānśād vā pramadāt paśur upakṛtāḥ palāyeta . . . upo devān dāvir vīṣa iti darbhyaḥ (śasyā) co 'paspriti 'ti . . . dhvajā-  
 "dibhāve vātam apaniṣa vāyavyām yavāgnim nirupye 'ty anantaryam darśayati . . . <sup>1111</sup> B payo <sup>1112</sup> AD ekām us B ekānta;

cf. G. B. 2. 2. 10.

<sup>1113</sup> A triśo<sup>1114</sup> C 'kajagnimD pākāgnim <sup>1115</sup> BD 'gāyām <sup>1116</sup> C 'rupa' A 'kalparghijeta'<sup>1117</sup> A samdhit B samdhim C samdhim<sup>1118</sup> B devatyām<sup>1119</sup> BD ekīkīyati C ekīyati; beide mit der Wiederholung: tavatyā mehi-  
 yatim <sup>1120</sup> D cintānyām <sup>1121</sup> A mantra luptā;gedacht ist an VS. 8. 54, das Zitat aber deckt sich mit M. Ś. 3. 6. 2;  
 cf. Ś. B. 12. 6. 1. 3 folg. <sup>1122</sup> VS. 18. 28; 22. 32. <sup>1123</sup> ABDchakro <sup>1124</sup> AV. 2. 11. 5; 17. 1. 20. <sup>1125</sup> B deva 'chaCD divocha <sup>1126</sup> A sutyām B sutyā C sutyām <sup>1127</sup> A'ritāv B 'ritav C 'rtav <sup>1128</sup> A adhyāgached <sup>1129</sup> Ap. Ś.

13. 17. 2.

<sup>1130</sup> RV. 1. 116. 25.



jarimānam jagamyām | 1 | madhvaḥ somasyāśvinā madāya<sup>1131</sup>  
 pratno hotā vivāsate vām | barhismati rātrir viśitā gir iṣā  
 yātam nāsatyō 'pa vājaiḥ | 2 | yo vām āśvinā manaso javiṣyān  
 rathaḥ svaśvo viśa ājigāti | yena gachathaḥ sukrto duroṇam  
 tena narā vartir asmabhyam yātam | 3 || ṛṣim narāv amhasaḥ  
 pāñcājanyaṁ rbiṣād atrim mumcatho gaṇena | minantā dasyor  
 āśivasya māyā anupūrvam vṛṣanā codayamtā || 4 || āsvam na  
 gūḍham āśvinā durevair ṛṣim narā vṛṣanā rebham apsu | sam  
 tanḥ ripotho viprutam damaobhir na vām jūryanti pūrvyā  
 kṛtāni | 5 | iti | prataḥsavanam cen mādhyamdinam savanam abhy-  
 astamiyād agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastād<sup>1132</sup> iti juhuyād |  
 agnaye svāhā vasubhyaḥ svāhā gāyatriyai svāhā | mādhyamdinam  
 cet tṛtīyasavanam abhyastamiyāt somo mā rudrair dakṣiṇāyā  
 diśaḥ pātṛ<sup>1133</sup> iti juhuyāt | somāya svāhā<sup>1134</sup> rudrebhyaḥ svāhā  
 triṣṭubhe svāhā | tṛtīyasavanam ced abhyastamiyād varuṇo  
 mā 'dityaiḥ<sup>1135</sup> sūryo mā dyāvapṛthivibhyām pratiçyā diśaḥ  
 pātṛ iti juhuyād | varuṇāya svāhā 'dityebhyaḥ svāhā jagatyai  
 svāhā | ā bharatam śikṣatam vajrabāhu<sup>1136</sup> asmān indrāgni ava-  
 tam śacibhiḥ | ime nu te raśmayāḥ sūryasya yebhiḥ sapitvam  
 pitaro na āsan | indrāgnibhyām svāhe | 'ndrāviṣṇubhyām svāhā |  
 rātriparyāyās ced abhivichidyerann indrāya svāhe | 'ndrānyai  
 svāhā | chandobhyaḥ svāhā | rtvijām<sup>1137</sup> ced<sup>1138</sup> duritam upā-  
 kuryād agnaye rathamtarāya svāho | 'sase svāhā | pañktaye  
 svāhā | 'śvibhyām svāhā | mā naḥ piparid āsvine 'ti | sarvatra  
 'nājñāteṣu<sup>1139</sup> agnaye svāhā | yajñāya svāhā | brahmaṇe svāhā |  
 viṣṇave svāhā | prajāpataye svāhā | numataye svāhā | 'gnaye  
 sviṣṭakṛte svāhe 'ti | trātāram indram<sup>1140</sup> | yayor ojase<sup>1141</sup>  
 'ti çai | 'tā viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā | uktāni prāyaścittāny | athai  
 'kāgnau yatra puroḍāśa ukta<sup>1142</sup> sthālipakāma<sup>1143</sup> tatra<sup>1143</sup>  
 kuryāt | puroḍāśeṣu japair eva<sup>1144</sup> kuryāt | sarvatra chedanabhe-  
 danā 'vadāraṇa-dāhaneṣu<sup>1145</sup> 'khāsu<sup>1146</sup> somakalāsa-mahāvira-

<sup>1131</sup> RV. 1. 117. 1.<sup>1132</sup> AV. 19. 17. 1.<sup>1133</sup> AV. 19. 17. 8.<sup>1134</sup> VS. 22. 27 ff.<sup>1135</sup> AV. 19. 17. 4.<sup>1136</sup> RV. 1. 109. 7.<sup>1137</sup> B rtvijo C rtvijoe<sup>1138</sup> A ce D ca<sup>1139</sup> cf. 760; vgl.

feruer Ásv. Prāy. 18 b: anājñātāṁ yathātatham svāhā | agnāya idam |  
 puroḍā-sapṁito yajño | agnāya idam vyābṛtiḥomaṁ viṣṇumarāṇam ca  
 kuryāt |

<sup>1140</sup> AV. 7. 86. 1.<sup>1141</sup> AV.

7. 95. 1.

<sup>1142</sup> B optā (?)<sup>1143</sup> B 'kāṁsā . . .

(unklar) [kuryāt]; AC 'kāṁs tatra

<sup>1144</sup> AB aya<sup>1145</sup> A

chedanabhedanāvādāpadāhaneṣuṣṣau BU chedanāvādāraṇadāhaneṣukhāsu



yajña-bhāṇḍeṣu sarvatra śirṣe bhinne <sup>1144</sup> naste <sup>1147</sup> 'nyam kṛtvā  
punar mai 'tv indriyam <sup>1148</sup> ity ādadita | sarvatra mā no  
vidann <sup>1149</sup> ity abhayaṛ <sup>1150</sup> aparājitat <sup>1141</sup> juhuyād | abhayaṛ  
aparājitat juhuyāt || 9 || saṣṭho <sup>1152</sup> 'dhyāyaḥ <sup>1152</sup> | atha yatrai  
'tat pāṛthivam āntariksaṁ divyam devair asurair vā prayuktam  
tad adbhutam śamayaty atharvā prabhur adbhutanāṁ | so  
dūrva-'jyam <sup>1153</sup> grhitvā 'havanīye juhōti | pṛthivyaṛ śrotrāyā  
'ntariksaṛ prāpāyā vayoḥbhyo dive cakṣuṣe nakṣatrebhyāḥ  
sūryāyā 'dhipataye svāhe | ti sūtraprāyaścittis <sup>1154</sup> | tatra  
ślokaḥ |

prāyaścittānām parimāṇam na yajña upalabhyate | tasmād  
dr̥ṣṭaḥ samāso 'tra tam nibodhata yājñikāḥ |

ity atharvavedo vaitānasūtre prāyaścittaprakaraṇam <sup>1155</sup> sa-  
māptam <sup>1155</sup> |

<sup>1144</sup> Agn. Prāy. 5 b: kuthina-dravyeṣu bhedanāṁ dra(?)va-dravyeṣu  
kṣaraṇam ubhayaṛ bhūmi-gatam eva duṣṭam bhavati |; die auf die  
Erde oder ins Feuer gefallene Opfergabe ist unrein. <sup>1147</sup> Brahm.

Prāy. 109 a: ukhā yady (a)ra[vaṁ] gache[ti] (cf. oben 6. 2; vgl. AP.  
45. 2. 19) tataḥ prauḍyā . . . 'havanīye punaḥ . . . . . Bl. 107 b: yady  
ukhā 'bhībhidyaeta mahāvīro vā kapālāni cūrṇapeṣam piṣṭvā mṛdā  
saṁerjya yo dhyā . . . vitiśraya ity (vergl. oben Note 1032) ukhāṁ kṛtvā  
tathā mahāvīrya ukhāmarthavirayonulye naimittikam ity atah (?) ubhayaṛ  
abhidhyate . . . . . Bl. 108 a folg.: karma pradarsyate [yady ukhā 'bhībhi-  
dyeta] . . . . . agnīm anyasmin pātre [v]astha . . . . . pya pravṛtti[ṁ] kṛtvā  
kapālāni pūrṇapeṣam piṣṭvā mṛdā saṁerjya yatrāteradabhiśratha ity  
ukhāṁ kuryāt . . . . . pūrṇapeṣam piṣṭety evam-ādinaḥ 'dya tatedabhiśrēta  
iti . . . . . Vgl. auch Brahm. Prāy. 109 a: prāg dikṣābhyāḥ . . . yad bhi-  
dyeta . . . . . śakṛtyahutir(?) juhuyāt (?) yadi dikṣitasyo 'paramed . . . .

<sup>1148</sup> AV. 7. 67. 1.

<sup>1149</sup> AV. 1. 19. 1.

<sup>1150</sup> fehlt bei BC;

D 'bhaya

<sup>1151</sup> D parā

<sup>1152</sup> fehlt bei BC.

<sup>1153</sup> C

dūrvaṁjyam

<sup>1154</sup> D 'cittilātra

<sup>1155</sup> A prāyaścittih prasaṅge

caturdaśamo 'dhyāyah; B wie A; nur: 'citta' und hinter 'dhyāyah' 14 |  
Bei C fehlt von 'citta' an der ganze Rest; A fügt hinter 'dhyāyah' hin-  
zu: | śubham astu | siddhir astu | kalyaṇam astu | śrī-viśveśvarāya namaḥ |  
śrī-sarvavidyānidhāna-kuvādra-śārya-sarasvatīnām atharvavedo vaitā(ya)  
nasūtre prāyaścitti-prasaṅga-pustakam | B fügt hinter 14 | hinzu: śrī-  
yajña-puruṣo-ṛpaṇam astu | śrī-guru-ramadāsa-caraṇi-tat-puru-viṇu-  
nārāya devadhara | śeḥ | 1785 | randranāma-saṁvatsare mahemāgha-  
śaddha induvāra idam pustakam samāptam |; Colophon zu D a. bei  
Weber, Berl. Handschr. Cat.

*Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic.*—By TRUMAN MICHELSON. Ethnologist in the Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D. C.<sup>1</sup>

In an interesting paper (JAOS. 32, pp. 414—428) Mr. W. Petersen has discussed the general interrelations of Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic. It may be noted that he uses 'Prakrit' in the sense of 'Mittelindisch'. The following criticism is presented by the writer as he believes that Petersen has overlooked the evidence of the Asokan dialects in a number of cases.

In the discussion as to whether Prakrit is derived from Vedic or Sanskrit, it should have been mentioned that it has been demonstrated that not a single dialect of the Asokan inscriptions can be derived from either the literary Vedic or Sanskrit. See Johansson, *Sbb.* ii, § 88; Michelson, JAOS. 31, pp. 232, 241; IF. 24, p. 54; TAPA. 40, p. 26.

The position taken, that during the period of the composition of the Vedic hymns two distinct groups of Indic dialects were developed and separated by an uncrossable gulf does not seem probable by the analogy of the Asokan dialects. Johansson and the writer have made it clear that the dialect of the Shālbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions of the Fourteen Edicts (for their speech is essentially one) is far closer to Vedic or Sanskrit than the other dialects are. There is no uncrossable bridge. It can be confidently asserted that this dialect, though it has certain ear-marks of the Middle Indic stage of development, such as the assimilation of stops of one order to those of another order, yet as a whole belongs to an earlier stage of development. Now if it is not feasible to draw hard and fast lines in the time of Asoka, what right have we to assume such lines in earlier times unless some definite proof be given?

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Petersen has allowed traces of Middle Indic in the Rig Veda so far as phonetics are concerned. But Epic Sanskrit teems with Middle-Indicisms morphologically; and it should be especially noted that such forms phonetically do not present the same aspect as the later dialects (e. g. Epic Sanskrit *kurmi*, *dadmi* = Pali *kummi*, *dammi* respectively). Such forms are usually due to metrical considerations, and are borrowed from dialects. Are such dialects also to be classed as Middle Indic? Again I do not think a hard and fast line can be drawn.

The point made that Vedic and Middle Indic cannot have been contemporaneous dialects which arose in different localities, by the argument that it is highly improbable that one section of the country should have been so conservative and another so prone to innovation, is not in accordance with the evidence of the Asokan dialects: the Shahbāzgarhi and Mansehra dialect is highly conservative while the 'Māgadhan' dialects show numerous phonetic changes; the Girnār dialect as a whole is not phonetically as archaic as the first dialect nor has it suffered as many phonetic changes as the second dialects.

The assumption that the sound-changes in Middle Indic were due not to gradual changes, but to the fact that the aborigines differed anatomically from the Aryans, and had linguistic traits widely different from them; and that it was owing to this that they were unable to speak the language as the Aryans, and so modified it to suit their own characteristics, is a point to be proved. Granting anatomical differences in the vocal apparatus, no such direct influence can be maintained until it has been shown that the non-Aryan languages of India possess the characteristic sounds of Middle Indic languages, that the groups of consonants which suffer assimilation in these languages are not tolerated in the non-Aryan languages and show the same assimilations, that the same loss of intervocalic consonants occurs in them.

An indirect influence can be maintained if it be shown that the non-Aryan languages do not possess the groups of consonants which suffer assimilation nor such consonants as are lost when intervocalic, even if the non-Aryan languages do not agree precisely with the Middle Indic languages. In the same way the change (or substitution) of one sound for another such as *s* for *ś* cannot be charged directly or indirectly to the



influence of non-Aryan languages unless there be positive evidence. Similarly certain morphological characteristics of Middle Indic languages such as the almost complete loss of the perfect tense, the formation of other tenses on the present stem, extensive levelling of distinctions between singular and plural (e.g. Pāli *brāmi*, levelled by *brūma*), and the like cannot be charged to the direct or indirect influence of the non-Aryan languages unless it be demonstrated that the same or like phenomena respectively occur in them.

But again the evidence of the Asokan inscriptions indicates that the changes were gradual. Thus though the Gīrnār dialect possesses but one sibilant, it can be shown that this is a late development (see JAOS. 31, pp. 237, 246 and the literature cited there). Again the treatment of *r* in consonantic groups is a case in point (ibidem, pp. 236, 246); it is clear that the assimilation in certain cases is recent. From the state of affairs in the Gīrnār dialect, it might well be argued that the assimilation of *r* in consonantic groups (which assimilation is not connected with those in the Gīrnār dialect, and is merely a parallel development) in the 'Magadhan' dialects is the result of gradual changes.

Moreover, it has been shown that some of the most characteristic assimilations in consonantal groups in the Middle Indic dialects had their beginning in even earlier times: see Wackernagel, *Altgr.* i. § 98 (and the literature cited there); Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 228, 232; Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva Veda*, p. lxxvii and on i. 22. 1, iv. 19. 6, v. 20. 12. This is against any theory of direct influence on the part of the non-Aryan languages; and it supports the view that the phonetic changes were gradual and not due to mere substitution of sounds. And it may be noted that in part parallel assimilations are found in other Indo-European languages. Thus for example popular Latin *tt* from *et* and *pt* (Italian *otto*, *sette* = Latin *octo*, *septem* respectively), Cretan Greek *ττ* from *ετ* and *πτ* (Δέττος, *vetri* for Δέκτος, *vetri*; Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 68, § 86. 1, 2) are parallel to *tt* from *kt* and *pt* in Middle Indic (Pāli *satta*, *sitta* = Skt. *sapta*, *sikta* respectively); similarly Ionic-Attic Greek *λλ* from *ly* (ἄλλος) is parallel to Pāli, Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Manselra *ll* (written *l* on inscriptions) from *ly* (*kallāṇa* = Skt. *kalyāṇa*). Even Cretan Greek *vv* from *pv* (ἄνθη for ὀπνθη, Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 69,

§ 86, 5) may be compared to a certain extent with Middle Indic *m* from *ra*. These facts make it likely that at any rate certain typical Middle Indic assimilations of consonants are due to spontaneous change; and puts the burden of proof on those who maintain the changes are due directly to the influence of the non-Aryan languages. The same applies to the levellings in Middle Indic noted above.

The analogy of the English of the American Negro to Prakrit is not happy, except as a parallel in the indirect influence mentioned above: there is no proof that the peculiarities of his speech are due to his anatomy nor to the influence of his forgotten African language. Educated American negroes speak English faultlessly. The English of such negroes of Nassau (Bahama Islands), that I have heard, as far as pronunciation is concerned, is close to the British one. It is likely that the faulty English of the American negro is due to his wrong perception of the sounds<sup>1</sup> and his unfamiliarity with the English of cultivated society.<sup>2</sup> In the same way to the untrained ear of an American, there are sounds in the American Indian languages of the Northwest coast that are wrongly perceived, and hence wrongly imitated. (The sounds in question are various *l* sounds.) Similarly American Indian children at governmental schools at first mispronounce English and make havoc of English grammatical categories, but on becoming familiar with the spoken language they learn to speak English correctly. Again American Indian pupils after a more or less protracted stay at the schools lose the characteristic pronunciation of their own native languages owing to the fact that they hear English constantly spoken, and rarely (comparatively speaking) have occasion to use their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. C. Tarter, *London Journal of Education* (new series) 9 (1887) p. 475; S. E. Wiltse, *American Journal of Psychology*, 1 (1887-8) p. 702 [both reported in *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 2 (1892) p. 426]; Rousselot, *Les modifications phonétiques* (1891) p. 39; Zünd-Burguet, *La Parole*, 1 (1899) p. 14; von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (1894) p. 80; Oertel, *Lectures on the study of language* (1901), p. 237, 240; Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Bulletin 40, B. A. E.), part 1, p. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. Fishberg, *Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden*, München, 1913, maintains (pp. 75-80) "daß die Aussprache in erster Linie von der sozialen Berührung abhängig ist", and instances Jewish and Negro pronunciation.

own languages. I admit I have never yet found a case where it can be proved that English has influenced the grammatical categories of the native languages of American Indian pupils. It may be noted, however, that in the drama of "The Little Clay Cart", ascribed to King Śūdraka, Candanaka tries to excuse his slip in Prākṛit (which nearly cost Aryaka his life) by appealing to the grammatical categories of non-Aryan languages. As I am ignorant of these I cannot say whether his plea is well-founded.

In discussing the differences between the accentuation of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, it would have been well to mention that certain Asokan dialects had a system identical with or very similar to the latter: see IF. 23, p. 231.

In conclusion the writer agrees with the thesis that Sanskrit, "though not in the very form in which it occurs in literature" was a truly spoken vernacular. Even the late Classical Sanskrit cannot have been wholly artificial; the existence of such an enormous literature necessarily presupposes a large audience who normally spoke a language that did not differ from the written one too violently. That the audience belonged to cultivated circles of society goes without saying. Petersen has done well to emphasize this aspect of the problem, as against Pischel, *Gr. d. Pkt. Sprachen*, § 6, note 2. But other phases such as the question as the genetic relationship of the Middle Indic dialects require more protracted and more intensive study before satisfactory answers can be given.



*Notes on the Phonology of the Tirurai Language.* —  
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1. Tirurai (sometimes called Tedurai) is one of the numerous Indonesian languages of the Philippine Islands. It is spoken by about four thousand people in the mountains south of the town Kotabatu (Cotabato) on the southern coast of Mindanao. The chief town of the Tirurai is Tamontaka.

2. *Bibliography.*

Bennásar, Padre Guillermo, *Diccionario Tiruray-Español*, Manila 1892. and *Diccionario Español-Tiruray*, Manila 1893.

The author of the three items that follow is given anonymously as "un Padre Misionero", who, however, is known to have been Padre Bennásar.

*Observaciones gramaticales sobre la lengua Tiruray*, Manila 1892.

*Catecismo Histórico por el Abate Claudio Fleury y traducido al Tiruray por un P. misionero de la Compañía de Jesús*, Manila 1892.

*Costumbres de los indios Tirurayes escritas por José Tenorio (a) Sigayán y traducidas al español y anotadas por un Padre misionero de la Compañía de Jesús*, Manila 1892.

3. Chief Peculiarities.

Tirurai phonology presents several marked differences from that of other Philippine speech groups. Of these the more apparent are: (a) the rounding of Indonesian *a* to the *o* sound of Ger. *hoffen* or Fr. *école*, (b) diphthongization of final *i* and *u* to *ei* and *eu*, respectively, (c) *f* everywhere for *p*, (d) the frequent occurrence of a trilled *r* of varied origin, and (e) the change of Indonesian *k* to *g* under certain circumstances.

These, and other peculiarities of less frequent occurrence, are so striking as to give a Tirurai text a very foreign appearance when compared with other Philippine languages.

4. Indonesian *a*.

Under certain conditions an original *a* may be rounded in Tirurai, becoming a sound very close to the *o* in Ger. *hoffen*, Fr. *école*, e. g., IN *lima* : Tir. *limó* "five"; IN *anak* : Tir. *onók* "offspring, son, daughter, child". This change occurs independently only in a final syllable, e. g., Tir. *limó*, *lifot* (Phil. *lipat* "to forget"). Where it occurs in the penult, as in Tir. *onók*, it is by assimilation to the *o* (<*a*) of the following (final) syllable.

Under other circumstances an IN penultimate *a* remains unchanged in Tirurai, as in the following examples:

Philippine	Tirurai	
<i>bagá</i>	<i>bará</i>	"embers, live coals"
<i>layag</i>	<i>layag</i>	"sail"
<i>gapas</i>	<i>gafas</i>	"cotton"
<i>labi</i>	<i>labi</i>	"more"
<i>laki</i>	<i>lâgei</i>	"male"
<i>batu</i>	<i>batèu</i>	"stone"
<i>kayu</i>	<i>kâyeu</i>	"tree, wood, firewood"

In the following examples IN *a* > Tir. *o* in final syllables and the *o* thus arising assimilates to itself an original *a* of the preceding (penultimate) syllable:

(a) IN *a* > Tir. *o* in final position:

	Non-Tirurai	Tirurai	
	<i>na</i> (enclitic)	<i>no</i>	"his, her, its"
	<i>da, ra, la</i> (encl.)	<i>ro</i>	"their"
	<i>ka</i> (encl.)	<i>go</i>	"thou"
	<i>dua, rua, lua</i>	<i>ruo</i>	"two"
	<i>lima</i>	<i>limó</i>	"five"
	<i>tuka</i>	<i>tukó</i>	"point, beak"
Iloko, Ibanak	<i>pia</i>	<i>fió</i>	"good"
Magindanao	<i>sedá, Bis. isdá</i>	<i>sedó</i>	"fish, meat"
Mgd.	<i>siká</i>	<i>sikó</i>	"cat"
Malay	<i>leña</i>	<i>leñó</i>	"sesame"
	<i>paa</i>	<i>féo</i>	"thigh"
	<i>mata</i>	<i>motó</i>	"eye"
	<i>abaká</i>	<i>wogó</i>	"hemp"
Bagobo	<i>mama</i> "man, male"	<i>momo</i>	"uncle"

(b) before a final surd stop (*k*, *t*):

	<i>anak</i>	<i>onók</i>	"son, daughter, young (of animals)"
Bagobo	<i>uwak</i>	<i>owok</i>	"waist"
Bikol	<i>lipát</i>	<i>lifot</i>	"forget"
IN	<i>ipát</i>	<i>efót</i>	"four"
Bagobo	<i>alat</i>	<i>olot</i>	"basket"
Bisaya	<i>dágat</i>	<i>dogot</i>	"sea"

(c) before a final nasal (*n*, *ñ*, *m*):

Bisaya	<i>man</i> intens. part.	<i>mon</i>	"also"
Bisaya	<i>buláwan</i>	<i>belowón</i>	"gold"
Bisaya	<i>dálan</i>	<i>dolón</i>	"road, way"
Tag. Bis.	<i>utañ</i>	<i>uton</i>	"debt"
Ibanak	<i>ittam</i>	<i>tom</i>	"we" (inclusive)
Bisaya	<i>kamù</i>	<i>gom</i>	"you (pl.)"
Ibanak	<i>nanám</i>	<i>nonom</i>	"flavor"

5. But the change *a* > *o* is prevented by an adjacent *s* or *y*, and by an adjacent *r*, unless this *r* be preceded by *u* and the affected vowel be in final position.

(a) Change prevented by *s*:

	Non-Tirurai	Tirurai	
Tag.	<i>pisá</i>	<i>fisá</i>	"crack, break"
Tag.	<i>bisa</i>	<i>bisá</i>	"venom, poison"
Phil.	<i>basa</i>	<i>basa</i>	"word"
Phil.	<i>béjas</i>	<i>begás</i>	"rice"
Phil.	<i>tégas</i>	<i>tegás</i>	"hard"
Tag.	<i>táwas</i>	<i>tawás</i>	"alum"
Phil.	<i>gatas</i>	<i>ratas</i>	"milk"
Mgd.	<i>usan</i>	<i>usan</i>	"rice straw"

(b) Change prevented by *y*:

IN	<i>ayam</i>	"bird, animal"	<i>ayam</i>	"animal"
Phil.	<i>layag</i>		<i>layag</i>	"sail"
Bis.	<i>sayap</i>		<i>sayaf</i>	"kind of hat"
Mgd.	<i>payók</i>		<i>fayag</i>	"clear, manifest"
Bgh.	<i>layan</i>		<i>layan</i>	"fly" vb.
Bis.	<i>duyan</i>		<i>duyan</i>	"hammock"

(c) Change prevented by *r*:

Mgd.	<i>bilá</i>	<i>birá</i>	"cross-eyed"
Mal.	<i>darah</i> , Ibanak <i>dága</i> , Pang. <i>dála</i> ,	<i>dára</i>	"blood"
Bis.	<i>bága</i> , Mal. Ilk. <i>bara</i>	<i>bará</i>	"embers"



Toba	<i>abara</i>	Ibanak	<i>abagá</i>	<i>wará</i>	"shoulder"
Mal.	<i>barat</i>	"west wind"		<i>barat</i>	"tempest"
Mgd.	<i>suag</i>			<i>suar</i>	"thorn"
Bagobo	<i>akar</i>			<i>akar</i>	"deceive"

(d) But final *a* > *o* after *ur*:

Tag.	<i>bulá</i>	Pang.	<i>burá</i>	<i>buroburó</i>	"foam"
Tag.	<i>pulá</i>			<i>furó</i>	"red"
Tag.	<i>sulá</i>	Ilk.	<i>sugá</i> (RLD)	<i>suró</i>	"puas escondidas"

#### 6. Indonesian *i* and *u*.

As a rule IN *i* and *u* remain unchanged in Tirurai everywhere except in final position, where, in a number of the most common words, they are diphthongized to *ei* and *eu*, respectively.

(a) Indonesian final *i* > *ei* in Tirurai:

Non-Tirurai		Tirurai	
Phil.	<i>tali</i>	<i>tálei</i>	"tie with cord"
Mal.	<i>diri</i> , Sangir <i>dihí</i>	<i>lilei</i>	"post"
Phil.	<i>tani</i>	<i>tanei</i>	"to free, liberate"
Phil.	<i>laki</i> , <i>lalaki</i>	<i>lâgei</i>	"male"
Bis. (Samar)	<i>siki</i>	<i>sekei</i>	"foot"
Pang.	<i>bii</i>	<i>bei</i>	"woman"

(b) Indonesian final *u* > *eu* in Tirurai

IN	<i>tétêlu</i> , Tag. <i>tatlú</i>	<i>tetlêu</i>	"three"
IN	<i>pitu</i>	<i>fitêu</i>	"seven"
IN	<i>batu</i>	<i>batêu</i>	"stone"
IN	<i>kutu</i>	<i>kuteu</i>	"louse"
IN	<i>kayu</i>	<i>kâyêu</i>	"tree, wod"
IN	<i>ulu</i>	<i>ulen</i>	"head"
IN	<i>siku</i>	<i>sigeu</i>	"elbow"
IN	<i>abu</i>	<i>aweu</i>	"ashes"

#### 7. The Indonesian obscure vowel (pepet).<sup>1</sup>

The pepet vowel remains uniformly an obscure, colorless, *ê* in Tirurai: Tir. *atef*, IN *atêp* "roof"; Tir. *enem*, IN *ênêm* "six".

#### 8. Indonesian *p*.

Every *p*, whether originally IN or not, becomes *f* in Tirurai:<sup>2</sup> Tir. *fitêu*, IN *pitu* "seven"; Tir. *afei*, IN *apui*, *api* "fire"; Tir.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conant, The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages, *Anthropos*, vol. VII (1912), pp. 920-947.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Conant, F and V in Philippine Languages, *Division of Ethnology Publications*, vol. v, part. ii, Manila 1908.

atef, IN atēp "roof". The Tir. pronunciation of the Spanish name *Policarpio* is *Fulicarfū*.

9. Indonesian *b*.

IN *b* generally remains unchanged in Tirurai, as in Tir. *batēu*, IN *batu* "stone"; Tir. *labi*, Tag. *labi* "more"; Tir. *dob*, Tag. *loob* "in, within"; but it sometimes becomes *w* (*y*) when intervocalic, as in Tir. *tauwen*, Bis. *tabon* "a kind of bird"; Tir. *rauwen*, Bis. *gábon* "mist, fog"; Tir. *aweu*, IN *abu* "ashes"; Tir. *wará* <\**ewarā*, Phil. *abága* "shoulder"; Tir. *wogó* <\**ewogó*, Phil. *abaká*.

10. Indonesian *k*.

An original *k* remains unchanged in Tirurai initially and finally in dissyllabic root words, e. g., Tir. *káyeu* "wood"; *ebūk*, IN *buék* "hair"; but an intervocalic *k* is retained only exceptionally, as in Tir. *sekei*, Bis. (Samar) *siki* "foot"; Tir. *sikó*, Mgd. *siká* "cat", and regularly becomes the corresponding sonant *g*, e. g., Tir. *sigeu*, IN *siku* "elbow"; Tir. *lāgei*, Phil. *laki* "male"; Tir. *igor*, Phil. *ikug* (*g*=RGH cons.) "tail"; Tir. *digur*, Bis. *likud* "back, behind"; Tir. (*be*)*gom*, Bis. *kamú* "you".

IN *k* also regularly becomes *g* in accentless prefixes and pronominal suffixes (or enclitics) beginning with IN *k*, e. g., Tir. *i gelimó-nuē*, Bis. *ikalimá* "the fifth"; Tir. *úleu gu*, Bis. *úlu ko* "my head"; Tir. *úleu go*, Bis. *úlu ka* "your head". In the foregoing examples the original *k* is, of course, really in the intervocalic position, and hence in the same category as the intervocalic *k* of the foregoing paragraph, but by analogy this *g* (<*k*) has been extended so that it may follow any consonant, e. g., Tir. *i onok gu*, Bis. *an anak ko* "my son"; Tir. *i safut gom* (*gom*=Bis. *kamú* with apocopation of *u*) "your cloth"; and the original *k* is retained in the enclitic pronouns only after *a'*, *e'*, *o'*, *u'* (<*an*, <*en*, <*on*, <*un*) at the end of the foregoing word, e. g., Tir. *sebaa' ku sa* "I only"; Tir. *libu' ku* "my sister".

11. The RGH consonant.<sup>1</sup>

The RGH consonant appears regularly as *r*, exceptionally as *g*, e. g., Tir. *bara*, Bis. *baga* "embers"; Tir. *igor*, Phil. *ikug* "tail"; but Tir. *gakit*, Ilk. *rakit*, Ibanak *gakit*, Mal. *rakit* "raft"; Tir. *rebā* beside *gebā*, Mal. *rebah* "fall to ruins". As Tirurai

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conant, The RGH Law in Philippine Languages, *JALOS*, vol. xxxi, (1919), pp. 70-85.

does not permit both *r* and *l* within the same root word, an *r* (<RGH) either assimilates to itself an *l* (of any origin), as in Tir. *rebur* (<*lebur*), Mal. *lebur*, Mgd. *lebug*, Bis. *lubug*, or is (more rarely) itself assimilated to the neighboring *l*, as in Tir. *lilei* (<*lirei*), Mal. *diri*, Sang. *dih*, Tag. Bis. *ha-ligi* "post", where the *r* (<RGH) is assimilated to the initial *l*.<sup>1</sup>

## 12. The RLD law.

The phenomena of the RLD interchange in Indonesian languages are so varied, and have in so many instances been influenced by the laws of assimilation, dissimilation, and analogy, that their classification in detail is rendered very difficult. As a general rule, the Philippine languages show *d* initially and finally, and *l* or *r* medially, in which latter case some languages, like Tagalog and the Bisaya of Cebu, Negros, Panay, and Mindanao, regularly have *l*, exceptionally *r* (more rarely *d*), while others, like Bikol and Samar Bisaya, do not admit *l*, and have only *r*, or, exceptionally, *d*.

The RLD consonant appears as *r* or *d* in Tirurai, apparently without regard to its position, but *r* predominates medially and always occurs initially in the accentless pronominal particles *re*, *ro* (Phil. *ra*, *la*, *da*) "of them, their". Initially and finally, *d* predominates, but even here *r* appears in some common words where other Philippine languages show only *d*, e. g., Tir. *ruo*: Mal., Sulu, Mgd., Bagobo, Bkl., Pang., Ilk., Ibanak, Tagbanwa *dua*, Bis. *duha*, Pamp. *adwá*, Tag. *dalawá* "two"; Tir. *etúr*: Phil. \**tuéd*, Ibk. *tuát* (written *tuád* in the Spanish sources), Pamp. *tud*, Tag., Bis., Bkl., Sulu *tuhud* "knee". (For the metathesis of Tir. *etúr* <\**tuer*, cf. Tir. *ebuk*: Pang. *buék*, Pamp. *buák*, Ilk. *boók*, Tag., Bis., Bkl., Sulu *buhuk* "hair"). For final *r*, cf. Sund. *tuur* "knee".

Of the many examples of *r* (RLD) in medial position, the following three will suffice: Tir. *iruñ* (IN *iruñ*: *ilun*: *iduñ*) "nose"; Tir. *suró* (IN *sura*: *sula*: *suda*) "concealed barbs"; Tir. *arek* (Samar Bis. *harók*, Cebu Bis. *halók*, Tag. *halik*, Mgd. *alek*, Bkl., Bgb. *hadók*) "sniff, kiss".

Examples of initial *d*: Tir. *dalem* (Cebu Bis. *dálum*, *hi-lálum*, Ibanak *aralám*) "within, under"; Tir. *dolón* (IN *ralan*: *lalan*: *dalan*) "road, way".

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RGH Law, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> For the *g* of the RLD series in Ibanak, Pang., Ilk., Karo, Toha, and Mentawai, cf. my RGH Law, p. 83, and the literature there cited.



Examples of final *d*: Tir. *fused* (Phil. \**pusēd*, Jav., Dayak *puser*, Mal. *pusat*, Toba *pusot*, the final *t* of Toba and Mal. <*d* [RLD] by law of finals) "navel"; Tir. *seyed* (Tag. *sigid*, *sigir*, Bis., Bkl. *sugūd*, Pamp. *asyād*) "sting of insect".

Examples of medial *d*: Tir. *sedō* (Ibanak, Bkl. *sirā*, Itawi *isira*, Tag., Bis. *isdā*) "fish, meat"; Tir. *fedēu* (Day. *pero*, Jav. *amperu*, Toba *pogu*, Ilk. *aprō*, Tag., Bis., Bkl. *apdu*, Malg. *aferu*) "gall".

Rarely the RLD consonant appears as *l* in Tirurai, as in Tir. *lilei* (initially, cf. above, 11) and Tir. *kilai* (Mgd. Ilk. *kirāi*, Tag. *kilai*, Ilk. *kidai*) "eyebrow", but this *l* is entirely exceptional and doubtless due to the influence of other words of similar meaning containing an original *l*.

### 13. Indonesian *s*.

An original *s* in most words remains unchanged, as in Tir. *sigēu* (IN *siku*) "elbow"; Tir. *fused* "navel"; *begās* "rice"; but it sometimes becomes *h* medially and finally, e. g., Tir. *rohok* (Mal. Ilk. *rusuk*, Bagobo, Bis. *gusuk*) "rib"; Tir. *liha* (Tag. *lisā*) "nit"; Tir. *lowoh* (Bis. *lāwas*) "body"; Tir. *urah* (Toba *uras*, Ilk. *ūgas*, Sulu *hugas*) "bathe, wash".

The change of IN *s* to *h* also occurs in a few other speech groups of the Philippine Islands, notably in Ifugao (mountains of N. Luzón) where IN *s* everywhere becomes *h*,<sup>1</sup> e. g., Ifg. *hiku* (IN *siku*) "elbow", *pāha* (Ilk., Pamp. *pūsa*) "cat", *ahin* (Tag. *asin*) "salt". Sambali (Zambales Province, NW. Luzón) also changes IN *s* to *h*, but apparently only in initial and final position, e. g., Sbl. *hiko* (Ifg. *hiku*, IN *siku*) "elbow"; Sbl. *hiā* (Ifg. *hia*, Tag., Bis. *sia*) "he, she, it"; Sbl. *bitih* (Bkl., Pamp. *bitis*) "foot, lower leg"; but Sbl. *pūsa* (Ifg. *pāha*, Tag. *pūsa*) "cat"; Sbl. *asin* (Ifg. *ahin*, IN *asin*) "salt".

In large portions of Samar and Leyte *s* has been weakened in pronunciation to *h*, initially, in the Bisaya "articles" and

<sup>1</sup> See E. E. Schneider, Notes on the Mangyan Language, *Philippine Journal of Science*, vol. vii, no. 3, sec. D, Manila 1912, pp. 157-178. I am indebted to this work for the general statement: "Ifg. regularly has *h* for gen. Phil. *s*." (p. 165, no. 17), and for the Ifugao and Sambali examples. The Ifg. examples were furnished Mr. Schneider by Mr. H. Otley Beyer, of the division of ethnology, Bureau of Science, Manila, and the Sbl. words by Mr. Tranquilino Eliceño, a native Sambali from Masinlok, Zambales.

pronouns: *sī, san, sa, siya, sira*, and *sin'o*,<sup>1</sup> but not elsewhere.

This change of *s* to the mere breathing *h* is the result of relaxing the occlusion necessary to produce the sibilant, and altho appearing only sporadically and with varying degrees of regularity within Philippine territory and in other IN languages, e. g., Sumbanese and Sawunese, it marks the beginning of a phonetic movement that has been completed in the Polynesian languages, where *s* has nearly everywhere weakened to *h*, which itself has in many languages disappeared entirely, e. g., IN *siu, siau, siwa* "nine": Sumb. *siwa* or *hiwa* (*s* and *h* interchange in Sumb.), Sawu. *heo* (*h* always for IN *s*), Tonga *hiya*, Hawaii *iwa*, Tahiti, Marquesas *iva*. An Indo-European parallel to this change is found in Iranian, Armenian and Greek, e. g., L-E. \**septm*, Lat. *septem*, Skt. *saptā*, Avestan *hapta*, Gr. *ἑπτά*. Modern Gr., which still writes the spiritus asper tho it is never pronounced, has suffered the same loss of *h* as have many of the Polynesian languages, and in intervocalic position it was already lost in classical Attic.

In Armenian an initial L-E. *s* sometimes becomes *h*, as in Arm. *hin* "old", Skt. *sāna-s*, Lat. *senex*, Old Irish *sen*; and is sometimes lost, as in Arm. *ev'n*, Lat. *septem* etc.

14. Original *g, t, d, m, n, ŋ*, and *l* regularly remain unchanged in Tirurai. For the Tir. assimilation of *l* to an *r* of the same word, see above (11).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. Ramualdez, *A Bisayan Grammar*, Taklohan (Leyte) 1908, p. 7 footnote 2: "The use of *s* instead of the *h* in these articles depends upon the place where Bisayan is spoken. In the towns of Burawen, Dālag, and Abūyog, of the island of Leyte, and in some places in Sāmar, the *h* is never used, but the *s* instead, for these articles. Generally it is considered more solemn to use the *s* instead of the *h* in speeches, letters and poetry. But many times it is considered as a ridiculous affectation in places where the *h* is used".

*Pañcadivyaḍhvāsa or Choosing a King by Divine Will.*

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1. In the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for November 1891, p. 135ff., Tawney has called attention to an interesting custom of which he collected some half dozen instances in Hindu literature,<sup>1</sup> by which, it is alleged, a king was sometimes chosen by divine lot. The standard situation may be briefly described as follows: The king of a city dies without natural heirs. To choose a new king the emblems of royalty (viz. the state elephant, the horse, the pitcher with the consecrated water, and the chowries) are resorted to, and fate or divine will is supposed to give some sign through their instrumentality, by which someone is selected to rule the country.

The Kathakośa has three instances: Page 128 (Tawney's translation), "Then the barons had recourse to the five ordeals of the elephant, the horse, and so on. The elephant came into the city park trumpeting. There he sprinkled the prince with the water of inauguration, and taking him (the hero of the story) up in his trunk placed him on his forehead". The people then hailed the man as king. In this passage only three of the emblems of royalty are specifically mentioned, viz. the elephant, the horse, and the water of consecration. Another story (p. 155) names all five: "Then the ministers had recourse to the five ordeals. The mighty elephant came into the garden outside the city. There the elephant sprinkled Prince Amaradatta and put him on its back. Then the horse neighed. The two chowries fanned the prince. An umbrella was held (i. e. held itself) over his head. A divine voice was heard in the air: 'Long live King Amaradatta.'" The voice

<sup>1</sup> Additional instances are given by J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, 1909, p. 131 and in his translation of the *Daśakumāracarita*, 1902, p. 94.



in the air is an additional divine ratification of the choice which is not generally mentioned and was evidently not regarded as a necessary part of the election. In the third story (p. 4) we are simply told that an elephant was sent forth with a pitcher of water fastened to its head; it wanders for seven days and on the eighth finds the man of destiny asleep under a *pipal* tree and empties the pitcher on his head; this is symbolical of the coronation ceremony, and the man is made king.

In the KSS. 65 the elephant alone appears; even the pitcher of water is missing in this case; the elephant picks the man up and puts him on his shoulder, whereupon he is made king.

Two other parallels, referred to by Tawney, are found in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri*. On p. 37, a horse only is sent forth, the elephant as well as the other symbols being here omitted. The horse indicates the choice of fate by marching around the man to the right. The ceremony occurs again on p. 62, this time with the five regular emblems; upon seeing the fated man, the elephant trumpets, the horse neighs, the pitcher of water sprinkles him, the chowries fan him and the white parasol places itself above him.<sup>1</sup> The people then salute him with cries of hail, and a divine voice, as once in the *Kathakośa*, ratifies the choice, giving to the new king the grand name of Vikrama.

In the *Vikramacarita* (Story 14), a king is chosen in exactly this way for a city whose king has died leaving no heir. In the Jainistic recension it is told very briefly: "Then the king of that place died without leaving a son. Thereupon his ministers consecrated the five divine instruments (*pañcadivyaṅga-ḍhvāsāni*), and they gave the kingdom to him (the hero of the story) with great pomp." In the Southern and Metrical Recensions the five emblems are not alluded to, but a she-elephant is sent forth with a garland on her trunk; she places the garland on the new king's head, places him on her shoulder and takes him to the palace.

Again in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, VI. 231 ff. (ed.

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that a king in India is always distinguished by the chowries and the white parasol as his chief emblems of royalty, while both the elephant and the horse belong especially to the royal state.

Jacobi), upon the death of a king his ministers "sprinkle" (with the sacred water of coronation) the five "divine instruments" (*divyāni*), and send them forth. They are named here just as in the *Maharāṣṭri* story: the state elephant, the royal horse, the parasol, the pitcher of water, and the two chowries. When they find the man they seek (in this case a low-caste man, the son of a courtesan by a barber), the elephant trumpets and pours the water upon him and places him upon his own back, the horse neighs, the parasol opens up like a white lotus at dawn, and the two chowries wave and fan him as if dancing. He is then proclaimed king.

In the *Daśakumāracarita* (Meyer's transl., p. 94) the elephant alone appears and indicates the choice by lifting the man up and putting him on his back. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Tawney's translation, p. 181) the elephant (again alone) "being duly inaugurated" sprinkles the chosen man (with the water of inauguration). The *Paramatthadīpaṇi* (p. 73 ff.) referred to by J. J. Meyer, is not accessible to me.

Four Jātakas introduce a similar ceremony. In these the chariot of state is used. The word *phussaratha* or *maṅgalaratha* does not mean "flower chariot" as the translator of Jāt. 378 wrongly states, but "auspicious, festive car" or, specifically, the royal chariot. In Jāt. 539 it is yoked to four lotus-colored horses (the lotus is an emblem of majesty) and upon it are placed the five "ensigns of royalty", *rājakakudhabhāṇāni*.<sup>1</sup> The chariot is attended by a complete fourfold army, and by musical instruments going *behind* it "because it contained no rider." The housepriest of the late king sprinkles it (as if in coronation) with water from a golden vessel, and sends it forth to find one who has sufficient virtue to be king. The car finds the Future Buddha asleep under a tree, and stops, as if to be ascended. The Future Buddha is seen to bear the marks of royalty upon his person, and since upon being awakened he conducts himself in a manner suitable to such a position, he is made king by the housepriest. The same ceremony is alluded to in Jātakas 378, 445, and 529.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit these are generally referred to as (*rāja*-)*kakudhāni*; they are not to be confused with the *pañcadivyāni*; they consist of sword, parasol, crown, shoes, and fan (chowrie).

<sup>2</sup> P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* (1886) p. 416 (quoted by Weber, *Dol. Stud.* XV. 800) has a similar Burmese tale: "The ruler



That the tradition of this ceremony has persisted in widely separated parts of India down to the present day is proved by a considerable number of instances of it which are recorded in the folklore of the modern Hindus. To be sure, the recognition of a definite group of five instruments of choice seems not to have come down to modern times; we never find more than two, and generally it is the elephant alone. Examples may be taken from places as remote from one another as possible in India: thus, from Kashmir, from Bengal, and from Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> In Day's *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 99, the choice is made by an elephant, who picks the man up gently, places him on the howdah upon his back, and takes him to the city where he is proclaimed king. In a Sinhalese tale recorded by Goontilleke, *Orientalist*, ii. 151, the elephant kneels before the destined man, in this case a peasant, who is thereupon crowned king. In Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir* we have four instances: on pages 169 and 309, the elephant occurs alone, on pages 17 and 159 he is accompanied by a hawk, evidently as a bird belonging to royalty, who perches on the man's hand, while the elephant bows before him as in the Sinhalese tale. In F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple's *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 140 (and notes pp. 327, 426), the elephant kneels and salutes the man with his trunk; (cf. also Steel, *Tales of the Punjab*, p. 131). Damant (*Indian Ant.* iii. 11; iv. 261) reports two Bengalese stories. In one the elephant picks up a woman of low estate, who then marries a prince; in the other, the elephant takes on his back a boy who is made king. The *Madanakamārajankadai* ("Dravidian Nights", p. 126f.), referred to by Knowles, was not accessible to me.

2. Jacobi's eighth *Māharāṣṭri* story (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 62, 34) reads: *tattha ahīyāsīyāni pāncadivvāni*. Jacobi

of Mitila had died leaving one daughter. . . . The ministers and Pounhas began to deliberate among themselves about the choice of a match worthy of the Princess. . . . At last, not knowing what to do, they resolved to leave to chance the solution of the difficulty. They sent out a charmed chariot, convinced that by the virtue inherent in it they would find out the fortunate man. . . . The chariot was sent out, attended by soldiers, musicians, Pounhas, and noblemen. It came straight forward to the mango trees garden and stopped by the side of the table-stone Phralaong was sleeping upon. . . . They awakened him at the sound of musical instruments, saluted him king" &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the references in J. H. Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir*, p. 159.



derives *ahiyāsiyāni* from Skt. *adhyāsaya* (Causative of *√ ās* with *adhi*) and renders it "als Symbol die Herrschaft führen" (p. 93, s. v. *ahiyāses*); Tawney (*Proc. Royal As. Soc. of Bengal* 1891, November, p. 136) translates it by "had recourse to" without explaining what he takes to be the etymology of the word. The same rendering he uses in his translation of the *Kathakośa*, p. 128 and 155. Unfortunately I have no access to the original text of the *Kathakośa* and am thus unable to determine the Sanskrit word so translated. The Jainistic recension of the *Vikramacarita*, however, reads:<sup>1</sup> *tatas tan-mantribhiḥ pañca divyāny adhivāsītāni, tāis ca dattam tasya rājyam mahatā mahena*: This clearly shows that *adhivāsītāni*, not *adhyāsītāni* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Prakrit *ahiyāsiyāni*. The *Parīśistaparvan* (vi. 236, *pañcadivyāny abhiśik-tāni mantribhiḥ*) gives a further hint as to the meaning of the term by using *√ śic* with *abhi* in exactly the same connection, this being the technical term for the solemn rite of installing a king.<sup>2</sup> In the other *Mahārāstri* tale (Jacobi, p. 37, 12, *āso ahīyāso*) the word is used with reference to the horse which there performs the function of the *pañca divyāni*.

3. As to the exact meaning of the Skt. past participle *adhivāsita* and the nominal derivatives *adhivāsa* and *adhivāsana* our Sanskrit Lexicons are divided in their opinions.<sup>3</sup> Goldstücker (1859) in his revision of Wilson's Dictionary gives under *adhivāsana* first (practically repeating Wilson) the two meanings: (1) "Perfuming or dressing the person . . ."; (2) "A religious ceremony, preliminary to any great Hindu festival: touching a vessel containing perfumes, flowers, and other things previously presented to the idol; or offering perfumes etc. to it". These two meanings he connects with *vāsa* "perfume". But then he adds a second group of meanings which he refers to the causative of *√ vas* "dwell" with *adhi*. These are (1) "A summoning and fixing of the presence of a divinity upon an image etc., when he is wanted for any solemnity"; (2) "The placing of a new image in water etc. the day before the divinity is to be summoned to inhabit it". Apte (*The Practical*

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XV. 359 f.

<sup>2</sup> The *abhiśeka* was performed in India with water, instead of oil.

<sup>3</sup> As far as the formal side is concerned they may either be referred to *√ vas* (causative) "to dwell" with *adhi*, or to the noun *vāsa* "perfume" and its denominative *vāsay-* with *adhi*.

Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1890) gives for *adhivāsana* : 1. "Scenting with perfumes or odorous substances (*samskāro gandhamālyādyaḥ*, *Amarakoṣa*"); 2. "Preliminary consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of an image, its invocation and worship by suitable mantras etc., before the commencement of a sacrifice (*yajñārambhāt prāy devatādyāvāhanapūrvakāḥ pūjanādīkarmabhedah*); making a divinity assume its abode in an image". The second meaning he assigns to the causative of *√ vas*. Under *√ vas* with *adhi* he gives (1) "to cause to stay over night"; (2) "to consecrate, set up (as an image)". In the *Verbesserungen und Nachträge* the larger Petersburg Lexicon assigns *adhivāsana* "bestimmte mit Götterstatuen vorgenommene Ceremonien" to the causative of *√ vas* "dwell" with *adhi* and under 5 *√ vas* (causative) with *adhi* it gives besides (1) "über Nacht liegen lassen", (3) "heimsuchen", (4) "sich einverstanden erklären", also a meaning (2) "einweihen (ein neues Götterbild)" for which it quotes *Vār. Brhatsaṃhitā*, 60. 15. But in the same volume s. v. *vāsay* with *adhi*, "mit Wohlgeruch erfüllen", this statement is corrected and the passage is assigned to the second meaning of this denominative, "weihen". To this later view Böhtlingk adheres in the smaller Petersburg Lexicon. Under 5 *√ vas* (causat.) with *adhi* the meaning "einweihen" is omitted; on the other hand, for *vāsay-* with *adhi* the meanings (1) "mit Wohlgeruch erfüllen"; (2) "einweihen" are given, and under this second meaning *adhivāsita* "geweiht" of the *Vikramacarita* (*Ind. Stud.* XV. 359) is quoted. The meaning of the noun *adhivāsana* (cf. also *adhivāsanaka* and *adhivāsaniya* in the *Nachträge* 1) "Einweihen (einer Götterstatue)" is thus regarded as derived from the more original sense "Parfümieren". Monier-Williams' revised Dictionary (1899) distinguishes between (1) *adhivāsana* (from *√ vas*, causat., with *adhi*) "causing a divinity to dwell in an image", and (2) *adhivāsana* (from *√ vāsay-* with *adhi*) "application of perfumes"; "the ceremony of touching a vessel containing fragrant ob-

1 Of the native Hindu lexicographers, some define *adhivāsana* simply by *samskāra*, *samskriyā*, saying nothing about perfumes; others define it by *samskāra* or *samskriyā dhūpanādibāh* or *gandhamālyādibāh*. But if we remember that there was a fairly common noun *adhivāsa*, *adhivāsana* "perfume", one who has in mind the etymological weakness of Hindu lexicographers will readily admit the possibility of this second definition being influenced by this fact.



jects (that have been presented to an idol)"; "preliminary purification of an image".

Finally, Langlois in the note to his French translation of the *Harivaṃśa* 5994 (vol. I, p. 451) says: "Cette cérémonie s'appelle *Adhivāsa* ou *Adhivāsana*. Quand on consacre une idole, on pratique aussi l'*Adhivāsa*: on prend le riz, les fruits et les autres offrandes pour en toucher le vase d'eau sacrée, puis le front de l'idole en prononçant certains *mantras*. L'*Adhivāsa* est la cérémonie par laquelle on invite une divinité à venir habiter une idole."<sup>1</sup>

I believe the group of words under consideration has nothing whatever to do with *vāsa* "perfume"; on the contrary *adhivāsati* is the causative of *√ vas* "dwell" with *adhi* and means "to cause to dwell in"; the *adhivāsa*<sup>2</sup> is a ceremony by which a deity or divine power is invoked to take its proper place in a sacred object, either in the image of a god or in some other thing which is to be consecrated to some divine purpose. In the *Agnipurāṇa*<sup>3</sup> (35, 1) the rite to be performed is in honor of Viṣṇu, and by the *adhivāsa* the god is invoked to take his place in the image before the ceremony. In another passage of the *Agnipurāṇa* (64, 18; Dutt's transl. i. 234) an image of the water-god Varuṇa is set up at the dedication of a water tank or reservoir, and the *adhivāsa* is performed, in order that Varuṇa may come and abide in the image, presiding over the reservoir and so causing it to stay full of water. The *Mbh.* V, 5135 (= v. 151, 38), *prayāsyāmo raṇājiram | adhivāsitaśāstrāt ca kṛtakāntumaṅgalāḥ*, shows a compound *adhivāsitaśāstra*; the warriors' swords are consecrated for a solemn purpose and divine power is invoked to abide in them.<sup>4</sup> In Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* we have (60, 15):

<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough, in spite of this he translates the *adhivāsa* . . . *ātmanam* of the text by "en parfumant ton corps".

<sup>2</sup> Or *adhivāsana*; the two forms are interchangeable.

<sup>3</sup> Dutt's translation, i. 137; Dutt, in the note, defines *adhivāsa* as a "consecration of an image, especially before the commencement of a sacrificial rite".

<sup>4</sup> Dutt translates: "we shall . . . march to the field of battle after having worshipped our weapons and duly performed all the auspicious ceremonies"; Pratyāp Chandra Roy: "having . . . worshipped our weapons (with offerings of flowers and perfumes) we will . . . march to the field of battle"; Fauche: "nous marcherons vers le champ de bataille les armes parfumées des senteurs du sacrifice et toutes les choses de bon augure accomplies avec empressement."



*suptām* (viz. *pratimām*) *sunṛtyagītāir jāgarakāñḥ samyag evam adhivāsiya* | *dūvacjñapradīṣṭe kāle samsthāpanam kuryāt*. Here the image is regarded as "asleep" (*suptām*), until "by awakening<sup>1</sup> dances and songs" the sacrificer has "made (the god) to dwell in it" (*adhivāsiya*) or "completely imbued it (with the divine presence)", whereupon he is to set it up formally at a time prescribed by a soothsayer. A passage from *Suśruta* (xi. 3) seems to me to support particularly my view. I quote Hoernle's translation (*Bibl. Ind.*, new series, 911, p. 63 f.): "He who wishes to prepare a caustic should, on an auspicious day in the autumn, after purifying himself and fasting, (select) a large-sized, middle-aged, uninjured *Muskaka* tree, bearing dark flowers and growing in an auspicious spot on a (lonely) mountain, and perform the *adhivāsana* or 'preliminary ceremony', saying the following incantation: 'Oh thou tree of fiery power! Thou of great power! May thy power not be lost! Oh thou auspicious one, stay even here and accomplish my work! When once my work is done, then thou mayest go to heaven!'; later the worshipper cuts off such pieces of the tree as he needs to prepare the caustic.<sup>2</sup> The mantra here quoted in connection with the *adhivāsana*-ceremony seems to me to make its nature and purpose clear. The magic or divine power which is supposed to reside in the tree is commanded to dwell and remain in it till the purpose of the performer is accomplished.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jāgarakāñḥ* (var. lect. *jāgarikāñḥ* and *jāgaranāñḥ*) is an adjective. Kern wrongly translates it as noun (*Journal Royal As. Soc.*, new series, vi. 334): "after the sleeping idol has been consecrated with wakes, dancing, and song"; so also both *Petersburg Lexicons*: "das Wachen".

<sup>2</sup> In the foot-note Hoernle adds: "The *adhivāsana* is an oblation (*balī-karman*) accompanied with an incantation (*mantra*). According to the commentaries, Bhōja gives the following directions and incantation: 'He should there, with his face to the east, offer an oblation and then, on all four sides, with joined palms, devoted mind, and pure body, addressing the tree, repeat (the following words): 'Whatever spirits may inhabit this tree, let them depart hence; for to-morrow this tree is to be cut for a high object.''"

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that in all the passages where the *adhivāsana* ceremony is mentioned, so far as I have discovered, no reference is made to perfumes, although the frequent use of fragrant substances at religious ceremonies in India would make such references not at all surprising. In any event the employment of perfumes at the *adhivāsana* would be a mere accident, without any bearing on the original meaning of this ceremony.

Harivaṃśa 5994 contains the gerund *adhivāsyā*, and the noun *adhivāsana* occurs in the same text at vs. 6026 below. The text in the first passage is doubtful (see BR. s. v. *vāsay* + *adhi*), and neither passage is perfectly clear to me as to meaning. There is, however, certainly nothing in the context to uphold Langlois' translation "parfumant" for *adhivāsyā* (vide supra). If the reading of the Calcutta edition of 1839 be kept in vs. 5994, I should interpret *adhivāsyā 'tmanā 'tmānam* as "imbuing yourself with (your divine) nature (essence or power)", "dedicating yourself". If we accept the reading of the "neuer Ausgabe"<sup>1</sup> quoted by the Petersburg Dictionary, *adhivāsyā 'dya cā 'tmānam*, it seems to mean simply "consecrating yourself"—the same thing in the ultimate outcome although the development of the idea does not show itself so clearly. The later verse, 6026, contributes nothing to an understanding of the problem.

The phrase *pañcadivyaṅy adhivāsītāni*, then, means "the five divine instruments were imbued (with the superhuman power they were expected to use)", "they were consecrated". This meaning accords well with the *pañcadivyaṅy abhiṣiktāni* of the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*. The neuter noun *divya* is frequently found in the law-books in the sense of "ordeal". In our passages the word is used in a concrete instead of an abstract sense. Instead of "divine ordeal or test" it means "the instrument of divine test".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have no access to this later lithographed edition.

<sup>2</sup> Hence I prefer Tawney's "ordeal" to Jacobi's "die fünf königlichen Insignien".

*Tablets from Dréhem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.*—By MARY INDA HUSSEY, Cambridge, Mass.

From the large number of tablets that have come to light as the result of recent clandestine excavations by the Arabs, ten are to be found in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio, having been presented by Mr. John G. White of that city. They are said to have come from Dréhem<sup>1</sup>, a ruin in the neighborhood of Nippur; but the name of the month Šu-numun follows the nomenclature used at Umma (Jocha) and at Lagash (Tello), and there is reason to suppose that number one of this collection came from Jocha.

The Dréhem tablets are acknowledged by all to be the accounts of the stock-pens at Dréhem which supplied some great sanctuary, in all probability the temple of Ellil at Nippur, with cattle for its sacrifices. Attention has also been called to the large number of Semitic names, and Genouillac has pointed out the conclusion, namely, that Dréhem was near cities with a Semitic population, who sent their offerings to the Sumerian sanctuary. The Semitic names in these tablets are: <sup>4</sup>*Dun-gi-i-ll*, 5 Ob. 4 | <sup>4</sup>*Gimil-É-a*, 4 Ob. 2 | <sup>4</sup>*Gimil-Sin*, 9 Ob. 5, Rev. 6; 10 Rev. 9, both seal impressions Col. 1<sup>1</sup> | *I-din*-

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<sup>1</sup> Some 430 tablets from Dréhem have been published, as follows: "La Trouvaille de Dréhem", in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 7 (1909-10), pp. 186-191 (13 tablets). "L'Ordre des Noms de Mois sur les tablettes de Dréhem", *ibid.*, t. 8 (1911), pp. 84-88 (2 tablets), by Fr. Thureau-Dangin. *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 1911 (175 tablets); *La Trouvaille de Dréhem*, 1911 (91 tablets), by H. de Genouillac. *Tablets from the Archives of Dréhem*, 1911 (67 tablets), by S. Langdon. "Tablettes de Dréhem", by L. Delaporte in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 8 (1911), pp. 183-196 (22 tablets). *Cuneiform Texts*, Part XXXII, 1912 (31 tablets), copies by L. W. King. "Tablettes de Dréhem à Jerusalem", by P. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9 (1912), pp. 59-66 (42 tablets).



<sup>4</sup>*Da-gān*, 5 Ob. 6 | *La-ma-za-tum*, 1 Rev. 2 | *Na-ra-am-Ē-a*, 5 Ob. 7 | *Nu-ūr-Sin*, 6 Rev. 5; 7 Rev. 6; 8 Rev. 9, Seal, line 1; 10 Rev. 6, Seal on left edge of Rev., Col. 2<sup>1</sup> | <sup>4</sup>*Šamaš-ba-ni*, 5 Ob. 8 | *Wa-da-ru-um*, 5 Ob. 11.

The tablets published here range in date from the year  $x+32$  of Dungi to the 9th year Gimil-Sin.

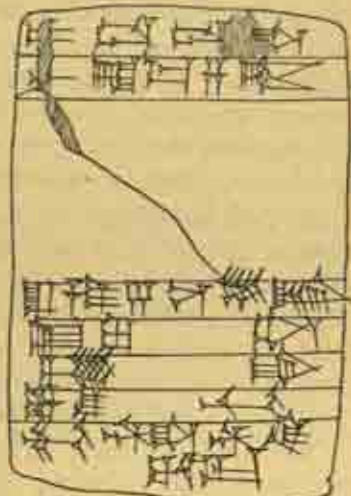
### Description of Tablets.

1. Debit and credit account (*sag niq-gar-ra-kam sag-bi-ta\*\* zi(g)-ga*)<sup>1</sup> of the sheep fold (*é-udu*) concerning 165 qa of barley, in the month *Šu-numun*, the year *Anšan* was destroyed (Dungi  $x+32$ ).

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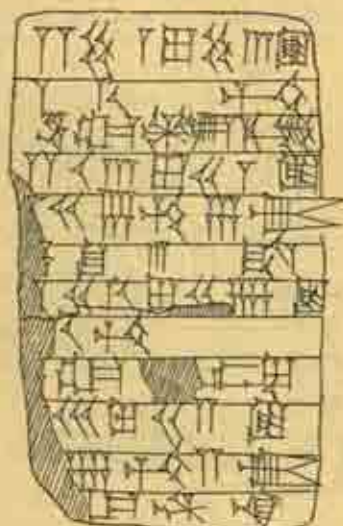
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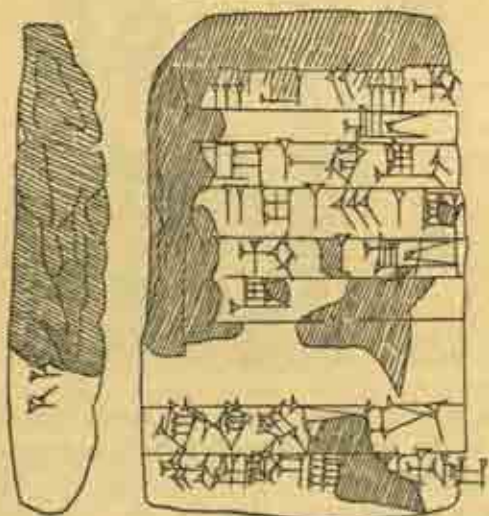
2. Account of the delivery of a large number ( $600 + 600 + [ ]$ ) of sheep and goats by *Nalul* during the last six months of the year *Urbillu* was destroyed (Dungi  $x+43$ ). [*Še-kin-kfud*] is the last month of the year Dungi  $x+43$ , as has been noted by Thureau-Dangin<sup>2</sup> for the years  $x+27$ ,  $x+30$ ,  $x+39$ ,  $x+40$  of Dungi and the years 1 and 3 of *Būr-Sin*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZA. XXV, p. 330; BA VI, 5, p. 71; *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello I*, p. 19, n. 1; *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 200; Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, no. 5544 sqq.; *Babyloniaca*, VI (1912), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rev. d'Assy.* t. 8, p. 86.

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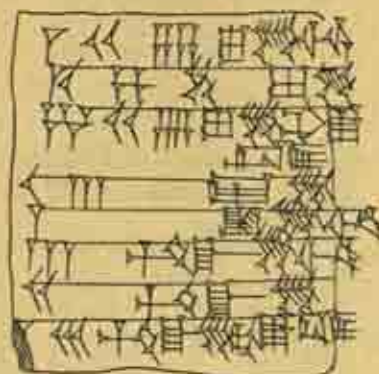
3. Account of the delivery of sheep and goats by *Ab-ba-ša(g)-ga*, which are taken in charge (*ni-KU*)<sup>2</sup> by *Na-lul* on the 13th day of the month *Ezen-an-na*, the year that the great

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Inventaire*, I, p. 6, n. 4.  
VOL. XXXIII. Part. II.

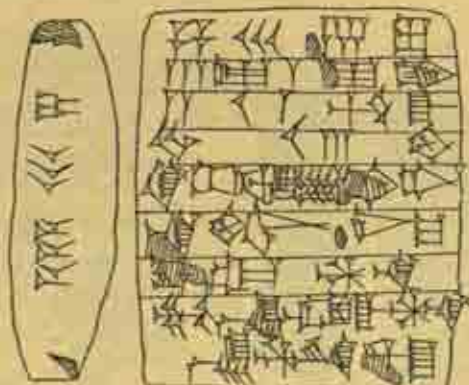
high priest of *Anu* was invested high priest of *Nanna(r)* (*Bûr-Sin* 4). Note: *udu-še gu(d)-e uš-sa* Ob. 3, *maš-gal-še gu(d)-e uš-sa* Ob. 8, and *sil-ga*, Rev. 2, sucking lamb.

No. 3.

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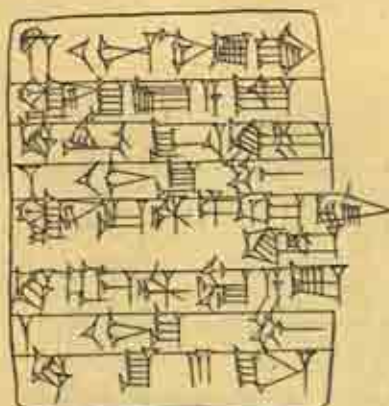


4. 4 cows, 2 *lul-lî rug-ga*<sup>1</sup> from the month *Šes-da-kû*, and 2 *šu-gid*<sup>2</sup> from the months *Ezen*-<sup>3</sup>*Nin-a-zu* and *Šu-eš-ša*, delivered by *Ab-ba-šû(g)-ga* and taken in charge by *In-ta-ê-a*, the year *Šašru* was destroyed (*Bûr-Sin* 6). The last sign in Ob. 5 (*ka* + *šu*) is unknown to me.

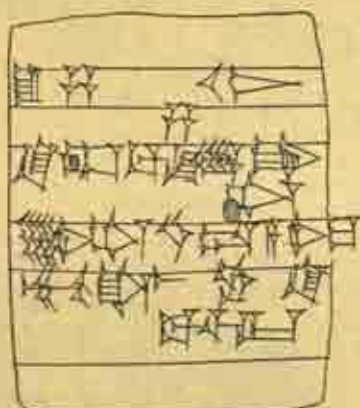
<sup>1</sup> Huber in *Hilprecht Ann.* Vol., p. 194 translates "mit Abzug der Gebühren"; Genouillac, *Inventaire*, 2, no. 629, "paiement de dettes", no. 789, "en paiement d'intérêt".

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of this term see *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 42, n. 6.



No. 4.  
OBVERSE.

## REVERSE.



5. An account of 21 sheep and goats, supplied (*mu-tum*) by 16 different persons, among whom are *Ur-Nin-kur-ra pa-te-si* (of Šuruppak) Ob. 9, and *Gû-de-a pa-te-si*<sup>1</sup> (of Kutha) Rev. 6; taken in charge by *Ab-ba-sâ(g)-ga* on the 12th day of the month *Ezen-mah*, the year the high priest of Eridu was invested (*Bâr-Sin* 8). Note: *udu-a-lum*<sup>2</sup> Ob. 5, 12, 14, Rev. 4;

<sup>1</sup> They figure not infrequently in the Dréhem tablets. Cf. the name-lists in Genouillac's works.

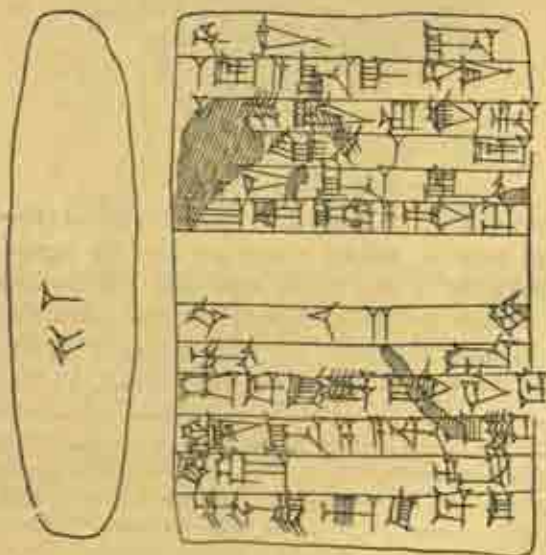
<sup>2</sup> Cf. *gum-a-lum*, in Genouillac. *Tab. de Dréhem*, 4683, Rev. 7. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 9, p. 40, calls attention to the use of the vowel *a* to mark the species to which animals belong.

uz maš-nu-a še Ob. 7, a fat female goat that has not had a kid(?).

No. 5.  
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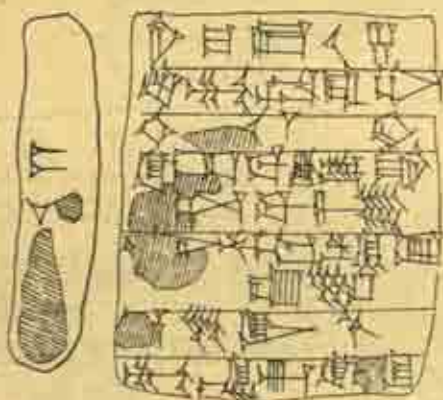
6. Account of the expenditure (*ba-zi*) by *Ab-ba-ša(g)-ga* of 12 sheep and goats, offerings (? *nig-dûr*) of 5-XV from among the supplies (*ša(g) mu-tûm-ra-ta*)<sup>1</sup>, the 11th day of

No. 6.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



the month *Še-kin-kud*, the year the high priest of *Eridu* was invested (*Bâr-Sin* 8). Note: *udu-a-lum-še 3 kam-uš*, Ob. 2, fat *a-lum* sheep for the 3rd time<sup>2</sup>; *mâš-gal lû-su še*, Ob. 4, fat goat-buck of the tanner<sup>2</sup>. Is *mâš-a-sig*, Ob. 7, interchange-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Genouillac, *Trouv. de Drâhem*, p. 20; Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, SA 208.

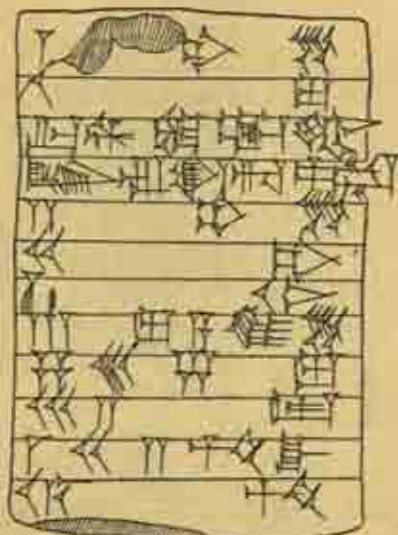
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 54, n. 3.



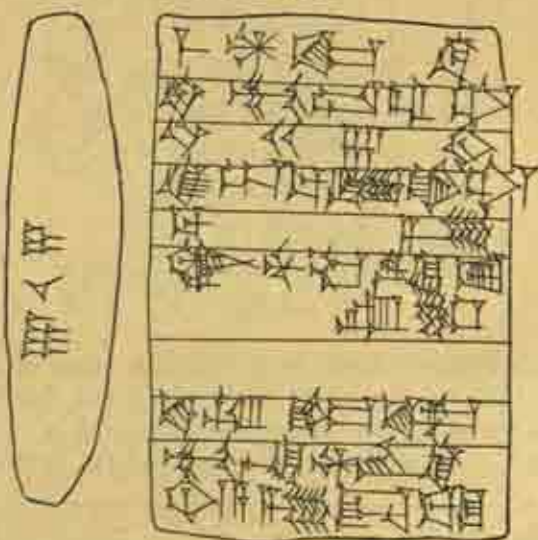
able with *sig-mâš*<sup>1</sup>? The sign *sig* (*Recherches sur l'Écriture Cunéiforme*, 464) varies somewhat from its usual form.

No. 7.

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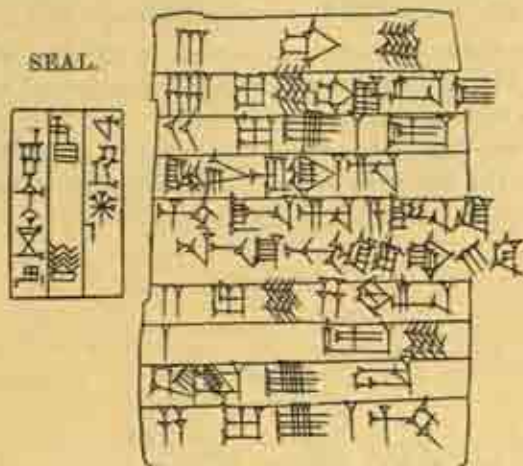
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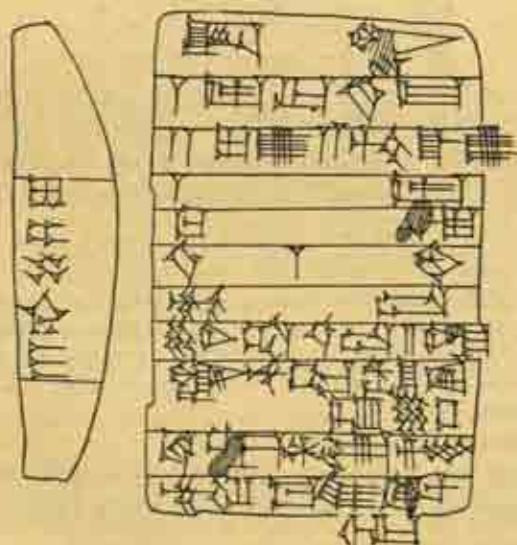
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 45, n. 2.

7. Account of the expenditure (*ba-zi*) by *Ab-ba ša(g)-ga* of 435 sheep and goats from among the supplies, the 27th day of the month *U-ne-kù*, the year the high priest of *Nanna(r)* of *Kar-zi-da* was invested (*Bār-Sin* 9). Note: *udu-a-lum-še*, Ob. 8; the name *Ur-Nin-ezen + la* (REC, 366), Ob. 3.

No. 8.  
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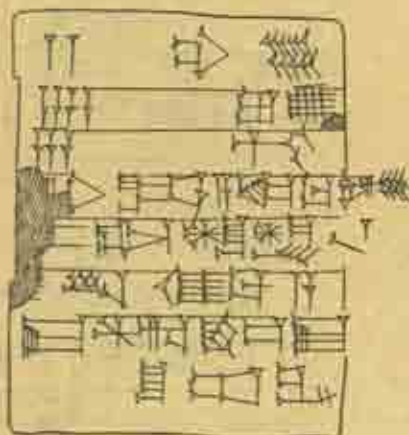


8. An account of supplies (*mu-tum*) of bullocks, sheep and goats, from *Lugal-mā-gir-ri*, dues from the *akitu* festival of the month *Šu-numun* in *Gaeš* (*maš-da-ri-a ā-ki-ti Šu-numun, ša(g) Ga-eš*<sup>1</sup>), and from *Ku-ā*; taken in charge by *In-ta-ē-a* the first day of the month *Ezen-<sup>2</sup>Dun-gi*, the year *Simanu* was destroyed (*Gimil-Sin* 3). The seal of *Nu-ūr-<sup>3</sup>Sin* ] *dup-sar* [*dujmu I-ti-ir-ra* has been run over the entire tablet, but the seal impression is in every case indistinct. Note: *udu-še gu(d)-e uš-sa*, Ob. 2; *udu-še 4-kam-uš*, Ob. 6..

9. An account of supplies (*mu-tum*) of bullocks, sheep, and goats, the offering (*kaš-de-a*)<sup>1</sup> of *Ka-ma-ni-zi šabra*<sup>2</sup> of *Gimil-<sup>3</sup>Sin*, an evening sacrifice (*ē-mi-ba-a*)<sup>3</sup>; for the temple of the gods they have been taken in charge (*ē dingir-re-ne-ge-šu ab-KU*).<sup>4</sup> On the 28th day of the month *Ezen-<sup>2</sup>Dun-gi* they

No. 9.

OBVERSE.



<sup>1</sup> Huber in *Hilprecht Ann.* Vol., p. 213, where the "*kaš-de-a*" consists of grain, regards it as a synonym of *ad-dē(g)*. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, AM. 13, renders it by libation where the offering is also made by a high official (*sukkal-mah*) for *ē-dingir-re-ne-ge*. Cf. Genouillac, *Tüb. de Dröben*, 1887.

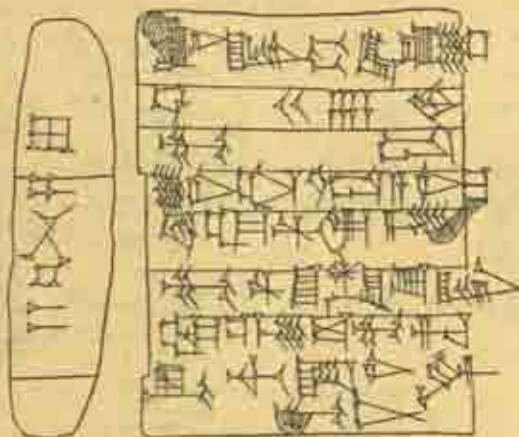
<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Inventaire*, 2, no. 650, *šabra* *En-il*.

<sup>3</sup> Delaporte, *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 8, p. 195, No. 18 ob. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *Inventaire*, 2, no. 796, Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, AM. 13.



## REVERSE



## SEAL.



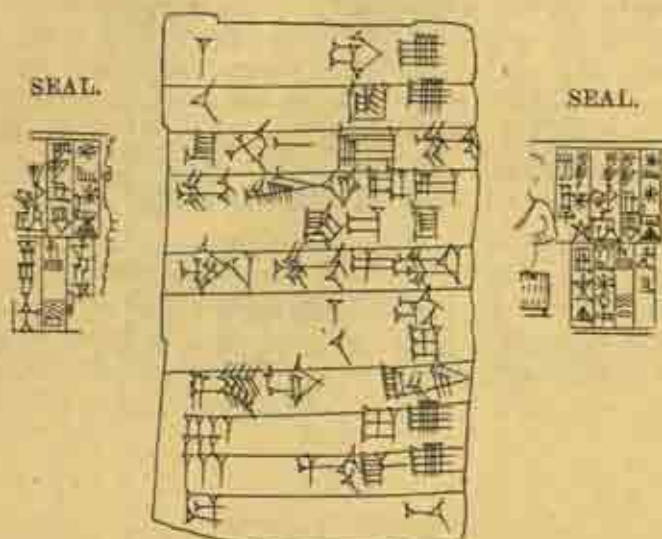
were taken in charge by *In-ta-ê-a*, the year <sup>4</sup>*Gimil-ê-Sin* the king built the wall of the west, (named) *Murîq-Tîdnim* (*Gimil-Sin* 4). Stamped seven times, but always indistinctly, with the seal of *Lugal-amar-azag dupsar dumu Na-šog X.<sup>1</sup>*

10. Expended (*ba-zi*) by *Ur-azag-mun-na*: on behalf of the king 1 bullock, 10 sheep from the pasture (*udu-šam*) as *šu-gid ê-mu* in the name of the commissaries (*mu lu-šuk(um)-ra-ge-ne-šû*)<sup>2</sup>; 10 dead sheep <sup>4</sup>*Dun-gi-uru-mu* has received (*šu-ba-an-ti*); the 25th day of the month *Ezen-ê-Me-ki-gâl*, the year

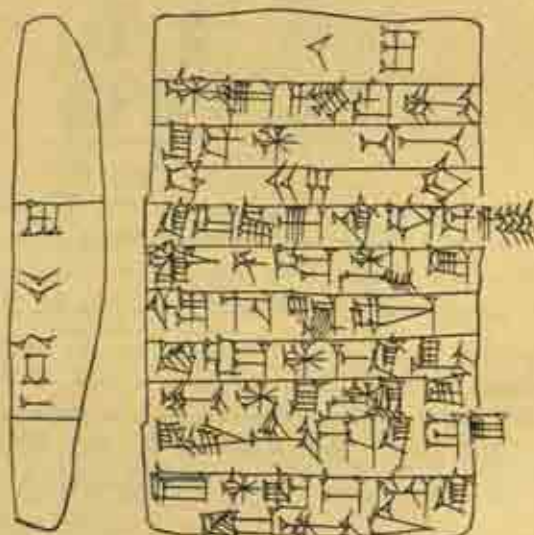
<sup>1</sup> REC. no. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *lu-gid ê-mu mu-bil-Bur-ê-Sin-ge-ne-šû*, "réserve de cuisine pour les chauffeurs (?) de Bûr-Sin", *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 51, SA 172; *šu-gid ê-mu mu-uku-ê-ge-ne-šû*, *ibid.*, SA 159, 162, 188.

No. 10.  
OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



<sup>4</sup>*Gimil-Sin* the king built the temple of the god X<sup>1</sup> of *Umma* (*Gimil-Sin* 9).

<sup>1</sup> REC. no. 458.

The obverse has been stamped nine times, and the reverse eight times, with a seal which reads: (Col. 1) *4Gimil-<sup>a</sup>Sin lugal ag-ga lugal uri-<sup>a</sup>ma lugal-an-ub-da tab-ba* (Col. 2) *Hu-u[n] ] dup-sar dumu Gimil-<sup>a</sup>Adab sahar arad-zu*. To Gimil-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the world, Hu-u[n] ] the scribe, son of Gimil-Adab the *sahar* thy servant. The left edge of the reverse bears two impressions of a seal likewise dedicated to Gimil-Sin<sup>1</sup> by Nu-ur-<sup>a</sup>Si[n] *dup-sar dumu I-ti*.

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<sup>1</sup> For other seals dedicated to the same ruler, see Janncau, *Une Dynastie Chaldéenne*, pp. 49, 53—54.



*Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes.*—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,  
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I.

There are two views taken of wine in the Old Testament, one a decidedly unfavorable view, and the other of a more favorable character. As an illustration of the unfavorable view, the account given in Genesis 9, 20—27 of the beginning of viniculture furnishes a characteristic illustration. In this little addition to the Jahwist's account of the Deluge,<sup>1</sup> the planting of the vine leading to Noah's fall from grace is clearly introduced as a protest against the use of wine. Similarly, in the folk-tale, Gen. 19, 31—38, of the origin of the tribes of Ammon and Moab, there is a very distinct antagonism against the use of wine. The drunken Lot because of the wine engages in shameful intercourse with his two daughters.<sup>2</sup> The assumption in the Noah and in the Lot incident is that he who drinks wine gets drunk and disgraces himself.

This opposition to viniculture is in keeping with a tendency in many parts of the Old Testament which looks with disfavor on the advance to a higher form of culture. Abel the shepherd is given the preference over Cain the tiller of the soil and the city builder. In the Pentateuchal Codes agri-

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<sup>1</sup> See Budde *Urgeschichte*, p. 313 seq. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 71, and Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 182 seq., though it is not necessary to assume with Budde, Skinner, and others, that the section does not know anything of the Deluge. It is introduced as a *tendency-tale*.

<sup>2</sup> It matters little for our purposes what the purpose of the tale is, though I confess that Gunkel's explanation (p. 197 seq.) seems to me very artificial.

culture is preferred to commerce which is looked upon askance.<sup>1</sup> The simple tribal organization is preferred to a union into a Kingdom<sup>2</sup>—in short, simplicity over any advancing form of luxury which comes with the higher culture. The prophets are full of protests against what from the ordinary point of view would be regarded as material and political progress. The Rechabites,<sup>3</sup> surviving to the period of the Exile, represent this protest of the lower culture against the higher one, emphasized by their opposition to wine and by their dwelling in tents in preference to houses—the symbol of the higher culture, concomitant with city life.

The Book of Proverbs, despite the late date of its final form, maintains on the whole the antagonistic attitude towards wine. In such sayings as Pr. 23, 31, "Look not on wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup", etc.;<sup>4</sup> Pr. 20, 1, "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is a brawler", the assumption still is that he who drinks wine gets drunk and is led to other excesses. "He who loves wine and oil will not be rich", (Pr. 21, 17) where the juxtaposition with oil illustrates the protest against luxury. A somewhat cynical point of view is set forth in the later chapter 31, 4—7, where we read:<sup>5</sup>

"It is not for kings to drink wine,  
Nor for rulers to mix strong drink;  
Lest, drinking, they forget the law,  
And disregard the rights of the suffering.  
Give strong drink to him who is perishing,  
Wine to him who is in bitter distress;

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<sup>1</sup> The prohibition against taking interest—aimed against Babylonian practices—and emphasized in three of the Codes (Ex. 22, 24; Lev. 25, 36—37; Deut. 23, 20—21) is virtually an enjoiner upon commerce which cannot be carried on without making loans on interest. The words "to the stranger thou mayst lend on interest" (Deut. 23, 21) are a later addition—a concession to actual conditions, but not in keeping with the spirit of the original provision.

<sup>2</sup> The institution of the kingdom is viewed as an act of disloyalty to Jahweh (I Sam. 12, 12). The view taken of the kingdom and what will happen through the institution is illustrated by Deut. 17, 14—17 and by the parable in Judges 9, 7—15.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 35, 5—10.

<sup>4</sup> See also Pr. 23, 20—21; 29—30.

<sup>5</sup> Toy's rendering and reading (*Critical and Evangelical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, p. 539).

That, drinking, he may forget his poverty,  
And think of his misery no more."

Wine drinking had evidently become a common practice, but was still viewed with disfavor in certain circles whose contemptuous attitude is indicated in these words. Elsewhere, to be sure, e. g., Pr. 9, 2 and 5, "mixed wine" is introduced by the side of meat and bread without any implied opposition, though it is still a wide step to the praise of wine in the later Psalm 104, 15.

"And wine to cheer man's heart,  
Oil to make his skin to shine,  
And bread to strengthen man's heart."<sup>1</sup>

We may perhaps be permitted to conclude from such passages as I Sam. 10, 3; 16, 20; 25, 18; II Sam. 16, 1—2, that by the time of the establishment of the Kingdom, the use of wine had become common; and it is significant that according to the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 14, 26) both wine and strong drink may be indulged in on the occasion of the festivals, showing that by the end of the seventh century opposition to it had ceased even in religious circles.<sup>2</sup>

The later view of post-exilic Judaism is reflected in the juxtaposition of "bread and wine", as the accessory to the blessing formula in Gen. 14, 18.<sup>3</sup> Pre-exilic and post-exilic prophets still protest against excess in drinking and make use of the wine bibber as a picture of lewdness and disgrace. (Is. 5, 11, 22; 22, 13; 28, 7; Joel 1, 5; Zach. 9, 15) but it is no longer assumed that drinking necessarily leads to drunkenness.<sup>4</sup> A good wine crop is looked upon as a sign of divine favor and its failure as a sign of God's displeasure—on the same plane with a good or bad yield in corn or oil, e. g., Amos 5, 11; 9, 14; Is. 16, 10; 24, 11; Jer. 13, 12; 40, 10, 12; 48, 33; Zeph. 1, 13; Micha 6, 15; cf. Deut. 28, 39 and

<sup>1</sup> Horace Howard Furness' translation in *Polychrome Bible*, ed. Haupt.

<sup>2</sup> See also Deut. 28, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Gunkel, *Genesis* p. 263, has happily and tersely described this chapter as a "legend of the time of Judaism", based on some historical reminiscences which are woven into the story, intended to bring Abraham into relationship with the great figures of Babylonian history.

<sup>4</sup> In Hosea, 4, 11, the words "Harlotry and wine and meat take away the understanding", represent an old proverb inserted as appropriate at this place by some redactor.



Lam. 2, 12. The metaphor introduced in the late passage Zach. 10, 7, "their heart rejoiceth as with wine" approaches the attitude expressed in the 104th Psalm as quoted above.

On the other hand when we are told, Gen. 27, 25, that Jacob brought his father, Isaac, wine, it is evident that the words "and he brought him wine and he drank" represent a later addition to the original Jahwist narrative<sup>1</sup> to make the story conform to later conditions. Throughout the narrative (v. 17 and she placed the "dainties and the food"; v. 19, "eat of my venison" cf. v. 31-33) food only is referred to, and the manner in which the words in question are attached betray the later gloss or comment.

A distinction between earlier and later social conditions is also revealed in the stereotyped phrase דָּגָן תִּירוֹשׁ וְיֵשָׁר (dāgān, tīrōš yishār) characteristic of Deuteronomy—<sup>2</sup> for summing up the products of the land, where tīrōš takes the place of the later yayin and represents a preparation of the grape juice in a less advanced stage than the finished fermented product. It has, of course, been noted by commentators<sup>3</sup> that the other two terms *dagan* (corn) and *yishār* (oil) are replaced in later usage by חִטִּים (*hittim*)<sup>4</sup> and זֶמֶן (*semen*) so that there are substantial grounds for believing that the Deuteronomic phrase belongs to an earlier stage in agricultural development<sup>5</sup> when so far as the grape was concerned the process of manufacturing a thoroughly fermented article had not yet been perfected. Without going into the vexed question of the etymology of

<sup>1</sup> Recognized as such by Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 7, 13; 11, 14; 12, 17; 14, 23; 18, 4; 28, 51. The occurrence of the phrase in such passages as Hos. 2, 10, 24, Haggai 1, 11, Joel 2, 19, and II Chron. 31, 5, and Neh. 5, 11; 10, 40; 13, 5, 12 is of course a reminiscence or direct quotation of the Deuteronomic usage, while הֶלֶב תִּירוֹשׁ (heleb, tīrōš, dāgān) in Num. 18, 12 is a variant phrase similarly dependent. The phrase דָּגָן וְתִירוֹשׁ (dāgān and tīrōš) e. g., Gen. 27, 28, 37 (Elohist); Deut. 33, 28; II Kgs. 18, 33; Hos. 7, 14; Zach. 9, 17; Ps. 4, 8; Is. 62, 8;—occurring chiefly in poetical passages—likewise represents a variant of the archaic formula.

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Dāgān*, however, continues to be used in later poetical compositions, e. g. in Ezekiel 36, 29; Ps. 65, 10; 78, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Indicated also by the use of tīrōš and not yayin in the parable Jud. 9, 13 where the vine says "shall I abandon my tīrōš that rejoiceth god (Elohim) and men?"

*yayin*,<sup>1</sup> as a loan-word in Hebrew, it points to the foreign origin of the process involved and it would be natural that as an importation among the Hebrews, due to advancing luxury, it should meet with opposition on the part of those who clung tenaciously to older established and simpler customs.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

The conservative character associated in all religions with practices of the cult should prepare us for finding traces of the earlier unfavorable view taken of wine and viniculture in the Pentateuchal regulations regarding the temple service. Such is indeed the case. In Lev. 10, 9 we encounter the prohibition emphasized as "an everlasting statute for all times" that the priests are not to drink wine (*yayin*) or strong drink (*šēkār*) upon coming to the "tent of meeting".<sup>3</sup> The little section (vv. 8-9) in which this prohibition is set forth is independent of the rest of the chapter and impresses one as an old ordinance which is carried over from earlier days. The mention of the "tent of meeting"—which whenever it occurs in the Pentateuchal Codes is, I think, an indication of an early practice, though modified and adapted to later conditions—points in the same direction. The decree finds its counterpart in Ezekiel 44, 21 where the priests are cautioned not to drink wine when they come to the "inner court"

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, s. v. There is no underlying verbal stem from which *yā* might be derived in use in any of the Semitic Languages. The occurrence of a doubtful *īw* in a syllabary does not justify us in claiming the word as Babylonian. The late occurrence in Arabic and Ethiopic proves nothing as to its origin. Even if it should turn out to be a Semitic word, it is clearly a loan-word in Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase "milk and honey" though characteristic of P (Ex. 3, 8; 13, 5; 33, 3. Num. 13, 27; 14, 5. 16. 13. 14) and of the additions to the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 6, 3; 11, 9; 26, 9. 15; 27, 3; 31, 20) reflects an even earlier social stage than *dāḡan*, *tirōš* and *yīšār* and is evidently retained with intent to reflect the conditions prevailing during the nomadic period of Hebrew history. Mohammed's prohibition of wine is a trace of the same opposition of the "nomadic" stage of culture against the innovations of higher civilization. See the incident referred to by Mittwoch, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets" (*Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1913, *Phil.-Hist. Klasse* Nr. 2, p. 14).



—representing the adaptation of the earlier law to the temple as sketched by Ezekiel. Now, to be sure, both in Leviticus and in Ezekiel the prohibition is limited (according to the wording) to the time of the actual carrying out of priestly functions, but it looks very much as though this were a concession made to later practice and that originally the priests were not permitted to drink wine at all as in the case of the *nāzîr* who, as his name indicates, represents one "set aside" or dedicated to a deity. The indications are that the term *nāzîr* is merely an old designation of a priest.<sup>1</sup> Like the *kôhên* he is not to come into contact with a dead body (Num. 6, 6—7; cf. Lev. 21, 1),<sup>2</sup> and it is therefore a fair inference that the prohibition against drinking wine (*yayin*) and strong drink (*shekar*) in Num. 6, 3,<sup>3</sup> was likewise a general ordinance for priests.

<sup>1</sup> Amos 2, 11—12, who rebukes the people for giving the Nazirites wine and ordering the prophets not to prophesy, uses "nazirites and prophets" as elsewhere we find "prophets and priests" contrasted or placed in juxtaposition, e. g., Jer. 5, 31; 29, 11, 16; Zach. 7, 3. Neh. 9, 32; etc. The later view of the "nazirite" as one "set aside" without affiliation with any priesthood is illustrated in Luke 1, 15 foretelling the coming of John who "shall drink neither wine nor strong drink". The older attitude towards wine is well illustrated also by Jud. 13, 14 where wine and strong drink are put on the same level as "unclean" food—they defile and are therefore to be avoided by the wife of Manoah who is to keep herself free from contamination, as though she too were "set aside".

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions in v. 2—4 represent again a concession, due to the large body of priests assumed for the central sanctuary. From the fact that the exceptions do not apply to the high priest (v. 11), we may conclude that the law not to touch a dead body under any circumstances applied rigorously at one time to all priests.

<sup>3</sup> The law in its original form read "From wine and strong drink he shall separate himself". What follows (v. 3—4) is in the nature of a "*Gemärkt*" to the law, specifying the answers to such questions, does wine and strong drink include vinegar of wine and of strong drink? Yes. How about grape juice? Yes—forbidden. How is it with fresh or dried grapes? They also are forbidden. In fact anything made of grapes is included in the prohibition (v. 4). Haggai 2, 11—17 furnishes an interesting example of such questions and priestly decisions (note the technical use of *tôrâ* in the passage!) as constituting a regular practice. For further illustration of this method of superimposing layers embodying decisions in regard to the details involved in a law, see the writer's paper on "An Analysis of Leviticus 13 and 14" in a forthcoming number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. This 6th chapter of Numbers



At all events, if the priest is not to drink wine on entering the sanctuary, the assumption is as in the passages voicing the opposition to wine, that he who drinks wine becomes drunk and with such an attitude towards wine, is it likely that wine should have been included among the ingredients of a sacrifice in Jahweh's sanctuary?

### III.

Taking up the passages in the Codes where wine is introduced, we find it in three sections which represent general summaries of priestly regulations and furnish clear indications of having been independent little groups. That at least, is certainly the case in Numbers, Chap. 15, 1-11<sup>1</sup> and Chap. 28-29<sup>2</sup>—both belonging to the so-called Priestly Code. Attached to the burnt-offering in all the cases instanced is a *minha* or meal offering consisting of fine flour with oil and wine. The amount of the wine is throughout regulated to correspond to the amount of the oil—<sup>3</sup> 1/4 of a Hin of oil for a lamb and the same amount of wine, 1/3 of a Hin of oil and the same amount of wine for a ram and 1/2 Hin of oil and the same of wine for a young of cattle or bullock.<sup>4</sup> This in itself is an indication that the wine is dependent upon the oil—constituting an additional ingredient added to the conventional

represents the combination of two distinct themes (1) the *nāzir*-law and (2) the laws regarding the one who vows to "separate" himself for a limited period, i. e., to become a temporary *nāzir*—a later practice. The detailed analysis of this chapter must be left for some other occasion.

<sup>1</sup> v. 1-16 is a little *Tôrâ*—furnishing general regulations for sacrifices and has no connection with the following sections which deal with miscellaneous ordinances, put together without any apparent method. The chapter is sandwiched in between a narrative of the people's murmurings against Jahweh and the rebellion of Korah.

<sup>2</sup> These two chapters form a little *Tôrâ* of sacrificial regulations for the daily offerings, for the Sabbath, for the new moon, for the Passover, for the "day of firstlings", for the first and tenth days of the seventh month and for the Hag or pilgrimage festival.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 15, 4-9; 28, 5-7, 14. In the latter passage "and their libations are 1/2 of a Hin for a bullock, 1/3 of a Hin for a ram and 1/2 of a Hin for a bullock"—thus specified once for all, so that in the rest of the two chapters, the amount is briefly indicated by the phrase "their libations".

<sup>4</sup> Num. 15, 8  $\text{חֲמִשָּׁה הִין}$  —  $\text{חֲמִשָּׁה הִין}$  Num. 29, 12, 14 etc. etc. The combination  $\text{חֲמִשָּׁה הִין}$  Ex. 29, 1. Lev. 4, 3, 14; 16, 3; 23, 18; Num. 8, 8; 15, 24; 29, 2; Ezek. 43, 19, 22, 23, 25 etc. (and  $\text{חֲמִשָּׁה הִין}$  Num. Chapt. 28, 11, 19; 29, 13, 17) is a later redundant designation.

*minha* of "flour mixed with oil". The manner in which the wine is always tacked on (Num. 15, 5. 7. 10; 28, 7—8, 14)<sup>1</sup> as is a further indication of the supplemental character of the libation. Similarly, in Lev. 23<sup>2</sup> (Holiness Code) detailing regulations for the three festivals (Passover, Shabuot, and Sukkot) and the first and tenth<sup>3</sup> days of the seventh month, the libation of wine for the *minha* introduced only in the case of the "wave" offering on the day after the first day of Passover (v. 13) is tacked on to "flour mixed with oil" in an unmistakable manner.<sup>4</sup>

In confirmation of the view here taken of the wine as a later addition to the flour and oil, we find in Lev. Chapter 2, where the *minhā* offering is set forth in detail, that the wine is omitted. In its place, apparently, we find the frankincense which is attached to the flour and oil.<sup>5</sup> A handful of the flour and oil with all of the frankincense is placed as a "memorial"<sup>6</sup> (זִכָּרֹן) on the altar, consisting of a "fragrant fire offering", while the rest (i. e., of the flour and oil) is given to the priest, forming as expressly stated "holy of holies of the fire offerings of Jahweh". Verses 4—9 represent again super-

<sup>1</sup> Note how in Num. 28, 15. 24. 31; 29, 11. 16. 19. 22. 25. 28. 31. 34. 38. 39 "libation" or "libations" is added at the close of the verse.

<sup>2</sup> No sacrifices are prescribed in this chapter with the exception of the two "wave" offerings, one consisting of a one-year old lamb with a *minha* for the day after the first day of Passover (v. 11—13) and one for the 50th day after the first day of Passover, consisting of a "new *minha*" (v. 16—17) specified as two loaves of "bread of waving" (לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה) with seven lambs, one bullock, two rams (v. 18)—representing an addition to the "grain" offering to which as a second supplement (v. 19) a goat as a sin-offering and two lambs as a "peace-offering" are attached.

<sup>3</sup> יוֹם הַתְּעִנִּים הַזֶּה (v. 27. 28) as the designation of this 10th day is a later gloss. In v. 27, the Greek version omits these words.

<sup>4</sup> v. 13 "and its *minha* 220 of fine flour mixed with oil as a fire offering to Jahweh, a pleasant fragrance" clearly ends with נִיחֹחַ נִיחֹחַ. To this there is added rather awkwardly "and its libation" to which furthermore on the basis of Num. 15 and 28—30 the gloss "1/4 of a Hin" is added. The amount of oil, be it noted, is not stipulated here any more than it is in Lev. Chap. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. 2, 1—3.

<sup>6</sup> I use the conventional renderings for the technical term זִכָּרֹן, רִיחַ, אֵשֶׁת, חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד etc., though I am satisfied that all of them need investigation and that they embody much more primitive notions than are conveyed by the usual translations.



imposed layers upon the original *minhā* ordinance, indicating the various forms in which the mixture of flour and oil may be brought as (1) cakes or wafers baked in an oven, (2) baked in a flat pan in small pieces with oil poured on them or, (3) in a cauldron (?) (מִנְחָה פֶּרֶקֶשֶׁת). In all cases some of the *minhā* is burnt on the altar and the rest given to the priests.<sup>1</sup> Wine, however, is not mentioned and since it is stipulated that the cakes are to be "unleavened" (מִנְחָה v. 4-5) and it is further expressly stated that the *minhā* is not to consist of any leaven, (v. 11) it is evident that the wine as a fermented product would by virtue of this be absolutely excluded.

Similarly, in the *minhā* prescribed in the second purification ritual<sup>2</sup> for the one healed of the *šāraʿat* we have flour with oil<sup>3</sup> but no wine and so in the *minhā* prescribed as a "guilt"

<sup>1</sup> Lev. 7, 9 where these three forms of *minhā* are again mentioned, but no reference is made to any *azkārā*.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. 14, 8<sup>b</sup>-30. See the study of this ritual in the writer's paper on Leviticus, 13 and 14—above referred to.

<sup>3</sup> The amount of oil is here specified in a gloss as "one log" (Lev. 14, 10, 12; also v. 21 in the "substitute" offering). Although the term *minhā* is introduced (v. 10) and the amount of flour specified as 3/20, this is done in order to make the ritual conform to the later practice of attaching a *minhā* to every animal sacrifice as set forth in Numbers 15 and 28-29. In the purification ritual the oil *alone* is utilized (Lev. 14, 15-18; 26-29) and instead of being partly offered with the flour on the altar and the rest given to the priest, it is used like the blood of the "guilt" offering (v. 14, 25) to touch the ear lobe, the right thumb, and the right large toe of the one to be purified and the rest to be poured over his head. This is certainly not a *minhā*, but some primitive rite to make the one out of whom the demon of disease has been driven immune against a renewed invasion. In this case the animal sacrifices have been superimposed upon the "oil" rite; and here again two layers may be recognized (a) an earlier one represented by an ewe (v. 10) cf. Lev. 5, 6) as a guilt offering (v. 14) and (b) two lambs (v. 10) one as a sin offering, the other as a burnt offering (v. 19) in accordance with the conventional later practice. With the growth of the priestly organization—especially in the sanctuary at Jerusalem—necessitating the providing of an income for the priests, animal sacrifices became predominant and the *minhā* became an adjunct to the various kinds of animal offerings—sin-offerings, burnt offerings and peace-offerings—with the natural tendency to increase these offerings steadily. A good illustration of this tendency is to be seen in a comparison of Ez. 46, 6-7 with Num. 28, 11-15, the sacrifices for the new moon, viz:



offering (עֹלָה) (Lev. 5, 11—12) for the one who cannot afford even two turtle doves or two pigeons as a substitute for the ewe or kid (female), there is no wine, any more than in the *minhā* which is to accompany the "peace offering" (Lev. 7, 12—13). Furthermore, in a comparison of the sacrificial regulations for the new moon as given in Ezekiel, 46, 6—7 with Num. 28, 11—15, we have the direct proof that the wine is a later addition, for Ezekiel *does not mention it*, while it is included, as above set forth, in the Priestly Code.<sup>1</sup>

The obvious conclusion therefore is that the wine represents a later addition to the ritual and the omission in Ezekiel forms a definite terminus for the introduction. It is clearly post-exilic and the manner in which the libation of wine has been tacked on to the *minhā* in the three sections discussed furthermore shows that even in the post-exilic codes, the wine represents a later layer superimposed on earlier ones. The

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Ezekiel	Numbers
1 bullock	2 bullocks
6 lambs	7 lambs
1 ram	1 ram

On the other hand the *minhā* is larger in Ezekiel.

Ezekiel	Numbers
1 Ephā (of flour) for the bullock	3/20 of an Ephā for each bullock
1 Ephā for the ram	2/20 for the ram
As much as one can afford for the lambs	1/10 for each lamb
One Hin of oil for each Ephā	

The amount of oil is not specified in Numbers but the assumption is (cf. Num. 28, 5; 15, 4, 5, 9) 1/2 Hin for the bullock, 1/3 Hin for the ram and 1/4 Hin for each lamb as is shown by the amount of wine (*only* in Numbers!) in v. 14. See Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch* I, p. 128. In Lev., chapters 1 and 3—5 specifying the regulations for the burnt offering (עֹלָה) peace offering (שְׁלֵמִים) for the sin offering (חַטָּאת) and guilt offering (עֲוֹן) no *minhā* is attached, but in Chap. 6, it is tacked on to the burnt-offering (v. 7—11) and in Chap. 7, 11—13, it is rather awkwardly dovetailed into the "peace" offering as a kind of supplemental "thanksgiving" offering (תְּנוּחָה). Clearly then the practice as detailed in Num. 15 and 28—29 where the *minhā* appears as the regular addition represents the later practice.

<sup>1</sup> The *āsām* is not to be distinguished in the Codes from the *hattāt*, as the statement, Lev. 7, 7 "There is one law for the *hattāt* as for the *āsām*" or Lev. 14, 13 "the *āsām* is like the *hattāt*" shows. Whether originally there was a distinction is another question which is probably to be answered in the affirmative.

innovation therefore belongs to a period when all opposition to the use of fermented wine had disappeared, when it had not only become a common article of daily life but when wine had become as in Psalm 104 and Zachariah 10, 7; (cf. also Eccles. 10, 19) a symbol of joy. A trace of the older attitude, however, remained in the prohibition that the priest was not to take wine on entering the sanctuary, because of the old feeling that wine drinking leads to drunkenness.<sup>1</sup> The subject is of interest because of the extensive use to which wine was put in the later Jewish ritual where, as is well-known, the wine becomes the symbol for the sanctification of the Sabbath and of the Jewish festivals<sup>2</sup> and which is reflected in the New Testament passages regarding wine.<sup>3</sup>

It is thus a far cry from the opposition to viniculture expressed in Genesis—maintained by the Rechabites down to the time of the Exile and implied in the Nazir's abstention from wine—to the use of wine as indicated in the latest layers of the Pentateuchal Codes, and it is a still wider step to the blessings over the "fruit of the wine" which is such a significant feature of the official Jewish ritual<sup>4</sup> and to the use of four cups of wine as marking the divisions of the family service—the so-called *Seder*—on the eve of the Passover festival.

In view of the recent investigations of Professor Erdmanns,<sup>5</sup> which have again moved the question as to the composition of the Pentateuchal Codes into the foreground, it is, I think, of some importance to show through a specific example, as I

<sup>1</sup> May we perhaps see in the Talmudic ordinance (*Berakot* 31a) forbidding any one who has taken a certain quantity of wine from reciting the prescribed prayers, a further trace of this feeling? See Mittwoch, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets und Kultus" (*Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1913, *Phil.-Hist. Klasse.* Nr. 2, p. 14).

<sup>2</sup> See the article *Kiddush* in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* VI, p. 483, and *Talmud Babil. Berakot* 35a.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew 26, 27-29 = Mark 14, 23-25 = Luke 22, 17-18. Wine was considered the natural accompaniment to a marriage feast (John 2, 3-10). The passages in 1 Timothy 5, 23 where Timothy is urged not to drink water but to "use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine other infirmities" is significant, though naturally the warning against over-indulgence is still inculcated, e.g. 1 Timothy 3, 8; Titus 2, 3; Eph. 5, 18. The reference to the use of oil and wine for wounds in Luke 10, 34 is interesting.

<sup>4</sup> *Berakot* (*Misna*) VI, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Alttestamentliche Studien.* (4 Parts) See especially the 4th part giving the results of his study of Leviticus.



have endeavored here, the way in which the Codes reflect varying social conditions separated from one another by a span of several centuries. Prof. Erdmanns is no doubt right in many of his contentions as to the age of many of the provisions in the so-called Priestly Code and the Holiness Code. The criticism to be passed upon his analysis of Leviticus is that it does not go deep enough, whereas on the other hand his conclusions are too radical and not warranted by the evidence that he brings forward. Instead of maintaining that the entire legislation in the Pentateuch is pre-exilic, I venture to set up the thesis that *all* the Codes conventionally recognized by critics show evidence of having originated at a time when the religious organization at the sanctuaries scattered throughout Palestine was very simple, the religious practices still close to primitive phases of religious beliefs and the social conditions correspondingly simple. Over this basic stratum, a large number of layers have been superimposed, representing (a) more or less radical modifications of the original laws to adapt them to later conditions, and to make them conform to the needs of a large central sanctuary with an elaborately organized priesthood that had to be provided for; (b) priestly decisions in answer to questions regarding the scope and specific application of any given law; (c) comments of an explanatory character including glosses, definition of terms, variant expressions and the like. In other words we have in these Codes the same process that is to be seen in the superimposition of the Gemārā upon the Mišnā in the regulations of Rabbinical Judaism. The result is that the Pentateuchal Codes represent a *continuous* tradition and growing practice, extending from early days to the definite organization—though largely theoretical—of the post-exilic temple service. For the sake of convenience, such designations as the Priestly Code with its various subdivisions<sup>1</sup> may be retained, but it must be recognized that the terms do not convey any sense of organic unity, and that the subdivisions recognized have nothing more than a formal value. Each little section consisting frequently of a few verses only must be taken by itself and separated into its component parts—basic stratum and superimposed layers—and the attempt made to differentiate between the

<sup>1</sup> See Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch I*, p. 155 seq.



social and religious conditions reflected in the original law and those indicated in the subsequent accretions.<sup>1</sup> Frequently, however, these little sections have been combined into a group where again the process corresponding to the growth of a *Gemārā* around a *Mišnā* may be followed in detail. Briefly put, the Pentateuchal Codes, properly interpreted, form the accompaniment to the social and religious evolution of Hebrew civilization from the beginnings of a confederation of the Hebrew tribes to the time of Ezra and perhaps even for some decades beyond Ezra.

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<sup>1</sup> I have endeavored to do this in the case of the *sārā* of legislation (Lev. 13-14) in the article several times referred to and I hope to follow this up by studies of such sections as the Atonement ritual (Lev. 16), the Nazirite *Tōrā* (Num. 6), the "red heifer" (Num. 19), the ordeal in the case of the woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5), etc., all of which will, I think, through the application of this method yield valuable results.

*The Mystery of Fu-lin.*—By FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Professor  
in Columbia University, New York City.

II.

(Continued from Vol. xxx, 1909, p. 31.)

9. The Emperor Yang-ti's Fu-lin.

At the time to which this name Fu-lin, said to correspond to the Ta-ts'in of the later Han period, is first applied in Chinese literature China had no political relations with either Rome or Byzantium. We read in the *Kiu-t'ang-shu*<sup>1</sup> that "the Emperor Yang-ti of the Sui dynasty [A. D. 605—617] always wished to open intercourse with Fu-lin, but did not succeed." We do not read in the *Sui-shu* history of Yang-ti's reign of any attempt to communicate in a direct way with Fu-lin, whether this represents Syria or the great Roman empire of which it formed a part at times; but since the *T'ang-shu*<sup>2</sup> speaks of P'ei Kū, the Emperor's Commissioner in Central Asia, who "communicated with all countries except T'ien-chu (India) and Fu-lin," we may take it for granted that the attempt to realize the emperor's wish was made through P'ei Kū and his emissaries. Knowing from the passage referred to that P'ei Kū failed in this attempt "to his regret," as the text adds, we have in the first instance to look for the motive of the emperor's desire and the reason which may have interfered with the desired communication.

It has been suggested by Professor Chavannes that the first knowledge of Fu-lin may have reached China through the Turks, who cultivated friendly relations with the Romans under Justin in 568. But these relations must have lasted but a very short time, since the Roman ambassador Valentine, sent to the Turkish court by Tiberius Caesar in 576 to announce his

<sup>1</sup> *R. O.*, K. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 221 A, p. 25 B, quoted *J. A. O. S.* xxx 8.

ascension to the Byzantine throne, met with a most ungracious reception, which put an end to all friendship between the Turks and Byzantium.<sup>1</sup> While that friendly intercourse between Western Turks and Romans lasted and afterwards during the Northern T'ei and Ch'ou dynasties, and up to the ascent of Yang-ti of the Sui in 605, there are no passages on record showing that anyone in China took particular interest in either the old Ta-ts'in (Syria) or Fu-lin, said later on to be its equivalent. Had this been the case the Chinese would have had every opportunity to collect information through the Western Turks, and it appears that, after a long pause marked by indifference as regards the traditional Ta-ts'in accounts, the first mention in a Chinese record which points to renewed interest being taken in the country is the remark found in the *T'ang-shu* about Yang-ti's having in vain tried to communicate with Fu-lin. Who knows whether he did not even then call the country Ta-ts'in and whether the new name Fu-lin was not substituted for it by the *T'ang-shu* historian after it had become familiar through the Nestorians settled in China? We have to admit this possibility even for the occurrence of the name in the *Sui-shu*, in the description of Persia<sup>2</sup> and the biography of P'ei K'ü,<sup>3</sup> because the final editing of this text fell in the year 636, that is the very time when it was likely to be affected by information brought to China by the Nestorians.

If we enquire into the possible motives which may have prompted Yang-ti's wish for intercourse with India and Fu-lin, we have to dismiss from the outset all political schemes. For during the greater part of his reign Yang-ti managed his Turkish neighbours well enough without any foreign allies. The only country which gave him serious trouble was Corea. But what help could he have expected from India or from distant Fu-lin in his campaigns in the extreme north-east of his empire? His wishes were dictated far more by a kind of personal vanity, which led him into a life of luxurious splendour. Not too long after his ascent to the

<sup>1</sup> See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue, -Turcs-occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 233-242, where Chinese and western sources are united into the best historical sketch we possess on these relations.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 67.



throne his confidential adviser P'ei Kū had managed to kindle a certain ethnographical curiosity peculiar to the Emperor's character into a regular passion to see ambassadors from all possible foreign countries visit his court. His love of spectacular court festivities is one of the characteristics of his reign, and he may have felt flattered by the presence and admiration of so many foreigners at his gorgeous shows. Among these the strangers from the west seem to have monopolized his interest. P'ei Kū had acquainted him in his work, the *Si-yü-fu-ki*,<sup>1</sup> with the result of his enquiries among the Central-Asiatic traders he had met during his residence in Chang-ye in Western Kan-su. Of this work we possess not much more than the preface, reproduced in P'ei Kū's biography.<sup>2</sup> Its description, accompanied by coloured illustrations and a map, of forty-four foreign countries has not been preserved to our days, but the subject matter of its text must have been absorbed in the ethnographical chapters of the *Sui-shu*. From the description of the three roads leading to the Far West from Tun-huang, the thorough-fare from China, in the present northwest Kan-su, we find in this preface the terminus of all of them to be "the Western Sea",<sup>3</sup> apparently corresponding to the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, reached by the way of Fu-lin, Persia and Northern Po-lo-mōn or Beluchistan respectively. "The Western Sea", the account says, "produces so many precious and strange things",<sup>4</sup> and this was apparently the chief attraction in P'ei Kū's ethnographical speculations. Apart from what P'ei Kū and his emissaries had themselves seen, their knowledge of the more distant countries was based on former records, such as those of the Eastern Han dynasty, which were full of reports on the "precious and strange things" found in the countries of the Western Sea, especially in Ta-ts'in or Syria. The reputation of this country as a producer of all the mineral treasures and the manufactures in jewelry required to feed the market of a luxuriant race was not confined to the Roman

<sup>1</sup> 西域圖記, regarding which see my paper "Über die chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis Zentralasiens unter der Herrschaft der Sassaniden," W. Z. K. M. x 228 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Sui-shu*, chap. 67, p. 10 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Si-hai* 西海.

<sup>4</sup> 西海多產珍異.

empire, east or west; it was also the traditional El Dorado of the Chinese according to their literary tradition. We need not wonder, therefore, to see a sovereign of Yang-ti's well known extravagance long for an extension of his ethnographical horizon beyond Eastern Turkestan and Persia to the further west, where the very best jewels were found in the greatest quantities. The same motive that made him cultivate the friendship of nearer countries which sent to his court ambassadors with tribute in the shape of articles of intrinsic value made him regret his inability to communicate with that storehouse of jewels Fu-lin. For it was for the special purpose of collecting the treasures of the western countries that he induced P'ei Kū to go to Chang-yé as superintendent of international trade. There the clever diplomat enticed traders by holding out advantages and so got them to visit the court. From this arose the traffic of the foreigners of the Western regions, which entailed expenses amounting to millions to the intermediate prefectures for the purpose of escorts and welcome."<sup>1</sup>

So much for the motive underlying Yang-ti's longing for Fu-lin. The reason why his emissaries could not reach that country can be guessed at from the political situation in Syria at that time. I have not been able to ascertain the exact year in which Yang-ti's ambassador Li Yü was sent to the Persian court. We merely learn in the account of Persia<sup>2</sup> that "Yang-ti sent Li Yü, a hereditary noble of the eighth class, to go to Po-si [Persia] in order to solicit the sending of ambassadors to follow Li Yü with products of that country as tribute".<sup>3</sup>

From the way the *T'ü-fu-yüan-kui* registers the fact it would appear that the mission may have been sent during any of the thirteen years of the Ta-yé period, i. e. 605 to 617. During all this time fighting took place somewhere in Western Asia between the Persians and the Romans. Hostilities had begun soon after the coronation of Phocas as emperor in 602, who had caused his predecessor Maurice, the personal friend and

<sup>1</sup> 以西域多諸寶物令裴矩往張掖監諸商胡互市賧之以利勸令入朝自是西域諸蕃往來相繼所經州郡疲於送迎靡費以萬萬計 *Sui-shu*, chap. 24, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Sui-shu*, chap. 83, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> 煬帝遣裴矩尉李昱使通波斯尋使隨昱貢方物.



benefactor of King Khosru of Persia, to be murdered, thus creating a *casus belli* for a bloody strife which outlasted the life of Yang-ti as well as that of Phocas, whose successor, Heraclius, saw most of his Asiatic possessions wrenched from him by Persian armies. It goes without saying that under the circumstances the Persians would not have allowed the Chinese ambassador to proceed to Fu-lin, whether we look for it in Syria or in Byzantium. For, neither could they guarantee him safe conduct nor was it in Khosru's interest to see him join the enemy.

On the other hand it is most likely that the ambassador's curiosity about Fu-lin was further stimulated by the existence of a Syrian colony in Madain, one of the cities where Persian rulers resided, formed of the union of the two cities Ctesiphon and Seleucia, for which reason we find either of these old names occasionally applied to it. It is generally held to have been the capital of Persia, but the kings, especially Khosru II, resided in several other places in turn.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt which of these places was held to be the capital by the Chinese mission under Yang-ti. It is clearly indicated by the mention of it in the account of Persia reproduced in the *Sui-shu*.<sup>2</sup> "The capital", it is stated there, "is at the city of Su-lin west of the river Ta-ho,<sup>3</sup> that is the site of ancient T'iauch' (Chaldaea). Their king's by-name is K'u-sat-ho [=Khosru]."<sup>4</sup> This city of Su-lin is clearly identical with Seleucia on the western shore of the Tigris. In another account the city is called Su-li and of it the text says: "the river passes through the middle of the city, flowing south", which again clearly refers to the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon united to form

<sup>1</sup> "The Sassanian court, though generally held at Ctesiphon, migrated to other cities, if the king so pleased, and is found established, at one time in the old Persian capital, Persepolis, at another in the comparatively modern city of Dastagherd. The monarchs maintained from first to last numerous palaces which they visited at their pleasure and made their residence for a longer or a shorter period." "Khosroes II built one nearer Takht-i-Bostan." Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 649 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 83, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Old sound Tat-hot or Tat-got, standing for Talgat or Taglat, i. e. Dighlat, the Tigris.

<sup>4</sup> 波斯國都達曷水之西蘇蘭城即絳支之故地也其王字庫薩和。



the one city of Madain, the Tigris flowing south between the two cities.<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely possible that the Chinese visitors could have spent some time at King Khosru II's court without coming into contact with the Nestorians living under their patriarch on the other side of the river in Otesiphen. It is a remarkable coincidence that the Nestorians, though persecuted and martyred under Persian and Khalif rule before and after this time, happened to be in high favour just with Khosru II, who according to Assemani patronized them, in order to spite the emperor Heraclius, also a Christian, it is true, but strongly opposed to Nestorian heretics, the adversaries of the orthodox Roman church and friends of the Persians. He had for this reason taken the church of Edessa from the orthodox clergy and handed it over to the Nestorians and forced all the other Christians under his jurisdiction to embrace the Nestorian "heresy".<sup>2</sup>

The patriarch of the Nestorians, we may conclude from all this, was under Khosru II a much more important personage than we might expect him to be as a mere clergyman. We learn from Assemani's further remarks that Nestorian patriarchs were sent by Khosru as ambassadors to Byzantium, and it appears that, in those all important relations with the Roman empire, they were the confidential advisers of the King, whose favour raised them to a quasi-political position as heads of the entire Christian population.

#### 10. Fu-lin confounded with Persia.

When the first Nestorians came to the capital of China, in 635, they were allowed to build a church and, since they came from Persia, that church was called "the Persian Church";<sup>3</sup> and O-lo-p'ou, the leader of that first western expedition, was called "a Persian Priest".<sup>4</sup> As such he is described in the Imperial edict authorizing the practice of Nestorian rites, dat-

<sup>1</sup> *Wei-shu*, chap. 102, p. 12: 宿利城 \* \* \* 河經其城中南流.

<sup>2</sup> "Omnium Persarum regum maxime Nestorianis favit Chosroes Abruius, qui ut Heraclio Imperatori segre faceret, Edessenam Ecclesiam Orthodoxis ereptam, Nestorianis tradidit, et reliquos suae ditionis Christianos ad amplectendam Nestorii haeresim adegit". Assemani, IV p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Po-si-shi* 波斯寺.

<sup>4</sup> *Po-si-sung* 波斯僧.

ed 638 and preserved in the *T'ang-hui-yau*.<sup>1</sup> The Nestorians, however, did not look upon themselves as Persians. They were merely the guests of Persia; exiles, prisoners, treated as slaves at times and as friends and a most useful element of the population at others. Their real home, at least that of their leaders, was in Syria.<sup>2</sup> It probably took the Chinese over a hundred years to realize this. For it appears that the Christian churches continued to be called "Persian" until the year 735, when another edict was issued saying that "since the Persian religion came from Ta-ts'in [i. e. Syria], the names of the Persian churches in the two capitals would have to be changed into Ta-ts'in [i. e. Syrian] churches."<sup>3</sup> If we take into consideration the simple fact that in all Chinese passages bearing on this point the two names Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin are declared to apply to one and the same country, we are led most naturally to think of the inmates of the first Nestorian church, or monastery, established in China as the foreigners who introduced the name Fu-lin as a substitute for Ta-ts'in. Since the Buddhists, whose leaders had come from India, called their country after Buddha's home "Magadha", they followed this precedent and called their country, Syria, after Christ's home "Bethlehem", of which "Fu-lin" in its old pronunciation *but-lin* is the transcription.<sup>4</sup>

## II. The name Fu-lin applied to the Patriarchal court.

The outcome of my enquiries into the meaning in Chinese literature of this term Fu-lin is this: we must be prepared, according to time and circumstances, to interpret it in three different senses, viz.

1. The court of the Nestorian patriarch in Madain or Ctesiphon together with the Christian population of Persia, which had come from Syria;
2. Syria itself;
3. the Roman empire with Byzantium as its capital.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. O. S. xxx 6 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> 波斯經教出自大秦傳習而來久行中國 \* \* \* 其南京波斯寺宜改爲大秦寺 Havret, 1 c.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. O. S. xxx 3-4.

As an example of the first-named among these three interpretations, I wish to refer to a passage in the *T'ang-shu*,<sup>1</sup> treating, in an account of Persia, on an episode in the history of that country regarding which we happen to possess some information in western authors. "After the murder of Khosru II," the text says, "his son Shih-li [Sheroe] ascended the throne. Yabgu Kagan sent governors to watch and direct him. After the death of Shih-li [Sheroe] Persia would no longer be subject [to the Turks] and made Khosru's daughter Queen. The Turks killed her, too. *Sheroe's son Tan-kiê then took refuge in Fu-lin* and the people acknowledged him as heir to the throne. This was I-ta-chi [Ardeshir III]."<sup>2</sup>

I quite agree with Chavannes in the identification of the name I-ta-chi with that of Ardeshir III. But if Ardeshir III, a minor, is said to have taken refuge in Fu-lin, the political situation forbids the assumption of his having gone to either Constantinople or any other place held by the Romans at the time. For the young Prince had a dangerous opponent to his accession to the throne in the person of a close friend of the Romans, Shahr-Barz, who, "before committing himself to the perils of rebellion, negotiated with Heraclius and secured his alliance and support by the promise of certain advantages". The Roman emperor is even said to have supplied Shahr-Barz with troops to assist him in his struggle against Ardeshir and his guardian Mihr-Hasis.<sup>3</sup> To flee to Byzantium or to the Romans anywhere would have amounted to a surrender of his cause. Fu-lin has, therefore, to be looked for in some other region. The place of refuge was in reality not Constantinople, but according to Tabari the city of Ctesiphon, which had been fortified for the purposes of defence against Shahr-Barz and to which Ardeshir *had been brought* [sic] with his royal household.<sup>4</sup> Ctesiphon, it is true, was one of the places of residence of the Persian kings; but at the time there was no king besides Ardeshir, and since Tabari says distinctly that *he was*

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 221 B., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> 殺王庫薩和其子施利立葉護使郎帥監統施利死遂不肯臣立庫薩和女爲王突厥又殺之施利之子單獨方奔拂蘇國人迎立之是爲伊但支. Cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, etc., p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, p. 541 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Noelleke, *Tabari*, p. 387.



brought there, he must have previously resided at some other capital and Ctesiphon must be looked upon as a place of refuge *ad hoc*. As far as western authors go, we certainly know of no other place to which Ardeshir III. can be said to have fled than Ctesiphon. Why then does the Chinese historian, whom we may suspect of having received his information through the Nestorians residing in China, then the only foreigners hailing from Persia, call Ctesiphon Fu-lin? I am inclined to think that the protection the prince expected to find there was of a moral kind in the first instance. For the only man in the country who might have been able to smooth over the difficulties in which Persia found herself at the time was the head of the Nestorian Christians, Yeshu'yabh, who held the patriarchal throne from 628 to 682 A. D. This view may be supported by the following facts, placed on record by Mar Amr:<sup>1</sup> "During the reign of Yeshu'yabh, Sheroc<sup>2</sup> had died and Artaxerxes [Ardeshir] had succeeded him, after whose death by murder Sheroc's sister Bôrân [Baurâna] took charge of the kingdom. Further, since the kingdom of the Persians had been in trouble through the action of its kings at the time of Sheroc and Ardeshir, the queen was afraid to enter [the government of] the kingdom falling to her, and thus she sent this father [Yeshu'yabh] on an honourable mission to Heraclius, the Roman emperor, for the purpose of renewing the treaty of peace, and she sent with him bishops and metropolitans," etc. According to Bar Hebraeus the Patriarch had been ordained in 626 A. D., and from the manner in which he represents the situation<sup>3</sup> it appears that he had been sent to Heraclius by Sheroc, that in the replies he gave the Emperor about his religious views he had utterly disavowed his Nestorian principles, that some of his own people would have liked to see him deposed on account of this betrayal, but that the Persian king supported him against his adversaries.<sup>4</sup> Whichever of the two versions may be correct, it appears that Yeshu'yabh held a confidential position with either Ardeshir's father, or his aunt Bôrân, or both, and that young Ardeshir's flight to Ctesiphon, called Fu-lin by the Chinese historian, was

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II. p. 31.<sup>2</sup> Or Kobad II. Ardeshir's father.<sup>3</sup> Abbeloos and Lamy, Vol. III. pp. 114—116.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Assemani, III. p. 106.

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dictated by the wish to benefit by the advice and moral protection of the patriarch, the shrewd diplomat and former ambassador to the emperor Heraclius, whose residence was in the Syrian settlement on the Ctesiphon side of the city of Madain.<sup>1</sup>

## 12. Greater Fu-lin.

I have enumerated a number of arguments speaking in favour of the name Fu-lin standing for Syria, or let us say the Roman Orient generally, the identification I had proposed for the name Ta-ts'in. I have, however, always been of the opinion that, according to the knowledge of the Chinese, there was also a "Greater Fu-lin", just as modern developments have shown a Greater Britain grown out of little England. We are now at last in the position to prove that, whatever the vagueness in the Chinese mediaeval accounts of this country may have been, there was at least one traveller as early as the beginning of the eighth century who wrote Chinese and who knew that, besides the Fu-lin of the early Nestorians, there was a Greater Fu-lin to the North-west of it. This knowledge, which might have changed materially the accounts of Fu-lin in the two *T'ang-shu* had their authors known of the existence of the little work recently recovered from the rubbish of an abandoned Buddhist library, has been placed on record by a travelling priest making his way from India to China through Western and Central Asia. This little work, which had been lost to later generations and which possibly had never been circulated to any extent among readers in China, is the *Hui-ch'au-wang-wu-t'ien-chu-kuo-chuan*,<sup>2</sup> i. e., "Account of Hui-ch'au's travels to the countries of the Five Indies." What we have now is merely a fragment the beginning and end of which are lost; but, such as it is, the fragment is a most valuable contribution towards our knowledge of Western Asiatic countries as represented in Chinese literature. It is certainly not the least important among that stupendous mass of old manuscripts recovered by Professor Paul Pelliot from a rock chamber at Tun-huang during his great expedition in 1907-08. The first report on these dis-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. O. S. xxx 7.

<sup>2</sup> 慧超往五天竺國傳.



coveries will be found in a letter addressed by Pelliot to Professor S  nart, dated Tun-huang, March 26, 1908, and reproduced in B.E.F.E.O., Tome VIII, Nos. 3-4, 1908 (p. 11 seq. of the Reprint). On his way from Tun-huang to Paris, where the originals are now preserved, Professor Pelliot paid a visit to Peking. Some learned Chinese of the then Imperial capital were most enthusiastic about these unexpected additions to their native literature and some of them asked permission, before they were taken away to France, to photograph some of the texts discovered in Tun-huang. These texts were transcribed, edited and published by a well known Chinese scholar, Mr. Lo Ch  n-y  <sup>1</sup> of Peking, under the title *Tun-huang-sh  -sh  -i-sh  *<sup>2</sup> in four fascicules. The book was laid before the Acad  mie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres by Professor Chavannes and reported on in the *Comptes rendus* of June 1910, p. 245 seq. Messrs. Chavannes and Pelliot have already turned to account another important fragment published in this valuable collection<sup>3</sup> in their learned paper "Un trait   Manich  en retrouv   en Chine" in the *Journ. Asiatique*, X. S  r. 18, on p. 500 of which some further notes on Lo Ch  n-y  's publication will be found. That part of it which interests us on account of the Fu-lin question is Hui-ch'au's report referred to above.

A work of the same title is referred to in the Buddhist thesaurus *I-ts'  -king-yin-i*, chap. 100. But here the first character, *Hui*, in the traveller's name in the title, as given in the body of the book, is 惠 instead of 慧, which character appears in the Index, though. This need not make us feel suspicious, because the two characters are often confounded in the names of Buddhist monks.<sup>4</sup> The book on which the *I-ts'  -king-yin-i* is supposed to give a commentary must have been differently arranged, since on the one hand many of the names occurring in the fragment are not explained, and on the other it contains names not found in the fragment. In the text itself (p. 14) the traveller says that he came to An-si,<sup>5</sup> the seat of a Chinese

<sup>1</sup> 羅振玉.

<sup>2</sup> 敦煌石室遺書.

<sup>3</sup> For its loan I am indebted to Mr. K. Asakawa, Professor and Curator of Japanese and Chinese collections at Yale University, who was also the first to draw my attention to the occurrence in it of the names Little and Greater Fu-lin.

<sup>4</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot, op. cit. p. 504, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 安西.



resident, at the beginning of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of K'ai-yüan, which date corresponds to the year 727 A. D. The few years preceding this date must, therefore, be regarded as the time to which the traveller's account applies. This fragment, as far as it goes, covers the same ground as Hsüan-tsang's *Ta-t'ang-si-yü-ki*, which is nearly a century older, and it repeats, or confirms, many of the facts we may gather from the older books. Yet it is full of interest on account of the clear idea it gives us of the political relations during one of the most interesting periods of Islamic rule in Western Asia. It also throws many valuable sidelights on questions not sufficiently clear in the accounts of previous and later authors. If, for instance, anyone were to doubt with the late Mr. Kingsmill<sup>1</sup> the identity of Su-lō<sup>2</sup> with Kashgar, the starting point of so many of his errors, a passage in Hui-ch'au's fragment saying that "the people of foreign countries themselves call it K'ie-shih-k'ili,"<sup>3</sup> which name by all the rules of transcription represents the sound "Kashgir", is apt to remove every shadow of uncertainty. I subjoin the translation with the corresponding Chinese texts of a few pages which are apt to throw light on our subject. The headings (Persia, etc.) have been added by me.

Translation, pp. 10—11.

[Persia.]

From T'u-huo-lo [Tokharestan] you go one month and come to the country of Po-ssī [Persia]. The ancestors of these kings had held sway over the Ta-shī [Arabs]. The Ta-shī [Arabs] had been camel drivers to the kings of Po-ssī [Persia]. Afterwards they had rebelled and then killed the other kings and set themselves up as masters of the country. So it happened that now this country has been by force swallowed up by the Ta-shī [Arabs]. Their dress is the old one, namely a wide cotton shirt. They cut beard and hair. As regards food they indulge only in pastry and meat, but they have rice which is also ground into pastry and eaten. The country produces camels,

<sup>1</sup> See my paper "Mr. Kingsmill and the Hsiang-nu", *J. A. O. S.* xxx 35.

<sup>2</sup> 疎勒.

<sup>3</sup> 外國人呼伽師祇離國.

mules, sheep, horses of extraordinary height and donkeys, cotton cloth and precious stones. The dialects spoken in the country differ from each other and from those of the remaining countries. The inhabitants being by nature bent on commerce, they are in the habit of sailing in big craft on the western sea, and they enter the southern sea to the Country of Lions [Ceylon], where they get precious stones, for which reason it is said of the country that it produces precious stones. They also go to the K'un-lun country<sup>1</sup> to fetch gold. They also sail in big craft to the country of Han [China] straight to Canton for silk piece goods and the like ware. The country produces good fine cotton. The inhabitants enjoy the killing of living creatures [cattle]; they serve Heaven [Allah] and do not know the law of Buddha.

#### [The Ta-shih, -Arabs.]

From the country of Po-sai [Persia]<sup>2</sup> you go north ten days into the hills [the continent?] and reach the country of the Ta-shih [Arabs]. Their kings do not live in their native country,<sup>3</sup> but they saw their residence (moved) into the country of Siau-fu-lin.<sup>4</sup> On account of their having gained possession of that country by overcoming it, that country has retreated to places in the hills [on the continent?] and on islands but rarely visited.<sup>5</sup> That country produces camels, mules, sheep, horses, cotton cloth and wollen rugs. They have also precious stones. Their dress consists of a wide shirt of fine cotton and they throw over it a cotton cloth to serve as an upper garment.<sup>6</sup> The king and the people wear garments of the same kind and there is no distinction between them. The women also wear

<sup>1</sup> Coast of Africa? Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chen Ju-kua*, etc., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the western part of it, because Po-sai was said in the preceding paragraph to be a month's journey west of Tokhara.

<sup>3</sup> Arabia with Medina as the capital of former caliphs.

<sup>4</sup> Little Fu-lin, Syria, with Damascus as the residence of Ommeiyad caliphs ever since Muawiyah transferred his capital from Medina to Syria and still so in 727, when the information laid down in this text had just been collected. Possibly 見 = 現, "now" instead of "they saw."

<sup>5</sup> Possibly an allusion to the Byzantine Romans having been compelled to retreat from their Asiatic possessions in Syria to Asia Minor and Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Caftan.

wide shirts. Men cut the hair of their heads, but grow beards; women keep their hair growing. As to food, high and low without distinction eat from the same bowl, seizing food with their hands, but they also help themselves with spoons. In selecting [food] they look for the most unsavoury.<sup>1</sup> To eat what one has killed with one's own hands brings wealth without measure. The inhabitants love killing [living creatures, cattle]. They serve Heaven [Allah] and do not know the law of Buddha. The laws of the country do not contain the law of kneeling down.<sup>2</sup>

### [Ta-Fu-lin.]

The country of Little Fu-lin<sup>3</sup> is near the sea. North-west of it there is the country of Greater Fu-lin. The army of this king is strong and numerous and [his kingdom] is not connected with [or subject to] the remaining countries. The Ta-shih have several times attacked it without effect.<sup>4</sup> And the T'u-küe<sup>5</sup> had encroached on its territory likewise without effect. The country has enough of precious stones and more than enough of camels, sheep, horses, cotton cloth and the like produce. The mode of dress resembles that of Po-ssü [Persia] and the Ta-shih [Arabs], but the language is different from either of these countries.

<sup>1</sup> T. B. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 104, quotes the following from Fagir Muhammad As'ad's directions for eating: "Let him not look from dish to dish, nor smell the food, nor pick and choose it. If there should be one dish better than the rest, let him not be greedy on his own account, but let him offer it to others."

<sup>2</sup> Before the king. — apparently referring to the first Arab embassy to the court of China, when the ambassadors refused to perform the prostration before the Emperor, because with their people "one knelt only before Heaven and not before the King."

<sup>3</sup> The characters 拂臨 here used answer in every respect to the usual way of writing the name, viz., 拂菻, and their ancient sound, *fat-lam* or *pat-lam*, is the same.

<sup>4</sup> The great final defeat of the Arabs in 718 must have been fresh in the traveller's memory when he wrote this paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> Turks, first mentioned in connection with Byzantium towards the end of the sixth century; here probably the Bulgars, a quasi-Turkish race, which in 679 had enforced the cession of the Roman province of Moesia and the payment of an annual tribute before the very gates of Constantinople.



Chinese Text, pp. 10-11.

從吐火羅國西行一月至

波斯國此王先管大窰大窰是波斯王放馳戶於後叛便煞  
 彼王自立爲主然今此國却破大窰所吞衣舊著寬氈布衫  
 剪鬚髮食唯餅肉縱然有米亦磨作餅喫也土地出馳騾羊  
 馬出高大驢氈布寶物言音各別不同餘國土地人性受與  
 易常於西海汎舶入南海向師子國取諸寶物所以彼國云  
 出寶物亦向崑崙國取金亦汎舶漢地直至廣州取綾絹絲  
 綿之類土地出好細疊國人愛煞生事天不識佛法 又從  
 波斯國北行十日入山至大窰國彼王住不本國見向小拂  
 臨國住也爲打得彼國彼國復居山鳥處所極罕爲此就彼  
 土地出馳騾羊馬疊布毛毯亦有寶物衣著細疊寬衫衫上  
 又披一疊布以爲上服王及百姓衣服一種無別女人亦著  
 寬衫男人剪髮在鬚女人在髮喫食無問貴賤共同一盃而  
 食手把亦匙箸取見極惡云自手熬而食得富無量國人愛  
 煞事天不識佛法國法無有跪拜法也 又小拂臨國傍海  
 西北即是大拂臨國此王兵馬強多不屬餘國大窰數週討  
 擊不得突厥侵亦不得土地足寶物甚足馳騾羊馬疊布等  
 物衣著與波斯大窰相似言音各別不同

Although a few details in these accounts of Persia, the Oumeyyad country and Greater Fu-lin are not quite clear, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the terms Little and Greater Fu-lin (Ta-Fu-lin). This term Ta-Fu-lin can, of course, only refer to the Roman empire with its military power as opposed to "the remaining countries", i. e. Persia, the Arabs, etc. If the ambassadors of Nicephorus Melissenus were accepted by the Chinese court in 1081 as representing the country of Fu-lin (*J. A. O. S.* xxx 24 *seqq.*), it is probably owing to the fact that the existence of a Greater Fu-lin had been known for the preceding three or four hundred years. But this need not affect the question of the meaning of the term when it became first known in China and as it appeared to the historians of the two *T'ang-shu* accounts. I look upon the remark made

with regard to the shifting of the capital of the Ta-shī or Arabs,<sup>1</sup> — as one of the most incontestable proofs for the identity of Fu-lin, here called Siau-Fu-lin, with Syria.

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<sup>1</sup> For the Ta-shī 大食 of this text is merely another way of writing the name Ta-shī 大食 of the *T'ang-shu*, Chau Ju-kua and other books.

*Tamil Political Divisions in the First Two Centuries of the Christian Era.* — By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The early history of the Tamil kingdoms in southern India is very obscure. From the 9th century onward there is almost a superfluity of epigraphic material. Prior to that time, inscriptions and coins as yet discovered are very few, and almost the only available references to South Indian political conditions are found in stray passages in Hindu and Tamil literature or in occasional references of trade with Greece and Rome.

It may be gathered that before the time of Alexander, the Tamil states, comprising some of the earliest racial elements in India, had been organized under a dynasty that had originated in northern, that is Aryan, India, and that in all probability established itself in Southern India as the result of a naval attack and invasion. This dynasty had first borne the name of Pāndya, and it claimed descent from Pandu, the father of the Pāndava brothers, the heroes of the war recounted in the Mahabharata. Several references in Greek literature speak in this connection. Arrian (*Indika*, VIII) derives the dynasty from Pandæa, "only daughter of Heracles among many sons. The land where she was born and over which she ruled was named Pandæa after her".

Whatever this dynastic connection may have been, it is certain that its power in South India began at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and that its first capital was at Korkai, the Colchi (Κόλχαι) of the Greek and Roman writers, and that it spread steadily northward until it embraced most of the Tamil elements as far as the border of the Andhra dominions, the modern Mysore. Subsequently the Pāndyan kingdom was separated into three independent states, Chēra,



Chola and Pāndya (respectively Malabar, Coromandel, and Tinnevely-Madura-S. Travancore). As such they are recorded in the second Rock Edict of Asoka. It seems evident that the boundaries of these three states varied greatly, and that while Chēra, the western kingdom, the modern Malabar, remained relatively quiet, the other two, Chola and Pāndya, always the wealthiest and most powerful of the trio, were constant rivals and often open enemies.

From the 9th century onward the Chola state was by far the most powerful of the three, and indeed conquered Pāndya and ruled it through a Viceroy who bore the official title of Chola-Pāndya. But for many centuries before this extension of its power, it seems clear that the Chola dynasty passed through a long period of relative weakness and almost extinction. One of the features of South Indian history is the incursion of the Pallavas, who established themselves over a great part of western and southern India, not as a colonizing people, but rather as a ruling caste maintaining itself by military power and commanding in that way the subjugation of the native peoples. This dynasty, whose capital was at Kanchi, is known to have flourished between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D., finally succumbing to the combined attacks of the Chalukya dynasty on its northern boundary, and the reviving Chola power on the south. How long before the 4th century it may have asserted itself, is unknown. But certain indications regarding the political allegiance of the Chola capital during the first two centuries of the Christian Era suggest that the Pallavas may even have been an important element at that time. It is known that a heterogeneous assortment of foreign clans swept over western and southern India as early as the 1st century, that they set up a powerful state in the Cambay region under the Satrap Nahapāna, (78 A.D.) and that they carried on extensive raids farther to the south. In the following century when the Andhras succeeded in overthrowing Nahapāna's dynasty, they set up a memorial to record their victory over the combined Sakas, Yavanas and Pallavas, whom they despised as outcasts and sacrilegious innovators in settled Hindu customs. It is therefore not impossible that the Pallavas as the southern extension of this foreign incursion may have been making themselves felt as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era.

As already stated the earliest capital of the Tamil power was at Korkai. Before the Christian Era the capitals of the three states had been fixed at Karūr in Malabar, Madura and Uraiyūr, the modern Trichinopoly. Of these, the last seems to have been by far the richest, most populous and most active, industrially and commercially, of the three. This much may be gathered from the Tamil poems; but the Tamil literature, while it gives a vivid picture of the prosperity of the Chola capital, does not refer clearly to its political allegiance. It seems to have been singularly subject to attack and control by widely differing political elements. And as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era, the dominant powers in Southern India seem to have been the Pāndyan kingdom and the invading Pallavas; the Chola state being ground, as it were, between two mill-stones.

Strabo (XV, iv, 73) mentions an embassy from "King Pandion" to the Emperor Augustus in 20 a.c. Pliny (VI, 23), the *Periplus* (§ 54) and Ptolemy (VII) all agree in their accounts of the prosperous trade at the seaports on either side of Cape Comorin. It was a trade largely in the products of the Chōla textile industries and pearl fisheries, in the gems and spices of the Chēra and Pāndya hills, and in the gems and pearl fisheries of Ceylon, then controlled by the Pāndyan kings. From the Tamil poems we learn that the Chola state maintained a considerable navy which was used for commercial purposes, trading across the Bay of Bengal and as far as the Straits of Malacca, and we know from the *Periplus* that the products of this far eastern trade were transhipped in the south Indian ports for delivery to the Roman world. It seems clear that the intermediate position of Pāndya enabled it, during the period from 50 a.c. to 150 a.d. approximately, to dominate all Tamil India, and that such parts of the Chōla state as had not fallen under Pallava dominion, were, if not subject to, at least dependent upon Pāndya. We may infer also that this supremacy of Pāndya was disputed, unsuccessfully, by Chēra.

The main highway across Southern India over which goods for the western trade were brought, is the Achenkoil Pass, and the terminus of this trade route was the port of Bacarē, mentioned by most of the Greek writers, and which I have identified as Porakād, the landing place of Kottayam. This



port, according to Pliny (VI, 23), had formerly been Pāndyan, but in his time, that is 70 A.D., approximately, belonged to Chēra. The Periplus, on the other hand, written some ten years later, makes Bacarē again Pāndyan (§ 54). Pliny mentions the Pāndyan capital, Madura, but knows nothing of the Chōla capital. The Periplus, on the other hand, after describing the Pāndyan dominions, speaks of another district beyond Colchi called the "Coast Country, which lies on a bay and has a region inland called Argaru", from which were exported muslins, "those called Argaritic" (§ 59).

In this passage we may discern a hazy and yet correct reference to the Chōla state, and to its capital Uraiyūr, the modern Trichinopoly, which, as I have pointed out in a recent paper (JRAS. Jan. 1913), may be identified with this Argaru of the Periplus. Uraiyūr is merely the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Uragapura, "town of the serpent", and the Greek transcription is very nearly correct.

Now Ptolemy, writing about 140 A.D., speaks of this place as "Argeiron in the land of Pandion" (VII) and Kalidasa in the Raghuvamśa (dating from about 400 A.D.) refers to Uragapura as the capital of Pāndya (VI. 59-60).

How may we reconcile these later references that make Uraiyūr subject to, or dependent on, Pāndya with those earlier ones that clearly make it independent? The explanation seems to be found in this passage of the Periplus.

The language used by the author of the Periplus is very fixed in its reference to foreign states or districts. An independent kingdom is referred to as βασιλεία and a subject state or district as τόπος, or χώρα. Now while the author of the Periplus speaks of the "kingdom of Cerobothra" and the "Pāndian Kingdom", he refers to Chōla only as a "district" called the "coast country"; and yet he knows enough about it to have mentioned its king, if there had been an independent king in his time, who levied tribute on foreign merchants. It seems fair to infer that even in the time of the Periplus, say 80 A.D., the Chōla state, while not conquered and incorporated into the Pāndyan Kingdom, had been reduced to a condition of helplessness between Pāndya and the Pallava country, so that for commercial purposes it was practically controlled by Pāndya.

That its commercial and industrial activity was not inter-



ferred with is amply shown by Tamil poems that tell of the active trade of the capital and of its eastern seaport, Kāviri-paddinam, which appears in the *Periplus* as Camara. It was evidently dependent upon the Pāndyan kings to such extent as its own rulers, the Chola dynasty, had proven themselves unable to resist the Pallava incursions, and we may possibly read in the ship designs in the Pallava coinage of the 2nd century, some note of triumph in their ultimate invasion and control of that rich district. (Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, plates I, 38, and II, 45).

This fall of the Chola power may be placed toward the end of the 2nd century; but it seems clear that it did not come about without a considerable revival of that power at some time during that century, when one of its kings named Kārikala, according to a Tamil poem, invaded Ceylon and carried of thousands of coolies to work on the embankment along the Kāviri River, 100 miles in length, which he is said to have constructed. (Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, pp. 64-78; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 416.)

The Chinese traveler Yuan-Chwang, who visited the Pallava capital Kanchi in 649 A.D., speaks of Chola as in that time a very restricted territory, sparsely populated by fierce brigands. The location of this remnant of the once powerful Chola dynasty may be placed in the Cuddapah district, considerably north of its earlier dominions. (Beal, II, 227-230; Vincent Smith, *Early History*, 409, 417, 421.)

The subsequent extension of its power during the middle ages was due to the economic advantages of its position when not outweighed by superior force.

It is a notable fact that Yuan-Chwang refers to the "country of Chola" without naming a king, in exactly the same way as the *Periplus* 560 years before, indicating at both these periods that the district was under a local rājah, not exercising kingly power.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For fuller references to these questions the reader is referred to the following titles: Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, both pub. by Longmans, 1912.

*Classical Parallels to a Sanskrit Proverb.* — By ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

In the story of the Blue Jackal the Hitopadeśa version has the following couplet: *yah svabhāvo hi yasya eyāt tasyā 'sau duratikramah | svā yadi kriyate bhogī tat kiṃ nā 'śnāty upā-naham*,<sup>1</sup> "Indeed the real nature which may belong to anyone, that is hard to overcome; even if a dog is well fed, doth he not nibble at a shoe?" The corresponding story in the Pañcatantra<sup>2</sup> does not contain this *śloka*; indeed I have not been able to trace the proverb farther in Indian literature.<sup>3</sup> But this fondness of the dog for leather is proverbially referred to in classical writers. We find the proverb<sup>4</sup> χαλεπὸν χορίον εἶναι γέσσαι<sup>5</sup> "Tis dangerous to let a dog taste leather" first in Theocritus (x. 11), where the connection makes it clear that it applies to the acquisition of a bad habit which, once established, cannot be resisted. In a different wording the proverb

<sup>1</sup> So in Schlegel and Lassen's edition (p. 92; iii. 58); Petersen's edition (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, no. 33) reads (p. 105; iii. 56): *śvā yadi kriyate rāju tat kiṃ nā 'śnāty upānaham*.

<sup>2</sup> Hertel's edition (*Harvard Oriental Series* xi), p. 68; i. 11; Bühler's edition (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, no. 5), p. 66; i. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Bühllingk, *Indische Sprüche* (second edition), who cites the *śloka* as no. 5433 (vol. iii, p. 160), refers only to the Kavitāṃptakāpa. — The Vṛddhacāṇakya (*Ind. Sprüche*<sup>2</sup>, no. 2087) mentions "bits of a calf's tail and of an ass' skin" (*utsapucchakharacarṇamakhayam*) as characteristic of a dog's abode; the Cāṇakya reads here *astikkharapucchasaṃcayah*.

<sup>4</sup> C. S. Köhler, *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Römer*, 1891, p. 82 ff., nos. 57—61.

<sup>5</sup> In the Greek collections of proverbs χαλεπὸν χορίον εἶναι γέσσαι appears repeatedly; cf. Lentsch, *Corpus Paroemiogr. Graec.* i. 376 (Gregorius Cyprius); ii. 51 (Diogenianus); ii. 226 (Macarius); ii. 719 (Apostolius); also Suidas ed. Gaisford-Bernhardt, ii. 2, col. 1585 — ed. Bekker, p. 1116. However, they take χορίον in another sense; the interpretation of Apostolius, to which that of the others is very similar, is as follows: *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ μαρὸν τὰς χοροῖς ἐπὶ μεγάλα, τὸ θύρον τοῦ ἐπὶ χορίον χορίον καλεῖται αὐτὸ κίον γυνάμειον τούτου αὐτὸ ἐπὶ χορίον ἐπὶ τὸ λιχὺν ἐπιβολεῖσθαι*.

appears in Lucian, *advers. indoct.* 25, οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων ἀπαξ παύσας' ἂν σκυτοτραγῶν μαθούρα<sup>1</sup> ("for a bitch will never stop eating leather, if once she has learned to do so"), and in Alciphron, *Epist. paras.* 11, 5 (p. 72, 4 ed. Schepers = iii. 47), οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγῶν μαθούρα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται ("for a bitch that has learned to eat leather will ne'er forget the trick"). In meaning the Greek proverb differs from the Sanskrit. The latter refers to the fact that innate traits cannot be eradicated, the former inculcates the lesson of *Principiis obsta* (Ovid, *Rem. Amor.*, 92)<sup>2</sup>. Rather closer in sense to the Sanskrit proverb is the Latin, alluded to by Horace (*Serm.* ii. 5. 83): *Sic tibi Penelope frugist; quae si semel uno | De senē gustarit tecum partita lucellum, | Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.*<sup>3</sup> In the form *Non leviter corio canis abstrahetur ab uncto*<sup>4</sup> it occurs in Alanus de Insulis' *Doctrinale Minus s. Liber Paraboliarum* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 210, col. 581 c). A Bâle manuscript of the fifteenth century has *Non canis a corio subito depellitur uncto* (J. Werner, *Latein. Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, 1912, = *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, herausgegeben von A. Hilka, vol. iii, p. 56, no. 119).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregorius Cyp. (Leutsch, ii. 126) cites this proverb in the form οὐδὲ κύων παύσας' ἂν ἀπαξ σκυτοτραγῶν μαθούρα; Apostolius (Leutsch, ii. 587) ends with μαθόν, and explains the application: ὅτι ἐὼς ἐθὺς σκεῖται ἀπορρήθρον. Cf. also Apostolius (Leutsch ii. 643) σκυτοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων κίμων, κύων δὲ σκυτοτραγῶν ἐστὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπορρήθρον ἐσθίει.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the fragment ascribed to Antiphanes (Meineke, *Com. Graec. Frag.*, iii. 100 = Koek, *Com. Attic. Frag.*, ii. 134, from Maximus, *Conf.* 41, p. 64) κύων μελετᾷται παρὰν ἀπορρήθρου φιλότρου οὐδέτις δόξαται τῆς ἀγέλης, with which Haupt (*Opusc.* iii. 380) compares Demosthenes, XXV. 40, τοὺς γεγραμμένους κύων τῶν προβάτων κατακτείνει φασὶ θεοί.

<sup>3</sup> Peter of Blois cites this verse, *Epist.* XV (Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 207, col. 55 B; *Petri Blesensis Opera omnia*, ed. I. A. Giles, i. 57). — In spite of the scholiast and modern editors I am inclined to construe *uncto* not with *corio*, but with an implied *senē*.

<sup>4</sup> With the var. *lect.* "extorrebatur uncto". (Both passages are cited by Sutphen, *American Journal of Philology*, xxii. 22).

<sup>5</sup> In general, the fondness of dogs for a hide is referred to in Aesop's fable (218 Halm = 134 Schneider) Κύων λιμάτρουρας (κύων λιμάτρουρας ὡς ἡλικιάρου ἐν τῇ ποταμῷ βίβρατι βρεχόμενος etc.), quoted by Plutarch, *περὶ κακῶν ἐνομιῶν* § 19, p. 1067 F (οὐδέτις ἀπορρήθρου τῶν κυῶν ὡς φέρον Αἰεταὶ βρεχόμενοι τῶν ἐπιλεβόμενος etc.), and translated by Phaedrus l. 20 (3, *corium*



The German proverb "An Riemen lernt der Hund Leder kauen" (Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, 1873, iii, col. 1683, s. v. "Riemen") resembles the Greek proverbs in meaning; its oldest occurrence is in a codex Sangallensis saec. XI: "Fone demo limble so beginnit ter hunt leder ezzen" (Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler*<sup>2</sup>, vol. I, no. xxvii, 4; further references in the notes, vol. II, p. 134).

What the relation of these proverbs to one another is, if indeed there be any connection, would require a full collection of such material, which might throw an interesting light on the connection of Hindu and European proverbs, and perhaps also on the relation of the fable literature of the Hindus and that of the Occident.

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*depressum in fluvio viderunt canes*). Martial (vi. 93, 4) mentions among malodorous objects a hide snatched away from a dog of the Fullers' Quarter, *detracta cani transiberina cutis*.

*Atharvaprāyaścittāni.* Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof.  
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Sachindex

(Die einzelnen Stellen sind von einander stets durch Semicola getrennt; die Anmerkungen, weil im Text mit fortlaufenden Ziffern versehen, hier nur durch diese, nicht zugleich durch die Angabe der entsprechenden Seite bezeichnet. Deshalb verweist z. B. unter Agnihotra die Zahl: "5. 3" auf den Text; das folgende: "Anm. 743" auf die S. 117 unter 743 stehende Notiz.)

**Agnihotra** cf. *Āhavaniya*; *Garhapatya*. Seine Vollziehung unterbleibt Anm. 632; (cf. verstreichen lassen); es wird un-  
rechtzeitig vollzogen 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 1; cf. 5. 3; Anm. 743, 746,  
760, 772, 778; seine Opferspeise — fällt herab 4. 3; kocht  
über 4. 3; Anm. 707; gelangt dabei ins Feuer Anm. 711; geht  
infolge des Aufplatzens der sthali (oder ihres Umkippens 6. 3)  
verloren Anm. 714; geht teilweise oder ganz verloren 1. 3, 5;  
Anm. 49, 93; (cf. verschütten); — es wird durch Unreinig-  
keit besudelt 1. 3; (cf. Unreinigkeit); erleidet Unter-  
brechungen 2. 1 (= eindringen); die zum A° gemolkene  
Milch wird geraubt 2. 1; das aufgesetzte (*adhiṣṛita* resp.  
*anabhyuddhṛta*) A° knistert(?) 4. 3; Anm. 701; das Agnihotra  
des Verreisten 1. 1; des von tödlicher Krankheit Betroffenen  
Anm. 318; auf der Reise Verstorbenen 2. 8; Anm. 308. —  
Der *Adhvaryu*-Priester darf sich während der Vollziehung  
des A° nicht umwenden 1. 3; Anm. 49; — die Kuh, welche  
die zum A°-Opfer nötige Milch gibt, brüllt 2. 4; zuckt Anm.  
737; setzt sich nieder 2. 4; Anm. 186, 189, 754; ist trüchtig  
2. 5; Anm. 203.

**Āhavaniya** s. *Agnihotra*; *Garhapatya*. Die Sonne geht über  
dem herausgenommenen A° auf resp. unter 1. 2; wann soll es  
dem *Garha*-Feuer entnommen werden? 1. 1; es erwacht,  
während das *Garha*-Feuer erlischt 1. 5; Anm. 79; greift  
um sich Anm. 826, 836; erlischt Anm. 296, 297, 949; wird  
in erloschenem Zustande übertragen 2. 7; 5. 4. — Zwischen

das Gārha- und Ā\*-Feuer drängen sich störende Elemente (s. eindringen). Beide Feuer erlöschen Anm. 772.

**Asche.** Das verunreinigte Agnihotra wird auf Asche geopfert 1. 3; ein Streif von Asche stellt den durch das Eindringen profaner oder unreiner Tiere oder Gegenstände unterbrochenen Zusammenhang beim Opfer her Anm. 63—64, 143; die störende Spur eines durch den Opferbezirk gelaufenen Hundes wird mit Asche bestreut Anm. 143, 818 (cf. Tiere); heiße Asche dient an Stelle eines Brandscheites zur Feuererzeugung Anm. 79; wird zur Wiedererzeugung eines heiligen Feuers berührt 2. 5; Anm. 772, 784; cf. 5. 1; die verunreinigte Opferspeise wird in Asche (oder Wasser) geworfen 2. 6; wenn die Asche von Opferfeuern sich vermischt, bedarf dieses der Sühne Anm. 870.

**eindringen** von Menschen, Tieren (s. d.) und leblosen Dingen (z. B. Kriegs- oder Lastwagen 1. 3; 5. 2) in den Opferbezirk (cf. Āhavanīya) Anm. 63, 143; von Raubvögeln oder Hunden 5. 2; von Menschen, Wagen, schwarzen Vögeln und anderen Lebewesen in diesen Anm. 818; — das Eindringen in den Opferbezirk wird entschönt, indem man eine Kuh herüberführt Anm. 143; die störende Hundespur wird durch Bestreuen mit Asche unschädlich gemacht *ibid.*; Anm. 818 (s. Asche); durch Wasserguß getilgt *ibid.* (s. Wasser); der Prastotar oder Udgatar erleidet eine Unterbrechung 6. 5; — Störung bei den rātriparyāyās 6. 9; cf. Agnihotra.

**fasten.** Sühne dafür, daß der Opferveranstalter Speise genießt oder aufs Feuer gelangen läßt, bevor die heiligen Feuer Opferspenden erfahren haben 2. 4; Anm. 170; Speiseenthaltung beim Opfer Anm. 257; die Milch beim Agnihotrapfer wird nicht genossen, wenn der Opferveranstalter auf einer Reise zugrunde gegangen ist Anm. 318; dieser muß sich der Speise enthalten, wenn das ganze Opfermaterial verloren gegangen ist Anm. 723; vgl. 4. 3; muß samt seiner Gattin schweigend fasten, wenn er das Agnihotra nicht rechtzeitig begonnen hat 4. 4; cf. Anm. 760; darf von einer Ziege nicht genießen, wenn dieser in Ermangelung eines geweihten Feuers ein Opfer zugekommen ist 5. 2; Anm. 801; — nach dem anvādhāna ist der Genuß von Honig, Fleisch usw. verboten Anm. 863; Genuß von Soma, in den Regen gefallen, erst nach erfolgter Sühne möglich 6. 3; der Bruch der Gelübdevorschriften erfordert Sühne 5. 4; Anm. 863; die Feinde



genießen von der Opferspeise des Āhitāgni Anm. 846. Brahmanen dürfen unreine Speisen nicht genießen 4. 1.

**Frau s. Unreinigkeit.** Die Gattin des Opferveranstalters beteiligt sich am Agnihotra-Opfer 4. 4; ist unrein, wenn sie Zwillinge gebärt 5. 5; Anm. 875—6; menstruiert ist 4. 2; Anm. 684; unrein ist die Wöchnerin Anm. 684; beide verunreinigen deshalb nicht minder als ein Śūdra das Opfermaterial Anm. 257, 327.

**Gārhapatya** vgl. Āhavanīya. Wann soll das Āhavanīya-Feuer dem G.-Feuer entnommen werden? 1. 1; in welcher Weise? 1. 2; wenn der Gārhapatya- oder der Dakṣiṇāgni von seinem Platz herunterfällt (und übergreift), so soll man ihn (während bei dem gleichen, indes vom Āhavanīya-Feuer ausgehenden, Omen ein Mantra zu sprechen ist) schweigend zurücklegen Anm. 836 (vgl. das Herabfallen der Opferkohle s. Opferfeuer); Sühne nach dem Erlöschen des G.-Feuers oder des Dakṣiṇāgni Anm. 949; das G.-Feuer erlischt 6. 1; Anm. 927. — Gegenseitige Vermischung: des G.- und des Āhavanīya-Feuers Anm. 852; des G., des Dakṣiṇāgni und anderer Opferfeuer Anm. 854; von Opferfeuern überhaupt (s. d. und: vertauschen); von Soma 6. 6; Anm. 1049.

**Gold,** Verwendung des G. beim nicht rechtzeitigen Entzünden oder Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers 1. 2; 5. 1; Anm. 778, 800; beim Herabfallen des praśadīya Anm. 877; bei der Schwangerschaft der Opferkuh 2. 5; — von Gold und Silber beim Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers Anm. 42, 296; beim Fehlen von Soma im Droṇa-Becher Anm. 1019.

**Hund** (cf. Tiere), dringt in den Opferbezirk ein 1. 3; 5. 2; Anm. 63, 818; raubt Opferteile 2. 5; frißt, beschnuppert oder berührt den Opferkuchen oder andere Opferteile Anm. 257; leckt, beschnuppert oder verunreinigt Opfergeschalen; er frißt aus ihnen Anm. 657, 661; seine das Opfer störende Spur muß entsühnt werden (s. Asche; Wasser).

**Neu- und Vollmondopfer,** ihr unrechtzeitiger Vollzug 2. 2; Anm. 142—3; verunglückter Vollzug 3. 10; Anm. 142; Verspätung beim Beginn 2. 2—3; 5. 3; Anm. 826, 847.

**Opfer.** In welcher Weise kann es mißglücken? Anm. 2; welche Substanzen sind opferbar? Anm. 614, 618.

**Opferbutter,** Schmelzbutter als Sühnemittel 1. 5; als solches bei der Verunreinigung des Opferkuchens angewendet 2. 1;

beim Verderben der Opferspeise gebraucht 2. 1; das niedergefallene Opfertier damit besprengt 2. 9; über die, aus Palāsa-Blättern gebildete, Figur eines Vermißten gegossen 3. 8; als Substitut für das avadāna angewendet 5. 5; Anm. 888. Dem Vollzug einer gewissen Sühnehandlung muß das Anblicken von Opferbutter vorausgehen Anm. 646; die Verunreinigung der Opferbutter verlangt Sühne Anm. 625; das praśadājya fällt herab 5. 5; Anm. 877.

**Opferfeuer** cf. Ahavaniya; Gārhapatya; Substitution. Es gibt keinen Ersatz für das O. Anm. 614; die magische Bedeutung der O. 1. 1; Behandlung der O. bei, vor und nach einer Reise 1. 1; Sühne bei ihrem Erlöschen 2. 4, 5; 5. 1; 6. 1; Anm. 784, 927, 943, 949; der rituellen Verwendung vorzeitig erloschenen Feuers 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 297; der versehentlichen Wiederholung ihrer rituellen Anzündung Anm. 297; ihrer gegenseitigen Vermischung 2. 7; 5. 4; 6. 1; Anm. 279, 863, 870; Vermischung mit einem weltlichen Feuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 279, 863; mit einem Leichenfeuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 855; mit einem Waldfeuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 279; mit Wasser Anm. 284, 327 s. Wasser; einem himmlischen Feuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 290, 294; Sühne für den Fall, daß der Opferveranstalter in die Feuer eines anderen oder ein Fremder in dessen (des Opferveranstalters) Feuer den Opferguß tat; daß ein fremdes Feuer des letzteren Feuer kreuzte 5. 5; Anm. 143, 826, 874; daß (infolge Herabfallens der Kohle Anm. 836) die O. übergreifen oder ausgehen 5. 3; cf. Anm. 826, 836; Häuser in Brand setzen 5. 4; Anm. 863; — Verunreinigung des O. durch unreine Substanzen s. Unreinigkeit; Wasser; — seine Entzündung (auf rituellem Wege) will nicht gelingen 5. 2; Anm. 801, 836; es entzündet sich selbst Anm. 327. — Die Opferkohle erlischt vorzeitig Anm. 657; fällt aus der Umzäunung heraus Anm. 667; fällt herab 2. 6; fällt auf die Opferstreu 4. 1. — Die Reibhölzer werden unbrauchbar 2. 8; Anm. 327. — Unter den Opferfeuern werden genannt: āgnidhriya, āhavaniya, ukhya, anttaravedika, gārhapatya, dakṣiṇagni, paśuśrapana, pitrya, śālāmukhiya.

**Opfergefäß.** Zerplatzen alles festen, Überströmen alles flüssigen Materials Anm. 1146; Zerschlagen, Spalten, Aufplatzen, Verbrennen der ukhā (cf. 6. 2; Anm. 1147), des somakalāśa, mahāvira und der übrigen Opfergefäße 6. 9; Anm. 1147; — wenn ein O. bricht, soll man in einem anderen,



festeren, kochen 5. 5; das Platzen eines irdenen oder hölzernen O. 6. 5; des Opferbechers 6. 4, 6; Anm. 1028; eines Kochtopfes 4. 3; Anm. 713—4, 724; — die *narāṣansa* erschöpfen sich 6. 5; Anm. 1046. Der *Adhvaryu* verrichtet das *Upākaraṇa* zum *Stotra* über einem Becher, der, mit *Soma* gefüllt, sich noch im *Sadas* befindet 6. 3; Anm. 980. Die *sthālī* kippt um 6. 3. Behandlung der O. eines Toten: die irdenen O. werden ins Wasser geworfen, die steinernen und ehernen aber an *Brahmanen* weggeschenkt 3. 7; Anm. 657, 661; verunreinigte hölzerne gegen gleichartige reine ausgetauscht Anm. 657; ihre Reinigung je nach ihrem Material vorgenommen Anm. 614. — Die Opferschale zerbricht und wird für das Opfer unbrauchbar 4. 1; Anm. 656—7, 661. Hunde oder ähnliche unreine Tiere beschnuppern sie; sie platzt; Opferschalen werden verwechselt; ihre Größe oder Zahl ist nicht die richtige; deren zwei oder mehrere gehen zugrunde Anm. 657, 661.

**Opferkuchen**, für *Mitra* als Sühneopfer 1. 2; für *Varuṇa* als Sühneopfer 1. 2; wird verunreinigt 2. 1; misrät, was Sühne verlangt 4. 1; Anm. 648; brennt an 2. 1; 4. 1; springt oder schnellst in die Höhe 4. 2; Anm. 694; kippt um Anm. 694; fällt um oder platzt Anm. 695 s. verschütten; schwindet dahin Anm. 652; wird durch Würmer usw. besudelt s. Unreinigkeit.

**Opferpfosten**. Der O. schlägt während der heiligen Handlung aus 2. 6; 5. 6; Anm. 247; wankt oder entwurzelt Anm. 248; fällt nieder 2. 6; eine Krähe läßt sich auf ihm nieder 2. 6.

**Opferspende** vgl. Opfertrank. Einzelne oder alle O. verunglücken 2. 1; 4. 1; werden vertauscht (s. d.); sind ungar (vgl. Anm. 652) angebrannt oder völlig verbrannt Anm. 126; werden von Tieren (s. d.) geraubt; werden genossen, bevor dem Opferfeuer die übliche Spende dargebracht ist s. fasten; fallen aus der Umzäunung des Opferplatzes heraus 4. 2; werden auf die Opferstreu verschüttet oder gelangen doch jedenfalls nicht ins Feuer Anm. 691; werden auf andere Weise verunreinigt (s. d.); in diesem Falle müssen sie durch ein opferreines Material substituiert (s. d.) werden; cf. Anm. 614. — Das *prśadājya* fällt herab 5. 5; Anm. 877; der *āgrāyana* wird von einem anderen benutzt 6. 3; er fällt herab oder geht aus Anm. 987; andere Libationen fallen herab *ibid.*; — Mißgriff bei der Vollziehung des *Pravargya* 6. 8.



— Das *sāmhāya* verunglückt 2. 1; wird durch Haare oder Würmer verunstaltet Anm. 119; cf. 4. 1; (andere Libationen fallen herab *ibid.*;) wird im Falle des vollständigen Verlustes durch den Opferkuchen ersetzt 2. 1; cf. Substitution; wird, wenn verdorben, über einen Ameisenhügel ausgeschüttet 4. 3; Anm. 664, 707, 741—2; läuft über Anm. 665; geht völlig verloren Anm. 665; die Kühe, welche die Milch dazu hergeben, dürfen nicht ihre Kälber getränkt haben 4. 1.

**Opferspruch.** Die Auslassung, Vertauschung, das Zuviel oder Zuwenig von Opfersprüchen erheischt Sühne 4. 1; Anm. 632, 646.

**Opferstreu.** Die O. respektive andere brennbare Bestandteile der Opferrüstung geraten in Flammen 2. 5; Anm. 646; fallen herab 4. 1; ein Zuviel oder Zuwenig bei ihnen Anm. 646. Die O. wird durch die herabgefallene *ahuti* verunreinigt Anm. 691.

**Opfertier.** Das beim Opfer verwandte Tier (s. *Agnihotra*, die Kuh desselben) brüllt vor Hunger oder setzt sich nieder 2. 4; — das Opfertier entflieht Anm. 332, 1110; cf. Pferd; fällt nieder 5. 5; bricht zusammen, wird krank oder stirbt 2. 9; Anm. 332; darf bei der Opferung nicht brüllen Anm. 178.

**Opfertrank.** Geopferter und nicht geopferter, genossener und nicht genossener Soma vermischen sich mit einander 6. 6; Anm. 1049. Der Soma brennt an 6. 4; Anm. 1001; wird geraubt 6. 4; Anm. 1016; geht zugrunde, wird verschüttet 3. 4, 5; 6. 4; fließt über 2. 5; bleibt vom *Prātahsavana* übrig 6. 6; Somalibationen mißlingen 6. 3; Zufälligkeiten und Mißgriffe bei den drei täglichen Pressungen 6. 9; Anm. 1055. — Konkurrierende Somaopfer unter Landsleuten und Feinden 6. 6. Der zur Auspressung des Somatranks verwandte Preßstein platzt 6. 3; Anm. 1028.

**Opferveranstalter.** Der O. ist in keinem Falle durch einen Stellvertreter ersetzbar Anm. 614; die heiligen Feuer werden magisch als sein Lebensodem aufgefaßt 1. 1; er darf nicht Speise genießen, bevor die heiligen Feuer Opferspenden empfangen haben Anm. 170; erfährt Schädigung durch Zauber (?) 6. 6; wird krank 2. 9; 3. 9; cf. Anm. 1071; treibt die Priester (?) schlecht herbei 6. 9; stirbt — nach Anlegung des *Agnihotra* 2. 9; auf der Reise in einem Dorfe Anm. 143;

: Unklare Stelle. Lies vielleicht: *ya upatāpinam (erg.: paśum) yojayet* ...

cf. 3. 6; am Upavasatha-Tage 2. 9; nach Vollendung der Opfer 2. 9; Anm. 561; nach der Weihe 2. 9; cf. 6. 7; ist verschollen 3. 6; erscheint wieder 3. 6; erscheint nicht 3. 6.

**Opferwagen.** Der O. fällt um 6. 1.

**Pferd** s. Opfertier; Tier. Das Pferd entweicht beim Rollopfer 6. 7; begattet sich während des Opfers 6. 7; ein Schimmel vertritt die Sonne und wird als das Symbol dieser in östlicher Richtung hingestellt, wenn man sie nicht aufgehen sieht, während die Verse des Frühgebets rezitiert werden 6. 7; — das Pferd entstümt das herabgefallene prasāḍya durch Beschnupern Anm. 877.

**reisen** cf. Opferveranstalter. Unterschied zwischen vorübergehendem Ortswechsel und dauernder Übersiedelung Anm. 16; Verhalten vor und nach einer Reise 1. 1; sterben auf der Reise 2. 8; Anm. 143; nach dem anvādhāna ist es dem Haushalter verboten, zu verreisen 4. 3; 5. 3; Anm. 863.

**sānnāya** s. Opferspende.

**Silber** cf. Gold. Verwendung des S. beim nicht rechtzeitigen Entzünden des Ahavaniya-Feuers 1. 2; cf. Anm. 42.

**Substitution.** S.-Materialien beim Sühneopfer Anm. 6; cf. Opferspende; für das Opferfeuer und den Opferherrn gibt es keinen Ersatz Anm. 614; doch können Opferfeuer im Notfall durch weltliche Feuer ersetzt werden 5. 2; Anm. 801; an Stelle des weltlichen Feuers kann die rechte Hand des Brahmanen treten; an seiner Statt das rechte Ohr einer Ziege stehen; dieses durch darbha-Grasbüschel; die letzteren durch Wasser; dieses durch Gold substituiert werden. Diese sämtlichen Dinge gelten dann als zum profanen Gebrauch ungeeignet: den Brahmanen soll man nicht ansehen; die Ziege nicht genießen; auf dem darbha-Grase nicht sitzen; mit dem Wasser nicht die Füße waschen; das Gold nicht tragen 5. 2. Opferbutter als Substitut eines avadāna 5. 5; Anm. 888. Substitute für den Soma 6. 4; Anm. 1016—7, 1019. Beim Zugrundegehen der Opferspende muß ein opferreines Substitutionsmaterial herangeschafft werden Anm. 614. — An Stelle komplizierter Opferriten können im Notfalle einfache Handgriffe treten Anm. 863, 836; die Sattrā in Ekāha verwandelt werden 3. 9.

**Tiere** s. Agnihotra; Opfertiere: Pferd; verunreinigen. Hund oder Raubvogel dringen in den Opferbezirk ein 5. 2; Anm. 808; rauben Opfertiere 2. 5; Hund, Wildschaf, Katze



und Wildschwein (Anm. 63), Löwe, Hyäne, Schakal, Krähe usw. stören das Opfer Anm. 818; deshalb muß ihre Spur entsühnt werden (s. Asche; Wasser); Eber, Katze, Büffel oder Raubvogel sind nach Opferfleisch begierig 3. 10; Hunde usw. belecken, beschnupern und verunreinigen die Opferschalen; cf. Opfergefäß; Hund, Raubvogel, Krähe, Maulwurf, Katze, Ichneumon usw. fressen, beschnupern oder berühren Opferkuchen Anm. 257; die Krähe genießt vom Opferkuchen Anm. 197; setzt sich auf den Opferpfosten 2. 6; dringt in den Kreis des Agnihotra ein Anm. 818; Insekten besudeln die Opferspeise Anm. 257; Würmer suchen sie heim 2. 6; verderben sie Anm. 119; verunreinigen das Agnihotra 4. 3. Ein weißes Pferd wird angewendet, wenn die Rezitation der Frühgebete nicht mit dem Sonnenaufgang zusammenfällt 6. 7; Anm. 1104; das Pferd entsühnt das herabgefallene *prasadajya* durch Beschnupern Anm. 877; Sühne ist erforderlich, wenn beim Pferdeopfer der Hengst nicht zurückkehrt oder wenn er die Stute beschält 6. 7; — das Rind entsühnt den störenden Einbruch in den Opferbezirk Anm. 63, 143; cf. Asche; — die Ziege kann als Substitut für ein Opferfeuer Spenden empfangen 5. 2; Anm. 801; ein weißer Ziegenbock wird der Sonne als Sühne dargebracht 6. 7; Anm. 1105.

**Unreinigkeit** cf. Asche; Tiere; Wasser. Drei Klassen von unreinen Dingen gibt es: das durch a) Geburt, b) Kontakt und c) Vermischung Unreine z. B. a) eine Zwiebel, b) den *Sūdra* und c) einen an sich reinen, aber mit rituell unreinen Dingen wie Kot usw. in Berührung gekommenen Gegenstand; man kann also: 1. von Hause aus unrein sein, 2. durch Berührung mit befleckten Mitmenschen oder verderbten Dingen und 3. durch das Eindringen von Unreinem unrein werden Anm. 614; — über unreine Tiere (s. d.) spricht der Text häufig; auch redet er von verbotenen Menschen; die Gattin des Opferveranstalters ist unrein, wenn sie menstruiert ist 4. 2; Anm. 684; desgl. die Wöchnerin *ibid.*; beide müssen deshalb dem Opfer fern gehalten werden s. Frau. Sühne ist notwendig, wenn ein menstruierendes Weib, eine Wöchnerin oder ein *Sūdra* die Opferspeise berühren Anm. 257; wenn unreine Weiber, niedere Menschen oder unreine Tiere (Esel, Schwein, Krähe; — ferner der Hund 1. 3) sie verderben Anm. 327; oder wenn die gleichen Wesen resp. Dinge, wie Kot, Urin, Same, Eiter, Tränen, Knochen, Abfälle usw.,



desgl. ein Wassertropfen, das Opferfeuer verunreinigen Anm. 327; cf. Anm. 859; wenn dieses sich mit einem Leichenfeuer mischt 5. 4; Anm. 855. Als besonders unrein und deshalb dem Opfer gefährlich gelten Haare usw. Anm. 126; Haare, Nägel, Würmer und andere ekelhafte Dinge Anm. 257; besonders Würmer 2. 6; Ausscheidungen des menschlichen Körpers, zu denen auch Blut und Träne gehören, wenn die letztere eine Schmerzensträne ist (vgl. die Entheiligung des Soma durch einen Wasser- oder Regentropfen s. Wasser;) Anm. 257, 616, 864; ferner Abfälle aller Art, sowie Leichen und Leichenteile Anm. 327; — als verunreinigend gilt die Erde, wenn (infolge Überlaufenlassens kochender Flüssigkeiten oder fahrlässiger Handlungen anderer Art) dieselbe mit dem Opfermaterial in Berührung kommt Anm. 711, 1146; ja unter den gleichen Umständen selbst das Feuer Anm. 711; — das Verunreinigte vernichtet man, indem man es in Asche (s. d.), Wasser (s. d.) oder vermittelst eines Paläsa-Blattes auf einen Ameisenhaufen schüttet s. Opferspende. — Die Verunreinigung mag besonders häufig die flüssige Opferspeise (sānnāyva s. Opferspende), sowie den festen Opferkuchen (2.1) und überhaupt das Material des überaus oft vollzogenen und häufigen Störungen ausgesetzten Agnihotra betroffen haben 1. 3. Unter den ihr ausgesetzten Opfergeräten spielten die carusthāti (Topf zum Kochen des Opfermuses) eine Rolle 1. 3; aber auch die übrige Opferrüstung (Streu usw.) kann durch Kot, Urin oder ähnliches verunreinigt werden Anm. 646. — Wenn die ganze Opferspende verunreinigt ist, muß das Opfer von neuem begonnen werden 4. 1.

**verschütten** cf. Agnihotra; Gārhapatyā. Das Verschütten der beim Agnihotra gebrauchten Milch 1. 3, 5; 4. 3; Anm. 49, 93, 186, 707, 711, 714, 718, 723, 727; des Opfermaterials Anm. 126, 621, 727; des Inhalts des Somabechers 2. 5; des Somatranks 3. 4; des Opfermuses Anm. 621; der Opferbutter 4. 1; der vasativari 6. 2; der zu religiösen Zwecken gebrauchten Wasser Anm. 962; der āhuti 4. 2; des prṣadājya 5. 5; Anm. 877; des āgrayana 6. 3; der Opferkohle 2. 6; 4. 1; cf. Opferfeuer, sein Übergreifen. — Entsühnung: s. Pferd; Tiere.

**Verstreichen-lassen** (cf. Agnihotra). Das V-l. des zum Neu- und Vollmondopfer vorgeschriebenen Termins 2. 2—3; Anm. 826; des allmorgendlichen und allabendlichen Agni-

hotra (s. d.); die Sonne geht über dem nachmittäglichen Pravargya unter 6. 8; über einer der drei täglichen Soma-pressungen unter 6. 9. — V.-l. des Manenopfers Anm. 760; irgendeines Opfers oder Opfergliedes *ibid.*; cf. Anm. 844; Versäumnis einer Observanz Anm. 760. Wenn man beim Rezitieren des Frühgebetes die Sonne nicht im Osten sieht, soll man ihr einen weißen Ziegenbock opfern 6. 7; Anm. 1104; beim Versäumen eines Zeitpunktes soll man die pāthukṛti-Sühne ausführen Anm. 825.

**Vertauschen** der heiligen Handlung 3. 4; Anm. 633; der heiligen Sprüche 4. 1; Anm. 637; der Gottheiten, denen die einzelnen Opfer gelten 4. 1; Anm. 633, 637, 642; (ihre verspätete Erwähnung 4. 1; Anm. 642); der Opferbutter, des Opfermaterials Anm. 637; der heiligen Feuer s. Opferfeuer.

**Wasser** s. Asche. Verunreinigtes Wasser wird fortgegossen Anm. 614. Merkwürdigerweise gilt Wasser als unrein, selbst wenn es nur tropfenweise ins Opferfeuer fällt Anm. 327; deshalb macht der Regentropfen, welcher das Agnihotra-Material benetzt, dessen Wiederholung nötig 4. 3; Anm. 736, 742; wenn in den Soma Regen fällt, muß Sühne erfolgen 6. 3; ja selbst die Träne entweicht 5. 4; Anm. 257, 616, 863. — Das Wasser wirkt im Ritual bisweilen entschuldigend; cf. Anm. 614. Das zum Reinigen der Füße benutzte Wasser darf nicht ausgehen 6. 5. Ein Wasserstrahl stellt die durch einen Einbruch zwischen zwei Opferfeuern unter diesen verlorengegangene magische Verbindung wieder her 1. 3; Anm. 63, 64, 143. Mit Wasser werden die Spuren ominöser, das Opferstörender Wesen verwischt Anm. 818; cf. eindringen; mit ihm findet die Reinigung goldner und silberner Opfergeräte statt Anm. 614. — Vorzugsweise aber dient das Wasser dazu, alles Unreine aufzunehmen und zu vernichten: unreine Dinge überhaupt 4. 1; Anm. 614, 616, 724; namentlich wird grundsätzlich und stets alle verdorbene oder durch Würmer verunreinigte (s. Unreinigkeit) Opferspeise ins Wasser geworfen Anm. 742; cf. 2. 6; Anm. 257, 617, 621; desgleichen jedes angebrannte (Anm. 126) oder infolge Überkochens herabgefllossene Opfergut Anm. 714; aber auch die unbrauchbar gewordene Opferrüstung: vom Feuer angegriffene Reibhölzer Anm. 327; geplatzte oder verunreinigte irdene oder hölzerne Gefäße 6. 5; Anm. 657, 661; die irdenen Gefäße eines Toten 3. 7; cf. Opfergefäß.



## Register der Vers- und Yajus-Anfänge.

- agna āyāhi vitaye 2. 7.  
 agnaye 'mādāya 'anapataye svāhā 1. 1.  
 agnaye 'bhyujjuṣasva svāhā 4. 4.  
 agnaye yaviṣṭhāya 'śākupāṣam 6. 6.  
 agnaye rathamtarāya svāho 'sane svāhā paṅktaye svāhā 'vibhyāṃ svāhā 6. 9.  
 agnaye suśrīyatamo juṣasva svāhā 4. 4.  
 agnaye souāya viṣṇava indrāgni-bhyāṃ prajāpataye 3. 9.  
 agnaye svāhā yajñāya svāhā brahmapo svāhā viṣṇave svāhā prajāpataye svāhā 'numataye svāhā 'gnaye viṣṭakṛto svāhā 6. 9.  
 agnaye svāhā vasubhyāḥ svāhā gāyatriyai svāhā 6. 9.  
 agnim vayam trātāram havāmahe 2. 2.  
 agnijihvā manavaḥ sūracakṣasaḥ 6. 1.  
 agniṣā 'gniḥ samidhyate 2. 7.  
 agniṣā 'gniḥ samarjyate 6. 1.  
 agniṣā tapo 'nvabhavat 5. 6.  
 agnim nro didhitibhir aranyoḥ 6. 1.  
 agniḥ pravidevān iha tat karoti 6. 2.  
 agnim iḥ purohitam 2. 7.  
 agnim prthivyaḥ aditya upasthe 1. 3.  
 agnim prthivyām amṛtasya jityai 1. 2.  
 agniḥ jyotiḥ jyotiḥ agniḥ 1. 2.  
 agniḥ nas tena nayatu prajānaṃ 2. 3.  
 agniḥ bhūmyāṃ 1. 3.  
 agniḥ mā pātu vasubhiḥ parastāt 2. 9; 6. 9.  
 agniḥ ca deva savitā 2. 4.  
 agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ 2. 7.  
 agne vgi. ā 'gna.  
 agne kāmāya yemire 5. 3.  
 agne prānāhi prathamah 2. 4.  
 agneḥ te vācam sprnomi svāhā 2. 9.  
 aghoro yajñāyo bhūtvā 4. 2.  
 āgāni...ta ukthyaḥ pātu 6. 6.  
 achinnam tantum prthivyaḥ anu ge-  
 sam 6. 2.  
 ajasrayā sūryā yaviṣṭha 6. 1.  
 ajaso vakei devatātim aha 6. 1.  
 aha dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭam no duṣkṛtam  
 karat 2. 3.  
 atharvabhiḥ śantāḥ sukṛtām etu  
 lokam 2. 6.  
 adābhyam brhaspatim vareṇyam 4. 1.  
 aditiḥ sindhuḥ prthivi uta dyauḥ  
 6. 1.  
 adbhutāni vācako japaṃ 3. 6, 7.  
 adbhyaḥ te rusem sprnomi svāhā 2. 9.  
 adhā devaiḥ sadhamādāṃ madema  
 1. 3.  
 anapṛgandhi (?) 2. 5.  
 anupṛvām vṛṣṇā codayanti 6. 9.  
 anulhānam vayata joguvām apaḥ  
 1. 3.  
 anuṣṭubham chandaso yam 3. 4.  
 anūnam hitvā ātmānam 3. 4.  
 antarikṣāt ta akāśam sprnomi svāhā  
 2. 9.  
 amṛtarikṣe turīyam 1. 5.  
 anv agniḥ 5. 3.  
 apasāśadaghvānnasya bhūyāsam 2. 7.  
 apām agniḥ tanubhiḥ 2. 7.  
 apām ūrmih 6. 2.  
 ape 'mam jīva arudhan grhebhyaḥ  
 2. 9.  
 apu turīyam 1. 5.  
 apav antaḥ 2. 1.  
 abhayam vo 'bhayam me 'atu 1. 1.  
 amitrāṇāṃ śriyam bhūtiḥ 2. 5.  
 amum amāha 4. 3.



amṛtaṃ devatamayam 6. 1.  
 amṛtāhutim amṛtāṣm jahomi 1. 2.  
 amo 'ham asmi sū tvam 4. 2.  
 ayam devo bhāspatiḥ 6. 1.  
 ayan no agniḥ adhyakṣaḥ 1. 5.  
 ayan no 'gūḥ 6. 5.  
 ariṣṭebhir aśvinā saubhagebhir 6. 1.  
 arkā ca tvā 'śvamedhā ca śpātāṃ  
 6. 3.  
 avadagdhāṃ duḥsvapnyam avada-  
 gdhā arāmayā sarvā ca yātudha-  
 nyā 2. 5.  
 ava yakṣa no varuṇam rāṣaḥ 4. 1.  
 avadhāmāni bādhta 4. 1.  
 āvaṇ na gūḍham āvinā durevāḥ  
 6. 9.  
 āvāś vājaś uta 6. 3.  
 āvāvat soma vīravat 2. 6.  
 āvapatnam puruṣāt 1. 5.  
 asau ya udayāt paśād vāśno ni-  
 lohitaḥ 2. 3.  
 astam ive 'j jarimānam jagamyāṃ  
 6. 9.  
 athibhyas te majjānam sprṇomi  
 svāḥ 2. 9.  
 amān indrāgni avatāṃ śatibhir 6. 9.  
 amūn āśida barhiḥ 4. 2.  
 asya patiḥ syām sugavāḥ suvitrāḥ 6. 9.  
 aśvā ca tvā pātāś ca śpātāṃ 6. 3.  
 aśnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam 1. 2.  
 ā 'gne pāvaka didyat 5. 1.  
 ā 'gne pāvako arcis 5. 1.  
 ā ca dyotate 2. 7.  
 āyena tejaś 'jyaśva 4. 2.  
 ātmāguir yajñam prthivi śatiraiḥ (?)  
 3. 10.  
 ātmānam ta āgrāyaṇāḥ pātu 6. 6.  
 ātmā yajñasya ramhya 6. 3.  
 ādityānam tvā devānam vyātta 'pi  
 dadhāmi 2. 9.  
 ādityā tvā tarpayanta 6. 3.  
 ānṣṭubhāṃ parṣam adbhāśā 'va-  
 padyasva 2. 9.  
 ā no yāhi tapasā jameṇ 5. 1.  
 ā no ruyāṃ vahatām oṭa vīraṇ 6. 1.  
 āptān somaṃ ca ū. 5.  
 ā parvasa hiranyavat 2. 6.  
 ā bharaṇā śikṣatāṃ vajrahā 6. 9.

āhhyo yonibhyo adhi jatavedāḥ 5. 1.  
 āyāhi tapasā jameṇ 5. 1.  
 āyurāśi dhrūva āyur ma dāḥ  
 svāḥ 6. 3.  
 āyur ca tāya bhūtiṃ ca 2. 4.  
 āyur te dhravaḥ pātu 6. 6.  
 ā viāvāny amṛtā saubhagāni 6. 1.  
 āśida sadanāṃ svam 4. 2.  
 ā 'ham yajñam dadhe nirṣter upa-  
 sthāt 4. 1.

### Ita eva prathamam jajñe agniḥ 5. 1.

idam viṣṇur vicakrame 5. 2.  
 idam tu ekam 5. 3.  
 idam barhiḥ amṛteṇa 'na siktam 2. 5.  
 idāvatsarāya 2. 4.  
 indur indum avāgāi 6. 3.  
 indor indro 'pāt 6. 3.  
 indrapitasyo 'pahūtasyo 'pahūto bha-  
 kṣayāmi 6. 3.  
 indrasya kukṣir asi 2. 5.  
 indragūḥbhyāṃ svāhe 'odrāviṣṇu-  
 bhyāṃ svāḥ 6. 9.  
 indrāt te balam sprṇomi svāḥ 2. 9.  
 indrāya kṛvati bhāgam 2. 4.  
 indrāya svāhe 'ndrāyāi svāḥ chan-  
 dobhyāḥ svāḥ 6. 9.  
 indrāya harivate 6. 8.  
 indriyāvan madintumāḥ 6. 2.  
 indreṇa devān 5. 6.  
 imam yajñam mimikṣatām 4. 1.  
 ime na te rāṣmayāḥ sūryasya 6. 9.  
 imo agne vīlāmāni havyā 6. 1.  
 iṣā yātum nāsatyo 'pa vajaiḥ 6. 9.  
 iṣo rāyo rāvasva 5. 1.  
 iha gāvāḥ prajāyadhvam 5. 5.  
 iha no devā mahi śirma yachata 4. 1.  
 iha prajāṃ dīrgham āyur ca dāhe  
 2. 5.  
 iḥānvicamatibhir (?) 6. 8.  
 iḥai 'va kṣema edhi 4. 4.

### ukhām avasāram adhi vedim asthāt 6. 2.

uta pāyana anuran dīrgham āyur  
 6. 9.  
 uttiṣṭha devy adite 2. 4.  
 utpruṣo vipruṣāḥ samjohomi 1. 3.

ud agne śucayas tava 2. 7.  
 udasthū devy adite 2. 4.  
 ud uttamam varuṇa 4. 1. 3.  
 ud uttamam munugdhi naḥ 4. 1. 3.  
 uddhara 'bavanīyam 1. 1.  
 uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmano  
 mā yād avidvān yac ca vidvāṁśi  
 cakāra 1. 2.  
 undatthi suphenāḥ jyotiṣmatte ta-  
 masvatih 6. 2.  
 upajīvā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta 6. 6.  
 upahūto 'ham sumedhā varcaśvi 1. 4.  
 upāśmāsavanas te vyānam pātu 6. 6.  
 upāśmāv-antaryāman... te prāṇāpā-  
 nau pātām 6. 6.  
 upa 'māp sūstūtiṁ mama 5. 1.  
 urn viṣṇo vikramaśva 2. 2.

urg asy ūrjam mayi dhehi  
 6. 1.

ṛtave tvā 2. 9.  
 ṛdhyāma putraiḥ paśubhiḥ 6. 5.  
 ṛtāśad atriṁ munecatho gaṇena 6. 9.  
 ṛṣiṁ marṣv apṣamaḥ pāñcajanuyam  
 6. 9.  
 ṛṣiṁ narā vṛṣaṇā ratham apu 6. 9.

eṣā te agne 3. 7.

om svar janat (cf. svar janat)  
 3. 4; 4. 1.  
 om bhavo janat (cf. bhavo janat)  
 3. 4; 4. 1.  
 om bhūr janat (cf. bhūr janat) 4. 1.  
 om bhūr bhuvā svar janat 3. 4; 4. 4.  
 oṣadhībhya te lomāni sprṇomi svāhā  
 2. 9.

kakṣivantaṁ ya auśijah 4. 1.  
 kavir gṛhapatir yuvā 2. 7.  
 kasmā devāya haviṣā paridadema  
 3. 10.  
 kāyamāno vanā tvam 6. 2.  
 kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhah 4. 2.  
 kṛṇuhi brahmanaspatē 4. 1.

gaccha tvam ādāya parāvato  
 'nyān 2. 5.

garbho na mṛtaḥ 6. 3.  
 gavindrāgni kalpatā yuvam 6. 6.  
 gāyatriṁ parṣam adhabhīrā 'vapa-  
 dyasva 2. 9.  
 gāyatrīā tvā śatākṣurayā samda-  
 dhāmi 4. 1.  
 gāyatrīai chandase 'bhūbhūtyai svāhā  
 6. 6.  
 grāṇo havyadātaye 2. 7.  
 goṣā indo aṇṇā asi 6. 3.

gharmo viśvāyuh 4. 1.

candrāt te mana(h) sprṇomi  
 svāhā 2. 9.  
 cātyakam ca(?) 6. 2.

chidrayā vācā chidrayā  
 jīhvā(?) 3. 10.

janitā vayam mā loko 'nu-  
 samtanutām 1. 5.

jāgatiṁ parṣam adhabhīrā 'vapa-  
 dyasva 2. 9.  
 jivā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta  
 samjiveta 6. 6.  
 jivā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta 6. 6.  
 jivikā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta  
 samjiveta 6. 6.  
 juṣṭo hotā vareṇyah 2. 1.  
 jyotir bhūtvā devā apy etu(?) 1. 5.  
 jyotiṣmataḥ patho rakṣa dhīyā kṛtān  
 1. 5.

taṁ vo mā 'va kramiṣam 6. 2.  
 tato no abhayam kṛdhi 2. 4.  
 tato no vṛjyā 'vata 6. 2.  
 tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa 1. 5.  
 tatra rayiṣṭhām anasambharai 'tām  
 5. 2.  
 tatre 'mam yajñam yajamānam co  
 dhehi 2. 6.  
 tad it padam na viciketa vidvān 6. 3.  
 tad vai purāṇam abhinavam strotiṣva  
 2. 5.  
 tantam tanvan rajaso bhānum a-  
 nvihi 1. 3; cf. 6. 5.  
 tan no astu viśāmpatē 2. 5.  
 tan no mitre varuṇo māmahantam  
 6. 1.

tam deveṣu paridadaṁi vidvān 4. 1.  
 tam nirjagāmo haviṣā ghr̥tēna 2. 6.  
 tamuvanaṁ tanturupa seduragne 1. 3.  
 tapa śamsam araruṣaḥ parasya 5. 6.  
 tapā tapīṣṭha tapasā tapasvān 5. 6.  
 tapo vāso cikittāno acittān 5. 6.  
 tapo hy agne aptatām amitrām 5. 6.  
 tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava svāḥ 5. 6.  
 tam abhyukta etena samdadbhāmi 3. 4.  
 tayā 'nantām kāmam abam jayāmi 1. 2.  
 tayā me hy āroha 3. 7.  
 tayā me hy āvīḥa 3. 7.  
 tava jyotiṣay arcayaḥ 2. 7.  
 tābhīḥ jvām ubhayābhīḥ samvidānaḥ 6. 2.  
 tām eṣāṁ parinirjahi 2. 5.  
 tubhyaṁ tū āngirastama 5. 3.  
 tṛtīyaṁ tṛtīyena jyotiṣā 5. 3.  
 tejodā asi dhruvas tejo me dāḥ svāḥ 6. 3.  
 tena narā vartir asmatbhyam yātam 6. 9.  
 te no rakṣantu sarvataḥ 2. 5.  
 tya tha dr̥ṣṭum adṛṣṭam no duṣkr̥tam karat 2. 3.  
 trātāram indram 1. 5; 2. 1, 2; 6. 9.  
 trāyāṁ asmāt (?) 2. 2.  
 trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt 6. 3.  
 tredhā nidadhe padaṁ 5. 2.  
 traigobhīm parāṁ adhaśīrṣā 'vapadyasva 2. 9.  
 tvam hi vettha yathā haviḥ 2. 4.  
 tvam hy agne agnīnā viprah 2. 7.  
 tram agne vṛtatpā asi 2. 4, 8.  
 tram agne asprathā asi 2. 1, 3, 8.  
 tvam tantur uta setur agne 1. 3.  
 tvam no agne 4. 1; 6. 1.  
 tvam no agne varuṇasya vidvān 4. 1.  
 tram eva no jātaredaḥ 2. 5.  
 tvam pathā rajasi devayānaḥ 1. 3.  
 tvayā 'gne pr̥ṣṭam vāyam āruhema 1. 3.  
 tvayā yajñam vitanvate 2. 1.  
 tvayā me daivyaṁ vacaḥ 2. 6.  
 tvayāre svāḥ 2. 6.  
 tvām yajño viṣṇuḥ 3. 4.  
 tvām āsavanta upa yanti vājāḥ 6. 1.

**daṣṣakratū te mitrāvaruṇau pātām 6. 6.**

daṣṣai ca tvā mānasaḥ ca śr̥ṇitām 6. 3.

darbho rājā samudriyaḥ 2. 5.

darśaḥ ca tvā pauraṁāsāḥ ca śr̥ṇitām 6. 3.

digbhyas te jyotiḥ[?] spr̥ṇomi svāḥ 2. 9.

divam stabdhvā 'ntarikṣam ca 6. 1.  
 divam pr̥thivīm 2. 5.

divas parjanyaḥ antarikṣāt samudrāt 6. 2.

divā vṛdham (?) 3. 10.

divi turīyam 1. 5.

divi hotrām atṛyat svāḥ (?) 3. 10.

divo 'chata (?) 6. 8.

duritāt pāhi tasmāt 2. 5.

dūredr̥ṣāṁ gṛhapatim atbaryam 6. 1.

devasya beḍo 'vayāśiṣṭhāḥ 4. 1.

devā udno datto 'dadhīm bhintā 6. 2.

devāḥ janam agan 4. 1.

devān apy etu (?) 1. 5.

devānām devaḥ 6. 3.

devān yajñena bodhaya 2. 4.

devān yajño 'gat 1. 5.

devā yujo mitrāvaruṇā 'ryamā yuktam 6. 2.

devā vasav[?] agne indra sūrya 6. 2.

devāḥ asptayo apām nspāt tanūna-pāt 6. 2.

devo devebhyo bavyam vabatu prajānan 5. 1.

doṣā vastoh svāḥ 4. 4.

dyubhir aktubhīḥ paripātam asmān 6. 1.

dyaus ca tvā pr̥thivī ca 6. 3.

dyaus ca ma indraḥ ca me 6. 5.

dr̥ṣṭas cakanda 2. 5.

dvitīyam dvitīyena 5. 3.

divāntam agne diviṣatām ca vittam 2. 5.

**dhartri dharitri janitri ya-mitri 6. 1.**

dhātā dadātu pituḥ pitānaṣṭaḥ 4. 1.

dhānā dadhātu naḥ pūrṇā darve 2. 4.



dhruvam dhruvena 6. 3.

dhruvā dyaush 6. 3.

naktam eid dūra ā sate 5. 6.  
na tat te agne pramr̥ṣe nivartanam  
6. 2.

namas te satv-ryate 4. 1.

namas te pathyā revatī (?) 1. 4.

namas te bhuvāh 6. 2.

na me yajho yajumānā ca r̥gyāt 2. 6.

namo astu parāyate 4. 1.

namo yatra n̥śidasi 4. 1.

namo rudrāya m̥dhuṣe 2. 4.

nar̥śamsa udno datto 'dadhīm  
bhintā 6. 2.

na vām j̥ryanti p̥r̥vyā k̥rlāni 6. 9.

nā 'utarāgamanam̐ teṣām m̥dhu  
vichedanād bhayam 1. 3.

nirdagdā no amitrāh 2. 5.

ni hotā satāi barhiṣi 2. 7.

nediṣṭho asyā upaso vyuṣṭau 4. 1.

para ū ta ekam 5. 3.

pari nah pāta viśvatah 2. 5.

paśan nah sarvān gopāya 2. 4.

pāpmānam agne tam ito nudasva  
2. 5.

pāvako yad vānspatīn 5. 6.

p̥itryo praṇīta upaśmyamānāh 2. 5.

piptāp no bharimabhih 4. 1.

pibata gh̥rtam imām gh̥rtam 6. 6.

putrāso yatra pitare bhavanti 6. 1.

punar mai 'tv indriyam 1. 4; 6. 5, 9.

punas tvā 'dityā rudrā vasavaḥ 2. 5.

punas tvā prāṇah 2. 4.

punas tvo 'd̥ipayāmasi 2. 5.

puṣṭinā puṣṭim pr̥nena pr̥nam te-  
jaś tejaś cakṣuṣā cakṣuḥ śro-  
treṇa śrotam āyuṣā 'yuh punar  
dehi 6. 6.

pr̥tanājitam̐ sahamānam 2. 1.

pr̥thivīm turiyam̐ manasyān yajho  
'gāt 1. 5.

pr̥thivī vibhūvari (?) 6. 2.

pr̥thivyāḥ ca d̥r̥dhā bhava 6. 1.

pr̥thivyā te śarīram̐ spr̥nmi svāhā  
2. 9.

pr̥thivyai śrotṛāyā 'narikāya prā-

nāya vayobhyo dive cakṣuṣe na-  
katrebbyah sūryāyā 'dhīpataye  
svāhā 6. 10.

pr̥sadaśvā marutaḥ pr̥nimātaraḥ  
6. 1.

prajām̐ dvīśadbhyo naya dakṣinena  
2. 5.

prajāpataye svāhā dhātre svāhā  
p̥ṣṇe svāhā 6. 8.

prajāpatir yam̐ prathamo jigāya 1. 2.

prajāpatiḥ sarvam eve 'dam utarjet  
3. 10.

prajāpater viśvabhīṣāh skannāhutam  
asi svāhā 4. 3.

pra na āyūm̐ t̥riṣat 2. 7.

praṇīta upaśmyasi 2. 5.

pra tad viṣṇuḥ 5. 2.

prati na im̐ surabhīm̐ vyantu 6. 1.

pratināni pāti kāvyah 6. 3.

pratno hotā vivāṣate vām̐ 6. 9.

pra vām̐ dānuṣy sāvīnāv avocam̐  
6. 8, 9.

pr̥sastā kratunā 'jani 6. 2.

prā skannāt pr̥yatām̐ haviḥ 5. 5.

preddho agne didihi puro nah 6. 1.

barhiṣmati rātrir̐ viśritā  
gīh 6. 9.

brahmaṇas tvā sam̐tatyā sam̐tanomi  
1. 3.

bhadram̐ karṇebhiḥ śr̥ṇu-  
yāma devāh 6. 1.

bhadram̐ paśyemā 'kyabhir yajatrāh  
6. 1.

bhadrād abhi śreyah prehi 1. 5.

bhadrād adhi śreyah prehi 2. 4.

bhuvāya svāhā bhuvanāya svāhā  
bhuvanapataye svāhā bhuvāmpa-  
taye svāhā viṣṇave svāhā 2. 6.

bhuvo janat cf. om̐ bhuvo janat.

bhūpataye svāhā 4. 1.

bhūmir̐ bhūmim̐ agāt 6. 5.

bhūr̐ janat cf. om̐ bhūr̐ janat; 4. 1.

bhūs 5. 3.

maṇinā rūpāni 5. 6.

madivah somasyāśvinā madāya 6. 9.

manaso cetase dhiye 2. 5.

manur bhava janayā daivyaṃ ja-  
nam 1. 3.

mantravanti ca kārṇi sarvāy  
adhyayanam ca yat 1. 3.

mamā 'gne varcaḥ 2. 5; 6. 1.

mayobhuvā supraññi gamema 6. 1.

mahato mahimā aśya 3. 10.

mahi dyauḥ prthivi ca naḥ 4. 1;  
cf. 4. 3.

mātā mātaram apy agā 6. 5.

mā tvā dabh(y)an yāndhānāḥ 2. 5.

mā na apo medhām 1. 4.

mā naḥ kīpāna rīṣiḥ 4. 2.

mā naḥ pīparid (l. pīparid?) aśvinā  
6. 9.

mā naḥ prāpad uchunā kacid anyā  
3. 10.

māusāt ta ākṣād divyam ākṣāp  
sṛṇomi evāḥ 2. 9.

mā no aśya jagataḥ pāṛthivasya 3. 10.  
mā no madhyā rīṣiṣṭāyur gantoḥ  
6. 1.

mā no mahāntam 4. 1.

mā no medhām mā no dīkṣām 1. 4.

mā no vidan 2. 4; 6. 9.

mā no hīpṣiṣṭaṇṇi yat tapah 1. 4.

māndā vānāḥ śuśbhyūr ajirāḥ 6. 2.

mā prajāna patho vayam 6. 5.

mā prajāṣṭh 4. 4.

mā bradhnaḥ śarmabhiḥ ṣṭhi (?)  
2. 5.

mā brahma pramathistana 1. 4.

mām amum āmopyāyanam 4. 4.

mā hīpṣir deva preṣṭāḥ 4. 2.

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mitrah pṛthivyā adhyakṣaḥ (?) 1. 2.

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mitrāya varuṇāya ca 2. 4.

mitrāya havyam gṛtāvaj juhota 4. 3.

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mitro dādāra pṛthivim 4. 3.

minamā dasyor aśvasya māyāḥ  
6. 9.

**ya indreṇa sṛṣṭe yadi vā  
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ya imam 2. 2.

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mayā pratimayā paridadema svāḥ  
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yajñasya samtatir aśi yajñasya tvā  
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yajñasya hi stha rīvijā 6. 6.

yato jatas tato 'py arām (?) 4. 1.

yatkamāḥ te juhumaḥ 2. 5.

yat kim ce 'dam varuṇa 1. 2.

yat tvam agne 2. 5.

yatra devaiḥ sadhamādam madema  
1. 3.

yatra naḥ cakrā janaam tanuṇām  
6. 1.

yathe 'dam barhiḥ tathā 2. 5.

yad agnir barhiḥ adahat (?) 2. 5.

yad agne pūrvam nihitam padam  
hi te 5. 2.

yad asmyti 3. 4.

yad udagān mahato mahimā aśya  
3. 10.

yad dūre saun ihā 'bhavaḥ 6. 2.

yad vā gṛhān ghoram utā 'jagāma  
2. 6.

yad vāco yac ca me hṛdah 6. 1.

yad vā yajñam no 'dbhutam ajaga-  
ma 2. 6.

yad vā 'skaudad 'dhaviṣo yatra-yatra  
1. 3.

yam tvam agne 2. 5.

yan mātṛ ajagann apah 6. 1.

yan mṛtaḥ punar apy eti jīvān 6. 3.

yan me chidram manaso yac ca vā-  
caḥ 1. 3.

yan me manasā chidram 6. 1.

yan me skannam 3. 4.

yan me skannam manaso jātavedaḥ  
1. 3.

yamo rājā no yayau (?) 2. 3.

yayor ojaḥ 1. 5; 6. 9.

yayoh sarvam 2. 9.

yas tvam agne pramattinām 2. 5.

yasmāt kṛṇoti ketum a 5. 6.

yasmad bhūta nīdasi 2. 4.  
 yasmān minoty ajarah 5. 6.  
 yā te agna ādrā yonayo yāḥ kulā-  
 yinīḥ 6. 2.

yā te agne tanya ōrjo nama 6. 2.  
 yūpaḥ papāta dviṣatām vadhāya 2. 6.  
 yūpo viruḥaḥ chataśśikho adhvaraḥ  
 2. 6.

yūpo hy arukṣad dviṣatām vadhāya  
 2. 6.

yo te agna indavo yā u nābhayaḥ  
 6. 2.

yo devā yajñam āyanti 2. 5.  
 yena gachathah sukṛto duronaḥ 6. 9.

yena pūtha vaivsavataḥ 2. 3. 8.  
 yebhiḥ sapitvaṃ pitaro na āsan 6. 9.

yo agnīḥ 3. 7.  
 yo antaro mītramaho vanuṣyāt 5. 6.

yogakṣemasya śūntya 4. 2.  
 yo naḥ sanutyo abhidāmad agne 5. 6.

yo no dveṣṭi sa bhūdyatat 6. 5.  
 yo vanaspatinām upatāpo na āgat  
 2. 6.

yo vanaspatinām upatāpo bōbhūva  
 2. 6.

yo vām āsvinā mataso javiyan 6. 9.

rakṣobhyas tvā 2. 9.  
 rathah aśavo viśe ājigātī 6. 9.

rātrya yad enaḥ kṛtam aṣṭi paṇam  
 1. 2.

rudrāṇām tvā devānām vyāte 'pi  
 dadhāmi 2. 9.

rudrāḥ tvā tarpayantu 6. 3.

vaisaro 'si parivatsaro 'si  
 samvatsaro 'si 2. 9.

vanaspate 'ntataḥ aya 3. 4.  
 vanvan havir yathā devobhyah 2. 4.

vayā ita 'na rohate 6. 2.  
 varuṇāya svāhā 'dityebhyah svāhā  
 jagatyaḥ svāhā 6. 9.

varuṇo mā 'dityaiḥ sūryo mā dyā-  
 vāprthivibhyām pratīcya dīdāḥ  
 pātu 6. 9.

varrodā aṣṭi dhruvo varco me dāḥ  
 svāhā 6. 3.

vasavaḥ tvā 'dis tarpayantu 6. 3.  
 vasūnām rudrāṇām ādityānām maru-

tām r̥tāṇām bhrgūnām an̥girasām  
 atharvāṇām brahmaṇah samptatir-  
 aṣṭi 1. 3.

vasūnām tvā devānām vyāte 'pi  
 dadhāmi 2. 9.

vāśakām jagan (?) 3. 7.  
 vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenā 'dhvaryuṇā  
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ñcubhir p̥t̥vigbhir dāivairabhyud-  
 dharāmi 1. 2.

vācā brahma 5. 6.  
 vājām gomantam ābbara 2. 6.

vāta āvātu bhesaṇam 2. 5.  
 vātāt te prāṇam apr̥ṇomi svāhā 2. 9.

vāyava ita 2. 9.  
 vāṇaḥ prāṇastam prati me gr̥hāṇa  
 2. 5.

vī te tiṣṭhantām ajarah āyasaḥ 5. 6.  
 vidyatā bhrajanāti dyotate 2. 7.

vidyato 'gnir jihvā 2. 7.  
 vidyotate dyotate 2. 7.

vidvān aśva vrutā dhruva 6. 2.  
 vi pātām madhyamaṃ cṛta 4. 1.

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vin̥p̥gvarīṇ pr̥thivīm āvadāmi 1. 3.  
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viśvā dveṣṭaiḥ pramamugdhy aṣṭat  
 4. 1.

viśvāḥ suksitayah pr̥thak 5. 3.  
 vīḥve no devā avasā gamaun iha  
 6. 1.

viśvesām tvā devānām vyāte 'pi  
 dadhāmi 2. 9.

viśvais tad devaiḥ saha samvidānah  
 1. 3.

viṣṇavo svāhā 2. 6.  
 viśyannam (l. vey annam? viśyaṇ-  
 nam?) agne tvaṃ naḥ 4. 3.

vīryam te lakṣmīḥ pātu 6. 9.  
 vīḥi m̥ṣṭikam aśavo na edhi 4. 1.

vṛṣabhaṃ carṣaṇinām viśvarūpaṃ  
 4. 1.

vṛṣgo āśvasya samdānam aṣṭi vṛṣtai  
 tvo 'panahyāmi 6. 2.

redābhigupto brahmaṇā parivṛtaḥ  
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śatam in nu śarado anti  
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śatam cinvāna (l. \*nā?) tanvā nī-  
data 6. 2.

śam no astu dvipade śam cataspade  
2. 6.

śam no devir abhiṣṭaye 2. 4.

śantah śānter ihā 'gāhi 4. 2.

śasa itihā mahān asi 2. 3.

śiro yajñasya pratidhiyatām 6. 1.

śivā naḥ suprasapta āyuse 1. 4.

śivau vayam uttarema 'bhi vajan 2. 6.

śivā bhavantu mātaraḥ 1. 4.

śivā bhavatam adyo naḥ 2. 7.

śakra bhrajaṇta itate 2. 7.

śakro 'si 6. 8.

śacir viprah śacih kavih 2. 7.

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6. 1.

śuṣyadā (l. śuśma?) yāyām syanda-  
dhvam 1. 4.

śrūtām antarikṣam ca 6. 3.

śriyām tiṣṭha pratisthitā 6. 1.

śrotram ca 'śvinan pātām 6. 8.

samvraśāyo 'paveśāya gāya-  
tryai chandase 'bhībhatyai  
svāhā 6. 6.

sakhā sakhya samidhyase 2. 7.

sa jāyatyā triṣṭubhā jagatyā 'nuṣṭu-  
bhā 5. 1.

samkrabhiṣyām (?) tvā juhodhi 4. 2 (?)

sajir agnaye divā prthivyaḥ haviṣo  
vīhi svāhā 4. 4.

sajūr jātavedo divā prthivyaḥ haviṣo  
vīhi svāhā 4. 4.

samjivikā nāma sīha tā imam jiveta  
6. 6.

satyam pūrvair ṛṣibhiḥ cakrapānah  
6. 2.

satyāḥ santu yajamānasya kāmāḥ  
1. 3.

sa tvam naḥ 4. 1; 6. 1.

sa tvam no 'gne 4. 1.

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sa no rāva suviryam 2. 7.

sam tat sīdantu rādhasā 6. 1.

sam tam rīgītho vipratam dāmsa-  
bhiḥ 6. 9.

sampadbhāta bhāspatiḥ 1. 3.

sam naḥ śrja sumatyā vājavatyā 5. 2.

sapta jīhvāḥ sapta ṛyayah 6. 1.

sapta te agne samidhah 6. 1.

sapta dhāma priyāṇi 6. 1.

sapta yonir āprasa gṛtēna 6. 1.

saptarṣinām sukṛtām yatra lokah  
2. 6.

sapta hotrah saptadhā tvā yajanti  
6. 1.

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samāvṛto mohayisyān yajamānasya  
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suparnā vācam 5. 6.

suprajastvam śatam hi māmādanta  
4. 1.

suśvanah pavate antah 6. 3.

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sūryam te cakṣur gacchatu 3. 10.

sūryasya rāśmīn anyātātāna 5. 2.

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2. 9.

sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryah 1. 2.

sūryo mā dyāvaprthivibhyām 6. 9.

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spr̥ṇomi svāhā 2. 9.

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 svasti naḥ tūrkyo riṣṭanemiḥ 6. 1.  
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 svasti mā parāyanaḥ (?) 1. 4.  
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 arthalopa 6. 8.  
 arddharcā 4. 1.  
 arddhahuta 2. 9.  
 ardh + sam 1. 1.  
 ardha 5. 3.  
 arvāk s. udug.  
 alabhyamāna 5. 1.  
 avakhyā (?) 5. 3.  
 avadhāna s. devatā; yathā; 2. 9  
 3. 9, 10; 5. 5.  
 avadānakarma 5. 5.  
 avadāraṇa 6. 9.  
 avapanna s. kṛtā 6. 5.  
 avabhṛtha 3. 3, 5.  
 avaruddha 3. 8.  
 avaskanna 1. 3.  
 avāntaradikṣa 3. 1.  
 avāpasthāna 4. 1.  
 avāra 3. 3.



avi 5. 6.  
 avidhivihita 3. 8.  
 avisamāpta 5. 6.  
 avyavahita 3. 9.  
 avratya 5. 4.  
 2. aś 4. 3; 5. 2.  
   + pra 2. 4.  
 āśanāpīpāsā 2. 4.  
 āśiṣa (?) 3. 10.  
 āśeṣa 3. 6.  
 āśmāmaya 3. 7.  
 āśmarathya 3. 5, 7, 8, 9.  
 āśru 5. 4.  
 āśva 5. 2, 6; 6. 7.  
 āśvanām (?) 6. 8.  
 āśvamedha 6. 7.  
 aṣṭan 2. 5.  
 aṣṭakapala 2. 1, 4, 7; 3. 10; 5. 1,  
   5, 4; 6. 6, 7.  
 aṣṭāpad 2. 5.  
 āsamāpta 2. 5, 6.  
 āsamārūḍha 4. 4.  
 āsamāropita s. samāropita\*.  
 āsarva 2. 8.  
 āśāman 3. 8.  
 āsura 3. 1; 6. 10.  
 āsuravānt 1. 5.  
 āstam s. abhy\*.  
 āstamita 4. 4.  
 āsthi 2. 8; 3. 8; 6. 7.  
 āsthiputa 6. 7.  
 āśan s. aparāhnikā; tadāhar-  
   tau (?) ; tṛtīyāha; 3. 3.  
 āśarabha 4. 4.  
 āśargaya 3. 6.  
 āśuta s. skandā\* ; hutāśuta; 1. 2,  
   3; 2. 6; 4. 3; 5. 1; 6. 8.  
 āśutva 1. 3; 2. 4.  
 āśorātra 3. 9.

### ākṛti s. puruṣā\*.

āgata 3. 6.  
 āgñihotrī 2. 4.  
 āgnidhira 1. 2; 4. 2.  
 āgnidhriya 3. 1, 2; 6. 1, 2; 6.  
 āgneya 3. 3, 4, 10; 4. 1; 6. 7.  
 āgrāyana 6. 8.  
 ācārya 3. 5, 8; 6. 8.  
 ācāryakalpa 6. 8.

ājya s. dārvā\* ; 1. 5; 2. 1, 3, 9; 5. 5.  
 ājyabhāga 6. 7.  
 ājyabhāgānta 4. 1.  
 ājyahavis 2. 1.  
 ājyahoma 3. 4.  
 ājyāhuti s. pañca\* ; 1. 1, 3, 5; 2. 1,  
   4, 5, 9; 4. 3.  
 ājīhya 3. 1.  
 ādarśana 1. 2; 3. 9; 6. 7.  
 ādhavantiya 3. 3.  
 ādhivaryava 3. 4.  
 ānupūrvya 3. 9.  
 ānuṣṭubha 2. 9.  
 āntarikṣa 6. 10.  
 āp + ann + pra 3. 1.  
   + sam s. āsamāpta; samāpta  
   2. 2, 8; 6. 7.  
   + vi + sam s. avisamāpta.  
 āpatti s. durgā\* ; 3. 5.  
 āpad 3. 5, 8; 5. 2.  
 āpri 3. 2.  
 āmāvasyā 5. 10.  
 āyatana 1. 5; 2. 1; 3. 4.  
 āya 3. 2, 9.  
 āyudha s. yajñā\*.  
 āraṇya 5. 6.  
 ārta (?) 6. 8.  
 ārti 6. 8.  
 ārtija 5. 4.  
 ārtvijya (?) 6. 8.  
 ārbhava 6. 4.  
 ārṇeya 1. 2.  
 āvṛtta 6. 2.  
 āśa 2. 9.  
 āśu 6. 1.  
 āśvina 3. 3; 4. 1.  
 āśvini 6. 1, 7.  
 āś 1. 3; 5. 2.  
   + upa 4. 4.  
 āśana s. yajamānā\*.  
 āśandi 3. 1.  
 āśannakarman 3. 2.  
 āśava 6. 7.  
 āśrāva 5. 5.  
 āśaraṇa 2. 8.  
 āśvanīya 1. 1, 2, 3, 5; 2. 1, 4, 5, 9;  
   5, 4, 8; 4. 1; 5. 1, 4; 6. 2, 6, 10.  
 āśvanīyagārhapatyā 1. 3, 5; 2. 3.  
 āśhā s. rājā\*.

āhitaṅṅi a. an\*; anv\* 2. 8; 3. 7, 8; 5. 4.  
 āhuti a. ājya\*; pañcājya\*; prā-  
 tar\*; 1. 2; 2. 5; 4. 2  
 āhutilopavyatya 4. 1.  
 āhutiśā 4. 2.

i + antar 4. 2.  
 + api 1. 5.  
 + abhi 6. 7.  
 + abhyastum 1. 2; 6. 8, 9.  
 + vi + ara 1. 5; 5. 2.  
 + ud 1. 3.  
 + abhi + ud 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 3.  
 + abhi + upa 3. 5.  
 + adhi + abhi + upa 2. 7.  
 + dū + dūṛita.  
 + prati 3. 7, 8.  
 itara 2. 4; 3. 9, 10; 5. 1.  
 idhma a. samnaddhedhmāba-  
 rha.  
 indra 2. 2, 3; 3. 2; 5. 3, 6.  
 indragṇi 3. 2.  
 indha (?) 3. 1.  
 iṣṭa 2. 6.  
 iṣṭi a. antare\*; punar\*; 3. 4, 9;  
 4. 1; 6. 7.

ikṣ + sam 3. 9.  
 īvara 1. 5.

ukta 6. 9.  
 uktha 3. 3.  
 uk + pari 3. 6.  
 + sam + pra 2. 5.  
 ukhā 2. 9; 6. 2, 9.  
 ukhya 6. 1, 2.  
 ucchiṣṭa 2. 9.  
 uttama 6. 6.  
 uttara 3. 2; 6. 5, 8.  
 uttaratas 2. 9.  
 uttaravedi 3. 1.  
 uttaravediṣṭi 3. 2.  
 uttha a. an\*; svayam\*; 3. 3.  
 utthita 3. 1.  
 utpūta 4. 1.  
 uteṣṇa 3. 7.  
 nduk 2. 6.

udaka 2. 5.  
 udakpāda 2. 5.  
 udagarvāk 6. 6.  
 udātanta 1. 3.  
 udapātra 2. 4.  
 udāyantiya 3. 3.  
 udumbara 5. 6.  
 udgātar 1. 2; 3. 4; 6. 1, 5.  
 unṣṭa 3. 3.  
 unnetar (?) 6. 5.  
 unna 3. 1.  
 upacāra 3. 5.  
 upacārabhaksaprāyāścitti (?) 3. 5.  
 upetāpa 3. 9.  
 upatāpin 2. 9.  
 upadikṣa 3. 9; 6. 7.  
 uparava 3. 2; 6. 3.  
 uparuddha a. rudh + upa.  
 upala 5. 6.  
 upavasatha 3. 2.  
 upaveṣa 6. 6.  
 upasā 3. 1.  
 upasāpnaddha 3. 1.  
 upasthāna 4. 4.  
 upamēvantaryāma 3. 2; 6. 6.  
 upakṛta 2. 9; 5. 5.  
 upāyana a. vrato\*.  
 ubha 4. 4.  
 uena 1. 3.

udhas 2. 4.  
 ūru 3. 1; 6. 7.  
 urj 5. 6.  
 ūh + nis 1. 3.

re a. arddharca; tṛe; 1. 2, 5; 2.  
 1. 4, 6, 9; 3. 4; 4. 1.  
 rjṣa 3. 3.  
 rta a. tadaharian.  
 rtvij 1. 2; 2. 6; 3. 9; 6. 4, 7, 9.  
 rddhi 1. 5.  
 reabha 5. 6.

ekakapāla 2. 8; 4. 1, 4.  
 ekatantra 3. 9.  
 ekahāyana 4. 1.  
 ekāṅṅi 1. 1; 2. 9; 6. 9.  
 ekādama 3. 7.  
 ekādaśakapāla 3. 10.

ekānatrīṣaḥ (?) 6. 8.

ekāha 3. 9.

ekūka 6. 5.

edha 3. 8.

aiandra 2. 1; 3. 3, 10; 4. 1.

aiandraśyava 6. 7.

aiandraśya 3. 1, 3.

aiandraśyaspātya 3. 3.

aiandraśyavāra 3. 3.

aiandraśyavāra 3. 3.

odana s. brahmaṇ 4. 1.

ośadhi 3. 2; 5. 6; 6. 4.

auttaravedika 6. 1, 2.

andumbara 6. 1.

audgāra 3. 4.

aupavasaṭhya 2. 9.

kakubha 3. 3.

katham 1. 1, 5; 2. 3, 8, 9; 3. 5, 7, 8.

kapāla s. eka; ekādāsa; catuḥ;

trayodaśa; tri; dvādaśa;

dvi; nava; sapta; 4. 1; 6. 2.

kam 6. 4.

kar s. kṛta.

+ apa + a 4. 1.

+ upa + a s. upakṛta; 2. 9;

4. 2; 6. 6, 8, 9.

+ abhi + upa + a 6. 3.

+ paryagni 2. 9.

+ punaḥ 1. 1.

kārpa 5. 2.

karman s. avadāna; āsanna;

yajamāna; 1. 1; 2. 5, 6; 3. 3,

6, 8; 4. 2.

karmaviparyāsa 3. 4.

karmāśeṣa 2. 5.

kalāśa s. tat; soma; 6. 4, 6.

kalp s. kṛta.

+ upa 2. 5.

kalpa s. acārya; nitya.

kavyavahana 2. 9.

kāṅkṣ + a 1. 1.

kāṅva 3. 5, 8.

kāma s. vakṣya; 3. 9, 10.

kūmaśukta 2. 5.

kārin s. soma.

kārya s. yatha; 1. 3.

kāla s. nityahoma; bhakṣa;

varittamāna; 3. 6.

kalātipāta 5. 3.

kinceit 3. 8, 9; 6. 1, 4.

kim 2. 2, 3.

kiyanti 3. 6.

kiṭāvapanna 2. 6; 4. 1, 3.

kīrtanastotra 6. 7.

kīrtay 6. 7.

kuśala 2. 9.

kṛta 2. 2, 3; 3. 10.

kṛtāntva (?) 6. 4.

kṛṣṇa 6. 2.

kṛpta 6. 8.

kṛpti 3. 8.

keśāśmaṣṭru 3. 7.

kratu s. sarva; 6. 4.

kram + ati 3. 9.

+ upa (?) 6. 4.

kṛyaga s. soma.

kṛi 3. 1; 6. 4.

+ pari s. parikṛita.

kṛita 3. 1; 6. 4.

kṛitasoma s. a.

kṣal + pra 2. 5; 5. 2.

kṣāma s. vi; sarva; 2. 1.

kṣāmavati 5. 5.

kṣāmavant 2. 1; 5. 4.

kṣāraśri 3. 3.

kṣodisṭha 5. 3.

khyā + vi + ā s. vyākhyāta; 1. 1;

2. 9; 3. 1, 6; 6. 1.

khyā + pari 3. 1.

+ pra 2. 4.

+ sam + pra 2. 4.

+ pra + sam 3. 6.

+ prati s. pratikhyāta.

gaya s. ahar; 3. 3.

gam 6. 5.

+ adhi 2. 4, 9.

+ anu s. anugata; 1. 5; 3. 9

4. 3; 5. 1, 3; 6. 1.

+ ā s. āgata.

+ ā 2. 4; 3. 5, 6, 8; 6. 7.

+ apa + ā 6. 8.

3. gar 1. 5.



garbha a. hiraṇya\* 2. 5.

2 ga 3. 8.

+ ud 3. 10.

gāyatri 5. 6; 6. 6.

gārhapatya a. āhavanīya\* 1. 1, 3.

5; 2. 3; 3. 4, 8; 4. 1, 4; 6. 1.

gārhapatyalakṣaṇa 5. 1.

gārhapatyājña 2. 3.

guṣṭita 1. 5.

grha a. agni\* 1. 1; 5. 4.

grhapati 3. 9.

grhita a. catur\* 2. 5.

go 2. 8; 5. 5, 6.

gotrin 3. 7.

gopāyana 3. 5, 8.

gaurivita 6. 6.

granthi 2. 9.

graha a. grhita; caturgrhita;

samkrāhiṣyām; 3. 9; 6. 2.

3. 7, 10.

+ ud 3. 2; 6. 1.

+ pari 4. 1; 6. 6.

graha 6. 3, 7.

grāma 2. 7.

grāmya 2. 7; 5. 4.

grāvan 6. 3.

ghar + abhi 2. 1, 9.

gharmadugha 2. 4.

ghṛta 4. 1.

eakṣ + ā 2. 2, 3.

+ pari 5. 2.

eakṣus 1. 2.

eatuhkapāla 4. 1.

caturgrhita 1. 5; 2. 3; 6. 8.

catahśarāva 4. 1.

candramā 3. 4, 10; 5. 3, 6.

cam + a 2. 9.

camasa 3. 5; 4. 3, 7.

car + abhi 2. 9.

+ pari 2. 9.

+ pra 3. 6, 9; 4. 1.

+ anu + pra 4. 1.

cara 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 1, 3.

carusthāḥ 1. 3.

cāndramasa 3. 4.

cārin 3. 7.

ci + vi 3. 1.

ci + sam 6. 2.

cittavyāpattiyus (?) 3. 5.

cintā 3. 8.

1 cyu 1. 5.

chad + anu (?) 3. 7.

chandas 3. 1, 2; 5. 6; 6. 6.

chāyā 1. 1.

chid + pra 6. 1.

+ vi a. vichinna; 2. 1, 10;

5. 1; 6. 5.

+ abhi + vi 6. 9.

chedana 6. 9.

jan 2. 9; 5. 2, 5.

janapada a. samāna\*; 6. 1, 4.

japa a. bhakṣa\*; 2. 9; 6. 9.

jarāmārya 3. 6.

jāgata 2. 9.

jāgula 3. 10.

jānu 1. 3.

jāmin (?) 6. 8.

ji a. aparājita.

jiv 3. 6, 9.

+ uti 2. 9.

jña 3. 8.

+ anu 6. 6.

+ ā a. anājñāta.

+ pra a. prajñāta.

+ vi 3. 8; 6. 6.

+ sam 3. 2.

jyotiṣmant 2. 7; 5. 1, 4.

jyotis 1. 5; 3. 4.

jval + pra 2. 5; 3. 7, 8.

tapdula 5. 3.

tapdulābhāva 5. 5.

taikalaśa 6. 6.

tutrustha 3. 10.

tadashartan (?) vgl. āhan; rtu; 6. 8.

taddevatya 3. 3.

taddaivatya 6. 8.

tadrūpa 2. 9; 5. 5.

tadvarna 2. 8; 5. 5.

tan 1. 5.

+ sam a. sampāta; 1. 3.

tauḥ a. soma\*; 6. 8.

tantu a. uda\*.

tantamant 2. 1, 8; 5. 4, 4.  
 tantra s. eka\*; nānā\*; 2. 8; 3. 9,  
     10; 6. 7.  
 tap + sam 2. 9.  
 tapas 3. 1; 5. 6.  
 tapasvati 5. 1.  
 tar 1. 1.  
 taraṇi s. palāśa\*.  
 tānūnaptas 3. 1.  
 tāntrika 2. 5.  
 tāvant 2. 8; 3. 6.  
 tīraṇa 4. 4.  
 tīrtha 3. 3.  
 tīrtham 1. 1; 3. 8.  
 tīra 6. 4.  
 tīra 2. 4.  
 tīrtiya 5. 3.  
 tīrtiyasvams 3. 3; 6. 4, 9.  
 tīrtiyāha 2. 9.  
 tejas 2. 3.  
 tattiriyabrahmana 6. 8.  
 trayastripāṭi 6. 8.  
 trayodāśa 6. 1.  
 trayodāśakapāla 5. 5.  
 tri 2. 9; 6. 7, 8.  
 trikapāla 4. 1.  
 trivṛt 5. 6.  
 trīṣṭabh 5. 6.  
 tredhā 2. 2; 5. 3.  
 trīṣṭubha 2. 9.  
 tvaj 3. 8.  
 tvar      5. 1.  
     + sam 1. 5.  
 tvāṣṭra 2. 6; 5. 6.  
  
 daksina 1. 3, 5; 2. 6; 3. 2; 4. 2;  
     5. 2; 6. 1, 7.  
 dakṣiṇas 2. 9.  
 dakṣiṇa s. pañcadakṣiṇa; sar-  
     vavedasa\*; 3. 3; 5. 3, 5; 6. 1.  
 dakṣiṇāgni 1. 1, 5; 3. 4, 8; 4. 1, 4;  
     5. 1.  
 dakṣiṇāgra 4. 4.  
 dadhi 5. 3.  
 i dar + a 4. 1.  
     + vi 6. 4, 6.  
 darbha s. sa\*; 1. 2; 2. 5; 3. 8; 5. 3.  
 darbhasatamba 5. 2.  
 darś 2. 2, 3; 6. 10.

darś + abhi + ud s. abhyuddreṣa;  
     dreṣābhyuddreṣa.  
 darśapūrnāmāsa 5. 3.  
 darśarātra 3. 7.  
 darśahaviṣka (?) 6. 7.  
 das + upa 6. 3, 5.  
 dah 2. 9; 3. 8.  
     + api s. apidagdha.  
     + ava 5. 1.  
     + sam 2. 9.  
 dahana 6. 9.  
 i dā + a 6. 5, 9.  
     + vi + a s. vyatta; 2. 9  
 3 dā + ava 2. 9; 5. 5.  
 dātā 2. 2; 5. 3.  
 dāramaya 6. 5.  
 dāva 2. 7; 5. 4.  
 dāsya (?) 6. 4.  
 divya 2. 7; 3. 1; 5. 4; 6. 10.  
 dīś s. pratidīśam.  
     + ana 2. 9.  
     + pra 2. 9.  
 dīkṣ + upa s. upadīkṣa; 6. 7.  
     + sam s. samdīkṣita.  
 dīkṣa s. avāntara\*; 3. 1; 6. 8.  
 dīkṣāvānta (?) 6. 4.  
 dīkṣita 2. 9; 6. 1, 7.  
 dīp 5. 2.  
     + a 2. 5.  
 dūrta 6. 8, 9.  
 durgāpatti 3. 9.  
 dūhārita 4. 1.  
 i duṣ 4. 1.  
 duṣṭa s. abhakti\*; 2. 6; 4. 2.  
 dūh s. adugdha; ādradugdha;  
     1. 3; 2. 4; 4. 1.  
 dūrvāja 6. 10.  
 dṛḍha 5. 5.  
 dṛṣṭa 2. 3; 6. 10.  
 dṛṣṭābhyuddreṣa 2. 2.  
 deva 2. 6; 5. 6; 6. 10.  
 devata s. taddevatya; taddai-  
     vatya; yaddevatya; viṣṇu-  
     rupadevatya; 3. 2, 4; 6. 6.  
 devatāntara 4. 1.  
 devatamaya 6. 1.  
 devatāvadāna 4. 1.  
 dēvaloka 3. 8.  
 devasyṛti 2. 9.

daivata 2. 2; 3; 3. 4.

daivata s. tad\*.

daivya 1. 2.

dohena 4. 3.

dya 3. 1, 4; 5. 6.

dyotana 6. 3.

dra + anu 5. 1.

dvādamakapāla 2. 3; 4. 4; 5. 3.

dvādamarātra 4. 4.

dvādaśī (?) 6. 4.

dvi 2. 4.

dvikapāla 4. 1.

dvītiya 5. 3.

div + vi 6. 6.

dvigāyana (?) 4. 1.

dvaidha 2. 1; 4. 1.

dvaiṣyana 2. 2, 3.

dhana s. adattapūrva\*.

dhar cf. har; 1. 2.

+ ud 5. 1; 6. 7.

dhavaniya 3. 3.

dhā + abhi s. abhihita.

+ avu 5. 1; 6. 1.

+ vi + avu s. avyavahita.

+ ā 5. 2; 6. 2.

+ anu + ā s. anvadhāna.

+ abhi + ā 2. 5, 9; 4. 3; 6. 6.

+ pari + ā 2. 9.

+ pra + ā 2. 9.

+ vi + ā 2. 9.

+ upa + sam + ā 2. 5; 4. 4.

+ ni 1. 1; 3. 3, 5, 8; 6. 7.

+ upa + ni 6. 7.

+ pra 6. 1.

+ prati s. rakmapratihita.

+ vi s. vihita.

+ sam 3. 1, 4; 4. 1; 6. 8.

dhāv + abhi 1. 3.

dhigya 3. 2.

i dha 2. 9.

dhenu 3. 2; 5. 5; 6. 2.

dhruva 6. 3.

dhvāṅkā 2. 6.

nakṣatra 5. 6.

nakha s. loma\*.

nama 2. 9.

nava 2. 4.

navakapāla 2. 8.

naś s. naśta-

naśta 2. 8; 4. 1; 6. 4, 5, 9.

nah + sam s. samnaddhedhmā-

barhis.

+ upa + sam s. upasam-

naddha.

nādeya 5. 6.

nānātanta 3. 9.

nārāṅpa 3. 3; 6. 5.

nigama s. brāhmaṇa\*.

nitya 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8; 6. 4.

nityakalpā (?) 6. 6.

nityahomakāla 2. 1; 3. 1.

nidhana s. vaṣaṭkāra\* 6. 4.

nibhūyapūr (?) 3. 3.

niyatavrata 3. 7.

niyutvant 2. 9.

nirmathya 3. 7; 5. 1.

nirvapanaṣṭabhi 4. 1.

nivṛta 6. 2.

nivṛti 6. 8.

niś 4. 4.

ni + api 4. 3; 6. 3.

+ ud s. unulta; 3. 2, 3; 4. 3;

5. 1.

+ ni 2. 4; 4. 1.

+ upa + ni 1. 5.

+ pra 1. 5; 2. 5; 3. 1; 5. 3; 6. 1.

+ anu + pra s. anuprapita.

urakṣas 3. 3.

nyagrodha 5. 6.

nyāya 6. 8.

nyupta 3. 1.

pañca 1. 1, 2; 2. 4; 5. 6; 6. 5, 8.

pañcadakṣiṇa 6. 4.

pañcāsurāva 4. 1.

pañcājya 2. 9.

pañcājyāhuti 3. 9.

i paṇ 3. 1.

pat + ut 4. 2.

+ ni 2. 6.

+ sam + ni s. samnipatita.

+ pra s. prapātita; 2. 6, 9;

5. 5; 6. 1.

patatrin 5. 6.

patat 2. 6; 4. 2.

patnya (?) 3. 8.

2 path 5. 3.



- pāthikṛt 2. 3, 8.  
 pad + ati a. atipanna.  
   + ava a. avapanna; kiṭṭava-  
   panna.  
   + a 1. 3; 2. 1; 3. 8.  
   + vi + ā 2. 1; 3. 4, 10; 4. 2;  
   6. 5.  
 pada 5. 2.  
 pannejana cf. pannejana.  
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 samāsauna 2. 9.  
 samāsaśatru (?) 2. 9.  
 samidh 2. 5, 9; 4. 3, 4; 6. 2.  
 samistayajus 3. 5.  
 samistī 3. 3.  
 samudra 3. 3.  
 sampraiṣa 1. 1; 2. 9.  
 sampraiṣavarjam 1. 1.  
 sambandhin a. yajñas\*.  
 sambhāra 6. 6.  
 sambheda 1. 1.  
 samrāj 3. 1.  
 sarj + ut 3. 10; 6. 3.  
 + vi a. viṣṭa.  
 + sam 2. 7; 5. 4; 6. 1, 6.  
 sarpa 6. 5.  
 sarpa 5. 6.  
 sarpaṁjāl 6. 7.  
 sarpi 4. 1.  
 sarva 5. 1.  
 sarvakṛtu 3. 5, 8.  
 sarvakṣama 4. 1.  
 sarvatra 5. 3; 6. 5, 9.  
 sarvapṛāścitti 4. 1, 2; 6. 1.  
 sarvarūpa 2. 6.  
 sarvavedasadaṁśa 6. 5.  
 sarvasas 2. 9.  
 sarvāṅga 4. 4.  
 savana a. trītiya\*; prātaḥ\*; 2. 9;  
 3. 3, 9; 6. 9.  
 savanīya 6. 6.  
 savanīyasyuh (?) 6. 7.  
 savitar 3. 1.  
 savyam 2. 9.  
 sasoma 6. 3.  
 sahita a. varuṇa\*.  
 sahiranya 2. 5.  
 sā + ann + ava 5. 1.  
 sādhu 1. 3.  
 sāṁsāyā 2. 1; 4. 1.  
 sāman a. a\*; bhāruṇa\*; 3. 1, 4;  
 4. 1; 6. 4.  
 sāyandoha 2. 1; 4. 1.  
 sāyandohasthāna 4. 1.  
 sāyam 1. 2; 2. 2, 3; 4. 3; 5. 1.  
 sāyamāhuti 4. 4.  
 sārasvata 3. 2; 6. 8.  
 sic + abhi 6. 4.

sic + ni 1. 3.  
 + sam 6. 2, 5.  
 sidh + pra a. prasiddha.  
 su + abhi 6. 4.  
 sukha a. yathā\*.  
 suparga 3. 1.  
 supāta 3. 3.  
 sura 3. 1.  
 esaṁtāpa 2. 9.  
 sūta a. kama\*; 2. 5; 6. 6.  
 sūtra a. vaitāna\*.  
 sūtrapṛāścitti 6. 10.  
 sūrya 3. 4; 4. 4; 5. 1, 6.  
 soma a. akṛita\*; sa\*; 3. 3, 4; 6. 3,  
 4, 6, 7.  
 somakalasa 6. 9.  
 somakārin 3. 10.  
 somakrayana 3. 1.  
 somagraha 2. 5.  
 somatanu 3. 8.  
 somabhāga 6. 6.  
 somarūpa 3. 1; 6. 8.  
 saumika 6. 1.  
 saumya 4. 1.  
 saurya 3. 3, 4; 4. 4; 6. 7.  
 sauvīṣṭakṛta 3. 9.  
 skand a. skanna; 1. 3; 2. 6; 3. 4;  
 4. 1, 2, 3; 6. 2.  
 + adhi 4. 1.  
 + ava a. avaskanna.  
 + vi a. viṣkanna; 1. 5.  
 + sam a. samaskanna.  
 skanna 1. 3; 3. 4; 4. 1; 5. 5.  
 skannāhuta 4. 3.  
 stabh (?) 6. 1.  
 + upa 6. 1.  
 stamba a. darbha\*.  
 star 2. 5; 3. 2, 8.  
 stu 6. 1, 3, 4, 5.  
 stena (?) 3. 5, 8.  
 stotra a. kirtana\*; 6. 3, 7.  
 stoma 5. 6.  
 sthaviṣṭha 5. 3.  
 sthā + ava 6. 7.  
 + ud a. uttha; utthita; 2  
 4, 9.  
 + upa + ud 4. 1.  
 + upa 1. 1; 3. 5; 5. 3.  
 + prati 1. 5; 2. 1.

sthā + sam 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8;  
5. 1; 6. 4.

sthāna s. prāterdoha\*; sūyam-  
doha\*.

sthāli s. caru\*; 4. 3; 6. 3.

sthālpāka 6. 9.

sthira + sam s. samathita.

spari + sam 2. 8; 5. 1.

spṛti 2. 9.

smar 4. 1.

smṛtāgnihotrin 4. 4.

sru + ati 2. 5.

sruṇ 1. 3.

sruva 3. 9; 4. 4; 5. 5.

svayamuttha 3. 6.

svaṛ 3. 3.

svarga 1. 1, 3.

sviṣṭakṛi 3. 9.

han 2. 9.

+ apa s. apahatapāpman;  
1. 5.

+ ā 8. 7.

+ pari + nis 2. 5.

har cf. dhar; 1. 2; 2. 9; 3. 2; 5. 1.

+ apa 2. 1; 4. 1; 6. 1, 4.

+ abhi 3. 1, 2.

+ abhi + ava 4. 1.

+ upa + aya 3. 2.

+ ā 2. 5; 3. 3, 7; 6. 4.

+ anu + ā 1. 1, 3.

+ vi + ā 3. 3.

har + od 1. 1, 2; 2. 5; 5. 1; 6. 7.

+ abhi + ud s. anabhyu-  
ddhṛta; 1. 1, 2; 2. 7; 5. 4.

+ sam + ud 5. 1.

+ abhi + upa 2. 9.

+ pari 1. 5.

+ anu + pra 2. 6; 4. 1.

+ vi 2. 8; 3. 7; 5. 2.

havirdhāna 3. 1; 6. 1.

havirbhūta 4. 1.

haviṣṭ (7) 5. 3.

havis s. daśāhaviṣṭka; suddha-  
viṣṭka; 2. 1, 2, 3, 6, 9; 3. 2, 8,  
10; 4. 1.

havyavāhana 2. 9.

hasta 3. 2; 4. 2.

2 hā 1. 5.

hi + pra 4. 3.

hita 3. 6.

hiranya s. sa\*; 1. 2; 2. 5; 5. 1, 2.

hiranyagarbha 2. 5.

hu s. arddhahuta; ahuta; ahu-  
tvā; huta; 1. 3; 2. 8; 3. 3, 10.

huta 1. 3; 2. 6.

hutāhuta 8. 6.

hotar 1. 2; 2. 6, 9; 3. 4, 10; 4. 1;  
6. 7.

hotra 3. 3.

homa s. ājya\*; 3. 5.

homakāla s. nitya\*.

hutra 3. 4.

1 hvā + ā 1. 3.

# Berichtigungen.

1. 3. S. 73 Z. 8 lies statt dhārayed: dhārayed |.
1. 5. S. 77 Z. 1 " " cyavate<sup>73</sup>: cyavate.
- " " Anm. Z. 3 streiche: <sup>73</sup> A cyavante.
2. 2. S. 79 Z. 2 lies statt "jyahaviṣe-ṣṭyā: "jyahaviṣe 'ṣṭyā.
2. 7. S. 89 Anm. Z. 19 lies statt vidyamāna: 'vidyamāna.
2. 9. S. 93 Z. 15 lies: pitṛmedha<sup>322</sup> |
3. 1. S. 94 Z. 13—14 lies statt brahmavrate: brahma vrate |.
- " " letzte Zeile lies samraḍ asandyām.
3. 2. S. 95 Z. 2—1 von unten lies nibhūyapūr ādhavanīye.
3. 5. S. 97 Z. 18 lies statt ce' | ty: ce'ty |
3. 8. S. 99 Z. 12 lies: vā 'samsmātānām.
3. 10. S. 101 Z. 12 lies statt vato ātmānam: vātām te ātmā.
4. 1. S. 104 Anm. <sup>418</sup> lies statt bhutaṁ: bhūtaṁ.
- " S. 105 Z. 9 lies statt uṣaṣo: uṣaṣo.
- " S. 106 Z. 4 lies statt om: om.
- " " Anm. Z. 24 lies statt viparyāseno 'dvāseno: viparyāse 'nadvāseno.
- " " Z. 33 " " trārthīyā: trārthīya.
- " S. 107 " Z. 3 " " viparyāsenā 'valane: viparyāse 'nāvahane.
- " S. 108 " Z. 32 " " \*-samkhyā-: \*-samkhyā-.
- " " Z. 44 " " sunavāma-soma: sunavāma soma.
- " S. 109 " Z. 21 füge hinter apy agā ein: gemeint ist yato jātaḥ tato 'py avām.
- " S. 110 " Z. 6 lies statt āmikṣa-: āmikṣā-.
- " " Z. 28 " " jātavedā: jātavedāḥ.
- " S. 111 Z. 3 lies statt suprajāstvāp: suprajāstvam.
- " " Anm. Z. 5 lies statt aham: aham.
4. 2. S. 112 Z. 6 lies statt "gahi: "gāhi.
- " " Anm. Z. 18 lies statt "gnidkrah: "gaidkrah.
- " " Z. 2 von unten lies statt trayato: trayate.
4. 3. S. 113 " Z. 9 lies statt śabdāyet: śabdāyet.
- " " Z. 12 " " 'dvāsitām: 'dvāsitām.
- " S. 114 Z. 5 lies statt prajāpater: prajāpater.
- " " Anm. Z. 17 lies statt oben: unten.
4. 4. S. 117 " Z. 12 " " akṣad: akṣad.
- " S. 118 " Z. 10 " " praṇiteśv: 'praṇiteśv.
- " " Z. 28 " " viśvadarśataḥ: viśvadarśataḥ.
- " " Z. 28 " " vratabhṛo: vratabhṛt.
- " " Z. 29 " " athā pra-: athā 'pra-.
- " S. 119 Z. 2 lies statt \*-aha: \*-ahā.
- " " Anm. Z. 21 lies statt 'dānīm: 'dānīm.
- " S. 120 " Z. 2 " " 'havanīyāv: 'havanīyāv.
- " " Z. 7 " " die: das.



5. 1. S. 121 Anm. Z. 10 lies statt baddh[vy]eti: baddheti [gemeint: badhyate].  
 " " " Z. 16 " " 'ddharanādini: 'ddharanādini.  
 " S. 122 Z. 5 lies statt samrād: samrād.  
 " S. 123 Anm. Z. 15 lies statt abhimamtranādini: abhimamtranādini.  
 " " " Z. 17 " " samrād: samrād.  
 " " " Z. 21 " " sāyam agnihotre: sāyam-agnihotre.  
 " " " Z. 22 " " viṣeṣa-bhidhanāt: viṣeṣa-bhidhanāt.  
 " " " Z. 25 füge hinter itaraściṣminn ein: „lies wahrscheinlich: ahutam iti 'taraściṣminn“.  
 " " " unterste Zeile lies statt kuryāt (!): kuryāt (!).  
 5. 2. S. 125 " Z. 3 von unten lies statt dvipadāprasidhy-: dvipadāprasidhy-.  
 5. 3. S. 126 " Z. 2 lies statt 'siṣcet: siṣcet.  
 " " " Z. 32 " " '-siddhy-: '-siddhy-.  
 " S. 127 Z. 2 lies statt vāsam<sup>221</sup>: vāsam<sup>221</sup>.  
 " " Z. 6 " " anuprāyā: anuprāyā.  
 " " Anm. <sup>222</sup> Dem hier gegebenen Rekonstruktionsversuch des Textes gegenüber ist es mir wahrscheinlich, daß wir statt upavaksayet und avakhyāya etwa avakṣayet und avakṣayape zu lesen haben, und daß śamyah parā parāśac hinter den Mantra gehört, so daß die folgenden Worte zu übersetzen wären: „wenn aber das Feuer, über einen Keulenwurf hinaus angeschwollen, erlischt, so möge er ihm nachgehen und sodann sich dort niedersetzen . . .“; zu verweisen ist u. a. auf Kāth. 35. 17; T. B. 3. 7. 1. 3—4; eine eigentliche Rekonstruktion des Textes ist angesichts dessen ungewöhnlicher Verderbtheit ausgeschlossen.  
 " S. 128 Z. 6 lies statt dadhani: dadh(a)ni.  
 " " Z. 7 " " śipivīṣṭāya | śrīte prāg ukte: śipivīṣṭāya śrīte prāg ukte |.  
 5. 4. S. 129 Z. 4 lies statt anagnir: anagni-.  
 " " Anm. Z. 12—13 streiche die Worte „unter“ bis „verstehen“, und setze an deren Stelle: „unter agnigrhāh wären dann die Häuser zu verstehen, die sich auf dem Opferplatze befinden, aber nicht Feuerhäuser sind.“  
 " " Z. 17 lies hintersumavāye: s. Dhātup. 4. 114 (Boehlingk).  
 " " Z. 28 lies statt buddhi-pūrvakaretah-pāte: buddhipūrvaka-retahpāte.  
 " S. 130 " Z. 1 " " dagnaye: agnaye.  
 5. 6. S. 131 Z. 15—16 " " (nabhihita): nabhihita.  
 5. 5. " Anm. Z. 2 " " prajāyatām: jāyatām (wie Āp. S. 9. 17. 1).  
 6. 1. S. 132 " Z. 14 " " vielleicht Imperative plus „anas“: vielleicht vulgäre Imperative plus „anas“; möglich ist es auch, daß „pamānau“ des Textes durch Fortfall einer Silbe aus 'pa[stam]bhānau corrumptiert und daß das Dvandva „stambhāno- 'pamānau“ eine grammatische Glosse ist.

6. 1. S. 134 Anm. Z. 6 lies statt *praṇitvena*: *praṇi[ta]tvena*.  
 " " " Z. 14 " " „(l.: 'nimitta-prāyaścittam)': (l.: prä-  
 yaścittam).  
 " " " Z. 22 " " *smārtavaj*: *smārtavad*.  
 " " " Z. 23 " " *ūrdhvaṃ*: *ūrdhvaṃ*.  
 6. 3. S. 136 Z. 20 lies statt *sthali*: *sthālī*.  
 6. 4. S. 137 Z. 14 " " *upakrameranyam*: *upakrame 'raṇyam*.  
 " " Anm. Z. 12 streiche: „zu“.  
 " " Z. 14 lies statt *krameranyam*: *krame 'raṇyam*.  
 " S. 138 " Z. 23 " " *prayoga*: *prayogaḥ*.  
 6. 5. S. 139 Z. 19 lies statt *nārāṣaṇḍā(d)*: *nārāṣaṇḍ*.  
 " " Z. 14 " *iti samāścet*.  
 6. 6. " Z. 2 von unten lies statt *vaigṇavatiṣu*: *vaigṇaviṣu*.  
 " " unterste Textzeile lies statt *stūyuh*: *stūyuh*.  
 6. 5. " Anm. Z. 9 lies statt *unnitā?*: *unnitā?*  
 6. 6. " " letzte Zeile: gemeint ist *prāṭhasavanāc cet somo 'tiri-*  
*cyeta*. . . ; so richtig auch Pañc. Br. 9. 7.  
 T. B. 1. 4. 5. 1.  
 " S. 140 Z. 6 lies statt *śūkāpālam*: *śūkāpālam*.  
 " " Z. 9 " " *śamse[t]*: *śamse[d]*.  
 " " Anm. 1057 füge hinzu: lies *mahati rātryāḥ*; vgl. Pañc. Br. 9. 4. 1.  
 T. S. 7. 5. 5. 1. T. B. 1. 4. 6. 4. und Pet. Wb. u. *prā-*  
*taranuvāka*.  
 6. 7. S. 141 Z. 13 lies: (*supvatsare* 1097 *'athiputām* 1097 *nidadhyuh* 1098),  
 " " Z. 14 lies statt *yājayet* | *samāpte samvatsare*: *yājayet* (*samāpte*  
*supvatsare*). |  
 " " Anm. Z. 17 lies statt *'diyād*: *'diyād*.  
 " " Z. 22 " " [*'jāvavadva*] [*'jāvavad vā*.  
 " S. 142 Z. 1 lies statt *savānīyasyuh*: *savānīyasya syuh*.  
 " " Z. 4 " " „*dāsa-haviṣam*“ „*dāsa-haviṣam*“, und bemerke  
 unter dem Texte, daß diese Form eine Cor-  
 rectur der Mase ist.  
 " " Anm. Z. 3 lies statt *erwähnten*: *erwähnen*.  
 6. 8. " Z. 18 lies etwa: *aparāhṇikam cet pravargyam abhyastamīyāt*.  
 " " Anm. Z. 9 lies am Ende der Reihe: l. *taru-payasām?*  
 6. 9. S. 143 Z. 10–11 lies: *prāṭhasavanam cet (mādhyamdinam savanam)*  
*abhyastamīyād*.  
 " " Z. 13 lies: *cet (trīya-) savanam*.  
 " " Z. 22 lies statt *rtvijam*: *rtvijā*.  
 S. 144 Anm. Z. 3 von unten l.: | *śake* || 1785 || *raudranāmasamvatsare māse*  
*māgha*“.

*Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin.*

— By MAX L. MARGOLIS, Professor in the Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following are Hexaplaric elements in the Old Latin of the first nine chapters of the book of Joshua (Codex Lugdunensis, edited by Ulysse Robert, 1900) hitherto unknown and therefore constituting additions to Field's monumental work:

5, 4—6 is presented by the codex in a composite text the constituent elements of which come from three recensions. Heavy-faced type indicates the recension with which the Latin ordinarily goes (*r* or *ruf*; see *AJSL.*, XXVIII [1911], 4); Origen's plus (which was inserted in the Hexapla sub asterisco) is printed in Italics; Roman type indicates the text of B. Between Origen's plus and the B text there is an element which, as will be shown below, is derived from Symmachus; it is printed in Italics with the siglum *σ* in front. In the parallel column the Greek is printed as found in the sources pointed out except in the case of Symmachus where the Latin is simply translated back into Greek.

hoc autem modo pur-  
gavit Iesus filius Istra-  
hel et hoc verbo quo  
circumcisa est omnis  
plebs quae exierat ex  
Aegypto masculi om-  
nes viri bellatores  
mortui sunt in deser-  
to in via exeuntibus  
ipsis ex Aegypto quia  
incircumcisa erat om-  
nis plebs quae exierat  
et omnis plebs quae

τουτον τον τροπον περιεκα-  
θαρην Ιησους τους υιους  
Ισραηλ και ονομα λογον  
περιτεμεν Ιησους πας ο  
λαος ο εκπορευομενος εξ 5  
Αιγυπτου το αρσενικον παν-  
τες ανδρες πολεμου οι  
απεθανον εν τη ερημω  
εν τη οδω εξελθοντων  
αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου. οτι 10  
περιτεμμενοι ησαν πας  
ο λαος ο εξελθων  
και πας ο λαος οι γεν-



fuerat in deserto in  
 15 via cum exierunt  
 ipsi ex Aegypto non  
 circumcisi erant  
 & quia XL annis  
 habitaverant filii  
 20 Istrahel in deserto  
 donec consummaretur  
 omnis plebs virorum  
 bellatorum qui exie-  
 runt ex Aegypto qui  
 25 non audierant vocem  
 Domini quemadmo-  
 dum autem circumci-  
 dit Iesus qui aliquando  
 fuerant in itinere et  
 30 quia quando incir-  
 cumcisi erant qui pro-  
 fecti erant ex Aegypto  
 omnes istos qui pro-  
 fecti erant circumcidit  
 35 Iesus XL enim annis  
 conversatus est Istrahel  
 in deserto ideoque in-  
 circumcisi erant illo-  
 rum plurimi viri bel-  
 40 latores qui exierant  
 de Aegypto qui non  
 obaudierant praecep-  
 tis Domini quibus  
 et definierat etc.

νηβαντες εν τη ερημω εν  
 τη οδω εξελθοντων  
 αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου εν  
 περιτμηθησαν  
 & οτι μ̄ ετη  
 ενδιετριψαν οι υιοι  
 Ισραηλ εν τη ερημω  
 εως ανηλωθη  
 πας ο λαος ανδρες  
 πολεμισται οι εξελ-  
 θοντες εξ Αιγυπτου οι  
 μη ακουσαντες της φωνης  
 Κυριου | ον δε τροπον  
 περικαθαρεν  
 Ιησουν τους υιους Ισραηλ  
 οσοι ποτε εγενοντο εν τη οδω  
 και οσοι ποτε απερι-  
 τμητοι ησαν των εξ-  
 εληλυθοντων εξ Αιγυπτου,  
 παντας τουτους  
 περιτεμεν  
 Ιησουν μ̄ γαρ ετη και δυο  
 ανειστραπται Ισραηλ  
 εν τη ερημω τη μαδβαρειτιδι  
 δυο απεριτμητοι ησαν οι πλαι-  
 στοι αυτων των μαχημων  
 των εξεληλυθοντων  
 εκ γης Αιγυπτου οι  
 ακυβησαντες των  
 εντολων του θεου οis  
 και διαρισε κτλ.

1 hoc autem modo | τουτον τον τροπον (o has the dative, comp.  
 4, 3 τροπω = iz for ον τροπον; 2, 2 τη νυκτι iz for την νυκτα; 8, 9  
 τη νυκτι ακεινη iz for την νυκτα ακεινη) a rephrasing of ον δε τρο-  
 πον B. U presupposes τουτον δε τον τροπον | purgavit | Correctly  
 for περικαθαρεν, but l. 28 U has circumcidit = Ε! Comp. περι-  
 καθαρειν = 𐤒𐤓 De 30, 6 (α' περιτεμειν) and περικαθαρειν την ακαθα-  
 ρσιαν = 𐤒𐤓 𐤒𐤓 Le 19, 23 (but ακροβυστιειν την ακροβυστιαν M<sup>m</sup>  
 γ<sup>m</sup> sine nom. = λ Field). Nevertheless G employs in the sequel,  
 the grosser περιτεμειν | 2 filios Istrahel | τους υιους ιηλ, so B

omitted in  $\mathfrak{A}$  l. 28. Not in  $\mathfrak{B}^m$  | 3 *hoc verbo*] Read *hoc verbum*. Observe the literalness:  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  for  $\delta\epsilon$  and  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  (comp. De 15, 2 οὗτος ο λόγος k for οὗτος τὸ προστάγμα — sit  $\mathfrak{A}$  is error for *sic*—;  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$  also 19, 4 but Ngkn have  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$  comp.  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$  III K 19, 15) for  $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (comp. Nu 18, 7 לכל דבר המבנה  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$  πάντα  $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$  τὸν θεοσαστῆριον; De 1, 14 & היה להם לדבר וישמע  $\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$  αυτοὺς τὸν  $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$  τούτων free) | 4 *circumcisa est omnis plebs*] A bad adaptation of  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\varsigma$  πᾶς ο λαός | 8 *mortui sunt*]  $\mathfrak{A}$  read  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\theta\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$  without  $\alpha$  in front which rests on error | 11 *incircumcisa*] Read *circumcisa* | 14 *fuera*]  $\mathfrak{A}$  read  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\eta\theta\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  with one  $\gamma$  | 19 *habita-verant*]  $\alpha\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha\upsilon$  on the basis of  $\alpha\delta\iota\epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$   $\mathfrak{M}^m$  sine nom (the singular is inexact; in marginal citations the scribe is interested in the main point of difference, here the choice of the verb, but he is careless in details which he assimilates to the reading of the text, here the sing. & namely read  $\text{הָלַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ . But  $\mathfrak{A}$  (that is his source) follows  $\mathfrak{B}^m$ :  $\text{הָלַכְוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ ). The verb comports with the diction of  $\sigma'$ , comp.  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$   $\sigma'$  Jd 19, 8 (Barhebr.  $\epsilon\tau\iota$ ) and II K 5, 9 | 21–24 *donec consummaretur omnis plebs virorum bellatorum qui exierunt ex Aegypto*]— $\sigma'$   $\text{חָלַלְוּ מִלְחָמָה עַד מָוֶת עַד מָוֶת}$   $\mathfrak{S}^m$  correctly done back into Greek by Field ( $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\theta\eta$  is merely a slip for  $\alpha\eta\eta\lambda\omega\theta\eta$ ). In the parallel rendering of  $\sigma'$  likewise recorded in  $\mathfrak{S}^m$   $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  is not  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  but  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\eta$ .  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  is found in  $\sigma'$   $\text{נִקְּחָהּ}$  Mi 7, 2;  $\text{נִקְּחָהּ}$  Ez 31, 15 and the part. for  $\text{נִקְּחָהּ}$  Je 15, 18; on the other hand  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\nu\theta\alpha\iota$ — $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  Nu 14, 33; De 2, 14; I K 16, 11; III K 14, 10; Ps 9, 7 (*consummata sunt*  $\text{נִקְּחָהּ}$ ); Je 14, 15 and  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ — $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  De 9, 29; similarly  $\text{נִקְּחָהּ}$  Je 44, 12 will go back to  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\tau\iota$ .— $\alpha\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon\iota\theta\alpha\iota$  for  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  is found in  $\sigma'$  elsewhere; Ps 72 (73), 19, also Ez 24, 10, 11, and in agreement with  $\mathfrak{S}$  Nu 14, 33, 35; 32, 13. With  $\alpha\eta\delta\epsilon\varsigma$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  comp.  $\sigma'$  Is 42, 13  $\alpha\eta\eta\delta\epsilon\varsigma$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$   $\text{וַיִּשְׂא מִלְחָמָה}$ . The telltale word is *plebs*— $\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ ; while  $\mathfrak{S}^m$  has  $\text{חָלַל}$  both for  $\sigma'$  and  $\sigma'$ , Field is right in writing  $\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma$  in  $\sigma'$ 's rendition;  $\epsilon\theta\eta\varsigma$  is rendered *gens* throughout Joshua | 27 *circumcidit*] see above on l. 1 | 28  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\lambda$ ] see above on l. 2 | 29 *fuera*] Inadequate rendering of  $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\omicron$ . Of the passages cited in the Concordance under  $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  for the passives of  $\text{כָּטַף}$ , we may eliminate the forms of the aor. pass. where the single  $\gamma$  may be orthographic, in some cases the inferior spelling is singular or restricted to a few codd. (comp. e. g. Ge 11, 28A<sup>7</sup>); but there remain the passages with



the *aer. med.* (comp. in the Pentateuch Ge 21, 9; 35, 26; 36, 5; 41, 50; 46, 20, 27; Le 25, 45; comp. also Ge 17, 17 *γεννησεται* A and cursives) | 30 *quia*] Read *qui*=οοσι | 31 *qui profecti erant*] *℞* obliterates the partitive construction; comp. *ℰ* | 33 *qui profecti erant*] Inner-Latin addition | 35 *καὶ ὄνο*] Om *℞*=*ℰℰ* | 37 *τῇ μαδβαρετιδῇ*] Om *℞*=*ℰ* | *ideoque*] Prob.= *καὶ διὰ τούτο* *raf* | 38 *illorum plurimi*] = *αὐτῶν οἱ πλείστοι* *rs* | 41 *de Aegypto*] = *ἐξ αἰγύπτου* *rhℰ*.

The net result is the rendering of *σ'* covering the greater portion of v. 6.

6, 11 According to the margin of the Syrohexaplaris Symmachus rendered the verbs in a future (imperative) sense, thus drawing v. 11 to the instructions in the preceding verses. Reminiscences of this conception are found in n 85<sup>m</sup> *ἀπελθῆτω*, *κοιμηθῆτω* and *℞ circumeat* . . . *et feratur*, but *mansit*, then erroneously carried into v. 12: *praecedant*.

6, 20 *tubis corneis* looks like a doublet = *ταῖς σαλπικῖαι ταῖς κερατιναῖς*. Comp. Judges 3, 27 *tuba cornea* = *σαλπικῖαι κερατινῇ* 59; 6, 34 *tuba cornea* = *κερατινῇ*; 7, 8 *tubas corneas* comp. *κερατινῆς σαλπικῖας* 55, *σαλπικῖας* 54, 59, 75; 16 *tubas* = *σαλπικῖας* 54, 59, 75; *κερατινῆς σαλπικῖας* 55; 18 *tuba* = *τῇ σαλπικῇ* 54, 59, 75; 18 *tubis* = *ταῖς σαλπικῖαι* 54, 59, 75; 19 *tubis* = *τῇ σαλπικῇ* 54, 59, 75, 118; 20 *tubas* = *αἱ σαλπικῖαι* 54, 59, 75; 22 *tubis* comp. *αἱ σαλπικῖαι* 54, 59, 75. — *κερατινῇ* is found in this chapter frequently in Hexaplaric additions for *קַרְנִי*. The three use it in v. 9 and elsewhere.

9, 1 f. The Hebrew order according to which the building of the altar and the reading of the Law follow after 8, 29 instead of after 9, 2 as in the Septuagint was naturally adopted by Origen (AFΘufb<sup>5</sup>). The Latin follows its text (*r*) of the parallel recension which in this respect goes with the B texts. Nevertheless at the end of verse 35 (end of chapter 8 in the Hebrew) the Latin inserts a fresh translation of 9, 1 f. The parallel renderings may be presented here in juxtaposition:

ut autem audierunt reges amorrei qui erant ultra iordanen in montanis et in campis qui erant in fine maris magni et qui erant ab antelibum et chettei et amorrei et channanei	et factum est ut audierunt omnes reges qui erant trans iordanen in monte et in secelat et in omnibus litoribus maris magni contra faciem libani chettaeus et ferezaeus et eucha-
---	--



et ferezei et euchaiei et gergessaei et iebussaei et conveniunt in unum expugnare iesum et istrahel simul omnes

eus et congregaverunt se in unum ut belligerarent cum iesu et cum istrahel ore uno

The text of the second version is defective in the Latin, several names having dropped out. But the literalness of the translation is unmistakable. Contrast the two versions in Greek:

ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἀμορραίων οἱ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῇ ὀρειῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ οἱ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῷ Ἀντιλίβαντι καὶ οἱ Χετταῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀμορραῖοι καὶ οἱ Χαναανῖται καὶ οἱ Φερίδαιοι καὶ οἱ Εἰσάι καὶ οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἰεβουσαῖοι καὶ συνήλθον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκπολεμῆσαι Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἅμα πάντες

καὶ ἐγενέτο ὡς ἤκουσαν πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἐν τῇ σε<ψ>ήλῳ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης κατὰ προσώπον τοῦ Λιβάνου ὁ Χετταῖος καὶ ὁ Ἀμορραῖος καὶ ὁ Χαναανῖος καὶ ὁ Φερίδαιος καὶ ὁ Εἰσάιος <καὶ ὁ Ἰεβουσαῖος> καὶ συνήθροισθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὥστε πολεμῆσαι μετὰ Ἰησοῦ καὶ μετὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν στόματι ἐν

In all likelihood, the source is Theodotion: comp. translation of  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\psi$  (elsewhere II Chron. 26, 10; Obad. 19; Jerem. 39 (32), 44; 40 (33), 13; I Maccab. 12, 38), the construction *πολεμῶν μετὰ* for *ἐν*  $\sigma\eta\lambda\lambda$  (comp. 22. al. Jerem. 41 (48), 12), *ἐν στόματι ἐν*  $\pi\lambda\sigma\eta$  (comp. III King. 22, 13 where *ἐν* B error for *ἐν*; II Chron. 18, 12). Professor Torrey will prob. be right in deriving the version of Chronicles from Theodotion, that is a *parte potiori*.

9, 7  $\lambda\kappa\psi\psi\kappa$  *αὐτῇ* Ἰσραὴλ  $\mathfrak{L}$  only, contrast Ἰσραὴλ  $\text{ro}\mathfrak{E}$ , οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ B  $\text{rell } \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{S}$ . Comp. De 27, 14 *πάντα*  $\bar{\Gamma}\eta\lambda$   $\mathfrak{E}$ , *ὁ* *πάντα* *ἀνδρῶν*  $\bar{\Gamma}\eta\lambda$  *ἀ'σ'* (πρὸς) *πάντα* *ἀνδρῶν*  $\bar{\Gamma}\eta\lambda$ , but *θ'* πρὸς *πάντας* *υἱοὺς*  $\bar{\Gamma}\eta\lambda$  (just as Judges 12, 1 οἱ υἱοὶ *Εφραῖμ* A for *αὐτῇ* *Εφραῖμ* B); comp. also Joshua 10, 24 where *ἀνδρῶν* was inserted by Origen sub asterisco. The literal rendering is found in  $\mathfrak{E}$  in Judges and Kingdoms; contrast *ἀνδρες* *Ἰουδα* in Jerem. (e. g. 4, 4), but 44 (51), 26, 27 *ἀνδρὸς* (*αὐτῇ*) sub  $\mathfrak{E}$ ; Isaiah 5, 3, 7 writes *ἀνθρώπου* *τοῦ* *Ἰουδα*. In Chron. *αὐτῇ* ( $\bar{\Gamma}\eta\lambda$ ) BA II 20, 27; elsewhere *omnes* II 34, 30 or *om* B II 5, 3; *om* S I 10, 7; 16, 3; or *ἀνδρες* in the pl. II 13, 15, 15.

*The Chronology of Certain Indo-Iranian Sound-Changes.*  
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Sanskrit *ō* normally represents an earlier diphthong. The main elements of the peculiar development of final *-as* in Sanskrit and in Avestan to *-ō*<sup>1</sup> were solved by Bloomfield (*American Journal of Philology*, iii. 25—45) who demonstrated that the *ō* is here the descendent of an IE. *o* whose quality had not yet changed to *ā*, and that this *-ō* for *-ās* was extended at the expense of the less common *-ē* for *-ēs*.

In some details, however, Bloomfield's article must be corrected. He argues that the immediate precursor of *asvō dravati* was *\*asvoz dravati*, and that the *-ō* is the product of compensatory lengthening due to the loss of *-z* (from *-s*) before a voiced dental stop, just as *-iz-* and *-uz-* before voiced dentals result in *ī* and *ū* (*Am. Journ. of Phil.* iii. 27). But we have here to deal with two sets of phonetic changes of very different date: that of final *-ās* to *-ō* appears in Avestan (where *-ō* is extended to use in all positions, regardless of the following sound, except before certain enclitics), but compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before *z* or *ž* + *d* or *dh* is unknown in Avestan;<sup>2</sup> thus Skt. *mīdha-*, Av. *mīdā-*; Skt. *dūdhi-*, Av. *duždā(y)-*. It is manifest, therefore, that the change which produced final *-ō* for *-ās* is not the same as that which produced the long vowel of *mīdha-*. Rather, the history of final *-ō* is the following: Final *-s* before a pause became a sound similar to the Skt. *visarga*. This *h*-sound

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. 338 (with bibliography); Brugmann, *Grundr.* i.<sup>2</sup> 886, and KVG., i. 294; Thumb, *Handbuch d. Sanskrit*, § 184 ff.; Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Av. *hō-a'ti* (𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀) is not equivalent to Skt. *śidati*, cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.* i. 172; 504; Walde, *Lat. Etyim. W.* 2, s. v. *sedeo*.



was then transferred to positions within the sentence, where before voiced stops a voiced *h* resulted which was lost with compensatory lengthening.<sup>1</sup> Thus *\*-ōs* became *\*-oh* and then *-ō* before voiced stops. The further extension of this final *-ō* to other positions in the sentence and its substitution for *\*-ē*<sup>2</sup> from *\*-ēs* has been treated in masterly fashion by Bloomfield (*Amer. Journ. Philol.*, iii. 32—39), and needs no comment here.

It is important, however, that IE. *-ōs* became Skt. *-ās* and appears before voiced initials as *-ā*, not as *-ō*, while IE. *-ōs*, though appearing in Skt. as *-ās*, has the form *-ō* before sonants. Similarly, in Avestan, IE. final *-ās*, *-ēs*, *-ōs* appear as *-ā*, while IE. final *-ōs*, etc. appear as *-ō*. This difference of treatment can be explained in only one way: The IE. long *ō*, *ē* became *ā* in primitive Aryan before the short *ō*, *ē* became *ā*. In the period intervening between the change of the long vowels and the change of the short vowels, the loss of *-h* before voiced stops produced *-ō*, *-ē* from the short final *-ōs*, *-ēs*, and *ā* from the long vowel followed by *s*. These new long vowels *-ō* and *-ē* were not subject to a further change to *-ā*, since the law converting IE. *ō*, *ē* to Aryan *ā* had already ceased operating.

As to the lengthening resulting from the loss of *s* or *ś* before *d* or *dh* in Skt., it has already been remarked that this change does not appear in Avestan; thus Skt. *nēdīyas-*, Av. *nazdyah-*; Skt. *miyédha-*, Av. *myazda-* etc.<sup>3</sup> We have here ample proof that the quality of IE. *ē* was maintained distinct down to the time of this specifically Sanskrit change.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *KZ.* xxix. 572 ff.; Brugmann, *Grundr.* i. 886. A similar suggestion by Brockhaus (1843): "Sollte nicht vielleicht auch der Nominativ auf *-as* wie *-ōs* ausgesprochen worden sein, dessen dumpfes *s* vor allen tönenden Buchstaben verloren gehen mußte, aber wie fast immer im Sanskrit, wenn ein Consonant abfällt, dieser durch die Verlängerung des vorhergehenden Vowels ersetzt wird, auf diese Weise aus *-as* die Form *-ā* wurde", (*Zt. Kunde d. Morg.* iv. 85).

<sup>2</sup> On the debatable question whether the Aryan possessed such an *-ē* (from *-es*) see Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. 338; Brugmann, *Grundr.* i. 886, § 1005, 5, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the examples in Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. p. 37, § 34; p. 274, § 237, b, 3; Brugmann, *Grundr.* i. 755; *KVG.*, p. 545, § 710, 2; Joh. Schmidt, *KZ.* xxv. 60 ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP.* iii. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Seeming exceptions like Skt. *śādhār-* for *\*śādhār-* (from *\*śādh-tor-*) have *ā* by analogy of the *ā* in other forms and derivatives. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP.*, iii. 30; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 38 (middle), § 34; p. 44, § 40.



That the quality of  $\bar{o}$  was similarly maintained can hardly be proved, since the final  $-\bar{o}$  received a great extension, even in the middle of words.<sup>1</sup> But words with an original long vowel show consistently  $-\bar{a}d(h)-$ , never  $-\bar{e}d(h)-$  nor  $-\bar{o}d(h)-$ : thus, *sādhi*, *śasādhi*, *cahādhi*; *ādhvam*, *sādhvam*, *ārādhvam*; *ādaghñā-* (for  $^{*}oz-d^{*}$ , cf. Lat. *os*).<sup>2</sup>

The conclusions are therefore:

1. That IE.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  became  $\bar{a}$  in the primitive Aryan period before the loss of final  $-h$  before voiced stops.
2. That IE.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  kept their quality until after the loss of final  $-h$  before voiced initial stops.
3. That IE.  $\bar{e}$  certainly, and IE.  $\bar{o}$  presumably, kept their quality until after the Indian loss of  $\varepsilon$  and  $\bar{\varepsilon}$  with compensatory lengthening before voiced dental and cerebral stops.

For convenience the following chronological table of the changes is presented:

### Primitive Aryan Changes.

1. Palatalization of gutturals by following palatal vowels and  $\bar{i}$ .
2. Change of IE.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  to  $\bar{a}$ , becoming identical with IE.  $\bar{a}$ .
3. Loss of final  $-h$  before initial voiced consonants, giving new  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$ .

<sup>1</sup> The  $\bar{e}$  of  $\bar{śō-dāś$  "sixteen",  $\bar{śō-dhā}$  "sixfold" (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 38, § 34, b) may be the result of such an extension. The post-vedic *sōdhum*, *sōdhar-* from the root *sah* is certainly an imitation of the Vedic *sōdhum* from *sah* (Bloomfield, *AJP.*, iii. 80). Vedic *sōdhum* etc. (Skt. *sāhati*, Av. *vazāti*, Lat. *vehit*) cannot have IE.  $\bar{o}$  and must be due to some analogy; there are some parallel forms of this root with zero grade showing  $\bar{a}dh-$  from  $^{*}u\bar{d}h-$ :  $\bar{a}dhvam$  (by the side of *sōdhum*),  $\bar{a}dhā-$  (by the side of *sōdha-*),  $\bar{a}dhvā$  and  $\bar{a}dhi-$ ; a comparison with certain forms of *ruh* such as *rūdhā-* by the side of *rōdhum*, *rūdhā-* by the side of *rōdhar-* suggests a starting point for an analogy-formation.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, *Skt. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 166; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. p. 273, § 237, a, a; Brugmann, *Grundr.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 735, § 830, a. According to the rule (allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiśākhya) that the first consonant of a group be doubled (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 229; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 112, § 98, a) the spelling *ādhvam* etc. is frequent.

(Division into Indian and Iranian.)

**Indian Changes.**

1. Cerebralization of dentals by preceding cerebral sibilants.
2. Loss of *z* and *ʒ* before voiced dental and cerebral stops, with compensatory lengthening.
3. Change of IE. *ē*, *ō* to *ā*, becoming identical with IE. *ā*.

**Iranian Changes.**

1. Change of IE. *ē*, *ō* to *ā*, becoming identical with IE. *ā*.





of Jazarta wrote in his heptasyllabic poem dealing with Syriac homonyms: **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** (Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 68, 8).

Of course, the correct reading is **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ**,  $\sqrt{\text{ܕܝܐ}}$  become weak, feeble, debilitated, torpid; and this reading was not unknown in certain parts of the Syriac Church. The scholarly grammarian and writer Jacob of Edessa (seventh century) reads correctly **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** (see von Lengerke, *Commentatio de Ephraemo Syro*, p. 20)—a reading which has been preserved in another place by Bar Ali himself (ed. Gottheil p. 108, 6) and by Bar Bahlul (ed. Duval, col. 1283, falsely punctuated **ܕܝܐ**). I might add that Payne-Smith in his *Thesaurus*, though seemingly suspecting the reading (see cols. 1360 s. v. **ܕܝܐ** and 2471 s. v. **ܕܝܐ**), has listed the passage also s. v. **ܕܝܐ** col. 4233).

The accepted reading in the texts has not failed to lead scholars astray; which is a signal proof how necessary a correct edition of the Peshitta is. Ball, in his edition of the Hebrew text for the Polychrome Bible (1896) p. 91, has the following note:

**ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ**  $\Theta$   $\acute{o}$  *ἐράκησεν* which became dumb.  $\Theta$  thus renders **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** v. 25. Here  $\Theta$  evidently read **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** and pointed **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** cfr. **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** = **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** v. 25.

In this connection I might mention the curious translation in the Polyglotts of the Syriac rendering for **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ** — **ܕܝܐ ܕܝܐ**. They translate "nervum muliebrum" which they have gotten from a false punctuation of the Arabic rendering **عرق النسا** "the sciatic nerve"—a common expression in Arabic medical works. They punctuate **عرق النسا**!!—which Payne-Smith has also incorporated in his *Thesaurus*.

*The Āntikālpa of the Atharvaveda.* — By G. M. BOLLING, Henry E. Johnston Jr. Scholar in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. xxxv, 1904, pp. 77—127, I published with introduction, translation and commentary the text of the Āntikālpa as found in the Chambers Codex. Weber's transcript of this codex was at that time the only manuscript readily accessible, but since then there has been a considerable increase of such material. In the first place, I have had the opportunity to collate the Chambers Codex itself, and also the British Museum manuscript (L) mentioned on p. 78 of my edition; while, furthermore, the University of Tübingen's publication of its catalogue of Roth's manuscripts has brought to light another copy of the text. Of this last manuscript a copy, made by a pupil of Professor Garbe, was very kindly secured for me by Dr. J. von Negelein, my collaborator in the publication of the Atharvan Parīṣiṣas.

From this new material the chief result, as regards the published text, is the corroboration of my opinion, that the text could be little improved by the collation of additional manuscripts. There are, to be sure, some gleanings,<sup>1</sup> but the

<sup>1</sup> The following seem worthy of mention: 1. 6 read *punarvasa* with L (cf. p. 90); Roth *punarvasor*. — 2. 2. Roth uses forms of *āgleśa* here and 12. 2. — 3. 2. L Roth *vedhukarmaprasādhaki*. — 3. 4. L *ugratejasam*. — 4. 4. Read: *dhruvāsādhike*; Roth reads *-sādhaki*; L *-sādhakim*, but M has *-sādhakāi* or *-sādhakāim* corrected to *-sādhakāi* or *-sādhake*, and from this J would restore (cf. p. 91) the normal form. — 6. 7. *ima āpa iti* refers to Āntik. 1. 14. 1—6. — 12. 2 Roth *phalgunibhyam*. — 12. 3. Read: *maṣāra*, with LMRoth. — *ibid.* Roth *abhijitaye*. — 14. 2 L *viśāsahim ityādayo*; Roth \* *ityādayor*. — 15. 1. L Roth *lakṣṇapare*. — 15. 3. L *valima lomika*; Roth *balimam lomaka*. — 17. 3. L (a) *dbhutopraty-abbicādeṣu*; Roth (a) *dbhutopraty-abbicāreṣu*. — 17. 4. L *jalabhaya-jalakṣayayoh*; Roth *jalabhaye jalakṣayayāya*. 18. 1. The correct punctuation is *athāc-*

main importance of the new material lies in a different direction. That the published text was incomplete, was suspected neither by myself, nor—as far as I know—by anyone else who has handled it. There was, indeed, no ground for such a suspicion. The colophon of the Chambers Codex gives no hint of it; the contents of the text, a description of the *mahācānti* and its preliminary *nakṣatrayāga*, seem complete in themselves; and the tract begins with an abruptness no greater than the beginnings of several *Parīṣṭas*. Under such circumstances it was impossible to divine that the *mahācānti* required two other preliminary ceremonies,—a propitiation of the *Vināyakas* (cf. MG. 2. 14) and a *grahayāga*. Nevertheless, after giving a brief introduction, both the London and the Tübingen manuscripts proceed to give a description of these ceremonies, and then label this portion of their text the first chapter, or the first half, of the *mahācānti*.

Immediately after this new material (of which I now present an edition to the Society) follows in each manuscript the text already published from the Chambers Codex. Curiously enough this is not designated in either manuscript as the second chapter, their colophons being (like that of the Chambers Codex) simply: Roth, *iti śrī atharvavede mahācāntiḥ samāptaḥ* (!), L *iti mahācāntiḥ samāptaḥ* (!). This might at first sight suggest the idea that the first chapter is a later addition. Such a belief—except as a possible theory about the ultimate sources of the text—will prove however to be untenable. Not only is the first chapter cited by Śāyana, but the *Parīṣṭas*, cf. xviii b. 19. 3; lxx. 9. 3, juxtapose a *grahayāga* and a *nakṣatrayāga* in such a way as to show that their authors had the text with both chapters, and there is also a reference from the second to the first chapter. From this it follows that the Chambers Codex is incomplete. On account of its pagination it is best to regard it as the second of two volumes which contained the whole text.

*pikāḥ* | *śantaya iti amṛtāyām* | — 19. 1. L. *pūtadaru*; Roth *pūtadaram*. — 19. 6. Roth *śātāsurām*. — 19. 8. Roth *ajāgrāyām*; L. *ajāgrā*. — 21. 1. For *sakāḥ*: L. *tsarūḥ*; Roth *svarasū*. — 22. 1. L. Roth *sikatāḥ*. — 22. 3. L. Roth *upalepayet*. — 23. 4. Roth *vyatīṣakte tha*. — 23. 5. Read with L. Roth: *atā mantrān*. — 24. 4. L. *acamanayānādau snapanārthān*; Roth *arecanayānādau snapanārthān*. — 25. 1. Roth *badhya*. L. *vrihiyava*. — 25. 3. Roth *tad avakārya*. — 25. 4. Roth *tathādhiḥkām*.



With the full text of the Āntikalpa we get a better insight into Śaṅkara's employment of the ancillary Atharvan literature. Beside the Kauṣika and Vāitāna Sūtras and the (probably no longer extant) Āngirasakalpa, Śaṅkara cites the Āntikalpa, the Nakṣatrakalpa and various Pāṇiṣṭas from ii. 5. 5 to xxxiii. 7. 3, cf. the references given in our edition, p. 645 f. That Śaṅkara's quotations from the Nakṣatrakalpa come in reality from the second chapter of the Āntikalpa was first pointed out by Bloomfield, SBE. xlii. p. 233, and is proved in detail in my commentary. The source of the quotations from the Āntikalpa was unknown, but now proves to be the first chapter of that text. That Śaṅkara has simply blundered, is to my mind clear beyond the possibility of discussion, and I think it possible to explain the origin of his mistake. The Chambers Codex of the Pāṇiṣṭas is an edition in three volumes, containing respectively AVPar. i—the true Nakṣatrakalpa, AVPar. ii—xxxvi and AVPar. xxxvii—lxxii. If we assume that Śaṅkara had only a broken set, namely vol. ii., of such an edition, we can understand why his citations from the Pāṇiṣṭas are so limited and also his ignorance of the Nakṣatrakalpa. He was however familiar with the tradition of the five *kalpas*, and as the second chapter of the Āntikalpa began with an elaborate *nakṣatrayāga*, he identified this portion of the text with the Nakṣatrakalpa of which he had no knowledge except the name.

### TEXT OF THE ĀNTIKALPA.

om̐ namaḥ ṛibrahmavedāya namaḥ

Omitted in Roth. L om̐ namo.

1. om̐ mahācāntīm pravakṣyāmi yām prāpya mahatīm ṛiyam |  
brahmaṇaḥ ksatriyo vāpi vāiṣṇvo vāpy upasarjati ||

Roth ṛiyam. L brahmaṇaḥ; Roth brahmaṇa.

2. brahmaṇaḥ sarvakāmāptīm ksatriyaḥ prthivījayam |  
sarvatas tu samṛddhim ca vāiṣṇvaḥ samadhigachati ||

Roth samṛddhigachati.

3. divyam vā pāṛthivām vāpy antarikṣam athāpi vā |  
mahācāntīm cāmayaty anyad vā bhayam utthitam ||

Roth va. L pāṛthivām. Roth cāmayany. L utthitam.

4. ārogyam arthaputrāṇc cā namitram tathāiva ca |  
saubhāgyam ca samṛddhim ca mahācāntīm prayachati ||

L artham putrāṇc. L numitram; Roth numitra. Roth mahācānti.

5. mahādevabhīmr̥ṣṭasya mṛtyor āsyagatasya vā |  
 grahaghorābhīhaptasya mahācāntiṃ vimocan || 1 ||  
 L. -bhīmr̥ṣṭasya. Roth ca. Roth vimocanm.

1. dānavāir abhīmr̥ṣṭasya mahendrasya purā kila |  
 mahācāntiṃ paritrāṇm brhaspatir amanyata ||  
 Roth mahācānti. L. vrhaspatir amanyata.  
 2. anayam valagam kṛtyām caṅkamānaḥ parājayam |  
 ichann rddhim samrddhim ca mahācāntiṃ prayojayet ||  
 L. caṅkyamānaḥ; Roth ckyamānaḥ; perhaps caṅkyamānaḥ was intended.  
 3. pāyasam samidhaḥ cāntā yavān ājyam prthak-prthak |  
 rudrarāudraparair mantrair mahācāntiṃ prayojayet ||  
 L. pīyasam.  
 4. cākabhakṣaḥ payobhakṣaḥ phalabhakṣo 'pi vā punaḥ |  
 bhūtvā dvādaśarātram tu mahācāntiṃ prayojayet ||  
 5. bilvāharaḥ phalāharaḥ payasā vāpi vartayet |  
 saptarātram gṛhṭāci vā mahācāntiṃ prayojayet || 2 ||

1. saptarātram ato 'nyena vartayitvā yathāvidhi |  
 mahācāntiṃ prayuñjānaḥ payasā vartayet sakṛt ||  
 L. yasyavidhi. L. prayuñjmaḥ; prayuñjita should perhaps be read.  
 2. kāmān nakṣatrasamyogād anukūlam yadā bhavet |  
 tadā karma prayuñjita 'pahatya vināyakaḥ ||  
 Roth kāmām.  
 3. karmasiddher mahāyogi iṣṭayuktaḥ samāhitaḥ |  
 bahiḥ karma prayuñjita karmasiddhim avāpnuyāt ||  
 L. Roth -siddhir mahāyoga. Roth iṣṭayuktaḥ. Roth bahiḥ. Roth avā- not  
 clear, arā- in margin.  
 4. āmnāye kāmika mantrāḥ prajñātāḥ syuḥ prthagvidhāḥ |  
 āvāpe tām prayuñjita prathamam tantram iṣyate ||  
 Roth āmnāye. Roth mantrā. L. Roth prajñātā. Roth -vidhā. With pada  
 ā begins a dittography of one śloka in L.  
 5. balayaḥ cānu karmāṇi jyā cāivānu devatāḥ |  
 haviṣā ca prayuñjita 'jyena manaseti ca || 3 ||  
 L. Roth maṇayaḥ. Roth yā for jyā. L. manaseti; Roth tmanaseti (not clear).

1. nīr lakṣmyam iti

L. lakṣyam. AV. 1. 18. 1.

2. catvāraḥ khalu vināyaka bhavanti ||

Quoted by Śāyana at 7. 118, p. 542.

3. çalakaṭaṅkaṭaṭ ca kūsmāṇḍarājaputraṭ cotsmṛtaṭ ca devaya-janaṭ cety

L. çalakṭ-. L. -rājaputraṭ. MG. gives third name as: utomita.

4. oṭeṣāṁ samanvāgatānām imāni rūpāni bhavanti

5. apah svapne kulasaḥ paçyati sarpaṇ paçyati muṇḍaṇ paçyati jaṭilāṇ paçyati kāsāyavāsasaḥ paçyati hastinaḥ paçyaty antariḡṣaṁ sthānaṁ caṅkramaṇaṁ iva manyate divaḥ patanaṁ iva manyate 'dhvānaṁ vrajan manyate prsthato mā kaç cid anuvrajatiti prāsādārohanam antariḡṣāt kramaṇaṁ ity.

LRoth kalukhāḥ. L. sarpaṇa. Roth kakhāya-. Roth cakramaṇaṁ. Roth diva. Roth dhvma vrajan. L. manyato. L. nā kaç; Roth vā kaç.

6. etāḥ khalu vināyakaḥ grhītā rājaputra rājyakāmā rājyaṁ na labhante kanyāḥ patikāmāḥ patiṁ na labhante striyaḥ putrakāmāḥ putraṁ na labhante çrotriyā adhyāpakā ācāryastvaṁ na labhante 'dhyetṛnām adhyayanāni mahāvigluṇakarāṇi bhavanti kṛṣatām kṛṣir alpaphalā bhavati vaṇijām vāṇijyam alpaphalaṁ bhavati

1. prājaputra. L. labhate. Roth omits: kanyāḥ ... labhante. LRoth kṛṣtām. LRoth bhavanti vāṇijām.

7. tatra prāyaçcittam || 4 ||

1. mṛgākharāt kulāt kulālamṛttikā guggulu vṛṣabhacarṇa rocanāçm sarvabījāni sarvaratnāny upahṛtya

1. mṛgākharākṛolā kulālamṛttikā (mṛ being inserted). LRoth guggula. L. -vijāni. L. upahṛtya.

2. puradvārād valmikād adhidevatāveçyā-rājāṅgaṇābhyām ca mṛttikā madhusarpiṣi ca

1. puraddhārād valmikād. L. adhidevatāveçyā-; Roth adhidevanāveçyā-; lengthening in dual empd., but prob. read -veçma-. L. -rājāṅgaṇābhyām. L. mṛtti. Roth -sarpiṣi. LRoth carry the *samdhī* over to next sentence.

3. etāṁ sambhārāṇ sambhṛtya

Roth etām.

4. pavane kṛtvā

5. grāmacatuspathe nagaracatuspathe vā vṛṣabhacarṇmāstṛiya

L. vā vā ṛṣabhaṁ.

6. tatṛāṇaṁ snāpayet pāvamāṇibhiḥ || 5 ||

Roth tatṛāṇaṁ. L. pāvamāṇibhiḥ.

1. pavitraṁ çatadharaṁ <yad> ṛṣibhiḥ pāvanaçm kṛtam | tena tvām abhiṣīcāmi pāvamāṇiḥ punantu tvā ||

1. omits. See Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.



2. yena devāḥ pavitreṇā tmanam punate sadā |  
tena tvām abhiśiñcāmi pavamānīḥ punantu tvā ||  
L omits: yena devāḥ, but repeats the verse correctly.
3. yā te lakṣmīr yaç ca pāpmā hrdaye yaç canodare |  
ūrvor upasthe pāyāu ca tām ito nāçayāmy aham ||  
L yaḥ; Roth yaçab; for yaç ca. L yāu; Roth yaç. Roth pāyu.
4. yā çirasi grīvāyām <ca> pāṇipādau ca sevate |  
çronyām prsthe tu yalakṣmī tām ito nāçayāmy aham ||  
L çronya. L na. Roth yalakṣmī.
5. prāctm diçam avadhāyendram dāivatam āindrīm pariçadam  
yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
L avadhāyēnīm; Roth avadhāyendra. L āindrī; Roth āindri. L pariçam.  
L kanyā. This section is modelled after AV. 4. 40.
6. indreṇa dattā oṣadhaya āpo varunasañmitāḥ |  
iābhiḥ tvām abhiśiñcāmi pavamānīḥ punantu tvā ||  
L iddhe | dattā.
7. dakṣiṇām diçam avadhāya yamaḥ dāivatam yāmtm pariçadam  
yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||
8. yamena dattā oṣadhaya āpo \* | \* \* ||
9. prāctm diçam avadhāya varuṇam dāivatam vāruṇīm pariçadam  
yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
L prati. L vahayam.
10. varuṇena dattā oṣadhaya āpo \* | \* \* ||
11. udicm diçam avadhāya somaḥ dāivatam somtm pariçadam  
yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
Roth omits.
12. somena dattā oṣadhaya āpo \* | \* \* ||
13. dhruvām diçam avadhāya viṣṇuḥ dāivatam vaiṣṇavīm  
pariçadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||
14. viṣṇunā dattā oṣadhaya āpo \* | \* \* ||
15. vyadhvām diçam avadhāya vāyūn dāivatam vāyavīm  
pariçadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
Roth vāyu. L vāyamvīm.
16. vāyūnā dattā oṣadhaya āpo \* | \* \* ||
17. ūrdhvām diçam avadhāya bṛhaspatīm dāivatam bāhaspatyām  
pariçadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
L vṛhaspatīm; Roth bṛhaspati.
18. bṛhaspatinā dattā oṣadhaya āpo \* | \* \* ||  
L vṛhaspatinā; Roth brihaspatinā.
19. sarvā diçab sarvān antardeçān avadhāya brahmāpam dāivatam  
brāhmtm pariçadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
Roth sarvāntardeçān, with also some confusion after brahmāpam.

20. brahmapā dattā oṣadhaya āpo varuṇasaṃmitāḥ |  
tābhiḥ tvām abhiśincāmi pāvamāniḥ punantu tvā ||

Pādas ed are quoted by Śāyana at 7. 118, p. 542.

21. pra patetaḥ pāpi lakṣmīti cetasraḥ || 6 ||

AV. 7. 115. 1—4; quoted by Śāyana, loc. cit.

1. atha snātasyārdharātre sadyahpiditena gāurasarṣapatādena  
sadyonmathitena vā ghrtenāudumbareṇa sruveṇa juhōti ||

L. snātasyārdha-. Roth -pīlītena. L. stoveṇa; Roth stoveṇa mārḍhi.

2. ṇalakaṭaṇkaṭāya svāhā kṣmāṇḍarājaputrāya svāhotsmrtāya  
svāhā devayajanāya svāhety

Roth kṣmāṇḍa-. L. devajanāya svāhābety.

3. atha snāto yām tv āryām upatiṣṭhate tām brūyād bhaga-  
vati bhagam me dehi dhanavati dhanam me dehi yaças-  
vati yaço me dehi sāubhāgyavati sāubhāgyam me dehi  
putravati putrām me dehi sarvavati sarvām kāmām me  
dehity

L. snāto. Roth yaś tvāryām upatiṣṭhate. L. tā. Roth yaçasvati.  
L. sāubhāgyavati. Roth putravati. Roth sarvavati. L. sarvāṇva  
kāmām me; Roth sarvām me kāmām. A deletion in L. between dehi  
and ty.

4. \*athendrānyuṣṭraduhitrikāṇi bhavanti bhagavati\*  
sarvabhūteçvari devī çaranam tvāham āgataḥ |  
sāubhāgyakāmāḥ subhage jahi mahyam vināyakām ||  
\*nityam || 7 ||

Roth athendrāny-. L. -duhitrikāṇi; Roth -duhitri kām. Roth tvāpam.  
L. -kāmā. The çloka is not marked off by punctuation in the ms.

1. ata ūrdhvaṃ vināyakopahārāḥ

2. çuklāḥ sumanasaḥ upahared raktāḥ sumanasaḥ upahared  
guptāç çāguptāç ca taṇḍulāḥ phalīkṛtāç cāphalīkṛtāç ca  
piṣṭam pakvam cāmam ca māṇsam pakvam cāmam ca  
dhānā matsyāḥ çakṣuḥ purōḍāçāḥ kulmāṣā ajaka-  
çigruka-bhūstṛṇaka-mūlako-padañçānām gandhapānam ma-  
ricapānam surāpānam iti

Roth çuklāḥ sumanasaḥ. L. upahareṇā. L. upahareta. L. phalīkṛtoç.  
L. māṇsa. L. Roth çakṣuḥ. L. guja-çiyuka-. L. -bhūstṛṇaka-; Roth  
-bhūstṛṇaka-. L. maricayāvam; Roth maricepānam.

3. navesu çūrpeṣu caturbhiḥ kṛtvopahared

4. athopatiṣṭhate || 8 ||

1. çyeno vimukho bakāḥ pakṣi śiṃhakalakālī kalahabhrur vinā-

yakab kubjah kūsmāṇḍarājaputro hāimavato jambuko virū-  
pākṣaḥ \*kālīṅgākumārī\* sūkarah krodhi

L. vimuko; Roth bhimukta. L Roth -kalankali. Roth kalahavtra. L. kuṣi-  
bhāṇḍarākṣaputrā. L jambūka. Roth virūpākṣaḥ. Read: kalingaḥ  
kumārī, or: kalingo 'kumārī. L çukara krodhīm; Roth çukrakrodhi.

2. vāiçravaṇāya rājñe namo

3. yas tiṣṭhati vāiçravaṇasya dvāre kubjah karālo vinato vinā-  
yakas tam ahaṁ çaranam prapadye brahmacāriṇam amum  
L. vāiçravaṇasya. L. kuḥbjah. Roth prapato. L. omits: amum.

4. amuṣya kāmam imam samardhaya

Roth kāmam imam; L. kāpayimam. Roth somaddhaya.

5. vāiçravaṇāya rājñe namo

6. atha çvobhūte vimalam ādityam upatiṣṭhate  
L. tha.

7. namas te astu bhagavañ chataraçme tamonuda |

jahi me deva dāurbhāgyam sāubhāgyena mā saṁsṛjety  
L. asru. L. bhagavañ; Roth bhagavaḥ. L. chataraçmi; Roth not clear.  
L. tya jahi (i. e. scribe started to skip pādas ed.) cf. MG. 2. 14. 31.

8. ata ūrdhvaṁ brāhmaṇatarpanam

9. gomithunaṁ hiranyaṁ vāsaç ca kartre dakṣiṇā || 9 ||  
L. gomithuna; Roth so- (but not clear). Roth kartre ye.

1. athāto 'gnir mahāçanteh pralipste sthāṇḍile same |  
çuklavāsah pramatlinita prokṣate çāntivāriṇā ||

Roth gner mahāçantih. Roth -vāsā pramatlinitā.

2. kravyādāgniṁ pranichatya sambhared araṇi çubhe |  
om ity etena mantreṇa mathitvāgniṁ samāhitaḥ ||

Roth kravyādāgniṁ pranichatya. Roth çubhi.

3. aṅço rājeti pcam vidvān vibhāgaṁ manasā jayet |  
kravyāde nāirṛtaṁ karma vakṣyate tat svake krame ||  
Kāç. 71. 1. L. aṅço. Roth sake; L. khake. Çāntik. ii. 15. 1-6.

4. samāstviyena havyāu hi pūrṇākhyam sarpiṣālutam |  
lutvā samindhayed agnim ālutir jubuyāt tataḥ ||  
AV. 2. 6. 1. L. havyā. L. pūrṇākhyam. L. samindhayed; Roth samindhayed;  
finite forms of caus. are not cited.

5. divas pṛthivyā akūtim kāmasyendrasye ndro rājeti ||  
AV. 19. 3. 1 (and elsewhere); 4. 2; 9. 2. 6; 19. 5. 1. L. dro; Roth ndra.

6. iṇam prathamam devam yajed brahmā samālutaḥ |  
pākayajnavidhānena prārambhe sarvakarmaṇam ||

7. mahāçāntim prayujjānas tarpayitvā grabhān budhaḥ |  
pūjitā devaputrās te tuṣṭāḥ santu phalapradaḥ || 10 ||  
Roth -çānti. L. -putrārthe. L. -pradā.



1. devaputrā vai grahā uṣanā aṅgirāḥ sūryaḥ prajāpatyaḥ  
somaḥ ketuḥ budhaḥ cañaiṣṣaro rāhur ity

L. uṣanāṅgirāḥ; Roth uṣanāṅgirā (double samiti). L. -patyaḥ. L. rudhaḥ.

2. ete brahmāṇam upasasruḥ bhāgadheyam no bhagavan kal-  
parasveti

Roth upasasruḥ.

3. tān abravīd brahmā astāvīṇṣṭinaksatreṣu paryāyena carata  
rāhuḥ somārkayoh parvakāleṣu dr̥ṣyatām iti ||

L. s̥avingato-. Roth rāhu. L. somārkayoh. Roth omits punctuation.

4. te devā abruvann atha yasya nakṣatraṁ grahepārtam  
bhavati tam ārto dhitiṣṭhati nāsyārthāḥ sidhyanti

Roth ta; L. omits. L. abruvann. L. nakṣatre. L. -ārta; Roth -artham.

Roth ārto. L. nāsyārthāḥ. There is a lacuna at this point.

5. svayam vā manyetām svastimān aham iti

L. manyetā; in Roth the anusvara is not clear. L. svastiprācan.

6. deṣasya grāmasya vā \*śnam anu\* dīkṣitaḥ karmānyaḥ  
surabhir ahatavāsāḥ

L. grāmasya. L. va śisthūni. Roth dīkṣitaḥ | anūdīkṣitaḥ. L. -vāś.

7. pūrṇamāsam tantraṁ vratopāyanāntam kṛtvā

8. purastād agner gomayena gocarmamātraṁ sthaṇḍilam upalīpya

L. agne gomayena gocarmar-. Roth -mātraṁ. L. Roth elide at the end of  
this and the following sentences.

9. athāmīśam grahāṇām biraṇmayāni chatrāṇy āsanopānat-  
pādapiṭhāni nidhāya

L. -yānatyāda-. L. nidadhāya.

10. śhatena vastrepodagdaṇasānāny avachādya

L. -dagadaṇa-. L. Roth -āsānāny. L. avatsādya; Roth acatsādya.

11. ādityādām grahān āvāhayed

L. -ādita-. Roth grahāny.

12. yam vahanti ṇakarnā iti navabbiḥ || 11 ||

L. ya.

1. yam vahanti ṇakarnāḥ pratilomā vājinaḥ |  
tam aham sarvatejomayam ādityam āvāhayāmīha ||

L. ryan. L. pratiloma. L. -yāmi ha. The meter is too bad to warrant  
corrections for its improvement.

2. yam vahanti haṁsavarnā anulomā vājinaḥ |  
tam aham dvijair āpyāyāmānam somam āvāhayāmīha ||

L. yām. L. āpyāyā-; Roth āpyāyā-.

3. yasya raktam rūpam raktānulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |  
tam aham raktavarṇābham bhāumam āvāhayāmīha ||

Roth raktam. L. -leyanaḥ. L. -stuvārṇābham.

4. yasya pīṭam rūpam pīṭanulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |  
tam ahaṁ pīṭavarṇābhāṁ budham āvāhayāmiha ||  
L. pītā. L. vudham.
5. yaḥ caivāṅgirasah putro devānām ca purohitaḥ |  
tam aham hiraṇyavarṇābhāṁ brhaspatim āvāhayāmiha ||  
L. yo ṅgirasah. L. vṛhaspatim.
6. yasya cūklam rūpam cūklanulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |  
tam ahaṁ cūklavarṇābhāṁ cūkram āvāhayāmiha ||  
L. -yāmi ha.
7. yasyāyasaṁ rūpam āyasaḥ ca prakṛtiḥ |  
tam aham \*āḍityatejoniyasthāpyāyamānaṁ mṛtyuputram  
āvāhayāmiha ||  
L. yasyāyasaṁ. Roth āyasaḥ ca. L. āḍityenoniyasthāpyamānaṁ.
8. yasya kṛṣṇam rūpam kṛṣṇanulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |  
tam aham kṛṣṇavarṇābhāṁ rāhum āvāhayāmiha ||
9. yasya dīrghā cikṣā mukhaṁ ca parimaṇḍalam |  
tam ahaṁ brahmanah putram ketum āvāhayāmiha ||  
L. vrahmanah. Combined with next: L. -he || ty; Roth -he || ty.
10. ity āvāhya varṇakamayir vṛkṣamayir dhātumayir vā graha-  
pratimāḥ pratyāṁmukhīr āsaneṣūpaveçayati || 12 ||  
L. vakṣamayir. L. grahapratimāḥ; Roth pratimā L. āsaneṣūpa-.
1. bhāskarāṅgārakāu raktāu cvetāu cūkraniçākārāu |  
rāhuketuṇyamāḥ kṛṣṇāḥ pītāu budhabrhaspati ||  
L. āṅgārako. L. -vṛhaspati.
2. cāndanāu somaçukrāu tu bhāumārkaḥ raktacāndanāu |  
hāridrakāv ubhāu jñeyāu viprāir budhabrhaspati |  
kṛṣṇāguror grahāḥ kāryā rāhuketuṇāñçarāḥ ||  
L. jñeyo viprā; viprāu is also possible emendation. Roth kṛṣṇāguror;  
L. not clear.
3. bhāskarāṅgārakāu tāmrāu rāukmāu budhabrhaspati |  
rājatāu somaçukrāu tu çeṣāḥ kārṣṇāyasaḥ grahāḥ ||  
L. tāmrāu rāukabho; Roth tāmrāu rāukmā. L. -vṛhaspati. L. kārṣṇāyasaḥ;  
Roth kṛṣṇāyasaḥ.
4. grahāṇām divyaceṣṭānām nakṣatrapāthacāriṇām |  
yathāvarṇāni puṣpāni vāsāṁsy evānulepanam || 13 ||  
L. vāsāṁsy; Roth vāsāy. L. Roth āvāna-.
1. imā apah cīvāḥ cīvataṁāḥ çāntāḥ çāntatamāḥ pūtāḥ pūta-  
tamāḥ puṇyāḥ puṇyatamā amṛtā amṛtatamāḥ pādyāḥ cār-  
ghyāḥ cācamanyāḥ cābhiṣecantyāḥ ca pratigrhṇantu bhaga-  
vanto devā grahā ity apo ninayati ||

Roth purā pur-. L. amṛtatamyaḥ; Roth abbreviated. L. cārḍhyaḥ.  
Roth ābhi-. L. pratigrhantu. Roth deva. L. cṇahā.

2. ime gandbhāḥ ṣubhā divyāḥ sarvagandbhāḥ samanvitāḥ |  
pūtā brahmāpavitrenā sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||  
pratigrhantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti gandhāir anulim-  
pati ||

L. brahmāpavitrēṇā sūryā ca. Roth anulimpayati.

3. imāḥ sumanaso divyāḥ surabhirvṛksayonijāḥ |  
pūtā vāyupavitrenā sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||  
pratigrhantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti sumanobhir a-  
bhyarcayati ||

L. imā sumanasore. L. surabhirvṛkṣa-. L. vāyuh-.

4. vanaspatiraso medhyo divyo gandhāḥḍhya uttamāḥ |  
āhārah sarvadevānām dhūpo 'yaṁ <pratigrhyatām ||>  
pratigrhantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti dhūpani dahati ||  
L. vinaspati-. L. gandhāḥ uttamāḥ (for: anuttamāḥ). Roth uttamāḥ.

5. agniḥ cukraç ca jyotiç ca sarvadevapriyo hi saḥ |  
prabhākaro mahātejā dīpo 'yaṁ pratigrhyatām ||  
bālārcir dhūmaçikhas <tu> timirāriḥ svayamprabhuḥ |  
osadhisneliasampanno dīpo 'yaṁ <pratigrhyatām ||>  
pratigrhantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti dipam dadāti.  
Roth dhuma-. Roth svayam pratigrhantu prabhuḥ. L. bhagavanto divā;  
Roth bhagavato devā. L. dadāmi.

6. ime bhakṣāḥ ṣubhā divyāḥ sarvabhakṣāḥ samanvitāḥ |  
pūtā brahmāpavitrenā sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||  
pratigrhantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti sarvabhakṣān  
nivedayati ||

Roth bhikṣā. L. sarvabhakṣām; Roth sarvabhikṣām.

7. hiraṇmayāñç camasān sarpiṣaḥ pūrṇān upaharet |  
L. hiraṇyayāñç. Roth sarpiṣa upahāra. L. omits punctuation.

8. paçcād agneḥ prāṇmukha upaviçya

9. karmaṇe vām ityevamādi

Kanc. I. 36; 58. 5.

10. devasya tvā savitur ity ādityādyebhyo grahebhyo havir  
nirvāpet || 14 ||

Cf. Bloomfield's concordance.

1. athājyabhagānte viçāsalim ity ādityāya haviṣo hutvājyaṁ  
juhuyāt samidha ādhayopatiṣṭhate ||

Quoted by Śāyana at 10. 2, p. 737; 19. 6, p. 266. AV. 17. 1. 1. L. sagid;  
Roth samid.



## 2. cakadhūmam iti somāya

AV. 6. 128. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 6. 127, p. 268.

## 3. tvayā manyo yas te manyo ity aṅgarakāya

AV. 4. 31. 1; 32. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 4. 31, p. 675.

## 4. yad rājānaḥ somasyāṇo yudhān pata iti budhāya

AV. 3. 29. 1; 7. 81. 3. Quoted by Sāyana at 3. 29, p. 494; 7. 85, p. 476. L. yajñyājānaḥ. Roth somasyāṇo.

## 5. sa budhnyād bhadrad adhi creyaḥ prehi brhaspatir na iti brhaspataye

AV. 4. 1. 5; 7. 8. 1; 31. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 7. 6, p. 320; 52, p. 394. Roth praht. L. vṛhaspatir.

## 6. hiraṇyavarṇā nūnam tad asya cakra 'siti cakra

AV. 1. 33. 1; 4. 1. 6; 17. 1. 20 (2. 11. 5). L. n. nam.

## 7. sahasrabāhuḥ puruṣaḥ kena pārṣṇi prāṇāya nama iti cānāiccarāya

AV. 19. 6. 1; 10. 2. 1; 11. 4. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 10. 2, p. 737; 11. 6, p. 86; 19. 6, p. 266. L. -vāhuḥ. L. prāṇāya.

## 8. divyaṁ citraṁ rābū rājānam iti rāhave

Kāu. 99. 2; 100. 2. Roth rahu. L. rājānama.

## 9. yas te prthū stanayitnur devo devān paribhūr rtena ketum kṛvann aketava iti ketave

AV. 7. 11. 1; 18. 1. 30; 20. 26. 6. Cf. Sāyana at 7. 11, p. 328. L. tnatena. Roth ketu. L. kṛvann.

10. ketum kṛvann aketave peço maryā apeçase |  
sam uṣadbhūr ajāyathāḥ || 15 ||

L. kṛvann. L. yeçen. L. ajāyathā; Roth ajāyathāḥ.

## 1. mādūkīr lohitaṅgāya nāiyagrodhir budhāya ca |

ādadhyaṭ samidhaḥ plākṣiḥ sakṣtrā bhārgavāya tu ||

Cf. AVPar. xxvi. 5. 6 ff. A page is transposed in Roth so that 16. 1—17.

4 (incl.) stand after the colophon of the chapter. L. Roth mādūkīr.

Roth -tāngaya nyāiyagrodhir. L. sakṣira.

## 2. ārkī tu ravaye dadyād rāhor āraṇyagomayam |

āudumbaryo guroḥ proktā āçvatthīs tu cānāiccare |

candraya samidhaḥ pālāçṭh ketor ghṛtayutāḥ kuçāḥ ||

L. ārkī ravaye. L. oṁkṛdumbaryo. Roth āçvatthīs. L. cānāiccare.

3. atha cāntāḥ kṛtyādūṣaṇāic cātanaīr mātrnāmabhir vāstos-  
patyāir ājyaṁ juhuyādCf. AVPar. xxxii. 1—5. Quoted in fragments by Sāyana at 1. 7, p. 48; 2. 2, p. 198; 11, p. 243; 14, p. 260; 8. 3, p. 569. L. cāntā. L. mātr-  
nāmabhi. L. juhuyād.

4. abhayenopasthāya tantram parisamāpayed

Cf. AVPar. xxxii. 12. Śāyana at 19, 15, p. 328: abhayenopastisthate.

5. atha dakṣiṇāḥ prayacchati || 16 ||

L. dakṣiṇā. Roth prayachanti.

1. bhārgavāya hayaṁ dadyāt somaputrāya kāñcanam |  
vr̥ṣabhaṁ lohitaṅgāya chagalīm dhūmaketave ||

Roth -āṅgāya.

2. varam āṅgirasāya dadyād adityāya tu gāḥ çubhāḥ |  
vr̥ṣalīm mṛtyuputrāya gajaṁ dadyāt tu rāhave |  
rukmaṁ candramase dadyād etad ācāryaçaśanam ||

L. āṅgirasē. Roth for gajaṁ: mañḍam. L. dadyā tu.

3. gr̥be br̥haspatāu viprān bhojayed ghṛtapāyasam |  
çukre sarvagunaṁ tv annaṁ madhuna çābhighāritam ||

L. vr̥haspatāu. L. bhojayed. L. sarvagṇam. Roth yābhighāritam.

4. çanāiçcare havişyānnaṁ tathā kṣīrāudanaṁ budhe |  
kr̥çarānena ketunām rāhor mānsādanena tu ||

Roth starts to omit pādas bc. L. kṣīrādanu; Roth kṣīradanaṁ. L. vudhe;  
Roth budhāḥ.

5. bhāume guḍāudanaṁ dadyān modakāḥ samalanākṛtam |  
sarpiṣā payasā cāiva sūrye candre tathāudanaṁ ||

Roth guḍāudanaṁ. L. mohakāḥ.

6. samidadhānam eteṣāṁ grahapājā vidhīyate |  
annadānam athāiteṣāṁ eteṣāṁ dakṣiṇā<b> smṛtāḥ ||

L. ekeṣāṁ. L. vadhīyate. L. athāikeṣāṁ ekeṣāṁ. Roth dakṣiṇa.

7. tad etaj janmani karmani yātrayāṁ pratilomeṣu vā graheṣu  
çāntibhāiṣajyaṁ kuryād ity evam āhur manīṣiṇa ity

L. eta janmani. Roth graheṣu | çāntir-. L. āhu. Roth manīṣiṇa.

8. atrāite çloka bhavanti || 17 ||

L. bhavati.

1. yathā samutthitāṁ yantram yantreṇa pratihanyate |  
evam samutthitāṁ ghoram çighrāṁ çāntir vināçayet ||

2. yathā bānaprahārāṇāṁ kavacāṁ bhavati vāraṇam |  
tadvad dāivopaghātānāṁ çāntir bhavati vāraṇam ||

L. vāna-. L. kavacāṁ. L. tadvad devo-.

3. ahīnsakasya dāntasya dharmārjitadhanasya ca |  
nityam ca niyamasthasya sadā cānugrahā grahāḥ ||

L. -dhasya ca. L. sānu, omitting: grahā which is in margin, but cf. next note.

4. *grahā gāvo narendrāḥ ca brāhmaṇāḥ ca viçeṣataḥ |  
pūjitāḥ pratipūjyante nirdahanty apamānitāḥ ||*

1. omits: *grahā*, cf. last note. L *narendrāḥ* ca *vśā-*.

5. *etad grahāṇām ātithyam kuryāt saṁvatsarād api |  
ārogyabalasampanno jīvee ca çaradaḥ çatam ||*

Roth: *-sampannā jīvina çaradaḥ*.

*jīvee ca çaradaḥ çatam iti || 18 ||*

Roth omits.

*iti prathamō 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ ||*

Roth: *mahāçāntiḥ* (read: *-çāntiḥ*) *prathamārđham samāptam*.



*Zum magischen Texte (Journal of the American Oriental Society 1912, p. 434 seq.). — Von Dr. J. N. EPSTEIN, Brest-Litowsk, Rußland.*

Zu dem von *James A. Montgomery* *ibid.* S. 435 veröffentlichten Texte ist Folgendes zu bemerken und berichtigen:

1) Zunächst ist zu lesen (s. die Tafel auf S. 434):

זה וזה על סכרא תחית דרום ביתא

„Zah, zah (fort! fort!) auf den *Biegel* unter der *Höhe* (Plafond) des Hauses“. זה als Verbannungsinterjektion — denn es ist eine Interjektion, wie das vorhergehende יה, syr. und mand. יא, aram. Papyri יה — ist in einem talmudischen Zauberspruch zur Verbannung eines *Löwen* erhalten: ניהא דאריה זה זה, Pes. 112<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup> סכרא ist natürlich das syrische *ṣakrā*, talm. סכרא (סוכרא) „Türriegel“.<sup>2</sup> תחית v. תחית „infra“ ist nach der Tafel ziemlich sicher (weniger wahrscheinlich תחית). (ד)רום-ביתא „Höhe des Hauses“, nicht דרום „südlich“! Vgl. auch das Talmudische עומקא ורומא eines Hauses, BB. 63<sup>b</sup>—64<sup>a</sup>; für „Süden“ gebraucht unser Text, wie wir sehen werden, ein anderes Äquivalent.

2) Von וערפאלא...[וסכרא], unten, zeigt die Tafel bloß: וסכ: ווערפאלא... und daher eine Ergänzung wie [וסכרא], das hier nicht paßt, höchst unwahrscheinlich.

3) *Ibid.* unten, l.: חדאם עליכון שמשא וסינא נודינא עליכון ועברא אסתאנא ואורניא [ש]ותא ונאבלא אסוריהון קורקא נחאשא ועברא... „Untersagt sei euch die Sonne und der Mond, verboten sei euch der *Norden* und *Wes[ten]* der [*O*]sten und *Süden*, ihre (der Teufel) Fessel sind eherner Ringe und eiserne *Riegel*“ usw.

אסתאנא, talmudisch אסתן, אסתנא, syr. selten *ʾastān*, ass.-bab. *istānu* „Norden“ (zu unserer Stelle vgl. den „Nordwind“ im

<sup>1</sup> Zur Etymologie, s. *Montgomery*, *ibid.* S. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Das סכרא scheint eine Zauberkraft gehabt zu haben, s. *Sab.* 67<sup>a</sup>: וסכר דכבא (Var. bei *Aruch*: וסכר עשרי סד סכר).

Zendavesta: „vâtô dsêrvô“ „Dämonenwind“; אוריא „Westen“, wie im Talm., ass. *amuru* (avuru); שותא „Osten“, wie im Talm., ass. *šutu*. Es fehlt nun noch der „Süden“ (im Talm. שדיא, ass. *šadû*) und dieser wird wohl mit נאבלא gemeint sein, welches wohl Metathesis von לאנבא, נאנבא, hebr. נֶבֶל, syr. ܢܒܠܐ ist, wie ähnlich z. B. talm. נינרא „Fuß“ = mand. ܢܝܢܪܐ, Sendschirli לנרא, לנר = ירנלא עברא ist nicht = אברא „Blei“, denn nach der Tafel ist zweifellos דפרולא (ר) zu lesen. Es bedeutet vielmehr, wie häufig im Talm. עברא „Riegel“<sup>2</sup> (Querbalken), entsprechend קרקא, die, wie im Syr. „Ringe“ sind und dienen hier zum Empfangen des „Riegels“. Zu שמחאזא „Semayaza“ des Jubiläumbuches (Montgomery, S. 436), der Gigant שחחואי im Targ. j. Gen. 6, 4, b. Nidda 61<sup>a</sup>, vgl. noch den talmudischen Zauberspruch zur Bändigung eines Dämons, Sab. 67<sup>a</sup> ליטא: חבר ומשמת בר שם בר מינא בשמנא פריט ואיסמטא: Var.: Aruch: בשם מורינא ומוריפת ואיסמטתיה Ms. Oxf. (bei Rabinowicz) בשם מורינא ומוריפת ואיסמטתיה Ms. Mün. (bei Rabinowicz) בשם מורינא ומוריפת ואיסמטתיה (das ב in בשם ist daher jedenfalls sicher).

4) Ibid. l. nach der Tafel: שדיא כול וניפקן וניחון, statt וניחון, vgl. das וניחון, oben.

5) נגיבא (S. 436) ist ein häufiger Name im b. Talmud.

<sup>2</sup> Oder, was mir noch wahrscheinlicher ist, נאבלא (ar. جَبَل „Berg“) ist eine buchstäbliche Übersetzung des ass.-bab. *šadû* „Süden“ vom Stamme *šadu* „hoch sein“ von dem auch das gleichlautende Nomen *šadû* „Berg“ abgeleitet ist (s. Del., HWB. s. v.). Vgl. das נבלא des Targ. j. zu שְׂעִיר, bei dem Samaritaner נבלא (Levy, TWB. I, 123), das „Bergland“, „Hochland“ („Idumea“), das נבל der Bibel (Ps. 83, 8), heute Dschebail, bei den Griechen Γεζαλ, die Gebirgsgegend im Süden des toten Meeres (Ges.-Buhl, s. v. נבל, vgl. s. v. שְׂעִיר). Hervorzuheben ist auch, daß jene Gegend ja im „Süden“ liegt! Zu נבלא vgl. auch das *gablu* (*ga-ab-lum*) bei Rawl. V 28, 842 zwischen ša-du-š (Hoch s., Berg) und a-la-ku („Gehen“), Del. HWB. 193<sup>a</sup> u. 643<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Targ. Jos. 6, 1: בעקרין דנקא, Ps. 107, 16: רשע נחשט ועקרין פרולא.

*Iranian Miscellanies.*—By Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, Aberdeen, Scotland.

a) On the Aramaic Version of the Behistān Inscriptions.

THE value of the fragments of the Aramaic version of the Behistān inscriptions for solving some of the problems in the interpretation of these texts has recently been made evident by Tolman's identification of the Old Persian month Garmapada with Tammuz.<sup>1</sup> These same fragments conclusively clear up two of the most difficult words in all Old Persian literature. The passage Bh. i. 65, the text of which has been definitely settled by Jackson<sup>2</sup> and by King and Thompson,<sup>3</sup> reads as follows: *abičariš gaišāmčā māniyamčā višabišcā*. The principal translations of these words, since this establishment of the text, are: Bartholomae, "Weideland (?), (und) fahrende Habe, (und) liegende Habe, (und) (?)"<sup>4</sup>; Justi, "Volksversammlungen, Gehöfte, Hauskomplexe, (einzelne) Häuser";<sup>5</sup> King and Thompson, "the pasturo-lands, and the herds and the dwelling-places, and the houses";<sup>6</sup> Tolman, "the revenue (?) and the personal property and the estates and the royal residences";<sup>7</sup> Weißbach and Bang, "das Weideland (?), die Viehherden und die Wohnungen, und zwar in den Häusern";<sup>8</sup> Hoffmann-Kutschke, "die Zusammenkünfte des Volkes, die Gehöfte sowohl wie die Hauskomplexe wie die (einzelnen) Klauen".<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Philology*, xxxii, 444 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiv, 84 f., *Persia Past and Present*, p. 196 f.      <sup>3</sup> *Inscription of Darius . . . at Behistūn*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 80, 478, 1168, *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvii, *Anzeiger*, pp. 105–108, reading *abičariš* und *višbiš* (?).      <sup>6</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 9, 64 f., 85, 116, 125 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Altperische Keilinschriften*, p. xv; similarly Weißbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 21, who omits the query and translates *māniyam* by "Wohnung(en)"; like Justi, he reads *višbiš*.

<sup>9</sup> *Altperische Keilinschriften . . . am Berge Bagistān*, pp. 13, 51 f., reading *abičiriš* (?).



The Babylonian version for this passage is lacking, nor do the two New Susian words preserved as the equivalents of *gaibām* and *māniyam*, the ἀραξ λεγόμενα *aš* and *kurtāš* respectively, give any assistance. Fortunately, the Aramaic version contains the equivalents for *māniyamčā viḇabiščā*—נכסיהם ובתיהם, "their wealth and their houses".<sup>1</sup> The word נכס—a *plurale tantum*, like its Syriac equivalent, ܢܚܫܐ—occurs seven times in the Old Testament, the Septuagint rendering being χρηματα in Joshua xxii, 8, II Chronicles i, 11 f., ἐπαρχοντα in Ezra vi, 8, Ecclesiastes v, 18, vi, 2, and ἡγιασ τοῦ βίου in Ezra vii, 26.<sup>2</sup> This term denotes material wealth, as in the mention of "the king's goods, even the tribute beyond the river" (Ezra vi, 8), and in Joshua xxii, 8, נכסים, "wealth", is expressly distinguished from מִקְנֵה, "cattle", just as *gaibām* and *māniyam* are contrasted in Bl. i, 65. As to the etymology of *māniya-*, its translation by נכס suggests that it is to be connected with Sanskrit *mānya-*, "honourable, venerable".

Turning to the second equation—*viḇabiš*: בְּחִיבִישׁ—we are confronted by some difficulty. So far as the syntax is concerned, I see no reason to depart from the view which I formerly expressed—although incorrectly reading *viḇabiš*—that the form is an instrumental neuter plural, used with accusatorial force.<sup>3</sup> As to the form, I have been able to make no advance over my suggestion in a letter to Professor Tolman, incorporated by him in his *Lexicon*,<sup>4</sup> that *viḇabiš* is from the stem *viḇan-*, and is to be compared with Avesta *visan-*, "householder". As in Bartholomae's similar suggestion<sup>5</sup> to explain the difficult Old Persian word *viḇibiš* in Dar. Pers. d, 14, 22, 24, from a stem *viḇin-*, I feel the difficulty of meaning, since *-an-* normally forms nouns denoting a part of the body or *nomina agentis*,<sup>6</sup> rather than words of relationship to something. Despite this, I see at present no alternative but to repeat the suggestion to which I have already referred, that *viḇabiš* means "things

<sup>1</sup> Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 61 A. P. 13447 c, Nr. 1 (Va), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> See, further, Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 647.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiii, 58 f.

<sup>4</sup> P. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> Brugmann, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, p. 332, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II<sup>3</sup>, 1, 292–312.

relating to the house, *rā olēnā*". It may be noted, in this connexion, that the Aramaic, being rendered from the Babylonian rather than from either of the other two versions,<sup>1</sup> does not invariably represent exactly the Old Persian text.<sup>2</sup>

The translation of the Old Persian passage *abičariš gaiḍāmčā māniyamčā viḍabišcā* would accordingly be, "the pasturage, and the live stock, and the wealth, and the home possessions".

There is in these Aramaic fragments a very remarkable passage which has no parallel in any of the other versions of the Behistān inscriptions. This passage, which begins with Old Persian Bh. iv, 37 (Babylonian, 97; New Susian, iii, 63), is as follows:<sup>3</sup>

... אנת מלך וי אחרי תהיה וי יכרב  
 ... [י] מן כרבן שניאן אחר ע[י] וי יכרב  
 ... הודע איד וי עבד אנת וא[יד] הלכת  
 ... [י]כך יאמר שמע וי פרת יאמר  
 ... בר וי מסכן יעבד קי חוי אף קדמתך  
 ... טובך

"Thou who shalt be king after me,<sup>4</sup> the man who lieth,

"... of lies<sup>5</sup> beware mightily ... who lieth,

"... make known how thou hast been created,<sup>6</sup> and how hath been thy going.

"... saith, Hear what he saith before.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ungnad, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent instance of such divergence is the Aramaic rendering of Old Persian *kaḡmata paraitā*, "having assembled, they went" (for the form see Bartholomae, *Grundriss*, I, i, 220 f., *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 501), in Bh. ii, 43, 52, 58, by אסכנשו אול, "they assembled, they went", corresponding to Babylonian *ip-hu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku* or *ip-hu-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku*.

<sup>3</sup> Ungnad, 67, P. 13447b (Vs.), p. 90. For a slightly different rendering see Sachau, *Aramäische Papyri und Ostraka aus einer jüd. Militärkolonie zu Elephantine*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> This use of אחר substantiates the suggestion of Bartholomae (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 77) that אַחַר אַחַר אַחַר in Bh. iv, 37, 68, 87, should be read *aparaḡma*<sup>8</sup> instead of *aparam*; cf. also *arkī'a* (Bab. 105) as the equivalent of *aparaḡma*<sup>8</sup> (Old Persian iv, 68).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Babylonian plural *parāitu* as the equivalent of the Old Persian *drauga*, "lie" (Bab. Bh. 14—Old Pers. Bh. i, 84).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the "making" of the earth, etc., and the "making" of Darius, etc., to be king in Dar. Pers. d, 2 f. (*adadā*), NR a, 1—6, Xerx. Pers. a, 1—4, b, 1—7, etc. (*adā*, *akunaš*)?

<sup>7</sup> The word אַחַר represents Old Persian *\*fratara-*, "prior" (see Ungnad, p. 2, note to line 5).



"... who maketh alms, that man hath also been seen before thee.  
 "... good unto thee," etc.

### b) A New Fragment of the Avesta.

In Manakji Rustamji Unvāla's lithographed edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār, to which more particular reference will be made below, there are a large number of citations from the Avesta, including Westergaard's Fragment 4 (p. 179, l. 15—p. 180, l. 10),<sup>1</sup> but all these, excepting one, are taken from the Avesta as already known. This one exception, which may be considered a new fragment, and as adding one word to the Avesta vocabulary, occurs twice in the *Rivāyats*: first, in a *Rivāyat* of Dastūr Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn Sanjāna, who flourished in the seventeenth century (p. 39, l. 14—p. 40, l. 8); and, second, in a response of the Persian dastūrs to a letter of Barzū b. Qavām-ad-Dīn b. Kaikubād b. Ormazdyār, written in 1015 A. Y. (p. 431, l. 19—p. 432, l. 10).<sup>2</sup> The variants of the two passages are unimportant; the text, according to the first occurrence, with the translation, runs thus: *ahurəm mardəm raēvantəm x<sup>a</sup>aranashvantəm yazamaide. aməšəspəntū huxšabrū huxšānhrō yazamaide. rašnūm razistəm yazamaide. arəštātəmča frādat-gəbəm varədat-gəbəm yazamaide. arəzuxšəm vācīm ya! frādat-gəbəm yazamaide. arəštātəm frādat-gəbəm yazamaide. gəcīm uši-darənm mardəbātəm alax<sup>a</sup>ābrəm yazatəm yazamaide. ašānqm vanhōš sūrā spəntū frəvəšyō yazamaide. vīspəhe a[šə]vāna yazata yazamaide. ušəhenem paiti-raθūm bərəzīm namānimča paiti-ratūm yeuhe hātqm*; "Ahura Mazda, radiant, glorious, we worship; the Amaša Spantas, rightly ruling, fair of form, we worship; Rašnu, most righteous, we worship; and Arštāt, furthering living creatures, increasing living creatures, we worship; the rightly spoken prayer, furthering living creatures, we worship; Arštāt, furthering living creatures, we worship; the mountain Ušidarana, created by Mazda, the happy abode of Aša, the yazad, we worship; the good, mighty, holy fravašis of the righteous we worship; every righteous yazad we worship; Ušahina, the counter-ratu; Barəjya and Nmānya, the counter-ratu; yeuhe-hātqm."

<sup>1</sup> On this fragment see Haas, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 181—187.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg, *Notices de littérature persie*, pp. 43, 67; on Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn see West, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 123.



In this fragment the occurrence of the term *paiti-ratu-*, "counter-ratu", which seems to be found nowhere else in Avesta literature thus far known, is noteworthy. *Ušahina*, *Bərəjya*, and *Nmānya* are frequently mentioned together as *asahe ratu*,<sup>1</sup> and the question arises whether *paiti-ratu-* is synonymous with the ordinary *ratu-*, or whether it bears some special technical meaning.

### c) The Iranian Name בנְדָאנָא.

In the last volume of this *Journal* (pp. 434—438) Professor Montgomery discusses a magical bowl-text which contains the words שְׁמַחֲזָא בְּנִדְאנָא, "Šamhizā, the lord Bagdānā". As Professor Moore suggested to him, this Šamhizā is obviously the fallen angel Semyaza of the Book of Enoch,<sup>2</sup> and it is equally evident that בְּנִדְאנָא is equivalent to שְׁמַחֲזָא. The fallen angel שְׁמַחֲזָא is frequently mentioned in post-Biblical Hebrew,<sup>3</sup> and his name means, according to Schwab,<sup>4</sup> "nom du visionnaire". As שְׁמַחֲזָא is composed of שֵׁם, "name", and חָזָא, "seer", so בְּנִדְאנָא is composed of בָּנָא, "God", and (א)נָא, which is, I think, represented by Modern Persian دان, "knowing" (Pahlavi *dānak*), or else by נָא, "learned, wise" (Pahlavi *dānāk*). If בָּנָא is equivalent to שֵׁם, the latter is a paraphrase of the Ineffable Name.<sup>5</sup> The Iranian appellation בְּנִדְאנָא means "God-knowing", and I suggest that the Semitic appellative שְׁמַחֲזָא should be translated "he who sees the Name"<sup>6</sup> rather than "name of him who sees". I am, of course, aware that שְׁמַחֲזָא scarcely describes the character of the fallen angel, but it was doubtless very appropriate before he fell and wedded one of the "daughters of men".

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *Yasna* i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; vi, 6; xxii, 9; *Gāh* v, 1, 5f.; *Srōš Bāz* 1.

<sup>2</sup> Enoch vi ff.; see Beer *ad loc.*, in his translation in Kautzsch, *Apopocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ii, 217 ff.; Barton, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxi, 165, explains Semyaza as "apparently the Heb. *šemi-az*, 'my name is mighty'."

<sup>3</sup> See Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, ii, 492, and *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv, 573; Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., p. 1594; for the legends especially Grünbaum, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxi, 225—248.

<sup>4</sup> *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie*, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Blau, *Altjüdisches Zaubereisen*, p. 117 ff.; see also *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix, 162—165, xi, 262—264.

<sup>6</sup> I reached this conclusion before I knew the similar view of Nathaniel Schmidt, *Harper Memorial Volume*, ii, 343f.: "Semyaza = שְׁמַח חָזָא, 'he sees the Name, i. e. God,' or שְׁמַח אֵל, 'he surveys the heavens', as he reveals 'the revolution of the world'."

## d) Parsi-Persian Omen Calendars.

I recently published in this *Journal* (xxx, 436—442) and in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume* (pp. 454—464) two studies on Parsi-Persian omen-lists: one on the *Burj-Nāmah*, copied for me on 29 June, 1909, by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana from a manuscript in the Library of the University of Bombay (BU 29); and the other on two brief *maḥnavīs* edited by Salemann in *Travaux du III<sup>me</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, ii, 497 f. It was then unknown to me that another version of the *Burj-Nāmah*, differing in slight details, had been lithographed by Manakji Rustamji Unvāla in his edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār (ii, 193 f.). This work has not yet been published, but has been exhaustively analysed by Rosenberg, in his *Notices de littérature persie*. Through the kindness of the editor and of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, I have received proof-sheets of the volume, and since the readings are better, it seems to me advisable to re-edit the *Burj-Nāmah* from it, particularly as my former translation contained a number of errors, one of which—the rendering of *کودک و زن* (ll. 10, 23) by “boy and woman” instead of “child and wife” (though both are equally possible)—led me unjustly to criticise the moral tone of the poem. I also take this opportunity to correct a few minor errors in the two *maḥnavīs* on which I commented in the *Hoshang Volume*.

The text and translation of the *Burj-Nāmah*, according to Unvāla's edition, together with Dastur Sanjana's variant readings, are as follows:

بنام ایزد مهتر دان دادگر  
حکایت در باب دیدن ماه نو اندرون هر یک برج که میاید  
رطاف خداوند روز دیرسان  
یگویم زهر ماه نو من تو دان<sup>۱</sup>  
ز برج حمد چون به بینی تو ماه  
بکن اندر آن دم بآتش نگاه  
که آن ماه کارت بود خوبتر  
ز گفتار دانا کتون درنگر  
هم از نور بنگر به بینی کاورا  
که آن ماه بیتر بود مر ترا  
چو در برج جوزا به بینی تو ماه<sup>۲</sup>  
بکن اندر آن دم بخواهد نگاه  
بپرهیز از کور و اورا مبین  
که باشد آن ماه نیکوترین  
چو در برج خوجنگ بینی قمر  
ز گفت حکیم این تو بشنو خبر

<sup>۱</sup> BU 29, میتوان.

<sup>۲</sup> BU, در کمتار دان.

<sup>۳</sup> BU, در آن وقت کن تو.



دگر سبزه<sup>۱</sup> خوب یا اوروزان  
 تو در آسمان کن زمانی نگاه  
 مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار  
 مضمون او بشنو از من چنان  
 که نمکین نکردهی تو خود با وجود  
 که خوشحال کردی در آن ماه نوست  
 در آینه و در در آن دم بگو  
 هم از برج عقرب بگویم تو دان<sup>۲</sup>  
 جوان مرد یا شد نه کور و نه کر  
 که آن مه به نیکی رسد خود بسر  
 همانکه نگاه کن ای سیم و زر  
 ببرهیز تا خود شوی شادمان  
 اشیم<sup>۳</sup> و هو<sup>۴</sup> برخوان همانکه سه ره  
 که باشی در آن مه بسی شادمان  
 ای اهاوویز<sup>۵</sup> بخوان تو اینها شنو  
 مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار  
 بلعل و جواهر کن آنکه نگاه  
 بودی شاد و نبود ترا خود زبان  
 که باشد نگاه دار پروردگار

در آن دم نظر کن باب روان  
 ز برج اسد چون به بینی تو ماه  
 بخواه حاجت از پاک پروردگار  
 چو در برج خورشید به بینی تو دان  
 مبین تو چنان رو دگر کسی زدود  
 بخوان ذکر یزدان یصدق و درست  
 چو در برج میزان به بینی قمر  
 بخواه حاجت از کردگار جهان  
 تو ینگر ای مرد تینکو<sup>۶</sup> نظر  
 مبین چیز مکروه ای نامور  
 چو در برج قوس اندر آید قمر  
 مبین روی بیمار را آن زمان  
 ز برج جدی چون به بینی تو مه  
 تو منگر ز بیمار و هم کودکان  
 چو در دل و<sup>۷</sup> بینی همی ماه نو  
 بخواه حاجت از قادر کردگار  
 چو در برج ماهی به بینی تو ماه  
 به بین و بشو شادمان آن زمان  
 همین یست<sup>۸</sup> مارا کنون یاد دار

IN THE NAME OF GOD, COMPASSIONATE, OMNIPOTENT!  
 TRADITION ON THE THEME OF WHAT HAPPENS AT SIGHT  
 OF THE NEW MOON IN EACH SIGN [OF THE ZODIAC].

(1) By the grace of God, Who giveth daily food, I shall tell of each new moon; be thou wise!

(2) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Aries, at that instant gaze on fire;

(3) In order that thy affairs may be better that month, consider now the word of the sage.

(4) Likewise at sight [of the new moon] from Taurus look on an ox in order that that month may be better for thee.

(5) When in the sign of Gemini thou seest the moon, at that instant gaze on an ascetic;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> BU, سبزه را.

<sup>۲</sup> BU omits.

<sup>۳</sup> BU, توان.

<sup>۴</sup> BU, ایام تینکو.

<sup>۵</sup> BU, اشیم اهو.

<sup>۶</sup> BU, دل و در.

<sup>۷</sup> BU, ای اهاوویز.

<sup>۸</sup> BU, همین است.

<sup>۹</sup> Rosenberg (Бурж-нама, p. 8, note 1) regards this reference to the ascetic (زاهد) as a proof of the Indian origin of the *Burj-Nāmah*.



(6) Beware of mirage and look not upon it, in order that that month may be most good for thee.

(7) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Cancer—hark thou to tidings from the words of this sage—

(8) At that instant look on running water, but not on pleasant verdure or plants.

(9) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Leo, gaze a while upon the sky;

(10) Implore thy necessities from the pure Protector [God]; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

(11) When in the sign of Virgo thou seest (the new moon), be thou wise; of its signification hear thou from me thus:

(12) Look not thou, under these circumstances, with sadness<sup>1</sup> on the face of any one else, in order that thou mayest not make thyself distressed with thyself;

(13) Recite thou praise of God with verity and perfectly, in order that thou mayest do happily in that moon, the new one.

(14) When in the sign of Libra thou seest the moon, gaze at that instant on a mirror and on gold;

(15) Implore thy necessities from the Creator of the world, Likewise of the sign of Scorpio I shall tell; be thou wise!

(16) Gaze thou, O man of good appearance, young man of vigour, not blind and not deaf;

(17) Look not on any thing abominable, O famous one, in order that that month may come to an end with goodness.

(18) When the moon entereth the sign of Sagittarius, gaze straightway on silver and gold;

(19) Look not on the face of the sick at that time; beware [of so doing] in order that thou thyself mayest be joyful.

(20) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Capricornus, straightway recite the *Aṣim Vuhū* [*Aṣim rohu*] thrice;

(21) Gaze not on the sick and likewise [not] on children, in order that in that month thou mayest be very joyful.

(22) When in Aquarius thou seest the new moon, recite thou the *Ayā Ahāviryā* [*Yāh ahū vairyā*], listen unto them;

(23) Implore thy necessities from the mighty Creator; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg (p. 9, *cf.*, however, his uncertainty expressed on p. 4) renders "with pride" (*ca. saameumocrie*).

(24) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Pisces, gaze straightway on rubies and pearls;

(25) Look and be joyful at that time; be joyous, and it is no harm to thee.

(26) Even so remember our verses now, in order that the Protector [God] may be guardian.

The two *maḡnavis* (reprinted from the *Hoshang Volume*) on the omens to be drawn from the appearance of snakes on each of the days of the week and in each of the signs of the zodiac are as follows, with their revised translations:

### دیدن مار از خوب و بد هفته

رسد بر آسمانت قصر و ایوان	به شنبه مار بینی روز کیوان
به بینی مار را میکشی ثوابست	به یکشنبه که روز (ز) آفتابست
چو دیدی مار را دلخواه باشد	دو شنبه روز روز ماه باشد
بکن بنیاد اژدر را تو از بین	سه شنبه روز باشد روز مریخ
ترا امروز عیش و عشرت آرد	چهار شنبه که باشد از عطارد
چو دیدی مار کشتی کشتی ابلیس	پنج شنبه که باشد روز برجیس
ترا اتروز میباید کنی عید	بود آدینه روز زهره ناهید

### THE SIGHT OF A SNAKE ACCORDING TO THE GOOD AND BAD OF THE WEEK.

(1) On the Sabbath, the day of Saturn, [if] thou seest a snake, rear unto heaven thy castle and palace.

(2) On the day after the Sabbath, which is the day of the Sun, [if] thou seest a snake, kill it; it is a good work.

(3) Two days after the Sabbath—the day of the Moon it would be—when thou seest a snake, it would be desirable.

(4) Three days after the Sabbath—the day of Mars it would be—[if thou seest a snake,] dig up the serpent's foundation from the root.

(5) Four days after the Sabbath, which would be from Mercury, [if thou seest a snake,] it bringeth thee pleasure and society this day.

(6) Five days after the Sabbath, which would be the day of Jupiter, when thou seest a snake [and] killest it, thou killest Iblis.

(7) Friday is the day of Venus, of Aphrodite; that day [if thou seest a snake,]<sup>1</sup> thou shouldst keep festival.

دوازده برج که ماه باشد	دیدن مار را از خوب و بد
به یمنی مار را بسیار نیکوست	چون در برج حمل باشد مه ایدوست
ترا از مار نیرو مینماید	به برج ثور نیکو مینماید
سروش در زیر سنگ و جوب باشد	مه اندر برج جوزا نیک باشد
طمع از مال و جان خود بریدی	چو در خرچنگ مه تو مار دیدی
فزاید دولت و محنت سر آید	چو در برج اسد بدر اندر آید
چو دیدی مار میخور در مغالی	به برج سنبله باشد هلالی
بود پشت و پناه زور بازو	چو یمنی مار را اندر ترازو
یکشتم ازدها باشد همایون	چو در عقرب قمر گردد نمایان
با کین یمنی دولت از تو	چند مه در برج قوس انداخت بر تو
مبین بر ازدها منمای رخسار	10 چه در جدی قمر گردد بدیدار
ستم بسیار یمنی و جفارا	برج دلو مه شل اشکارا
به یمنی بگذرانی پادشاهی	به برج حوت مه در برج ماهی
خداسازی رسانی بر ضعیفی	اگر هشمار اگر خوشحال و کیفی

THE SIGHT OF A SNAKE ACCORDING TO THE GOOD AND  
BAD OF THE TWELVE [ZODIACAL] SIGNS, [ACCORDING TO]  
WHAT MOON IT IS.

(1) When the moon should be in the sign of Aries, O friend, [if] thou seest a snake, much good it is.

(2) In the sign of Taurus good doth it [the moon] show; to thee from a snake strength doth it show.

(3) The moon in the sign of Gemini should be good; his [the snake's] head should be under stone and stock.

(4) When the moon [is] in Cancer, [if then] thou seest a snake, thou cuttest off hope of thy wealth and life.

(5) When the full moon entereth the sign of Leo, [if then] thou seest a snake, good fortune increaseth, and calamity cometh to a head [i. e. ceaseth].

<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg, who read an advance offprint of my article in the *Hoshang Volume*, does not think that this bracket should be supplied here. The parallelism of the other verses seems to require it, yet it is, of course, true that Friday, as the Muhammadan Sabbath, might form an exception to the other days of the week.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg suggests *زور و پناه*.



(6) Should the new moon be in the sign of Virgo when thou seest a snake, eat on earthenware.<sup>1</sup>

(7) When thou seest a snake in Libra, it [the snake] is thy protector and asylum, [and] the might of thine arm.

(8) When the moon appeareth in Scorpio, it would be fortunate for the killing of a serpent.

(9) When the moon darteth his ray in the sign of Sagittarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou dost customarily see wealth anew.

(10) When the moon doth make its appearance in Capricornus, look not on a serpent, show not thy face.

(11) [If] the moon becometh visible in the sign of Aquarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou seest [*i. e.* sufferest] much oppression and cruelty.

(12) [If] the moon [be] in the sign of Pisces, in the sign of the Fish, [if thou seest a snake,] thou seest the passing of sovereignty.

(13) If [thou art] prudent, if happy and joyous, thou causest the divine compassion to come unto [thy] weakness.<sup>2</sup>

As supplementary to my former studies, I may note that Rosenberg assigns both the *Burj-Namah* and the *Mār-Namah* (the latter edited by Modi, Bombay, 1893) either to Anūšīrvān ibn Marzbān of Kirmān, who flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or to one of his pupils.<sup>3</sup>

While I have endeavoured, largely on the basis of Rosenberg's criticism on my article in this *Journal* and his pencil notes on the *Hoshang* offprint, to correct the errors of reading and translation to which I confess, I remain unchanged regarding the only matter which I regard as of real importance in this connexion—the problem of the ultimate source of this whole type of Parsi-Persian omen-literature. I have long been perfectly aware of the existence of snake-cults in India, though I had overlooked the mentions of moon-omens in India made by al-Birūnī (*India*, tr. Sachau, ii, 97; *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 335); but these are scarcely of a weight sufficient to make any alteration in my theory. I have also long known that,

<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg, reading می خور, translates "drink wine in an earthen cup".

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg translates "thou reachest God's compassion with the feeble".

<sup>3</sup> Rosenberg, *Notices*, 11—13, 49, *Бурж-нама*, 4.

as Rosenberg says, there was active communication between India and Persia in the Sasanian period, and long before; and that books of Indian authorship were translated into Pahlavi, and later into Persian and Arabic. It would indeed be strange if Indian works on astrology and divination had not been among this number.

But all this seems to me to be beside the mark. I myself mentioned, in the *Hoshang* paper, abundant instances of ophiomancy from India, Burmah, Melanesia, Greece, Italy, and the Balto-Slavs, etc. Instances of omens from the new moon are as wide-spread as the lunar light. Yet among only one people was the omen-system drawn up in regular and exact calendrical form—the Babylonians. If we assume an Indian source for such omen-lists as are here studied, we can allege in support of this view only the fact that omens were unsystematically drawn from moon and snakes, and the possibility that Indian works upon these omens were translated by Persians or Arabs, although no Indian book of this character is thus far known to exist. My own belief is still the one which I expressed in the *Hoshang* Volume: "In view, then, of the facts that omens from snakes cannot be explained as Zoroastrian, and that, while sporadic portents are drawn from serpents among Hebrews, Hindus, Burmese, Melanesians, Romans, Greeks, and Lithuanians, there is no systematic development of ophiomancy among any of these peoples, there seems to me but one possible derivation for the Persian *Mār-Nāmah*, for only among the ancient Babylonians was there at once a perfected ophiomancy and a regular calendar form for it . . . I would tentatively suggest that the alleged Zoroastrian ophiomancy is, in reality, a survival of Babylonian lore on the same subject. Whether this knowledge was transmitted orally, or how it received its recrudescence, of which the first trace known to me at present is al-Birūnī's record, is a problem I cannot touch. I believe, however, that more than one element in Zoroastrianism, even as recorded in the Avesta, will ultimately prove to have Babylonian influence as at least a factor. The West of Asia has been for milleniums a fusing-furnace of religions; Sumerians and Babylonians, Jews and Persians, Gnostics, Mandaeans, and Manicheans, Muhammadan sects, and Nestorian Christianity have all contributed their share. In this snake-calendar, perhaps, is one indebtedness of the later Parsis to Babylonia."



In this same article I mentioned the close parallelism of the *De Ostentis* of Johannes Lydus to the Babylonian omen-literature. Since I wrote that paper, it has been shown by Bezold and Boll<sup>1</sup> that much of Greek astrology, as in lunaries, brontologies, sterologies, seismologies, etc., was modelled on, and, at least in part, more or less directly translated from, Babylonian tablets. If Babylonian astrology thus lingered on, and was carried to Greece, it is still more probable that it long survived in its native home. In the absence of any Indian work showing either in form or in spirit the slightest kinship to such compositions as the *Burj*- and *Mār-Nāmāh*, and with the rich abundance of Babylonian omen-literature which is amazingly like this portion of Parsi-Persian, I can only abide by my conviction that these Iranian texts are to be derived from Babylonian, and not from Indian, sources.

#### c) Modern Persian *bī*-: Lithuanian *bē*-.

In Modern Persian the future, the subjunctive, and the imperative are formed by the aid of the particle  $\text{بـ}$ , found in Afyān as *bā*-, in Kurdish as *b-* (*bē*-, *bī*-, *bā*-, *bū*-), in Talīš as *bā*-, in Gilaki as *bē*-, in Mazandarāni as *bā*-, in Gabri as *e*-, etc.<sup>2</sup> In Pahlavi the form is *bē*- (cf. the antevocalic  $\text{بـ}$  in Modern Persian), and in Pāzand *bō*-. The fact that in Pahlavi *bē*- is regularly rendered in Huzvarešh by *barā* ( $\text{بار}$ ), "except, besides, without," has led some<sup>3</sup> to consider the verbal particle *bē*- identical with the preposition *bā*-. The correct view regarding the particle *bē*- is, however, that of Salemann,<sup>4</sup> who connects it with the Avesta intensive particle *bōi*-, which is compounded of Avesta *bā*- + *i*-.<sup>5</sup> The cognates of *bā*- are numerous,<sup>6</sup> and are traceable to the monosyllabic bases *\*bhā* and *\*bhē*:

<sup>1</sup> "Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern", *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1911, *Abhandlung* vii.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, I, ii, 220, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, 213 f., Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, no. 143; *Grundriß*, I, ii, 150, West, *Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 249. On the source of *bē*-, "without", see Salemann, *Grundriß*, I, i, 284, 318, Horn, *ib.* I, ii, 20, 160.

<sup>4</sup> *Grundriß*, I, i, 311.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 962, 912.

<sup>6</sup> Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 619, Feist, *Etymo-*



\**bhā*: Full grade: Avesta *bā*, Armenian *ba(y)* (?),<sup>1</sup> Old Bulgarian *bo*;

Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bà*, Gothic *-ba(i)*,<sup>2</sup> Lettish *-ba*.

\**bhē*: Full grade: Greek *φῆ*.

Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bè*, *be*, Old Prussian *bhe*.

Thus far, however, it seems not to have been suggested that an exact etymological analogue to the Modern Persian verbal particle *—* is to be found in Balticon Lithuanian *be-* prefixed to verbs adds a continuative force, as *be-vargstū*, "I am continually miserable", *mān bē-kalbant*, "while I continued speaking";<sup>3</sup> and in Old Lettish *-ba* was affixed to verbal forms to give a similar modification of meaning, as *lāidi-ba*, "let it continue to be".<sup>4</sup>

*logisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, p. 40, Bernker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 36, Trautmann, *Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 311.

<sup>1</sup> On this difficult word see Häbschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 427 f.

<sup>2</sup> On *-ba* beside *-ba* see Brugmann, p. 669.

<sup>3</sup> Kurschat, *Grammatik der litauischen Sprache*, pp. 130, 385, and especially Leskien, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xiv, 92. The relationship stated to exist between Lithuanian *bē* and *bei* by Gauthiot, *ib.* xxvi, 357, and Trautmann, p. 311, seems uncertain, for *bei* would appear to be the reduced grade of the base *\*b(h)ei*. Osthoff, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv, 229, connects *bei* with Old High German *bē*; the latter is connected with Sanskrit *abhi*, with the form *abhi-* in *abhitarī*, "con-rushing", *abhimānī*, "one of the Agnis", *abhi-lāpālāp*, "lamenting".

<sup>4</sup> Bielestein, *Lettische Sprache*, ii, 372 f.

*The names of two Kings of Adab.* — By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

In the winter of 1903/4 Dr. Edgar J. Banks discovered at Bismya the statue of an ancient king. The statue bears on its right upper arm the inscription: 'E-SAR LUGAL-DA-UDU LUGAL UDNUN'. In an article in *AJSL*, XXI, 59, Banks in 1904 interpreted the inscription as follows: "(Temple) Eshar. King Daddu. King of Udnun." Dr. Banks suggested that Daddu was equivalent to David! This interpretation was written in Babylonia without the use of Brünnow's *Ideographs*, so that Banks did not then know the Semitic name of the city. In 1905 Thureau-Dangin in his *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, 216, 217, rendered the inscription as Semitic, thus: *é-sar šarrum da-lu šar adab*<sup>1</sup>, "E-sar, roi fort, roi d'Adab". The same scholar in his *Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königinschriften*, 1907, 152, 153, transliterates as in his earlier work, rendering: "E-sar, der mächtige König, König von Adab (Udab, Usab)." Through the authority of Thureau-Dangin the name of the king was generally accepted as Esar.

We have now before us Dr. Banks long delayed *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab*, in which he takes up again (p. 198ff.) the discussion of the translation of this little inscription. He maintains that from an examination of the many inscriptions from Adab, which are as yet unpublished, but which were accessible to him at Bismya, it is clear that E-SAR is the name of the temple and not of the king. He also points out that the Code of Hammurapi (col. iii, 67-69) shows that the real name of the temple was E-MAĜ, and hence in the earlier writing the signs were read E-MAĜ. The first of these contentions of Banks is borne out by material published in his book. The vase inscription (p. 201) of a king of Kish, whom

he calls Barki, but which should be read Maški<sup>1</sup> (or more probably Mēki) is in front proof of it. The inscription reads: 'MĒ-KI 'LUGAL KIŠ 'E-SAR 'IL-IL 'BIR-IS-SI 'GAR PA-TE-SI UD-NU<sup>2</sup>, "Mēki, king of kish, to E-sar brought, Birissi being Patesi of Adab." Here E-SAR is clearly the name of the temple to which the king of Kish brought the vase.

The copper inscription (Banks, p. 200) proves either that the temple was really named E-MAH or that there was a temple named E-MAH in Adab, or that the sign MAH had also the value SAR. It runs: (I) 'MAH 'E-SI-NIM-PA-UD-DU 'GAR PA-TE-SI 'UD-NUN<sup>3</sup> E-MAH MU-NA-RU (II) 'UR-BI KI KU 'ITU BASI, "(For) the god Makh Eshunimpaudu, being Patesi of Adab, Emakh built; its foundations (were laid) in the earth, month Basi." Dr. Poebel has shown me a list of temple-names, which is to appear in his forthcoming volume, in which the temple at Adab is spelled out E-SAR-Ra. This proves that the sign SAR was read *sar* and not *mah*. Either, then, the sign MAH had also the value *sar*, or there were two temples in Adab. In the present state of our knowledge we do not know which horn of this dilemma to accept. But whether there was one or two temples in Adab, it is now certain that one of them was called E-sar. Esar is not, then, the name of the king, but of the temple and is to be read Emah. Banks is, however, wrong in his reading of the name of the king. He still contends (*Bismya*, 202) that the king's name is to be read Da-udu and that it explains the name David. The inscription must be read "Esar: Lugaldauu, king of Adab". Lugal-da-udu is the king's name. It is parallel to Lugal-ušum-gal, Lugal-pad-da, Lugal-sag-ga, Lugal-temen-na, and other well known Sumerian names.

The name of another king of Adab is given us in a vase inscription pictured by Banks, *Bismya*, 264. It reads: 'E-SAR 'MĒ-SI-TUG 'LUGAL 'UD-NUN, "Esar: Mēshitug, king of Adab".

<sup>1</sup> The reading BAR would require L, not S. The sign seems to be T; cf. the writer's *Babylonian Writing*, 478.

<sup>2</sup> This given us the name of one of the mouths in the calendar of Adab. Each of the early Babylonian cities had a different calendar.



*Kugler's Criterion for Determining the Order of the Months in the Earliest Babylonian Calendar.* — By  
GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.<sup>1</sup>

In a paper read before the Oriental Society a year ago, the difficulties which confront the students of the early Babylonian calendar were pointed out, and some of the consequent diversity of opinion concerning it among scholars was noted. During the year that has passed Father Kugler has proposed in his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Buch II, II. Teil, I. Heft, p. 213ff., a new criterion for determining the order of the months. Many of the tablets have at the end of the account the words BA-AN or GAR-AN preceded by a numeral. Kugler holds that these numerals refer to monthly payments, and that the number refers to the payment of the month previous to that in which the tablet is dated. It is known from a passage in Gudea<sup>2</sup> that EZEN-BAU was the first month. Kugler finds a tablet dated in EZEN-BAU which concludes with XII BA-AN, which he takes to mean 12 payments, and to refer to the distribution made in the preceding months. He holds that the accounts were not written up until the month following that in which payments were made. This accounts for the number 12 on a tablet in the month EZEN-BAU. From this one fixed example he makes a general rule. A tablet that ends with III BA-AN or III GAR-AN belongs to the fourth month; one that has at its close VIII BA-AN belongs to the ninth month; if the months are named, their position in the calendar is, he holds, fixed.

Kugler himself is, however, confronted with the difficulty that, when the month name is the same, the numbers sometimes vary. Thus in the fourth year of Urkagina a month is marked IV BA-AN and in his fifth year, III BA-AN. Kugler

<sup>1</sup> Presented in March, 1913.  
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<sup>2</sup> Stat. E. V, 1-2; G III. 5.  
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concludes that an intercalary month had been inserted in Urkagina's fourth year, and had pushed the months forward one place. It seems strange that the intercalary month should be introduced early in the year and not at its end, but for the moment we pass that difficulty by.

Langdon has tentatively accepted Kugler's rule, declaring that "the principle introduced by the genius of Kugler can be employed in settling the position of a month, but that certainty can be obtained only by the consistent evidence of several tablets."<sup>1</sup> Pinches accepts it also in theory,<sup>2</sup> though he does not place much reliance on it.

If Kugler had really discovered a principle which would throw light on this difficult problem, no one would rejoice more than I. Unfortunately his induction is contradicted by much evidence that was in his hands when he wrote, and since his work appeared Dr. Hussey's important publication of Harvard tablets has given us a much larger number of texts by which to test Kugler's principle. When tested by all the available material, the theory utterly breaks down. In the case of EZEN-<sup>3</sup>BAU the month for which the most material exists, two tablets dated in this month bear the desired subscription XII BA-AN, viz: TSA 10; H<sup>3</sup> 27, but one has the subscription XI BA-AN (DP 112), another XI GAR-AN (Nik.<sup>4</sup> 64), while two have for their subscription, IV BA-AN, (TSA 20; H 10). If, then, Kugler's principle were correct, EZEN-<sup>3</sup>BAU would occur three times in the year; it would be at once the first, the fifth, and the twelfth month! Each of these positions for it is supported by two texts, so that there is only Gudea's inscription to act as an arbiter among them. Still another tablet (Nik. 1), if this rule were followed, would make AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA also the first month!

Again the evidence is conflicting in the case of EZEN-BULUK-KU-<sup>4</sup>NINA. Kugler's principle would make it the second month on the authority of Nik. 57 and H 6, but the tenth month on the authority of Nik. 6. Similarly the month SIG-<sup>5</sup>BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA would be the fourth month on

<sup>1</sup> PSBA. XXXIV, 257.

<sup>2</sup> PSBA. XXXV, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolski's publication of Likhatchef's collection.

the authority of H 9, but the twelfth month on the authority of Nik. 63. Were we to take into account month names which vary in their spelling, but which probably refer to the same month, further proof of the impossibility of deducing any rule from these subscriptions might be obtained, but such proof is not needed.

In reality the tablets on which these subscriptions are found are not all accounts of the same class. Those labeled GAR-AN with one exception record the distribution of grain for the wages or food of donkeys and the men in charge of the donkeys. The donkeys assume the most important place in these tablets because they are placed first and are most numerous. This statement is true of TSA 34, 35, RTC 51, Nik. 57, 64, 66, H 31, 34, 35, 36. The one exception occurs in RTC 55, which deals exclusively with 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, which Pinches thinks may have been some kind of wheat.<sup>1</sup> This exception is, however, more apparent than real, for 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, whatever it was, figures in the donkey tablets also; see H 31 and Nik. 57. It is quite possible that the yearly accounts of ass-hire might, for economic reasons, begin with a different month from the yearly accounts of the wages of the employes of the harem.

An examination of the BA-AN accounts reveals the fact that they are not all of one class. Thus TSA 20 and H 10, which are dated in EZEN-BAU and have the subscription IV BA-AN, record payments to herders of she-asses (SIB-AMA-GAN-ŠA-ME), fresh-water fishermen (HA-A-DUG-GA), gardeners (NU-ŠAR), head farmers (SAG-APIN), cow-punchers (LID-RU-ME), carpenters (NAGAR), overseers (MU-ME), scribes (DUP-ŠAR), shepherd of the wool-bearing-sheep (SIB UDU-SIG-KA-ME), porters (PA-IL-ME), bird-catchers (RI-HU-ME), etc. There are some others whose functions are not certainly determined, but in general it is clear that these men had to do with out-door affairs.

Another group of tablets has to do with the royal harem. These also bear BA-AN after their numbers. The names contained in them are those of women, boys and girls, though three or four men are included. To this series belong TSA 10,

<sup>1</sup> PSBA. XXXV, 31.



DP 112, Nik. 1, H 20, 21, 22 and 23. These include maid-servants, pages, wool-workers (weavers), and a few men.

These tablets, which range in date from Lugalanda's sixth year to Urkagina's sixth year, all state that a certain Lugalpa-ud-du was SIB-DUN; i. e. the same officer was in charge of all these payments.

Another group contains a greater variety of workmen and takes in both men and women. This group includes TSA 18, RTC 54, DP 113, 114, 116, 117, Nik. 2, 16, H 15, 26 and 27. This series is by no means so uniform as the other two; it contains a far greater variety of workers, some tablets mentioning but one or two classes and others a considerable number. Thus TSA 18 records the pay of NAGAR, a carpenter, KI-SIG, "workers in wool" (weavers?), women of the palace, and QA-ŠU-DU, whose occupation is not determined. RTC 56 mentions GIN-UŠ "weighers", RI-HU bird-catchers, SIB-GUD "ox-herds", NU-ŠAR "gardeners", DUP-SAR "scribes", NAGAR "carpenters", SIB-AMA-GAN-ŠA "herders of she-asses", SIB-ANSU "ass-herds", SIB-UDU-SIG "shepherds of wool-sheep", and HA-A-DUG-GA "fresh-water fishermen". To these some of the others, as DP 113, and Nik. 9 add IGI-NU-DU "assistant gardeners", DU-A-KUD "diggers", NI-DU "gate keepers" and others. This list is by no means exhaustive. Some of the tablets mention PA-LI "porters" NIMGIR "stewards", SAG-NANGA "chiefs of districts" or "sections", ŠU-I "branders" or "barbers" etc. This group of tablets at times seems almost identical with the first group, and at times almost identical with the second, since, as in the modern east, women seem to have been employed in out-door work. That all such accounts should begin their year at the same time is pure assumption; the fact that these numbers, when attached to the same month, differ so much is proof that, even if these accounts recorded monthly payments, such was not the case.

Kugler's criterion thus turns out to be no criterion at all. It rests upon no basis of fact.

As Kugler's criterion breaks down, his evidence for the year with an intercalary month fails. We can, however, from other evidence prove that the fourth year of Urkagina was an intercalary year. As pointed out last year, DP 99, a tablet dated in the year mentioned, contains the name of an intercalary

month.<sup>1</sup> It was the custom in Babylonia to introduce the intercalary month at the end of the year. The year at Lagash, as previously shown,<sup>2</sup> began in the autumn. Before the time of the dynasty of Ur a new calendar was introduced according to which the year began in the spring. In the earliest calendar the intercalary month fell about August; in the later calendar, about February. The tablets from the time of the First dynasty of Babylon reveal survivals of both systems; ITU KIN-<sup>a</sup>NANA II<sup>ka</sup>, which corresponds roughly to August, being the intercalary month in CT VIII, 3, No. 12, while ITU DIR-ŠE-GUR-KUD, which corresponded roughly with February, was ordinarily the intercalary month. Originally the ordinary succession of the months in the year was not disturbed. Intercalary months were inserted at the end. When the beginning of the year had been pushed back to the spring by the introduction of a new calendar, two precedents survived; one favored the introduction of the intercalary month at the end of summer, the other at the end of winter. Both customs can be traced in First Dynasty tablets. If ITU KIN-<sup>a</sup>NANA was the intercalary month, the last six months in the year would be pushed forward one place in the enumeration. Perhaps it was this custom which led at least once in the time of the First Dynasty to making Nisan the intercalary month. This appears to have been the case once in the reign of Abishu (cf. CT VIII, 27, No. 320). Of course this would push all the months for the year forward one place, as Kugler supposes was done in the time of Ur-kagina, but it is hazardous to base a theory on the supposition that such irregularities had occurred before the mixture of precedents from different calendars had prepared the way for it.

Kugler has called attention<sup>3</sup> to the fact that the label sent by Barnamtarra, wife of Lugalanda, with her contributions to certain festivals (DP 25), shows that the feast EZEN-AB-Ê occurred in the same month as EZEN-<sup>a</sup>BAU. This had been recognized by me as a possibility,<sup>4</sup> though I hesitated to adopt the view. It is, however, undoubtedly correct.

The same label of Barnamtarra (DP 25) affords other

<sup>1</sup> See JAOS. XXXIII, 5 ff.    <sup>2</sup> JAOS. XXXI, 253.    <sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 219.

<sup>4</sup> JAOS. XXXI, 256 n.



evidence which Kugler has overlooked. The mutilated sign at the beginning of col. i, 3 is not DUB as Allotte de la Fuye supposed, but EZEN,<sup>1</sup> and the tablet records the succession of feasts: EZEN-<sup>2</sup>LUGAL-ERIM<sup>3</sup>, EZEN-AB-Ê, EZEN-KISAL, and EZEN-<sup>4</sup>BAU. This testimony confirms the conjecture which I made three years ago on other grounds, that ITU EZEN-<sup>2</sup>LUGAL-ERIM immediately preceded ITU EZEN-<sup>4</sup>BAU.

Langdon and Pinches have both written on the calendar of Lagash in PSBA during the past year. The latter mentions the calendar only incidentally and with all reserve; the former finds himself beset with difficulties from conflicting evidence. A postscript to his last article<sup>2</sup> expresses opinions diametrically opposed to those in his previous article.

Nevertheless in this wavering some things of interest have developed. He has now come around to my view that the month name ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-SUB-A-A is a reference to the star Sirius. Since it now appears from the computations of the astronomer, Dr. Frothingham, that at 2500 B.C. the heliac setting of Sirius occurred on April 13th and its heliac rising on July 3rd, Langdon would now interpret SUB in the month name as SUB "be bright", "shine" rather than SUB "incline", "fall". This is probably right. It involves, however, no change in my previous arrangement of the calendar.

Langdon still believes<sup>3</sup> that the harvest in Babylonia came in the month May-June, because in the list of months published in VR 43 line 13 calls the month *Simanu arah šî-ir-i eburî*, or "month of the grain harvest". The document in question is, however, an Assyrian document; and the statement referred to is an Assyrian statement, true of Nineveh and its environs, but not true of southern Babylonia. Dr. Talcott Williams, whose boyhood was passed in that region, writes me: "The harvest in Mosul comes May-June. It is earlier from Baghdad to Bussorah by at least a month." The statement for Mosul is confirmed by Layard.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Williams' statement is corroborated by Mr. D. Z. Noorian, who writes: "In southern

<sup>1</sup> Allotte de la Fuye, in a private letter, admits that this is the probable reading.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PSBA. XXXV, 49 ff. with XXXIV, 248 ff.

<sup>3</sup> PSBA. XXXV, 60. <sup>4</sup> *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, 361 ff.



Babylonia barley is harvested in the latter part of March; immediately after barley wheat is harvested, and so rice, rather early in April. Round about and south of Nippur all tender vegetation dies and dries up by the end of March except such as grows along canals or swamps.<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed by a statement of Hilprecht's.<sup>2</sup> The harvest at Lagash was earlier by from one to two months than at Mosul. All European scholars have based their theories of the calendar of Lagash on a statement intended for Nineveh. Their systems are accordingly wrong. The persistence of the agricultural seasons, unchanged through the centuries, is the surest datum on which we can build.

Two years ago I was led through pure conjecture to place the month ITU UZ-NE-GÜ-RA-A in the season Dec.-Jan. Recently a section of Hammurabi's laws has seemed to me to be evidence for a Babylonian agricultural custom which confirms the conjecture. In order to make the point clear it is necessary to quote two sections.

§ 57. If a shepherd cause his sheep to eat vegetation and has not made an agreement with the owner of the field, and without the consent of the owner has pastured his sheep, the owner of the field shall harvest the field, and the shepherd, who without the consent of the owner of the field caused his sheep to eat the field, shall pay the owner of the field in addition 20 GUR of grain for each BUR of land.

§ 58. If, after the sheep have come up out of the fields and are mingled<sup>3</sup> on the public common by the city gate, a shepherd turn his sheep into a field and cause the sheep to eat the field, the shepherd shall oversee the field which he has caused to be eaten, and at harvest time shall measure to the owner of the field 60 GUR of grain for each BUR of land.

It would seem from these sections of the code that it was a Babylonian custom to let the flocks graze in the fields until after the crops had been planted in the autumn and had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. JAOS. XXXI, 259 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> The verb is *it-ta-ah-la-lu*, which has been a puzzle to scholars. Schell rendered "et que le troupeau (?) en entier à l'intérieur de la porte s'est déjà glissé"; Harper, "have crowded their way out" (of the gate); Johns, "have passed into" (the common fold by the city gate); Ungnad [*sie sich ein Schlupfloch (?)*] "gegraben haben"; Rogers, "closed within" (the gate). This Babylonian *ittahlalu* has the force of the 8th stem of the Arabic *جَلَّ*, which means among other significations, "be put in disorder" or "confusion".

grown sufficiently so that crop might be harmed by the grazing of sheep; and that later the flocks were brought in from the fields and turned into a common by the city gate. It seems safe to assume that such an agricultural custom would be general and not confined to one city, and that it would apply to all flocks whether of sheep or goats. As the crops were sown in November the month UZ-NE-GÜ-RA-A "the month they call the goats", i. e. to bring them up from the fields, would naturally fall in Dec.-Jan., where I placed it. The conjecture has, then, some slight confirmation. The changes which a year's progress in knowledge would lead me to make in my previous arrangements of the months are indicated in the following list of month names, in which such new readings of the signs are adopted as seem to be established.

- |                              |   |                                  |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| First month, Sept.-Oct.,     | { | ITU-EZEN-BAU                     |
|                              | { | ITU-EZEN-AB-Ê                    |
|                              | { | ITU EZEN-AB-Ê-LAGAŠ <sup>1</sup> |
| Second month, Oct.-Nov.,     | { | ITU EZEN-BULUK-KU-ANINA          |
|                              | { | ITU EZEN-ŠE-KÜ-ANINA             |
|                              | { | ITU GAR-KA-ID-KA <sup>2</sup>    |
| Third month (??), Nov.-Dec., |   | ITU ŠI-GAR-MA                    |
| Fourth month, Dec.-Jan.,     |   | ITU UZ-NE-GÜ-RA-A                |
| Fifth month, Jan.-Feb.,      | { | ITU GAL-ŠAG-GA                   |
|                              | { | ITU GAL-UNUG <sup>3</sup> -GA    |
| Sixth month, Feb.-March,     | { | ITU AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA              |
|                              | { | ITU AMA-UDU-TUK                  |
| Seventh month,               | { | ITU ŠE-GUR-KUD                   |
|                              | { | ITU GA-UDU-UR                    |
| March-April,                 | { | ITU GA-UR                        |
|                              | { | ITU SIG-BA                       |
|                              | { | ITU SIG-BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA-A       |

<sup>1</sup> H 17.

<sup>2</sup> The reading is not certain. Dr. Hussey reads ITU NIK-KA-ID-KA, which would mean, "month of the possession of the rivers", or month of high water. On this reading the month would correspond to May-June, when the water was at its height.

Eighth month, April-May,	{	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-IL-LA- <sup>a</sup> NINA
		ITU UDU-ŠE-A-IL-LA
		ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA-TIL-LA-BA <sup>1</sup>
		ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA
		ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-SU
		ITU ŠE-GAR-UDU
		ITU GUR-DUB-BA-A
		ITU GUR-IMI-A-TA
Ninth month, May-June,	{	ITU GUR-IMI-GABA-A
		ITU ŠI-NAM-DUB-NI-BA-DUR-BA-A
		ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A
Tenth month, June-July,	{	ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA
		ITE EZEN- <sup>a</sup> NE-GUN-NA
Eleventh month, July-Aug.,	{	ITU EZEN-BULUK-KU- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-SU
		ITU EZEN-ŠE-KU- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-SU
		(?) ITU <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA-
		SUR-RA-KA-NA-NI-DU-DU
Twelfth month, Aug.-Sept.,	{	(?) ITU AN-TA-SUR-RA
		ITU EZEN- <sup>a</sup> LUGAL-ERIM <sup>14</sup>
		ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-
Intercalary month,	{	ŠUB-A-A
		ITU BABBAR-MIN-GAL-LA-A

<sup>1</sup> H 20.



*Two Forged Antiques.* — By RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

Archaeological frauds have been multiplying rapidly of late, and this country has become a dumping-ground for forgeries of many kinds. Not a few modern antiques—aged long before their time—have found a resting place in our public and private collections.

It has fallen to my lot to assist in the exposure of several such frauds. In 1890 I brought to the attention of this Society an Alhambra vase belonging to this category; in 1909, a pair of beautiful doors said to have come from the madrasah of the Mameluke Sultan Barkuk, in Cairo; and in the same year, a manuscript of that arch-forger of Arabic History in the Island of Sicily, Vella. This last-named forgery is one of the two described in the following pages.

**A. A Remarkable Gold Amulet.**

During the last five or six years a certain number of amulets made of gold or silver foil have come to light, covered for the most part with Hebrew inscriptions. With the exception of one or two, these amulets are now in the possession of the New York Public Library. They are said to have been found in graves excavated at Irbid in the Hauran; a statement which rests entirely upon the good faith (God save the mark!) of the dealers themselves. At the last meeting of this society, Professor Montgomery favored us with a translation of two of these amulets. Since then, one further copy has been brought to this country, which raises the number of these objects in the New York Public Library to six. It is with the sixth that the present paper has to do.

In size and general appearance, it is easily recognized as belonging to the same class as the other amulets, though it is the first of the larger size to be presented in gold. As an ord-

inary amulet, it would not especially arouse our interest; but when we come to examine the writing upon it, our curiosity is engaged. The surface is divided into two fields, which are evidently quite distinct one from the other. The first field contains writing evidently meant to be either Phoenician or old Aramaic—a strange circumstance in itself, as the previous finds seem to point to a community of Jews living in Irbid during the first centuries of our era, when the Aramaic script had long given way to the so-called square characters. This circumstance, however, might pass; it would only make it necessary that we revise our dates in connection with this community. But the Aramaic inscription contains nothing but variations of portions of the ordinary Semitic alphabet, first in its regular and secondly in its reverse order; the so-called *abjad*, and its complement the *tashraf*. Even so, we might hesitate to declare ourselves doubters, when we remember the many uses made of the alphabet by mystics of early times and down through the Middle Ages; or, again, our amulet-maker might have belonged to the class of simple-minded and God-fearing men, like the monk in the story of Luther, who told merely the alphabet on their beads, preferring that God himself should put the letters into words pleasing in His sight. Yet, we are led to doubt the simplicity of the simple-minded man in our own case, for he has mixed up Phoenician or Aramaic letters of various epochs and has used some which belong to no epoch at all. Finally, at the end of the first two fields, he has added a line of letters that to all intents and purposes are Samaritan in character.

The examination of the second field confirms us as doubters. The Aramaic inscription in equivocal characters to which is attached a line of Samaritan is bad enough; but when to this is joined an old Babylonian inscription, the climax is certainly reached. For the Babylonian inscription is an old acquaintance found on a mace head of Sargon of Agade, whose name and title it gives.<sup>1</sup>

This much, at least, can be said: the forger of the amulet was a man of no ordinary talent. He certainly had imagin-

<sup>1</sup> Shar ganni | Shar ali | Shar A-gu-de <sup>ki</sup> | a-na | the Shamash | in the Ud-Kib- | nun <sup>ki</sup> (=Sippar). See, e. g. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 52; Radanu p. 161, note.

ation, and a sense of historical proportion, if historical importance is measured by bigness. He has roamed at will over a space of some three or four thousand years; but we should be thankful to him for this, for it has enabled us the more easily to follow his somewhat tortuous footsteps.

### B. The "Kitāb Diwān Miṣr".

Authentic documents from the early centuries of Moham-medan dominion are of rare occurrence, and therefore are highly prized. It is only of late that the finds of Egyptian papyri have begun to yield of their fulness something in the service of Mohammedan studies. The hand of time and the negligence of man have ruthlessly destroyed the mass of records that must have existed in the chancelleries of the various Moslem empires. I was accordingly much surprised and delighted when, in 1908,<sup>1</sup> I was shown a manuscript (said to have been brought to this country by an Italian sailor) bearing the title "Book of the Diwān of Egypt".<sup>2</sup> The volume had all the outward marks of great age; even the bookworm had left many traces on the pages. The edges of the codex had been frayed, and each page was set in paper that was very evidently of much later date than the original. My interest was deepened still further by the deciphering of the opening paragraph. The manuscript contained nothing less than a copy of the letters which had come to the Egyptian Caliph Al-Mustanṣir Billah (1035—1094) from Arab rulers in Sicily and Tunis, and the answers of the Caliph to them; and the copy—it was asserted—had been made at the instance of the Caliph himself in the year of the Hejira 467. Here, indeed, was a find of considerable importance; for the reign of Al-Mustanṣir was long and important.

I had hardly gotten as far as this, when doubts began to be raised in my mind. How did the scribes of al-Mustanṣir come to write in a well-defined Maghrebi script? True, it was not the intertwined and entangled script in which later Maghrebis delight; but it bore all the hall-marks of this extraordinary development of Arabic writing. The manuscript

<sup>1</sup> The account of this forgery was read at a meeting of this Society in the spring of 1909.

<sup>2</sup> كتاب ديوان مصر.







might indeed be a later copy of an earlier original. But, if the script was intertwined and entangled, what adjectives were fit to qualify the language it expressed? None that I could find. It was quite evidently Arabic—or was intended to be—but it was the most impossible Arabic that I had ever seen. Very soon certain peculiarities which were easily recognized as Maltese and Tunisian came to view, but most of the sentences could not be construed even upon the very liberal basis laid down by Arab grammarians. Through some of them shimmered an Italian construction or an Italian word composition. This was too much even for a willing believer. And the doubt once aroused very quickly entrained others. The thin brown paper was entirely foreign to Arabic manuscripts; the artistic design of the frontispiece was as un-Oriental and as un-Arabic as it could be. But enough! The story is as follows:

In the year 1782, there was in Palermo a certain Giuseppe Vella, a Maltese by birth, a member of the Jerusalem order and afterwards Abbot of St. Pancrace. At the time he was Chaplain at the Abbey of St. Martin, three leagues distant from Palermo. As a Maltese, he was naturally familiar with the local Arabic dialect of his birth-place; but he was ignorant of literary Arabic as well as of Mohammedan history. There happened to be four or five Arabic manuscripts in the library of St. Martin's, and when a certain Mohammed ibn Uthman came in 1782 as ambassador of Morocco to the court of Naples, he visited St. Martin's near Palermo. Whether because Mohammed ibn Uthman and Vella could in a measure understand each other's speech, or not, the two formed an acquaintance that was destined to be productive of much evil for students of Arabic. For hardly had the Moroccan delegate left when Vella announced the discovery in St. Martin's of a valuable Arabic manuscript giving the history of the Arabs in the Island of Sicily. A few years later (1786), having kept up by correspondence his connection with the Moroccan delegate, he noised abroad the receipt of another important manuscript found at Fez, containing the correspondence between the Norman princes, Count Roger and Duke Robert Guiscard, and the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir in Egypt. King Ferdinand of Sicily became deeply interested in these discoveries, and even went so far as to send Vella and three



students to Fez upon a mission of enquiry for other manuscripts dealing with the same subject. Patriotic Sicilians joined their king. Among these was Monseignor Airoidi, Archbishop of Heraclea, Judge of the Apostolic Legation and of the Monarchy of Sicily, who paid all the expenses connected with the publication of the volumes and even had Arabic type sent especially from Parma for the purpose. Six volumes of this history appeared between the years 1789 and 1792,<sup>1</sup> Vella hiding his own personality behind that of a supposititious Mustafa ibn Hām. Airoidi had even commenced the publication of these texts in Latin and Italian, in 1788 (48 pp.).<sup>2</sup> Writers on the history of Sicily generally accepted the manuscript as genuine, and Wahl, Rossi, Ferrara, Piazzzi, etc. made use of it in their works. Even so good a scholar as Olaus Gerard Tychoen at Rostock was caught in the trap of the wily Maltese, and republished a small portion in his "*Elementale arabicum*" (Rostock, 1792), and a professor in Stuttgart, P. W. G. Hausleutner, translated the first four volumes into German under the title "*Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien*"<sup>3</sup> (1791—92). The Pope even lent his consideration to the fraud by a profuse letter of thanks, dated 1790. But there were not wanting conscientious students who quickly saw through the very evident fraud. Joseph Hager was called to Palermo in 1794 by the king himself; and in 1796 Monseignor Adami, Bishop of Aleppo, who was on his way from Rome to his own diocese, was bidden to Sicily to examine the precious manuscript. Both men pronounced the manuscript a stupid forgery,<sup>4</sup> the latter even writing a treatise in German which

<sup>1</sup> Mustafa ibn Hani, *Codice diplomatico di Sicilia sotto il governo degli Arabi, pubblicato per opere e studio di A. Airoidi*. Palermo, 1789—1792. See *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the British Museum*; Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, 1867, VI. 274; I. 48. Cfr. Amari, *Storia dei Musselmanni in Sicilia* I. p. XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Siciliae sub Saracenorum imperio ab anno 827 ad 1072; nunc primum ex Mss. Mauro-occidentalibus de promptus cura et studio A. Airoidi*. Panormi 1788 (pp. 1—48).

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien und Siciliens unter der Herrschaft der Araber. In gleichzeitigen Urkunden von diesem Volk selbst. Aus dem Italiänischen. Mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen*. 4 vols. Königsberg 1791—92.

<sup>4</sup> The report of Adami is published, together with a letter by the Chevalier d'Italinsky, in von Hammer's *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. I (1809), pp. 236 sq.

was afterwards published in a French translation.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile Vella had gone ahead with the printing of his second manuscript containing the correspondence between the Norman princes and the Egyptian Caliph. This was undertaken by the king himself and gotten out in two editions—one folio and one quarto—in regal style, the Arabic text side by side with the translation.<sup>2</sup> In this edition Guiseppe Vella's name is mentioned as translator with the ornate title, "Capelano del sac. ordine Gerosolimitano, Abate di Sant. Pancrazio, Prof. di lingua araba nella reale academia di Palermo e socio nazionale della reale academia della scienze". The first volume, containing no less than 370 pp., appeared in 1793 and the second was in the press when the bubble burst. Vella was arrested and tried before three different tribunals and condemned. But it is evident either that the authorities did not consider the crime to be a serious one, or that strong influence was exerted in his behalf. He was condemned simply to seclusion in a small villa at Mozzo Monreale, a suburb of Palermo.

In such manner was finished the first act of the drama; and it would seem that with the final condemnation of Vella the whole matter could be relegated to the lumber-room or finally classed among the rather numerous forgeries which have been committed at the expense of the Orient. But after the lapse of more than one hundred years, the forgeries of Vella received a new lease of life; and in order that this lease of life may be cut short, or at least not transferred to these shores, I ask the attention of the Society for a few moments longer. About the year 1905 a certain Varvaro read a paper before the "Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria" in Palermo—but which does not appear in its publications—in which he tried to establish the thesis that Vella had not entirely falsified the manuscripts that he brought forward, but that he

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to see the German original. The title of the French translation is: *Relation d'une insigne Imposture Littéraire découverte dans un Voyage fait en Sicile en 1794*. Par Mr. le Dr. Hager. Traduit de l'Allemand, Erlangen 1799.

<sup>2</sup> كتاب ديوان مصر *Libro del consiglio de Egitto etc.* Palermo, Reale Stamperia, 1793. Cfr. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I, p. 94. A portion of this was republished in 1794 by the secretary of the Palermo Academy "del Bon Gusto" for use in one of the seminaries.



had based them upon authentic documents of great value which were in his possession, and that Vella's manuscripts might still be of great service in studying the history of Sicily in its relations with various Mohammedan states. The manuscripts to which he referred were not the two sequestered at the time of the arrest of Vella, for these are still, I am reliably informed, in the Archivio di Stato at Palermo. It seems that after Vella had been relegated to the villa in Mozzo Monreale he continued to write Arabic manuscripts. These formed parts of Vella's effects which passed on to his family and were preserved instead of being destroyed. The Varvaros are distantly related to the Vella family, and in course of time have become possessed of the books which (being entirely ignorant of Arabic) they consider to be of great value, and which they now desire to sell. At the meeting referred to, Varvaro brought with him one of the manuscripts. Professor Carlo A. Nallino, an eminent Arabic scholar, formerly of Naples but now connected with the University of Palermo, recognized immediately that it was not a genuine work, and later in the house of the Varvaros he saw two or three more of the manuscripts, one of which was the *Kitāb Diwān Miṣr*.

It is this last volume, evidently a copy of the original *corpus delicti*, which has at length been sold, and has found its way (together with sundry other Italian things) to this country, in the hope that it may be sold here to some credulous American. Its sole value is a mournful one, and it belongs, by all right, in a Museum of Criminology.

In conclusion, I ought to say that I am indebted to Professor Nallino for the information contained in the second part of this paper.<sup>†</sup>

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<sup>†</sup> Note, 4/8/13. In his translation of al-Sairafi's description of the Egyptian "Foreign Office" at the time of the Fatimides, M. Henri Massé has been led astray by the title, and has classified the "*Kitāb Diwān Miṣr*" among the "*recueils de modèles épistolaires à l'usage de la Chancellerie*." See his *Don al-Qirāfi: Code de la Chancellerie d'Égypte; Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale*, Tome XI, Le Caire, 1913, p. 67.



*Mohammedanism in Borneo: Notes for a Study of the Local Modifications of Islam and the Extent of its Influence on the native Tribes.*—By MRS. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE whole question of the nature and history of Mohammedanism in Borneo is much larger than the scope of the present paper. I have some incomplete notes to offer, which I venture to present at this time, because I think that even these have a certain theoretical significance that may be of interest; and because I hope that from this body of scholars intimately familiar with the various manifestations of Mohammedanism I may gain some valuable suggestions for further investigation of its history in Borneo.

In studying the effect of environment upon the religion of a primitive people, such as the jungle tribes of the interior of Borneo, it is of course necessary to take into account the possibility of foreign ideas interrupting the simple interplay of surroundings and sensibilities. Of the foreign elements to be reckoned with in Borneo the chief is Mohammedanism, brought to the coast settlements during several centuries by Arab traders and adventurers. While investigating the influence of the Arabs in Borneo, I became convinced that we have here a striking instance of the manner in which the introduction of a new religion into a country follows certain definite economic laws, similar to those that govern the growth of religions on their native soil.

There has been implied, if not actually stated, in many studies of religions, the theory that a religion develops according to environmental influences only so far as it is not interfered with by the contact of foreign ideas. Some such theories divide a religion into ideas appropriate to the native environment, and ideas that have come from the north, south, east, or west. Having traced the religious elements to their geographical or linguistic sources, the historian leaves the

matter,—and rightly perhaps so far as he is a mere historian. It has been recognized of course that there are local reasons why a new faith sometimes takes hold and sometimes does not. The reasons are usually stated parenthetically in a historical account. For the science of religion, however, to become really scientific, it would seem necessary to go further, to gather up these reasons and formulate them into laws of borrowing corresponding to the now very widely admitted laws of the growth of ideas according to the environment in which they were thought out.

The facts offered in this paper are presented in the hope that they may prove a minor bit of suggestive material for the formulation of a law of contact. They consist of a few notes, necessarily incomplete, on what happened when Indonesian Mohammedanism was brought in touch with Malay Paganism and the typical jungle religion of Borneo.

It was, to begin with, a great economic force that brought Mohammedanism to Borneo. And it was a geographical barrier—the jungle—that stopped it at the coast, and made it after four hundred years still a foreign faith. The sheltered waters, short distances, frequent harbors and favorable monsoons of the Malay Archipelago<sup>1</sup> developed very early a seafaring small-trading population such as the Malays and Bugis about the coasts of many islands. They were all ready to form a link in the chain of commerce when the greater nations, first of Asia, then of Europe discovered and determined to have the spices and dazzling natural wealth of the tropical islands. Emporia were formed at Acheh, Bantam, and elsewhere, where the native traders of the Archipelago brought the collected wares to merchants of larger vessels capable of sailing the open seas.<sup>2</sup> As the predominance of carrying trade in these products of the east shifted westward from China through India to Arabia, the religion of the Arab came to the Eastern Archipelago.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. John, Horace R., *Indian Archipelago*, 2 vols. London 1853. I, pp. 4, 44.

<sup>2</sup> St. John, *Ind. Arch.*, i, pp. 6, 118, 223; Sir Hugh Low, *Straitsak, its Inhabitants and its Productions*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh 1820, iii, pp. 199–201; Hugh Clifford, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVII, p. 474. Article, *Malay Peninsula*. In the second century B. C. the trade with



The first teachers of Mohammedanism in the Archipelago were Arab traders, pirates, and adventurers who came to seek their fortune and made converts only as a secondary task. Later, as the new faith gained headway, the prospect of making money attracted teachers from India, Egypt, Mecca, and Hadramaut.<sup>1</sup> From the 12th to the 20th century, following in the wake of trade, Mohammedanism has been spreading all over the Indian Archipelago.<sup>2</sup> Borneo was not exempt from its influence. The difference in the course of events in Borneo from that in Java, Sumatra, and many of the other centers,

Ceylon was wholly in the hands of the Arabs; by the middle of the eighth century A. D. there were many Arab traders in Canton; from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, until the coming of the Portuguese, they were the undisputed masters of trade with the East. They were probably early in the Malay Archipelago, but no mention is made of these islands in the work of Arab geographers earlier than the ninth century. G. K. Niemann, *Inleiding tot de kennis an den Islam*, Rotterdam 1861, p. 337, and Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, tome I, p. CCCXXXIX, quoted by T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London 1896, pp. 293—294.

<sup>1</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. by O'Sullivan, London 1906, ii, p. 279. Which of these regions sent its missionary-traders to Borneo seems a little vague. They are generally spoken of simply as Arabs. They all claimed and were accorded in Borneo the title of Sheriff. Some of the Mohammedan influence in Borneo came either directly, or via the Javanese and Sumatran merchants who traded there, from the Malabar coast, where the Shafi'jah sect is predominant to-day as it was in the fourteenth century. *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris 1843—58, iv, pp. 66, 80, quoted by Arnold p. 294. For the Shi'ah Klingis in Borneo cf. below p. 28. The predominant influence to-day, however, is that of Mecca. Besides the annual pilgrims who come to Mecca merely for a short time, there is a permanent colony of Malays in Mecca who keep in constant communication with their fellow countrymen in the Archipelago. And religious books printed in Mecca are carried to all parts of the Archipelago. The number of annual pilgrims to Mecca from Borneo increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century 66% in twelve years. Niemann pp. 406—7, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Hague 1889, ii, pp. xv, 339—393, quoted by Arnold, pp. 329—330.

<sup>2</sup> With the Mohammedan conquest the Perso-Arabic Alphabet was introduced among the Malays. Hugh Clifford, *ibid.* p. 477; Marsden's *Malay Grammar*, London 1812, pp. 1, 2. Crawford, iii, p. 207, gives the following dates for the introduction of Mohammedanism into the Archipelago: 1204 A. D. the Achehnese, 1278 the Malays of Malacca, 1478 the Javanese, 1495 natives of the Spice Islands. Cf. also *ibid.* ii, pp. 304 to 306, and St. John, *ibid.* i, pp. 48—51. cf. also Arnold, *passim*, pp. 296—343.



was that while in the latter practically the whole population became at least nominally Mohammedan, in Borneo the converts were, in spite of zealous propaganda, almost entirely limited to the partially civilized Malays of the sea-coast. So much is this true that in Borneo the terms Malay and Mohammedan have become synonymous and interchangeable. A natural highway of trade brought Mohammedanism to the harbors and rivermouths of the island. A natural barrier, the jungle, stopped it at the coast.

The coastal population of Borneo is composed of colonists of the trading nations mentioned above, the Malays and Bugis and others, from Sumatra, Java, the Malay Peninsula and Celebes. Most of these colonies were, however, formed before the conversion of the Malays to Mohammedanism. The Malay kingdom of Brunei was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century, though even before that there were probably some few colonists there. It became Mohammedan not until much later—some time before 1530.<sup>1</sup> Colonists from Java had settlements at Passir, Kotei, and Banjermassin, on the south coast of Borneo, at Sambas, Mampawa, and Landak on the west coast as early as 1360.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of Mohammedanism

<sup>1</sup> P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, 1854, i, p. 180, quoting van Lijnden, *Aanteekingen over de landen van het stroomgebied der Kapoeas*, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indie*, 1851, p. 587; *ibid.* p. 181, quoting Logan, *Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper*, *Journal of the Ind. Arch. and Eastern Asia*, iii, pp. 513, 514; *ibid.* p. 184 quoting Tobias, *de Westkust van Borneo*, *Nederlandsche Hermes*, 1828, 12, p. 47; Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, p. 241; St. John, i, p. 197; A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, p. 289; Leyden. In Moor's *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1837, app. p. 95. For origin of the Malay nation *cf. ibid.* p. 3; A. C. Kanne, *Eastern Geography*, London 1887, pp. 8, 9; St. John, i, p. 26—41. J. J. de Hollander *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Land-en-Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, Brada, 1884, p. 61, quoted by Arnold, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 37, 41; Sir T. S. Raffles, *History of Java*, London 1830, ii, p. 171; Low pp. 312, 183; C. Boek, *Head Hunters of Borneo*, London 1881, p. 47; Veth, i, p. 182, quoting Logan, *Antiquity of Chinese Trade with India and the Ind. Archip.*, in *J. I. A.*, iii, pp. 604, 605, also Dulaarier, *Collection des principales Chroniques Malaises*, pp. 107, 109; and *Journal Asiatique*, [should this be *Journal Asiatique*?] 1846, pp. 544—571, and Pijnappel, *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, pp. 555 ff.; *ibid.* p. 185, quoting J. Hageman, *Indisch Archief*, Jaarg. i, deel ii, pp. 53 ff., and Brummund, *Indiana*, ii, p. 178. C. P. Rouffaer, *Het Tijdsperk van*

into these various settlements, according to different accounts, occurred sometime between 1495 and 1770. Several Malay Sultans on the Kapuas river were converted to Islam as late as 1850. The Malays are Mohammedan, and both the Malays and Mohammedanism came from without, but it was not in the first instance the Malays who brought Mohammedanism to Borneo.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Arabian era Malay traders and pirates were attracted to the mouths of the navigable rivers of Borneo for shelter, and found there opportunities for getting, with slight work, gold and diamonds; by raids on the weak Dyaks, cargoes of slaves; by barter with them, a wealth of rattans, camphor and other saleable jungle produce. They founded towns at the river mouths, later having outposts for trade farther up river. It was long after these communities were established that individual Arab adventurers came to Borneo and preached their faith. Later still, the converts were reinforced in number by Malays from Sumatra or the Peninsula,

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*Godsdienst overgang in den Malayischen Archipel*, p. 113, identifies Tandjoeng Poera, mentioned in the History of the Hindu-Javan kingdom of Madjapahit as among the conquests of the great monarch of that realm, Hayam Woorok, who reigned from 1331(?)—1389, as probably Matan, on the southwest coast of Borneo. Basing his evidence largely on a Portuguese report of 1514, published in 1892, and on corroborative notices especially in the *Livro* of 1516 of Duarte Barbosa, he concludes that the kingdom of Madjapahit cannot have succumbed entirely to Mohammedan domination until sometimes between 1516 and 1521. However uncertain may be the date of the colonies in Borneo, they seem at least to have been much earlier than this time. Cf. also Earl, p. 336; Raffles, ii, p. 171. Mohammedanism was introduced into Succadana on the West Coast of Borneo by Arabs from Palembang in Sumatra in 1550. R. P. A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, Leiden 1879, p. 386, quoted by Arnold p. 316. Into Banjermassin on the South Coast in the sixteenth century from Dawak, one of the Mohammedan states that rose on the ruins of Madjapahit. J. Hagmann, *Beidrage tot de Geschiedenis van Borneo*, *Ts. Ind. t. L.* sk., Deel vi, 1856, p. 236, quoted by Arnold, p. 316.

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'Oeil general sur les possessions neerlandaises dans l'Inde archipelagique*, Leiden, 1846, p. 176; Leyden, *ibid.* app. p. 97; J. J. K. Enthoven, *Bijdragen tot de Geographie van Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, Leiden, 1902, pp. 132, 138, 158, 209; Veth, i, p. 193, following G. M. Muller, *Proeve eener geschiedenis van een gedeelte the Westkust van Borneo*, Indische Bijl. p. 124, puts the date of the coming of the first Mohammedan missionaries to Borneo at about 1500.



which had in the mean time become centers of Mohammedan propaganda. On the east coast of Borneo colonies were founded by the similar nation of Bugis, who migrated to Borneo both before and after the coming of Mohammedanism to their home country of Celebes about 1600.<sup>1</sup>

We may take as a typical instance of the turn to Mohammedanism in Borneo the narrative, which comes to us from many sources, and is apparently as reliable as any hundred and fifty year old story of these regions can be, of the founding of one of the chief Mohammedan kingdoms of Borneo, that of Pontianak, the great Malay trading centre of to-day at the mouth of the Kapuas river.

A fortune-hunting Arab, Seriff Hoesein ibn Ahmed al-Kadri (I give Veth's Dutch orthography of the name) came to Matan, an ancient Javanese colony on the southwest coast of Borneo, in 1735. He found Mohammedanism already vaguely known there, strengthened it, instructed the people and was highly venerated. After a quarrel with the Sultan of Matan he fled to another Javanese-Malay colony, Mampawa, whose Sultan received him with open arms, built a mosque, gave him large control of his kingdom, and gave his daughter in marriage to the dashing handsome son of the Arab adventurer and a Dyak slave girl. This young half-savage-half-Arab, who nevertheless bore his father's title of Seriff, at the age of twenty-two left his royal bride and started out to seek his fortune on the seas. After a wild career of piracy and audacious foreign trade, during the course of which he married the daughter of another Malay Sultan, engaged in opium trade, captured Chinese, English, French, and Dutch ships, he had amassed great wealth. Gathering about himself a band of Malay and Bugis followers of his own type, he came to the mouth of the Kapuas river and established himself with his retainers on a haunted island in the river, which gave him a

<sup>1</sup> Rouffaer, p. 111; Earl, p. 310; Low, pp. 7, 18, 20-28; Dalton in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 55-57; Hant in Keppel's *Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido*, 1846, p. 404; Bock, pp. 22-26; England, *Hydrographic Office, Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1890, ii, pp. 7, 296; for description of the up-river trading posts of the Malays, cf. Molengraaf, *Geological Expedition to Borneo*, London, 1902, pp. 149, 150; and Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, Leiden 1900, i, p. 24. Arnold, p. 319, places the general adoption of Mohammedanism by the Bugis of Celebes at the beginning of the seventeenth century.



protected base from which to prey on trading prahus. The island was a shrewdly chosen location, not only for its accessibility to the sea and because its evil ghostly reputation secured him from attack, but it commanded the Kapuas river, the immense navigable artery, by which all the inland wealth of the whole western district of Borneo must come down to the sea. The Seriff Abdoe'r Rahman soon found it more profitable to give up piracy, turn into a respectable and pious Moslem, and become the protector instead of the assassin of traders, gaining his income by a levy on all boats using the river. He built a mosque, established the Mohammedan ritual, and made pious pilgrimages to the grave of his father, who had long before his death repudiated this scape-grace son. Thus was founded the Arab dynasty—racially half-Dyak—of the Malay kingdom of Pontianak.<sup>1</sup>

And thus Mohammedanism came to the Kapuas river. It took it nearly one hundred years to extend its influence 300 kilometers up river to the Malay settlements of the lake region. And the reason for that is again the jungle. It is only in recent years when the Dutch have opened up the country, and made not only more intercommunication between the different parts of the country, but also more contact with the outside world, that Mohammedanism has greatly spread in their provinces.

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Ritter, *Indische herinneringen*, Amsterdam, 1843, pp. 192, 193, C. L. Hartmann, *Algemeen verslag van de residentie Pontianak over 1825* pp. 2, 3 (unpublished MS.), van Lijnden, p. 601, Muller, p. 346, and Tobias, p. 51, quoted by Veth, i, pp. 249—266; A. Pompe, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandische Overzeesche Bezittingen*, 2nd ed. Schoonhaven 1872, p. 225; Leyden in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 101, 102. The town was afterwards named for the spectre of the haunted Island. So great was the fear of this place that the Arab founder had to shoot up the woods for two hours before he could persuade his men to land. Leyden gives Pontiana or Pontianak as "the name the Malays give to a spectre of the forests which appears in the form of a winged female," Moor's *Notices*, app. p. 102; according to Veth the pontianaks are ghosts of children who have never seen the light on account of the death of their mothers, or, more usually, the mothers themselves who have died in childbirth, and go about in lonely places naked with loose hair, and moaning (i, p. 14); in the Malay Peninsula the pontianak is the ghost of a still-born child, while the ghost of a woman who dies in childbirth, the ghost that goes around with long floating hair is known as a langsnir. Both of these are supposed by the Peninsular Malays to be embodied in owls. Skcat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 325—327.

But to return for a moment to the earlier period. What effect had the establishment of the Malay and Bugis semi-civilized colonies, and their subsequent conversion to Mohammedanism upon the native savages who occupied Borneo previous to the coming of the sea-faring folk? Of the majority it may be said that it simply drove them back into their jungle, where in greater isolation than ever, they continue to live a wild free life of independence with all their old habits of thought and custom.<sup>1</sup> Some were directly enslaved or conquered by the Malays, or remained among them, intermarried with them and adopted their manner of life so as to become almost indistinguishable from them. Between the entirely independent and the entirely subjugated Dyaks are the tribes who are called in Dutch-Malay terminology "*serah-plichtig*" and "*hasil-plichtig*" Dyaks, who, keeping their own political organization and manner of life, pay as "*hasil*" or "*serah*" a certain proportion of their gains in primitive agriculture or jungle life to the Malay Mohammedan prince whom they acknowledge as overlord. The hold on these Dyaks of the Malay prince is very slight and may be repudiated by them entirely simply by going (in the next of their frequent movings of the village) over the boundary of the territory which he theoretically controls. It is of course only among the last two classes of Dyaks, the entirely amal gamated and semi-dependent, that we find any evidence of Mohammedanism at all; and how much influence it has had in any case seems to depend upon the extent to which the Dyaks have adopted the Malay habit of life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The aborigines, distributed by the geographical character of the region into numerous communities, have been further isolated by foreign rule and colonisation. The superior races have frequently turned their natural eminence into a means of oppression; and instead of drawing the natives forth from their barbarous haunts, have imprisoned them more deeply in their jungles." St. John, I, p. 18; cf. also Temminck, p. 135. Throughout this paper I have used the word Dyak in the widely-accepted though somewhat inexact sense as denoting all the native jungle tribes, as contrasted with the semi-civilized nations of later immigration. The Dyaks are not racially homogeneous, and probably represent several layers of migrations in the far distant past, but they have a certain cultural uniformity and may be classed as "aboriginal" in contrast with the Malays and Bugis and other comparatively recent colonists.

The population of Borneo is estimated at 1,800,000, of whom only 300,000 represent the Malays and other semi-civilized peoples. All the



I have attempted to analyse separately the Mohammedanism of the Malays, and that of the tribes of native descent who by conquest or commerce have come under Malay influence and given at least a nominal allegiance to Islam. But this is extremely difficult because the race nomenclature has become confused with a cultural one. All people, of whatever nationality, who have adopted the stage of civilization and something of the dress and manner of the typical Malay coast dweller, are called Malays. Even, frequently, the classification is made religious, and since most Malays are Mohammedan, all Mohammedans are called Malays,—including Chinese, Dyaks, Klings, Arabs, Bugis, slaves from Sumbawa and elsewhere, Rayyats from Lingga, and even descendants of negro slaves brought here, as well as various racial mixtures of Malay with Arab,

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rest are Dyaks. Holbé, *Revue Anth.*, 1911, p. 435; the Malays are found with a very few exceptions, only along the courses of the great navigable rivers, and most of them are in the trading towns at the river mouths. For typical geographical location of some Malay settlements, cf. Enthoven, pp. 123, 126, 135—137, 148, 153, 176, 185, 189—193; Low, pp. 221, 350 to 371; Bock, pp. 161, 162, 242, 243; Molengraaf, pp. 43, 286—293; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 43, 45, 52, 53; Brooke in Capt. R. N. Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes*, London 1848, i, pp. 193, 369; Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, London 1886, i, pp. 19, 22, 24; Maxwell, quoted by H. L. Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i, p. 1. A very few Malays singly or in small groups are found wandering in the far interior, or living in Dyak villages. They are either individual adventurers who have gone to seek the jungle produce themselves, or fugitives from justice. A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Influence of changed conditions on the physical and psychical development of the population of Central Borneo*. *Proc. Koninkl. Acad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam*, Mar. 1903, p. 12; *ibid.* *Centraal Borneo*, i, p. 4. Near the coast where there are gold, diamond and other mines, the Malays have forced the Dyaks to work for them in the mines. Elsewhere they have left the Dyaks to their old occupations and manner of life, contenting themselves with exacting tribute of rice and jungle products, and personal services at certain times, and further gaining from the Dyaks by forced trade at exorbitant prices. Observers agree in noting a marked difference in appearance and welfare between the absolutely free Dyaks of the interior, and those more or less subject to the Malays; cf. Enthoven, pp. 142, 163, 193, 217, 560, 561, 563, 567, 571, 572; Low, p. 17; S. Müller, ii, p. 885, quoted by Roth, i, p. 387 note; Earl, p. 318; Bock, pp. 210—211; Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 16, 26; Ida Pfeiffer, *Meine Zucelte Weltreise*, Engl. Transl. New York, 1858, pp. 76, 77, 96.



Dravidian, Dyak, Chinese, and even European. Malay is in Borneo the great amalgam of race, language, and ideas.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless it is possible to make a rough dual classification of the nominal adherents of Islam into those who use entirely the Malay language, dress and manner of living, and those of Dyak or part Dyak descent who keep to a greater or less extent the native economic conditions and manner of life.

In general the faith of the Malays of Borneo represents what has been called "Indonesian Mohammedanism." There has been noted by scholars interested in this part of the world a type of religion extending all over the Malay Archipelago, nominally Mohammedan, which, while varying locally in many details, has enough homogeneity to be easily recognizable. Three influences, in Indonesia, have modified Mohammedanism and turned it into a definite religion of the region. They are:—

1. The environment, which is geographically and economically similar for the coast peoples of many islands.
2. Survivals of early "Indonesian" pre-Mohammedan ideas and customs, so strongly held that the new faith to be successful must either absorb or tolerate them.
3. A generally prevalent mental attitude of primitive superstitiousness.

<sup>1</sup> Veth, i, p. 179 gives the following striking description of the Malays in Borneo: "In den uitgestreken zin begriipt men thans onder dien namen allen, die de Mohammedaansche godsdienst hebben aangenomen: alle belijders van den Profeet van Mekka, al waren zij ook geheel of gedeeltelijk van Dajakache of Chinesche afkomst, of zelfs uit aangebragte negerslaven geboren, worden, zoowel als de Arabieren van Pontianak, de Boeginezen van de Oostkust van Mampawa, de Javaansche en Klingalesche kolonisten in Succadana en Banjermassin, de slaven van Soembava en alders aangevoerd, en de Orang-lant of Rajats, van Lingga en Bitong herwaarts overgekomen, tot de Maleijers gerekend. Nogtans maken de Malajers uit het Djohoresche rijk en zijne wijd verspreide volksplantingen afkomstig, over het algemeen het hoofd bestanddeel derer gemengde bevolking uit, hetwelk op de geheele geamalgameerde massa, waarin slechts de Arabieren en Boeginezen eenige meerdere zelfstandigheid bewaard hebben, zijn stempel gedrukt heeft." Cf. St. John, i, p. 198; Earl, p. 239-240. The so-called "Eubahoe Malays" were originally Dyaks who were converted to Islam about 1850. Enthoven, p. 205. The Malay language is the same sort of composite as the people, containing words from Sanskrit, Persian, Singhalais, Tamoul, Arab, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, etc., cf. Holbé, *op. cit.*, p. 431; Marsden, *Malay Grammar*, Introd. p. xviii.

Let us see how these three influences are exemplified in the religion of the Malays of Borneo.

As elsewhere in the Archipelago, Mohammedanism gained its way in Borneo partly by being already suited to the Malays' temperament and manner of life, and partly by cutting or stretching itself to the Procrustean bed where it did not already fit. The Malays of Borneo in the pre-Mohammedan era, like the coast peoples of many other islands, were already sea-faring traders, given to adventure and piracy. They built their own boats and travelled in them from port to port. Some of them were artisans and manufacturers, but the majority engaged in trade. They bartered their manufactures, their sea-products, and their imported goods to the natives for the local articles of value, which they carried in small boats to emporia where they could sell them to European and Asiatic merchants. This trade, which still continues, has sometimes netted the Malays as high as 500 % profit. Before the European policing of the seas they added piracy, openly or secretly, to their sources of revenue.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs who came to their shores with greater skill as navigators, greater shrewdness as bargainers, and at least as great unscrupulousness as robbers, won for their religion the glory of superiority in the Malays' own characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The general articles of Malay trade past and present are described in Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, London 1865, p. 106; M. Buys, *Tees Maanden op Borneo's Westkust*, Leiden 1892, p. 8; Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i, p. 56; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 52, 53; Low, pp. 26, 57, 117, 366. For description of the Malay method of trade with the natives; cf. Sir Spenser St. John, *Life in The Forests of the Far East*, London 1863, ii, p. 298; Ada Pryer, *A Decade in Borneo*; Moor's *Notices*, p. 6; Bock, pp. 67, 202, 203; Boyle, pp. 98, 321; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 45, ii, pp. 162, 164; Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 15, 22, 24-26, 190, 129; Earl, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Crawford, i, p. 139; Holbé, *Revue Anthropologique*, 1911, p. 430; Raffles, i, p. 259; Crawford, i, p. 139, says of the Arabs in the Archipelago, that "the genuine Arabs are spirited, fair and adventurous merchants. The mixed race is of a much less favorable character, and is considered as a supple intriguing, and dishonest class." It was very largely the half-breed Arabs who took the leadership of the Malays in Borneo, and directed piratical exploits. Cf. above p. 318 the account of the founding of the Arab dynasty of Pontianak. For their influence in Sarawak, cf. the Journal of Sir James Brooke in Keppel, pp. 54, 302, 303, also Keppel, pp. 268, 269, and Low, pp. 189-191; for further ana-



With this prejudice in its favor, Mohammedanism easily won converts, especially as there were elements in it favorable to the peculiar local conditions. The confession of faith, undoubtedly, in Borneo as in the Malay Peninsula and Aceh, was regarded less as a creed than a declaration of fealty. The Holy War against the infidel was held to justify their slave-hunting raids on the Dyaks of the interior, as well as piratical attacks on European vessels. The Hadji across the partially familiar seas, became to this boat-building, sea-faring people immensely popular, giving the Hadjis not only prestige and honour on their return, but opportunities for a wider area of trade. The Hadji, among the Borneo Malays, as in Aceh, is one of the most faithfully kept of the precepts of Islam. A great portion of the ritual prayers is neglected, as not fitting in well with their life. The laws of trade of the Koran are ignored, as according to Snouck Hurgronje they have had to be in all modern trading communities. Mohammedanism was embraced eagerly just in so far as it fitted in with the habits of their life which had grown from the environment.<sup>1</sup>

But to realise the close relation between the modifications of Mohammedanism and the economic status of the Malays we must differentiate the position and morals of the rich and poor Malays; the large merchants on the one hand, who are chiefly the princes and rulers; and on the other hand the fisherman and mechanics who are of a very different type. It

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lays of the trade influence of the Arabs in the Archipelago; cf. Renaud, *Géographie d'Abeulféda*, Introduction, p. LIII, CCCLXXXIX ff., quoted by Veth, i, p. 246, and Veth, i, pp. 246, 248; St. John, i, pp. 177, 239.

<sup>1</sup> In the Malay Peninsula the "Holy War" was held to justify the kidnapping of Sakai and Samang aborigenes. In Aceh, according to Snouck Hurgronje, it owes its popularity "to its harmonizing with their war-like and predatory pre-Mohammedan customs." In both these places the ritual prayers are very laxly observed. Wilkinson says of the Malay Peninsula that "it is hard for a clerk or mechanic to keep the fast or to find time for the pilgrimage to Mecca." But in Aceh, where voyages are the order of the day, as in the trading ports of Borneo, the Hadji is popular. It is interesting to note how in different nations and among different classes of society various precepts of Islam are accentuated or ignored as they fit in or clash with local conditions. In Aceh, as elsewhere in the Archipelago, the laws of trade and property are not those of the Koran, but of the Adat (native customary law). Snouck Hurgronje, ii, pp. 279, 304-309, 320, 337; R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, pp. 8, 16, 17; Spenser St. John II, 325.



is the wealthy who exalt the Holy War and become Hadjis. In keeping with their lawless, irresponsible manner of life they are gamblers, opium eaters and hard drinkers. And they ignore the precepts which would interfere with these customs, though as a rule they draw the line at eating pork. It is naturally the powerful princes who have encouraged, if not started, the unorthodox deification of living and dead rulers. The Sultan of Kotei is supposed to have been descended from a god, who in answer to the supplication of a dweller of Kotei, came down to earth and married one of his children. From them descended all the rulers of Kotei. The following curious Chinese account from about the year 1618 shows the divine right of the early officials of Brunei:

"In this country there is a temple in which three men are worshipped as deities, who were superintendents of public works and of the treasury at the time the country was founded; they fell in battle, and were buried together at this spot; a temple was erected over their tomb and when a merchant vessel arrives it must kill a cow or roast fowls, and offer at the same time melati and other flowers; if any man on the ship does not worship, he becomes ill. When the people of the country go out trading, they make an offering of flowers, and when they come back, having made profit, they take two cocks, to whose feet they attach knives, and let them fight before the tomb; if one of these fowls is killed, they thank the deities for it, which is certainly very curious."<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered that this account was written at least 80 years after the country had become formally Mohammedan. Notice in this story the influence of the proverbial Malay love for cock-fighting. It is only the rich traders and rulers, again, who take advantage of the permission of polygamy, and only this small minority of the Mohammedans in Borneo seclude their women.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources*, Batavia 1870 *Miscellaneous Papers* 1, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> "The riches of the country were formerly entirely in the hands of the sultan and other great pangurans," Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 188; Spenser St. John, ii, p. 271; where there are mines, coal, gold or diamonds, these are owned by the princes. Enthoven, p. 165; Pfeiffer, p. 93. For the different classes of society, cf. Low, pp. 117--122; Brooke in

Among the poorer Malays of Borneo, on the other hand, the women go about the streets freely and unveiled. The position of women in many, if not all, places of the Archipelago seems to have been far higher under conditions of life of the pre-Mohammedan "adat". And the Mohammedan law on this point has been adopted only where changed conditions have paved the way for it. On the Lingga river in Borneo, where the Malays live in a village organized very much on the plan of the Dyaks', the chief, as is often the case in a Dyak village, was a woman. Where the conditions remained that led to freedom and prominence of women under the pre-Mohammedan code the orthodox theory of women's position has had little influence.<sup>1</sup>

With the poorer Malays, the artisan, small-trading and fishing class in Borneo, there was less incentive than among the more wealthy traders to adopt foreign customs, and among these people we shall find the chief stronghold of anti-Mohammedan ideas. Their Mohammedanism is a thin layer of verbiage over a mass of native superstition. The rich rulers and merchants of Borneo have lost many of their native ideas through cosmopolitan contact, and have gained a superior intelligence in general as well as more knowledge of the meaning of Mohammedanism, both in their journeyings abroad and

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Keppel, p. 50. In parts of the country where there are fewer opportunities for enrichment there is slighter difference between the ruling class and the subjects; cf. Enthoven, pp. 131, 138, 190-196. We find among different writers very conflicting accounts of the character of the Malays. Probably the apparent conflict is due to the fact that the particular class or social position of the Malays described is not given; cf. Rev. Andrew Hareburgh, *Sketches in Borneo*, 1858, p. 10; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 163, 295; Pfeiffer, p. 108; Low, pp. 127-137. The Mohammedan prince of Sekedau was rough, uncivilized, and a drunkard. In 1867 a sultan of Sekedau died after only a few years' reign from "misuse of opium and strong drink." The prince of Silat who died in 1871 was given to opium. Enthoven, pp. 190, 677, 678. There seems to be no religious scruple against opium among the Malays of Borneo, and the princes, at least, drink wine freely, not always refraining even in public. Low, p. 126, Earl, p. 235. They do, however, seem to refrain from the use of pork. Beck, p. 31, note; Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources, from *Miscellaneous Papers*, Batavia, 1879, i, p. 224.

<sup>1</sup> Ada Pryer, p. 123, probably generalizing from her experience of seeing women on the streets, says that women are never secluded in



in the schools of the Hadjis in Borneo, which are frequented by the wealthy only.<sup>1</sup>

In general we may say that the economic conditions in Borneo, as elsewhere in the Archipelago, gave the Arab missionaries a ready hearing and led to an easy acceptance of at least a partial Mohammedanism. Like many other Indonesians, for economic purposes the Borneo Malays have exalted the Hadji and the Holy War; they have ignored most of the ritual prayers and the prohibitions of their much-loved drink, gambling and opium; and among them the position of women is determined more by local conditions than by Mohammedan theory.

The second factor of Indonesian Mohammedanism—the survival of Indonesian pre-Mohammedan customs—is exemplified in Borneo particularly among the lower class Malays who have a folk-lore and superstitions similar in many respects to those of the Malays in the Peninsula, Aceh, and other parts of Malasia. Characteristic of these are the customs of taboo, the idea of the *semangat* or vital spirit existing in things as

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Borneo, though Mohammedans. Low, p. 141, says that as in all Islamic countries the higher class women are secluded. Other writers agree that the Mohammedan women, not of the nobility, not only go about the streets freely, but do not even wear veils. Pfeifer, p. 47; Boyle, p. 17; Ida Pfeifer probably gets at the heart of the matter when she says that "The wives of persons of the higher class seldom go out; but this is merely from indolence and not to be attributed to any prohibition, for they may receive visitors at home." In other words the seclusion of women is a luxurious foreign fad, ill-adapted to the indigenous life, but practiced by those who can well afford it for the prestige it gives, as being possible only to the wealthy, and in accord with the religious teaching of the superior Arabs. The poorer women are too important factors in the economic life to bother about such things, religion or no religion. All through Malasia Mohammedanism has succeeded in establishing its dicta as to women only as the economic conditions were suitable. In the Malay Peninsula, according to the pre-Mohammedan "*adat*," the position of women was a high one. Mohammedanism reduced it "in theory." Wilkinson, p. 17. Even among the ruling class, in the settled semi-agricultural community of Aceh, women were not disqualified. Four female sovereigns in succession have occupied the throne of Aceh. In each case devout champions of Islam have praised them. Snouck Hurgronje, ii, p. 335.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 38; Beck, pp. 254, 255; Spencer St. John, ii, p. 298; Low, pp. 50, 54, 138, 153, 154, 158, 160.



well as people, and a curious custom of using rice stained yellow with turmeric in various religious festivals.<sup>1</sup>

One of the Malay customs noted by van den Berg as an anti-Mohammedan custom found among the Mohammedans all over the Archipelago including Borneo, and one naturally held to as strongly by the princes as the common people, is the possession of what the Dutch author calls "*Rijksieraden*," or insignia of office, consisting most often of weapons, the possession of which marks the rightful ruler. They are really fetiches which govern the possession of the throne and the fortunes of the kingdom. They are sometimes carried in war, oaths are sworn by them, and on occasions they are smeared with blood at sacrifices. The regard for these "*rijksieraden*" among the Borneo Malays is not unlike the feeling of the Dyaks for the head hunting relics, which are placed in front of the chief's door and must be touched only by the chief,

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<sup>1</sup> For instances of the Malay practice of taboo in Borneo, cf. below p. 95. For taboo as practiced in the Malay Peninsula, cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, passim. The Achese speak of prohibitions binding on all men as "*pamali*," the general Malay word for taboo in Borneo and elsewhere. Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 274. "The spirit of life—which according to the ancient Indonesian belief existed in all things, even in what we should now consider inanimate objects—is known as the *semen-gat*," Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, p. 49.

The yellow rice was used by the Malays of Sarawak in a ceremony performed on the return of chiefs from a successful war expedition, and was supposed to give them equally good luck the next time. The old chief's three wives and female relatives came dressed in their best. "Each of the ladies in succession taking a handful of yellow rice, threw it over us, repeating some mystical words, and dilating on our heroic deeds," Keppel, p. 289. Sir Charles Brooke records that a Pangeran (noble) scattered rice over him as thanksgiving for a safe return from a dangerous journey. Brooke, i, p. 197. In the Malay Peninsula rice stained with turmeric is used for scattering over persons to be benefitted or strewing on the house floor. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 76. In Acheh glutinous rice coloured yellow with turmeric is used for offerings at the tombs of saints and is a favorite dish at religious festivals. Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 31; ii, p. 293 (notice how much farther the new religion has advanced in Acheh, the only place of those mentioned where the ceremony is given a Mohammedan interpretation). Two instances I have found of a ceremonial scattering of yellow rice among the Land Dyaks of Borneo. Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 335; Chalmers, O. P., p. 63, quoted by Roth, i, p. 248.

and which, like the "rijksieraden" are regarded as having supernatural qualities.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the survivals of pagan Malay ideas we find also in Borneo relics of other pre-Mohammedan influences, varying in the different localities. In the north there are evidences of a well-authenticated Chinese influence, in such legends as that of Mt. Kinabalu, the "Chinese widow," and other local ideas; also perhaps a trace of Chinese feeling in the fact that here, in contrast with other parts of Borneo where the graves of ancestors are notably neglected, the Mohammedans take great care of ancestral tombs and make pious pilgrimages to them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. W. C. Van den Berg. *De Mohammedaansehe Vorsten in Nederlandch-Indië*, pp. 72, 73. The Javanese name for these is Oepâtjara, the Malay, Kabesaran or Alat Karadjan, the Macassar, Kalompawang, and the Bugis, Aradjang. The Rijksieraden of Sanggau, on the West coast of Borneo consist of a kris, a sword of European make, a lance, a gong and a swivel gun. Bakker, *Het Rijk Sanggau*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1884, p. 374, quoted by van den Berg, p. 72. Those of Kotaringin on the South Coast seem to be very numerous, some of the chief are two ebony chairs, swords and lances, some pieces of iron supposed to come from Madjapahit and a couple of large porcelain jars of Japanese or Chinese make, Pijnappel, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1860, p. 281, quoted by van den Berg, p. 76. These Chinese jars, many of them of great antiquity, are valued at enormously high prices all over Borneo. They are held in reverence by Malays and Dyaks alike, and are supposed to possess supernatural powers. In the Malay kingdom of Semitan, on the Kapuas river in western Borneo, the royal insignia consist of a kris, said to have come from Madjapahit with the original settlers, a "pinggau", or earthen dish, to which four very little dishes, "anak pinggau", belong, and a pinggau half a meter in diameter with three anak pinggau. The pinggaus are kept in the ground except on special occasions when they are shown to the people, and then must not be kept above ground more than one day, or a great hurricane will burst over the country. The little dishes must always be buried on the same side of the mother dish, otherwise they have power to turn themselves around. Enthoven, p. 139. The burying of valuable articles for safety is common all over Borneo especially among the Dyaks. For the Dyak regard for the heads of slain enemies as the insignia of office of the chiefs, possessing supernatural power and to be touched only by certain individuals, cf. Brooke in Keppel, p. 54, and Dr. Wm. Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, p. 65; for regard of royal regalia in the Malay Penin., cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 23-29.

<sup>2</sup> J. Murrat, *The Land of the Dyaks*, London 1891, p. 8; Dairymple, p. 41 and Earl, p. 304, quoted by Roth, i, p. 504; Spenser St. John, ii, pp. 284, 332; Earl, p. 317; Low, p. 126.



Another foreign nation, the Hindu-Javan kingdom of Madjapahit has left material and cultural evidences of its former colonies all around the west, south and southeast coasts of Borneo. Strong Hindu-Javan influence can be traced in the Mohammedanism of the Malays in these districts of Borneo to-day.<sup>1</sup>

Of nearly all these survivals of a pre-Mohammedan era, I believe it can be said that they either have some economic reason in the present manner of life of the people, or that at one time there has been an economic reason for them so strong that they have survived by the force of that impetus. A curious instance of the latter case is the taboo on cow's milk in Sarawak, where until a few years ago men still dated events from "the days of the Hindus." The Malays here, like the Dyaks, do not use the milk or butter of the cow. Concerning the Dyak custom Sir Hugh Low says "Their not using the milk and butter of the cow, in which the Hindus delight, has been accounted for by the supposition that at the first introduction of the animal into Java, from whence it came to Borneo, this was a precautionary measure to encourage the breed, by not depriving the calves of their natural sustenance." It may be mentioned that cows are still scarce in Sarawak where the pasture land is limited.<sup>2</sup>

Thus in Borneo the earlier ideas which survive and modify Mohammedanism are, everywhere their wide-spread typical Malay beliefs, with, in certain localities, remnants of influence of Hindu-Javan and Chinese colonies.

Of the third factor producing Indonesian Mohammedanism

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 4 note 2. Traces of Hindu-Javan influence can be found equally prevalent among the Malays and Dyaks of the regions of the former colonies of Madjapahit. Denison, *Jottings of a Tour among the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak*, Ch. i, thinks that the Land Dyaks are the descendants of the Madjapahit colonists on the west coast of Borneo who were driven inland by the introduction of Mohammedanism in 1559. While this may possibly be true, there are many considerations which point to its improbability, and I do not believe that the evidence at present justifies us in presuming this origin of the Land Dyaks.

<sup>2</sup> Low, p. 267; In the *Memoirs of a Malayan Family*, a Malay Ms. of cir. 1700, translated and published by Marsden in 1830, a ceremony is described which implies that the Sumatran savage tribes did not drink milk though they had cows. Marsden comments on this that the natives of the Malay Islands neither drink milk nor make butter, p. 10.



—a mentality more primitive than that of the orthodox Arab teachers—we may fairly say that it has had more effect than the actual definite survivals of ancient customs in producing anti-Mohammedan ideas and distortions of Mohammedan customs. The Malays are described as being, with few exceptions, very superstitious and of a lower grade of civilization and intelligence than the Arabs. We have seen that on the whole Mohammedanism has changed their life less than their life has changed Mohammedanism.

Except in the case of a few individuals who have become wealthy and educated the new faith did not bring any revolutionary conditions which would alter the general mentality of the people. Most of the Malays are still in their mental attitude toward the outside world on the stage of animism and magic. The occult powers hold the same sway over their lives as they do over those of the Dyaks.

Comparing Malay magic as found in various parts of Indonesia with the magic of the Borneo Dyaks, it is doubtful whether there is greater similarity in the divination and incantations of the Dyaks and those of the Malays than arises from the fact that both peoples are below the intellectual attainments that show a reign of law and preclude superstitions. We find all over the world certain general forms of sympathetic magic, belief in charms etc. wherever there is a primitive stage of intellect and civilization. As the Malay civilization is wider in scope and more complex than the Dyak, so their magic is a little less naïve and crude. The Malay is perhaps more akin to the folk-lore of early Europe, the Dyak like that of more primitive peoples.

But besides the general practices of magic and taboo, and an animistic theory of nature, there are certain definite ideas and customs of the Borneo Malay Mohammedans which correspond remarkably closely to those of the Dyaks. We must consider these special local modifications of Islam in addition to those characteristic of Indonesian Mohammedanism in general.

In regard to these customs the question of interest is, did the Malays bring them to the Dyaks? or are they of Borneo origin?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Furness, in his *Folk-lore in Borneo*, p. 10, says that the Dyaks are "closely akin in every respect to the Malays, and no doubt adopted the

I do not believe that that question can be answered positively in the present state of our knowledge. We can only say this much:—

1. Analysis will show them to be admirably adapted to the Dyak method of life.

2. The more the Malays live like Dyaks, the more of these customs do they have, and the more does their Mohammedanism become merely nominal.

3. They are not found among the Malays who are foreign traders so much as among those whose occupation keeps them close to the local environment.

4. They are not only practiced near the coast, but are customs characteristic also of the Dyak tribes of the far interior least affected by Malay influence.

Some of these customs concern the taking of omens from the cries of animals and the flight of birds; the taboo of the flesh of certain animals, especially deer; harvest taboos similar to those of the Dyaks in the few localities where the Malays practice any agriculture; taboos for illness and in case of death; women sorcerers and "doctors" who under the name of "*Bayoh*" perform the same functions among the Malay Mohammedans of Sarawak that the "*Manangs*" do among the Dyaks. The same sort of objects are used as charms as among the Dyaks. An account is given of a Malay Sultan who permitted in his palace a three day ceremony to "drive away Satan" participated in by Malays and Dyaks together, in which women took the prominent part they customarily hold in Dyak ritual.<sup>1</sup>

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traditions which were rife among the Malays both before and after the latter became converted to Mohammedanism." On the other hand Sir Charles Brooke who spent many years among the Malays and Dyaks of Sarawak says of the Malays that "since their arrival they have been mixed with the Dyak and Malanau populations adopting many of their customs and much of their language," i, p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> Bock, pp. 32, 49, 110—112, 198, 230. "The Malays also have their manangs, who are called *Bayoh*, while the ceremony is *Berasih*, but I believe the better instructed Mahometans consider the practice of it altogether inconsistent with the true religion of Islam," Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 19, quoted by Roth, i, p. 282. The pelandok, or mouse-deer is an omen animal in Borneo of Malays, Milinans, Sea Dyaks and Kalamuntans, whose warnings must be rigorously heeded. The mouse-deer figures in some of the folk-stories of the Malay Pen-



Some of the Malays, like the Dyaks, place wooden figures outside their houses to keep off evil spirits. The Malays have a custom which they call "Bertapar", corresponding to the Dyak "Nampok", in which a man goes out alone to a mountain and spends the night alone on its summit, coming back with great power from the spirits. Malay parents give feasts to their relations to celebrate the different periods in their sons' education, and for a lesser festival kill a fowl, for a greater one goats, buffalo or deer. This is exactly the way the Dyaks use the ordinarily forbidden animals in festivals, for a lesser occasion fowls, the larger ones for a greater one. The Dyaks use pigs ceremonially, however, where the Mohammedans use goats and buffalo. In both cases the reason is undoubtedly the same, the comparative scarcity of fowls, the greater scarcity of flesh.<sup>1</sup>

When the Malays lead the Dyaks on piratical expeditions, they no less than the head hunters take pride and delight in the captured heads of the enemies. Though Sir Charles Brooke says that "they do not place them in their houses nor attach any superstitious ideas to them," we have evidence that the Malays have a very sincere regard for the "pantaks" or sacred enclosures to which the Dyaks bring the heads after an expedition to perform the first rites over them; and believe with the Dyaks that "whoever does the least damage to any of the

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insula, but I do not find any record of the sort of superstitious regard in which it is held in Borneo; cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 179, 318. Of the Borneo Malays Haddon says, "A Malay told me: if a Sarawak Malay was striking a light in the evening in his house and a *pelandok* made a noise at the same time the whole family would have to leave the house for three days; should they not do so the house would catch fire and be burned down, or sickness or other calamity would overtake them," p. 286. A Kalamantan chief "resolutely refused to proceed on a journey through the jungle when a mouse-deer (*Plandok*) crossed his path, and he will not eat this deer at any time." Hose & McDougall, *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, 1901, p. 193. Of the Sea Dyaks Perham says, "If the cry of a deer, a *pelandok*, or a gazelle be heard, or if a rat crosses the path before you on your way to the farm, a day's rest will be necessary; or you will cut yourself, get ill, or suffer by failure of the crop." Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 10, quoted by Roth, I, p. 193.

<sup>1</sup> Bock, p. 32; Low, pp. 139, 140; Sir Charles Brooke, I, p. 156, quoted by Roth, I, p. 287; Sir Spenser St. John, I, pp. 143, 144.



wooden figures will be attacked by evil spirits and shortly die."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the Malays tell a story to try to bring their superstitions under the guise of Mohammedan lore. The padi-birds,—those birds of omen which frequent the rice-fields, roost together in large numbers, and are said to build nests in the high jungle not easily found or seen,—figure in a tale which is a typical medley. The Malays say that these birds do not breed like other birds in the jungle, but about the houses of happy invisible beings called Orang Ka-benuar-an, "people of truthfulness", sylvan spirits who care for the seasons of flowers and fruits. The great Mahomet came and all the angels of heaven except the rebel Eblis protected his faith. Eblis went to the Orang Ka-benuar-an and persuaded them to cease being woodland spirits and follow him and he would make them angels. Allah's punishment for listening to the evil angel Eblis was that the Orang Ka-benuar-an must become invisible and no more go among men. But he let them have one bird to live with them and be their messenger to men and they chose the padi-bird. All the omen birds are regarded by the Dyaks as messengers sent by the good spirits to men.<sup>2</sup>

Whenever the Malays do the same things that the Dyaks do, and are subject to the same influences, we find them, without regard to their Mohammedanism, holding the same superstitions as their Dyak companions. In many places, for instance, the Malays living on rivers have become expert canoeists, an activity in which the Dyaks excel, and here they have the same superstition as the Dyaks about the bad luck consequent upon holding the paddle in a certain way.<sup>3</sup>

A few instances may be given also of notions that are purely local and due to the impression of some out-of-the-way experience. On one river the Malays worship the same rocks and hill-spirits as do the neighboring Dyaks. The water of one small river is considered sacred alike by Malays and Dyaks, and healing properties are attributed to it. At a spot on the Sarawak where some Chinese insurgents were fearfully cut up,

<sup>1</sup> Brooke in Kappel, p. 173; Pfeiffer, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> From a verbal account given by a Malay, Motley, *Contributions to the Natural History of Labuan*, London 1855, pp. 35-38.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Spencer St. John, ii, p. 262; Sir Charles Brooke, ii, p. 2; Haddon, p. 285, Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, p. 23.

twenty years after the event the Malays would not bring their boats at night for fear of ghosts. A purely local custom on the island of Talang-Talang, where the Malays make a living by collecting turtle eggs, is the magic practice resorted to by the Hadji in charge of the place to make the turtles lay. It consists of feasting, decorating the sands with flags, and after this is done tabooing the vicinity to strangers,—a very practical provision this last, as the turtles will not lay if disturbed, and moreover strangers who do not come cannot steal. Dyaks and Malays alike attribute magic power to gold dust, that beautiful, valuable thing which the searcher may with good luck pick up out of some of the river beds. The Dyaks scatter it on their fields to bring good harvests. The Malays shake it in their girls' heads to procure a luxuriant crop of hair. Malays and Dyaks, not far apart in their general mental development, have received similar impressions from their surroundings and incorporated them into their different religions.<sup>1</sup>

The Malay Mohammedans show the same tendency as do the Dyaks to attribute supernatural powers to Europeans who excite their sense of wonder or affect their interests for good or ill. Ida Pfeiffer's immunity from danger in passing through hostile countries, her pedestrian prowess, and her strangeness made the Mohammedan Malays, no less than the Dyaks regard her as a kind of demigod. The Malays of Brunei attributed a cholera epidemic to a phantom Spanish vessel seen in the river the night before the epidemic broke out, a theory which illustrated, according to Sir Spenser St. John, the traditional hatred of the Spaniards with whom in olden times the kingdom of Brunei had constant feuds. The Dyaks deified the friendly Sir James Brooke, and invoked his presence at their harvest feasts; the Malays, when in 1881 a flood stopped just short of his statue, took it for a manifestation of the will of God that they should respect the descendants of Sir James Brooke as the flood respected his statue. In this instance the Moham-

<sup>1</sup> Gomes, *Gospel Mission*, July 1865, pp. 106—111, quoted by Roth, i. p. 355; Boyle, pp. 49—50; Bock, p. 112; Denison, chapter IV; Sir Spenser St. John, ii, pp. 264, 325; Brooke in Keppel, p. 113; *Ibid.* in Mundy, i. p. 304; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 265; Low, p. 118. The Malays who live in the region of Mt. Tilong, which is held very sacred by the Dyaks, even after they have been converted to Mohammedanism, are said to "bestow a certain reverence on it." Molengraaf, p. 47, 62.



medans (of a sophisticated coast town by the way) are less frankly pagan than in some other cases we have been noting, and deification is cloaked under a mere "sign of the will of God."<sup>1</sup>

A higher name or phrase will often cover a multitude of primitive superstitions, which nevertheless retain their own true character. For this reason we cannot regard it as proof of Malay origin that many Dyak customs of the far interior are called by words of the Malay language, such as the taboo, which is known in many parts of Borneo as "pamali" the name applied to taboo by Malays in all parts of the Archipelago. Taboo is too wide-spread an institution to be considered peculiarly Malay. And the special forms of it found in Borneo are, as I have pointed out in previous studies, eminently adapted to the immediate environment. Because the Malay language is easily learned and has spread commercially everywhere Malay names for things and spirits are prevalent in the religious nomenclature of the various native tribes. It does not necessarily follow that Malay ideas have gone with the names. For instance the Dyaks of Kotei believe in a supreme being known as Mahatara, Hatalla, or Allah. From the first name we might infer that the belief had at least a relationship to Hindu ideas, from the second to Arabic. But the belief in a chief god can hardly be proved a foreign acquisition by these names, for the same belief is found among Dyak tribes in many parts of Borneo, and the deity is called by various names not suggestive of either of these foreign influences. The chief god is known in different regions as Juwata (thought to be probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Dewata), Tuppa, Sang Jang, Laki Tenangan, Batara, Totadungan, Balli Penyalong, and Ipu. It seems more than probable that usually when a Malay term appears in the Dyak religion it is merely an application of a foreign word to already existing ideas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 94; Sir S. Spenser St. John, i, pp. 291, 292; Dr. A. Piton, *Un Voyage à Bornéo*, Paris, 1888, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Land Dyaks the terms *pamali* and *porich* seem both to be used for taboo, probably with slightly varying significance. Low, p. 260; Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, p. 388. For the names of the Supreme Being among the different tribes; cf. St. John, i, p. 110; *ibid.* in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 242; Bock,



If the likeness of religious customs on the part of nominally Mohammedan Malays and Dyaks is to be explained by the theory that the Malays before their conversion brought these customs to the Dyaks from the Peninsula, we shall have to have some further argument in favor of the supposition than the occasional appearance of a Malay term in the Dyak ritual or pantheon. I think it much more likely that most of the customs, at least, are of native origin and were followed by the Malays because they were in accord with the local atmosphere and method of life which the Malays must to a certain extent adopt.

It is the up-river Malays, settled, unlike most of their nation, in Dyak-like agricultural villages, among whom we find the harvest taboos. The utility of these to the Dyaks I have already discussed in a previous paper.<sup>1</sup> For the taboos on eating the flesh of certain animals there would be the same practical reasons among the Malays as among the Dyaks. In the common experiences of piratical expeditions it is only natural that the Malays should come to have at least a regard for the tokens of prowess—the heads of the slain victims—and share the Dyaks' superstitious attitude toward them. In short when the Malays live like Dyaks they think like Dyaks.

It is hard to tell where the Mohammedan Malays end and the pagan Dyaks begin. They shade into one another like red into yellow. The extremes are easily distinguishable. But where shall we classify the various depths of orange?

There is a legend of an old Dyak chief of mighty strength who left seven sons. The oldest promised to remain Dyak and support his brothers, the youngest followed his father as chief of the Dyaks, while the remaining five became founders of five Malay states. The Malays use this story to explain why they have a right to live at the expense of the Dyaks. It shows to the reader the extreme haziness of race distinctions, even in the minds of the natives themselves, where the two manners of life have amalgamated.<sup>2</sup>

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p. 231; Brooke in Keppel, p. 328; Low, p. 249; De Crespigny, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, v, p. 35, quoted by Roth, i, p. 219; Müller, ii, p. 366, quoted by Roth, i, p. 217 note; Hose and McDougall, *J. A. I.*, 1901, pp. 176, 189.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. O. S.*, vol. 29, pp. 247 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. van der Meulen, quoted by Enthoven, pp. 671, 672.

The key to understanding the situation is I think best given by the tribes of obviously Dyak origin whose history from the time previous to their conversion to Mohammedanism is well known. One tribe of these on a branch of the Kapuas river is known as the "Embahoe Malays". They are Dyaks who within the last fifty years have been converted to Mohammedanism. They have simply taken the oath of fealty to Allah and Mohammed, at the urgency of their Malay overlord, and added to their old customs some Mohammedan ritual and a few brass cannon. They continue in a unchanged environment and gain a living in all their old Dyaks ways, and they have dropped none of their Dyak festivals and spirit-worship. They are head-hunters and openly eat pork and drink arrack.<sup>1</sup>

The next step in Mohammedanizing is to give up pork. The pig is a potent factor in Dyak life, not to be dispensed with without a change of economy. And we are hardly surprised to learn that the Malay dress and other characteristics distinguished the Dyak converts on the Rejang river who went as far as giving up the festal use of the pig. In British North Borneo the inhabitants of the Kinabatangan river shade from the pagans of the upper river to the Dyak Mohammedans by giving up pork as they get nearer to the coast and to the Malay way of living. Analysis of the customs of the native Mohammedans shows that there is much native and little Mohammedan in the up-river districts, where the conversion has taken place through the agency of isolated missionaries and traders, and where there has been no real change of environment or incentive to adopt the Malay method of life. The more thorough-going adoption of Mohammedan principles occurs only in the villages nearer the coast where the coming of Malay traders and Europeans has changed the natives' real economic environment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Enthoven, pp. 205-207.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Spencer St. John, i, p. 46; Ada Pryer, p. 80; Low, p. 338; Boyle, pp. 28, 319; Enthoven, pp. 169-171. Cf. also Enthoven's account of the Sintang "Malays" of the Upper Kapuas, of at least partially Dyak origin, who living up-river in an environment like the Dyaks', although Mohammedans keep to most of the Dyak customs, pp. 563 ff. For further accounts of various degrees of conversion and adoption of Malay method of life, cf. Earl, pp. 271, 272; Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i, p. 51;



A description of what one might call this cultural conversion of the natives is given by Holbé in a recent article in the *Revue Anthropologique*. He describes the houses of a "Malay" village between the Kapuas river and Landak as constructed Malay fashion. The people are Mohammedan, have cows and no pigs, but resemble the Dyaks of the region. "Quand un Dyak deserte le kampong paternel, vient à un centre Malayou et prononce le formule: *La ila hill' Allah* . . . il devient Malais du coup."<sup>1</sup>

I have taken my instances of Dyak conversion from the tribes of three great rivers, those arteries by which Mohammedanism and the Malays have penetrated at certain points toward the interior of the island. It is important to note that the farther up-river we go, the more closely does the manner of life of both Malays and natives necessarily approach the primitive jungle type, and the more loosely are the precepts of Islam followed by both Malays and native converts. There are far fewer Hadji from among the up-river people, and those who do go to Mecca are little respected on their return.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Malays of the coast towns, however, especially the ports trading constantly with Europe and Asia, where European influence has made the environment more cosmopolitan than Bornean, we find greater power of the generally familiar customs of Islam. There are mosques and prayers; there is verbal knowledge of the Koran, even if it is only used to determine the ceremonial of marriages and burials, or recited

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Cator, p. 57; Sir R. Alcock, *Handbook of British North Borneo*, London, Colonial Exhibition, 1886, p. 37. Among the Milanaux, whose peculiar opportunities for sago trade has made their Malayanisation fairly complete in many localities, an old custom to be given up was that of human sacrifice. This seems also to have prevailed at some time in other parts of Borneo. Spenser St. John, i, p. 46; *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 10, p. 182, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Low, p. 335, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Veth, ii, p. 321.

<sup>1</sup> Holbé, *Revue Anthropologique*, 1911, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Enthoven, p. 567. For descriptions of the Malay and Dyak up-river agricultural communities, cf. Nieuwenhuis, *Central Borneo*, i, pp. 19, 20; Bock, p. 49; Enthoven, pp. 131-134, 176-180. Low says of the coast Malays that "they seldom apply themselves to gardening or agriculture, trusting entirely for their supplies of rice and fruits to the industrious Dyaks of the interior, and to the Chinese gardens in the town for the vegetables they require," p. 160.



uncomprehendingly as a charm to keep off evil spirits; there are numerous Hadjis who return to great respect and to be reverently addressed by the title of Tuan-ku; and there is some observance of the month of Ramadhan. In Sarawak, particularly, the competition of Christian missions greatly increased the zeal and strictness of Mohammedanism. There was a noticeable pulling away from superstitions and toning up of the tenets of Islam after the establishment of a Christian mission in 1840.<sup>1</sup>

In the ports, too, the Malays are kept stirred up by the Arabs. These have never come to Borneo in any numbers, but have been individual Hadjis and Mollahs, come to arouse the zeal of the converts, and they have been adventurers inciting, until repressed by Europeans, to plunder by land and sea in the name of the Holy war. They are for the most part found as individuals ruling by force of intellect and leadership over a village of followers and slaves. They all claim and receive the title of Seriff.<sup>2</sup>

Two classes of Mohammedans in Borneo yet remain to be mentioned, the Chinese, who are included in enumerations of Mohammedans but concerning whose religious customs I have not enough material to speak intelligently; and the Klings, a small number of colonists or merchants from India, who have in Sarawak their separate mosque of the Shiah sect which stands alongside of the Arabian Sunnis' without the usual antagonism. The number and influence of the Klings is so small as not to be, so far as I have been able to find out, a real factor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 77, 78, 331, 360; Bock, p. 25; Keppel, p. 266; Boyle, pp. 131, 173; Miss Quigley in *Missionary Review of the World*, June 1907, p. 442; Low, pp. 123, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Holbe, *loc. cit.*, p. 430; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 362, 364; Boyle, p. 298; Keppel, p. 269; Veth, i, p. 248; Low says that the seriffs "have always been held in high consideration. They are always addressed by the title of Tuan-ku, or 'your highness,' and on state days and festivals occupy a position more eminent than that of the highest hereditary nobles," p. 123. For the real intellectual and economic leadership which supports this prestige, cf. accounts of the Arabs above p. 323. In Acheh "Teungku" is the title given to all "who either hold an office in connection with religion or distinguish themselves from the common herd by superior knowledge or more strict observance of religious laws." Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Low, p. 126, 93 ff.

The Malays' purpose in converting the Dyaks, besides their mere religious zeal for converts, was to establish a basis for allegiance on which to build their political overlordship. More often than conquering the natives by force of arms, they would trade with them, convert them to Islam and then take tribute from them. The inducement for the Dyaks was that a man by adopting the Malay religion and manner of life could raise himself to the status of the superior, dominant race. The Malays made conversion easy by requiring nothing of the Dyaks that conflicted with their customs. As we have seen, however, near the coast where surroundings were more favorable to the Malay method of life than the Dyak, the Dyak customs dropped of their own accord.<sup>1</sup>

All this, it must be remembered, applies to a very small portion of the Dyaks,—only those of the navigable rivers frequented by the Malays. The tribes who were protected far in the jungle, or who fled before the coming of the intruders to the tributaries and upper waters beyond the point of easy navigation, have preserved their resources as well as their customs untouched, and have a far better lot than their subject neighbors.

Their seclusion is, however, not likely to be long-lived. Within recent years there has been a rapid opening up of the country by Europeans, both Dutch and English.<sup>2</sup> The result has been a vast increase, even within the last decade of valuable material for knowledge of the people of the interior. Not only has the material increased in mass but there is a steady growth of reliability of observation as well as a more systematic method of presenting the results. Taking the sequence from the mediæval travellers' tales; through the

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<sup>1</sup> H. W. Mutinghe, *De Bevestiging van het Nederlandsch Gezag op Borneo in Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1850, D. II, p. 164; Crawford, *Malay Grammar*, i, p. LXXXII, van Lijnden, *Anteekening over de landen van het stroomgebied der Kapoeas in Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Ned-Indië*, 1851, pp. 584, 601, quoted by Veth, ii, p. 322; Enthoven, p. 209; van Meulen, quoted by Enthoven, p. 673; Bock, pp. 64, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Nieuwenhuis, *Influence of changed conditions*, etc., p. 5; Buys, p. 139; Bock, writing in 1881 said of some of the up-river tribes of southern Borneo, "They would not even see a Malay, and always remained in the densest part of the forest where it was impossible to track them without a guide," p. 69.

abundance of popular literary generalizations which appeared about 1850 when the dramatic suppression of piracy had caught the attention of Europe; down to the accounts of scientific exploring expeditions of recent years, we find a steady development of completeness and systematic presentation of material, as well as vast increase in the amount of actual knowledge of the country.

Even yet the accounts we have of the Malay and Dyak Mohammedans in Borneo are too fragmentary to make any theoretical analysis of them definitely conclusive. They are sufficiently striking to be very suggestive. Within the next ten or fifteen years, as the material is coming in, it should be possible to make a comparative and schematic analysis of local conditions, which I believe will prove of great theoretic significance.

From the notes I have collected here I have formulated tentatively five principles of borrowing, several of them well recognized by writers on the history of religion, though seldom definitely stated.

A new religion is accepted:—

1. In so far as it fits in with the already existing ideals of the people.

In accord with this principle the Malays accepted that part of Mohammedanism which fit in with the trend of their habits and customs. The especial precepts which they accentuated were the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy War, both of which furthered their ideals of trade and of piracy.

A new religion is accepted:—

2. In so far as it does not enforce precepts which are antagonistic to the peoples' ideals or unsuitable to the economic conditions.

We have seen how the ritual prayers, the prohibitions of drink gambling and opium, and the laws of trade and property of the Koran were ignored by the Borneo Malays when their habits or the local conditions made strongly against them, and how the position of the Malay women was determined more by their economic status than by orthodox Moslim theory.

If, then, it made so little change, why did even the nominal conversion take place? It was because Mohammedanism in



Borneo fulfilled the indispensable condition to the introduction of a foreign faith, our third principle, viz;—that

A new religion is accepted:—

3. When the new ideas offer better prospects than the people's old religion for success and happiness under the existing conditions.

The Hadji, the Holy War, the comradeship in the bonds of a common allegiance with foreign traders all offered wider scope for the Malays' ambitions.

Our fourth principle is that

A new religion is accepted:—

4. In so far as the forces that bring the foreign faith also bring a change in civilization.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the Arabs coming to Borneo in small numbers did very little to change the real surroundings of the Malays. And no revolution of life has occurred that would lift them out of their old mental attitude of superstition. Therefore the Malays have accepted only certain superficial precepts of Mohammedanism which appealed to them, without changing their whole pagan attitude toward the outside world. The Dyaks have for the most part not accepted Mohammedanism at all, while they remain in their jungle environment, and a few have accepted the superficial Malay Mohammedanism just in so far as they have left the jungle and taken to the Malay manner of life. Mohammedanism has not brought to Borneo any change in civilization that would lead to a thorough-going change of the people's ideas.

It has kept its nominal hold by observing the law of borrowing that I have stated as my fifth principle, one very familiar in the history of religion, viz;—that

A new religion is accepted:—

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting instance of protest against a pre-Mohammedan superstition after the coming first of the Mohammedan traders and then of the Europeans had changed the local conditions is given in the *Sarawak Gazette*, 122, p. 2, quoted by Roth, i, p. 287. During a terrible storm an old and nearly forgotten custom was resorted to—that of damaging trees and property to frustrate the evil spirit of the storm. After the storm had abated the losers of property complained to the government, "allowing that in bygone days it had been a custom, but then, they state, their gardens were of little value; it was different now, as labour was dear and everything was of value in the market."

5. Only if it incorporates into itself or tolerates quietly the old traditions of the people that continue to fit their life.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the converted Dyaks keep right on with all their savage anti-Mohammedan customs except as some of these have dropped of their own accord when the Dyaks adopt the Malay mode of life. Of the traditions that have survived in the Malay faith, we have seen that these are a medley of pre-Mohammedan Malay ideas with some Hindu-Javan, Chinese or Dyak influences in different localities, holding on because they are useful, or better adapted than the new religion to the state of mind that the environment has produced.

As the result of the working of these principles we have in Borneo, a quasi-Mohammedanism, or rather a new national or class religion, with a certain investiture of Mohammedan names and forms. We see that this resultant in the same country varies from one locality to another, from one class to another as the economic conditions are different.

I believe that our knowledge thus far of Mohammedanism in Borneo goes to support these five "laws of contact," and that further facts will be likely to corroborate them, though probably in a modified form. Of one thing I think we may at least be certain. The parallelism of religious and economic development holds true as rigidly in the borrowing of foreign ideas as in the growth of customs on the native soil. We have not reached in our explanation the full significance of a religious usage when we have traced out the history of its geographical migrations. Aboriginal or imported it has an equally vital relationship to the life of the people.

<sup>1</sup> Snouck Hurgronje recognizes this principle fully and states it in his general remarks on the spread of Islam. "Side by side with the law and doctrine which has developed in the school during the past 13 centuries, and which is universally admitted to be inspired yet is universally neglected, there exists an entirely different standard of religion law and morality which holds good in practice. This practical teaching is indeed largely coloured by the influence of the theory of the schools, yet to a greater extent it rests on a different basis; therein are expressed the views of life which controlled men's minds in the pre-Mohammedan period and therein do we also find traces of all that has befallen the various peoples since they embraced the creed of Islam," p. 277. "It is of course quite possible to admit the validity of a law without observing its precepts . . . . Religious teaching, however, must neither admit any elements which are unacceptable to a large part of the community, nor reject things which are indispensable to a great number of the faithful," p. 290.

*A Tammuz Fragment.*—By Professor J. DYNELEY PRINCE,  
Ph. D., Columbia University, N. Y.

The text of the following fragment (K. 3356) was published by Kerr Duncan Macmillan (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, V. p. 679) without translation or explanation. From obv. 1 to rev. 1, we may supply for the broken parts of the lines the general idea "may it (the evil) be conjured"; i. e., "be it conjured 6. by the — — — word of him who is dead, 7. by the name of the spouse, 8. by Nanâ, etc., 9. by the consort who is sadly wailing, etc." The wailing Nanâ, weeping for Tammuz, appears also in CT. XV. obv. 14: *er (AŠI)-ri e-ne-ir xi-mu-un-na-te-(ga)* 'wailing for him let her begin' (Prince, *AJSL*. xxvii. p. 85).

The fragment under discussion is chiefly interesting because it seems to be, not the usual Tammuz-hymn, but an incantation, to remove evil from an afflicted person by adjuring the sorrows of Tammuz and his consort Nanâ. The idea of Tammuz and his grieving mother, as set forth by this text, seems to imply that their divine sorrows had a certain theological value; in other words, that they constituted a vicarious suffering to which men might look as a compensation for physical ailments. In this respect, the poem is a really striking prototype of modern Christian litanies, which adjure the Deity by the sorrows of the Incarnate God and His Mother to have mercy on mankind.

### Text and Translation

#### Obverse

- |    |              |
|----|--------------|
| 1. | -ta          |
| 2. | -ta          |
| 3. | -ge (KIT)-ta |
| 4. | -ge (KIT)-ta |
| 5. | -ge (KIT)-ta |



6. -KA *dig* (BAD)-*gá-ge* (KIT)-*ta* — — — —  
by the — — word of him who is dead — — — —
7. *mu mu-ud-na-zu-ta* — — — —  
by the name of thy spouse — — — —
8. *Nin-ri dam sib-ba-ta* — — — —  
by Naná the consort of the shepherd — — — —
9. *dam-ma is-gig-ga-ab-ta* — — — —  
by the consort who is sadly wailing — — — —
10. <sup>4</sup>*Dumu* (AN-TUR) *Ci-ir-tur-ra-ge* (KIT)-*ta* — — — —  
by the divine child of Cirturra — — — —
11. XU-SI *ci-ib-ba-ta ga* (GA-TU) *ci-ib-ba* — — — —  
by the excellent magnate; the excellent lofty one — — — —
12. LAX-BA (*siba*) XU-SI *eri* (= *álu*) *ib-ba-ge* (KIT) *ga*  
(?) DU (?) DU (?) *da* — — — —  
(by) the shepherd, the magnate of the lower city; the lofty one, when he goes — — — —
13. *u me-a am* <sup>4</sup>*Dumu-zi, ag-gad* (RAM-ŠU) *dug* (KA)-*ga, lax* (DU)-*lax* (DU)-*ga gud* — — — —  
(by) him who is the wild bull Tammuz, who speaks love, when he shines (may) the bull — — — —
14. LAX-BA (*siba*) *ag* (RAM)-*ta im ga* (GA-TU)-*a-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by the shepherd of love, by the exalted lord — — — —
15. <sup>4</sup>*Dumu-zi-ta im ga* (GA-TU)-*a-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by Tammuz, by the exalted lord — — — —
16. XU-SI *ga* (GA-TU) *šub* (RU)-*a XU-SI la* (LAL) *ba-da-gaz-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by the exalted magnate who is abused, the magnate of fulness who is slain — — — —
17. *ga ga* (GA-TU) *šub* (RU)-*a ga la* (LAL) *ba-da-gaz-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by the exalted one who is abused, by the lofty one of fulness who is slain — — — —

## Reverse

1. *im ga* (GA-TU) *šub* (RU)-*a im-ga* (GA-TU) — — — —  
by the exalted lord who is abused, the exalted lord — — — —
2. *gud-gim si-ni-šu* (KU) *š(ub-RU)* — — — —  
(by him who) like a bull with respect to his horns (is abused) — — — —

3. *e-ci-gim gin* — — — —  
 (by him who) like sheep (?) — — — —  
 4. *tur-gim (ab-)* — — — —  
 (by him who) like a pasture — — — —  
 5. *alim-ma* — — — —  
 the mighty one — — — —  
 6. *bar-su* (KU) — — — —  
 on one side (may the curse stand)  
 7. *bar* — — — —  
 on one side (may the curse stand)  
 (a number of lines may follow.)

### Commentary

- 1—5. *-ta* preceded by genitive must mean: by the — — — —  
 of; cf. 6—10.  
 6. Some adjective qualifying KA 'word' is omitted. For  
*-ta* in adjuration, cf. Gud. 4, 2: *ā* <sup>4</sup>*Nina-ta* 'by the might  
 of Nina'. Note that *-ta* always reverts to the first word  
 of the phrase.  
 7. *mu-ud-na* = *xâiru* 'spouse', Br. 1304.  
 8. Apparently *sib* is correct, as LAX-BA 'shepherd' = *siba*  
 occurs line 12.  
 9. The *-ma* in *dam-ma* is simply prolongation and not the  
 oblique 1 p. The *is* = *es* = A-ŠI 'weeping' (cf. AJSL.  
 XXVII p. 85; Prince).  
 10. *Ci-ir-tur-ra*; cf. *Ci-ir-tur* | BU-DA | *ama* <sup>4</sup>*Dumu-zi-ge*  
 (KIT) 'mother of Tammuz', Br. 4206.  
 11. XU-SI, I render, 'magnate' as the chief meaning of  
 XU-SI (cf. M. 1198 ff.) seems to denote eminence; cf.  
 M. 1221: = *šagû* 'high' (M. 1220: = *šadû* 'mountain').  
 XU-SI is also parallel here with *ga* (GA-TU).

Note the Eme-Sal form *ci-ib-ba*, for Eme-Ku *dug-ga* 'good,  
 excellent'.

12. *ib-ba*, I render, 'lower' as *ib-ta* = *šaplûš*, IV. 21, 13b.  
 13. *ag-gad* (RAM-SU) 'love'; cf. 14: *ag* (RAM) *ta*.  
 14—15. *im* = *bêlûtu*, IV. 21, 27b.  
 16—17. *šub* (RU) = *maqâtu*, Br. 1432; *nadû*, Br. 1434. *la*  
 (LAL) = *lalû* 'fulness', Br. 984. In 16, *gas* = *dâku* 'slay',  
 MSL 130.

Note that *-ta-su* (KU), the double postposition, is not un-

common in contracts; cf. William M. Nesbit, *Tablets from Drehem* (Thesis, Columbia University), Tablet 12 obv. 2: *mu è-a-ni-ta-su* (KU) 'for the name of (for) his house'.

#### Reverse—

2. This evidently refers to the abased condition of Tammuz whose horns are brought low. The same strain of lament probably runs through Rev. 3—5.
3. *e-ci* = *cênu* 'sheep', M. 4165.
4. *tûr* = *tarbacu* (*passim*).
5. *alim* = the enclosed *xal-a-lim* (SI).
- 6—7. Evidently the conjuration: *ina axâtî lizziz* 'on one side may the curse stand' = sum. *bar-ku xe-im-ta-gub* (DU); *passim*.



*The name of the Erythraean Sea.*—By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The origin of geographical names is often beyond explanation: they arise by accident, pass from mouth to mouth and from age to age, taking on new meanings and new locations, until they become mere arbitrary words, and imagination must come in to explain them. So it is with the name of the Erythraean Sea. And while no man may surely say, here arose that word, yet as Sir Thomas Browne observed, "what song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, although puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture".

A recent paper in the J. A. O. S. (April, 1912) by Miss Sarah F. Hoyt of Johns Hopkins, has embodied much interesting information concerning this ancient name, and explains its origin, with the approval of no less an authority than our much-respected fellow-member Professor Haupt, as derived from the microscopic algae *Trichodesmium erythraeum* occasionally found in quantity on the surface of the Red Sea, to which they impart a reddish or yellowish tinge; the decomposition of which may have caused the first Egyptian plague (Exod. 7, 17—21).

Now it is true that from Roman times onward *Mare Rubrum*, Red Sea, meant the long gulf that separates Egypt from Arabia; and it is equally true that under certain conditions of wind and climate a reddish vegetable scum forms on its almost stagnant waters, from which the name "Red" might have been suggested. But this explanation impresses me as a little too simple, too obvious. The presence of algae in sufficient quantity to color the surface over a large area would be an exceptional occurrence, not likely to lend a name to the sea. This suggestion was made by Lobo more than a

century ago; he preferring, however, to derive the name from a dye, "sufu", which he said was produced by the *sufu* or bulrushes, that gave the Hebrew name to these waters. That too seems improbable because the dye, if so produced, was not of commercial importance sufficient to characterize that sea. Another suggestion connected the name with Edom, meaning red, and would have made Erythraean a mere translation of Idumean.

The name Erythraean is Greek: *Θάλασσα ἑρυθρά*, or *ἑρυθραία*. It is not derived from any Semitic or Egyptian name, and it was not applied to the body of water which we know as the Red Sea. The Greeks knew that as the "Arabian Gulf", the natural Egyptian name. Consequently any explanation derived from the peoples of that region must be arbitrary and without foundation.

The early Greek literature conceived the habitable earth as a circular plane surrounded by the Ocean Stream. Little by little as the mental horizon of the Greeks was pushed outward it was seen that this scheme must be modified, and that the surrounding ocean here and there penetrated into the solid earth. Such irregularities were noted in the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Sea, supposed to communicate with the ocean stream; such also was our Red Sea, known to the Greeks as the Arabian Gulf. Of the navigation of the outer ocean the early Greeks knew very little. Vague stories came to them of Phoenician and Carthaginian trading beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and of a circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician ships in the service of Egypt. Of the eastern ocean they had no knowledge until they were brought into contact with the great empire of the Persians, which had overthrown that of the Chaldeans, and under both of which there had been sea-trading since time immemorial between the Euphrates and Western India. That was the sea-route which they meant by the word Erythraean, which came to them from Persia. It is through that connection that its origin and meaning must be sought.

*Ἐρυθρός* in Greek means red, *ἑρυθραίνειν* to dye red, and *ἑρυθραίνω* to blush; there is a Greek personal name *Ἐρυθρός* that has some connection with these meanings, and a Greek city *Ἐρυθραί* in Boeotia, whose oracles made the name familiar on Greek lips, as one readily to be extended to some new-

found region. Possibly all these facts may have had their share in the application of Erythraean to the waters between Babylonia and India, and later by a reasonable extension to the whole Indian Ocean and all the gulfs that communicate with it.

Hecataeus, the first of the Greek geographers, knows nothing of an Erythraean Sea. The first writers that give us the name are Herodotus, as quoted below, and Pindar (*P.* 4, 448), the latter in one passage only. From Herodotus, however, we have sufficient information clearly to explain the meaning of the name as current in his time, which referred to Persian and not Egyptian waters. He speaks, (1, 180) of the Euphrates flowing from Armenia through Babylon and falling into the Erythraean Sea. Again (4, 37) he says:

"The Persian settlements extend to the southern sea, called the Erythraean; above them to the north are the Medes; above the Medes, the Saspire; and above the Saspire, the Colchians who reach to the northern sea, into which the river Phasis discharges itself. These four nations occupy the space from sea to sea....

"Another tract beginning at Persia, reaches to the Erythraean Sea; it comprises Persia, and after that Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia; it terminates (terminating only by custom) at the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius carried a canal from the Nile....

"Beyond the Persians, Medes, Saspire, and Colchians, toward the east and rising sun, extends the Erythraean Sea, and on the north the Caspian Sea and the river Araxes, which flows toward the rising sun. Asia is inhabited as far as India; but beyond this it is all desert toward the east, nor is any one able to describe what it is. Such and so great is Asia."<sup>1</sup>

The first Greek record of navigation in the Erythraean Sea is likewise found in Herodotus (4, 4):

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could

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<sup>1</sup> Quotations are from Cary's translation.



rely to make a true report, and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspapyrus and the country of Pactyce<sup>1</sup> sailed down the river toward the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward they arrived in the thirtieth month (τρεκκοστή μῆς) at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail around Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented this sea. Thus the other parts of Asia, except toward the rising sun, are found to exhibit things similar to Libya".

The truth of this story in Herodotus has been seriously questioned in voluminous arguments which are now so much waste paper, as we have written records of Hindu trade with Babylon, which they called Bavern,<sup>2</sup> more than a century before that time, and we have the discovery of teak logs in buildings at the ancient Ur reconstructed by Nabonidus. These logs came from western India, from the Cambay region; and in the *Periplus* of the first century, we have a written record of the same trade still existing.

That the Persian Gulf was almost an inland lake was not fully understood by Herodotus, and it is clear that by the name Erythraean he meant the surrounding ocean to the south and east of the Eurasian continent. The eastern extension of that continent was quite unknown to him, as he supposed Europe to be larger than Asia, and imagined western India to be the eastern boundary of Asia. That Erythraean

<sup>1</sup> Caspapyrus, Sanscrit Kasypapura. This was the Indus valley in the neighborhood of the confluence of the Kabul river, more or less the Peshawar district. Hecataeus mentions this place as a city of the Gandharians. Pactyce, or the Pactyan land, was the upper course of the Kabul valley; or more generally the territory in which Pukhta was spoken—southeastern Afghanistan. See Lassen, I, 142—2, 631. Vincent Smith, *Early History*, 2nd edition p. 65; Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* pp. 42, 189.

<sup>2</sup> See Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* p. 104. *Jātakas* 3, 126—189. As to the reconstruction of Ur by Nabonidus see Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires* pp. 620—7. Inscriptions of Nabonidus are quoted in Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* 157—171. As to the teak trade from India see Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* pp. 36, 152, 201. See also Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, p. 74.

to his mind meant the southern and eastern surrounding ocean is clearly shown in 1, 203:

"The Caspian is a sea by itself, having no communication with any other sea; for the whole of that which the Grecians navigate, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, and the Erythraean Sea are all one."

And that the name Erythraean in the mind of Herodotus did not specifically refer to the body of water we now call Red Sea is clearly shown by the following (2, 10):

"There is also in the Arabian territory, not far from Egypt, branching from the Erythraean Sea, a bay of the sea, of the length and width I shall here describe. The length of the voyage, beginning from the innermost part of this bay to the broad sea, occupied forty days for a vessel with oars; and the width where the bay is widest, half a day's passage, and in it an ebb and flow takes place daily; and I am of opinion that Egypt was formerly a similar bay, this stretching from the Northern Sea toward Ethiopia; and the Arabian Bay, which I am describing, from the south toward Syria; and that they almost perforated their recesses so as to meet each other, overlapping to some small extent. Now, if the Nile were to turn its stream into the Arabian Gulf, what would hinder it from being filled with soil by the river within twenty thousand years? For my part I think it would be filled within ten thousand."

The same topography is followed by Strabo (16, 3. 1) where he says, describing Arabia, "The northern side of this tract is formed by the desert, the eastern by the Persian Gulf, the western by the Arabian Gulf, and the southern by the Great Sea lying outside of both gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythraean Sea".

This is confirmed by Arrian in his *Indika* (19), E. J. Chinock's translation (Bohn Ed.), in the following passage:

"This narrative is a description of the voyage which Nearchus made with the fleet starting from the outlet to the Indus through the Great Sea as far as the Persian Gulf, which some call the Erythraean Sea." Again (40):

"The land of Persia has been divided into three parts in regard to climate. The part of it situated near the Erythraean Sea is sandy and barren, on account of the heat; the part from this toward the north enjoys a more temperate climate, the country is grassy and the meadows moist...



Still further to the north the country is wintry and snowy." Again (43):

"The country on the right of the Erythraean Sea beyond Babylonia is Arabia, most of it; part of this extends as far as the sea of Phoenicia and Palestine-Syria; but toward the west in the direction of the inner sea, the Egyptians border on Arabia. . . .

"Alexander despatched men from Babylon to sail as far as possible on the right of the Erythraean Sea, and to discover the places there."

The first attempt to assemble and discriminate between the various explanations of the name Erythraean (*Ἐρυθρὰ* or *Ἐρυθραία*) is found in the book of Agatharchides on the Erythraean Sea, which may be dated about 120 B. C. Agatharchides was certainly in a position to know his subject; occupying a prominent official position in Egypt under the Ptolemies, he was fully acquainted with the southern incense trade and gives us the first detailed account of the power and wealth of the kingdoms of South Arabia, and of the way in which that rich trade was monopolized. His criticisms are therefore worthy of consideration. He says, first, that the name is derived by some from the color of the sea, arising from reflection of the sun which is vertical, or from the mountains which are red from being scorched with intense heat. This suggestion he dismisses as quite inadequate. The tremendous heat on the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf is noted by many writers. Arrian in his account of the voyage of Alexander's captain Nearchus speaks of the possibility of sailing from Babylon around Arabia to Egypt, but says, quite incorrectly, "No man has ever made this voyage on account of the heat and desolateness of the country. During the day one cannot keep out under the open sky because of the heat."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Centuries later, the Persian traveler 'Abd-ar-Razzak writes of the climate of Oman (Hakluyt Society's publications, vol. 22 p. 9):

"Although it was at that time spring, in the season in which the nights and days are of equal length, the heat of the sun was so intense that it burned the ruby in the wine and the marrow in the bones, the sword in its scabbard melted like wax, and the gems which adorned the handle of the khandjar were reduced to coal.



Thus while Agatharchides admits that we might explain the name Erythraean, red, from the fact that the sea is, as it were, red hot, we should still be away from the truth.

Another explanation, which Strabo (6, 4. 20) quotes from Ctesias of Onidus through Artemidorus, ascribes the name to a spring which discharges into the sea a red and ochrous water. This is certainly an inadequate explanation, and, as Agatharchides observes, a false one, "for the sea is not red". Yet this was the explanation adopted by Strabo and thence by the Roman geographers, and more recently by Professor Haupt. But Agatharchides is quite right in saying that mere color of the water is no guide to the name. The mediaeval Chinese writer Chau-Ju-Kua calls this same body of water the "Green Sea".<sup>1</sup>

Agatharchides then offers his final explanation (§ 5) in a story which he quotes from a Persian named Boxus whom he had met in Athens, and this story, the full importance of which has not been understood, I venture to translate entire.

"The Persian account is after this manner. There was a man famous for his valor and wealth, by name Erythras, a Persian by birth, son of Myozaeus. His home was by the sea, facing towards islands which are not now desert, but were so at the time of the empire of the Medes, where Erythras lived. In the winter time he used to go to Pasargadae,

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"Soon as the sun shone forth from the height of heaven,  
The heart of stone grew hot beneath its orb;  
The horizon was so much scorched up by its rays,  
That the heart of stone became soft like wax:  
The bodies of the fishes, at the bottom of the fish-ponds,  
Burned like the silk which is exposed to the fire;  
Both the water and the air gave out so burning a heat,  
That the fish went away to seek refuge in the fire;  
In the plains the chase became a matter of perfect ease,  
For the desert was filled with roasted gazelles.

"The extreme heat of the atmosphere gave one the idea of the fire of hell."

<sup>1</sup> Chau-Ju-Kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*: Translated and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill: St. Petersburg, 1911.

(See map at end; also page 12. The name Green Sea is of Arabic origin, carried into Chinese records. Kia Tun speaks of Malabar as the "eastern shore of the Green Sea".)

making the journey at his own cost; and he indulged in these changes of scene now for profit and now for some pleasure of his own life. On a time the lions charged into a large flock of his mares and some were slain; while the rest, unharmed and terror-stricken at what they had seen, fled to the sea. A strong wind was blowing from the land, and as they plunged into the waves in their terror, they were carried beyond their footing; and their fear continuing, they swam through the sea and came out on the shore of the island opposite. With them went one of the herdsmen, a youth of marked bravery, who thus reached the shore by clinging to the shoulders of a mare. Now Erythras looked for his mares, and not seeing them, first put together a raft of small size, but secure in the strength of its building; and happening on a favourable wind, he pushed off into the strait, across which he was swiftly carried by the waves, and so found his mares and found their keeper also. And then, being pleased with the island, he built a stronghold at a place well chosen by the shore, and brought thither from the mainland opposite such as were dissatisfied with their life there, and subsequently settled all the other uninhabited islands with a numerous population; and such was the glory ascribed to him by the popular voice because of these his deeds, that even down to our own time they have called that sea, infinite in extent, Erythraean. And so for the reason here set forth, it is to be well distinguished (for to say *Ἐρυθρα Θάλασσα*, Sea of Erythras, is a very different thing from *Θάλασσα ἑρυθρά*, Red Sea); for the one commemorates the most illustrious man of that sea, while the other refers to the color of the water. Now the one explanation of the name, as due to the color, is false (for the sea is not red), but the other, ascribing it to the man who ruled there, is the true one, as the Persian story testifies.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The origin of these names, Erythras and Myoxenus, is a matter of conjecture. One suspects a loan to the Persians from some earlier race. Myoxenus dimly suggests Mithra, the moon (perhaps Mithrad, “known to the Moon” (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*); while Erythras might represent Araxwā or Araxrāspa, two high priests from the north (cf. *Dinkart* V. and IX); or have we here Aresh, the demon of envy, whom Zarathushtra called “most deceitful of demons” (*Dinkart* IX).—some divinity of an earlier race adopted by the Persians as their arch-devil?



Arrian likewise refers to this story (*Indika* 37) in his mention of the island Oaracta-(Kish).<sup>1</sup> "In this island they said that the tomb of the first king of this country was shown. They said that his name was Erythras, from whom this sea is called Erythraean." Of Kish he also says (*Indika* 37): "It produces plenty of vines, palm trees and corn, and is full 800 stadia in length. In this island the sepulchre of the first monarch thereof is said still to remain, and his name was Erythras, and from him the sea was called the Erythraean Sea."

Strabo, in the passage already quoted (16, 3, 1) in describing Arabia bounds it on the east by the Persian Gulf, on the west by the Arabian Gulf, and on the south "by the great sea lying outside both the gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythraean Sea." Strabo likewise, though in one passage (Hamilton & Falconer's translation, Bohn Ed.) he adopts the color theory of the origin of the name, admits the story of Erythras as follows (16, 3, 1):

"Nearchus and Orthogoras relate that an island Ogyris lies to the south, in the open sea, at the distance of 2000 stadia from Carmania. In this island is shown the sepulchre of Erythras, a large mound planted with wild palms. He was king of the country, and the sea received its name from him. It is said that Mithropastes, the son of Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, pointed out these things to them. Mithropastes was banished by Darius, and resides in the island; he joined himself to those who had come down to the Persian Gulf and hoped through their means to have an opportunity of returning to his own country....

"Nearchus says that they were met by Mithropastes, in company with Mazenes, who was governor of one of the islands, called Oaracta, in the Persian Gulf; that Mithropastes after his retreat from Ogyris, took refuge there, and was hospitably received; and that he had an interview with Mazenes, for the purpose of being recommended to the Macedonians, in the fleet of which Mazenes was the guide."

In this Persian story of Erythras may be found remnants of very early legend. We are introduced to a settlement in southern Persia on the lowlands bordering the gulf. Their

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<sup>1</sup> Verochitha-Vroet-Kiamis-Kish.



chief went regularly to the Persian capital "at his own expense," presumably to offer tribute. During his absence, shall we say because the tribute was insufficient, a lion attacked and scattered his mares, driving them across to uninhabited islands accessible from the shore. The highland of Persia is still the "land of the lion and the sun". The lion is particularly a symbol of Persia; and have we not here the kernel of a story of attack by Persian forces upon a coast people of another race who were forced across to the islands of Ormus and Kish, and thence probably to the coast of Oman and southern Arabia? The opposition of the lion to the mare is the aggression of powerful Persia against helpless Arabia. The story is placed by Agatharchides under the empire of the Medes. I believe, however, that it may be given a much earlier origin, and that we may possibly have here an echo of the ancient conflict between the highland and the plain which characterizes the history of early Chaldaea.

The tomb of king Erythras, of which Arrian speaks, which was evidently a type of structure mentioned by modern travelers as still found in that region, seems to apply to a pre-Semitic race settled in the Persian Gulf and carrying on sea trade there. The remnants of that commercial system which Goetz, (*Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels* p. 38), has aptly entitled "Turanian-Hamitic", may be traced through Makran and Baluchistan to Dravidian India on the one hand, and through Oman and southern Arabia, the ancient Habash to modern Abyssinia on the other. There is some significance in the mediaeval Arabic name for this sea (e. g. Mas'ûdî), "Sea of Habash". Had we the evidence, I believe we might find the name Erythraean to have sprung originally from some name of that race, possibly even a semi-totemic color handed down through the legends of the adjacent highlands, first Elamitic and later Persian.

Other meanings suggest themselves from the Persian connection. Firstly, of course Erythraean means oriental, eastern, pure and simple. As Herodotus observes, it is the sea "that looks toward the rising sun", from Persia; the eastern and southern segments of the encircling ocean as distinguished from the western and northern, to which he gives the name Atlantic; and so, poetically, we may call it the sea of the blushing morn—the sea of the rising sun. Especially in this



The great Persian king Cyrus was by name "the sun of the morning". King Erythras himself, "the king of the rosy morn", we might also connect with Cyrus, save that his tomb was then too recent for its location to have been moved by legend from the mountains to the island of Kish.

Yet I believe that the story of Erythras ante-dates the Persian faith or the very existence of Persians on that coast.

So much, then, for Erythraean as the Sea of the East, the rising sun and the blushing morn.

Another meaning I think the name includes, derived from the purple-fisheries which were among its earliest commercial assets. *Erythraia* is to dye red, and the treasured dye of that hue running from bright red to dark purple, according to method of treatment, was a product of the shell-fish *murex*; later cultivated on the Phoenician coast of Syria, but in earlier ages probably in the shallow, almost tideless, waters of the Persian Gulf. We have the word in Homer, not then as referring to a commercial dye, but as a shade varying from light red to dark purple and including the idea of brightness—glittering—gleaming. It is this impression of "gleaming darkly" that is connected with the very root of the word *ερυθρεος*. Aristotle (*Color*, 2, 4; also *Probl.* 38, 2) describes the color as the "reflected gleam on the shadow side of a wave", and it was that meaning which was carried to the shell-fish dye when first brought to Mediterranean lands by the people we call Phoenicians, whose legend connected them in earlier times with the Persian Gulf. Pliny speaks of that double tint as the most treasured of the shades of the purple (9, 60—63, Bohn translation):

"To produce the Tyrian hue the wool is soaked in the juice of the *pelagiae* while the mixture is in an uncooked and raw state; after which its tint is changed by being dipped in the juice of the *buccinum*. It is considered of the best quality when it has the color of clotted blood and is of a blackish hue to the sight, but of a shining appearance when held up

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Hara is Harabersanti, or Elburz, "over which the sun rises, around which many a star revolves, where there is neither light nor darkness, no wind of cold or heat, no sickness leading to a thousand kinds of death, nor infection caused by the Daevas, and whose summit is never reached by the clouds" (Yasht 12, 23, Darmesteter iii, 496).



to the light; hence it is that we find Homer speaking of purple blood" (*Iliad* E 83, P. 360). And he goes on to quote from Cornelius Nepos: "Violet purple was in favor, a pound of which used to sell at 100 denarii; not long after the Tarentine red was all the fashion. This last was succeeded by the Tyrian *dibapha* (double dyed) which could not be bought for even 1000 denarii per pound."

The eastern origin of the Phoenicians is stated by Herodotus (7, 89): "The Phoenicians, as they themselves say, anciently dwelt on the *Erythraean Sea*; and having crossed over from thence, they settled on the sea coast of Syria"; like Abraham the patriarch, they came from the land of Ur of the Chaldees, the center of sun-worship and of eastern trade.

Finally we may quote from Strabo (1, 2, 35) who refers to the belief that the Sidonians were "a colony from the people whom they describe as located on the shores of the (Indian) Ocean, and who, they say, were called Phoenician from the color of the Erythraean Sea."

Was it the natural color of the sea that gave it the name, or was it the legend and faith of the people living around its shores and the artificial color of the dye which they drew from its waters? I believe we may attach to Erythraean that meaning also, "sea of the dark red dye people", and that in that sense it may be synonymous with purple, *πορφύρεα*, and Phoenician, *φοινίς*; the sea on which the Phoenician race, who first brought purple to the Mediterranean lands, had before that time established their cities and industries and maritime commerce.

Whether there was anything more than an accidental connection with the name of the Greek city Erythrae in Boeotia we cannot tell. The likelihood is not great, but it might possibly be urged by some that Dorian Greeks were settled in many parts of that land before the Persian invasions of Greece. Alexander found Greek colonies at the gates of India that claimed a descent prior to the Greek companies exiled to the east by Darius, and at the Christian Era we find an archaic Dorian character appearing in the Greek lettering on the coins of Mesene at the head of the Persian Gulf, and on those of the Kushan kings. While certainly not a cause for the name, this might have given it familiarity in Greek ears.

We need not too sharply distinguish between these various meanings, and possibly the general acceptance of the name was due to the fact of its applicability from so many points of view. Purple Sea would hardly have suggested the sun: Phoenician Sea would have been a confusing name, while Erythraean Sea, as practically a synonymous word embracing all these meanings, made an ideally acceptable name.

In conclusion we may say that looking out of Greece through Persia to the ancient East, we may gather from the name Erythraean several meanings, all of them reasonable. "Sea of the East, the Orient, or the rising sun"; "Sea where the sun was worshipped"; "Sea whence came the people who brought the purple or Erythraean dye", and finally, "Sea of King Erythras" typifying the ancient pre-Semitic Akkadian-Dravidian trade. Certainly with these vistas of the past opened through that name, we cannot rest satisfied with an interpretation that would limit it to a temporary accumulation of vegetable matter localized at a point to which the name was not originally applied.

*The Cock.*—By Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, New York City

In 1888 I read, before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, a paper on Leviticus I, in which I sought to prove, from the animals there mentioned as sacrificial, and particularly from the non-appearance of the cock, that, before the time of the Babylonian captivity "the *torah* of animal sacrifice had completed the creative and reached the legal or unchangeable period." In the preparation of that paper I depended for my facts about the cock on Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*.<sup>1</sup> Since that time I have made an independent investigation of the history of that bird with results differing from or supplementing Hehn to such an extent that I have been led to formulate this new material in a second paper, commencing, however, as before, with Hebrew and Biblical use.

The first six chapters of Leviticus constitute a sacrificial code, which evidently, in its present form, is both a compilation and a growth. The final compilation is presumably post-exilic, but I fancy that the code itself represents pretty well the sacrificial practice of the Jerusalem Temple before the captivity, while parts of it go back in essence to a much older period. The rule with regard to sacrifice among the Hebrews was that the sacrificial animal must be both comestible and domesticated. Wild animals might not be sacrificed. Now in actual practice only oxen, sheep and goats were permitted to be eaten by the Hebrews in sacrifice. In the *torah* of the whole burnt sacrifices, however, contained in Chapter I, besides these three animals the dove, in two varieties, יונה and תור, was permitted to be offered. This permission is added like a sort of codicil at the end of Leviticus I. It gives the

<sup>1</sup> The last, posthumous, 8th edition, by O. Schrader, adds nothing to the material in Hehn's original volume, in spite of the additional monumental material now accessible. A note by Schrader purports to give later Assyrian-Babylonian material, but is quite valueless and sadly misleading.



impression of an afterthought, as though of later origin. For trespass and sin offerings, where the flesh was not to be eaten, provided for in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and for some other offerings, like the purification offering (Chap. 12), a similar provision was made. The use in sacrifice of the three animals mentioned and the two forms of dove can be traced back to the earliest Hebrew writings. Indeed, we may say that the sacrifice of oxen, sheep and goats long antedates Hebrew origins, and that the sacrifice of the dove was practised by the Hebrews certainly as early as 900 B. C.<sup>1</sup> The domestication of oxen, sheep and goats extends into a hoary antiquity, antedating both the Babylonian and the Egyptian civilizations. The dove also was domesticated at a very early period in Babylonia, in Syria, and in general, apparently, over the whole of hither Asia. It is noticeable that our own barnyard fowl, which is today found practically everywhere throughout the world, in cold countries and hot, as a part even of the household equipment of wandering Bedawin Arabs, does not appear in the sacrificial codes.

Outside of the dove, there is no mention of domesticated fowl in the Old Testament, with three possible exceptions. One of these is 1 Kings 5: 3, the account of the provision for Solomon's table. This was to be supplied with ten oxen, fatted, gazelles, roebucks, and כרבים אטוים, rendered in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Yabawist, Gen. 15: 9f. In the Marseilles sacrificial tariff and in the similar tariff found at Carthage by Nathan Davis in 1858, commonly known as the Davis Phoenician Inscription, we have the same quadrupeds mentioned for sacrifices as in the Levitical sacrificial list, namely, the ox, goat and sheep. We also have two birds mentioned, connected together as one whole, as in the Levitical code. The words used for these birds, דָּבָר, דָּבָר, are elsewhere unknown. The close resemblance of the code, as a whole, to the Hebrew suggests that the birds here used are the same as those in the Hebrew code. Ball (*Light from the East*) calls attention to the fact that in the Samaritan Targum the word דָּבָר appears to mean "young pigeon", being the translation of כֶּלֶב of Genesis 15: 9. Of course if דָּבָר be pigeon, then it follows of itself that דָּבָר is dove. These two tablets, while themselves not very old (somewhere, probably, between 800 and 500 B. C.), give us, presumably, the old Phoenician custom of sacrifice. If the translation suggested above be correct, then the old Phoenician code was practically identical with the Hebrew; and the natural conclusion would be that the Hebrew code was borrowed from a pre-Hebraic Canaanite source, considerably antedating, therefore, 900 B. C.

English version "fatted fowl," following the Septuagint and Vulgate. The Briggs-Brown-Driver Geseus suggests that these were geese. This would seem, on the whole, the most plausible conjecture, and, if correct, the passage would indicate that the Hebrews, at or after Solomon's period, did have access to one variety at least of domestic fowl, whether they raised them themselves or obtained them from others. It would appear, however, that these fowl were certainly not common. They did not constitute an ordinary article of food. They are mentioned nowhere else. Even if known within the creative period of the sacrificial *torah*, they never came to play such a part as articles of food as to lead to their adoption into the sacrificial code, either for general or for special sacrifices.

The goose and the duck were elsewhere domesticated at a very early date. We find evidence of this in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian monuments; and Greek and Roman literature and tradition represent the goose as early domesticated there also. Palestine was a land naturally ill adapted for the domestication of either geese or ducks, and while such domestication was possible on the low lands, in the regions regularly occupied by either Judah or Israel there was very little chance for such domestication and little temptation to it. It is natural, therefore, that we should not find any mention of geese or ducks in the Old Testament, in or out of the sacrificial code, with the possible exception of the passage alluded to; which would seem to show that they were known only as a luxury, procurable by one in Solomon's position, but not by the ordinary man.

The second exception is the peacock (תנין), mentioned in 1 Kings 10: 22, and 2 Chron. 9: 21, as imported by Solomon. As the name was imported with the bird, there is in this case no doubt as to its identification or its origin;<sup>1</sup> which only shows, however, that at the time this passage was written, and traditionally since Solomon's time, the peacock was known to the Jews as a wonder bird, fit possession of great kings, and that it came originally from India, reaching the Mediterranean lands by way of the Red Sea.

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew and the Greek, like the Sanskrit, borrowed the name of the bird from the Tamil *toget*.

The third possible exception is the cock, our domestic barn-yard fowl, which, it is claimed, is mentioned under three different names in three different passages: Is. 22: 17, Job 38: 36, and Prov. 30: 31. In the first case the word used is **נָכַר**, the common Hebrew word for *male*, then *man*, then *person* or *each*. Jerome was advised by his Hebrew instructor, apparently, that the word in this passage, and nowhere else in the Old Testament, meant *cock*, and he so translated it. *Dominus asportari te faciet, sicut asportatur gallus gallinaceus*. The word did in fact come to have this meaning in post-biblical Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> The method of translation of sense seems to be indicated by the use of **נָכַר** as a euphemism for *membrum virile*. It was the salacity of the cock which led to his designation as **נָכַר**, *male*. The passage under consideration, as it stands in the Hebrew, is difficult. The LXX translators botched it badly. Their rendering, however, makes it plain that **נָכַר** did not mean cock in their day, but only man. After it had come to mean cock, by the transition noted above, it was natural to read that meaning into this passage as a promising way of gaining an immediate sense. This seems to be what was done by later Jewish scholars, and by Jerome following them. His translation, however, ruins the passage as a whole, and today all commentators agree that **נָכַר** does not either here or elsewhere mean cock.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> **נָכַר** appears as the name of the cock in the language of Mishnah as early as about 60 A. D. (Yoma I. 8). Eusebius in his commentary on Isaiah mentions the Rabbinical interpretation of **נָכַר** in Is. 22: 17 as cock.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulty in this passage has, I think, been caused by a play on the words **קֶבֶר** and **נָכַר**. In v. 16 Isaiah had reproached Shebna with his ostentatious pomp in cutting himself a tomb, **קֶבֶר**, in the rock. In v. 17 he predicts his violent removal into captivity in Mesopotamia. "Behold, Yahweh casteth thee out with a casting, (**נָכַר**) man". The word **נָכַר** (**נָכַר**) is used because it sounds, in common pronunciation, almost exactly like the word for tomb (**קֶבֶר**). This diverts Isaiah for a moment from the direct line of his annunciation of Shebna's captivity into burial figures: "Wrapping thee with a wrapping, winding he windeth thee with a winding." The resemblance in letters of **קֶבֶר** and **נָכַר** made the puzzled Greek translators translate *the eripasis eou the telos*—"thy glorious crown," which Jerome has still further twisted into *coronans coronabit te tribulatione* (evidently neither LXX nor Jerome could make much out of the passage). Then he takes up again his annunciation of Shebna's coming captivity and proceeds: "Like a ball into a land broad



In the next passage, Job 38: 36, the word rendered cock is not נָכַר but שָׁחִי. According to R. Hash. in "the district of K. N." the cock was called שָׁחִי (*sehhi*). Y. Ber. says that in Rome also it was so called; and Lev. R. that in Arabia the hen was called *sikhvaya* (שִׁחְיָא).<sup>1</sup> In classical Hebrew this word is an ἀραξ λεγόμενον, occurring only in this passage. The LXX has translated the verse: τὸς δὲ ἰδοὺς γυναικὶ ἐπέσματος σοφίαν καὶ ποικιλτικὴν ἐπιστήμην, "Who gave woman wisdom of web and embroidery experience?" It is impossible to connect this with the Hebrew text, and its lack of relation to the context evinces its error. Jerome apparently learned from his *Hebraeus* the late Jewish tradition regarding שָׁחִי and translated accordingly: "Quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam vel quis dedit gallo intelligentiam", which makes good enough sense in itself, but has no relation whatever to the context (The same treatment of the Bible as texts without context which we saw in Is. 22: 17). This is part of a long passage, put in the mouth of Yahaweh, telling of His wonderful creation of the earth and the sea (4-11), the morning, the deep and the light (12-21), the snow, wind, lightning and rain (22-30), the stars and sky (31-33), the clouds (34-38); then the beasts, lions (39-4), wild goats (39: 1-4), ass (5-8) &c. Our verse falls in the creation of the clouds:

"Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds,  
That abundance of waters may cover thee?  
Canst thou send forth lightnings, that they may go,  
And say unto thee, Here are we?  
Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts?  
Or who hath given understanding to the שָׁחִי?  
Who can number the clouds by wisdom,  
Or who can pour out the waters of heaven;  
When the dust runneth into a mass,  
And the clouds cleave fast together?"

Evidently there is no mention of the cock in this passage.

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on both hands, &c." Perhaps the idea of the passage might be rendered thus: "Behold, Yahaweh casteth thee out with a casting, man ([נָכַר man, playing on נָכַר tomb], wrapping thee with a wrapping, winding he windeth thee with a winding), like a ball into a land broad on both hands; and there are the chariots of thy glory, shame of thy lord's house".

<sup>1</sup> Always in some other region; never in Palestine.

The context shows that the שְׂכָנִי must mean something in the inner side of the clouds. The Peshitto and the Targum to this passage both support this by their very misunderstanding of the passage, the סִתְּתָא and שְׂכָנִי being supposed to be, not the secret parts and hidden things within the clouds, but the reins and heart of man. A comment upon this verse in the Targum<sup>1</sup> shows, however, that at a fairly early post-biblical period it was connected with the cock, and there is no doubt that the word שְׂכָנִי in Neo-Hebrew does actually mean cock; but the context shows that, whatever its later meaning, in this passage (if indeed the text be correct) the word cannot have had that meaning.

There remains the passage, Prov. 30: 31, where the word rendered cock is נִרְרִי. This occurs in one of the number riddles, in threes and fours. "There are three which march well, and four which walk well": (1) the lion; (2) נִרְרִי; (3) the he-goat; and (4) the king. Beginning with (2) the Hebrew text is manifestly corrupt, and quite incapable of translation. It contains impossible words, and it is also defective, lacking the descriptive phrases which should accompany the names. The Greek, the Peshitto and the Aramaic Targum agree in giving a fuller and an intelligible text. Using in general that text, the answer to the riddle is as follows: (1) "The young lion, mightiest of beasts, which retreateth before none; (2) The cock, which gallantly treadeth the hens; (3) The he-goat, leader of the flock; (4) And the king, boasting himself over the people."

Jerome evidently had the same corrupt text which we have, but in his time the tradition still lingered that the second member was the cock. Accordingly he translates נִרְרִי מַתְנִים as *gallus succinctus lumbos*. Modern scholars have in general followed his rendering, omitting the *gallus*; and, as the creature most girded up in the loins is the greyhound, נִרְרִי מַתְנִים has been commonly translated *greyhound*. Now in reality the Hebrew text confirms the Greek and Syriac versions both here and in (4). The impossible אֶלְקִים of the Hebrew con-

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Hagiographa chaldaica*. The earliest Talmudic testimony to the interpretation of *seki* as cock is a blessing in Berachoth, 60 f. Possibly it was the meteorological function of the cock, as announcing the day, there referred to, which led to the interpretation of *seki* as cock. More probably a false etymology, suggested by the Persian name, *Parodarsk*, *foreseer*, by which שְׂכָנִי was derived from סִתְּתָא to *see, foresee*.

tains the קים of the Targum and Peshitto, translated by the *ἐγυργόμην* of the Greek. Similarly the כתרניס of the Hebrew suggests the hithpoel participle כתרניל. The passage seemed to some scribe indecent, and he drew a line through it. All that survived his elision was the names of the creatures and the fragmentary confusion of letters which constitutes our present text. Jerome had before him, as already stated, this emended text, but with the tradition that the second member was the cock.

But while the evidence of the versions, supported by the sense of the passage, requires the translation of כתרניס by cock, it must be said that in Neo-Hebrew the word means *starling*, and that the same word has the same meaning in Syriac and Arabic. The word is to an extent onomatopoeic, as are cock and cuckoo. These latter were in fact originally one, applied to both cock and cuckoo, but ultimately differentiated to apply each to one specific bird. Somewhat similarly, I fancy, כתרניס, as a word supposed to represent a bird sound, was applied to this half-known bird, the cock, as well as to the starling. Later the loan word, כתרניל, was appropriated to the cock, and כתרניס became the name of the starling only.

The 30th chapter of Proverbs, in which this passage occurs, is by general consent the latest part of that book, and is ordinarily supposed to have at least a half foreign tone. Toy, in his commentary in the International series, represents the extreme late date theory, placing it in the second century B. C. The reference to the cock in this passage probably involves an earlier date. At the time when this riddle was composed, the cock was known much as the goose and the peacock were known at the time of writing of the passages referring to those birds in Kings. Certain of its peculiar habits were matters of fairly common knowledge, and it was evidently being introduced among the Jews, or was domesticated among some of their neighbors. It was not yet, however, in ordinary use, and was still so much of a rarity that it had not achieved a real, permanent name. I think this riddle must be dated certainly earlier than 200 B. C.†

To sum up: While both the words כתרניס and כתרניל appear in neo-Hebrew for cock, it is clear that they do not have that

† Possibly, of course, this riddle may have originated among the Jews in Egypt or elsewhere, and been imported into Palestine; which does not, however, affect the question of its date in Palestine.



sense in Biblical Hebrew. How the word נָבִי, *male*, came to be an appellation of the bird is clear; why שָׁכִי was so translated is not equally clear. The cock began to become known to the Jews in Palestine as early as the third century, and is mentioned in Proverbs 30: 31, but by a name, טִרְסָר, which we find elsewhere, and in kindred languages, applied to the starling, or sometimes to the raven. The regular Talmudic name for *cock*, which appears also in the Targums, was תַּרְנֵנְלִי or תַּרְנֵנְלִי, a loan word from the Aramaic, of uncertain, plainly not Semitic origin. The linguistic evidence would go to show that the cock was domesticated in Palestine some time between the close of the Canon and the commencement of the Mishnaic period.

From what source was he borrowed? In the later Apocryphal literature of the Jews the cock plays a part which is evidently borrowed from the Persians. So in the Greek Baruch Apocalypse, in the description of the third heaven (6, 7), the rustling of the wings of the Phenix, the forerunner of the sun, wakes the cocks, who then by their crowing proclaim the coming of the dawn. Similarly in Persian Sraosha, the heavenly watcher, awaked by Atar, the fire, in his turn awakes the cock. With this may be compared further the Slavonic Enoch (xvi. 1), according to which, when the angels get the sun ready for his daily journey, the cocks crow.

Both the New Testament and the Talmud mention the cock. He was clearly a familiar creature in Palestine at that period. The former gives us the picture of a use and knowledge of the bird similar to our own. His crow, ushering in the dawn, was a sound so familiar to all that cock-crow had come to be a designation of time (cf. Mark 13: 35). About 70 A. D. the Talmud (Gittin 57 a) mentions a custom prevailing in Palestine of having a cock and hen present at the wedding ceremony. Evidently they were fertility emblems, appropriate to a wedding for somewhat the same reason which led to the exclusion of the cock from the text of Prov. 30: 31.

Beside his function as a marriage bird, in Talmudic use the cock was also apotropaic. It is perhaps this characteristic which led to the blessing enjoined to be pronounced when the cock is heard to crow: (Berakhoth 60b):<sup>1</sup> "Praised be thou,

<sup>1</sup> Already referred to on p. 368 of this paper, note. The passage suggests Persian influence.

O God, Lord of the world, that gavest understanding to the cock to distinguish between day and night."

On the other hand we find evidences that the cock was not domesticated in Palestine without opposition. So Baba Kam. 82b. notes that the breeding of cocks was forbidden while the temple was in existence, because they scratch the ground and pick up and disseminate objects levitically unclean.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere the sale of white fowls is forbidden, apparently because they were used for sacrifice by the heathen.

Today the cock is used sacrificially among the Jews, both Sephardim and Ashkenazim, in connection with Yom Kippur, as an atonement<sup>2</sup> offering (*Kapparah*)—a cock by the man, a hen by the woman—being swung three times around the head of the offerer, with the right hand upon the head of the victim, somewhat as in the sin and atonement offerings ordered in the Old Testament. The creature is killed, but is not burned; as seems to have been the rule with doves, when used as offerings, according to the old temple ritual. Its flesh may be given to the poor to eat or it may be eaten by those sacrificing, the money value being given to the poor. This sacrifice is mentioned for the first time by Natronai Gaon, head of the Academy of Sura in Babylonia, in 853 A. D., who describes it as a custom of the Babylonian Jews. It is also mentioned as a custom of the Persian Jews at an early date. The cock also has been, or is now used among Jews in various places for special sacrificial purposes of the purification or sin type (*Kapparah*),<sup>3</sup> also for apotropaic sacrificial purposes.<sup>4</sup>

The Jew has evidently felt the same influence toward using the cock in sacrifice which all other peoples and religions have experienced; and so strong has that influence been that, in

<sup>1</sup> Jewish Enc., art. cock.

<sup>2</sup> Among Sephardic Jews, at least, always white.

<sup>3</sup> So when a man is sick, a cock is killed. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion* (p. 203), notes the same use in a Mohammedan village. Apparently there, and among the Nusairieh also, a *Kapparah* sacrifice of the sort described above was in use, a sheep being used by the wealthy, a cock by the common folk.

<sup>4</sup> For the woman enciente two hens and one cock are offered. For references and verification in Jewish Literature and practice, I am especially indebted to Pres. Adler and Profs. Ginzberg, Gottheil and Jastrow.

spite of the fact that theoretically sacrifice ended with the destruction of the temple, practically, as stated, the cock, not included in the old *torah* of sacrifice, is today the one sacrificial animal of the Jews. Indeed, the cock may be said to be a natural sacrificial animal, its use for these purposes being almost universal. Its omission from the sacrificial codes contained in the Old Testament is due evidently only to the fact that it was quite unknown to the Jews at the time of the crystallization of the sacrificial *torah*.

Whence, when and how did the cock come into Palestine?

The ancestor of our common domestic fowl is the wild Red Junglefowl (*Gallus gallus*),<sup>1</sup> whose habitat extends from Kashmir eastward along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, through Eastern India, Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and some of the East India islands. This wild bird often associates with the domestic fowls in the villages of the natives, and frequently crosses with them. There are three other species of wild Junglefowl, living respectively in central and southern India, Ceylon, and Java, but they had no part in the direct ancestry of our domestic fowl. It is barely possible but improbable that the Buff Cochins-China fowls are descended from some unknown, perhaps extinct wild Junglefowl, but with this possible exception, all varieties of domestic fowl are descended from the wild Red Junglefowl. The semi-tropical and tropical zone which the Red Junglefowl inhabits would seem to indicate that for many thousands of years its range has differed but slightly from its present distribution.

There are a number of reasons, derived from the study of comparative ornithology, which indicate that the original home of the Red Junglefowl, or at least the most anciently inhabited part of its present range, lies to the East and South, in the Burmese-Malayan portion of its present habitat, rather than to the West in the Indian region. Distributional study of other birds, as the Kalkoe Pheasants, makes it certain that these originated in Burma and have since migrated westward along an elongated, sub-Himalayan finger, stretching as far as Kashmir. The same holds true of a number of other forms of life both mammalian and avian. There is no doubt that the Red Junglefowl is of tropical or sub-tropical origin. Neither

<sup>1</sup> *Phasianus gallus* of Linnaeus; *Gallus bankiva* of Temminck; also *Gallus ferrugineus*.



it, nor its domesticated descendants can bear extreme cold; and the elaborately specialized, exposed comb and wattles could have been evolved only in a warm country. The three other species of Junglefowl are all tropical and the affinities of the group among the other pheasants are altogether with south Chinese and Malayan genera.<sup>1</sup>

Newton<sup>2</sup> says: "Several circumstances seem to render it likely that fowls were first domesticated in Burma or the countries adjacent thereto." Those circumstances are, I presume, the facts stated above, and it may be safely assumed that the Burmese region was the original site of domestication of the fowl; but from that region we have neither literature nor monuments to support this conclusion. The two centers of primitive civilization near the fowl's original habitat about which we have early information are China and India.

#### China.

In China we find very early traces of the domestication of the cock, such domestication being traceable according to tradition at least as early as 1400 B. C.; but here, even more than in India, it is extremely difficult to determine accurately early dates. There are no monumental records of any sort which carry us back to such a very early period, and the dating of literary records is extremely uncertain. We can really do little more than say that there is abundant evidence of the domestication of the cock in China at a very early period.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. William Beebe, Curator of Ornithology, New York Zoological Park. The line of migration of the domestic fowl, as traced by archaeological and linguistic evidence, also suggests that its original home may have been rather the more easterly and southerly portion of its present habitat, from which it traveled westward up and against the line of Aryan invasion into Kashmir.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds*; see also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Fowl".

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Professor Friedrich Hirth of Columbia for the following note: The present word for the domestic fowl including its male, the cock or rooster, as the head of the family, is *ki* or *kai*, the latter being the Cantonese, as being probably the nearest approach to the ancient sound. This word can be traced with tolerable safety to the times of the Chou Dynasty (1123-249 B. C. ?). The *Shuo-wén*, a Chinese dictionary, published in 100 A. D., defines the term as meaning "The domestic animal which knows the time"; and since the construction of the character of *ki* with *nim* (bird) as radical excludes quadrupeds,

It would appear that the Chinese were the first to breed the bird for utilitarian economic purposes, producing the Buff Cochín China fowl, a variety so firmly established and exhibiting such unique characteristics as to suggest, as pointed out above, the possibility of a separate species. Elsewhere the bird retains its primitive appearance as the Red Junglefowl, of which our ordinary game cock is perhaps the most nearly typical form, prized for its fighting qualities. Outside of China the breeding for more utilitarian qualities, which has produced our modern varieties, is of very recent date;<sup>1</sup> and those varieties apparently all owe much to crossing with the already well established Chinese breeds.

and since pigeons, ducks and geese are not in the habit of indicating time, I think we are pretty safe in assuming that the word in those days and probably centuries before had the present meaning of domestic fowl or cock. But these are comparatively recent times. The most ancient source for the occurrence of words throwing light on Chinese culture are the hieroglyphic inscriptions on bells and sacrificial vessels of the Shang Dynasty, placed by that probably fictitious Chinese chronology between the years 1766-1122 B. C. The names of birds are very poorly represented in it and the domestic fowl is not mentioned at all. But this may be purely accidental, since the material now on record probably represents merely a portion of the words then in use, and a very small portion too. You will see that oxen, sheep and other domestic animals, which might have been used for sacrificial purposes, are not mentioned either, although the word for sacrifice itself occurs. I have in vain looked for the word in those most ancient classics, *Chi-king*, *Shu-king* and *Chün-t'ien*. To make up for this I can refer you to the *Chou-ti*, regarding which work see my *Ancient history of China*, page 107 seqq., which may or may not have originated in the eleventh century B. C., and according to which the cock was used as a victim in the sacrifice (cf. "*Le Tchou-ti*", translated by E. Biot, Paris 1851, page 42 of Index: "Ki-jin, officier de coqs; il présente les coqs que l'on sacrifie"). The word *ki* occurs also in that most ancient Chinese Glossary, the *Er-ya*, which may possibly date from the time of Confucius himself (fifth century B. C.). The cock also appears in the names of certain constellations; the astronomical nomenclature would thus raise a side question, quite apart from the legendary matter which trespasses on historical ground, e. g. the Emperor Huang-ti (twenty-seventh century B. C.) ascending a hill called Ki-t'ou, i. e. Cock's Head (E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-mo-T'ien*, Vol. 1, p. 30, note 3), which, like many other stories of the kind, is clearly a late fabrication, which does not deserve any notice in serious research.

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks bred the bird for fighting purposes, continually drawing fresh blood from Media, as we do for horses from Arabia. See Helm.

## Central Asia.

There are, in Russian Turkestan, numerous remains of an extremely ancient civilization, ruin mounds indicating the existence of a large population inhabiting cities during a long period of time, in the now desert region southward of the Aral Sea. Some of these mounds were explored by Raphael Pumpelly, and large quantities of remains, including bones, collected and examined. The indications were that these ruins were flourishing cities from a period antedating 3000 B. C. to the commencement of our era. Among the bones found there were no chicken bones, evidence to that extent that the cock was not known to that civilization, and that the cock did not originally make his way to the west from China by way of Turkestan. Probably, however, it was from China that the cock passed to the Turks and later was brought westward with them, at a time when it had already long been domesticated in the West. Professor Gottheil calls my attention to the evidence from Nestorian gravestones found in Semirjetshie, near China, that the old Turks had a "cock-year", according to which they counted. The old Turkish name for cock was *tagaku*, Uigur *tagu*, Mongolian *taugak*, Kirgiz *algyr-tauk*), the root used today from China to Turkey and Hungary.

## India.

From India we have no monumental evidence of early date with regard to the domestication of the cock, for we have indeed no early monuments of any sort. We are compelled, therefore, to trust to literary evidence as far as that goes. In the earliest stratum of Indian literature, belonging to the Indus period of the Aryan invasion, the Rig Veda, there is no mention of the cock. On the other hand he appears in the Atharva and the Yajur Vedas, which belong to the Ganges period of the Aryan occupation, the earliest mention going back to 900 B. C.,<sup>1</sup> or somewhat earlier. From that period onward he is mentioned with increasing frequency both in the pre-Buddhistic and in the Buddhistic literature belonging to

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<sup>1</sup> I have taken this date from the most conservative scholars. A date at least 200 years earlier would seem to accord better with my other evidence about the cock.



this same general region, the Ganges northward and eastward.<sup>1</sup> All these notices, moreover, clearly indicate both a condition of domestication and also the important part which the cock played in the life and thought of the people.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Chas. R. Lanman for the following interesting note, from which I derive the statements contained in the text. The White Yajur Veda (*Vāja Sameyt-sāmhita*, i. 16) says:

Thou art a cock (*kukkūta*) whose tongue is sweet with honey,  
Call to us hither sap and manly vigor.

May we with thee in every fight be victors.

(It is interesting to observe the three characteristics of the cock here mentioned: Crowing, salacity, fighting.)

The first two chapters of this text are the liturgical formulae which accompany the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices. This particular verse is addressed, not to a cock, but to a sacrificial implement with which the press stones are beaten, and which is likened to a cock on account of the noise it makes. (Cf. *Sacred books of the East*, XII. 30 and notes.)

This is the oldest occurrence that I know, except in so far as a replica of this formula is found also (according to Bloomfield's *Concordance*) in several other closely related texts (*Concordance*, p. 528a, *kukkūto'si* and *kutarur asī*). We may date this text at 900 B. C. or earlier.

In the *Atharva-Veda*, V. 31. 2, we read (Whitney's version, *Harvard Oriental Series*, VII. 279):

What (witchcraft) they have made for thee in a cock (*arka-vāku*), or what in a kurtva-wearing goat, in a ewe what witchcraft they have made — — — I take that back again (I make it to revert upon its maker).

This is a passage which may be as old as the Yajur Veda passage, or possibly older.

In the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 228. 33) a cock is the emblem on the chariot banner of Skanda, given by his father, god Agni.

A verse attributed to Chanakya (about 320 B. C.; minister to Chandragupta, *Saschastrer*) says you may learn four things from a cock:

1. to fight.
2. to get up early.
3. to eat with your family.
4. to protect your spouse when she gets into trouble.

In the *Mānavan Laws*, *Metrical Code*, *Dharma-śāstra* (*Laws of Manu*), dated by Bühler 100 ±, we read:

iii. 239: A *Chāndāla*, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look at Brahmins while they eat.

(240): If they see a burnt-oblation, the oblation becomes useless — — — Because)

241: A bear makes (the rite) useless by inhaling the smell (of the offerings);

a cock by the wind that he sets in motion by the flapping of his wings; &c.

From this it would appear that the Aryans did not find the bird in the Indus valley, but met him first when they occupied the Ganges valley, about the 10th century B. C. (or 12th, see note), either themselves domesticating him, or more probably finding him already domesticated by the previous inhabitants. This fits in on the one side with the theory of the ornithologists as to the native habitat of the bird; and on the other side with the fact that the cock was not imported by sea by the Phoenicians operating with Solomon. The latter found the peacock in the India which they reached by sea, he being a native of that part of the country, but not the cock, which belonged to another region remote from that coast. In point of fact the cock is entirely lacking in just the region westward which touched India by the water route. He made his way westward by land from Kashmir through Bactria.

### Bactria and Persia.

If the cock moved northward and westward up and against the line of the Aryan invasion, he should have reached Bactria

In XI-156 we read: The atonement for partaking of (the meat of) carnivorous animals, of pigs, of camels, of cocks, of crows, of donkeys, and of human flesh, is a *Tapta-kṛchva* penance.

This last verse against "eating crow" &c. goes back to a much older prose-text, the *Dharma-sūtra* of Gautama (see J. B. E. ii. 284); and the prohibition is found in Vasiṣṭha's *Dharma-sūtra* also (see J. B. E. xiv. 121).

Eating the flesh of the "village cock" is prohibited with that of the goose, Brahman duck, sparrow, crane, woodpecker and parrot in *Manu* (V. 12, J. B. E. XXV. 171; cf. p. 172, verse 19).

In the Buddhist books the cock is mentioned in the early part of one of the very oldest, the first dialog of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (text, vol. I, page 9: see David's transl. p. 19, rendered "fowls"). This book may date from about the time of Buddha, say 475 B. C. or thereabouts.

In the *Questions of Milinda* (about the 1st century of our era) is a whole chapter about the cock (text, p. 366, line 12, to page 368 line 1).

Five (ways) qualities of the cock you should imitate:

1. Monk should retire early for meditation: as the cock retires early to roost.

2. Rises early.

3. Cock is unremittingly busy scratching for food: monk should be unremitting in pursuit of higher life.

4. Cock is blind by night: monk should be blind to delights and seductions of senses.

5. Cock will not desert his home: monk should never desert his "mindfulness" which is *his* home.

at a very early date. Bactria and the region westward, from the Caspian Sea to Parsistan, was the home of the religion of Zoroaster; and it is to the Zoroastrian sacred literature that we are indebted for such knowledge as we possess of the domestic animals, as of the civilization development in general of that region at that period. The date of Zoroaster is uncertain, but is quite certainly earlier than 600 B. C.<sup>1</sup> There are no monumental remains which go back to this period. The name of the cock does not appear in the very earliest stratum of Zoroastrian religious literature, the Gāthās, but the character of that material is such that one would scarcely expect to find it there in any case. The cock is, however, abundantly represented in what we may call the second stratum of Zoroastrian literature. The earliest mention is presumably in Vendidad, Fargard XVIII. In the early morning the cock lifts up his voice against the mighty after-midnight darkness (Ushah): "Arise, oh men, recite the Aahem Yad-va hisitem that smites down the Daēvas".<sup>2</sup> From this onward he is frequently mentioned, and indeed he played a role of great importance in the Persian religion and literature. Besides his common name, Halka, and his onomatopoeic name Kahrkatās (equivalent to cock-a-doodle-doo), he had also a religious name, Parōdarsh, *foreseer* (i. e. of the dawn). Numerous passages in the Vendidad, Būdebishn and later literature set forth his sacred character. He was created by God to fight the demon of idleness. By his crowing he puts to flight the demons. He is the bird of light and hence of righteousness, scattering darkness and repelling the hosts of evil that dwell in darkness. He was also the symbol of the resurrection. Carrying out the idea of the sacred character of the cock, in curious contrast with the utilitarian economic breeding of the Chinese, it was counted an act of piety to possess and to raise domestic fowl;

<sup>1</sup> Jackson gives the year 600 for the birth of Zoroaster. (Cf. *Persia Past and Present*.) Basing their conclusions on the appearance of Mazda in Median proper names in Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon, 715 B. C., Ed. Meyer and others date Zoroaster somewhere from 800 back to 1000 B. C. If the readings of the Assyrian inscriptions are positively assured, admitting no alternative, and if it can be proved that Zoroaster did in fact invent the word Mazda and did not borrow it from already existing use, local or otherwise, an earlier date than 600 would be proved beyond question.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vd. 18, 15, 16=23, 24; also Yasht 22, 41, 42.



but after he began to crow the cock might not be eaten. The part which the cock plays in Persian religion and mythology, and the manner of reference to him in Zoroastrian literature, seem to prove satisfactorily that he antedates that religion, and that he was domesticated in Bactria and westward among the Medes and Persians before the time of the founding or reformation of the Persian religion by Zoroaster. Zoroaster was, it must be remembered, a reformer, protesting against the superstition, the idolatry and the materialism of the religion of his age and people. The Gāthās represent that protest and present the reformed religion in its most primitive and purest form. But, as always has been the case, in its second stage Zoroastrianism had to reckon with the religion it undertook to reform, and above all with the great underlying folk cult of that religion, compromising with its forms and practises and superstitions. That second stage is represented by the Vendidad and Bundahishn, and precisely such material as the cock cult or reverence in those books may be taken as evidence of the existence and importance of that cult, and hence as evidence of the domestication of the cock, before the time of Zoroaster.<sup>1</sup> More than that we cannot say from Persian sources. From the fact that there is no name for cock common to Indians and Iranians, it is clear that he was not known before the separation of these two Aryan stocks.<sup>2</sup> Comparing, however, what we have learned from Persian and

<sup>1</sup> For further information about the cock among the Persians, cf. Jackson A. O. S. vol. xiii p. 15. I am also indebted personally to Prof. Jackson for much assistance in this research, and especially for pointing out to me that the cock is evidently pre-Zoroastrian among the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly this statement should be somewhat modified. Prof. Jackson calls my attention to the fact that *Kahrka*, which appears in composition in Avestan *Kahrkatāt*, the popular onomatopoeicon for cock, and in *Kahrkāx*, the name for the vulture, apparently as "chicken-eater", may be equated with the Sanskrit *krka* (also onomatopoeic) in *krka-vān*, also a folk name for cock. With these, (following P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 189) he also compares the Pahlavi *Kark*, Kurdish *Kurka*, Ossatish *Kharck*, hen. The suggestion is that there was an onomatopoeic root name for cock common to Indian and Iranian, which did not, however, by itself become the name of the cock in either Sanskrit or Avestan, altho found in the later Iranian dialects. It should be said that the particular sound contained in this onomatopoeicon belongs to other birds than chickens. So in Aramaean *karkya*, the same sound, means crane.

Indian sources, it would appear that the cock was derived from India and domesticated among the Iranians somewhere probably between the 11th and the 8th centuries.

### Greece and Asia Minor.

Hehn in his *Kulturpflanzen* places the appearance of the cock among the Greeks after contact with the Persians, in the latter half of the 6th century B. C. The cock is first mentioned in Greek literature by Theognis, 525 B. C., and later writers frequently designate him as the Persian bird (occasionally also the Median bird). In fact, however, the cock is abundantly represented on monumental remains a century or even two centuries earlier. Hogarth found him on coins from the earliest stratum of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, circa 700 B. C., and he appears on the very earliest Ionian coins found in Asia Minor, especially in the north, along the Dardanelles, as early as the 7th century.<sup>1</sup> In southern Asia Minor, on the harpy tomb at Xanthus in Lycia, circa 600 B. C., there is a remarkably fine representation of a cock, used as a sacrificial bird, having the characteristic game cock appearance of the Red Junglefowl. In Crete the cock appears on the Melian gems about 700 B. C.<sup>2</sup> On the Greek main land we have numerous representations going back to the 7th century. Of these perhaps the earliest is a relief found in Sparta in 1880, representing the offering of a cock, apparently in connection with ancestor worship. Of almost the same age is a proto-Attic vase, figured in *Ephemeris Archaeologica*, 1897. A Corinthian Alabastron, with a representation of a cock, in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, is dated 650—600 B. C. An oinochoe from the same place, showing an owl between cocks, is dated 600—550; and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*. One coin ascribed to Dariusans (p. 544), however, an electrum stater with a cock on one side, seems to belong to Chios. This is "one of a series of primitive types, among which are found bulls, lions, and fantastic winged animals." (Miss Agnes Baldwin).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans thought that he had found the cock on one of the early Minoan monuments at Knossos, which would place his appearance in Greece as early as the third millennium (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* xiv. 1894, p. 342, fig. 65a, also *Scripta Minoa*, p. 133, fig. 74a). This is a very rude representation of a bird, lacking all the characteristic features of the cock, resembling representations of unidentifiable birds found on the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments.

a Chalcædonian amphora, representing a man between two cocks, is assigned to the same date. Indeed, any well equipped museum at the present time contains abundant evidence that the cock was known to the Greeks long before they came in contact with either Persians or Medes. The term Persian bird seems to have been given to the cock by Greek writers, after contact with the Persians, chiefly because of his great importance and his religious use among the Persians, which made him par excellence their bird; partly, perhaps, because of the tradition of his derivation from the East, the land from which the Persians also came.

After the commencement of the Persian era, the representation of the cock on coins, vases and monuments becomes more frequent. Both before and after that time the characteristic of the cock which seems to have appealed most strongly to the Greek imagination was his fighting qualities. To them he was primarily a game cock, and the cock fight is the most familiar and frequent representation on coins of the Greek period from India westward.<sup>1</sup> On this account he was sacred to Ares. That he was also associated with Hermes, presumably for his mantic qualities, is apparent from his representation with the caduceus.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it was thru Persian use that he became sacred to Apollo, as herald of the sun. In that connection also he appears attached to the triskele on Pamphylian and Lycian coins.<sup>3</sup> Further, as a derivation probably from his relation to the sun, reasoning from awakening to health, he was sacrificed to Asclepius. In this relation, also, he became the chthonic bird, and is used on tombs, as emblematic of the hope of a reawakening to life. He was a bird of good omen among the Greeks as among the Romans, and used sacrificially to avert evil.

<sup>1</sup> The usual type of autonomous coins in Asia Minor, going back to about 700 B. C., is a cock or a cock fight (viz. *Pollux* IX. 84, Hogarth, *Archæic Artomisia*, 1908, p. 89). A cock fight is also the commonest representation of the fowl on Attic vases. For a typical specimen cf. Attic Kylix in Metropolitan Museum, New York, 550—500 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, coins of Sophytes, princes of the Panjab, 316—306 B. C.: obverse, head of Sophytes or Athena; reverse, cock and caduceus, Head, p. 835.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Migration des Symboles*, pp. 76, 222; also Hunter, *Numorum veterum descriptio*, pl. VII. nos. 15, 16; Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. III. fig. 135.



Thraout the whole Greek world, then, from 700 B. C. onward, the cock, always represented most unmistakably on monuments and coins, reproducing the game cock characteristics which belong to the original breed, was a familiar and omnipresent bird, sacrificial to a number of gods, representing an accumulation of sacred ideals and traditions, and popular for sporting purposes. On the other hand, the bird does not belong to the earliest stratum of Greek civilization. He plays no part in Greek mythology. There are no legends or folklore which attach themselves to him, as to the dove, the swan, the eagle, &c. He came in after the Greeks had passed that stage of their existence. The name by which he was known, ἀλεκτρυών or ἀλέκτωρ, is not Greek.<sup>1</sup> He is not mentioned in Hesiod or Homer, in one or both of which it seems that he must have played a part, had he been known. The latter mentions, among domestic animals, the horse, ass, mule, ox, goat, sheep, pig and dog, and among domestic fowl the goose, but nowhere the cock.<sup>2</sup> The Homeric poems, do, however, I think, give us a clue to the date and the origin of the cock among the Greeks. As already pointed out, the Greek word for cock, ἀλεκτρυών, fem. ἀλεκτρυόνα,<sup>3</sup> (poetic ἀλέκτωρ, fem. ἀλεκτροπίε) is foreign. If we could trace its origin we should presumably find the source of the cock for the Greeks. One turns naturally toward Asia Minor. The remains found in the interior of Asia Minor, both the Hittite and the proto-Armenian monuments, show no trace of the cock. Partly they are too early: partly, as I think will appear from what follows, they were not in the line of transmission or migration of the cock. While, as already stated, the cock is not mentioned in Homer, the word for cock does appear twice as a proper name, Ἀλέκτορ, an Argonaut and commander of the Boeotians, was the son

<sup>1</sup> Leo Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, I, p. 296, derives ἀλέκτωρ from ἀλέκω, citing the analogy of ἀλέκτωρ. He would make it mean: "Abwehrrer, wie der kampfslustige Hahn gewiß leicht benannt werden konnte".

<sup>2</sup> The pigeon is commonly included in the list, but, according to Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, the pigeon, whi lewell known to Homer, was a wild, not a domesticated bird.

<sup>3</sup> The feminine formations are uncertain and variable, evidence of foreign origin.

of Alektryon (*Ἀλεκτρυόνης* Il. XVII. 603).<sup>1</sup> Appearing in connection with a man connected in early Grecian story with the exploration of the Euxine to its remotest eastern shores, the name suggests the possibility that the Greeks came in contact with the cock at the extreme eastern limit of the Euxine, and brought him thence to the Greek cities of Asia Minor and so to Greece itself.<sup>2</sup> The Homeric passages, however, would show that the bird was not as yet possessed by the Greeks, but only just beginning to be known by name. The importation of the bird by sea along the Euxine would parallel, it may be observed, the early importation of the peacock by sea from India, and of the guinea fowl, in the time of Sophocles, from tropical Africa by way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

### Italy.

From Greece the cock spread with the early Greek colonies to Italy, where the monumental remains on which he appears are almost as early as those of Greece itself. The cock appears on the earliest coinage of Himera, a Chalcidic colony on the north coast of Sicily, founded about the middle of the 7th century.<sup>3</sup> The coinage of Selinos, the most westerly Greek colony in Sicily, represents on one side Apollo and Artemis, standing together on a quadriga, and on the other side the river god Selinos, with a phiale and a lustral branch, before an altar, in front of which is a cock, behind on a stand a bull, and above it a Selinon leaf. Here the cock is evidently sacrificial and connected apparently with the sun.<sup>4</sup> In Etruria

<sup>1</sup> Leitus is also mentioned by Apollodorus, Diodorus and Pausanias. His tomb was shown at Platana. According to these later authorities the wife of Alektryon or Alektor, his father, was Cleobule. It will be noted also that the *Ἀλεκτρυόνης* of Homer becomes *Ἀλέκτωρ* in later writers, according to the dictionary the poetic form of the word. The latter is in Od. IV. 10 the name of a Spartan: *αἰὲς δὲ Σπάρτης Ἀλέκτωρ ἄγρε κούρην*.

<sup>2</sup> This would date the cock among the Iranians of the Euxine region at or before 1000 B. C., harmonising with the earlier dates suggested in the preceding pages, rather than with the later dates. If Hehn's facts and conclusions are correct the pheasant was brought to Greece somewhat later by this same route, i. e. from the eastern end of the Euxine by sea to the Greek cities.

<sup>3</sup> The coins themselves may not be older than the commencement of the 5th century. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Do.* 168.

the cock appears on top of sepulchral vases (chthonic use) of the *Bucchero* type as early as the middle of the 6th, perhaps even of the 7th century, and on wall paintings of Etruscan tombs, belonging, it is supposed, to the period when the Greeks had begun to influence Etruscan art. In Latium the cock appears on top of early hut urns (also chthonic) of about the same date as the Etruscan sepulchral vases. The cock is also a frequent emblem on the coins of Samnium and Latium in the 3rd century, and indeed he is almost, if not quite, as common on the coinage of Italian cities as on those of Grecian Asia Minor. A typical coin of the Samnian and Latin cities is that of *Cales*:<sup>1</sup> obverse a head, reverse crowing cock and legend *Caleno*.

It is generally assumed that the cock was introduced into Italy by the Greeks, and spread gradually from south to north. But the coins of Samnium and Latium, just described, with the figure of the crowing cock, resemble rather the cock of Gaul than that of Greece; and indeed the name of the cock in Latin, *Gallus*, or the Gallic bird, suggests a similar origin. The cock may, it is true, have been called *gallus* by the Romans for the same reason that he was called the Persian bird among the Greeks. Even this would show that he was at an early period very common and very important among the Gauls. But it seems to me that the use for the name of the bird of the word *Gallus* goes further, and indicates that the Italians actually received him from the Gauls. In that case he was domesticated in Central Italy before the coming of the Greeks.

Now we know from other sources that the cock played a part of great importance among the Gauls before the Roman conquest. Caesar so testifies. He tells us also of the religious significance of the cock among the Gauls in language that reminds us of Persian practice. Part of the Gallic race, he says, while raising fowls, yet regarded it as a sacrilege to eat them. The cock, we learn further, was associated with the great god of the Gauls, whom Caesar identifies with Mercury. From Gallic times, also, we have various clay and other representations of the cock, found in various places.<sup>2</sup> Certain

<sup>1</sup> Maury, *Le Coq Gaulois*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> So Arthur Maury, *Le Coq Gaulois*, who refers especially to the collections in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye (p. 54.)



it is that after the Roman conquest he appears on coins from various parts of the country,<sup>1</sup> and that from that time to this he has played a part in France which fairly entitles him to be called the national bird of France. As already noted the French bird is the cock in his form as chanticleer, the crower, or singer, the herald of dawn.

But how did the cock reach Gaul? From the Greek colonies on the coast, or by an independent route thru the interior of Europe? I am inclined to think by the latter route. The Romans found him not only in Gaul, but also in England and among the Germans. Evidently he was in the first century before our era pretty widely distributed as a domestic fowl, and also as a distinctly sacred bird, over western and central Europe. He was not a native. No chicken bones have been found among the shell heaps of Denmark or the lake dwellings of Switzerland, Italy or Hungary. His advent belongs to a later period. The linguistic evidence shows that he was not common property of the Indo-European peoples, nor even of the European peoples before their separation. Celt, Teuton, Lett and Slav know him by no common name. On the other hand, all peoples of Teutonic stock possess a common name for the domestic fowl, and that name, *hahn* or *hen*, the singer, connects him rather with the Persian foreteller of the dawn than with the Grecian fighting bird. Everywhere he has a religious character, and apparently the superstitions and religious usages connected with him among the Germans, as among the Gauls, point in the same direction.<sup>2</sup> The evidence is far from conclusive, but I am inclined to

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<sup>1</sup> Maury cites also funerary stones of the first century, bearing cock on ensign, from Strassbourg and Narbonne (pp. 61f.).

<sup>2</sup> For the linguistic evidence cf. Hehn. He shows, among other things, that the Germans must have constituted one whole, dwelling together in one relatively small region, separate from other peoples, when they applied the name *hans* to the domestic fowl; that the Germans must have been immediate neighbors of the Finns, and presumably not contiguous to the Lithuanians; that the Slavs and Lithuanians must have been already separate when the cock was introduced among them, and the Slavs themselves divided into two divisions. He attempts to show farther, by the linguistic evidence, that at the time of the introduction of the cock the Slavs, already separated from the Lithuanians, must have been in close contact with Medo-Persian peoples, Scythians, Sarmatians and the like.

think that at the same time that the cock traveled from the eastern end of the Euxine thru the Dardanelles to the Aegean, he also traveled up the line of the Iranian emigration into Scythia, and so to the Teutons and the Celts; the two lines of migration ultimately meeting in central Italy.

### Cyprus.

From Asia Minor and Greece the cock traveled southward to Cyprus. The earliest appearance is on the sarcophagus from Golgoi, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, circa 500 B. C., where his use is evidently chthonic. After that date he is quite common and in several sculptures he is represented as a sacrificial bird.<sup>1</sup>

### Syria.

Syriac literature is too late to be of any service in this investigation, and there is a curious lack of representations of the cock on monuments, coins, gems and the like from Syria. On some old Syrian gems there are representations of birds, but in no case a characteristic representation of the cock. The earliest representations of the cock which I can find is in a tomb at Marissa,<sup>2</sup> dating from about 200 B. C. This tomb belonged to a Sidonian colony settled in an Edomite city. The language used in the inscriptions was Greek; the animals depicted in the interior of the tomb showed distinct Egyptian influence. The cock himself is on the outer face of the door posts of the inner main chamber. He seems about to crow. In form, coloring and feathering he is still the Red Junglefowl. As already stated, the only mention of the cock in the Old Testament is in Prov. 30: 31, perhaps about or after 300 B. C. He has no fixed name in Hebrew, and at that period seems to have been known to the Jews as a bird possessed by neighboring peoples, but not domesticated in Palestine. When finally domesticated among them (between 200 B. C. and the commencement of our era) he was called by an Aramaic name, *turnegal*, which itself is not Aramaean.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, 1211 and 1292 in the Cypriote collections of the Metropolitan Museum, Temple-boy holding a cock.

<sup>2</sup> "Painted Tombs of Marissa", Peters and Thiersch, *Memoir of Palestine Exploration Fund*.

but borrowed from some other people, from whom presumably the Aramaeans derived the bird. The data are meager and any deductions from such meager data must be viewed with caution. The suggestions from the data, such as they are, seem to be that, having reached Cyprus thru Greek influence, the cock was transmitted thence to Phoenicia, but did not become common until after the Greek conquest. The Jews, coming in contact with him as early as 300, thru the Phoenicians or other neighboring people, refused him admission because of the religious and sacrificial character which he possessed among heathen peoples; the same ground on which their ancestors had classed the swine, the hare, &c. as unclean in the dietary laws of Deuteronomy and Leviticus. In the mean time the Aramaeans had received the cock, with the name *turnegal*, from some other source. Thru their influence the bird and his name became common good of all Syria, and so he and his name finally found their way thru the wall of Jewish prejudice into Jerusalem.

#### Arabia.

From Arabia we have no monumental evidence of the cock, confirmatory evidence, so far as it goes, that his route from India was not by sea but by land. Arabic literature is too late to be of any value for our purposes. It may be worth noting, however, that the cock does appear, altho rarely, in old Arabic poetry, but only in connection with settled habitations. From whatever source the domestic fowl was brought into Arabia the Arabs seem not to have borrowed the name with the bird, but to have invented a name of their own, not onomatopoeitic however, but apparently depending on a characteristic not elsewhere similarly noted, viz. *ḍajāj* or *dayāj*, which Arabic lexicographers explain as given "because of his frequent coming and going (*ḍajja*)."<sup>1</sup> This is the common designation of both male and female. The cock as such, however, is called *dih*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Is this borrowed from the Turkish? Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil. Cf. also Jacob, *Studies in Arabischen Dichtern*, Heft III, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 84. The name of the cock is in itself an interesting study, which has not yet received the attention it deserves. In general each people uses popularly an onomatopoeitic name, an attempted reproduction of the sound made by the cock (less



### Egypt.

Earlier Egyptian scholars were inclined to find the cock in some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, or in some of the bird forms on the monuments, apparently arguing from the present universal use of the bird that it must of course have been familiar among the old Egyptians. In point of fact these are all either uncharacterized pictures of birds, or identifiable with birds of quite a different character, such as the bustard or the quail.<sup>1</sup> Egyptologists without exception are now agreed, I believe, that the cock is not found on Egyptian monuments before the Roman period, and that no word or sign for cock appears in the language. The argument from silence in this case is practically equivalent to a proof that the fowl was not known in ancient or even Ptolemaic (before the Roman period) Egypt, because the wall paintings in the tombs give us such minute and accurate representations of Egyptian life, domestic utensils and animals, creatures used for food and the like, that the cock, if in use, could not have been omitted. Why this was the case is another question. Had the cock been known in Babylonia or Syria or Asia Minor and the Aegean as early as 1400 or perhaps even 1000 B. C., it would pretty surely have been imported into Egypt. After that the Egypt-

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often the hen), of the cockadoodledoo type. These names differ slightly from place to place, but are evidently not borrowed from one or more common forms, but invented by each locality for itself. Almost equally frequent are the semi-onomatopoeic names, which do not imitate but merely suggest the sound made (not sound pictures but sound hieroglyphs), and which often are or may be equally applicable to other birds, like cock (cuekoo) and kuru (crow). There is a great deal of similarity between names of this class over considerable areas, apparently due, however, as in the former case, not to borrowing, but to the necessary similarity of all attempts to translate or indicate the bird's own utterance. Then there are the names given to indicate some characteristic of the bird, like the French *Chantecler*, the German *Hahn*, the Persian *Pard-darsh* and probably Arabic *dajaj*. Lastly there are names indicating a foreign origin, like Latin *Gallus*, or simply borrowed from a foreign tongue, presumably with the bird, like Greek *ἀστροπός* and Aramaic *turnegai*. There is no name common to any large linguistic group, with the exception of the Mongolian-Turkish *tsuent* and the Teutonic-Scandinavian *Hahn*.

<sup>1</sup> A good illustration of the older method is found, by the way, in a recent article in the *Zoologist* for Jan. 1912, entitled "The Prehistoric Origin of the Common Fowl", by Frederick J. Stubbs and A. J. Rowe.

ians were less inclined, I should judge, to borrow from outside sources religious ideas or articles of diet, the two being closely connected. In view of the importance of the cock among the Greeks one is, however, inclined to wonder that the Greek mercenaries of Psammetichus and some of his successors, who pervaded Egypt, scribbling their names in temples of the upper Nile, and building in the Delta cities to dwell in, did not bring the cock with them for sacrificial purposes or for the sport of cock fighting. Or the Persians? Or Alexander and the Ptolemies? The silence of the monuments for precisely these periods seems conclusive, puzzling as the fact is. In answer to the question this silence raises, I can merely call attention in general to the apparent slow progress of the bird southward from the Aegean regions, in contrast with his rapid and triumphant passage westward and northward; to the religious prejudices, which would have been particularly strong against a Persian sacred bird, in view of Egyptian experience with the mad Cambyses; and perhaps also to the largely aquatic conditions of Egyptian domestic economy, better adapted to geese and ducks and cranes and herons than to chickens.

#### Assyria and Babylonia.

In the earlier editions of his *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, Hahn states that the cock was unknown in Assyria and Babylonia before the Persian period. In the last posthumous eighth edition, O. Schrader, the editor, adds a note, in which he asserts that the cock is mentioned in the list of offerings of Gudea, 2700 B. C.; that he appears in Assyrian times often as offered to the gods; and that he was especially common in neo-Babylonia, where he was kept in the neighborhood of temples. It is also stated that the cock was called in Assyrian by the name *kurku*, and in Sumerian *kurgi*; and that he was also further known in Sumerian as *Tar-lugallu*, supposed to be the source of the Aramaean *Tarnegul* or *Tarnegal*. The idea that the cock is mentioned in the offering lists of Gudea is apparently connected with the identification of a bird on the Gudean monuments as the cock or hen, and also with the appearance of the word *Kurgi* in a sacrificial list of that period. The bird depicted on the Gudean monuments is one of those uncharacteristic and unidentifiable birds which are found on a number of early monuments in various countries.

The cock is singularly easy to represent by some characteristic peculiarities. His peculiar characteristics are so striking that they seize the fancy of the most inexperienced on-looker and, rude as his art may be, he generally contrives in some way to give the impression of the cock. It is owing to this fact that archeologists are practically agreed not to recognize as cocks the unidentifiable, uncharacterized birds which are found, as stated, on monuments of various countries. Anyone who has followed pictorial representations of the cock will see the reason for this. Such birds may be almost any thing else, but they are not cocks.

As to the supposed identification of *kurgi* in the Gudean sacrificial list as cock, it may be said that Assyrian scholars have translated various words in the Babylonian-Assyrian word lists as cock. According to their transliterations and translations, he appears in Sumerian as *tarlu-gallu*, *kukuranu*, and *kurgi*, and in Semitic as *kurku* or *karaku* or *kuraku*. Of these supposed words for cock the one read *ku-ku-ra-nu* appears in a trilingual list, so far untranslated, of the object or character of which we know nothing, except that it does mention birds. *Kukuranu* would undoubtedly be a good onomatopoeic name for the cock, if the reading were certain, but the characters so transliterated might, so far as our present knowledge goes, equally well be transliterated *kudurranu* — or rather<sup>1</sup> from analogy this would be the natural transliteration — and still other transliterations are quite possible. But further, in the word list in which this word appears it is given as the equation of *tarlugallu*, which has been equated with the Aramaic *turnegul* or *turnegal*, cock.<sup>2</sup> Now so far as our present information goes, Sumerian was a dead language many centuries before the Aramaeans reached Babylonia or parts adjacent.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, rather startling to have an Ar-

<sup>1</sup> So Prof. Clay calls my attention to a feminine proper name, *ku-dur* (*ku*)-*ra-ni-tum*, in the Cassite period, as also to the fact that the signs read *ku-ku* in the supposed *ku-ku-ra-nu* are a common way of writing the *ku-dur* of Nebuchadnezzar and of Kudureuil.

<sup>2</sup> This identification was first suggested by Oppert, *Zeitschr. Assyriol.* VII. 339; and has since been adopted by a number of Assyrian and Syrian scholars.

<sup>3</sup> As a curiosity it may be noted that Brockelmann in his *Lexicon Syriacum* gives the word *ܠܫܬܐ* (*aldaya*) as cock, with a note from Jensen, "Accedens".



amæan word derived from Sumerian. If such a derivation occurred we should expect it to be mediately thru the Semitic Babylonian, not immediately from the Sumerian. Moreover, whether the word transliterated *tarlugallu* was ever actually thus pronounced remains, as in so many Sumerian transliterations, subject to some doubt. If the transliteration be correct it would appear to mean *tarru-king*. *Tar* (or *tarru*) is interpreted in a trilingual list as *bur-ra-un-tu*—"variegated" (Cf. XIV. 4, 6), and the entire combination is apparently equated later (l. 11) in the same text by the *kukurannu* or *kudurrannu* already noted.<sup>1</sup> The argument then is that a certain otherwise unknown Sumerian word in a trilingual list dealing with birds may be transliterated *tarlugallu*, which sounds strikingly like the word for cock, *tarnegul* or *tarnegal*, used by the Aramaeans, who many centuries after Sumerian had become a dead language occupied or were in contact with the region where Sumerian had been spoken and where, in the Aramaean period, it still lingered as a church language; that in this trilingual list<sup>2</sup> the word *tarlugallu* is translated by another unknown Sumerian word, the characters of which might be transliterated *ku-ku-ra-un*, which sounds like an onomatopoeic name for the cock; and that one element of the word transliterated *tarlugallu* is actually translated in a bilingual list by the Assyrian (Semitic) word *burramtu* "variegated", a description which might be applicable to the chicken as a bird of variegated color. As an argument by itself to prove acquaintance with the cock in Babylonia in the Sumerian period (2000 B. C.), it can scarcely be accepted as possessing validity.

There are also in the Sumerian word-lists some fifteen forms

<sup>1</sup> On this Prof. Prince writes me that the word does occur in the passage cited, "but in the full form—*edin-dar* (tar)-XU—Assyr. *burramtu*, 'variegated'; also in loc. cit. L. 11 *ku-ku-ra-un*-XU—Assyr. *dar* (tar)-*lugallum*.—*Dar* (tar) in Sumerian does mean variegated in color, and *edin-dar*-XU means literally 'the variegated bird of the field'." *Kukurannu*-XU—Assyr. *dar-lugallum*, which Assyrian word is a Sumerian loan-word, meaning "the variegated king of birds". He suggests that the word would apply to the cock-pheasant or the peacock better than to the cock, for which he adds other reasons. As to the proposed identification of *tarnegal* with *tar* (or *dar*) *lugallu*, it may be further noted that the initial letters are not the same.

<sup>2</sup> So far as this word is concerned, the list has two, not three columns.

of *kurgi*, mentioned with other objects of food for sacrifice, all, or practically, all being as yet unidentified. *Kurgi* also has been interpreted as an onomatopœticon, either borrowed from the "Avestan (old Bactrian) *Kahrka*",<sup>1</sup> or formed in the same manner, and meaning cock. *Kurgi* is interpreted in Semitic as *kurku* and the Semitic *kurku*,<sup>2</sup> *kuriddu* and *karakku* have similarly been supposed to be onomatopœtic names for the cock. Accepting the transliterations given, which always, it must be remembered, are somewhat uncertain, the various names proposed for the cock might equally well indicate some other bird.<sup>3</sup> They are mere guesses. Up to the present time we do not know the name of the cock in Assyrian-Babylonian. As Prof. Sayce writes: "There is no certain name for the cock or fowl in Assyrian. As you know, the identification of such words is always doubtful unless they are accompanied by pictorial representations."

It is in fact to these pictorial representations that we must turn to determine the date and character of the appearance of the cock in Babylonia and Assyria. Fortunately, as in the case of Egypt, pictorial representations of birds and animals begin early in Babylonia and are abundant, and hence the argument from silence is peculiarly significant. Beginning at an early date, we have unmistakeable representations of ducks, geese, swans, hawks, eagles, and later ostriches, together with various fantastic and monstrous birds. Besides these clearly defined and characteristic representations of birds we have also from various periods birds not clearly defined, sometimes of the bustard type, sometimes waterfowl, sometimes of a small bird type. None of these, for reasons already stated, can we identify with the cock. The earliest monument on which a cock has been discovered is on the finials of two bow heads on a *bas-relief* from the palace of Sennacherib, but ascribed to Ashurbanipal,<sup>4</sup> that is, about the middle of the 7th cent.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what has already been said about the date of the cock in Bactria, the names used, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pinches, in a very kind and painstaking correspondence, has suggested other possible identifications from other undeciphered lists, none of which, however, are even approximately onomatopœtic.

<sup>3</sup> The Semitic *kurku* certainly sounds more like the Aramaic *karhyn*, crane.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. Room XXVIII, slab 14. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures in the Palace of Sennacherib*, pl. 58, 1913.

B. C. Nothing further identifiable with the cock is found before the late neo-Babylonian period, the time of Nabonidus, circa 550 B. C. To this period belong a couple of illustrations in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon* of an engraved gem (p. 538), representing a cock on a stand like those used frequently on the boundary stones in connection with the emblems of the Gods. Before this emblem stands a winged figure, with cone and basket, while above is the crescent moon. The other is taken from a cylinder in the British Museum (p. 539), and represents the figure with the cone and basket standing before an altar, behind which altar are two stands bearing, the first the moon symbol, and the second the cock. Here the cock, like the moon, is plainly the emblem of a god. It is on these figures, I fancy, that Schrader bases his statement that the cock often appears in Assyria as offered to the gods. Neither of them in fact represents the sacrifice of the cock, nor have we anything in Assyrian or Babylonian art representing such a sacrifice. Both of them represent the worship of a god symbolized by the cock.<sup>1</sup> Who that god was we do not know.<sup>2</sup> There are similar representations of the cock on neo-Babylonian seals pictured by Ward.<sup>3</sup> In general it may be said that

<sup>1</sup> In view of the relation of the cock to Persia, one is inclined to ask whether these two representations, attesting the introduction of the sacred bird of Persia into Babylonian mythology as a god emblem, do not belong rather to the Persian than to the neo-Babylonian period.

<sup>2</sup> The frequent connection of the cock with the sun, added to the combination of the cock emblem with that of the moon, suggests that the cock here also represents the sun in some form or phase. Layard calls attention to the supposition of Jewish commentators that the *nergal*, made by the men of Cutha (II Kings 17: 30), was the cock, and suggests that the *Melek Taus* of the Yezidis may also have been a cock, not a peacock. The identification of the cock as the emblem of Nergal seems not improbably correct.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*; especially p. 421 and figs. 554, 556, 1126, 1254. Dr. Ward kindly made a special investigation at my request into alleged representations of the cock (or hen) on the ancient Sumerian Gudea monuments and the Kassite boundary (*Kudurrû*) stones. He writes: "Certainly the Gula-Bau bird is not the cock. You will observe in *S. C. W. A.* figs. 230-235 it is represented with the goddess, and it is a long-necked bird. See also the stork, p. 420. I have been all over the *Kudurrûs* and I do not believe that the cock is on them. The tail of the cock nowhere appears. I have suspected the lesser or larger bustard, and yet the bird on the plow, or apart from the plow, might be a sparrow, or some such bird that follows the



lonians received the fowl from Media and Persia, where he had been known since a period ante-dating 1000; but he did not become common in Babylonia until the Persian conquest, in the latter half of the 6th century. Whence the Aramæans derived the bird, we do not certainly know, but it was thru their agency, as the general medium of intercourse, that he was finally introduced to the Jews in Palestine, somewhere about or a little after 200 B. C., reaching Egypt only in the Roman period, 150 years later.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Besides those mentioned in the notes, I also owe my thanks to the Smithsonian Institution and to Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Prof. Jas. H. Wheeler and Prof. Egbert of Columbia for helping me "hunt chickens". After this article was in print my attention was called to the Arabic *صرصر* (*gorḡar* or *ḡirḡir*), an onomatopoeticon for cock of the same type as the Hebrew *ḡir* of Prov. 30, 31.

*Dialectic Differences between Assyrian and Babylonian,  
and some Problems they Present.* — By S. C. YLVIS-  
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The proof of the existence of the two quite distinct dialects, the Assyrian and the Babylonian, has been arduous but also gratifying. The texts upon which the proof is based, the collection of letters from the period of the Sargonide kings, edited by Prof. Harper, fall naturally into two groups: the letters written in the Assyrian script and those written in the Babylonian. Even a hasty comparison of the letters in the Assyrian script with those in the Babylonian cannot but reveal certain peculiarities in the one group which are not found in the other, and a more detailed and thorough study makes it apparent that these differences are of five kinds, such as concern phonetic laws, inflection, syntax, the use of words, and style. Permit me to make brief mention of the main differences under these five heads.

I. As regards phonetic laws, the Assyrian makes a sharp distinction between the palatals, the Babylonian does not—Assyrian: *iktibi*, Babylonian: *iktabi*. The Assyrian pronounces the *š* as *s* and the combination *št* regularly becomes *s* or *ss*; the Babylonian has retained the *š* and before a dental this regularly becomes *t*—Assyrian: *asakan*=*ašakan*, Babylonian: *atakan*. The Assyrian frequently assimilates an *m* to a following *t*, the Babylonian softens the pronunciation of *k* or *t* after *m* or *n* to *g* or *d*—Assyrian: *attahar*=*amtahar*, Babylonian: *amdahar*. The Assyrian experiences no difficulty in the pronunciation of a double sonant, the Babylonian resolves the combination and simplifies the pronunciation by means of an *n*—Assyrian: *imagur*=*imaggur*, Babylonian: *imangur*. In the Assyrian two neighboring vowels are frequently assimilated to each other—*iḥabbutu*=*iḥabbatu*, while vowel contraction is a prominent characteristic of the Babylonian.

in Babylonia the cock begins to appear on gems and seals first after the Persian influence has begun to make itself felt, but there is nothing to indicate any special reference to temples, such as Schrader asserts, beyond the fact that the cock was, as pointed out, a god emblem.

For Babylonia and Assyria, then, the linguistic evidence is unsatisfactory. If the name of the bird appears at all, it is in word lists of as yet unidentified creatures and objects. It is not found in any inscription or record with accompanying statements or qualifying words which would ensure or facilitate identification. The first representation of the cock yet discovered on any monuments, gems, cylinders, &c. is, for Assyria, from the middle of the 7th century B. C., a period of active contact with the Medes; and for Babylonia, a century later, when the Persians had begun to come into immediate relations with Babylon. The representations from this period show the cock as a sacred bird, the emblem of a god.

The question arises: why, if the Persians and Medes had the bird and if it past further to the westward at an earlier date, it did not also enter Assyria and Babylonia. I have already suggested that the cock past up the line of Iranian migration; and that he reached the Greeks thru the Euxine, not thru Asia Minor. Between the Medes and Persians, on the one side, and the Assyrians and Babylonians, on the other, lay a mountain region occupied by semi-barbarous tribes, never thoroly subdued by the Assyrians or Babylonians, and always more or less hostile to them. These formed for a long time a sort of buffer state between Medes and Persians and Assyrians and Babylonians, a barrier to communication and hence also to the transmission of such a creature as the cock, they themselves, from their hostile attitude and uncivilized condition, neither receiving nor imparting such gifts. Ultimately the barrier was worn away, and in Ashurbanipal's time a more direct relation established between the Assyrians and the Medes. A century later the barrier between Persians and Babylonians was broken down, and with the access of Persian

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plow." For completeness' sake I may add that in the excavations at Nippur our earliest evidence of acquaintance with the domestic fowl was a rattle in the form of a hen. This could not, judging from its stratum, have been earlier than the Persian period, and I should be inclined to place it even later,



influence the cock invaded the Babylonian plain.<sup>1</sup> Why, when the cock had once been adopted in Babylonia, it did not follow up the line of the Euphrates into Syria more rapidly than it seems to have done, I cannot conjecture, unless it be something to do with its religious character and use; for, as already shown, the cock, once admitted into Babylonia, became a sacred bird, the special emblem of a god.

And now, in conclusion, I judge the history of the cock to have been this: The original home and probably the original place of domestication, Burma and its neighborhood, from which it spread into China at an early date, traditionally 1400 B. C., there to be bred into the Cochin-China fowl. It did not pass from China westward thru the Turks until a late date. When the Iranians entered the Ganges valley, in the second stage of their conquest of India, they came in contact with the domesticated fowl on its western limits. This was at a period not later than 900, and I suspect in reality more nearly 1200 B. C.

The cock past up the line of the Iranian invasion into Bactria, Persia and Media and so on into Scythia and Europe, stretching across finally to the British Isles, and spreading down from Gaul into Central Italy. The Greeks first came in contact with the cock in their expeditions to the extreme eastern end of the Euxine in the Homeric period, perhaps circa 1000 B. C., and later carried him from there to the coasts and islands of the Aegean, where we find the cock a well known and domesticated bird on the earliest coins and monuments, from 700 B. C. onward. Spreading westward, the Greeks brought him into Sicily, whence he traveled up the line of Greek colonization into Italy, meeting the cock of the more northerly line of migration in Central Italy—Etruria, Latium and the regions thereabout. Somewhat more slowly the Greeks carried the cock southward into Cyprus; whence it was brought to the Phœnician cities, not becoming, however, well-established as a domestic fowl on the Syrian mainland until a late date.

Beginning in the 7th century B. C. the Assyrians and Baby-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a further reason for the relative tardiness of the cock in Babylonia was the nature of the country, the rivers, canals and marshes so admirable adapted to geese and ducks may have constituted a barrier to the domestication of the fowl in that region.

II. Inflectional differences there are many of, but referring to the summary on page 73 of my monograph entitled "*Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*", I shall mention only a few more important ones. In regard to the inflection of nouns it is to be noted that the Assyrian regularly has *u* as the ending of the nominative and accusative singular, *i* as that of the genitive, while the Babylonian by its irregular use of the case-endings would seem to show that these were no longer in use. In regard to the verb, the Assyrian forms the Piel and Šafel Imperatives and Permansives by means of *a* in the first syllable, the Babylonian has the usual forms. So the Assyrian *gabbit*, Babylonian *gubbit*; Assyrian *gammur*, Babylonian *gummur*; Assyrian *šebil*, Babylonian *šubil*, etc. But the difference appears in minor matters as well, as f. inst. in the treatment of certain verbs. The Assyrian present of *nadānu* is *iddan*, the Babylonian *inamdan* or *inamdin*; the Assyrian preterite is *iddin*, the Babylonian *iddan* or *iddin*; the Assyrian imperative is *din*, the Babylonian *idin*. The first t-form of *nazāzu* in Assyrian is *ūtīz*, in Babylonian *ittašiz*. The Assyrian treats the verb *idā* "to know" as a *ʾE* verb, the Babylonian as *ʾD*. And so on.

III. The syntactical differences are also quite marked, the use of the enclitic *nī* in dependent clauses being characteristic of the Assyrian, the use of the overhanging vowel in dependent clauses and of the enclitic *ma* characteristic of the Babylonian. Here there are also minor points of difference such as the idiomatic use of prepositions, etc.

IV. Closely connected with the syntactical differences are those involving the use of words. It cannot be by mere chance that the following words are used only in the Assyrian letters: the pronouns *ammu*, *mēmēnu*, *gamutu*; the verbs *naḡu* and the defective verb *laḡu*; the prepositions *issi*, *battibatti*, *battataḡ*; the adverbs *uḏini la*, *ulā*, *umā*, *annaka*, *annaka*, *annurig*, *arḡis*, *issuri*, *atā*, *bādi*, *basi*, *haramme*, *kallamāri*, *kittū*, *lidiš*, *mā*, *muk* and *nuk*, *šūri*, *šaddagliš*, *timāli*, *tūra*, and the following only in the Babylonian: the pronoun *agā*; the defective verb *janu*; the prepositions *alla*, *itti*, *ultu*; and the adverbs *adi*, *ul*, *umma*, *arkanis*, *arkien*, *bani*, *hanšis*, *madē*, *mindema*, *minammā*, *šaddagis*. In the case of some of these words the subject-matter may, of course, have had more to do than is at present apparent.



V. All of these peculiarities taken together and coupled again with the individuality of the writer in each case would undoubtedly help us to explain the difference in style which one cannot but notice in the letters. But they would hardly explain all, and I think we would be justified in distinguishing between an Assyrian and a Babylonian style as well. However, this question of difference in style is intimately associated with a detailed study and comparison of syntactical constructions in the two dialects, and in this field very much still remains to be accomplished.

To summarize: If we could have heard the two dialects, Assyrian and Babylonian, spoken, I do not doubt that we would have noticed a difference more marked than that which exists among the various dialects in Germany. We would undoubtedly do better in choosing the sister languages Norwegian and Swedish for comparison: the Swedish, soft and musical, representing the Babylonian, the harsher and more strongly accented Norwegian representing the Assyrian.

In itself the knowledge of these dialectic differences between Assyrian and Babylonian is interesting enough to the philologist, it is important also in several respects: 1) it furnishes a very necessary key to the understanding of the epistolary literature; 2) it explains to our entire satisfaction difficulties of Assyrian grammar which otherwise would cause much trouble. As I have said before, there is much left to be done, both as regards the material already at hand, and what is steadily being published; but even at this stage we have a right to say that the importance of our knowledge of these dialectic differences will extend beyond the points I have mentioned. It shows us the need of more painstaking and detailed study of the language from a purely grammatical point of view, also the need of a more complete grammar which treats the language with strict regard for historic development and resulting changes. The difficulties which would present themselves to one undertaking such a task we can as yet realize only in part. For instance, the correct application of the rules thus far laid down for the language of the letters is difficult enough and too much care cannot be exercised in their mastery in order to avoid what might become serious mistakes. Thus the specific rules for the Assyrian do not apply and must be carefully excluded in the translation of a



Babylonian text, and vice versa. But it becomes still more difficult to decide how far these rules, which are so rigidly observed in the language of the letters, are to be applied and taken into consideration outside this class of texts. In explaining a difficult form in a hymn, for instance, is, or is not, this or that phenomenon in the language of the letters to be compared as analogous and made to solve the problem for us? The question is really pertinent, as I have a definite instance in mind where in my opinion a rule taken from the language of the letters was wrongly made to apply in a text not of this class. It may be tempting enough to try to explain a form by every known means; it is another question if this be always permissible, for it is evident at the outset that not the same rules would apply for the language of the Hammurapi period in Babylonia and for that of the Ašurbanipal period in Assyria.

But on this very point I think we have one of the most difficult problems before us, this difficulty, namely, that the character and approximate date of a text should be known before it can be successfully worked out. In other words a certain amount of textual criticism will become necessary to determine which rules can be made to apply and which not. I do not claim that we as yet are in a position to cope successfully with the problem of textual criticism in Assyrian, but it is my conviction that it must be taken up sooner or later and that the letter literature in this very particular will prove an invaluable aid and provide a sure basis for further work.

But the letters, picturing as they do the language of their time in Assyria and Babylonia both consistently and in detail, put other texts from the same period in a strange light, and we are immediately confronted by the peculiar difficulties which the problem of textual criticism in Assyrian would present. I shall refer briefly to the historical inscriptions of the later kings to illustrate.

Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1115—1100) has in his inscriptions side by side *idtu* (a form hardly in use any more at his time), *altakan*, *luttakširu*, *ultallitu*, *multašpiru* (specifically Babylonian forms), and *madatta*, *epāš*, *laššu* (Assyrian).

Tukulti-NIN. IB. II (889—885) has likewise side by side *aštandil* (old form), *ulteziz* (Babylonian), *asapar*, *asakan*, *attahar*, *laššu*, *battubatte* (Assyrian).

Ašurnāširpal II (884—860) has *itti* (Babylonian) and *isi* (Assyrian), *ištānānuma* (old form), *altakan* (Babylonian), *asakan*, *asarap*, *usišib*, *attahar* (Assyrian).

Salmaneser II (859—825) has *amdaḥḥis* (Babylonian) and *madatu* (Assyrian).

The Sargonide kings have in their historical inscriptions been more successful in fixing what we might call a classic language, but even here we meet with strange inconsistencies. Sennacherib has *aštakan* (old form) and *ultu* (Babylonian). Ašurbanipal has *uštēšera*, *aštakanu*, *išten'a* (old forms), *multarḥu*, *ultu*, *mundahṣē*, *mandattu* (Babylonian), and *madattu* (Assyrian).

The inscriptions of the Babylonian kings present similar difficulties. Neluchadnezzar I (1152—1124) has *ištu*, *ištakan* (old forms), *ulteshir*, *iltaknu*, *iltatru*, *mundahṣiti* (later Babylonian). Nebukadnezzar II (604—562) uses a language which seems to show none of the later Babylonian peculiarities, but which might very well have been used at least 1000 years earlier.

Intimate acquaintance with the language of the epistolary literature, where the most beautiful consistency prevails throughout, causes us to wonder all the more at the strange mixture of old and late, Assyrian and Babylonian, forms in the other branches of the literature. Hence the question of textual criticism in the Assyrian presents peculiar problems of which I have only mentioned a few. In closing I would ask one question: what bearing would this condition of things in the language of texts, where we cannot doubt that we have the originals, have on textual criticism in other languages, for instance the problem of the different dialects in the language of Homer?

*The Animal DUN in the Sumerian Inscriptions.*—By  
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Lists of animals that came down from the period of the supremacy of the cities of Ur and Lagash contain among them one whose identity is still a matter of doubt. I have gathered up the facts known about this animal as a possible aid in determining its identity.

The inscriptions from the period of Lagash (2500—2400 B.C.) give us most of our data. De Genouillac in his *Tablettes Sumeriennes Archaiques* has indicated some of the facts regarding this animal; others may be found in Gudea Cylinder B, and in Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in Harvard Museum*.

De Genouillac after putting together the facts which he collected (T. S. A. p. XLIII f.) concluded that there must have been two kinds of DUN, (1) a wild DUN of the swamps (*DUN-giš-gi*) and (2) a DUN of the plains (*DUN-a*). The former DUN seems to be referred to in Gudea Cyl. B, XV, 12—14, where it is listed with work cattle, and worked with some kind of an instrument, that corresponded to the yoke of the ox or the packsaddle of the ass. The words used to describe the instrument would indicate that it was made of metal (*DUN-e ur-da-ha* | | -mah; cf. *ha-zu zabar R. T. C.*, 22).

In Gudea Cyl. B, IX, 16—19, the DUN seems to be associated with the ass, or was a kind of ass, in such expressions as (16) *anšu DUN ur-bi* — — — — (18) *anšu-zig-a anša-Erida*<sup>21</sup> (19) *anšu DUN-da*. Whether this may have been some species of mule, or some cross between the *anšu* and another animal is not apparent in the passage. On Cyl. B, IX, 16, we find exactly the same phrase as on Cyl. A, VII, 20, except that *anšu* is omitted in the latter case, which would seem to indicate that, here, at least, *anšu DUN* and *DUN* alone are synonymous, for in both cases the same animal is referred to, viz., the animal called *ug-kaš*. On Cyl. B, IX, 16—19, as referred to above, we find the young ass, and the



ass of Eridu, but what could have been *anšu-DUN*? Was it merely a full-grown *anšu* or some other animal? Or—could it have been some species of wild ass or bison which roamed in herds in the swamps or lowlands of Babylonia, as the wild asses do today in the steppes of Tibet? We know that the Assyrians hunted them in the chase as pictured on the monuments. M. J. E. Gautier in his excavations at Susa has shown that the bison has been in existence from a very remote antiquity.

When we turn to the numerous lists of large animals we discover the DUN classified with asses. De Genouillac cites numerous cases: In *R. T. C.*, 49, we find one list of 17 she-asses, 10 female and 4 male DUN, and all totaled as 30 (31) asses. Another case gives credence to this proposition, where a deal consists of a purchase of 4 she-asses and 2 DUN, which is called an "affair of the asses". When the money value of each is set side by side it is noteworthy that the less value is attached to the DUN. In one inscription (*R. T. C.*, 50) the cash value of the DUN was 4 to 6 shekels while that of the ass was 20 shekels.

Again, the service of a DUN of a year or less old by the month was 50 to 70 *qa*, for a DUN of two years 80 to 100 *qa* for an adult DUN 300 *qa*, probably designating a large animal.

Another little hint of especial interest is the fact that the DUN yielded butter or cream, *ia-DUN* (*R. T. C.*, 18, 62, 63). Is this to be compared with the same product supplied by the cow or the goat?

An examination of the *Sumerian Tablets of Harvard Museum* reveals some additional facts. Of the 224 women mentioned on the 54 tablets published in Part I, 1 find 20 were *gin DUN-nig-kū-a*, that is, a title indicating "care-taker of the DUN to be eaten". This title is mentioned 55 times, and shows that the DUN mentioned on those tablets were of a sufficiently docile nature to be managed by women. One man, mentioned 23 times in these inscriptions, named *Lugal-pa-ud-du* is called *sib-DUN*, shepherd of the DUN, or rather DUN-herd. He is also named several times in de Genouillac, *T. S. A.* (10 Rev. V, 18, 19; 11 Rev. IV; 12 Rev. V).

Another man, *Nimgir-šā-gub*, was a *gab-ra DUN-ā* (23 Rev. VII, 16), evidently an overseer of the DUN. One woman

*Sag-tar* held the same office as attested in *S. T.* 22 Rev. V, 7 and *T. S. A.* (de Genouillac).

One woman's name has incorporated in it this element, though it may not have had anything to do with the animal: *Nin-DUN-amu-mu* (23 Obv. I, 11).

Pinches found in the Amherst Tablets (36, III, 9) the name of a farmer whose chief business seems to have been that of raising the DUN or asses, or both: *Sar dingir DUN-sig-ša*.

The DUN mentioned in these inscriptions of Harvard Museum seems to have been an animal similar to the goat, docile, yielding milk, having a hide of value, and a ruminant, living of the fields. In all the 54 tablets published in Hussey's *S. T.* only two men are mentioned as bearing any relation to the care of the DUN, while women are named in 55 passages as care-takers.

On the other hand, the DUN described alongside the ass and oxen is always cared for by men, and is classified with asses or oxen in the totals, as a beast of burden, and seems to have thriven in swamps or forests. Its value was less than that of the ass, and it required less food for its maintenance.

What were these two species of DUN? Have we the modern equivalent of either of them?

It is now almost a question for the zoologist.

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<sup>1</sup> Allotte de la Foye, in Hilprecht's Anniversary Volume, p. 126, N. 2, Thureau-Dangin in *R. A.* VI p. 137, and again Thureau-Dangin in *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, I, p. 27, Note 3, offer suggestions for the solution of the problem, which do not quite satisfy the requirements of the cases, especially in the Gudea Cylinders and Hussey's *S. T.*

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